SIND

UNDER THE MUGHULS

M. Saleem Akhtar

Marfat.com

Collection of Prof. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi
Preserved in Punjab University Library.

پروفیسر محمد اقبال مجددی کا مجموعہ
پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں محفوظ شدہ

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

THE AUTHOR

Dr. Muhammad Saleem Akhtar, M.A. (Persian), M.A. (History) (Punjab), M.A. (Asian Studies), Ph.D. (South Asian History) (The Australian National University), D. Litt. (Tehran), is a Principal Research Fellow at the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, where, among other things, he has been editing the bi-annual *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* since late 1983. In 1986 he was selected as the first occupant of Iqbal Chair, established by the Government of Pakistan, at the University of Edinburgh, U.K.

Dr. Akhtar is a regular contributor to English, Persian and Urdu scholarly journals, published both at home and abroad. Besides, he has exquisitely edited, with exhaustive introductions and copious annotations, a number of medieval Persian texts of historical and cultural importance, such as the *Majma' al-Shu'arà'-i Jahàngìr Shàhì* (Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, 1985), the *Risàlah-i Nùriyyah-i Sulṭàniyyah* (Islamabad: Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1985), the *Kalimàt al-Ṣàdiqìn* (Islamabad: Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1988). Work on many more including the *Ta'rìkh-i-Rashìdì* and the *Ṭabaqàt-i-Nàṣirì* is in progress.

Dr. Akhtar's forthcoming publications include *Muslims in South Asia* (co-editor), *Pakistan Resolution Revisited* (co-editor), and *Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Azam* (co-editor).

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

SIND UNDER THE MUGHULS

An Introduction to, Translation of and Commentary on the Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì

of

Yùsuf Mìrak

(1044/1634)

By

Muhammad Saleem Akhtar

National Institute of Historical and Cultural Reseach
Islamabad – Pakistan

&

Department of Culture, Government of Sindh
Karachi

Marfat.com

Sind under the Mughuls

134225

© Copyright NIHCR, 1990.

ISBN 969-415-021-3

First Impression: 1990

Price:

Pakistan *Rs. 250.00*

Foreign *US $ 35.00*

Printed by:

Printing, Packaging and Paper Converting Corporation, Islamabad, and Iman Printers, 59-D Off Ferozepur Road, Lahore.

Published by:

National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, P.O. Box 1230, Islamabad, and Department of Culture, Government of Sind, Karachi.

Marfat.com

To
(the late)
Pìr Sayyid Ḥusam al-Dìn Ràshidì

⋆ ⋆ ⋆

Professor Riazul Islam

⋆ ⋆ ⋆

Professor M.H. Siddiqi

in token of
Respect and Admiration

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

PREFACE

Started as a simple translation of the second half of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, a matchless compendium on the working of the Mughul administration in Sindh, the present study has developed into an exhaustive history of relations between the Arghùns and Tarkhàns of Sindh and the Mughuls from the days of Tìmùr down to the reign of Jahàngìr. The volume comprises three parts: introduction, translation of the second half of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, and commentary.

The Introduction consists of three Sections. Section I traces the origins of the Arghùns, their rise to power in Qandahàr, their conflicts with Bàbur, and in doing so, indicates the number, nature and duration of the latter's campaigns against that important Arghùns stronghold prior to his triumphant advent into Hindùstàn. The latter part of this Section deals with the Arghùn rule in Sindh, Humàyun's wanderings in this region, the mutual rivalries of the successors of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, the division of Sindh into two independent principalities of Bhakkar and Thattah and their subsequent absorption into the Mughul Empire.

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

To facilitate the finding of answers to questions arising from a study of the translation, the Introduction's Section has been divided into convenient subsections.

The Translation is based upon the only surviving manuscripts of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* preserved in the Library of the Punjab University, Lahore. While commonly known administrative terms have been retained in their original form, unfamiliar technical terms, words and phrases have been rendered into English, with the original Persian given alongside in brackets. Those abstruse terms and expressions which are not to be found in standard lexicographical works, have been translated on the analogy of their usage by other writers of Persian historical works in India.

The Commentary tries to clarify various important points pertaining to the Translation, including several carefully compiled

Marfat.com

biographical notes. The number on the left hand side of the colon at the beginning of each item refers to the page of the Translation, while the one on the right hand side indicates the line where that particular point occurs. Each point thus explained in the Commentary, has, in turn, been marked out with an asterisk in the Translation.

The Introduction and Commentary also provide comparative study of contemporary and secondary sources on the history of Sindh. They underline the importance of a critical evaluation of the original historical texts before they are translated into any other language. They also show how important it is to back up an adequate understanding of the language with a proper historiographic training to produce a competent edition or translation of a historical text.

In the execution of this enterprise, the writer has not infrequently disagreed with his precursors. In criticizing their works, to which he himself owes so much, 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 *hamah chìz hamagàn dànand wa hamagàn hanùz az màdar nazàdah and* ('It is the whole of mankind that knows everything, and the whole of mankind has not yet been born'). Nevertheless, the pursuit of truth has transcended all other considerations, and every effort has been made to uncover the facts.

Islamabad:
30 October 1989

M. Saleem Akhtar

Marfat.com

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of translating Part Two of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahàni* was suggested to me by Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, who thereafter also supervised my work on the project. Besides him, the late Professor A.L. Basham, Professor Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Dr. J.T.F. Jordens and my friend John Gardiner-Garden also read parts of this work and made valuable suggestions, while the final typescript was edited by Mr. Rafe-uz-Zaman. I offer my sincerest thanks to them all.

I would never have reached the point of starting my research on the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahàni* were it not for the generous financial assistance of the Australian National University and the subsequent travel subsidy I received from that University to visit various libraries in Lahore, the National Museum of Pakistan and the Liaquat National Library in Karachi, the Sindhì Adabì Board, the Institute of Sindhology at Jamshoro, and the Khairpur Public Library, Khairpur Mîrs', in Sindh; and the British Museum, the India Office Library and Records and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, in London.

Among the private libraries I had the privilege of working in during my field trip, the library of the late Pir Husàm al-Dìn Ràshidì was the most outstanding. The richness of his collection in rare sources on the history of Sindh, the selfless manner in which that great scholar opened its doors to me and the deep interest he showed to the last in my academic pursuits are things words fail to describe adequately. May Allah rest his soul in eternal peace!

During my stay in Pakistan, I also benefited from the hospitality and advice of Dr. N.A. Baloch, Dr. G.A. Allana, Dr. Riazul Islam, Dr. M.H. Siddiqi and Dr.S. Razi Wasti. Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi and his family, and our friends Mushfiq Khwàjah and Àmina Bhàbì went to great pains to ensure a very pleasant stay for my wife and myself in Karachi and Dr. Nawaz Ali Shauq shared all my pleasures and frustrations in our attempts to obtain access to various books and manuscripts which were the property of different families in Sindh. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them all.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not thank the staff of the Chifley and Menzies libraries of the A.N.U. I am especially grateful to Miss Enid Bishop, Mr. Ajit Ray, Mrs. Nola Clarkson and Mr. Noel Rose, who never begrudged any assistance when I needed it.

Marfat.com

I am also grateful to Professor Sayyid Ja'far Shahìdì, of Tehran University, for sending me a complete set of the *Lughat Nàmah-i Dihkhudà* with extraordinary promptness.

Maps 1 and 2 are respectively taken from Stanley Lane-Poole's *Babar* and Niyàz Humàyùnì's Sindhì translation of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*. I appreciatively place on record my debt to the publishers of these two works.

The manucript of this book was accepted for publication by the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, some five years ago, but because of some unforeseen technical problems, it could not be published earlier. I salute Dr. (Miss) K.F. Yusuf, the new Director of the Institute, for expediting its publication.

Marfat.com

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Titles of books and names of authors appearing in the Roman script are retained in their original form; otherwise the following system of trasliteration has been followed: (except in the case of certain will-known place – e.g. Sind instead of Sindh, and Deccan instead of Dakkan).

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

Short vowels are unmarked; but it is to be remembered that ـَ is rendered by 'a', ـِ by 'i' and ـُ by 'u'. Long vowels carry a macron, thus: à, è (as in Bèg/ بیگ), ì, ò, ù. The diphthongs have been represented by 'au' and 'ay'.

For the facility of the scholars, both Hijrah (with, in certain cases, Persian rather than Arabic names of months) and Gregorian dates have been used throughout. The figure on the left of the oblique stands for the Hijrah and that on the right for the corresponding Gregorian date.

Marfat.com

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	*À'în-i Akbarì*
A.A.A.	*'Àlam Àrà'-i 'Abbàsì*
A.A., tr.	*A'în-i Akbarì*, English translation.
Ad.Al.	*Àdàb-i 'Àlamgìrì*
A.N.	*Akbar Nàmah*
A.N., tr.	*Akbar Nàmah*, English translation.
Ansar Zahid Khan	*History and Culture of Sind*
Avasthy	*The Mughal Emperor Humayun.*
B.M.	British Museum
B.N.	*Bàbur Nàmah*, English translation.
B.Q.	*Burhàn-i Qàṭi'*
Bèg.N.	*Bèglàr Nàmah*
Baḥr al-Asràr	*Baḥr al-Asràr* of Maḥmùd b. Amìr Walì Balkhì
Baranì	Ta'rìkh-i Fìrùz Shàhì
Blochmann	*The À'în-i Akbarì*, Vol.I.
Briggs	*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India Till the Year 1612*
Chalbani	*Economic Conditions in Sind 1592-1843*
D.I.	*Dictionary of Islam*
Dani	*Thattah: Islamic Architecture*
Dh.Kh.	*Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn.*
E&D	*History of India as Told by Its own Historians.*
E.F.L.	*English Factories in Sind*
E.I.	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition.
Erskine	*A History of India under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur Baber and Humayun*
F.A.R.	*Farhang-i Anand Ràj*
F.J.	*Farhang-i Jahàngìrì*
G.A.	*Gulzàr-i Abràr*, MS. 185, The John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Guy le Strange	*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*
H.A.T.S.	*History of the Arghùns and Tarkhans of Sind*
H.N.	*Humàyuǹ Nàmah*
H.N. tr.	*Humàyùn Nàmah*, English translation.
H.S.	*Ḥabìb al-Siyar*
Hàshimì	*Taqwìm-i Ta'rìkhì*
Hobson-Jobson	*Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell.
I.D.C.	*The Indus Delta Country*

Marfat.com

I.G.I.	*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*
I.O.	India Office
Intro.	Introduction.
Jauhar	*Tadhkirat al-Wàqi'àt*
Kàmwar Khàn	*Tadhkirat al-Salàṭin-i Chaghatà*
Kèwalràm	*Tadhkirat al-Umarà'*
Kh.T.	*Khulàṣat al-Tawàrìkh*
L.T.S.	*Lubb-i Ta'rikh-i Sindh*
Làhaurì	*Bàdshàh Namah*
Lane	*Arabic-English Lexicon*
Loghat Nàmah	*Loghat Nàmah-i Dihkhudà*
M.A./Alam	*Mir'at al-'Àlam*
M.Al./M.Al., tr.	*Ma'àthir-i 'Àlamgìrì*, English translation.
M.J.	*Ma'àthir-i Jahàngìrì*
M.N.	*Maklì Nàmah*
M.R.	*Ma'àthir-i Raḥìmì*
M.Sh.	*Maqàlàt al-Shu'arà'*
M.T.	*Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh* by Badàyùnì
M.U.	*Ma'àthir al-Umarà'*
M.U.,tr.	*Ma'àthir al-Umarà'*, Urdu translation.
Maẓhar	*Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*
Maz. Sh.	*Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, Ràshidì edition.
n.	note/notes.
N.M.	*Nafà'is al-Ma'àthir*
P.E.D.	*The Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*
P.U. MS.	*Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, MS. 7743, Punjab University, Lahore.
Q.N.	*Qàbus Nàmah*
R.S.	*Rauḍat al-Ṣafà'*
Raverty	*The Mihran of Sind*
Riazul Islam	*Indo-Persian Relations*
S.D.Sh.	*Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign*
Sorley	*Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*
Steingass	*A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*
s.v.	Under the word
T.A., tr.	*Ṭabaqàt-i Akbarì*, English translation.
T.A.Kh.	*Tadhkirah-i Amìr Khànì* by Ràshidì
T.F.	*Ta'rìkh-i Firishtah*
T.F.S.M.	*The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*
T.K.,	*Tuḥfat al-Kiràm*, Ràshidì edition.
T.K. tr.	*Tuḥfat al-Kiràm*, Urdu translation.
T.N.	*Tarkhàn Nàmah*

Marfat.com

T.R.	*Ta'rìkh-i Rashìdì*
T.S.	*Ta'rìkh-i Sindh*
T.T.	*Ta'rikh-i Ṭahirì*
tr.	Translation.
Tùzuk	*Tùzuk-i Jahàngìrì*, Persian text.
Tùzuk (R&B)	*Tùzuk-i Jahàngìrì*, English translation.
Tùzuk, tr.	*Tùzuk-i Jahàngìrì*, Urdu translation.

Marfat.com

CONTENTS

Preface ix
Acknowledgements xi
Note on Transliteration and Dates xiii
Abbreviations xiv

INTRODUCTION 1

SECTION I: THE ARGHÙNS AND TARKHÀNS OF SIND AND THE GREAT MUGHULS OF INDIA 3

1. Background 3
2. Bàbur and Shàh Bèg Arghùn 16
3. Shàh Ḥasan's Flight to Bàbur's Court 24
4. Shàh Bèg Moves to Sind 27
5. Shàh Ḥasan Succeeds His Father 30
6. Shàh Ḥasan and Humàyùn 32
7. Shàh Ḥasan Greets Kàmràn and Welcomes Khwàjah Kalàn 33
8. The Rise of Shìr Shàh in India 34
9. The Fall of Humàyùn 35
10. Humàyùn Turns to Sind 36
11. Exchange of Messages between Humàyùn and Shàh Ḥasan 36
12. Shàh Ḥasan Takes Precautionary Measures 37
13. Humàyùn Waits in Vain at Ròhṛì 38
14. Humàyùn Visits Darbèlah 38
15. Humàyùn Besieges Sìwistàn 39
16. Shàh Ḥasan Wins Over Yàdigàr Nàṣir 39
17. Humàyùn Withdraws to Bhakkar 40
18. Humàyùn Proceeds to Marwàṛ via Ùchh 41
19. Humàyùn Returns to Sind and Leaves for Qandahàr 41
20. Shàh Ḥasan and Mìrzà Kàmràn 42
21. Shàh Ḥasan's Later Years and His Legacy 44
22. Successors of Shàh Ḥasan and the Mughul Court 46
23. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd and the Safawid Court 48
24. Mìrzà Bàqì Succeeds Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn 49
25. Nàhìd Bègum's Visit to Sind and Subsequent Events 49
26. Mìrzà Bàqì Offers the Hand of His Daughter to Akbar 50

Marfat.com

27.	Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's Offer of Help against Thattah	51
28.	First Encounter between Mughul and Bhakkarì Forces	52
29.	Sulṭàn Maḥmud Marries His Daughter to Akbar	53
30.	Bèg Òghlì Rebels against Sulṭàn Maḥmùd	53
31.	Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Offers to Surrender the Fort	54
32.	Arrival of Gìsù Khàn from the Mughul Court	55
33.	Bhakkar Passes under Mughul Rule	56
34.	War of Succession and Mìrzà Jànì Bèg's Rise to Power	57
35.	Akbar Orders Reduction of Thattah	58
36.	Exchange of Embassies between Jànì Bèg and Akbar	60
37.	Akbar Decides on Military action against Qandahàr and Thattah	61
38.	Mughul Advance upon Sihwàn	62
39.	Mìrzà Jànì Prepares to Meet the Mughuls	63
40.	Intrigue in the Tarkhàn Camp	64
41.	Khusrau Khàn Charkas Attacks Mughul positions	65
42.	The Khàn-i Khànan Lays Siege to Bùhìrì Jàhèjah	67
43.	The Khàn-i Khànàn Lifts the Siege	68
44.	Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Sets Out for Sihwàn	69
45.	The Mughuls Surprise and Defeat Sindhì Forces	70
46.	The Mughuls Lay Siege to Sindhì Fortifications at Unaṛpùr	71
47.	Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Capitulates	72
48.	His Flight to Thattah	73
49.	The Mughuls Advance upon Thattah	73
50.	Mìrzà Jànì Meets the Khàn-i Khànàn	75
51.	His Departure from Thattah	75
52.	Mìrzà Jànì Waits upon Akbar	76
53.	His Death	77
54.	Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn Succeeds His Father	78
55.	Mìrzà Ghàzi at the Mughul Court	79
56.	His Nomination for the Qandahàr Expedition	81
57.	His Victorious Entry into Qandahàr	83
58.	His Recall to Court and Reappointment to Qandahàr	83
59.	His Relations with Shàh 'Abbàs of Ìràn	85
60.	His Stay at Qandahàr	85

Marfat.com

SECTION II: THE AUTHOR AND HIS FAMILY 89

1. Yùsuf Mìrak 89
2. His Father 92
   a. Mìr Namakìn's Children 105
   b. Mìr Namakìn's Servants 106
   c. Mìr Namakìn's Works 107
3. His Elder Brother and His Descendants 108
   a. Mìr 'Atìq Allàh 112
   b. Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf 113
   c. Mìr Abù al-Qàsim 114
   d. Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq 115
   e. Mìr Abù al-Makàrim Shuhùd 115
   f. Mìr 'Abd al-Karìm 118
   g. Mìr Abù al-Baqà's Daughters 125

SECTION III: THE BOOK 126

1. The Development of Persian Historiography in Sind 126
2. The *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* as a Work of History 129
3. The *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* as a 'Mirror for Princes' 133

A TRANSLATION OF THE *MAẒHAR-I SHÀHJAHÀNÌ* 137

Chapter One: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Bhakkar 140

Chapter Two: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Sìwì 149

Chapter Three: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Thattah 153
- An Account of the Governorship of Shamshìr Khàn Ùzbek in Thattah 158
- An Account of the Governorship of Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì in Thattah 158
- An Account of the Governorship of Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì in Thattah 160

Chapter Four: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Sihwan 164

Section I: A Brief Description of the Parganahs of This Region 164

Section II: An Account of the Intractable and Seditious Elements of This Region 173

Marfat.com

Section III: Description of the Causes of the Destruction of Peasants of the Region of Sihwàn and the Strengthening of the Insurgents 175
Section IV: A Brief Account of Measures for the Improvement of the Region of Sihwàn 221
Kharìf 221
Rabì' 222
Crop-Sharing 223
The Arbàbs and Muqaddams' In'am Out of the Revenue 224
The Qànùngù's Cessess 224
The Boat Tax 224
Dharat 224
Section V: On Ways of Quelling the Fire of Insurgency of Refractory Elements of the Region of Sihwan 228
Item One: On Ways of Exterminating the Samèjah Unar 228
Item Two: On Ways of Subduing the Chàndiyah Balùches 246
Item Three: On Measures for Quelling the Fire of Nuhmardì Sedition 247
Epilogue **252**
COMMENTARY **255**
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY **319**
INDEX
MAPS
Fig. 1. India and Transoxiana
Fig. 2. 1608-1700 A.D. Administrative Map of Sind

Marfat.com

INTRODUCTION

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

THE ARGHÙNS AND TARKHÀNS 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 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 Tìmùr 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 Jàm Niẓàm al-Dìn Nandah (866-914/1461-1508), the penultimate ruler of the Sammah dynasty. The Jàm's territories, as pointed out by Erskine,[2] "reached from the ocean to the Multàn territory, above Bheker, on the one side; and from the Ràjpùt desert and Kach, to the Bolan Pass and Balùchistàn 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 Sehwàn with Shikàrpore, Kach-Gandàva, and part of Sìwistàn". Thanks to the pragmatic policies of this Jàm, as the Sammah 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 rapidly progressed.[3] However, as subsequent events proved, Jàm Nandah's was the twilight of Sammah rule in Sind and, like the last phase in the life of a candle, the efflorescence 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 undermined the kingdom's security and

1. For details, see Sorley, pp.12-14; Avasthy, pp.392-95
2. Erskine, vol.I, p.358.
3. *T.S.*, pp.73-76; *T.T.*, pp.51-56

Marfat.com

stability.[4] At this time, the Arghùn ruler of Qandahàr, Shàh Bèg, was under increasing pressure from Bàbur to quit Qandahàr. With Jàm Nandah gone, all obstacles to Shàh Bèg's conquest of Sind were removed. After this conquest was accomplished, for three quarters of a century these territories were directly ruled by the Arghùns and their Tarkhàn cousins; and thereafter, for another quarter of a century they were under the suzerainty of the Mughuls of India. The death of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn in 1021/1612 terminated this era of Sind's history, and henceforth it came under the direct rule of Mughul governors. Finally, after Nàdir Shàh's invasion of India in 1151/1739, when as part of the peace treaty, Emperor Muḥammad Shàh (1131-61/1719-48) ceded all territories west of the Indus to the Iránian invader,[5] the last Mughul representative in the region, Mìyan Nùr Muḥammad, of the native Kalhòṛà clan, theoretically at least, became a vassal to Ìràn, though Nàdir Shàh could not obtain the Miyàn's allegiance without storming his stronghold at 'Umarkòt during the following year.[6]

The Arghùns traced their origins through Arghùn Khàn to Chingìz,[7] one of the two great Mongol conquerors, the other being Tìmùr, whose blood comingled with the former's in the veins of Ẓahìr al-Dìn Muḥammad Bàbur,[8] the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India. Although the Arghùns had long been in the service of the Tìmùrids, and several of them fought under Ìkù Tìmùr for Amìr Tìmùr (d. 807/1405), who were rewarded by that great empire-builder for their meritorious services with the exalted title of *Tarkhàn*,[9] with its numerous concomitant perquisites,[10] they did

4. See *infra*.
5. Mìrzà Mahdì Khàn Astràbàdì, *Durrah-i Nàdirah*, ed., Sayyid Ja'far Shahìdì, Tehran, 1341 H.Sh., p.487; Muḥammad Shafì' Wàrid Tìhrànì, *Ta'rìkh-i Nàdir Shàhì*, ed., Riḍà Sha'bànì, Tehran, 1349 H.Sh., p.235; L. Lockhart, *Nàdir Shah*, Lahore, 1976, repr., p.153; Zahir Uddin Malik, *The Reign of Muḥammad Shah, 1719-1748*, Bombay, 1977, p.181.
6. Mìrzà Mahdì Khàn Astrabàdì, pp.496-505; Lockhart, pp.157-61; 'Abd al-Karìm Kashmìrì, *Bayàn-i Wàqi'*, ed., K.B. Nasim, Lahore, 1970, pp.53-58; Sayyid Muḥammad Bilgràmì, *Tabṣirat al-Nàẓirìn*, MS., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì Private Collection (1979), entries for 1151 and 1156 A.H.
7. See *H.A.T.S.*, p.249.
8. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Babar*, New Delhi, 1957, repr., p.9.
9. The title of *Tarkhàn*, whose history goes back to the time of Chingìz Khàn (*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 12 tribes which submitted to the rule of Tìmùr, the Arghùns and the Tarkhàns were also included. These Tarkhàns were not necessarily of Arghùn origin, as they could have descended from the Tarkhàns created by some earlier rulers (see *T.R.*, p.55 and n.3). In 793/1391 all those who fought valiantly against the Qipchàq ruler, Tùqtmìsh, were raised to the status of *Tarkhan* by Tìmùr. The forefather of the Tarkhàns of Sind,

Contd....

Marfat.com

not achieve pre-eminence among the Mongol tribes until 855/1451, the year in which Tìmùr's great-grandson and Bàbur's grandfather, Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd Mirzà, ascended the throne of Samarqand.

The progenitor of the Arghùn rulers of Sind, Mìr Dhù al-Nùn started his career under Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd (855-73/1451-69).[11] Beside the fact that Dhù al-Nùn hailed from the Arghùn tribe which had played a prominent role in raising Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd to the throne,[12] the coincidence of Abù Sa'ìd's great liking for brave men[13] and Dhù al-Nùn's exceptional skill in single combat[14] 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 Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd on 22 Rajab 873/5[16] February 1469, at Qaràbàgh,[17] Dhù al-Nùn

Ìkù Tìmùr, an Arghùn (*T.N.*, p.5), laid down his life in this encounter. (Niẓàm al-Dìn Shàmì, *Ẓafar Nàmah*, ed., Felix Tauer, Prague, 1937-56, vol.I, pp.122-23; vol.II, p.96). According to *T.N.*, p.5, which bases its information on the *Ẓafar Nàmah-i Tìmùrì*, raised the entire tribe of his dead retainer to the status of Tarkhàn. The Tarkhàns of Sind were descended from this tribe.

Shìbànì Khàn Uzbek conferred this title at least on two persons (see *H.S.*, ii, 306, 1.2, quoted in *B.N.*, p.133, n.l; and *Majàlis al-Nafà'is* quoted in *Lughat Nàmah* letter.ے, fascicule 6, p.546). The increase or decrease in the privileges accompanying this title depended on the pleasure of the ruler granting it (*T.R.*, pp.54-55). Bàbur granted some of these privileges to Bàqì Chaghàniyànì (*B.N.*, p.250) and Akbar conferred the title of Tarkhàn on Nùr al-Dìn Muḥammad Safidùnì, but gave him only a diploma of investiture and a standard (see Mìr 'Alà' al-Daulah Kàmì Qazwìnì, *Nafà'is al-Ma'àthir*, MS., Aumer 3 Munich, letter ت).

10. For the perquisites granted by Tìmùr to his Tarkhàns, see Niẓàm al-Dìn Shàmì, vol.I, p.23.
11. *R.S.*, VII, p.89; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.237.
12. Daulatshàh Samarqandì, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arà'*, ed., Muḥammad 'Abbàsì, 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 Daulatshàh,(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 Mìrzà Yàdigàr 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, p.389, where he wrongly ascribes Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd's death to the year 872/1467-68. Dà'ùdpòtah (*T.S.*, p.307n) also follows him.
17. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.89; *H.S.*, pp.190-91, 237; *T.S.*, p.80; *T.N.*, p.6. According to Daulatshàh (p.541), Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd was killed in the Mùqàn desert. The editor of *T.S.*, Dà'ùdpòtah, on the basis of this statement of Daulatshàh, speculates that Mìr Ma'ṣùm confounded the Tìmùrid Abù Sa'ìd with the Ìl-Khànid, for it was the latter who was killed at Qaràbàgh. A cursory glance at maps of Iran (Tehran University, *Historical Atlas of Iran*, Tehran, 1971, Plates 15, 17), however, leaves little doubt that Qaràbàgh and Mùqàn are names of the same region. The second supposition of the learned scholar is also baseless, because the Ìl-Khànid Abù Sa'ìd lost his life during a military campaign in the Caucasus. See B. Spuler, s.v. "Ìl-Khàns", *E.I.*

Marfat.com

joinéd the entourage of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà (873-911/1468-1506),[18] a fourth cousin of Bàbur[19]and ruler of Haràt, 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 Dhù al-Nùn was, the position offered to him by Sulṭàn Ḥusayn fell far short of his expectations.[21] Consequently, while on the march with Sulṭàn Ḥusayn against Sulṭàn Yàdigàr Muḥammad, Dhù al-Nùn turned his reins from Yalqur Àqàch-i Khàbùshàn towards Transoxiana. Back in Samarqand, he had hardly been able to serve Babur's uncle, Sulṭàn Aḥmad Mîrzà (873-99/ 1469-94),[22] for two to three years, when the scramble for primacy between

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 Mîr Dhù al-Nùn word for word from *R.S.* or the *H.S.* (the latter in its turn plagiarizes the former), Mîr Dhù al-Nùn spent some days in the service of Sulṭàn Yàdigàr Mîrzà (instead of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mîrzà) before returning to Samarqand; but this is not borne out by facts. Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà heard the news of Sulṭàn Abù Sa'îd's death at Abîward, on his way back from Transoxiana, and proceeded to Haràt, where he arrived on 8 Muḥarram 873/29 July 1468; and two days later, on Friday, 10 Ramaḍàn/31 July, the *Khuṭbah* was read in his name from the pulpit of the Congregational Mosque of the capital. The Sulṭàn left Haràt for Mashhad on 4 Rabì' I 874/11 September 1469, and from there, some time afterwards, set out in pursuit of Mîrzà Yàdigàr Muḥammad, the last prince from the line of Shàhrukh, via Yalqur Àqàch-i Khabùshàn. It is in this latter place that Dhù al-Nùn parted company with him and headed towards Samarqand. Sulṭàn Ḥusayn continued his march and defeated Yàdigàr at Chanàràn, near Abîward. Subsequently, however, taking advantage of the absence of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn, who had gone to the Yazah-tù Fort, his wife Pàyandah Bègum, who was an aunt of Yàdigàr Muḥammad, on the instigation of some nobles, captured Haràt and on 6 Muḥarram 975/5 July 1470 proclaimed Yàdigàr, who was then at Ṭùs, the new king. Within a few weeks, Sulṭàn Ḥusayn surprised Yàdigàr Muḥammad in Ravens' Garden of Haràt, took him captive and, not long afterwards, on 21 Ṣafar 975/19 August 1470 (*H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.224, has 23 Ṣafar), had him put to death. According to Bàbur (*B.N.*, pp.134-35), Yàdigàr 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, Mîr Ma'ṣùm (*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 *Lughat-Nàmah* (letter ی , fascicule 1, p.51) the poet 'Abd al-Wàsi', who discovered Yàdigàr Muḥammad's year and month of death from the Persian phrase *shahr-i ṣafar* ('The month of Ṣafar')975 A.H., has been confounded with the famous 6th/12th century luminary 'Abd al-Wàsi' Jabalì. 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 Yàdigàr and Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà's accession to the throne of Haràt mentioned by C.E. Bosworth, p.165, are also incorrect.

19. Stanley Lane-Poole, p.19.
20. E.G. Browne, p.390.
21. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.89; *H.S.*, vol.III,iii, p.237.
22. For his particulars, see *B.N.*, p.33 et seq.

Marfat.com

the Arghùn and Tarkhàn factions at the Mìrànshàhì court obliged him to seek safety in Khuràsàn.[23] Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà welcomed Dhù al-Nùn 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 Ghùr[24] and Zamìndawàr.[25] The Nigùdarì and Hazàrah tribes of those territories had long been a source of inconvenience and alarm to the authorities at Haràt. Hence there could not have been a better outlet for the indomitable courage and irrepressible military zeal[26] of this seasoned soldier. Accompanied by a force comprising not more than 70 to 80[27] men, and thrilled with high hopes of victory over the erratic tribes, Mìr Dhù al-Nùn set out for the mountainous country.[28] The peculiar vigilance and vigour characterizing his operations against the refractory elements finally convinced them that they sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind. Within a period of three to four years, royal authority was reasserted in these territories, and the tribes ceased their predatory activities and undertook to pay a regular annual tribute to the government. The harshness of the deterrent measures of Dhù al-Nùn was, however, matched by his kind concern for the welfare of his subjects. Equality, justice and consideration, contemporary authorities tell us, were distinctive features of his administration.[29] Furthermore, being a devout Muslim, his strong

23. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.89; *H.S.*, vol.III,iii, p.237.
24. For Ghùr, see C.E. Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghùr", *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 Hazàra mountains, along the right bank of the Helmend till its union with the Arghandab river, which joins it from Kandahàr, is one of the richest and most fertile countries in these parts." Erskine, vol.I, p.264. According to Bàbur (*B.N.*, p.274), Zamìndàwar was entrusted to Dhù al-Nun at a later date. Firishtah (*T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.321) wrongly asserts that Shàh Ḥusayn bestowed the government of Qandahàr, Zamìndàwar, Sàghar [sic] and Tùlak on Dhù al-Nùn in 984 [*sic*] 1576-77.
26. See *B.N.*, pp.274-75, 326-27; *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.140.
27. *B.N.*, p.274; Erskine, vol.I, p.264, cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, Karachi,1980, p.22, where it is wrongly asserted that Dhù al-Nùn "with a small force of eight *swàrs* at his disposal reduced the region and its turbulent tribes..."
28. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.90; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.238.
29. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.90; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.238. Contrary to what Mìr Khwànd and Khwànd Mìr have to say about the government of Dhù al-Nùn, Zayn al-Dìn Maḥmùd Wàṣifì (*Badàyi' al-Waqàyi'*, ed., Alexander N. Boldyrev, 1961, pp.1156-57) reproduces a story from Maulànà Ṣubḥì, a panegyrist and boon companion of Dhù al-Nùn, which, besides being reminiscent of Rùdakì's attempt to induce the Sàmànid Naṣr b. Aḥmad to return to Bukhàrà (see Niẓàmì 'Arùḍì Samarqandì. *Chahàr Maqàlah*, ed., Muḥammad Mu'ìn, Tehran, 1933 H.Sh., pp.49-54), and underlining one of the many roles of such characters at the autocratic courts of medieval times.

Contd....

Marfat.com

propensity towards orthodox practices and his deep involvement in spiritual austerities[30] 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.[31] The awe and admiration that Dhù al-Nùn thus inspired in the hardy men of the hills gradually turned them into a veritable source of strength for the shrewd commander.

Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà rewarded Dhù al-Nùn's brilliant successes against the Hazàrahs and the Nigùdarìs by conferring on him the additional territories of Qandahàr and Faràh. Although in the beginning, for a number of years, princes of the royal blood were nominally appointed to govern these regions, the actual power to administer them always rested in Dhù al-Nùn's hands. Finally, when the latter himself was elevated to the position of a viceroy to conduct the affairs of Qandahàr, Faràh, Ghùr, Zamìndàwar, Sàkhar[32] and Tùlak,[33] this dichotomy came to an end. During the next few years, Dhù al-Nùn extended his sway over Shàl,[34] Mastung,[35] Sìwì[36] and their respective dependencies; but, to make sure that the unwieldy size of his possessions did not vitiate his control over

brings to light yet another aspect of Dhù al-Nùn's much acclaimed administration. The story goes that Dhù al-Nùn bestowed Kazìw, a dependency of Zamìndàwar, on his foster-brother Mìr Fàḍil. The latter through his tyranny and oppression laid waste the whole region but nobody had the courage to report the matter to Dhù al-Nùn. Finally, the inhabitants of the town sought Maulàna Ṣubḥì help. Ṣubḥì waited on Dhù al-Nùn and, in the course of conversation, related a rather incredible story to him. When the latter expressed his reluctance to believe it, Ṣubḥì swore by God who created 17,999 worlds. Dhù al-Nùn said:. "There are 18,000 worlds; what happened to one world?" "That one world was Kazìw, which has since been destroyed", Ṣubḥì retorted. Dhù al-Nùn was so pleased with the joke that he gave Kazìw to Maulànà Ṣubḥì.

30. *B.N.*, p.275; *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.90-91; *H.S.*, vol III, iii, p.238.
31. See Zayn al-Dìn Maḥmùd Wàṣifi, *op.cit.*, pp.1152-56.
32. For Sàkhar, see *Herat and North-Western Afghanistan*, ed., Ludwig W. Adamec, Graz, Austria, 1975, pp.348-49.
33. For Tùlak, see *ibid.*, pp.425-26.
34. According to A.S. Beveridge (*B.N.*, p.492, n.1.), Dhù al-Nùn captured Shàl in 884/1479; but she does not mention any authority for this apparently incorrect statement.
35. On p.337 of *B.N.*, Mastung is mistakenly called modern Quetta. In fact, Quetta is the present name of the Shàl of olden times.
36. Sìwì 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.33-34. Erskine (vol.I, pp.342,347,385), almost invariably, and Beveridge (B.N., p.427), at least occasionally, confound this town with another place called Sìwistàn or Sihwàn.

T.S. (p.81) does not mention Sìwì after Shàl and Mastùng 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 Sìwì by Dhù al-Nùn mentioned in the *Habìb al-Siyar!*

Marfat.com

them, he divided them as *iqṭà'* among his chief retainers. His son Shàh Beg, who was already helping Dhù al-Nùn in the management of Qandahàr,[37] was made the governor of that province. Ghùr was given to Amìr Fakhar al-Dìn and Amìr Darwìsh jointly, Sàkhar and Tùlak were to 'Abd al-'Alì Tarkhàn, and Dhù al-Nùn himself settled at Zamìndàwar, where he erected several magnificent buildings. These steps were followed by the stoppage of the remission of annual revenues to the central authorities at Haràt, a measure which could easily have brought Dhù al-Nùn into conflict with Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà's government.[38] The Sulṭàn, however, impelled by expediency, overlooked, for the time being at least, this grievous misconduct of his viceroy and contented himself with Dhù al-Nùn's continued participation in his expansionist campaigns.[39] Had Sulṭàn Ḥusayn exhibited greater firmness in his dealings with Dhù al-Nùn'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. Dhù al-Nùn twice accompanied him in his expeditions against Amìr Khusrau Shàh[40] and, because of his reckless behaviour, in one of these campaigns sustained a serious head injury and was even temporarily taken captive by the enemy.[41] But, owing to what Bàbur calls the Sulṭàn's "twice repeated unsuccessful retirements",[42] the very undertaking of those campaigns looks frivolous. Subsequently, in 902/1496-97, when Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà revolted against his father, Dhù al-Nùn, who himself lived in fear of retaliation from Sulṭan Ḥusayn for his headstrong ways,[43] not only married his daughter to the rebel prince,[44] but also joined Amìr Khusrau[45] in extending full co-operation to Badì' al-Zamàn against Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà.[46] With the passage of time, the prince became a passive tool in the hands of Dhù al-Nùn and his coterie; and the warlike activities

37. Bàbur writes that Dhù al-Nùn's "son Shàh-i-shujà' *Arghùn* used to move about with him and even in childhood used to chop away with his sword. The Mirza [Sulṭàn Ḥusayn] favoured Shàh-i-shujà' and, somewhat against Zu'n-nùn's wishes, joined him with his father in the government of Qandahar." *B.N.*, p.274.
38. According to *T.F.* (Maqàlah viii, p.321), he revolted against Sulṭàn Ḥusayn and then distributed these territories among his retainers.
39. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.91; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.238.
40. *B.N.*, pp.57, 60.
41. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.119-23; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.250-52.
42. *B.N.*, p.61.
43. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.143; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.260.
44. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.149; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.263; *T.S.*, p.84; *T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.321.
45. *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.*
46. According to a story which appears in *T.S.*, pp.81-84 (also see *T.N.*, pp.8-9; Erskine, vol.I, pp.265-69), the changed attitude of Dhù al-Nùn aroused the suspicion of Sulṭàn

Contd....

Marfat.com

of this disaffected group kept the Sulṭàn on the march during the last 10 years of his life. A detailed account of the battles fought between the two sides falls outside the scope of this study,[47] but it might be mentioned here in passing that the Sulṭàn's poor health, his wife Khadìjah Àghà's[48] participation in court intrigues, his intermittent warfare against Badì' al-Zamàn, who was supported by Dhù al-Nùn and his sons, and last, but not the least, the mutual mistrust of his numerous indolent and debauchee[49] sons, reduced, even during his own lifetime, the empire, which he had founded after years of trials and tribulations and endowed with enormous prestige, to a mere shadow of its former self. The Uzbek invasion simply offered this already sick and faction-ridden Empire its *coup de grâce*.

In 907/1401-2, Bàbur's paternal uncle, Ulugh Bèg Mìrzà,[50] died at Kàbul, and his minor son, 'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà, succeeded him to the throne, with Shìram Zakkah[51] 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 Zakkah's life. Dhù

Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, and he was recalled to Haràt, where he stayed for almost a year. During this period, he assured Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà, the eldest son of the Sulṭàn, that he would come to his aid whenever help was needed. Consequently the prince intervened with his father on Dhù al-Nùn's behalf and paved the way for his dramatic return to Qandahàr.

After his defeat at the hands of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, when Badì' al-Zamàn turned to Dhù al-Nùn. the latter in one single present offered him 40,000 sheep. *B.N.*, p.71.

47. Bàbur accuses Dhù al-Nùn and his elder son Shàh Bèg of stirring up commotion between Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà and Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà (*B.N.*, p.274); and 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'ah-i Pashang (p.88), Qal'ah-i Bìst (p.89), Sabzwàr (p.90), Qaṣbah-i Adasiyah (p.93), Marw (p.95), Jàjam Bardì (p.96) and *sìṣad hazàr* (p.97) should read: Qal'ah-i Pàshlang, Qal'ah-i Bust, Asfazàr, Qaṣbah-i Ùbih, Marùchàq, Ḥàjam Ḥàjjì Lur, and *sìṣad sawàr*, respectively.

48. A favourite mistress of Sulṭàn Abù Sa'ìd Mìrzà, Khadìjah Àghah, upon the death of the Sulṭàn, entered the harem of Sultàn Bàyqarà and bore him two sons, Shàh-i Gharìb Mìrzà and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà, and played a dominant role in court politics. According to Bàbur, "she took herself for a sensible woman, but was a silly chatterer" (see *B.N.*, pp.262, 268, 292-93). She was suspected of having poisoned Bàbur's brother, Jahàngìr Mìrzà (*T.R.*, pp.199-200). After the fall of Haràt, she was captured by Shìbànì who grossly humiliated her. (*B.N.*, pp.327-28).

49. See *ibid.*, p.31.

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

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

Marfat.com

al-Nùn's younger son, Muḥammad Muqìm, heard the news of the ensuing anarchy and strife at the Garmsìr. Towards the end of 908/1402, he successfully descended upon Kàbul with the hordes of his Hazàrah and Nigùdarì supporters, and installed himself as its new ruler.[52] 'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà escaped to Lamghàn;[53] and Muqìm, in a bid to give the colour of legitimacy to his usurpation of Kàbul, traditionally a Tìmùrid preserve and seat of government, took a sister of the fugitive king as his wife.[54] Tidings of his son's enterprise were received by Dhù al-Nùn at the bank of the Oxus, where he was encamped with Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà, and these sent a wave of delight throughout the cantonment.[55] However, Dhù al-Nùn apparently disapproved of his son's unwarranted embroilment in the affairs of Kàbul, contented himself with advising him to beware of the local *bègs* and, as far as possible, keep his distance from them. Muqìm accordingly banished the entire old guard from the city and gave their positions to his own men.[56]

Muqìm had hardly enjoyed the fruit of his adventure for one year when, in Rabì' II 910/October 1504, Bàbur, who by now – in the 21st year of his life – had twice conquered Samarqand and lost it, and had been thrice a penniless wanderer in the hills and wilds, suddenly appeared before Kábul in quest of a new shelter. Lest Bàbur should obstruct the departure of Muqìm or pose a threat to Qandahàr, Dhù al-Nùn, on getting the intelligence about the happenings at Kàbul, immediately left Haràt for Qandahàr.[57] Meanwhile, beset with enormous military and political pressures, Muqìm, after obtaining an undertaking of safe conduct for himself, his family, his followers, and their goods and effects, delivered up the capital to Bàbur,[58] who provided him with an escort to Tìpah,[59] whence in due course Muqìm retraced his steps to his own territory.[60] The tenuous hold of Muqìm on Kàbul and the abruptness with which it came to an end did little to bolster the prestige of the Arghùns, and even the initial glory surrounding the annexation of this historic principality to the already extensive Arghùn dominions fades into insignificance when one looks at

52. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.201-02; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.310; *T.S.*, p.98.
53. *B.N.*, p.195.
54. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.202; *H.S.* vol.III, iii, p.310; T.S., p.98. Two other sisters of 'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà were married to two sons of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, namely Muḥammad Ma'ṣùm Mìrzà (*R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.111-12; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.246) and Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà (*R.S.*, vol.VII, p.227; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.359).
55. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.202; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.310; *T.S.*, p.98.
56. *T.S.*, p.98.
57. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.227; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.322.
58. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.227; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.322; *B.N.*, p.199.
59. "Some 9m. north of Kàbul on the road to Àq-sarà'i." *B.N.*, p.199, n.s.
60. *B.N.*, p.227.

Marfat.com

the cost in blood and suffering the house of Dhù al-Nùn had to pay for it in the long run. The idea of the conquest of Hindùstàn was already in Bàbur's mind,[61] but Muqìm's audacity in capturing Kàbul made it something of a dogmatic military objective[62] for this otherwise undogmatic[63] prince to dislodge the Arghùns from his rear before embarking upon any grandiose scheme that might culminate in his triumphant arrival in the exotic land of Hindùstàn.

Within a few months of his installation as the ruler of Kàbul, the cockpit of his future designs, in Sha'bàn 810/January 1505, Bàbur set out on a probing mission into neighbouring Afghàn territories on the periphery of India's borders, whence he returned to Kàbul some time in Dhì al-Ḥijjah/ May of that year.[64] Soon afterwards, in Muḥarram 911/June 1505, his mother breathed her last, and he was occupied in mourning rites until the fortieth day of her burial.[65] After these ceremonies were over, he, upon the insistance of his chief noble, Bàqì Chaghàniyànì,[66] raised an army to invade Qandahàr. The campaign, however, suffered two setbacks at the very outset: first Bàbur was taken seriously ill and then a disastrous earthquake hit the whole region of Kàbul. After the havoc wrought by the earthquake and the losses suffered by his subjects had been attended to, Bàbur's thoughts once again turned to military affairs. While he was still vacillating between leading an army to Qandahàr and confining his campaign to the chastisement of the hill tribes around Kàbul, Bàqì Chaghàniyànì and Jahàngìr Mìrzà induced him to invade Qalàt,[67] a dependency of Qandahàr which had been bestowed by Dhù al-Nùn on Muḥammad Muqìm, and was then held by the latter's retainers. The Arghùn officers stoutly defended the fort at Qalàt, but just when the besiegers were nearly exhausted, the defenders lost heart and surrendered. After its fall, Bàbur offered the fort first to Bàqì and then to Jahàngìr Mìrzà, but neither of them showed any inclination to take charge of it.

61. *Ibid.*, pp.377-78
62. See Shàh Bèg's remarks, in *T.S.*, p.110.
63. See *B.N.*, pp.298-99
64. *Ibid.*, pp.229-41. Also see *T.R.*, p.201
65. *B.N.*, p.246
66. A younger brother of Khusrau Shàh, the ruler of Qundùz. He joined Bàbur in 910/1504. Bàbur reposed his fullest confidence in him, and it was on his advice that Bàbur abandoned his plan to go to Khuràsàn and instead wrested Kàbul from Muḥammad Muqìm. Finally, Bàqì fell out of favour with Bàbur and was banished to India, where he died. See *B.N.*, pp.249-50.
67. This place is also known as Qalàt-i Ghilza'ì (see *B.N.*, pp.248-49, 331, 333, 339-40). Cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, p.26, who there erroneously calls it "Qalat-i Ghaznin".

Marfat.com

Hence the fort had to be abandoned.[68] The reverberations of Bàbur's invasion of Qalàt, however, did not go unheard at Qandahàr and obliged Dhù al-Nùn to appeal for help to Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà, who was then engaged in a punitive action against the refractory elements of Balkhàb.[69] The Mìrzà betook himself to Qandahàr, and, without delay,[70] ordered the troops at Sìstàn, Ghùr, Sàkhar, Tùlak and some other areas to assemble at that place. When Bàbur discovered[71] the Mìrzà's presence at Qandahàr and the elaborate preparations for war that were afoot under his supervision, he sent his envoys to him with friendly messages. The Mìrzà reciprocated his sentiments, and an outbreak of hostilities between the two sides was averted.[72] Thereafter, while Bàbur retraced his steps to Kàbul, the Mìrzà and Mìr Dhù al-Nùn went to Zamìndàwar[73] and thence to Faràh.[74] They were still wintering at Faràh when the reports of Uzbek inroads into Balkh, Andìkhwùd, Shiburghàn, Maymanah and Fàryàb, and the streams of displaced people began to reach Haràt. To decide upon a common strategy against the redoubtable threat from the north-east, Sultàn Husayn Bàvqarà sent expresses to all his sons to converge on his

68. *B.N.*, pp.246-49.
69. A difficult hill country, source of the rivers Murghàb, Haràt, Juruwàn and Marw al-Rùd. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.230, *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.323.
70. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.231; *H.S.*, vol.III, p.323. Muqìm was by this time safely back with his family. He went out to receive the Mìrzà outside Qandahàr with his father and elder brother.
71. According to *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.231, Bàbur received this news at "Khilàt" (=Qalàt), but *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.323, omits the name of this place from its otherwise verbatim reproduction from *R.S.* On the other hand, *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.198, makes a passing reference to Badì' al-Zamàn's coming to the assistance of the Arghùns, but Briggs' translation (vol.II, p.16) has completely altered the meaning of the sentence.
72. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.231-32; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.323-24. There is nothing in the *B.N.*, to suggest that Bàbur planned to push ahead to Qandahàr after the reduction of Qalàt. On the contrary, expressing his regret on abandoning Qalàt after its capture, Bàbur confines his statement to the fact that he "returned to Kàbul after overrunning the Afghàns of Sawà-sang and Alà-tàgh on the south of Qalàt." (*B.N.*, p.249). But was not the refusal of his lieutenants to accept the charge of Qalàt dictated by the military buildup of Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà at Qandahàr?
73. Their arrival here coincided with the death of the Mìrzà's wife, who was a daughter of Mìr Dhù al-Nùn. Within 20 days of her demise, Dhù al-Nùn's wife also died. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.232; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.323. Cf. *T.S.*, p.100, where Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà's daughter (Dhù al-Nùn's granddaughter) Kùchik Bègum, has been confounded with his wife (Dhù al-Nùn's daughter), Chùchik Bègum. Kùchik Bègum died in Dhì al-Ḥijjah 912/April 1507. See *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.320.
74. During his stay here, the Mìrzà appointed Mìr Dhù al-Nùn's brother, Sulṭàn 'Alì Arghùn, as the tutor *(atàliq)* of his son, Muhammad Zamàn Mìrzà. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.232; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.324.

Marfat.com

capital. Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà also returned to Haràt, and left Dhù al-Nùn behind with instructions to meet him at the Marw al-Rùd in the beginning of spring with all the troops of the Garmsìr, Ghùr, Sàkhir and Tùlak.[75] Bàbur was also invited to join forces with his Tìmùrid cousins.[76] and, in fact, he did show great enthusiasm in going to Khuràsàn.[77] He was still on his way,[78] however, when Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, who, despite his frail health, had set out at the head of an army to meet the Uzbek challenge, succumbed to some illness at Bàbà Ilàhì and died on 11 Dhì al-Ḥijjah 911/5 May 1506.[79] Emboldened by his death, the Uzbeks intensified their

75. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.233-34; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.323.
76. *R.S.*, vol.III, p.313; *B.N.*, p.255; *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.198;Briggs, vol.II, p.16. For the substance of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà's letter and Bàbur's criticism of it, see *B.N.*, pp.191-92.
77. 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 Bàbur to accept the invitation was his brother, Jahàngìr Mìrzà's taking refuge with some hill tribes in the same direction, and Bàbur deemed it necessary "either to dispel his resentment or to repel his attack." (*Ibid.*; *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.314).
78. The news reached Bàbur at Kahmard (*B.N.*, p.295). *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.315, and *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.198, respectively, refer to this place as *"ḥudùd-i mamàlik-i Khuràsàn"* and the *"wilàyat-i Nìmrùz"*. Briggs, vol.II, p.16, arbitrarily substitutes the latter with "Murv". According to Mìr Khwànd one of the reasons which prompted Bàbur to push ahead, despite the Mìrzà's death, was that he anticipated an outbreak of hostilities among his sons; in which case, he thought, he could get hold of some of their territories. However, as he reached Jurwàn (=Juruwàn, for which see *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.424) and learnt about the massing of troops by the Mìrzà's sons on the bank of the Murghàb, Bàbur turned his reins towards Marw al-Rùd and sent an envoy to inform them of his arrival. Among those who were forthwith dispatched to receive the King of Kàbul were Mìr Aḥmad Baranduq Barlàs and Amìr Dhù al-Nùn. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.315; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.354-55. Also see *B.N.*, pp.296-97.
79. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.310-11; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii; p.253. Cf. *The Islamic Dynasties*, where the A.H. year of the termination of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn's reign is wrongly mentioned as 912. Moreover, the book fails to take notice of the dual succession of Badi' al-Zamàn Mìrzà and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà to the throne of their father. Dhù al-Nùn and Muḥammad Baranduq were respectively appointed the Lords of the Gates of the two Mìrzàs. See *B.N.*, pp.292-93; *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.304-06; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.351-52.

Indian chronicles, such as *T.A.*, vol.III, p.519; *T.F.*, Maqàlah viii,p.321; and *M.U.*, vol.III, p.303, refer to Dhù al-Nùn as Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà's *Amìr al-Umarà'*, Commander-in-Chief and Guardian of his son, Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà; 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 none of the contemporary sources refer to the *official* bestowal of any of these positions on Dhù al-Nùn during the reign of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà. Probably the highest office Dhù al-Nùn ever held at the Tìmùrid court of Haràt was the Lordship of Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà's Gate. For his attitude after the assumption of this office, see *B.N.*, p.326.

Marfat.com

predatory incursions into Iranian territories. One of these marauding parties, led by Ùghlì Amàn, was hotly chased by Dhù al-Nùn, who killed about 100 Uzbek soldiers and took 60 to 70 of them prisoner.[80] This was followed by the arrival of an Uzbek envoy, Maulànà Khaṭà'ì, demanding the submission of the Mìrzàs. [81] Thereupon, these princes once again gathered together at the Marw al-Rùd, where they were later joined by Bàbur as well; but, owing to their irresolution and deep-seated rivalries, they were not able to forge a united front against their common foe. They watched unstirred the fall of Balkh to the Uzbeks, turned a deaf ear on the impassioned plea for action from Dhù al-Nùn, and took absolutely no advantage of the huge armies that had assembled around them from all over Khuràsàn.[82] According to the historian Mìrkhwànd, with the cooperation of the Mìrzàs, Bàbur could have saved Khuràsàn from the devastation of the Uzbeks.[83] His presence did in fact oblige Shìbànì Khàn to return to his stronghold in Transoxiana as a precautionary measure[84] but it did not arouse the Mìrzàs from their stupor. In Rajab 912/November-December 1506, the Mìrzàs dismissed the Uzbek envoy, Maulànà Khaṭà'ì, and soon afterwards dispersed to their respective quarters. [85] Thus all hopes of stemming the rising tide of Uzbek aggression were irretrievably lost. Finally, in Dhì al-Ḥijjah 912/April 1507,[86] Shìbànì Khàn issued forth from Samarqand to occupy Andìkhwùd and Marùchaq in quick succession; and on 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507, with the fury of a tempest, he overwhelmed the camp of Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà at Bàdghìs.[87] Left with no opportunity to collect troops, or to array those they had,[88] both the Mìrzàs sought safety in flight.[89] The prodigious valour of Dhù al-Nùn, however, could not be restrained.[90] He, together with some other nobles, fought heroically and laid down his life with honour. Haràt fell into the hands of the Uzbeks without any resistance.[91]

80. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.310-11; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.353. Also see *B.N.*, p.296.
81. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.311; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.353.
82. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.316.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, pp.312-13; 316-17.
85. *Ibid.*, p.317.
86. *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.
87. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.322; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.357.
88. *B.N.*, p.327.
89. See *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.323-24; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.357; *B.N.*, pp.327-28.
90. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.322-23; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.357; *B.N.*, p.327; *T.S.*, pp.101-02.
91. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.325-26; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.358.

Marfat.com

2. Bàbur and Shàh Bèg Arghùn

After the loss of Haràt, Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà hurried off to Qandahàr[92] in the hope of getting some assistance from Shàh Bèg, who in the meantime had been elected the new Arghùn chief.[93] Himself a capable commander, gallant soldier, and keen observer, Shàh Bèg could not overlook the indolence and sloth of which the defeated Tìmùrid general and his brothers had been guilty in meeting the Uzbek threat, and saw no virtue in joining him once again.[94] The possibility that such an alliance would have hastened Shìbànì's invasion of Qandahàr cannot be ruled out, particularly since expediency demanded that the fugitive prince be given no chance to stake his claim upon Qandahàr or any of its dependencies, which, until very recently, had been in at least nominal vassalage to the one-time Tìmùrid government of Haràt, of which he was one of the two titular heads. Nevertheless, Shàh Bèg and his brother Muqìm were not unmindful of the ominous proximity of the Uzbeks. As a precaution, they sent couriers and letters to Bàbur at Kàbul and solicited his help.[95] Meanwhile, alarmed by the rapid advance of Shìbànì, who had reached the vicinity of the Garmsìr, they sent emissaries to the Uzbek chief promising to name him in the *khuṭbah* and on the coinage, the traditional symbols of sovereignty. This satisfied Shìbànì and he returned to Khuràsàn.[96] On the other hand, after

92. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.324; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, p.357.
93. *T.S.*, p.102; *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.345.
94. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.345. From Qandahàr, Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà returned to Shujà' Bèg's uncle, Amìr Sulṭàn 'Alì Arghùn, the ruler of Sìstàn, who extended some paltry assistance to his erstwhile overlord and enabled him to make his way to Astaràbàd. The Mìrzà spent about one year at Astaràbàd; but then, frightened by the imminent attack of Shìbànì Khàn on that region, fled to Shàh Ismà'ìl's court, then in Àdharbàyjàn. After spending three to four months in Àdharbàyjàn, the Mìrzà moved to Rayy, whence he subsequently returned to Astaràbàd, where he was defeated by the Uzbek governor of the region. He then took refuge at the Sammah court of Sind in 918/1512-13 (The Nawalkishore edition of *T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.320, erroneously attributes this visit to the year 928/1521-22). Here, the Mìrzà enjoyed the hospitality of Jàm Fìrùz for about one year; then retraced his steps to Khuràsàn, where he waited upon Shàh Ismà'ìl for the second time in 919/1513-14 (Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shàh Ismà'ìl Ṣafawì*, Aligarh, 1939, omits the first visit of the Mìrzà to the Ṣafawid court and ascribes the second visit mistakenly to the year 916/1510. See *ibid.*, p.64). When the Shàh returned to Àdharbàyjàn, the Mìrzà also accompanied him. Back in Àdharbàyjàn, he took up residence at Shunb-i Ghàzàn and the Shàh settled upon him a daily allowance of 1,000 *tankahs* from the treasury of Tabrìz. After the "Ṣafawid defeat in the battle of Chàldiràn, in Rajab 920/September 1514 (See Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p.83), the Ottoman Sulṭàn Salìm took Badì' al-Zamàn to Istanbùl, where he died from the plague within a few months. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.347, 351-52; *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.367-68.
95. *B.N.*, p.330.
96. *T.S.*, p.120. Mìr Ma'ṣùm adds that Shìbànì sent three horses, a dress of honour and a

Contd...

Marfat.com

the extinction of the Bàyqarà empire of Haràt, Bàbur considered himself the leading prince of the house of Tìmùr and looked upon the Arghùns as his vassals. According to Mìrzà Ḥaydar Dùghlàt, he wrote to them demanding that they acknowledge his overlordship.[97] He construed their written communications as "dutiful letters" and interpreted their uninterrupted stream of emissaries as an open expression of fealty to himself. Thus reassured, Bàbur marched on Qandahàr with a two thousand-strong force. On the way, Khàn Mìrzà[98] and 'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà, who had stayed back at Haràt at the time of Bàbur's departure from the city, also joined him. Upon nearing Qandahàr, Bàbur sent a message to Shàh Bèg, to which he sent "a rude and ill-mannered answer".[99] When all means of a peaceful solution to the problem were exhausted, Bàbur blocked the streams that supplied water to Qandahàr. In the meantime, while half of his men were scattered in search of food, news of Shàh Bèg's advance towards his camp, was received, and Bàbur hurriedly made preparations to intercept him. In numbers, Bàbur's army stood no comparison with the Arghùn host; but his tactical skill in deploying his men enabled Bàbur to defeat the Arghùns[100] in a stubbornly fought battle[101] and put them to flight. He rushed into the fort at Qandahàr and laid his hands upon all the treasure the house of Dhù al-Nùn had amassed during the past 30 to 40 years.[102] Thereafter, he entrusted the Qandahàr region to his younger brother, Nàṣir Mìrzà,[103] and himself returned to Kàbul with enormous wealth[104] and Muqìm's daughter, Màh Bègum, as a hostage in his train.[105]

tent for Shàh Bèg, through his emissaries, 'Abd al-Hàdì Khwàjah and Tìmùr Tàsh Apprehending that the real purpose of Shìbànì's envoys might be to acquire first hand information about his strength and defence capability, Shàh Bèg forthwith sent for his troops from different quarters and came out to receive the Uzbek envoys with great pomp and circumstance. He received them on the outskirts of Qandahàr and, after entertaining them for three days, dismissed them from there.

97. *T.R.*, p.202.
98. A cousin of Bàbur, found guilty of disloyalty and banished to Khuràsàn. See *B.N.*, pp.313-20.
99. *Ibid.*, pp.331-32.
100. *Ibid.*, pp.332-37; *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.342; *T.S.*, p.103.
101. The battle was fought at a place called Jalìk which was situated at a distance of half a *farsakh* from Qandahàr. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.342, cf. *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.199; Briggs, vol.II, p.18.
102. *B.N.*, p.332; *T.R.*, p.202; *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.342; *T.S.*, p.103; *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.199.
103. *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.*, Maqàlah ii, p.199; Briggs, vol.II, p.18. Cf. Riazul Islam, p.3; Ansar Zahid Khan, p.26, where Nàṣir Mìrzà has been confounded with his son, Yàdigàr Nàṣir Mìrzà.
104. See *B.N.*, pp.337-39
105. *T.S.*, p.103

Marfat.com

The news of Bàbur's invasion of Qandahàr excited the ire of Shìbànì, and he forthwith set out in that direction, but he did not arrive in time to save the fort. Shìbànì came upon the Arghùns waiting upon him at Zamìndàwar;[106] and from there, sent his nephew, 'Ubayd Allàh, to retrieve the fort with the Arghùn brothers neatly placed in the forefront of the operation. Nàṣir Mìrzà shut himself up in the citadel and strengthened his defences. During the Ùzbek siege of Qandahàr, Shìbànì himself appeared on the scene.[107] Reports of Shìbànì's advance upon Qandahàr had been received with horror at Kàbul. Alarmed at the proximity of the formidable foe, Bàbur was so unnerved that he gave up all thought of putting up any resistance. Badakhshàn and Hindùstàn were the only two places where Bàbur and his companions could think of securing asylum. While one party under Khàn Mìrzà proceeded to Badakhshàn, the other led by Bàbur set out for Hindùstàn some time in Jumàdà I 913/September 1507.[108] Kàbul was left in the hands of 'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà,[109] who had returned from Qalàt and Tarnùk country in the wake of the Ùzbek siege of Qandahàr.[110] To undertake a campaign into India immediately after his arduous expedition to Qandahàr called for an iron will and extraordinary resourcefulness, both of which Bàbur had in abundance. During his exile, however, he spent most of his time in forages against the freebooter Afghàn tribes surrounding the road to India. Meanwhile, he concluded an

106. *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.342-43. According to Bàbur, Shàh Bèg went towards Shàl (modern Quetta; cf. *B.N.*, p.337. *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.199 and Briggs, vol.II, p.18, wrongly call this place Yasàwal.) and Mastùng, and Muqìm towards Zamìndàwar, from where he went on and met Shìbànì Khàn. (Shìbànì was not then at Zamìndàwar, as M.H. Siddiqi, "Chronology of Bàbur's Occupation of Qandahàr and Expulsion of the Arghuns, *University Studies*, University of Karachi, III/1, April 1966, p.4., wrongly suggests.) Shàh Bèg also sent envoy after envoy to the Uzbek chief to come to their rescue. See *B.N.*, pp.337-39.

M.H. Siddiqi's suggestion that, from Shàl, Shàh Bèg "organized attacks on Sìwì (Sibi) and Fatḥpùr" *(ibid)* is also anachronistic. He bases his conclusion on *T.S.*, (pp.104-05), which leaves little doubt that the invasion of Sìwì was contemplated after Khuràsàn had already passed under Ṣafawid sway.

107. Reduced to dire straits, Nàṣir Mìrzà opened negotiations for peace and made an offering of horses to Shìbànì Khàn, upon which the latter withdrew to Haràt. *R.S.*, vol.VII, p.343.

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

109. "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 ascendency 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.

110. *B.N.*, p.340.

Marfat.com

alliance between Muqìm's daughter, Màh-Chùchuk, and one of his most faithful retainers, Qàsim Kùkultàsh.[111] On the other hand, Nàṣir Mìrzà, seizing the first opportunity of making terms with Shìbànì, surrendered Qandahàr to the Ùzbeks and came back to Ghaznì. Shìbànì was also in a hurry because of some uprising at Nìrah-tù, where he had left his womenfolk.[112] Thus, restoring the fort of Qandahàr to the Arghùn brothers, he returned to Khuràsàn.[113] Bàbur received word of these events in mid-winter and expeditiously returned to Kàbul, where soon afterwards he styled himself *Pàdishàh*.[114]

As long as the Ùzbeks reigned supreme in the region of Khuràsàn, Shàh Bèg had no option but to profess loyalty to them. However, with the defeat and death of Shìbànì Khàn on 30 Sha'bàn 916/2 December 1510[115] at the hands of Shàh Ismà'ìl Ṣafawì and Khuràsàn coming under the latter's sceptre, the luckless Arghùns were once again faced with a crisis: on the north-east, they faced Bàbur, the scars of whose covetous onslaught upon

111. In one of his battles against 'Ubayd Allàh Uzbek (probably in 918/1512-13), Bàbur fell into the hands of Uzbek soldiers. Qàsim Kùkultàsh went ahead daringly and, personating Bàbur, asked the soldiers why, since he was the king, they had seized his servant. The soldiers left Bàbur and fell upon Qàsim Kùkultàsh, who was killed in the encounter. *A.N.*, vol.II, p.362.

A somewhat similar incident is attributed to Nizàm al-Mulk Ṭùsì, who procured the release of Malik Shàh Saljùqì (465-85/1072-92), after the latter had been captured by the enemy during one of his hunting expeditions. See Ḥamd Allàh Mastaufì Qazwinì, *Ta'rikh-i Guzìdah*, ed., 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawà'ì, Tehran, 1339 H. Sh., pp.434-36; Muḥammad 'Aufì, *Jawàmi' al-Ḥikàyàt, ed.*, Muḥammad Ramaḍanì, Tehran, 1335 H. Sh., pp.162-64; Qàḍì Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffàrì Kàshànì, *Tarikh-i Nigàristàn*, ed., Murtaḍà Mudarris Gìlànì, Tehran, n.d., p.141; Sayf al-Dìn Ḥàjjì Nizàm 'Uqaylì, *Àthàr al-Wuzarà'*, ed., Mìr Jalàl al-Dìn Ḥusaynì Urmawì Muḥaddìth, Tehran, 1337 H.Sh., p.207; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì, *Risàlah-i Nùriyyah-i Sulṭàniyyah*, ed., Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Islamabad, 1985, pp.68-69, 117.

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

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

114. *B.N.*, p.344. Commenting on the significance of this title for Bàbur, Erskine (vol.I, p.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.

115. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, pp.58-60, Cf. *T.S.*, pp.104, 107, where A.H. 915 and 917 are incorrectly mentioned as the years of Shàh Ismà'ìl's conquest of Khuràsàn. Also see Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p.62, n.12.

Marfat.com

Qandahàr were still green, and on the north-west they were now confronted by the Shì'ite Ṣafawids, who, by right of their victory over the Uzbeks, could be tempted at any time to enforce their will over Qandahàr. To safeguard their autonomy, the best policy they could think of was the cultivation of good relations with both sides. Hence, on the one hand, Shàh Bèg dispatched a mission of friendship, with gifts and presents, to Bàbur,[116] and, on the other, using the good offices of Dùrmìsh Khàn,[117] hastened to Haràt[118] and waited upon Shàh Ismà'ìl in person.[119] To start with, the Shàh was favourably inclined towards, him,[120] but within a few days, before his departure from Khuràsàn,[121] the Shàh, on detecting "signs of hypocrisy and disobedience" in Shàh Bèg, handed him over to Ḥusayn Bèg Lalah, the governor of Haràt, for imprisonment in the fort of Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn.[122] Precisely how long this imprisonment lasted is difficult to surmise.[123] Finally, through some clever strategem Shàh Bèg regained his freedom and escaped to Qandahàr.[124] Ḥusayn Bèg Lalah tried in vain to

116. *T.S.*, p.107. Qàḍì Abù al-Ḥasan and Maulànà Yàr 'Alì led this mission.

117. According to *T.S.*, p.107, he was the governor of Sistan and Farah, and M.H. Siddiqi (*op.cit.*, p.4) also accepts this. However, in the absence of any corroboration from Persian sources, one feels more inclined to agree with Erskine (vol.I, p.344), who identifies him as the commander of the detachment sent by Shàh Ismà'ìl, after his victory at Marw, 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."

118. *T.S.*, p.107.

119. Shàh Ismà'ìl entered Haràt on 20 Ramaḍàn 916/21 December 1510 and appointed Ḥusayn Bèg Lalah, the *dàrùghah* and governor of Haràt (*H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.61). According to Mìr Khwànd, Shàh Bèg's visit to the Ṣafawid court was in line with those of other rulers who waited on Shàh ismà'ìl in the wake of his victory over Shìbànì Khàn (*ibid.* p.75).

120. *T.S.*, p.107. According to Mìr Ma'ṣùm, Shàh Ismà'ìl exempted Shàh Bèg from prostration (*sujùd*) and commanded him to sit with bended knees in accortdance with the Chaghatà'ì etiquette (for details see, Blochmann, vol., I, p.108, n.2).

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

122. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.75. Mìr Ma'ṣùm (*T.S.*, p.108) confounds this fort which lay near Haràt (see *B.N.*, p.327), with the Qal'ah-i Ẓafar (previously known as Shàf-tiwàr) in Badakhshàn (*ibid.*, p.242)

123. M.H. Siddiqi (*op.cit.*, p.4) puts the period of his imprisonment in Qala'-yi- Ẓafar *(sic)* at two years, which is incorrect.

124. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.75. The story of Shàh Bèg's escape from the fort of Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn told by Khwànd Mìr is virtually the same as that related by Mìr Khwànd 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 Mìr Muḥammad Walì Bèg, a leading noble of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, who had been imprisoned in the same fort during the joint rule of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn's sons. Mìr Ma'ṣùm fertile imagination has endowed the story with a touch of romance (*T.S.*, pp.108-09; *H.A.T.S.*, pp.11-12; also see Erskine, volume I. pp.345-46), and some authorities have even gone to the extent of calling it "one of the

Marfat.com

lay his hands upon the runaway Arghùn chief, and several people were put to death on the suspicion of their complicity in the plot.[125]

Much as Bàbur would have liked to advance against Qandahàr during Shàh Bèg's imprisonment at Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn,[126] the lightning speed of military and political happenings in the Transoxiana and Bàbur's inextricable involvement in them left him little time for other things. Hence, as soon as the situation at Qandahàr was put in order, Shàh Bèg turned his attention towards his southernmost possessions of Shàl and Mastùng, and talking with his commanders, convinced them that, for the realization of the political ambitions of the Arghùns, it was essential that they have an alternate base ready before Qandahàr slipped out of their hands.[127] As a first step towards the achievement of this goal, Sìwì[128] was recovered from the descendants of Sulṭàn Pìr Walì[129] Barlàs.[130] The latter withdrew to Fatḥpùr, about 100 miles from Sìwì on the road to Sind, and put up a stiff resistance, but victory fell to Shàh Bèg. After consolidating his gains in Fatḥpùr, Shàh Bèg returned to Sìwì and occupied himself with constructing a fort, raising numerous buildings and laying out gardens.[131]

In 919/1513, when Shàh Ismà'ìl visited Khuràsàn, he sent Shàhrukh Bèg Afshàr to capture Qandahàr and chastise Shàh Bèg for his insolence.[132] When Shàhrukh reached Qandahàr Shàh Bèg was at Sìwì; and his leading retainers, Mìr Farìd Arghùn, Mìr Fàḍil Kùkultàsh, Zaynak Tarkhàn and 'Àqil Atagah, whom he had sent from Sìwì to Qandahàr, were possibly already there. Failing to take the fort of Qandahàr by surprise, Shàhrukh proceeded to Shàl and Mastùng, where Shàh Bèg was reportedly encamped during those days. Disappointed at not finding Shàh Bèg there, Shàhrukh vented his spleen on the poor inhabitants of those towns, and,

authentic romances of medieval Asian history" (Riazul Islam, p.15). However, 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 unlikely.

125. See *T.S.*, p.109.
126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*, pp.104-05.
128. Until 910/1505, at least, this town was under Arghùn control and Fàḍil Kùkultàsh was its *dàrùghah* (see *B.N.*, p.238. Cf. *H.A.T.S.*, p.214). How and when it slipped out of their hands is not ascertainable.
129. *T.S.*, p.105
130. *T.N.*, p.13. Also see *H.A.T.S.*, pp.214-15
131. *T.S.*, p.105.
132. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.75. Also see Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p.71. Riazul Islam (p.15) erroneously attributes the campaign to the year 917/1511, when, as a matter of fact, Shàhrukh Bèg Afshàr was accompanying Shàh Ismà'ìl's troops sent to the aid of Bàbur (*B.N.*, translator's note, pp.352-54)

Marfat.com

after plundering them,[133] turned back towards Iṣfahàn.[134]

When Shàh Bèg subsequently returned to Qandahàr and went on an excursion to Zamìndàwar and the Garmsìr, on the very first stage of his journey, the wife of his late brother, Muḥammad Muqìm (d. *circa* 913/1508), Bìbì Ẓarìf Khàtùn,[135] appeared before him in mourning and implored him to rescue his niece, Màh Bègum, whom Bàbur had carried off to Kàbul during his previous invasion of Qandahàr. Deeply moved by

133. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.75. According to Khwànd Mìr *(loc.cit.)*.Shàh Bèg's uncle, Amìr Sulṭàn 'Alì, fortified himself in Qandahàr; but this cannot be true, because, as Mìr Khwànd (*R.S.*, vol.VII, p.344) clearly states, Sulṭàn 'Alì Arghùn had died sometime in 913/1507-08, after Shìbànì Khàn's victorious return from Qandahàr. This also explains why Shàh Bèg had to rush his experienced commanders to Qandahàr from Sìwì.

Ghulam Sarwar's interpretation (*op.cit.*, p.71. n.7) of the *Ḥabìb al-Siyar's* text (vol.III, iv, p.75), that "on the approach of Shàh Rukh Bèg Afshàr, Shujà' Bèg fled from Qandahàr", 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 *Habìb al-Siyar*, f.460a, preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and several other works, writes that, as a punitive measure against Shàh Bèg's misconduct, "Shàl and Mustang were plundered and Qandahar was invested" by Shàh Rukh Bèg Afshàr, and "the siege was pressed on until Shàh Bèg submitted and agreed to read *khutba* and strike coins in the name of Shàh Ismà'ìl." He also adds (*loc.cit.*, n. 1) that Khwàndamìr even mentions that "Shàh Bèg agreed to profess Shì'ì faith" (on this point, also see Riazul Islam, p.15, n.5). Most of this information is either not included in the Bombay, 1273/1855-56, edition of the *Ḥabìb al-Siyar*, or runs quite contrary to its contents. Apparently, this holds true of the Tehran, 1271/1854-55 edition, and the 'Abd al-Salàm 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.

134. After the completion of the Qandahàr expedition, Shàh Rukh was supposed to proceed to the help of Dìw Sulṭàn, who was executing a campaign against Balkh and Andìkhwùd; but since these two places had already fallen to Ṣafawid arms, Shàh Rukh marched back to Isfahàn and imfòrmed Shàh Ismà'ìl Ṣafawì of his actions against Shàh Bèg. *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.75.

135. Ansar Zahid Khan's assumption(pp.23-24) that Bìbì Ẓarìf Khàtùn was Bàbur's cousin is not supported by any historical evidence. To accept her as Bàbur's cousin entails that she was married to Muḥammad Muqìm sometime in early 909/1503-4; and even if she bore him a daughter (Màh Bègum) that same year, the latter would have been at the most, in the fourth year of her life at the time of her abduction from Qandahàr and her subsequent marriage to Qàsim Kùkultàsh 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 Ẓarìf Khàtùn, by the time she was finally kidnapped, at the latest, by 916/1510, would have been in the seventh year of her life, whereas she had already had a baby daughter (Nàhìd Bègum), who was 18 months old!

134225

Marfat.com

the plight of the widow of his younger brother, Shàh Bèg not only took counsel with his nobles, but also consulted his wives on the course to follow. These deliberations yielded a plan, in accordance with which, a trusty maid of Bìbì Ẓarìf Khàtùn clandestinely went to Kàbul, where, in due course, she got in touch with Màh Bègum and paved the way for her flight to Qandahàr via the Hazàrah region. Màh Bègum 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, she had to leave behind at Kàbul her 18-month-old daughter from Qàsim Kùkultàsh, the celebrated Nàhìd Bègum[136] of Indian history, the pangs of whose separation it was her misfortune to bear to the last days of her life.[137]

Following the death of Shìbànì Khàn, the turn of events once again drew Bàbur to 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 Kàbul, it must be sought in the east rather than in the West".[138] He therefore resumed his expeditions against Qandahàr, the reduction of which was a vital preliminary to operations in Hindùstàn. In 923/1517,[139] he led his army against the Arghùn stronghold for the second time, but, owing to a serious illness, had to beat a hasty retreat to his capital.[140] As soon as Bàbur turned his back, Shàh Bèg once again rushed to Sìwì 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 Bàbur could not accomplish his objective at once, the following year he would again make his way to Qandahàr and would continue doing so until he drove the Arghùns from it. As for the factors prompting Bàbur to assume such an unrelenting and uncompromising stance *vis-à-vis* the Arghùns, Shàh Bèg maintained that, ever since Kàbul had once been seized by Muḥammad Muqìm, one thought had always been a thorn in the side of Bàbur: whenever he turned his attention to the conquest of some other country, the Arghùns would not hesitate to capture Kàbul once again. Although it was in retaliation for this act of Muqìm that Bàbur had carried off his daughter to Kàbul, he was fully aware of the fact that by doing so he had further antagonized the Arghùns and made them more rancorous and vengeful. Moreover, numerous dispossessed princes who were helpless before the power of the Ùzbeks and Ṣafawids had gathered

136. *T.S.*, pp.105-7.
137. See *infra*.
138. L.F. Rushbrook-Williams, *op.cit.*, p.111.
139. *B.N.*, translator's note, pp.364-65; M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.
140. *T.S.*, pp.109-10.

Marfat.com

at Kàbul for the fulfilment of their, and Bàbur's own, ambitions; and Qandahàr could always become a convenient target.[141]

As anticipated by Shàh Bèg,[142] the following year (924/1518) Bàbur once again appeared before the gates of Qandahàr, which was then in the throes of a severe famine, with pestilence raging everywhere. Bàbur 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 Tìr (=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 Kàbul. On the way back, he took out his frustration on the Hazàrah and Nìgùdarì tribes, who were well known for their solidarity with the Arghùns.[143]

3. Shah Ḥasan's Flight to Bàbur's Court

Later in 924/1518, Shàh Bèg's son, Shàh Ḥasan, being on indifferent terms with his father, sought asylum at Bàbur's court, where he stayed for about two years. Bàbur saw in him a promising prince and developed a liking for him.[144] Shàh Ḥasan accompanied Bàbur on his campaign against Bàjauṛ, and he was at his side during his incursions into Bhèrah and Khwùshàb. These prolonged periods of camp life gave him ample opportunities of coming to know his father's adversary at close quarters.[145]

In Dhìqa'dah 924/November 1518,[146] Shàh Bèg's men raided and plundered two prosperous and well-cultivated towns, Kàhàn and Bàghbànàn;[147] and the news of this successful military excursion across the Bòlàn pass was conveyed by a messenger to Bàbur on 28 Rabì' I 925/30 March 1519 at Qarà-tù, when Bàbur, together with Shàh Ḥasan, was returning from Bhèrah and Khwùshàb to Kàbul.[148] Apparently Shàh Bèg's envoy was still at Kàbul when, on 1 Rabì' II 925/2 April 1519, Bàbur bestowed a full length robe of distinction (*bàsh-ayàq*) on Shàh Ḥasan.[149] About three months later, on the last day of Jumàdà II/28 June, another envoy of Shàh Bèg, Abù al-Muḥsin Kùkultàsh by name, arrived at Bàbur's court with the gift of an excellent *tipùchàq* horse, and stayed there until 17

141. *Ibid.*, p.110; *B.N.*, translator's note, p.365.
142. *T.S.*, p.111.
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*
145. *B.N.*, pp.369, 383-84; 388, 395.
146. *T.S.*, p.110, has 17 Dhìqa'dah 921/23 December 1515, which is incongruous with the chain of events.
147. *Ibid.*
148. *B.N.*, p.325.
149. *Ibid.*, p.395

Marfat.com

Rajab/15 July. Taking advantage of this envoy's presence in Kàbul to rub salt into the wounds of his adversary, on 8 Rajab/6 July, Bàbur went to Shàh Ḥasan's house and drank there. That the occasion was not an informal one can be deduced from the fact that "most of the households and of the begs" also attended this party.[150]

On 1 Dhì al-Ḥijjah/24 November, Tàj al-Dìn Maḥmùd arrived from Qandahàr and waited on Bàbur.[151] He was one of the leading retainers of Shàh Bèg's brother, Muqìm, and had surrendered to Bàbur in the wake of the conquest of Qalàt in 911/1505, who, after his victorious entry into Qandahàr, in 913/1508, had handed him over to his illustrious prime minister, Qàsim Bèg Qùchìn.[152] His choice as an emissary to shuttle between two sides that had been at loggerheads with each other for almost a decade and a half cannot have been as insignificant as the brief reference in the *Memoirs of Bàbur* makes it appear to be. However that may be, Bàbur's efforts to exploit the differences between the estranged Arghùn prince and his father did not end there. He betrothed Shàh Ḥasan to Gulbarg Bègum, the daughter of his new prime minister, Niẓàm al-Dìn Khalìfah; and, in return, Shàh Ḥasan's niece Nàhìd Bègum, was engaged to Khalìfah's son, Muḥibb 'Alì.[153] Nevertheless, a reconciliation between father and son could not be put off indefinitely; and some time during the year 926/1520-21, Shàh Ḥasan returned to Qandahàr. So far as Bàbur's designs against Qandahàr are concerned, Shàh Ḥasan's stay with him seems to have exercised a restraining influence on that indefatigable warrior.[154] Viewed against the background of Bàbur's persistence, and of the Arghùn's subsequent unconditional withdrawal from Qandahàr, to succeed in bringing about such a long secession of active hostilities between the two sides was not a mean achievement on the part of this young prince.

Undeterred by Shàh Ḥasan's reunion with his father, Bàbur renewed his advance upon Qandahàr in 926/1521. The crops were still standing on the ground and besides whatever little grain Mihtar Sunbul, a slave of Shàh Bèg, had carried into the fort there was little to help the garrison stand through the rigours of the siege.[155] In the meantime, news of Khàn Mìrza's death at Badakhshàn and the looming Uzbek danger on the horizon from that direction distracted Bàbur;[156] and this gave Shàh Bèg sufficient breathing space to reprovision the fort and strengthen its defence. Bàbur

150. *Ibid.*, pp.401-2.
151. *Ibid.*, p.418.
152. *Ibid.*, p.339.
153. *T.S.*, p.147. Cf. *B.N.*, translator's note, pp.165-66.
154. See M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, pp.6-7
155. *T.S.*, p.111.
156. See *H.N.*, tr., p.92 and n.5.

Marfat.com

appointed his son, Humàyùn, at Badakhshàn and even spent a few days with him there; but before long returned to Qandahàr to resume the siege.[157] To start with, both sides fought valiantly and displayed great perserverance; but as the siege dragged on, Shàh Bèg began to send envoy after envoy to Amìr Khàn and Amìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn Muḥammad, the two deputies of Prince Ṭahmàsb, the young Ṣafawid viceroy of Haràt, requesting them to intervene with Bàbur to withdraw and let him proceed to the Prince's presence. He also promised to pay an annual tribute to the Ṣafawid court. The Ṣafawid Amìrs, who had worries of their own, about Bàbur pushing his victory at Qandahàr into Khuràsàn itself, lost no time in sending dispatches to Bàbur. They wrote to him that, though the past insubordination of Shàh Bèg certainly called for his punishment, now that he was ready to make mends and wait personally on the Prince, Bàbur should withdraw and let Shàh Bèg do so. Bàbur none the less pressed on with the siege, and replied that Shàh Bèg's protestations of loyalty stemmed from his difficult position and hardly deserved any credibility. He also assured them that, after the fall of Qandahàr, Shàh Bèg would be sent to Haràt as a prisoner and the keys of the Garmsìr and Qandahàr would also be made over to any representative nominated by the Ṣafawid court.[158] These negotiations were still going on when, in Jumàdà II 927/ May 1521, 'Ubayd Allàh Khàn Uzbek besieged Haràt for a brief period. As Amìr Khàn had failed to take adequate measures for the security of the provincial capital, he feared that Amìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn Muḥammad would inform Shàh Ismà'ìl of his neglect. Consequently, he got Amìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn Muḥammad killed on the baseless pretext of his collusion with Bàbur, alleging that the former had invited the latter to come and occupy Haràt. These events led to the arrival of Dùrmìsh Khàn in Khuràsàn as the new *bèglàrbègì* (chief of the nobles; commander in chief) and tutor of the viceroy-designate of Khuràsàn, Sàm Mìrzà. Panicked by the impending arrival of his substitute from the court, Amìr Khàn gave out that he was about to lead an army against Bàbur, and under that pretext, hastened to Sabzwàr. 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 Amìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn.[159] A shrewd politician and astute general, Dùrmìsh Khàn[160] killed two birds with one stone. By a rare feat of cajolery and coolheadedness he prevented Amìr Khàn from fleeing towards Qandahàr and at the same time, dispatched an envoy, Khwàjah

157. *Ibid.*, p.93 and n.2; *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.96.
158. *Ibid.*, pp.96-97.
159. *Ibid.*, p.99-100.
160. He was not an officer of Prince Ṭahmàsb, as suggested by L.F. Rushbrook-Williams, *op.cit.*, p.119. See *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.101.

Marfat.com

Muẓaffar Bèg, to Bàbur, telling him how, out of his regard for him, he had dissuaded Prince Ṭahmàsb from going ahead with his advance upon Qandahàr. He also urged Bàbur to go back to Kàbul and let Shàh Bèg fulfil his promise of appearing at the Ṣafawid court.[161] The tone of the message left little doubt that Bàbur's failure to comply with the request would hamper his relations with the Ṣafawid authorities. The long drawn-out siege, producing no tangible results, had probably wearied his soldiers also. Hence Bàbur exercised great discretion and repaired to his capital. In the midst of the Persian New Year celebrations (Rabì' II 928/March 1522), Khwàjah Muẓaffar returned to Haràt and brought the happy news of Bàbur's withdrawal. Gratified at the consideration shown by Bàbur, on 2 Jumàdà I 928/30 March 1522, Dùrmìsh Khàn sent another distinguished emissary, Ḥasan Chalabì, to Bàbur's court, expressing the desire to ever more strenghten the bonds of friendship and understanding between the two sides. Chalabì had not yet returned from Kàbul when, on 27 Jumàdà II/24 May, the envoys of Bàbur reached Haràt with presents and offerings and broke the news of the latter's victory over Qandahàr.[162]

4. Shàh Bèg Moves to Sind

What had happended was that after Bàbur's departure for Kàbul, Shàh Bèg, leaving one of his trusty retainers, Maulànà 'Abd al-Bàqì, in charge of Qandahàr, himself proceeded post-haste towards his lately procured alternative sanctuary in Sind. 'Abd al Bàqì came to Bàbur and made over the trust of his master to his implacable enemy.[163] Bàbur appointed Kàmràn, his second son, as the new viceroy of Qandahàr, and went back

161. *Ibid.*

162. According to *H.S.*, vol.III, iv, p.103, Qandahàr should have been transferred to Bàbur sometime between 2 Jumàdà I 928/30 March 1522 and 27 Jumàdà II 928/24 May 1522; but according to an inscription at Chihilzìnah, in Qandahàr, this event took place on 13 Shawwàl 928/6 September 1522 (for inscription, see Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Mìr Muḥammad Ma'ṣùm Bakharì*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1979, (plate 84). For details, see *B.N.*, translator's note, p.436 and Appendix J; Riazul Islam, p.18, n.3.

163. *Ibid.*, p.103. Mìr Ma'ṣùm's account of the surrender of Qandahàr to Bàbur (*T.S.*, pp.111-12) is, however altogether different, a fact which impels us all the more to believe that he probably did not have access to *H.S.*, and whatever there is common between his *Ta'rìkh-i Sind* and Khwànd Mìr's *Ḥabib al-Siyar*, both of them have independently plagiarized from the *Rauḍat al-Ṣafà* of Mìr Khwànd. However that may be, according to Ma'ṣùm, during the last siege of Qandahàr by Bàbur (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 Abù Sa'ìd Pùrànì, from Shàh Bèg's side, and Khwàjahs Khudàwand Maḥmùd and 'Abd al-'Aẓìm, from Bàbur's side, that the following year Shàh Bèg would peaceably surrender Qandahàr to Bàbur. Hence the latter lifted the siege, and Shàh Bèg, having shifted to Shàl and Sìwì in the meantime, in 923/1517 handed over the keys of Qandahàr to Mìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn for delivery to Bàbur.

Contd....

Marfat.com

to Kàbul, whence he dismissed Ḥasan Chalabì and sent one of his favourite retainers, Mirzà Qulì, to accompany him to Haràt. Both of them reached Haràt on 23 Sha'bàn 928/15 September 1522. Mirzà Qulì spent a few days at the capital of Khuràsàn, and after the customary exchange of gifts, returned to Kàbul.[164]

Maulànà 'Abd al-Bàqì might seem to have ill requited the confidence of Shàh Bèg,[165] but the circumstances surrounding the latter's final flight from Qandahàr and "the good terms on which he and his successor appear to have subsequently lived with Bàbur, make it not improbable that his giving up Qandahar 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".[166] Be that as it may, when Shàh Bèg abandoned Qandahàr and opted for his recently acquired possessions on the north-western marches of the Sammah kingdom, his previously disaffected Arghùn nobles and the Turk tribes that had taken refuge at Thattah in the wake of Shàh Bèg's capture of Sìwì 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 Ṣammah capital.[167]

The throne of Thattah, which until a few years ago had been filled by the most outstanding of Sammah rulers,[168] was then occupied by the worthless son and successor Jàm Fìrùz, and the baneful effects of his mismanagement and incapacity were in evidence everywhere. Fìrùz was yet a minor when his father Jàm Niẓàm al-Dìn Nandah died in 914/1508-9;[169] and had it not been for the resourcefulness of Daryà Khàn,[170] an able *wazìr* and adopted son of Jàm Nandah, the tooth and nail opposition[171] of his rival, Ṣalàḥ

Among other things, Mìr Ma'ṣùms's statement suffers from anachronism, because Shaykh Jamàl al-Dìn Abù Sa'ìd Pùràni had already died at Qandahàr, by falling from a roof (not "through the fall of a roof" as suggested by A.S. Beveridge in *B.N.*, p.306, n.2), in 921/1515-16. See *H.S.*, vol.III, iii, pp.345-46.

164. *Ibid.*, vol.III, iv, p.103.
165. *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.
166. Erskine, vol.I, pp.357-58.
167. *T.S.*, pp.111-12.
168. See *T.S.*, pp.73-76; *T.T.*, pp.51-56.
169. See *T.T.*, p.308n.
170. A capable administrator, gallant soldier and resourceful general, Daryà Khàn, whose real name was Qabùlah, started his career as an ordinary slave of Jàm Nandah and gradually rose to the position of his master's *amìr al-umarà'* and confidant. Jàm Nandah adopted him as his son and bestowed upon him the titles of Daryà Khàn and Mubàrak Khàn. See *T.S.*, p.112; *T.T.*, pp.54-55; *T.K.*, pp.109-10; *M.N.*, *p.102n.*
171. *T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.320; *T.A.*, vol.III, p.518.

Marfat.com

al-Dìn, a grandson of Jàm Sanjar, the predecessor[172] of Jàm Nandah. would have deprived Fìrùz of the throne. Not long afterwards, however, Fìrùz allied himself with the opponents of his benefactor and obliged him to retire to his *jàgìr* at Kàhàn.[173] Emboldened by the rift between Fìrùz and Daryà Khàn, the pretender Ṣalàḥ al-Dìn, who was biding his time in Gujaràt, returned to Thattah with a strong army supplied by Sulṭàn Muẓaffar Bègaṛah,[174] the husband of his cousin,[175] and installed himself as the new Jàm.[176] Having lost his throne, Jàm Fìrùz, together with his mother, Madìnah Màchhànì, once again turned to Daryà Khàn and begged for his help.[177] In the battle that was subsequently fought between the two sides, Daryà Khàn was defeated; but through a clever ploy, he converted the defeat into victory.[178] After ruling for just about eight months,[179] Ṣalàḥ al-Dìn fled to Gujaràt and Jàm Fìrùz once again mounted the throne of Thattah, with Daryà Khàn as his *wazìr*. However, the pusilanimous Jàm and the overbearing *wazìr*, were not able to get along with each other, and matters came to a head almost at the same time that Shàh Bèg was desperately looking for an opportunity to extend his dominions eastwards. This opportunity soon appeared when Jàm Fìrùz and his mother invoked his assistance to rid themselves of Daryà Khàn's domination.[180]

In fine, after his withdrawal from Qandahàr, Shàh Bèg, followed by a handful of men, launched a vigorous attack on Sind, overran all its major towns up to Thattah and even obliged the Jàm to fly for his life. Fìrùz was later reinstated in the government of Thattah, but his position was nothing more than that of a vassal. Henceforth, the northern boundries of Shàh Bèg's kingdom extended as far as the Lakkì hills and later even some areas beyond the hills also became a part of Arghùn dominion. Subsequently, while Shàh Bèg was away at Shàl, where he had gone to fetch his family and womenfolk, Ṣalàḥ al-Dìn, in collusion with some local tribes, again attacked Thattah; and driving Jàm Fìrùz out of the city, occupied it. Shàh

172. *T.S.*, p.73.
173. According to *T.S.*, p.76, it happened in 918/1512-13.
174. *Ibid.*, *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.320; *T.A.*, vol.III, p.518.
175. *T.A.*, vol.III, p.518; 'Abd Allàh Muḥammad al-Makkì al-Àṣafì al-Ulughkhànì Ḥàjjì ad-Dàbìr, *Ẓafar al-Wàlih bi Muẓaffar wa Àlih*, tr., M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda, 1970, vol.I, p.123.
176. *T.S.*, p.77. According to *T.A.*, vol.III, p.518 and *T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.320, he had conspired with Daryà Khàn to dislodge Fìrùz.
177. *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 mistaken interpretation has been put on what Ma'ṣùmì has to say on the matter.
178. *T.S.*, p.78; *Bèg.N*, p.10-11.
179. *T.S.*, pp.78.
180. *T.T.*, pp.56-57.

Marfat.com

Bèg dispatched his son, Shàh Ḥasan, to uproot the usurper, which he successfully did, and once again put Jàm Fìrùz on the throne. From now on, Shàh Bèg concentrated all his energies on the establishment of his new capital at Bhakkar and the restoration of law and order in occupied territories.[181] In the beginning of 930/1524,[182] he left Bhakkar with the intention of leading an expedition against Gujaràt; but he had to return to his capital because of the death of Mìr Fàḍil Kùkultàsh.[183] After the conclusion of the mourning rites, Shàh Bèg again set out for Gujaràt, and sent emissaries to Jàm Fìrùz, asking him to join him on the way. But before long, he fell sick and on 22 Sha'bàn 930/25 June 1524[184] breathed his last.

5. Shàh Ḥasan Succeeds His Father

Upon Shàh Bèg's death, his son, Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, stepped into his shoes. The Mìrzà combined in himself the dash and courage of Dhù al-Nùn and the foresight and military prowess of Shàh Bèg. The good relations he had cultivated with Bàbur during his stay at his court in Kàbul a few years ago were apparently still intact. Endowed with a fine knack of making a virtue out of necessity, Shàh Ḥasan, notwithstanding the contrary counsel of his nobles, offered his allegiance to Bàbur by causing the *khuṭbah* to be read in the name of that determined scion of the house of Tìmùr.[185] This act of his not only forestalled the danger of immediate conflict with Bàbur, but also saved his nascent principality from being

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

182. *T.S.*, p.125, has 928/1521; but as, according to Mìr Ma'ṣùm (*ibid.*, pp.125-27), the expedition was undertaken in the same year as the deaths of Fàḍil Kùkultàsh and Shàh Bèg Arghùn (see n.184 below), this date has been changed to 930/1524.

183. *T.S.*, p.125.

184. Authorities widely differ about the year of Shàh Bèg's death (for details, see Hodivala, vol.I, p.125; *H.A.T.S.*, pp.233-34). Niẓàm al-Dìn Aḥmad (*T.A.*, vol.III, p.520) and Firishtah (*T.F.*, Maqàlah viii, p.321) ascribe it to 930/1523-24, but mention no specific date.

Mìr Ma'ṣùm attributes his death to 927/1520-11 (*T.S.*, p.219) and at another place, to Sha'bàn 928/June-July 1522 (*ibid.*, p.127). Although he supports the latter date with a chronogram- shahr-i Sha'bàn – to the numerical value of 928 (not 927, as erroneously suggested by Ansar Zahid Khan, p.30, n.23), both the dates are anachronistic. Bearing in mind, among other things, the fact that Shàh Bèg died in the wake of Bàbur's expedition to Bhèrah and Khwùshàb 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'ṣùm'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 Mìr Ma'ṣùm) of the chronogram *bashahr-i Sha'bàn* as shahr-i-Sha'bàn (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 Shàh Bèg's death. Ansar Zahid Khan (*idem.*) wrongly gives the credit for Hodivala's "ingenious suggestion" to M.H. Siddiqi. See *H.A.T.S.*, p.234.

185. *T.S.*, p.142.

Marfat.com

nipped in the bud. As soon as news of Bàbur's advance towards India reached him, Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan dispatched his emissaries with suitable gifts from his court.[186] Soon afterwards, he informed Bàbur of his willingness to marry Mîr Niẓàm al-Dìn Khalîfah's daughter Gulbarg, who had been betrothed to him during his stay at Kàbul. Accordingly, Gulbarg was sent with her brother, Ḥusàm al-Dìn Mîrak, to Bhakkar, where she was wedded to Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan. And, as agreed previously, Màh Bègum's daughter Nàhìd, was given in marriage to the Khalîfah's elder son, Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn.[187] She was then not yet 16 years old. Having thus entered into a close matrimonial alliance with one of the chief nobles of Bàbur.[188] the Mìrzà 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 Jàm Fìrùz from southern Sind by defeating him in two successive battles, compelling him to seek shelter in Gujaràt.[189] Shàh Ḥasan now tried to stamp out the last traces of insurgency and insubordination in his dominions, especially on his frontiers. Not long afterwards, Langar Khàn, a disaffected noble of the house of the Langàhs[190] in Multàn, fled to the court of Shàh Ḥasan and induced him to undertake an invasion of the faction-ridden kingdom of Multàn. The strategic importance of this ancient town in the grand design to safeguard and secure the troubled boundaries of Sind was not lost upon the Mîrzà. He took the opportunity by the forelock, and, through a well-thought-out plan, conquered Multàn and entrusted its administration to Dùst Mîr Akhwùr, Khwàjàh Shams al-Dìn and Langar Khàn.[191] He himself returned to Bhakkar, from where he soon proceeded to Thattah to meet the challenge of the formidable Kachh chief, Khingàr, who was rallying his forces to take revenge for his brother Àmir Amràni, who was killed fighting with Jàm Fìrùz, against the Arghùns. Khingàr was defeated and his territory was annexed to Sind.[192] But hardly a year after the conquest of Multàn, Langar Khàn defected to Bàbur.[193] To offset any move by Bàbur in favour of Langar Khàn, Shàh Ḥasan voluntarily ceded the territory of

186. *Ibid.*, p.147.
187. The following remark of Bàbur, which pertains to the year 933/1527, sheds considerable light on his relations with Shàh Ḥasan: "The night we left Àgra, Mîr 'Alì, the armourer, was sent to Shàh Ḥasan *(Arghun)* in Thatta to take him the playing cards (*ganjìfa*) he had much liked and àsked for." *B.N.*, p.584.
188. See *T.A.*, vol.II, pp.28-29.
189. *T.S.*, pp.141-44.
190. For further information about the Langàhs, see *H.A.T.S.*, pp.238-43.
191. *T.S.*, p.160.
192. *Ibid.*, pp.160-62.
193. *Ibid.*, p.160.

Marfat.com

Multàn to his Mughul overlord. Bàbur first appointed 'Askarì to its administration,[194] but when he failed to calm down the warlike propensities of the local tribes, the area was added to the possessions of Mìrzà Kàmràn.[195]

6. Shàh Ḥasan and Humàyùn

Bàbur died in Jumàdà I 937/December 1530; but that was by no means the culmination of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan's vassalage to his Mughul collaterals, nominal though it was.[196] In 942/1535-36, when relations between Bàbur's successor, Humàyùn, and Sulṭàn Bahàdùr of Gujaràt took turn for the worse and Humàyùn undertook a punitive expedition against him, he directed Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn to march upon Gujaràt from Thattah and await further orders at Patan.[197] The Mìrzà, who was apprehensive of the activities of Jàm Fìrùz, who had given his daughter in marriage to Sulṭàn Bahàdur and was contemplating an attack on Sind with the support of his son-in-law,[198] welcomed the opportunity of joining Humàyùn to attack the ruler of Gujaràt. Accordingly, he set forth from Naṣrpùr at the head of a large army and reached Patan via Ràdanpùr. Khiḍr Khàn, the commandant of Sulṭàn Bahàdur at Patan, dispatched all the peasants, together with their cattle, to some far off place and shut himself up in the Patan fort. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì, who was in the vanguard of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan's forces, laid waste a number of towns (*qurà*) and encamped at a distance of seven *kuròhs* from Patan, from where he sent two emissaries to Khiḍr Khàn, demanding the surrender of the fort. Khiḍr Khàn refused to oblige; but the Sindhì envoys talked his mother into making a huge offer of money in tribute to the Arghùn chief. In the meantime, Shàh Ḥasan also arrived and sent his envoys to Humàyùn to solicit his orders for future action. As the Mìrzà awaited imperial orders, detachments of his army advanced up to Maḥmùdàbàd, plundering the region and amassing immense spoils. Meanwhile, one of his nobles, Mìr Farrukh, pleaded with him to march back to Sind with his forces before the return of his emissary with a royal edict. His argument was that since, after the fall of Gujaràt, a huge booty was expected to fall into the hands of Humàyùn, who would distribute much of this among his soldiers, the sight of such affluence, coupled with the pomp and ceremony of the royal court

194. *B.N.*, p.605 and n.3 on that page.
195. *T.S.*, p.160.
196. After Bàbur's death, Shàh Ḥasan read the *khuṭbah* in Humàyùn's name.
197. *T.S.*, pp.162-63.
198. *Ẓafar al-Wàlih*, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.124; Sikandar ibn Muḥammad, alias Manjhù ibn Akbar, *Mir'at-i Sikandarì*. eds., S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961, pp.271. 291.

Marfat.com

would entice away most of his followers to Humàyùn, and he would then be left at the mercy of the Mughuls. The logic of the Mìr appealed to Shàh Ḥasan, and he decided to retrace his steps to Thattah. Accordingly, he dispatched yet another envoy, Mìr Qàsim Bèglàr, to the royal court with the message that, consequent upon news of tribal uprisings at Bhakkar and Thattah, he was obliged to go back, and thus very skilfully extricated himself from the Gujaràt campaign.[199] Nevertheless, when, subsequently, Humàyùn conquered Gujaràt and Bangàl,[200] Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan lost no time in dispatching a deputation to congratulate the Mughul Emperor.[201]

7. Shàh Ḥasan Greets Kàmran and Welcomes Khwàjah Kalàn

Humàyùn's invasion of Gujaràt coincided with Kàmràn's military proceedings against the Persians at Qandahàr.[202] On hearing the news of the resumption of Qandahàr by Kàmràn, Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, realizing the value of keeping this wily prince in good humour, dispatched Mìr Khwùsh Muḥammad Arghùn with a congratulatory message to him.[203] But Kàmràn's success proved quite ephemeral: the following year, Shàh Ṭahmàsb (930-84/1524-76), who had actually set out to punish the Uzbeks, turned towards Qandahàr in order to teach a lesson to the Mughul daredevils occupying that distant outpost.[204] The Mughul commandant, Khwàjah Kalàn, who had still hardly recovered from the aftermath of the previous year's long Persian siege and the pitched battle that had followed it,[205] heeding the advice of his officers,[206] presented the keys of the fort to the Shàh through Khwàjah Malik Muḥammad Ṭabasì,[207] on the assurance that the life and property of the citizens would not be interfered with. He himself retired to Sind, from where he came to Lahore by way of Thattah, Bhakkar and Uchh.[208] Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, who had made the acquaintance of this great Mughul noble during his long stay at Kàbul, and was fully aware of his high stock with the descendants of Bàbur, 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 Khwàjah, in a moment of utmost remorse about his precipitate retreat

199. *T.S.*, pp.163-64.
200. See *T.R.*, p.470.
201. *T.S.*, p.165.
202. *T.R.*, p.470.
203. *T.S.*, p.165.
204. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.91.
205. *Ibid.*; *T.R.*, pp.467-68.
206. Mullà Qàṭi'ì-i Harawì, *Majma' al-Shu'arà'-i Jahàngìr Shàhì*, ed., Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Karachi, 1979, p.29.
207. *Ibid.* Cf. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.91, where the name of the official is given as Ganjì Khwàjah.
208. Mullà Qaṭi'ì Harawì, *op.cit.*, pp.29-30.

Marfat.com

from the highly prized fort of Qandahàr, told Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan that, being a fugitive, he had decided to abandon the profession of fighting and renounce his pen-name, *Sipàhì* (soldier), of which he no longer deemed himself worthy, and wished to present it to him as a mark of gratitude.[209].

After the capture of Qandahàr and its dependencies, Shàh Ṭahmàsb deputed a Qizilbàsh noble, Shàh Bùdàq Qàjàr, as his deputy, and himself effected a hasty retreat to the western forntiers of Ìràn, where some fresh trouble was brewing. Without wasting any time, on 1 Sha'bàn 943/13 January 1537, Kàmràn, by rapid marches, proceeded to retrieve Qandahàr. Finding himself incapable of sustaining a protracted siege, or hazarding an open confrontation with the Mîrzà, in the absence of any prospect of fresh reinforcements, Shàh Bùdàq evacuated the fort; and it was again occupied by the Mughuls[210] – this time without a battle.

During his absence from Lahore, Kàmràn had left the entire administration of his possessions in the hands of Mîrzà Ḥaydar Dùghlàt, who carried out his duties to the complete satisfaction of his master.[211] When Humàyùn advanced upon Gujaràt to quell the rebellion of the Mîrzàs, his brother-in-law, Muḥammad Zamàn bin Badì' al-Zamàn Mîrzà,[212] fled for his life to Sind. To avoid any trouble with the Mughuls, Shàh Ḥasan did not shelter the fugitive Mîrzà at his court, and discreetly obliged him to look for asylum outside his dominions.[213]

8. The Rise of Shìr Shàh in India

During his brief life after the conquest of India, Bàbur had indeed extended his sway far and wide; but he had not been able to consolidate his gains before his sudden death. The dissensions among his sons, resulting from the absence of any well established tradition or law of primogeniture, his kinsfolk's pretensions to the throne, the indolent temperament of Humàyùn and his excessively kind and forgiving disposition towards his ever erring brothers, particularly Kàmràn, 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

209. *Ibid.* For the use of the pen-name of *Sipàhì* by Khwàjah Kalàn, see Fakhrì bin Amìrì Harawì, *Rauḍat al-Salàṭìn* and *Jawàhir al-'Ajà'ib*, ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1968, pp.280, 281. For its use by Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, see *T.S.*, p.195; Fakhrì bin Amìrì Harawì, *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.
210. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.91; *T.R.*, p.469; Riazul Islam, pp.22-24.
211. *T.R.*, p.469.
212. For his early career, see *R.S.*, vol.VIII, pp.352-67.
213. See Mir Abu Turab Vali, *History of Gujarat*,ed., E. Denison Ross, Calcutta, 1909, p.39.

Marfat.com

precarious fortunes of the house of Bàbur was inspiring leadership; and that they found in Shìr Khàn,[214] a shrewd commoner who gradually rose to be a king. Apart from numerous other problems, the chief of which was the infidelity of his ambitious brothers and jealous relatives, Humàyùn's own ease-loving nature, slothful indolence and constant state of indecision, prevented him from mobilizing forces to contain the ever-rising torrent of his hardy Afghàn adversary's might. Finally, he had to accept defeat and set out on a long and dreary journey in search of his fortunes elsewhere.[215]

9. The Fall of Humàyùn

After his final humiliating defeat at Qannauj (Muḥarram 947/May 1540) at the hands of Shìr Shàh's much smaller and ill-equipped army, without a single bullet having been fired on either side,[216] Humàyùn and the remnant of his army, broken and dispirited, retired from Qannauj to Lahore and joined the mighty multitude of Mughul families and fugitives that had already gathered there. Here, in a fresh attempt to bring about some cohesion among their ranks to evolve a united front against the imminent threat to the very existence of Bàbur's descendants in India, Humàyùn and his brothers met several times, but every meeting ended in a fiasco.[217] Mìrzà Kàmràn's sole concern was to retain Kàbul,[218] which he owed to his brother, in his own hands; 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 intransigence. Mìrzà Ḥaydar Dùghlàt, who, much to the discomfiture of Kàmràn, had previously stayed back at Àgrah and sided with Humàyùn in the debacle at Qannauj,[219] proposed the conquest of Kashmìr to use it as a base for future expeditions into India.[220] On the other hand, Yàdigàr Nàṣir, and Hindàl Mìrzà wanted to capture Bhakkar and conquer Gujaràt before embarking upon the redemption of Mughul fortunes in Hindùstàn,[221] and in fact, subsequently, they set out in that direction without obtaining Humàyùn's permission.[222] Humàyùn, at first, agreed with Dùghlàt's proposal to proceed to Kashmìr;[223] but later on, he

214. For his life and early career, see Kalikaranjan Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, Bombay, 1965.
215. For his life and career, see Rama Shanker Avasthy, *The Mughul Emperor Humayun*, Allahabad, 1967.
216. For details, see *T.R.*, pp.469-77.
217. *Ibid.*, pp.477-78; *H.N.*, pp.49-50.
218. For the importance of Kàbul in the eyes of Bàbur, see *H.S.*, p.49.
219. *T.R.*, pp.473-74
220. *Ibid.*, p.479-81.
221. *Ibid.*, p.478; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.46.
222. *A.N.*, vol.I, pp.171-72.
223. *Ibid.*, vol.I, pp.169-71; *T.R.*, pp.479-81; 483.

Marfat.com

was swayed by the arguments of others who thought that, in case of inordinate delay or failure in the Kashmìr campaign, particuarly if, in the meantime, Lahore also fell into the hands of the Afghàns, a safe retreat from India would become wellnigh impossible.[224] Five precious months passed, while the Mughuls continued to bicker amongst themselves, unable to resolve their egotistic differences. Before long, the news of Shìr Shàh's arrival at the Beas arrived and put them to flight once again.[225]

10. Humàyùn Turns to Sind

Kàmràn's repeated disloyalty towards Humàyùn did not leave off even at the final parting of ways between these two brothers. At Khwùshàb, where the road passed through a defile and then forked northwest for Kàbul and southwest for Sind, apprehending that Humàyùn might take the road to Badakhshàn, as mentioned by him earlier,[226] the path for which lay through Kàbul, Kàmràn insisted on entering the defile first. Humàyùn, considering this an affront to his royal prestige, insisted on precedence. Finally, through a compromise arranged by Mìr Abù al-Baqà', Humàyùn marched ahead and took the road to Sind on 1 Rajab 947/1 November 1540,[227] little realizing that it was the beginning of an arduous odyssey. Kàmràn then set out triumphantly towards Kàbul, but was soon snubbed by a detachment of Afghàn forces.[228]

11. Exchange of Messages between Humàyùn and Shàh Ḥasan

Hounded by Khwàṣṣ Khàn, a trusty lieutenant of Shìr Shàh, Humàyùn reached Uchh towards the end of Sha'bàn 947/December 1540.[229] Since the territories of Bakhshù Langàh, a prominent Balùch chief, were close by, the Emperor dispatched a *farmàn* conferring a dress of honour, a standard, a kettle-drum and the title of *Khàn-i Jahàn* on him. Bakhshù, whatever the reasons, did not come to welcome Humàyùn, but provided him with provisions and a number of boats, with the aid of which the royal party was able to continue its journey towards Sind.[230] Reaching Ròhṛì on 28 Ramaḍàn 947/27 January 1541, Humàyùn encamped in the delightful *chàr-bàgh* of Babrlù,[231] three *kuròhs* from Bhakkar,[232] and sent for Sulṭàn

224. *H.N.*, p.49.
225. *Ibid.*, pp.43-44; *A.N.*, vol.I, p.170.
226. *H.N.*, p.49.
227. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.171.
228. 'Abbàs Khàn Sarwànì, *Ta'rìkh-i Shèr Shàhì*, tr., Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya, Patna, 1974, pp.466-67.
229. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.172.
230. *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.47; *H.N.*, p.50; Jauhar, pp.55-56.
231. *T.S.*, p.167.
232. *Ibid.*, p.144.

Marfat.com

Maḥmùd Bhakkarì, the Arghùn commandant of Bhakkar. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, 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 ratainer of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, 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.[233] Nevertheless, he honoured the royal request for a supply of foodgrain and other victuals.[234] Seeing the futility of trying to put pressure on Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì, Humàyùn dispatched two envoys, Amìr Ṭàhir Ṣadr and Samandar Bèg, to Shàh Ḥasan at Thattah reminding him of the cordiality that characterized their relations under Bàbur, particularly during the Mìrzà's sojourn at Kàbul after he had fled from his father. The Mìrzà received the royal emissaries with every mark of respect and sent Shaykh Mìrak Pùrànì and Mìrzà Qàsim Ṭaghà'ì to the Emperor with suitable offerings and an *'arḍdàsht* to the effect that the revenue of Bhakkar was small, whereas the territory of Chàchikàn, in the east of Thattah, was populous, fertile and rich in agricultural products. Should the Emperor deign to occupy it, not only would the material needs of the royal army be adequately met, he would also be close at hand. The Mìrzà also felicitated the Emperor for gracing his dominions with his presence, and assured him that, as soon as his apprehensions for Bhakkar had subsided he would obtain the blessing of kissing the royal carpet.[235]

12. Shàh Ḥasan Takes Precautionary Measures

Humàyùn was about to give assent to the Mìrzà's proposal, when his nobles drew his attention to the fact that the Mìrzà was not sincere in his submissions. The Emperor therefore changed his mind and laid siege to the fort of Bhakkar. Familiar with the ease-loving nature of Humàyùn, the Mìrzà knew he would never personally march upon the fort; and he was also confident that Humàyùn's vacillating *amìrs* were hardly a match for the seasoned Arghùn and Tarkhàn chiefs under Sulṭaṅ Maḥmùd. However, apart from other precautionary measures to discourage Humàyùn from staying on in Sind, the Mìrzà laid waste the outskirts of Sìwistàn, drove off the cattle, filled the fort of Sìwistàn with provisions and strengthened its fortifications.[236]

233. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.173.
234. *T.S.*, pp.167-68.
235. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.173; *T.S.*, pp.168-69; *T.A.*, vol.II, pp.47-48.
236. *T.S.*, p.169.

Marfat.com

13. Humàyun Waits in Vain at Ròhṛì

Hùmàyun left Màthìlah on 28 Ramaḍàn 947/15 January 1541 and alighted on the slopes of the Ròhṛì hills. The Dàrèjahs and the Safiyànìs who were still left in the vicinity called on him; and the following day the Emperor caused the *khuṭbah* read in his name. However, as time passed, the defensive tactics of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan began to show their effect as the entire region of Bhakkar began to face a severe famine. When all his efforts failed to mitigate the misery of his followers, who according to some estimates numbered 200,000, Humàyùn sent Hindàl with his army to Pàtar and Mìrzà Yàdigàr Nàṣir with his troops, farther down to Darbèlah.[237] After waiting in vain for about six months at the *chàr-bàgh* of Babrlù for Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan to come to him, Humàyùn also left for Darbèlah and then moved on to Pàtar.

14. Humàyùn Visits Darbèlah

At Pàtar, Humàyùn fell in love with Ḥamìdah Bànù Bègum, a daughter of Shaykh 'Alì Akbar Jàmì, who had been a teacher of Hindàl, and, despite the vehement protests of Hindàl, married her.[238] Finally, however, when the camp at Pàtar became restless with its uncertain future, Humàyùn returned to Bhakkar.[239] In the meantime, Mìrzà Hindàl, responding to a friendly overture from Qaràchah Bèg, the viceroy of Kàmràn and 'Askarì, not only himself left for Qandahàr, but also invited Yàdigàr Nàṣir to follow him.[240] Humàyùn managed to dissuade[241] Yàdigàr only through the influence of Mìr Abù al-Baqà', who was later shot and wounded on his way back to Bhakkar. He died the following day, causing Humàyùn much agony and grief.[242] After a few days[243] Yàdigàr Nàṣir rejoined the royal camp. Meanwhile, the Emperor dismissed Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan's envoys, and expressed his willingness to accept the offer he had made in his *'arḍdàsht*, provided the latter waited upon him in all sincerity.[244] The Mìrzà, however, continued to act with circumspection and did not present

237. *Ibid.*, pp.169-71.
238. Jauhar, pp.58-59; *H.N.*, pp.52-53; *A.N.*, vol.I, p.174.
239. *T.S.*, p.171.
240. *Ibid.*, *T.A.*, vol.II, p.48; *A.N.*, vol.I, p.174.
241. According to *A.N.*, vol.I, p.174, Humàyùn promised to give Yàdigàr Nàṣir one-third of his Indian Empire, when it had been reconquered, and, on reaching Kàbul, in the near future, to bestow on him Ghaznì, Kàbul and Lòhgaṛh, which had been left to his mother by Bàbur.
242. *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.48.
243. This happened in the latter half of Jumàdà I 948/August 1541. See *A.N.*, vol.I, pp.174-75.
244. See *ibid.*, vol.I, p.176; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.49; *T.S.*, pp.171-72.

Marfat.com

himself before Humàyùn.

15. Humàyùn Besieges Sìwistàn

On 1 Jumàdà II 948/23 September 1541, Humàyùn entrusted the region of Bhakkar to Yàdigàr Nàṣir, and himself set out for Thattah. As soon as the boat carrying some prominent nobles of the imperial court approached the fort of Sìwistàn, they were ambushed by Shàh Ḥasan's men. In the ensuing encounter, the latter's troops were defeated and they took refuge in the fort. This gave Humàyùn's followers a false sense of the enemy's weakness.[245] Consequently, the Emperor laid siege to the fort of Sìwistàn on 17 Rajab 948/6 November 1541. As the siege dragged on, Shàh Ḥasan also advanced from Thattah to Sann, dug trenches, collected boats and encamped there. One night, a body of his men cut their way into the fort; and Humàyùn retaliated by laying a mine, but its explosion failed to have any significant effect on the morale of the enemy.[246] As the siege dragged over seven months,[247] the rains came, the river flooded, and Shàh Ḥasan managed to cut off Humàyùn's food supplies from all directions. The combination of these factors caused many desertions from the royal camp, including not only ordinary soldiers, but such eminent personages as Mìr Ṭàhir Ṣadr, who had been Humàyùn's envoy to Shàh Ḥasan, Khwàjah Ghiyàth al-Dìn Jàmì and Maulànà 'Abd al-Bàqì. Shàh Ḥasan conveyed them with great respect to his capital. Yet another group of prominent men, including Mìr Barakah, Mìrzà Ḥasan and Qàsim Ḥusayn Sulṭàn, tried to persuade Yàdigàr to leave Bhakkar and return to Qandahàr with them.[248] In the meantime, Yàdigàr Nàṣir had been twice surprised by forces of the Bhakkar fort, and had sustained heavy losses. When a similar attempt from the fort was made for the third time, Yàdigàr personally intercepted the fort's contingent in the desert of Ròhṛì, and put up a fight[249] in which 300 to 400 of the contingent's soldiers were killed.[250]

16. Shàh Ḥasan Wins Over Yàdigàr Nàṣir

Realizing that cutting off food supplies and occasional raids on his camp had failed to undermine Yàdigàr Naṣir's determination, Shàh Ḥasan now resorted to guile to win him over to his side. He dispatched Amìr Qulì Muhrdàr to Yàdigàr with a message to the effect that, since he was an old man with no son of his own to succeed him, he would give his daughter in

245. See *ibid.*, vol.I, p.176; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.49; *T.S.*, pp.171-72.
246. *H.N.*, p.53.
247. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.49, *A.N.*, vol.I, p.176.
248. *T.S.*, p.173.
249. *Ibid.*, p.174.
250. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.176.

Marfat.com

marriage to Yàdigàr provided he withheld his support from Humàyùn. Shàh Ḥasan also informed Yàdigàr that, although, as long as he lived, he would run the affairs of Sind, on his death, Yàdigàr would be his successor. He promised that, once Yàdigàr had agreed to side with him, he would put all his resources at the disposal of Yàdigàr and assist him in the conquest of Gujaràt. The Chaghatà'ì prince was not strong enough to resist the temptation offered by the astute Shàh Ḥasan; and, ignoring Humàyùn's requests for help,[251] he began to show a willingness to accommodate the latter.[252]

17. Humàyùn Withdraws to Bhakkar

Finding it unsafe to prolong his stay in Sìwistàn without assistance from Yàdigàr Nàṣir, Humàyùn lifted the siege of its fort, and started off for Bhakkar. The protracted siege, coupled with a severe shortage of food and of military supplies, had so badly disheartened the royal army that now, in addition to earlier desertions, even experienced commanders, such as Qanbar Bèg Arghùn, defected to the enemy. Humàyùn alighted at Ròhṛì, and Mìrzà Yàdigàr Nàṣir of necessity had to welcome him and furnish him with such supplies of food as he could from his own depleted stock. This was hardly enough to alleviate the distress of Humàyùn's followers. Humàyùn therefore sent some emissaries to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì with a request for supplies. In response, a considerable supply of food was received from Bhakkar, but even this fell far short of the needs of the army. A large number of men died or dispersed in search of food. This coincided with a new outbreak of violence between the followers of Humàyùn and the troops of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì. Humàyùn's forces proved their superiority in these combats time and again; but without proper wherewithal, the reduction of the strong fort of Bhakkar was out of the question.[253]

Influenced by the promises of Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, Yàdigàr Nàṣir finally separated himself from the royal entourage, made over his artillery to Shàh Ḥasan's commanders at the fort of Bhakkar,[254] and, throwing overboard his word to the Emperor,[255] delivered Hàlah and 'Umar Shàh,[256] two tribal chiefs who had rendered great service to Humàyùn, to the enemy and himself moved to Sukkur, which lay on the road to

251. *T.S.*, p.174; *T.A.*, vol.II, pp.49-50
252. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.177.
253. *T.S.*, pp.174-75.
254. *Ibid.*, p.177.
255. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.51.
256. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.178, has: Gandum and Hàlah. Also see *T.T.*, pp.85, 320n.

Marfat.com

Qandahàr.[257]

18. Humàyun Proceeds to Màrwàṛ via Uchh

Demoralized by scarcities, desertions and the treacheries of his kinsmen and giving up all hope of vanquishing the Bhakkar fort, Humàyùn contemplated going to Qandahàr and trying to reach some accommodation with his brothers. With the direct route thither blocked by Yàdigàr Nàṣir and Shàh Ḥasan, he retraced his steps to Uchh on 21 Muḥarram 949/7 May 1542,[258] from where he wanted to cross the Indus. Here, when the hostile attitude of Bakhshù Langàh made this also impossible, Humàyùn, in sheer desperation, thought of trying his luck with Màldèw, the powerful ruler of Màrwàṛ, who had previously invited him to join forces against their common foe, Shìr Shàh. What he now failed to realize was that the situation on the eastern frontiers of Màrwàṛ, which had then, prompted Màldèw to seek an alliance with the dethroned Mughul Emperor, had completely changed. Consequently, Humàyùn was forced to wander through the desert like a lost soul, suffering many and varied hardships.[259] The royal party finally meandered along to 'Umarkòt on 10 Jumàdà I 949/ 22 August 1542.[260] It was here that the whisperings of Shaykh Aḥmad Jàm's (d. 536/1141) apparition, which Humàyùn had heard in a trance-like state at Lahore some years ago, was fulfilled and he was blessed with a son[261] on 5 Rajab 949/15 October 1542.[262] In keeping with the command of Humàyùn's vision of Shaykh Aḥmad Jàm, the child was named Jalàl al-Dìn Muḥammad Akbar.[263]

19. Humàyùn Returns to Sind and Leaves for Qandahàr

Since the principality of 'Umarkòt was too small to accommodate and cater for the requirements of the large army, Humàyùn decided to come back to Sind. His absence from the region had provided Shàh Ḥasan with a welcome respite, which he employed to strengthen his defences by renovating his forts, refurbishing his supplies and purging his ranks of all possible supporters of Humàyùn.[264] On his return from 'Umarkòt, Humàyùn encamped in the town of Jaun, on the left bank of a branch of the

257. *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 Mìrzà's trusty comrades. See *ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.51.
258. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.179.
259. For details, see Kalikaranjan Qanungu, *op.cit.*, pp.361-77.
260. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.182; *T.S.*, p.177.
261. *H.N.*, p.48.
262. *T.S.*, p.177.
263. *H.N.*, p.48.
264. *T.S.*, p.178.

Marfat.com

Indus. The town of Jaun was known for its fertility, water courses and orchards.[265] Shàh Ḥasan deployed his forces on the opposite bank of the stream. After a few days, Humàyùn dispatched a body of his troops to subdue the fort on Batùrah and capture its stores of grain. On behalf of Shàh Ḥasan, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakharì valiantly defended the fort. Meanwhile, the skirmishes in and around the town of Jaun gradually escalated into a full-scale battle. Shàh Ḥasan, who was possessed of a large army and a strong flotilla of boats, crossed over to the Thattah side. When he heard that his troops had failed to make any headway in the reduction of the fort, Humàyùn was dismayed. Not long afterwards, on 7 Muḥarram 959/12 April 1543, Bayram Khàn's arrival from India sent a wave of delight throughout the royal camp.[266] Bayram Khàn concluded peace with Shàh Ḥasan, according to which the latter, among other things, undertook to pay 100,000 *mithqàls* in cash and to put 300 horses and the same number of camels at the disposal of the Emperor. Thereafter, a bridge was thrown across the river, and on 7 Rabì' I 950/10 June 1543,[267] Humàyùn crossed this bridge and embarked upon his journey to Qandahàr via Sìwì. The occasion was marked by great rejoicings in the Arghùn camp of Shàh Ḥasan.

20. Shàh Ḥasan and Mìrzà Kàmràn

While bestowing Multàn on Mìrzà Kàmràn in 935/1528, Bàbur wrote to him to take the best of care in his intercourse with the Shàhzàdah,[268] a tiṭle Bàbur occasionally used for Mìrzà Shàh 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 Kàmràn with Hùmàyùn, 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.[269] Following Humàyùn's final departure from Sind, Shàh Ḥasan betrothed the daughter, Chùchuk Bègum, he had promised to Yàdigàr Nàṣir for his desertion of Humàyùn, to Kàmràn,[270] who had by then established his undisputed predominance over Kàbul, Ghaznì and Qandahàr, and thereafter acknowledged Kàmràn's overlordship.[271]

265. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.185.
266. *T.S.*, p.179.
267. As it took two days to transfer the entire army across the river, the actual journey towards Qandahàr started only on 9 Rabì' I 950/12 June 1543. See *T.S.*, p.180.
268. *B.N.*, p.645.
269. See *A.N.*, vol.I, pp.189-90; *T.S.*, p.181. Also see *T.A.*, vol.II, p.56.
270. *T.S.*, p.181.
271. *A.N.*, vol.I, p.200.

Marfat.com

When Humàyùn triumphantly returned to Kàbul from Ìràn, in Ramaḍàn 952/November 1545,[272] Kàmràn sought refuge in Sind. Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan, whose faith in the destiny of the fugitive Tùmùrid prince was apparently still unshaken, married his daughter Chùchuk, who had earlier been betrothed to him, to Kàmràn; and, after repairing Kàmràn's military losses and providing him with a strong contingent of 1000 well-accoutred horse, sent him back to Kàbul.[273] Taking advantage of Humàyùn's involvement with the affairs of Badakhshàn, Kamràn reoccupied Kàbul without much resistance; but he was not able to hold it for long. The subsequent warfare between the two brothers and the ups and downs in their fortunes culminated in Kàmràn's flight, in 958/1551, to India, where he tried to enlist the support of Humàyùn's sworn enemies, the Sùrs. When Islàm Shàh Sùr (952-60/1545-52) tried to lay his hands upon Kàmràn, the latter fled to Àdam Gakhkhaṛ, who turned him over to Humàyùn.[274] But for the mounting pressure of the victims of Kàmràn's tyranny, Humàyùn might well have overlooked the follies of his brother. However, left with no room for manoeuvring,[275] on 7 Ramaḍàn 960/17 August 1553,[276] the Emperor ordered Kàmràn to be blinded, and then allowed him to proceed to the Ḥijàz.[277]

On his way to the two sacred sanctuaries of Islàm, when Kàmràn passed throught Sind, Shàh Ḥasan put him up in the island of Shàdbèlah, west of Bhakkar. Not long afterwards, he was shifted to Bàgh-i Fatḥ, 30 *kuròhs* northeast of Thattah, which ironically commemorated Shàh Ḥasan's victory over Humàyùn in 950/1543,[278] and allocated the revenue of the *parganah* of Batùrah for the expenses of his kitchen. Shàh Ḥasan did not want his daughter to accompany her unfortunate husband; but failing to dissuade her, he finally bade them both farewell, endowing them with opulent riches.[279] Mìrzà Kàmràn died at 'Arafàt on 11 Dhì al-Ḥijjah 964/5 October 1557.[280] Seven months later, his wife also breathed her last.[281]

Several of Mìrzà Kàmràn's foster-brothers, who came to Sind during or

272. *Ibid.*, vol.I, p.241; *H.N.*, p.76; *M.T.*, vol.I, p.449. Cf. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.65.
273. *T.S.*, p.182.
274. For details, see Avasthy, pp.357-77.
275. *T.A.*, vol.II, pp.78-79.
276. Avasthy, p.477.
277. Bàyazìd Biyàt. *Tadhkirah-i Humàyùn wa Akbar*, ed., M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1941, pp.156-60.
278. See *H.A.T.S.*, p.110, n.3.
279. *T.S.*, p.183.
280. *Ibid.* According to Khwàjah Ḥasan Nithàrì Bukhàrì, Kàmràn was buried in the Gùristàn-i Mughùlàn. See his *Mudhakkar-i Aḥbàb*, ed., S.M., Faḍl Allàh, Hyderabad Deccan, n.d., p.117.
281. *T.S.*, p.183.

Marfat.com

after the Mîrzà's last visit to that land, took up permanent abode there. During the scramble for power following the death of Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, they seem to have sided with Mîrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn and his son Ṣàliḥ Tarkhàn.[282]

21. Shàh Hasan's Later Years and His Legacy

The kingdom of Sind that Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn 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 long. After the departure of Humàyùn, Shàh 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, from which he sought relief by frequently sailing down the Indus,[283] the situation in Sind became chaotic. Because of his inability to give enough attention to the smooth running of his kingdom, Shàh Ḥasan, like all despots, 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 the Arghùn chief were, they not only fell far short of any reasonable expectations, but by their churlish behaviour also 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 Arghùn and Tarkhàn grandees, was widely resented; but when the ignoble deeds of these men rubbed further salt into the wounds of the Arghùn and Tarkhàn nobility, life became unbearable for them. To start with, the egotistic proclivities of these new nobles prevented the old elite from mounting any concerted action. But this obstacle was finally overcome when they agreed on Mîrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, a prominent noble of high birth, who had started his career under Shàh Bèg Arghùn and had since been serving the Arghùn cause with unequivocal sincerity, as a substitute for the ailing and incapacitated Shàh Ḥasan.[284]

While Sind was approaching a new era of turmoil in its internal politics, Humàyùn, at Kàbul, was engaged in hectic preparations for a renewed, final bid for the recovery of his fortunes in India.[285] 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, who was

282. *Ibid.*, p.208.
283. 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. Vambery, London, 1899, p.37. According to Sidi Ali Reïs during the last five years, the Mîrzà had become an invalid and was unable to mount his horse. He only went about on board his ship in the river Indus. Cf. *T.T.*, p.94, which gives the erroneous impression that the Mîrzà suffered from this disease throughout his life.
284. *T.S.* pp.183-85; *T.T.*, pp.90-94.
285. See Avasthy, pp.480-84.

Marfat.com

accused of royalist leanings during Hùmàyùn's wanderings in Sind about a decade and a half ago,[286] handled the new situation adroitly. A brave soldier, astute diplomat and dexterous manipulator of men, he allied himself completely with the cause of the disaffected Arghùn nobles, put to death their rivals at Thattah,[287] captured the treasure, strengthened the fort of Ṭagharàbàd and openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Mughul Emperor Humàyùn,[288] though it was highly improbable that Humàyùn, notwithstanding his desire to conquer Sind,[289] would have been able to undertake any such expedition at the time. Thanks to the timely initiative of Shàh Ḥasan, supported by his foster-brother, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, who was by no means less keen to grab his share from the disintegrating Arghùn legacy,[290] although the march of events could not be reversed, it was at least halted for the time being. After a fierce battle between the rival forces, the two chief contenders, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, who commanded Shàh Ḥasan's forces, and 'Ìsà Tarkhàn agreed to await the death of Shàh Ḥasan and then divide Sind between themselves, territories north of the Lakkì hills going to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd and those south of the range falling to 'Ìsà Tarkhàn.[291] That this arrangement had the blessings of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan is arguable; but it stands to reason that with no direct male heir and his only son-in-law, Mìrzà Kàmràn, blinded and in exile, he could not but acquiesce in the new arrangement. After the termination of hostilities, at the instance of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd and some other nobles, Shàh Ḥasan pardoned the rebellion of 'Ìsà Tarkhàn and consented to receive him in audience.[292] In return, Tarkhàn renounced his allegiance to Humàyùn[293] set free the loyalist nobility, including Màh Bègum, the consort royal, and allowed them to return to the Arghùn camp.[294] He also sent his second eldest son, Mìrzà Ṣàliḥ, with Qàsim Bèglàr, who had come to Thattah with Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhàb Pùrànì, a widely respected divine, and Amìr Sulṭàn, a brother of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd. Mìrzà Ṣàliḥ waited upon Shàh Ḥasan and

286. *T.S.*, pp.178-79. According to Ṭàhir Nisyànì (*T.T.*, pp.88-90) the services rendered by 'Isà Tarkhàn to Humàyùn before the latter's departure from Sind for Khuràsàn earned him a royal decree from Humàyùn, whereby the country of Sind was bestowed on the Mìrzà for six generations.
287. *T.T.*, p.93.
288. *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, & c.*, pp.37-79. The name of the fort, Taghràbàd, is wrongly given as Naṣràbàd in the *Travels*.
289. See *Dìwàn-i Bayram Khàn*, ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, and Muḥammad Ṣàbir, Karachi, 1971, pp.38-39 and n.1 on p.39.
290. See *T.S.*, pp.186-87, 189, 221; *T.T.*, pp.92-93.
291. *T.S.*, p.191; *T.T.*, p.93.
292. *T.S.*, p.190.
293. *Travels, & c.*, p.39.
294. *Ibid.*; *T.S.*, p.190.

Marfat.com

presented fine gifts from his father to him. In response, Shàh Ḥasan bestowed on him a horse and a dress of honour, and dispatched a pair of ceremonial drums, together with a magnificent robe of honour for Mîrzà 'Ìsà, through Mullà Yàrì.[295] The following day, Shàh Ḥasan honoured Sulṭàn Maḥmùd with the standard of his grandfather, Mîr Dhù al-Nùn Arghùn, which the latter had received from Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà,[296] his royal signet, a *tumantòq*[297] and a kettledrum. When these ceremonies had been concluded, Shàh Ḥasan sailed towards Sìwistàn, and soon thereafter[298] died at Arìpòtrah,[299] 20 *kuròhs* from Thattah.[300]

22. Successors of Shàh Ḥasan and the Mughul Court

According to the Turkish admiral, Sìdì 'Alì Reîs [301] 'Isà Tarkhàn intended to send his son, Ṣàliḥ Tarkhàn, to the Mughul court to reiterate his vassalage to the house of Bàbur. His rival Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, however, struck up a friendship with the Turkish dignitary and used his good office to normalize his relations with Humàyùn,[302] in whose expulsion from Sind he had played no mean part.[303]

Hùmàyùn did not live long to enjoy the fruit of his extraordinary

295. *T.S.*, p.191.

296. *T.S.*, p.191. The gold-embroidered dress of honour bestowed by Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà on Mîr Dhù al-Nùn was presented by Shàh Bèg Arghùn to Jàm Fìrùz. See *ibid.*, p.116.

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

298. Mîr Ma'ṣùm, at one place, mentions Monday, 12 Rabì' I 962/4 February 1555 as the date of Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan's death (*T.S.*, p.192); yet, at another place (p.207) in the same book, he puts his death in the beginning (*awà'il*) of Jumàdà I 992(Jumàdà I 992 started on 11 May 1584). On the other hand, by a compromise of various approximate dates mentioned by 'Alì Reîs and Ma'ṣùmì, M.H. Siddiqì has tried to establish 9 Jumàdà I 962/1 April 1555 as the alternative date of death of the Arghùn chief (see his *H.A.T.S.*, pp.123, n.5; 131; 247-48) and some scholars (e.g., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì kì zindagì kà èk pihlù, Nadhr-i Ḥamìd Aḥmad Khàn*, ed., Aḥmad Nadìm Qàsimì, Lahore, 1980, p.51) have accepted it, too. Since the very premise of Siddiqi is based upon the wrong assumption that *awàkhir-i màh-i Ṣafar* ('the *last days* of the month of Ṣafar') means "the last day of Safar" [*sic.*] (*H.A.T.S.*, p.247), his conclusion seems rather far fetched. And as 12 Rabì' I 962 falls on Monday, we, like Hodivala (vol.I, pp.127-28), feel inclined to accept it as the correct date of Shàh Ḥasan's death.

299. *T.S.*, p.192.

300. This place lies about 6 miles from Tando Muḥammad Khàn in *Guni Parganah* which is about 40 miles north-east of Thattah. See Hodivala, vol.I, p.127.

301. *Travels, & c.*, p.42. Shàh Ḥasan wrote to the Pàdishàh to assure him of his "unalterable loyalty", idem.

302. *Ibid.*, pp.44, 49.

303. See *T.S.*, pp.178-79.

Marfat.com

perseverance and tenacity to recover his patrimony in India. His son and successor, Akbar, had to go a long way yet before he could think of turning arms against his late father's repentant adversaries. This offered a golden opportunity to the successors of the last Arghùn chief of Sind to consolidate their hold over that war-wrecked principality, which they had participated in carving out in the first instance. But they did not even wait for the proper burial of their erstwhile master before resuming their interminable sanguinary struggle for the extermination of each other.[304] In this internecine conflict, they felt no compunction in invoking the help of alien forces. They had seen, with their own eyes, the downfall and destructions of the Tìmùrid house of Bàyqarà, the Sammahs of Sind, the Langàhs of Multàn, and, for that matter, even the rout of Humàyùn at the hands of the Sùr Afghàns; but the moral of these episodes paled into insignificance before their own immediate selfish goals. Holding a stronger position, 'Ìsà Tarkhàn probably 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 Portuguese to his aid against Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì, but set out on an expedition against him before they arrived. Upset by the Tarkhàn's subsequent conclusion of peace with Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, the Portuguese commander, Pedro Barreto Rolim, asked his son to pay the expenses he had incurred in bringing his fleet from Bassein to Thattah. When the prince refused to pay, Rolim forcibly entered Thattah, killed 8,000 of its citizens in cold blood, set on fire property worth about 2 million silver pieces, and carried away a fabulous amount of wealth as booty.[305]

Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, on his side, concentrated most of his energies on cultivating good neighbourly relations with the Mughul Emperor, Akbar. His behaviour towards the dignitaries travelling to and from Qandahàr was always characterized by generous 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 Khàn from turning to Sind after his fall from grace with his imperial ward,[306] and, last but not the least, gave the hand of his daughter, Bhakkarì Bègum, in marriage to his Mughul overlord.[307]

304. *Ibid.*, pp.192-94.
305. Frederick Charles Danvers, The *Portugese and India, & c.*, London, 1894, vol.I, p.508, quoted in *T.T.*, pp.326-27n. Also see *T.S.*, pp.207-8, 222; *T.T.*, pp.111-14; *T.K.*, pp.135-36. This incident took place in 963/1556.
306. *T.S.*, pp.223-24; *H.A.T.S.*, pp.154-58 with all relevant notes.
307. *T.S.*, pp.229-30.

Marfat.com

23. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd and the Ṣafawid Court

On the other hand Sulṭàn Maḥmùd also wooed the Ṣafawids as a result of his feeling of insecurity, which in its turn was a natural consequence of the strategic position Bhakkar occupied on the highway to Qandahàr, 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 Tarkhàn counterpart in Thattah enjoyed as a matter of course. He was viewed by the Arghùn and Tarkhàn nobility of Thattah as a secessionist, and they turned to him only when they needed his assistance against one another. Therefore, side by side with all his conciliatory overtures towards the Mughul ruler of India, as a precaution against any expansionist designs of the latter, Sultàn Maḥmùd , taking advantage of certain factors such as the strategic importance of Bhakkar, Mughul and Ṣafawid rivalry for the possession of Qandahàr and his own Persian origin[307] also successfully established and maintained cordial relations with the Ṣafawid monarch Shàh Ṭahmàsb[308] and the princes of the royal blood responsible for the defence of Qandahàr and exchanged embassies with them.[309] 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.

In 965/1557-58, Shàh Ṭahmàsb's embassy arrived in Bhakkar and brought, among other things, the title of *Khàn* for Sulṭàn Maḥmùd.[310] A few years later, he obtained a recommendation from that monarch for Akbar to bestow on him the title of *Khàn-i Khànàn*. Unluckily for him, the exalted title was then held by no less a noble than Mun'im Khàn;[311] and it was against Akbar's policy to bestow such an exceptional honour on more than one noble at a time. Akbar, however, favoured Sulṭàn Maḥmùd with the title of *I'tibàr Khàn*,[312] after having already granted him the territories of Uchh, Jajhwàhàn and Bhattìwàhaṅ[313] in the wake of Shàh Ṭahmàsb's

308. See *infra*. In his petition to Shàh Ṭahmàsb, he reminded him of his ancestral sincerity and devotion (*iẓhàr-i ḥusn-i 'aqìdat wa ikhlàṣ-i maurùthì...numùdah*). *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.116.

309. For a fuller treatment of the subject, see Riazul Islam, "Iran and the Mughul Frontier Provinces (A Study of Diplomatic Contacts)," in *Miscellanea in Honorem Ibrahim* Purdavud, Tehran, 1976, pp.110-14; Pìr Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì's article referred to above in n.298.

310. See *T.S.*, pp.233-34.

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

312. For his life and career, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.24-25.

313. For the text of Shàh Ṭahmàsb's letter to Akbar in this regard, see *T.K.*, pp.496-98.

Contd....

Marfat.com

conferment of the title of *Khàn* on him.

24. Mìrzà Bàqì succeeds Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn

In 974/1566 Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's arch-enemy, Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, died and was succeeded by his son Mìrzà Bàqì, who at one stage had benefited from the hospitality and support of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd against his father and his heir-apparent Mìrzà Ṣàliḥ.[314] When Bàqì refused to accept the hegemony of his one-time benefactor, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, relying on Persian aid, unsuccessfully tried to foist his authority on the unstable principality of Thattah. Mìrzà Bàqì then complained about such attempted encroachments to Akbar,[315] among whose vassals both of them counted themselves.

Finally, when Sulṭàn Maḥmùd was locked in a stalemate with the Mughul commanders originally sent to reduce Thattah with his aid, among those who tried to defend the fort of Bhakkar, there was a contingent of Turk soldiers accompanying the Persian envoy Khwàjah Muḥammad Raḥìm,[316] who might have come from Qandahàr as a token of Persian help in response to an appeal from the beleaguered Sulṭàn Maḥmùd. In this situation, when Akbar, goaded by the desire to recover Qandahàr and notivated by the objective of securing his frontiers against all manner of aggression and adventurism from the side of the Uzbeks as well as the Persians, unleashed his onslaught against Sulṭàn Maḥmùd and the successors of Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, 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.

25. Nàhìd Bègum's Visit to Sind and Subsequent Events

In 975/1568,[319] Nàhìd Bègum came[320] to see her mother,[321] Ḥàjjì Màh

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 Sulṭàn Maḥmùd by Akbar. In the *farmàn* of Akbar sent to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd in connection with Nàhìd Bègum's visit to Thattah via Bhakkar, the following titles precede his name (which has been omitted by Namakìn):
*"Umdat al-Mulk Rukn al-Saltanat al-Qàhirah wa 'Aḍuddaulat al-Bàhirah Zubdat al-Mukhliṣìn fi'l-Dauràn Là'iq al-I'tibàr wa'l Iḥsàn Qudwat al-Khwànìn al-'uẓẓàm bayn al-aqràn Mubàriz al-Dìn....*See *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn, op.cit.*, p.11.

314. *T.S.*, p.223.
315. *Ibid.*, pp.224-25.
316. *A.N.*, vol.II, pp.278-79.
317. According to Mìr Ma'ṣùm (*T.S.*, p.244), he was sent by Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mìrzà Qandahàrì.
318. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.240. Cf. *T.A.*, vol.II, pp.232-33; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I. p.167.
319. She came to see her mother after a long time *(muddat-i-madid)*. See Akbar's *farmàn*

Contd....

Marfat.com

Bègum, the queen dowager of Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, the late founder of the Tarkhàn dynasty of Thattah. Akbar especially ordered Sulṭàn Maḥmùd 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 Thattah.[321] The arrival of the Bègum at Thattah alarmed Mìrzà Bàqì,[322] who had succeeded his father in the face of bitter opposition from the Arghùn nobility.[323] His indiscriminate extermination of his opponents,[324] killing[325] and kidnapping eminent citizens[326] and travellers,[327] had caused consternation throughout the region, and the reverberations of this reached the court of Akbar.[328] To make matters worse, his relations with his northern neighbour, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, were far from amiable [329] and his younger brother, Mìrzà Jàn Bàbà Tarkhàn, vehemently contested his claim to the throne.[330] Nàhìd Bègum, who according to some authorities had come with the intention of procuring the hand of Mìrzà 'Ìsà's daughter for Akbar,[331] soon married her own daughter [332] to Mìrzà Bàqì, and thus, for the time being at least, allayed his fears from her side.[333] Shortly thereafter, Jàn Bàbà, who had earlier been defeated by Mìrzà Bàqì,[334] sent Khàn-i Zamàn to launch a night attack on him while he was moored at Làkhah, a village on the bank of the Indus near Sann, in which Bàqì's wife, Rà'iḥah Bègum, the daughter of Nàhìd Bègum, was killed and he himself had a narrow escape.[335]

26. Mìrzà Bàqì Offers the Hand of His Daughter to Akbar

In 976/1568-69,[337] when Nàhìd Bègum decided to return to India, Mìrzà

referred to above in n. 313.

320. *A.N.*, vol.II, p.362; *T.S.*, pp.211, 226; *T.N.*, p.55.
321. See above, n. 319.
322. *A.N.*, vol.II, p.362; *T.N.*, p.55.
323. *T.T.*, p.115; *T.S.*, pp.210-11; *T.N.*, pp.51-52.
324. *T.S.*, p.211; *T.N.*, pp.52-55; *T.T.*, pp.118-21.
325. *T.S.*, p.213; *T.N.*, pp.59-63; *T.T.*, p.131.
326. *T.T.*, pp.131-37
327. *Ibid.*, p.138.
328. See *ibid.*, p.121; *T.N.*, p.59.
329. *T.S.*, pp.211, 213; *T.N.*, p.56; *A.N.*, vol.II, p.278.
330. *T.S.*, p.211; *T.N.*, p.56.
331. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.232; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.167.
332. She was previously married to and separated from Najàbat Khàn. See *T.S.*, p.212; *T.N.*, p.56, n.1.
333. *T.N.*, p.56.
334. *Ibid.*, p.57; *T.T.*, pp.126-27.
335. *Bèg. N.*, pp.107-14. Also see *T.S.*, p.212; *T.N.*, p.57; *T.T.*, pp.128-29.
336. *T.S.*, p.212; *T.N.*, p.58.
337. *T.S.*, p.212; *T.N.*, p.58; *Bèg. N.*, p.122.

Marfat.com

Baqì, as a proof of his recognition of the Mughul suzerainty, dispatched his daughter, Sindhì Bègum, with her for inclusion among the ladies of the royal seraglio. She was accompanied by a grand delegation, which included Ḥàjjì Màh Bègum, Yàdigàr, Miskìn and several other leading personages, and carried with it an array of splendid gifts for the Emperor.[337] On the way, the bridal procession was met by Mìrzà Jàn Bàbà, 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 Mìrzà Bàqì in Sind.[338] In the battle that ensued, the rebels, under the command of Ḥàjjì Màh Bègum, were defeated; and, Jàn Bàbà and Yàdigàr Miskìn fled to Kukràlah,[339] Nàhìd Bègum took refuge at Bhakkar, and Màh Bègum fell into the hands of Mìrzà Bàqì, who starved her to death.[340]

27. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's Offer of Help against Thattah

During Nàhìd Bègum's stay at Bhakkar, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd made her believe that, if her husband, Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn, would mount an expedition against Mìrzà Bàqì, he would be more than happy to help him in the successful execution of that campaign.[341] In subsequent audience with Akbar at Lahore, the Bègum, relying on this false assurance, not only told him the tragic story of her humiliation at the hands of Mìrzà Bàqì, but also pressed for the dispatch of a punitive expedition against him.[342] Consequently, the Emperor recalled Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn from retirement, favoured him with a standard and a drum, and, giving him five lakh tankahs worth of *jàgìr* in the *sarkàr* of Multàn as *madad-i ma'àsh,* sent him, together with his daughter's son Mujàhid Khàn to Bhakkar and ordered Sa'ìd Khàn, the governor of Multàn, to help him in the campaign.[343] According to Mughul chroniclers (whose proclivity to exaggerate the success of their master's arms against all odds can hardly be overlooked), Nàhìd Bègum arrived at Multàn, and, without accepting any assistance from Sa'ìd Khàn, counting entirely on the word of Maḥmùd Khàn, set out for Bhakkar[344] with a 200 to 400 strong cavalry,[345] which Muḥibb Alì Khàn had hurriedly mustered around himself. On the way, they also enlisted the

338. *T.S.*, p.212; *T.N.*, p.58. Cf. *Bèg.N.*, p.123; *A.N.*, vol.II, p.362.
339. *T.S.*, p.213; *T.N.*, p.59; *Bèg.N.*, p.124. Cf. A.N., vol.II, p.362.
340. *T.S*, p.227; *T.N.*, p.59. Also see *Bèg. N.*, p.123.
341. 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 *Tarkhàn Nàmah* (p.59), some Arghùns disaffected with Mìrzà Bàqì and then staying at Bhakkar accompanied the Bègum to the Mughul court.
342. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.233; *A.N.*, vol.II, p.362.
343. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.233; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.167-68. Cf. *T.S.*, p.227; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.240.
344. See *T.S.*, p.227.
345. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.168.

Marfat.com

support of 200 to 300 disgruntled Arghùns who had fled to Bhakkar from the oppression of Mìrzà Bàqì, and, failing to get any succour from the ruler of Bhakkar, were then on their way to the Mughul court. From Ùbàwṛah. 40 *kuròhs* from Bhakkar, Nàhìd Bègum sent a dispatch to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn to inform him of their arrival.[346] In his reply, the latter told her in no uncertain terms that he had no intention of allowing them to use his territory for an attack on Thattah, 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 Jaisalmèr; and in that event, too, they could rely only on limited material aid from him.[347] The sudden about-face of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd made Nàhìd Bègum change her origional plan. Given her intimate knowledge of the faction-ridden atmosphere of the Tarkhàn court and relying on the braggings of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, she had thought that the reduction of Thattah would prove an easy walk-over. Now she decided not to share the glory for the conquest of Thattah with anybody else; she even spurned the assistance that she was entitled to receive from the governor of Multàn under the orders of the Emperor. And so, after some hesitation caused by Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's indifference, Nàhìd Bègum and her associates pushed ahead towards Thattah regardless of the consequences.

28. First Encounter between Mughul and Bhakkarì Forces

At Màthìlah, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mubàrak Khàn,[348] a slave of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, intercepted them with a 2,000 strong cavalry, but he was defeated and pushed back into the local fort.[349] Sulṭan Maḥmùd dispatched Zayn al-'Abidìn Sulṭàn, at the head of 2,000 to 3,000 horsemen, to his rescue. Zayn al-'Àbidìn had hardly reached Linjwàrì, 18 *kuròhs* off Bhakkar, when Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's estranged[350] brother-in-law,[351] Abù al-Khayr Gùr, in the camp of Mujàhid Khàn, was sent to engage him. Abù al-Khayr made short work of the enemy and returned to Mujàhid Khàn. The defeat of Zayn al-'Àbidìn demoralized the garrison at Màthìlah, which had been under siege for six months; and Mubàrak Khàn capitulated on 1 Ṣafar 980/13 June 1572. The entire *parganah* of Màthìlah passed into the hands of the Mughuls.[352]

346. *T.S.*, p.227.
347. *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.168. Cf. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.240.
348. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.168, has Rà'èpad Qànùngù.
349. *T.S.*, p.228.
350. *Ibid.*, p.224.
351. *Ibid.*, p.235.
352. *Ibid.*, p.229. Also see *T.A.*, vol.II, p.234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.168; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.241.

Marfat.com

29. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Marries His Daughter to Akbar

Shortly afterwards, on 20 Ṣafar/2 July, Akbar's envoy, I'timàd Khàn,[353] arrived at Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's court to escort the latter's daughter, Bhakkarì Bègum, to join the ladies of the imperial harem. I'timàd Khàn brought the following gifts from the Emperor for Sulṭàn Maḥmùd; an elegant dress of honour, a bejewelled scimitar-belt, a horse with a saddle and reins, and four elephants. The Sulṭàn celebrated the occasion by holding extravagant feasts for 15 days, quite oblivious of the portents of doom within a few miles of his seat of government. On the day of the wedding (*'aqd*), these festivities reached their zenith and the ulema, saints and nobles were adequately honoured with rewards. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd offered 30,000 rupees in cash and kind to I'timàd Khàn and saw off his daughter with a grand dowry and an impressive entourage. With the best civil and military officers of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd sent with his embassy to the Mughul court, more and more power began to accumulate in the hands of Mubàrak Khàn, whose wife had also gone with Bhakkarì Bègum, and his dissolute and inordinately ambitious son, Bèg Òghlì. During this time, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd deployed Mubàrak Khàn with 1,000 to 1,500 horsemen at Alòr for the maintenance of law and order in that region, appointing Bèg Òghlì to the command of the fort of Bhakkar.

30. Bèg Òghlì Rebels against Sulṭàn Maḥmùd

During his father's absence, Bèg Òghlì hatched a plan to overthrow Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, who discovered the conspiracy in time to nip it in the bud and occupy the fort. Bèg Òghlì, however, succeeded in escaping with his wife and sister to Alòr. Reaching there, he misrepresented the facts and instigated his father to take up arms against his master. The following day, father and son moved to Ròhṛì, where they drew up their forces in front of the fort of Bhakkar; but before long, their men began to defect to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd. Realizing the danger, Bèg Òghlì went to the Mughuls on 22 Rajab 980/15 November 1572, and the following day returned with Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn and Mujàhid Khàn, with their troops, to besiege the fort of Bhakkar. This coincided with Nawwàb Sa'ìd Khàn's advance towards the town of Ròhṛì with strong artillery support. The Arghùn nobles who had suffered at the hands of Mubàrak Khàn and Bèg Òghlì, during the latter's heyday at the court of Bhakkar, told Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn that both of them were in collusion with the Nawwàb and were likely to defect to him in the near future.[354] Consequently, Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn, who already had an eye

353. For I'timàd Khàn, see *H.A.T.S.*,p.165, n.4.
354. *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.

Marfat.com

on the possessions of Mubàrak Khàn,[355] arrested him, Bèg Òghlì, and Khwàjah Fattàḥ, whose son had fled to Sa'ìd Khàn's brother,[356] Makhṣùṣ Khàn; and shortly thereafter put them all to death. A few days later, Sa'ìd Khàn ravaged the village called Gandaràn and went back to Multàn, leaving Muḥibb 'Alì and Mujàhid Khàn once again as the undisputed leaders of the Mughul campaign against Bhakkar.[357]

31. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Offers to Surrender the Fort

Sulṭàn Maḥmùd dispatched a contingent of his men in a number of *ghuràbs* under the command of his nephew, Muḥammad Qulì Bèg, to give battle to the imperialists; but as a result of a big explosion in his magazine, Qulì Bèg and many of his men were killed, and his expedition ended in disaster. A few days later, Mujàhid Khàn crossed the Indus at Panhwàrì, five *kuròhs* from Bhakkar; and, after inflicting a series of defeats on Sulṭàn Maḥmùd's men, succeeded in throwing a bridge across the river from the side of Sukkur and attacked Bhakkar. The Bhakkarì forces, together with a body of Qizilbàsh soldiers accompanying Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mìrzà Qandahàrì's envoy to Sulṭàn. Khwàjah Muḥammad Raḥìm, tried to halt the advance of the Mughul forces, but were badly beaten and obliged to retire into the fort. Thereafter, 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 Sulṭàn Maḥmùd waited upon the Emperor at Ajmèr and presented his gifts to the ladies of the royal household, the Emperor was so impressed that he dispatched a *farmàn* through Mìrjì Tawàjì conferring the territory of Bhakkar on Sulṭàn Maḥmùd. Muḥibb 'Alì and Mujàhid Khàn completely disregarded the contents of the royal decree; and, once Mìrjì Tawàjì had entered the fort, did not allow him to leave. From the beginning of Rajab 980/October-November 1572 to Ramaḍàn 982/October-December 1574 Sulṭàn Maḥmùd suffered from 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.[358] He was afraid of what might happen if he were to surrender the fort to Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn and Mujàhid Khàn.[359]

355. *A.N.*, vol.II, p.363; *T.S.*, p.233.
356. For his antecedents, see *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.323-24.
357. *T.S.*, p.233.
258. *T.S.*, p.235; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.91. According to *A.N.* (vol.II, p.91) and *M.U.*, (vol.II, p.242), Sulṭàn Maḥmùd offered the fort of Bhakkar as a present to the young Prince Salìm.
359. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.91; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.242.

Marfat.com

32. Arrival of Gìsù Khàn from the Mughul Court

Meanwhile, finding Sulṭàn Maḥmùd in severe straits and encouraged by the deep involvement of the Mughuls with the siege of Bhakkar, Mìr Abù al-Khayr Gùr proceeded with a small army of his own to Ganjàbah and occupied it. As soon as Mujàhid Khàn discovered this, he left Muḥibb 'Alì in charge of the siege operations, and himself hastened to dislodge Mìr Abù al-Khayr from Ganjàbah. During his absence, when some of the famine-stricken inmates of the fort tried to escape, Mujàhid Khàn's mother had them captured, tore open their abdomens and ravenously searched for gold. Preferring to die of hunger rather than being killed in such barbarous fashion, no one again attempted to escape from the fort. On 8 Ṣafar 982/30 May 1574, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd died, whereupon Muḥibb 'Alì made another determined effort to overwhelm the fort; but the tenacity of its defenders, reinforced by the unanimous dicision of the local religious and social elite not to surrender to Muḥibb 'Alì Khàn at any cost, prevented him from having his way.[360] Finally, on 12 Jumàdà I/30 August, Mìr Gìsù Khàn, who had been sent by Akbar to receive the keys of the fort from its defenders, divide the region of Bhakkar equally between Muḥibb 'Alì and Mujàhid Khàn, and oversee preparations for the reduction of Thattah, arrived.[361] He was about 10 *kuròhs* short of his destination, when Muḥibb 'Alì and his daughter, Ṣà'imah[362] Bègum, fitted out some *ghuràbs* (war-boats) and boats to intercept him.[363] The timely intervention of Khwàjah Muqìm Harawì, the father of Khwàjah Niẓàm al-Din Aḥmad, a famous historian, who had been sent as *amìn* to that region, however, staved off the crisis and Gìsù Khàn reached Bhakkar safely.[364] As soon as Mujàhid Khàn heard the news of Gìsù Khàn's arrival, he left Ganjàbah and hurried back to Bhakkar. Meanwhile, Gìsù Khàn tried to make Mujàhid Khàn's men leave Sukkur, but they refused to move before the arrival of their master. When Gìsù Khàn insisted, an armed conflict flared up, in which a number of men were killed and wounded on both sides. After about three days, Mujàhid Khàn arrived and moved his men to Ròhṛì, leaving Sukkur entirely under the control of Gìsù Khàn. Ròhṛì and the *parganah* of Bhakkar, however, remained under the control of Muḥibb 'Alì and Mujàhid Khàn. After about two months, Mujàhid Khàn left Muḥibb 'Alì in charge of his family at Ròhṛì, and himself proceeded to make preparations for the conquest of Thattah. He was still at Ràniìpùr, when, on 20 Ramaḍàn 982/3 January 1575, Gìsù Khàn fell upon Ròhṛì from two sides, set it on fire and

360. *T.S.*, pp.235-36.
361. *Ibid.*, p.242.
362. For Ṣà'imah Bègum, see *M.U.*, vol.III, p.242.
363. *T.S.*, p.236; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.91.
364. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.91; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.242-43.

Marfat.com

plundered it.[365] Muḥibb 'Alì ran for his life, leaving behind his family[366] and his standard and drum. The latter two were captured and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.[367] Mujàhid Khàn rode post-haste to Ròhṛì; but fear of the Emperor's retaliation prevented him from taking the field against Gìsù Khàn. On the other hand, since Gìsù Khàn's behaviour, even within the fort, left much to be desired, the Emperor transferred its administration and defence to Tarsùn Muḥammad Khàn and recalled Gìsù Khàn to court. In early Muḥarram 983/April 1575, Muḥammad Ṭàhir Khàn, Muḥammad Qàsim Khàn and Mirzà Muḥammad Sulṭàn arrived in Ròhṛì from court and forwarded a copy of the imperial *farmàn* to Gìsù Khàn. The latter at first tried to temporize, but then dispatched Sayyid Ṣafà'ì and some other dignitaries to start negotiations with the imperial envoys. The latter, who had been 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 to send a report attested by the witnesses (*maḥḍar*) to the Emperor. This clever move produced the desired effect, and Gìsù Khàn allowed the visitors to enter the fort.[368]

The Emperor had decreed that Gìsù Khàn, together with the Tarsùn 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 Khwàjah Malik Khwàjahsarà, Ra'è Singh Darbàrì and Banawàlìdàs Nawìsandah also arrived from court to give them a hand. They held a review of the treasure at Ròhṛì for the second time and, on 1 Rajab/6 October, left for court via Nagore.

33. Bhakkar Passes under Mughul Rule

In the meantime, when Tarsùn Muḥammad Khàn was just about to leave Bhakkar to follow his brothers, his opponents represented to the Emperor that the progeny of Sayf al-Mulùk should not be deputed to sensitive frontier regions and had his appointment cancelled. Akbar then entrusted the government of Àgrah to Tarsùn Muḥammad, and ordered Banawàlìdàs to go back to Bhakkar as *karòṛì* and look after the revenue administration of that region. Later on, the Emperor raised Sayyid Muḥammad, of Amròhah, to a *manṣab* of 1,000 and made him the governor of Bhakkar. Eminent Sayyid and scholar that he was, the powers of the *ṣadr* of the *a'immah* of that region were also vested in him. After the

365. *T.S.*, p.243.
366. *Bèg.N.* p.162.
367. *T.S.*, p.243.
368. *Ibid.*, pp.243-44.

Marfat.com

death of Sayyid Muḥammad, on 8 Sha'bàn 984/29 October 1576, his responsibilities devolved upon his son, Sayyid Abù al-Faḍl, who shouldered them quite effectively until 2 Dhìqa'dah 985/11 January 1578, when the government of Bhakkar was bestowed on I'timàd Khàn Khawàjahsarà. His brief rule came to an abrupt end on 10 Rabì' 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 'Àlì Fatḥ Khàn and Ràjà Parmànand, a relative of Ràjà Tòdarmal, who arrived there in Rajab/September-October of the same year. About two years later, Ràjà Parmànand was recalled; and shortly afterwards, when Fatḥ Khàn waited upon the Emperor, Ràjà Parmànand's *jàgìr* was added to that of Fatḥ Khàn's. Through his simplicity and the inexperience of his *wakìl*, Fatḥ Khàn was drawn into local power politics. He sent his army against Nàhar Khàn, who was then occupying the fort of Kankòt. During the fierce battle that followed, Fatḥ Khàn's brothers, his *wakìl*, Shihàb Khàn, and several other important personalities were killed.[369]

34. War of Succession and Mìrzà Jànì Bèg's Rise to Power

While, owing to its weak administration, Bhakkar was gradually sinking into complete chaos, on 8 Shawwàl 993/3 October 1585,[370] the ruler of Thattah, Mìrzà Bàqì Muḥammad Tarkhàn killed himself 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, Mìrzà Pàyandah Muḥammad and Mìrzà Muẓaffar Muḥammad, of whom, at that time, the first was at Sìwistàn and the second and younger at Badìn. For a while, it seemed that the entire nobility was resolved to support the younger brother's claim to the throne; and Mìrzà Muẓaffar's *wakìl*, Mìr 'Alì Khàn, hurried him to Thattah by forced marches. But, before his arrival, the nobles realized the possibility of power slipping into the hands of the Jàrèjah Sammahs, from whom Mìrzà Muẓaffar was descended on his mother's side, and they concluded that, even though Pàyandah Muḥammad was insane, his son, Mìrzà Jànì Bèg, was capable of running the government efficiently. They therefore halted Mìrzà Muẓaffar at the 'Alì Jàn, and hurriedly sent for Mìrzà Jànì Bèg from Sìwistàn.[371] The latter rushed to Thattah, supervised the accession of his father to the throne, and himself assumed the position of his *wakìl*. He faced two immediate major problems: the restoration of law and order throughout his dominions and the establishment of his authority. Instead of taking swift action against his

369. *Ibid.*, pp.245-47.
370. For his tombstone, see *M.N.*, pp.499-501 n.; *T.K.*, p.148, n.2.
371. *T.T.*, pp.160-62.

Marfat.com

opponents, and pushing them into the lap of the pretender to the throne, Mîrzà Muẓaffar, who was still encamped at the gates of the capital, Mîrzà Jànì Bèg chose to make a scapegoat of the erstwhile favourites of Mîrzà Bàqì, who had been falsely accused of murdering their master, and subjected them to barbarously exemplary punishments. Daryà'ì Àbdàr was burnt alive; Màrqadam Qùrchì was sawed into two from head to foot and each part of his body was thrown into the street; Hindù was stoned to death, and Malik Aḥmad [372] was skinned alive from head to toe, his body flung before dogs and skin stuffed and gibbeted in the market-place.[373] This savage execution of innocent officers served two purposes: on the one hand, it ingratiated the Mîrzà with their enemies and silenced the dissidents at his court, and, on the other, struck terror into the hearts of Mîrzà Muẓaffar[374] and his camp followers. Mîrzà Muẓaffar and his *wakìl* fled post-haste to Badìn, leaving behind both their belongings and a trail of ruin and devastation all through their path.[375] Having reached his stronghold in Badìn, Mîrzà Muẓaffar began mustering a strong army to mount an offensive against the ascendancy of Mîrzà Jànì at Thattah. To start with, Mîrzà Jànì tried to settle matters peacefully; but, when no alternative was left, he marched upon Badìn in full strength and, by a combination of intrigue and military ingenuity, broke the back of his uncle's rebellion forcing him to seek shelter with Rà'è Bahàrah of Kachh, a relative of the former from his mother's side — and incorporated Badìn into his own kingdom.[376]

35. Akbar Orders Reduction of Thattah

Mîrzà Jànì had hardly succeeded in restoring law and order in his dominions, when, towards the middle of Rabì' I 994/March 1586, Nawwàb Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn took over the charge of Bhakkar from Fatḥ Khàn and received orders from Akbar to subjugate Thattah,[377] whose new ruler

372. Given his high esteem in the eyes of Mîrzà Bàqì, his fate brings to mind the tragic end of Ḥasanak, a *wazìr* of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Ġhaznawì (388-421/998-1030) during the reign of the latter's son, Sulṭàn Mas'ùd. See *Ta'rìkh-i Bayhaqì, op.cit.*, p.221 ff.

373. *T.T.*, pp.162-63.

374. For him, see *Tùzuk*, p.215

375. *T.T.*, p.164.

376. *Ibid.* pp.164-68.

377. *T.S.*, p.247; *T.N.*, p.66. Ansar Zahid's assertion that "Ṣadiq Khàn was ordered [by Akbar] to rehabilitate his position by some remarkable deed and he decided to attack Thatta" (pp.52-53) is, to say the least, quite ingenuous. First of all, Ṣàdiq Khàn fell from grace in 982/1574-75 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 983/1575-76 (at least a decade before his attack on Thattah), he produced 100 elephants as a compensation for the lost beast. (*ibid.*,

Marfat.com

had so far failed to make any formal profession of loyalty to the traditional Mughul overlord. As soon as Mìrzà Jànì learnt of this ominous development, he raised the rank of Mìr Jalàl al-Dìn,[378] the *Shaykh al-Islàm* of Thattah, by giving him in marriage a daughter of the late Mìrzà Ṣàliḥ Tarkhàn, and dispatched him, with petitions and suitable gifts, as his ambassador to the court of Akbar.[379] In the former, he reiterated the hereditary vassalage of his family to the house of the Mughuls.[380] In keeping with the custom of those days,[381] Akbar delayed the departure of the Tarkhàn envoy from his court, and awaited news of the outcome of the expedition Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn had been directed to undertake against Thattah.[382] While Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn was still engaged in the affairs of Bhakkar, armed skirmishes started between his men and the soldiers of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg. In one of these encounters, at Pàtar, picked soldiers of the latter, such as Sulṭàn Muḥammad Khàn Barandaq, Kùchik bin Subḥàn Qulì and 'Abd Allàh Kanjarjah, were killed, and Dastam's father, Rustam, was taken captive. In Dhì al-Ḥijjah 994/ November–December 1586, Ṣàdiq Muḥammad personally advanced upon Sìwistàn. Subḥàn Qulì Arghùn, 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 *ghuràbs* and boats. As soon as Ṣàdiq Muḥammad made his appearance before the fort, Subḥàn Qulì sallied forth in a *ghuràb* to encounter him, but was defeated and taken prisoner. A number of his men were killed and wounded, and 12 of his *ghuràbs* also fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Emboldened by this success, Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn went ahead and laid siege to the fort of Sìwistàn.[383] The leading Tarkhàn nobles, including Bulbul Khàn, Mullà Gadà 'Alì, alias Bhà'ì Khàn, and Mihtah Ghùriyah Lòhànah, who were greatly indebted to Mìrzà Jànì for their newly acquired prominence,[384] stoutly defended the

p.142). Secondly, the very fact that he was dismissed to Thattah (*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 Patnah and Ḥàjjìpùr that the tragic incident of the loss of Làl, the favourite imperial elephant, took place, and it was probably to Patnah, and not to Thattah, that Ṣàdiq Khàn was sent back to find and produce a comparable elephant, since Patnah was a more appropriate place for obtaining elephants.

378. He waited upon the Emperor on 28 Àbàn 994/19 November 1585. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.509.
379. *T.N.*, pp.66-67.
380. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.509. Beveridge (*A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.776) has failed to grasp the real sense of the sentence.
381. For details, see Riazul Islam, pp.233-34.
382. See *T.N.*, p.69.
383. *T.S.*, pp.247-78. Also see *A.N.*, vol.III, p.495.
384. See *T.T.*, p.169.

Marfat.com

fort.[385] Ṣàdiq 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.[386] As the siege dragged on, Mìrzà Jànì dispatched Khàn-i Zamàn to drive away the tribes inhabiting the tract between Naṣrpùr and Sìwistàn before they could throw in their lot with the invading Mughul forces; and himself set out for Sìwistàn at the head of a mammoth army, comprising Mughuls, Sindhìs, Shùrahs, Samèjahs, Sammahs, Sùmrahs, Khùrs, Nakàmrahs, Palèjahs, and Dals.[387] Frustrated in his efforts to reduce the fort, Ṣàdiq Khàn sent a detachment to challenge Khàn-i Zamàn, but to no avail. The news of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg's arrival gave a big boost to the morale of the garrison at Sìwistàn; and the Sindhì soldiers increased their night attacks on the besiegers. They harassed them and looted their belongings, including horses, mules and camels, and killed whoever stood in their way. In the meantime, having arrived at Mihràn, some 6 *kuròhs* from Sìwistàn, Mìrzà Jànì pitched his tents there; and, entrusting the command of the riverine fleet to Khusrau Khàn Charkas and that of the ground forces to Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, dispatched these forces against Ṣàdiq Khàn. The latter was so nonplussed with this unexpected development that he saw his safety only in retreat to his base at Bhakkar.[388] According to one source,[389] he was in such a hurry that he had his boat towed by an elephant. Khusrau Khàn arrived at Sìwistàn and stayed there, while Mìr Abù al-Qàsim proceeded to Rèl and returned with a large number of cattle, which he had rounded up from the region of Bhakkar.[390]

36. Exchange of Embassies between Jànì Bèg and Akbar

Though the news of his general's defeat was quite embarrassing for Akbar, he made a virtue of necessity and ordered Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn to cease hostilities against the ruler of Thattah, and at the same time dismissed the embassy of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg with a variety of honours.[391] As a mark of still more consideration for the latter, he dispatched a distinguished diplomat, Ḥakìm 'Ayn al-Mulk,[392] the newly appointed

385. *Ibid.*, p.171.
386. *T.S.*, p.248; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.495; *T.T.*, p.172.
387. *T.T.*, p.172.
388. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.495; *Bèg.N.* p.230.
389. *T.T.*, p.173.
390. *Bèg.N.*, p.230.
391. *T.N.*, pp.69-70.
392. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.406. He was married to one of the sisters of Abù al-Faḍl and Faydì. For more information about him, see Mullà Qàṭi'ì Harawì, *op.cit.*, pp.58-60; 231n; Abù al-Fayḍ Faydì, *Inshà-i Fayḍì*, ed., A.D. Arshad, Lahore, n.d., pp.256-88.

Marfat.com

bakhshì of Àgrah,[393] with the Mìrzà's ambassador. After spending at least six months at Thattah, the Ḥakìm accompanied the Mìrzà's new embassy to the Mughul court and presented to the Emperor the latter's *'arḍdàsht* and *pìshkash*, some time after 4 Jumàdà I 997/21 March 1589.[394]

37. Akbar Decides on Military Action against Qandahàr and Thattah

With Kàbul and Kashmìr already securely in his hands, and the Afghàn tribes of the Frontier thoroughly beaten, Akbar quite naturally[395] now turned his attentions to the affairs of Thattah and Qandahàr. In spite of the fact that the royal court had been established in the Panjàb since 994/1586,[396] the ruler of Thattah had shown no inclination to pay his homage to the Emperor personally;[397] and all attempts to bring him to his senses had ended in utter failure. On the other hand, the mutual bickerings of the Mìrzàs of Qandahàr, their strained relations with neighbouring Sìstàn,[398] and the constant instability and turmoil characterizing the Iranian political scene,[399] together with the covetous designs of the Uzbeks against Ìràn,[400] made it all the more imperative for the Mughul monarch to take necessary steps for the protection of his interests in that sector.[401] Consequently, side by side with his diplomatic negotiations with Mìrzà Jànì, Akbar seems, as early as the end of 997/1589[402] or the beginning of 998/1589, to have made up his mind in favour of military action against Qandahàr and Thattah. Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn,[403] one of the finest generals of the empire, was chosen for the task; but, owing to some unknown

393. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.511
394. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.407.
395. See *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.493-94; *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.748.
396. Akbar reached Lahore on 15 Khurdàd 994/5 June 1586. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.494.
397. *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.
398. The Mìrzàs were also in revolt against the Shàh of Ìràn (*A.N.*, vol.III, p.584) and disturbing news was coming from Qandahàr (*Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl*, Delhi, 1262/1845-6, p.129).
399. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.584. Also see Riazul Islam, p.51.
400. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.584; Riazul Islam, pp.51-55.
401. Akbar was already on the look out for the recovery of Qandahàr from the Ṣafawids (See *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl*, *op.cit.*, p.70), and the present circumstances were ideal for action (see *ibid.*, p.129).
402. See Abù al-Faḍl's letter dated Jalàlàbàd, 16 Ṣafar 998/25 December 1589, urging him not to delay the campaign for the conquest of Qandahàr and Thattah. *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, op.cit.*, p.128.
403. For his life and achievements, see 'Abd al-Bàqì Nihàwandì, *Ma'àthir-i Raḥìmì*, 3 volumes, Calcutta, 1924-31; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.31-63; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.692-712; Kèwalràm, *s.v.*

Marfat.com

circumstances,[404] the campaign did not get off the ground for about two years. In 998/1589,[405] the Emperor bestowed Multàn and Bhakkar on the Khàn-i Khànàn and ordered him to undertake military operations against Qandahàr.[406] The latter was supposed to ask the ruler of Thattah to accompany him or send his troops for the execution of that campaign. If he agreed, Akbar told the Khàn-i Khànàn, well and good; otherwise, he was to chastise Jànì Bèg on his way back.[407] In bidding farewell to the distinguished commander, the Emperor personally went out of Lahore for about a league.[408] Behaving rather curiously, however, the Khàn-i Khànàn, probably impelled by considerations of richer booty,[409] first attacked Thattah,[410] much to the displeasure of Akbar. Nevertheless, once operations against the Tarkhàn ruler of Thattah got under way, the Emperor not only gave them his approval, but also favoured the Khàn-i Khànàn with reinforcements.

38. Mughul Advance upon Sihwàn

The Khàn-i Khànàn was still encamped near Multàn, when the Balùch tribes of the vicinity waited on him and made their submission. Subsequently, when the imperial forces marched to Bhakkar and were set up in battle array, Mìrzà Jànì offered to extend his military cooperation to the Khàn-i Khànàn in his campaign against Qandahàr. The latter, however, put the Sindhì envoys under detention and ordered his troops to continue their march.[411] Shortly afterwards, a fire broke out in the fort of Sihwàn and destroyed its provisions. Encouraged by this news, the Mughuls advanced rapidly upon it overland and by water-ways.[412]

404. Apparently, the Khàn-i Khànàn was under a cloud for some reason. One of the *parganahs* in his *jàgìr was taken over by the* Crown and the arrears he owed to the court were deducted from the income of his *jàgìr* in Jaunpùr. See Abù-Faḍl's letter referred to above in n. 402.
405. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I. p.34.
406. According to Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì (*idem.)*, Akbar asked him to "conquer the country of Sind and Thattah." Cf. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.412; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.585.
407. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.585. One gathers from Abù al-Faḍl's letters to the Khàn-i Khànàn that Akbar was as bent upon the reduction of Thattah as that of Qandahàr, but wished the latter to precede the former. See *Har sih daftar-i Abù* al-Faḍl, *op.cit.*, pp.128, 133.
408. The Khàn-i Khànàn 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.584-55. Shaykh Faydì celebrated the departure of the Khàn-i Khànàn for Thattah by composing the chronogram Qaṣd-i Tattah 999 A.H.). *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.35.
409. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.601; *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, op.cit.*, p.115.
410. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.601; *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, op.cit.*, pp.115-16.
411. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.601.
412. *Ibid.*

Marfat.com

Standing on top of a ridge,[413] the fort of Sihwàn lay on the main line of communication to the Tarkhàn capital.[414] As the Mughul men and boats would have to pass by it in their march towards Thattah, the Khàn-i Khànàn, on the advice of his officers, set himself to take it.[415] At the same time, while Qarà Bèg[416] sailed towards the Mànchhur lake, captured large booty and subdued the local *zamìndàrs*, another body of men went further down the river and seized the strategic defile of Lakkì,[415] which, according to Abù al-Faḍl, was as important for the reduction of Thattah, as Garhì for Bengàl's or Bàràmùla for Kashmìr's.[418] On hearing about the siege of Sìwistàn, Jànì Bèg set out from Thattah with all the force he could muster.[419] In response, the Khàn-i Khànàn lifted the siege and turned towards the Mìrzà.[420]

39. Mìrzà Jànì Prepares to Meet the Mughuls

Mìrzà Jànì Bèg at first pitched his tents at Naṣrpùr,[421] on the left bank of the river, about 75 miles south-east of Sihwan, [422] dug trenches, constructed a fort, and drove away the indigenous population, lest they conspire with invading Mughul armies. But before long, realizing the vulnerability of his position here,[423] he moved 10 miles higher up the left bank to a village called Bùhirì[424] Jàhèjah,[425] and set up fortifications,

413. According to Mullà 'Abd al-Bàqì Nihàwandì, in its height, the fort of Sihwàn was comparable to that of Asìr; 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.
414. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.602.
415. *T.S.*, p.252; *T.N.*, p.71. Cf. *T.T.*, p.181.
416. See *infra*.
417. "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.181-82; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.601; *T.N.*, p.77; *Maz.Sh.*, pp.60-61.
418. Abù al-Faḍl also refers to it as the 'gate to the country of Sind.' See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.601.
419. *T.S.*, p.252; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.414; *T.F.*, Maqàlah ii, p.267; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.180; *Bèg.N.*, p.231; *T.N.*, p.71. According to the latter, the Mìrzà advanced at the head of 60,000 horse, 300 *ghuràbs*, and a large number of boats full of fighting men, artillery and other equipment.
420. *T.S.*, p.252; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.414; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.35; *T.F.*, Maqalah viii, p.323; Cf.*ibid.*, Maqàlah ii, p.267; *M.R.*,vol.II, pp.346, 360. According to *T.T.*, p.181, the Khàn-i Khànàn lifted the siege, because as long as other parts of Sind, and its ruler were not subdued, the conquest of Sihwàn was meaningless.
421. *Bèg.N.*, p.232.
422. *I.D.C.*, p.103.
423. *Bèg.N.*, p.332.
424. *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,

Contd....

Marfat.com

entrusting the task of defending each position to one of his leading nobles. The new place was nearly impregnable, since one of its sides was washed by the river and the other, by which the enemy might attempt to approach, was protected by a huge tract of low-lying quagmire,[426] on which, in the words of Idràkì Bèglàrì, if anyone set foot, he would sink up to his neck.[427] The Khàn-i Khànàn was still undecided about his next moves, when news arrived that Ràwal Bhìm[428] of Jaisalmèr, and Dalpat,[429] son of Rà'è Singh, of Bìkànèr, who were to have come via Bhakkar, had lost their way and now planned to approach the Mughuls via 'Umarkòt. To prevent the army of Jànì Bèg from achieving an upper hand against this force, the Khàn-i Khànàn left behind a body of troops to keep the mind of the Sihwàn garrison occupied and to ensure safe communications, and himself went ahead without any loss of time. On 18 Àbàn 1000/9 November 1591, the Mughuls stopped 6 *kurohs*[430] short of the enemy's fortifications and encamped there.

40. Intrigue in the Tarkhàn Camp

On hearing of this, Jànì Bèg convened a meeting of his nobles and argued that, with the vast resources of the Emperor, the forces of the Khàn-i Khànàn would constantly be reinforced, whereas the Sindhì forces were limited and had nothing to fall back upon.[431] Circumstances, he said, made it imperative to launch a concerted attack on the positions of

T.F., Maqàlah ii, p.268, and *ibid.*, Maqàlah viii, p.323, are reticent about the name of the place, and confine themselves to saying that the Mìrzà 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 'buhrì' or 'kuhri' is the word used in Sindhì to denote a pool of water on the bank of a river left behind by a flood. N.A. Baloch identifies Buhrì with a place now called Bohriyòn situated near Ùdèròlàl, the modern name for Jàhèjah. See *T.T.*, p.334n.

425. *Bèg.N.*,p.232.

426. Original: *chhallah,* which is variously translated by scholars, but the translation that fits the context, as suggested by Hodivala, is 'quagmire, quicksands, slough or morass.' See Hodivala, vol.I, p.113. *T.N.*, p.232, refers to it as *jumjumah.*

427. Bèg.N., p.232.

428. He held a mansab of 500 under Akbar (*A.A.*, vol.I, p.163) while he was still a prince. Jahàngìr married the Raja's daughter and bestowed on her the title of *Malikah-i Jahàn* (Queen of the World). On his death, Ràwal Bhìm was survived by a two month-old son, but he too died soon. In 1025/1616, Jahàngìr summoned Bhìm's younger brother, Lakyan, and exalted him with the tika of Ràjà and the title of Ràwal. *Tuzuk*(R&B), vol.I, pp.325-26, *Tùzuk,* pp.159-60.

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

430. *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.

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

Marfat.com

the Mughuls from the river as well as by land.[432] The nobles concurred; and the following day, in keeping with this decision, Khusrau Khàn Charkas proceeded upstream at the head of an impressive flotilla.[433] 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 imperial forces. While the armies on both banks of the Indus were being put in battle array to give support to the riverine expedition of Khusrau Khàn, his rivals[434] at the Tarkhàn court prevailed upon Jànì Bèg to await the outcome of his encounter with the fleet of the Khàn-i Khànàn. This fleet, they argued, was no match for the Sindhì flotilla and Khusrau Khàn could easily make short work of it, whereas the land forces of the Khàn-i Khànàn were far too strong to be engaged without further preparation. Misled by the selfish counsel of vested interests, the Mìrzà faltered in his resolution and halted the departure of the land reinforcements for his riverine flotilla.[435] As ensuing developments showed, this folly changed the course of events for Jàni Bèg and cost him dear.

41. Khusrau Khàn Charkas Attacks Mughul Positions

It was around midday[436] when Khusrau Khàn came within sight of the advance position of the Mughuls, but their fleet was nowhere to be seen. Moreover, to his amazement, he discovered that the major encampments of the Khàn-i Khànàn lay a quarter of a *kuròh* further up and could only

432. *T.N.*, pp.71-72.

433. *Ibid.* According to *T.A.*,vol.II, p.414, it consisted of more than 100 *ghurabs* and 200 boats full of archers, gunners and heavy artillery. Cf. *T.S.*, p.252; *M.R.*,vol.II, p.360.

434. See *T.T.*,184.

435. *T.N.*, p.72; *T.T.*, p.184. Nevertheless, there was also a rumour that the land forces were advancing under the personal command of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.602.

436. *T.N.*, p.72; *T.S.*, p.252; *ba'd az waqt-i zawàl; M.R.*, vol.II, p.346; *waqt-i zawàl-i àftàb.* Except for the I.O. MS. 3747 of the *T.S.*, which records the date of this battle as "Shawwàl 999"/July-August 1591, all the other MSS. of the work leave a gap here (see *H.A.T.S.*, p.197, n.1) Abù al-Faḍl (*A.N.*, vol.III, p.602) mentions the date of Khusrau Charkas's arrival as 21 Àbàn 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 1000/12 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 Àbàn of the 36 regnal year of Akbar as its corresponding Iranian month, and thus obviates all chances of ascribing this slip to the unfortunate scribes! Beveridge's conversions from the Hijrah to the Gregorian 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 quoted them uncritically.

Marfat.com

be reached by passing through a narrow channel of the river, on one side of which, the Mughuls had thrown up a redoubt in the sands and strengthened it with artillery, and on the other, sandbanks obstructed the passage of all traffic.[437] While he waited in vain for the land reinforcements, the Mughuls opened fire. The exchange continued till dark and claimed the lives of many of Khusrau Khàn's men.[438] Under the veil of night, each side tried to gain some advantage. While a body of Sindhì soldiers mounted a surprise attack on the alert Mughuls in the major camp,[439] the Khàn-i Khànàn successfully transferred a contingent of his men across the river.[440] They took up their positions just opposite the Mughul redoubt on their side of the stream. Khusrau Khàn 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 banks.[441] The Mughuls resisted this with strong artillery fire.[442] The initially misaimed 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 amongst the invading fleet. In the beginning, the swiftness and ingenuity of the Sindhì boatmen kept the loss of their vessels to a minimum; but as the day wore on, the strong current and the accuracy of the Mughul artillery combined to cause an increasing number of casualties. This convinced Khusrau Khàn of the futility of his endeavours and he decided to retreat. As soon as he relaxed his offensive, the Mughuls swooped upon his flotilla from every direction[443] To avoid panic among his men, Khusrau Khàn, who had led the attack, chose to remain at the tail of the withdrawing forces, and tried to hold back the pursuing Mughul war-boats.[444] Here, at one stage, he was almost captured by the Mughuls; but, thanks to timely help from one of his comrades[445] and a sudden explosion in one of the Mughul[446] boats, claiming many lives,[447] he

437. *T.S.*, p.252; *T.N.*, pp.72-73.
438. *T.N.*, p.73.
439. *T.S.*, p.253. According to *M.R.*, vol.II, p.346, this attack was launched by some *ghuràbs*.
440. *T.S.*, p.253; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.602. Cf. *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.919.
441. *T.N.*, p.73.
442. *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.
443. *T.S.*, p.253; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.602.
444. *T.S.*, p.253; *T.N.*, p.73.
445. *T.N.*, p.73. Cf. *T.T.* p.185; I.D.C., pp.105-6, n.128; Hodivala, vol.I, pp.122-23.
446. According to *M.R.*, vol.II, p.361, the explosion took place in one of Khusrau Khàn's own boats.
447. *T.S.*, p.253; *T.N.*, pp.73-74; *A.N.*,vol.III, p.603.

Marfat.com

succeeded in making good his escape.

Several of his vessels were sunk, and four *ghuràbs* full of men and stores fell into the hands of the Mughuls.[448] In one of them was the Portuguese factor[449] from Hurmuz, stationed at Thattah. Since European skill and ingenuity in the arts of war were widely recognized, Mìrzà Jànì had set the Portuguese factor, and many of his own men dressed up in Portuguese clothes, to add prestige to his strength. However, with the failure of the expected land support, the whole adventure ended up in a fiasco, and Khusrau Khàn suffered a tragic loss of 200 dead and 1,000 injured.[450]

42. The Khàn-i Khànàn Lays Siege to Bùhìrì Jàhèjah

Although some Mughul officers were in favour of a relentless pursuit of the retreating Sindhì forces, this idea had to be abandoned because of the rapidly gathering darkness.[451] The following day, the Khàn-i Khànàn went ahead and laid siege to the fort[452] of Bùhìrì Jàhèjah. 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 Mughuls tried to approach the fort through *sàbàṭs*;[453] but the vigilance of the garrison aborted all their attempts. The only hope for the conquest of the fort now lay in the capture of a commanding position in front of it, just across the stream; but there too, Khusrau Khàn Charkas had constructed a fortress surrounded by a ditch full of water. The Khàn-i Khànàn tried to storm it, but to no avail.[454]

448. *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.
449. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.603; *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.920, n.1; Hodivala, vol.I, p.122; *T.T.*, p.185.
450. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.603. Also see *T.A.*, vol.II, p.414; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.35. Many of Khusrau Khàn's men were taken prisoner (*M.R.*, vol.II, pp.346, 361); and to celebrate the victory, the Khàn-i Khànàn raised a tower of the enemy's heads and held feasts. *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.362.
451. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.603. Akbar was very keenly pursuing the fortunes of his army in this campaign, and restively waited for news from the front, which finally arrived on 13 Àdhar 1000/4 December 1591. *Ibid.*
452. *T.S.*, p.254; *T.N.*, p.74; *M.R.*, vol.II, pp.346, 362. Cf. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.414. According to Abù al-Fadl the fort was invested on 9 Àdhar 1000/30 November 1591. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.606.
453. According to a contemporary account, '*sàbàṭ*' is a word used to describe two walls whose foundations are laid at a distance of about one musket from the fort and under the shelter of whose planks, fastened together and covered with raw hide, a kind of lane is constructed to the walls of the fort, from which the walls of the fort are battered by cannon balls. See *T.A.*,tr., vol.II, p.244.
454. *Bèg.N.*, p.237.

Marfat.com

Meanwhile, skirmishes around the fort of Bùhìrì continued[455] and men from both sides lost their lives everyday.[456] Ensconced in a formidable fort, and emboldened by his numerical strength, abundance of supplies, and help from the peasantry, Jànì Bèg had fixed his hopes on the forthcoming rainy season, when the Mughul forces would be obliged to lift the siege and he would be blessed with a grand victory.[457] To aid their passive resistance, the Sindhìs, on the one hand, scoured all the surrounding countryside for available foodstuffs and made sure nothing reached the besiegers,[458] on the other, they frequently stole out of their stronghold and returned with whatever they could lay their hands on in the imperial camp.[459] This caused extreme scarcity and despair among the followers of the Khàn-i Khànàn,[460] and even a constant stream of reinforcements from the royal court[461] was not enough to alleviate it.

43. The Khàn-i Khànàn Lifts the Siege

Finally, after spending about two months [462] in fruitless operations, the Khàn-i Khànàn decided to lift the siege, spend the rainy season somewhere else, and then return and resume the fighting.[463] According to the *Tarkhàn Nàmah*, the Khàn-i Khànàn took this decision on the secret advice of one of the principal officers of Jànì Bèg, Ghùriyah 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 Mìrzà was stationed at Bùhìrì. Meanwhile, Ghùriyah and other like-minded officers would prevail upon the Mìrzà to abandon the fort and take the

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

456. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.416; *T.T.*, pp.182-83. According to the latter, for every enemy head the Mìrzà's men brought in they received a reward of 500 *kabìrs*; but as the siege dragged on and money ran short, Mìrzà Jànì, on the recommendation of Mihtah Ghùriyah (cf. Hodivala, vol.I, p.122), reduced the reward to 50 *kabìrs*. Each *kabir* consisted of 12 *mìrìs*, or *pùstnìs*, and 6 *kabìrs* went to a *tankah*. This *tankah*, as pointed out by Hodivala (*ibid.*) was the *shàhrukhì* or *mithqàl*, which was worth about 2/5ths of an Akbarì rupee.

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

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

459. In one of these night attacks, the Sindhì soldiers not only decamped with the imperial treasury, but also killed many of the Khàn-i Khànàn's men. *T.T.*, p.184.

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

461. In response to the Khàn-i Khànàn's request for reinforcements, Akbar sent him 150,000 rupees, and on another occasion 100,000 rupees, and on yet another one lakh maunds of grain, some big guns, and a body of gunners. Moreover, Ra'è Singh, a *manṣabdàr* with a rank of 4,000, was also dispatched via Jaisalmèr, 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.

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

Marfat.com

field, where he would not be able to withstand the sudden onslaught of the Mughuls and would surrender.[464] Be that as it may, on 27 Day 1000/17 January 1592,[465] the Khàn-i Khànàn raised the siege and dispatched a considerable body of his army to resume the siege of Sihwàn,[466] while he, with the rest of his men, marched towards Thattah, with the dual aim of procuring provisions for his army and causing consternation in the minds of the garrison at Bùhìrì,[467] as most of their families were in the fort of Tughluqàbàd,[468] 3 miles south of Thattah.[469] To start with, the Khàn-i Khànàn proceeded to Kàkṛì Palèjah, despoiled the inhabitants of the village Tòrkì, and the following day encamped near the fort of Shàhgaṛh.[470] They had hardly started operations, when the strong defensive measures taken by Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn,[471] the commandant of the fort, soon convinced them of the formidable nature of their task.[472] Hence, they split themselves into a number of divisions, each marching in a different direction. One division was dispatched to Agham,[473] a prosperous area, under the command of Bakhtiyàr Bèg,[474] who was charged with the task of keeping an eye on the movements of Mìrzà Jànì, ensuring a safe journey for the fleet sent to Sihwàn, and forestalling any attempt by the Mìrzà's men to lay their hands on the Lakkì pass.[475] The divisions sent to Badìn, Fathbàgh, Jaun and 'Umarkòt achieved considerable success; but the one entrusted with the reduction of Thattah was deeply disappointed, as the town had been evacuated and set on fire by the inhabitants.[476]

44. Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Sets Out for Sihwàn

According to some sources, the Mìrzà was tempted to attack the

463. *T.N.*, p.74.
464. *Ibid.*, p.75.
465. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608.
466. *Ibid. T.A.*, vol.II. pp.416-17; *T.S.*, p.254; *T.N.*, p.75.
467. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608.
468. *T.N.*, p.75. This fort was also known as Kalànkòt; see *T.K.*, p.104.
469. *T.T.*, p.306n.
470. The remains of this fort, now known as Abul jò Kòt, still exist about seven miles east of Nasṛpùr. See *T.T.*, p.335n.
471. For his particulars, see *infra.*
472. *Bèg.N.* p.234.
473. Lying 30 miles south-east of Hyderabad, in the *ta'alluqah* of Matlì, this place is now known as Kòt Aghamànì, or Aghamànò, and the remains of the old town can still be seen there. See *T.S.*, p.314n.; *T.T.*, p.76.
474. For particulars, see *infra*.
475. *A.N.*, vol.II, p.608; *Bèg.N.*, p.234. Also see *T.N.*, p.76.
476. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608. Also see *T.N.*, p.76.

Marfat.com

imperial detachment sent to Sihwàn, because of its apparent weakness,[477] but according to others, this detachment had already reached Sihwàn and laid siege to the fort.[478] When this siege dragged on and the garrison was reduced to extremities, they pleaded for immediate relief, writing to the Mìrzà that, before long, they would be killed and the fort would fall to the enemy. Though his officers widely differed on what he should do,[479] Jànì Bèg inebriated with youth and encouraged by his numbers,[480] chose an adventurous path. He issued forth from Bùhirì and hastened to Sihwàn.[481] As soon as news of his advance spread, Bakhtiyàr Bèg lifted his siege of Agham and rushed to give battle to the Tarkhàn chief near the strategic Lakkì gorge.[482] The Khàn-i Khànàn dispatched a strong detachment under Daùlat Khàn Lòdì to the aid of Bakhtiyàr Bèg and himself also set out behind him.[483] This detachment traversed a distance of 80 *kuròhs* in two days and met Bakhtiyàr Bèg near the Lakkì pass,[484] whence the two detachments marched on 21 Farwardìn 1000/11 April 1592,[485] to take the field against Jànì Bèg. Authorities widely differ on the comparative strength of the combatants,[486] but the general impression one gets is that the Mìrzà's army was far superior and better equipped, as well as more ethnically diversified.

45. The Mughuls Surprise and Defeat the Sindhì Forces

The Mìrzà, however, was still arranging his forces, when the Mughuls fell upon him[487] about 4 *kuròhs* south of the Lakkì pass. With his numerical strength, the Mìrzà soon succeeded in snatching the initiative from the Mughuls;[488] but, at this stage, as luck would have it, a sudden dust storm, in which one of his elephants went berserk, plunged the entire Tarkhàn army into pandemonium.[489] While his men ran for their lives, the Mìrzà surrounded by a handful of faithful followers, stood firm. But while a

477. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.417.
478. *T.S.*, p.254; *T.N.*, p.76; *Bèg.N.*, p.234.
479. See *Bèg.N.*, pp.234-35; *T.N.*, pp.76-77
480. *Bèg.N.*, p.235.
481. At this stage, Shàh Bèg returned from Shàhgarh, laid waste the Bùhirì fort, and sent messages to imperial troops spread all over lower Sind. *T.N.*, p.77.
482. *T.S.*, p.254; *T.N.*, p.77.
483. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608. Also see *T.S.*, p.254.
484. *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.
485. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.608.
486. *T.N., pp.77-88; A.N.*, vol.III, p.609; *T.S.*, pp.254-55; *M.R.*, vol.II, p.347.
487. *T.S.*, p.255.
488. *Ibid.; A.N.*, vol.III, p.609; *T.T.*, p.187; *T.N.*, p.78; *M.R.*, vol.II, p.347.
489. *T.T.*, p.188; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.609. Also see *Bèg.N.*, p.236.

Marfat.com

chance to escape still remained, his attendants finally prevailed upon him to leave the battlefield.[490] Jànì Bèg at first contemplated a return to his previous stronghold; but the Khàn-i Khànàn had already laid it waste.[491] Hence, he sailed down some 20 *kuròhs* from the battlefield to Ùnarpùr,[492] which lay 4 *kuròhs* from Hàlah and 40 *kuròhs* from Sihwàn.[493] It was around the time for afternoon prayers that Jànì Bèg arrived there and set about strengthening his defences. The place was a sandy desert and labourers and implements were hard to come by. The sails of boats were made into sacks, which were filled with sand and heaped one upon the other to arrange a makeshift defensive position.[494] This was encircled by a deep and wide moat.[495]

46. The Mughuls Lay Siege to Sindhì Fortification at Ùnarpùr

Daulat Khàn,[496] who was pursuing the Mìrzà, arrived on his heels and laid siege to his hurriedly put up fortifications. On hearing this, the Khàn-i Khànàn first dispatched Shàh Bèg Khàn[497] to invest the fort of Shàhgarh, from where he continually sent marauding parties into the countryside and occasionally engaged in skirmishes with the men of Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn.[498] Then the Khàn-i Khànàn himself set out for Unarpùr, where he arrived on 26 Farwardìn/15 April.[499] The garrison — which, according to Mughul chroniclers, enjoyed several advantages, including numerical superiority, a vast fleet of war boats, long familiarity with the region, and the approaching rainy season — defiantly welcomed the imperial commander-in-chief with a barrage of bullets and arrows.[500] About this time, the Mughuls efforts to subdue the *sarkàr* of Chàchikàn and the fort of Shàhgarh were rewarded with success;[501] and, as a result of a rebellion in the fort of Nayrankòt, that stronghold was also captured by them without much ado.[502] While these shattering blows seriously undermined

490. *T.T.*, pp.188-89; *T.S.*, p.225; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.609; *T.N.*, p.78; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.37. Also see *M.R.*, vol.II, p.347.
491. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.609.
492. *T.S.*, p.255; *T.N.*, p.79. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.417, wrongly gives the name of this town as Amìrpùr, and so does *T.F.*, Maqalah ii, p.268, where it is referred to as both Alòr and Arlòl (*ibid.*, *Maqàlah* viii. p.323).
493. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.613.
494. *T.T.*, p.191.
495. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.613.
496. *M.R.*, vol.II, p.348.
497. For his particulars, see *infra*.
498. *Bèg.N.*, p.237.
499. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.613. Also see *T.S.*, p.255.
500. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.613.
501. *T.T.*, pp.194-95.
502. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.613; *T.T.*, p.194.

Marfat.com

the morale of Mîrzà Jànì's men, at Ùnaṛpùr, they greatly boosted the spirits of the besieging army.[503] Shortly afterwards, with no end to the siege in sight, the supplies of the Mîrzà ran out and his garrison was reduced to desperate straits. To avoid starvation, the Mîrzà's men slaughtered and ate their own horses and camels; but they remained defiant, and lacking ammunition now hurled bones and stones as missiles at the enemy.[504] Although Akbar had ensured adequate logistics for continuous flow of relief to his forces in Sind, they still had to face numerous hardships: the strangeness of the terrain, constant harassment by refractory tribes, and an outbreak of a pestilence had made life extremely difficult for them.[505] To bring this war of attrition to an end, the Mughuls finally took recourse to the Byzantine strategy of digging ditches, throwing up big mounds of sand, and moving forward under their cover, filling the moat as a prelude to storming the fort from all sides. But as things turned out, the Mîrzà was too alert to be tricked by these tactics.[506] With promises of liberal rewards to his men, he induced them to dig fissures into the moat and through these excavate the earth thrown in it by the enemy. He thus failed one objective of the Khàn-i Khànàn's plan.[507] However, in due course, the Mughul army had moved up so close to the fortifications that it might, in time, have overwhelmed the Sindhìs.

47. Mîrzà Jànì Bèg Capitulates

But as the stalemate dragged on, and both sides sickened at the distressing proportions of casualties and the misery and plight of the survivors, they exchanged emissaries[508] to reach a compromise. Mîrzà Jànì surrendered on certain condition, and hostilities ceased forthwith.[509] It was agreed that consequent upon the lifting of the siege, without any harm being done to his men as well as his person, the Mîrzà would marry his daughter to the Khàn-i Khànàn's son, Ìraj, and surrender the town of Sìwistàn, together with its fort and 20[510] war boats, to the Mughuls,

503. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.614.
504. *Bèg.N.*, p.239; *T.T.*, pp.195-96; Also see *T.A.*, vol.II, p.417.
505. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.614.
506. *Ibid.*; *Bèg.N.*, p.238.
507. *Bèg.N.*, p.238. Also see *A.N.*, vol.III, p.614; *T.T.*, p.196.
508. According to *T.T.*, pp.196-98, first initiative in this regard came from the Khàn-i Khànàn.
509. See *A.N.*,vol.III, p.615; *T.S.*, pp.255-56; *Bèg.N.*, p.240; *T.T.*, p.196; *T.N.*, p.79; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.417; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.38.
510. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.615; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.418. According to another account, Mîrzà originally offered to present 30 *ghuràbs* (*T.S.*, p.256; *T.N.*, p.79), but finally gave only 20.

Marfat.com

who would pass the rainy season there. It was further agreed that, after the rains were over, he would accompany the Khàn-i Khànàn to the Mughul court.[511] Consequently, on 16 Khurdàd 1000/16 June peace was established, and the ceremonies of betrothal were performed.

48. His Flight to Thattah

The surrender of the town of Sìwistàn was, however, still pending when the Mìrzà, disgusted by the sickening stench of the dead bodies in his camp and alarmed at the mass desertion of his soldiers, headed off to Naṣrpùr, without taking leave of the Khàn-i Khànàn. This caused some apprehension among the Mughuls, but these were put at rest when the Mìrzà explained the circumstances of his departure to the Khàn-i Khànàn's messenger, who had been dispatched on his heels.[512] While at Naṣrpùr, the Khàn-i Zamàn[513] tried to prevail upon the Mìrzà to take advantage of the floods and the long distance intervening between him and the imperial forces to reach the Mughul court on his own via Jaisalmèr. By doing so, he argued, the Mìrzà would not only be able to establish his credibility with the Emperor, but also succeed in creating a situation which could warrant the recall of the Mughul forces and stop their advance towards Thattah. But distressed as the Mìrzà was at the deaths of his father, Mìrzà Pàyandah, and his son, Mìrzà Abù al-Fatḥ, at Thattah, during his siege at Unaṛpùr, he preferred to keep his agreement with the Khàn-i Khànàn, and proceeded to Thattah to share his grief with his family.[514] However, on reaching there, as we shall see presently, the Mìrzà seems to have changed his mind and engaged in devising means to reverse the whole trend of events. A few days after Mìrzà Jànì's flight from Unaṛpùr, the Khan-i Khànàn moved his troops to Sann, midway to Sihwàn, where the Sindhì governor of Sihwàn waited on him and made over the town and fort of Sihwàn.

49. The Mughuls Advance upon Thattah

At the end of the rainy season, however, when the Khàn-i Khànàn was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Mìrzà to accompany him to the court, the latter sent a message, saying that he was indisposed and would go to the court after collecting the autumn revenue. He also reminded the Khàn-i Khànàn that it had been agreed that all areas south of Sihwàn would be restored to him, but Nayrankòt and Hàlakandì had not yet been

511. *A.N.* vol.III, p.615; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.418.
512. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.633.
513. For his life, see *infra*.
514. *Bèg.N.*, pp.240-41.

Marfat.com

handed over. The Khàn-i Khànàn took the Mìrzà's envoy into custody and separating his troops into three divisions, set one of them across the Indus to proceed to Thattah by the land route, dispatched the second in war-boats down the river, and sent the third along the river bank. All three divisions were ordered to keep in touch with one another, seize Naṣrpùr, which was a strategic point of that region, and oblige Mìrzà Jànì to go to the royal court. After some days, the Khàn-i Khànàn sent an ambassador to the Tarkhàn chief, and on his heels, himself also set off from Sann.[515] About this time, the Khàn-i Zamàn, having collected the revenue from the peasants and tribes of Nìlùfarì and Hàlàkandì returned to Naṣrpùr. As soon as he heard that the imperial troops were heading his way, he, together with his son, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, rushed to the fort of Shàhgaṛh, dispatched his household to Thattah, and occupied himself with strengthening the fort's defences. Meanwhile, Naṣrpùr fell to the Mughuls.[516] When the Khàn-i Khànàn arrived there, he sent on his three divisions with the same arrangements as before; and they, in collaboration with some Arghùns, raided the Mìrzà's camp, which then lay some 3 *kuròhs* outside Thattah in the direction of the Jù'ibàr[517] branch of the Indus, where Mìrzà Jànì was apparently heading to make sure that the lines of communication were open for the unhindered passage of any aid he might secure from the Portuguese governor of Hurmuz to throw out the Mughul aggressors.[518] Considering the huge losses his ancestor, Mìrzà 'Isà Tarkhàn,[519] and Sulṭàn Bahàdur of Gujaràt[520] had sustained by extending similar invitations to the Portuguese only a few decades ago, it is obvious that Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn was ready to undertake almost any risk in order to avoid having to accompany the Mughul commander to Akbar's court. What an uphill task it proved to bring this strong-willed erstwhile nominal vassal to his knees is best epitomized in this statement of the court chronicler, Abù al-Faḍl: ever since the Mughul conquest of India, nobody had encountered as many difficulties and hardships as the Khàn-i Khànàn did in the conquest of Sind.[521] However, finding himself embarrassed and outwitted by the Khàn-i Khànàn, the

515. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.633.
516. *Bèg.N.*, p.241.
517. It is also known as the Rèn Bàrgàh (*T.T.*, pp.127-28). '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.
518. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.634.
519. Also see *H.A.T.S.*, p.132, n.3.
520. See M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1938. vol.I, pp.362-83.
521. *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, op.cit.*, p.138. In his letter to Shàh 'Abbàs of Persia, written in the wake of the conquest of Thattah, Akbar refers to the battle leading to the reduction of that kingdom as a great war (*jang-i 'aẓìm)*. See *ibid.*, p.32.

Marfat.com

Mìrzà made a virtue of necessity and dispatched an envoy to the Mughul general to find out why he was violating, the treaty between them. The Mughuls, whose own interests also dictated that the peace arrangements should not be upset and that the Mìrzà should appear before the Emperor without any loss of time, returned their plunder with apologies and informed the Mìrzà that they intended going as far as Bandar Làharì to make sure the Portuguese were not coming to his aid, to which proposal the Mìrzà agreed.[522]

50. Mìrzà Jànì Meets the Khàn-i Khànàn

Finally, on 10 Àban 1001/1 November 1592, the Khàn-i Khànàn and the Mìrzà met each other on horseback[523] on the bank of the Jù'ibàr,[524] opposite a place called Ràhùt,[525] and then entertained each other at lavish banquets.[526] After a few days, the Mìrzà took leave and left for the fort of Tughluqàbàd to make necessary preparations for going to the court, and the Khàn-i Khànàn proceeded to Thattah.[527] Though it was given out, says Abù al-Faḍl, that he wanted to see the town, in fact, he wanted to secure the lower part of the river against any possibility of its use by the Portuguese, and to prevent the vanquished from reneging on his undertakings.[528] To celebrate the success of Mughul arms in Sind, the town of Thattah was profusely decorated and its streets and buildings were illuminated with oil lamps. A specially designed three-tiered pavilion was constructed, where the Khàn-i Khànàn held feasts, convened literary gatherings, received dignitaries, and honoured 1,400 persons with a variety of rewards, which included presents imported from Ìràn. The pomp and circumstance of these proceedings, according to some Iranian members of his entourage, were unprecedented even at the court of Shàh 'Abbàs[529] of Ìràn[530]

51. His Departure from Thattah

From Thattah, the Khàn-i Khànàn, together with Mìrzà Jànì Bèg, went to Bandar Làharì and also paid an overnight visit to the Manòṛah

522. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.634.
523. *Ibid.*; also see *T.T.*, pp.200-1.
524. *T.N.*, p.80. *T.T.*, pp.199-200. According to *T.S.*, p.256, they met near Fathbàgh.
525. *Bèg. N.*, p.241.
526. *T.N.*, p.80.
527. Cf. *T.S.*, p.256.
528. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.634.
529. For his reign and achievements, see Naṣr Allàh Falsafì, *Zindigànì-i Shàh 'Abbàs*, Tehran, 1353 H.Sh., 5 volumes.
530. *M.R.*, vol.II.

Marfat.com

Island, some 20 *kuròhs* from the coast, in the Arabian sea.[531] On his return from there, he ordered Shàh Bèg Khàn and others to go forward with the Mìrzà; and, on 29 Bahman 1001/18 February 1593, having deputed Daulat Khàn to look after the affairs of Sind, himself also set out by land to join them at Fathbàgh. From there, he went on to the royal court with the Mìrzà.[532]

Mìrzà Jànì had intended to leave his household in Thattah, but the Khàn-i Khànàn did not agree to this.[533] According to the *Tarkhàn Nàmah*, it had to leave Thattah, but was allowed to stay at Bhakkar, instead of accompanying the Mìrzà to the court. [534]

52. Mìrzà Janì Waits upon Àkbar

The Khàn-i Khànàn, together with Mìrzà Jànì Bèg and his entourage, arrived at court, in Lahore, on 8 Farwardìn 1001/28 March 1593,[535] and was received with great honour.[536] A few days later, on the eve of the lunar weighing ceremony of the Emperor, Thattah was endorsed as a *jàgìr* on Mìrzà Shàhrukh,[537] a grandson of Mìrzà Sulaymàn of Badakhshàn, who shortly afterwards was married to Shukr Nisà', a daughter of the Emperor.[538] On the same occasion, Mìrzà Jànì Bèg was awarded the province of Multàn and a *manṣab* of 3,000.[539] The transfer of Thattah from Mìrzà Jànì to Mìrzà Shàhrukh was resented by Jànì Bèg's collaterals in Sind, and they showed their resentment through an *en masse* emigration to other parts of India, with the result that the flood of these emigrants paralysed riverine communications in the area. Alarmed at the trouble that was thus brewing, Akbar, probably for strategic reasons, annexed Bandar Làharì as crown property (*khàliṣah*),[540] bestowed Sìwistàn, which the Mìrzà had surrendered to the Mughuls at the time

531. T.N., pp.81-82. In his letter dated 12 Àdharmàh of the 37th regnal year of Akbar, Abù al-Faḍl urges the Khàn-i Khànàn to bring Mìrzà Jànì to the royal court as early as possible. See *Har sih daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, op.cit.*, p.139.
532. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.634.
533. *Ibid.*
534. *Ibid.*, pp.82-83
535. *T.A.*, vol.II, p.421: 9 Farwardìn.
536. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.634.
537. *Bèg.N.*, p.243; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.637.
538. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.644. For his particulars, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.20-23; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.328-34; Blochmann, pp.326-27.
539. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.637.
540. *Ibid.*, vol.III, p.642. Cf. *M.R.*, vol.II, p.376, which erroneously has Diùl and Thattah.
540. *Ibid. Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.179, mistakenly states that the *sarkàr* of Sìwistàn was also given to Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn. For Bakhtiyàr Bèg, see *infra*.

Marfat.com

of his capitulation at Unarpùr, on Bakhtiyàr Bèg[541] and some others, and restored the rest of lower Sind to Mìrzà Jànì Bèg.[542] Henceforward, he was supposed to stay at court;[543] and his agents were sent back to Sind to run the administration and transmit the revenue with which the Mìrzà would meet his expenses.[544] Though Akbar gradually promoted Mìrzà Jànì to a *manṣab* of 5,000,[545] and the latter betrothed his daughter to the Emperor's grandson, Prince Khusrau,[546] and even embraced the Dìn-i Ilàhì[547] enunciated by Akbar, he was virtually no more than a distinguished royal prisoner.[548] The memories of his lost kingdom kept Mìrzà Jànì restive, and the thoughts of his surrender to the Mughuls never stopped rankling in his mind.[549] During his stay outside Sind, he seems to have spent almost all his time at the royal court.

53. His Death

During the 45th regnal year of Akbar, when he was engaged in an expedition against Sulṭàn Bahàdur, in Asìr, the Mìrzà, because of his gross immoderation in drinking, became paralytic and delirious and died on 27 Rajab 1009/1 February 1601.[550] His body was escorted to Thattah

541. *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 *wilàyat* of Thattah was given back to Mìrzà Jànì.

542. *T.N.*, p.83.

543. *T.T.*, p.202

544. 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, erroneously has 4,000). The Mìrzà received a promotion to a *manṣab of* 3,500 in 1005/1597 (*A.N.*, vol.III, p.721; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Tarkhàn Mìrzà Jànì). In contrast, *T.S.*, p.257 (also see *H.A.T.S.*, p.205, and n.3 on that page), wrongly gives the impression that the Mìrzà started his career with a rank of 4,000 or 5,000, 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 Mìrzà Jànì "held both the Commands – 4,000 Personality (*dhàt*) and 5,000 Horse (*sawàr*)"; but this is not correct, because the *sawàr* rank could, at most, equal the *dhàt* rank of a *manṣabdàr*, but never exceed it. For a fuller discussion, see Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughul Army*, Delhi, 1972. repr. p.47 ff. From *T.N.*, p.83, *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.179 and *Tùzuk*, p.33, one gathers that the Mìrzà was awarded a *manṣab* of 5,000 at the very outset; this, too, militates against the evidence of Abù al-Faḍl.

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

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

549. In 1001/August 1595 the Mìrzà, together with other Mughul nobles was deputed to receive Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà Qandahàrì 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 resposibility.

549. See the remark attributed to him about the fort of Asìr in *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.180. Also see n. 583 below.

550. See *M.N.*, p.519n.; *Mìrzà Ghàzi Bèg Tarkhàn aur uskì bazm-i adab*, *op.cit.*, p.124. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.783, mentions 13 Bahman 1009, which corresponds to 2 February

(contd....

Marfat.com

by Khwàjah Muḥammad Qùrbègì;[551] and on his burial place, an imposing mausoleum was built by his son, Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn,[552] who succeeded his father as the ruler of Thattah by an imperial edict.

54. Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn Succeeds His Father

When Bàbà Ṭàlib Iṣfahànì[553] reached Sind with a robe of honour and a royal order for the confirmation of the *jàgìr* of Mìrzà, Jànì Bèg on Mirzà Ghazì, it was expected that the young Mìrzà, together with his principal officers, would accompany the royal emissary to the Mughul court.[554] But Bàbà Ṭàlib found the Mìrzà involved in a tangled struggle with his insubordinate courtiers and rebellious local chiefs.[555] Whether or not it was because of this consideration, or in keeping with the usual tendency of royal emissaries of this kind to dawdle,[556] Bàbà Ṭàlib did get so carried away by the hospitality of Mìrzà Ghàzì that he forgot the urgency of his mission, and nearly two years passed by. The protracted delay finally began arousing apprehensions in court circles about the real intentions of Mìrzà Ghàzì; and little wonder if the enemies of the young Mìrzà added fuel to the fire.[557] At last, in 1010/1601-2, as in the case of the earlier conquest of Thattah by the Khàn-i Khànàn, Akbar this time bestowed Multàn[558] and Bhakkar[559] on Sa'ìd Khàn Chaghattah,[560] and dispatched him and his son, Sa'd Allàh Khàn,[561] at the head of a 20,000

1601. Also see *T.S.*, p.257; *H.A.T.S.*, p.206, n.1.

551. *T.T.*, p.209.

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

553. Previously, he had been a member of the embassies sent by Akbar to the rulers of Great Tibet (Ladàkh) and Little Tibet (Baltistàn), and after the death of Akbar, when Jahàngìr assigned the government of Qandahàr to Mìrzà Ghàzì, Bàbà Ṭàlib also went there, and he was appointed the Mìr 'Adl of Qandahàr and the Punjàb. It may be mentioned here that a part of Multàn, in the Punjàb, was also included in the *jàgìr* of the Mìrzà. See Mullà Qaṭi'ì-i Harawì, *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.* Bàbà Ṭàlib Iṣfahànì.

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

555. *T.T.*, p.239.

556. See Asad Bèg Qazwìnì. *Risàlah-i Ta'rìkh*, B.M., MS.

557. Cf. Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Mirzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn aur uskì bazm-i adab*, *op.cit.*,p.44,where the author expresses the opinion that Mìrzà 'Isà Tarkhàn II might also have been responsible for spreading rumours about the intentions of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg. But this does not seem possible since Mìrzà 'Isà Tarkhàn 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'ìd Khàn Chaghattah.

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

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

560. For his particulars, see *ibid.*, vol.I, p.34.

561. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.345; *T.T.*, p.242. He was married to a daughter of Mìrzà 'Azìz Kùkah

Contd....

Marfat.com

strong army[562] to subdue lower Sind[563] and bring Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg to court.[564]

While Sa'ìd Khàn quartered his troops in the Darbèlah *parganah*, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn was ordered to proceed to Thattah to persuade the Mìrzà to come to the royal court. Namakìn advanced up to Naṣrpùr with a substantial body of troops and sent a messenger to Mìrzà Ghàzì to make arrangements for his departure.[565] The Mìrzà would have liked to defy the royal command, but the meagreness of his resources,[566] the disaffection amongst the nobility[567] and the generally unsettled conditions in his domain[568] – some of which certainly were a legacy of the previous imperial campaign against Sind – made such defiance imprudent. After consultations with his advisers, he therefore decided to go to court,[569] and told Mìr Namakìn to return to Sihwàn, where, he said, he would join him.[570] Finally, leaving some influential nobles, such as Khusrau Khàn Charkas, 'Arab Kùkah, and Wàlih Qulì Dìwàn, in charge of government, Mìrzà Ghàzì left for Sihwàn accompanied by Shahbàz Khàn, Aḥmad Bèg Sulṭàn, Luṭf Allàh Sulṭan, Khwàjah Amìr Bèg Bakhshì and Bhà'ì Khàn Luṭf Allàh.[571] When he arrived at Sihwàn, Mìr Namakìn escorted[572] the Mìrzà to Sìtàrjah, a dependency of Bhakkar, where Sa'ìd Khàn was then encamped.[573] The sagacity and dignity of the Mìrzà so impressed the Mughul general that he took an immediate liking to him, and later, his son also became a close friend of the Mìrzà.[574]

55. Mìrzà Ghàzì at the Mughul Court

At long last, when the Mìrzà appeared before Akbar[575] at Àgrah, on 14 Mihr 1013/6 October 1604,[576] the Emperor received him kindly,

(*A.N.*, vol.III, p.802. Cf. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.250). For his life, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.250-52; 291; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.73, 183, 197.

562. *M.R.*, vol.II, p.350.
563. *Ibid.*
564. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.190; *Tùzuk*, p.109.
565. *Maẓ. Sh.*, p.112; P.U. MS., f.301.
566. *T.T.*, p.241.
567. *Infra.*
568. *Ibid.*
569. *T.T.*, p.241.
570. *Maẓ. Sh.*, p.112; P.U. MS. f.301.
571. *T.T.*, p.241.
572. See n.570, above.
573. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.190.
574. *T.T.*, pp.241-42; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.190; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.410.
575. According to *M.U.*, vol.III, p.346, the Mìrzà was 17 years old at that time.
576. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.839.

Marfat.com

conferring the *manṣab*[577] and *jàgìr*[578] of his father on him and favouring him with a precious diamond.[579] About a year after the Mìrzà's arrival at court, on 13 Jumàdà II 1014/26 October 1605, Akbar died and a pall of gloom and uncertainty settled over the Mughul capital[580] Much to the chagrin of some reckless spirits in his entourage, who suggested that he take advantage of the situation and escape to Thattah, Mìrzà Ghàzì chose to stay at court.[581] And before long, he succeeded in winning the confidence of the new Emperor, Jahàngìr.[582] Although, so long as Akbar lived, the status of the young Mìrzà was no better than that of his father,[583]

577. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.21; *T.T.*, p.242.
578. *T.T.*, p.242.
579. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.839. Cf. *T.T.*, p.242, where it is said that a *shamshìr-i khàṣṣah* was given to him.
580. See 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì, *op.cit;* Asad Bèg Qazwìnì, *op.cit.*
581. *T.T.*, p.243. Cf. *T.K.*, pp.177-78, where it is erroneously suggested that the Mìrzà accepted the advice and went to Thattah, but reappeared at court when summoned by Jahàngìr.
582. B.M. MS. Or. 3397, *s.v.* Mìrzà Ghàzì, *T.N.*, p.88. According to the latter, he was the first noble to congratulate Jahàngìr on his accession to the throne.
583. 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, *De Imperio Mangi 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. by J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Delhi, 1975, repr., p.170).

According to the 'Annals of Bundi' (Boondee), the intended victim was Ràjah Màn Singh. While Tod considers this last version "well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes", Vincent Smith sees "no good reason for supposing that Akbar had a grudge against Màn Singh", thereby implying that the Ghàzì Bèg variation was more likely.

Broecke's story may be regarded as shedding light on how the Mìrzà's relations with Akbar were looked at by his contemporaries and the generation immediately following them, but so far as the arrogance attributed to him is concerned, there seems to be some confusion. It was, in fact, Mìrzà Ghàzi's father, Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn, who, upon Bahàdur's surrender, without much resistance, of the fort of Asìrgaṛh to Akbar, in early 1009/1600 (cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.180), had remarked that, had he been

Contd....

Marfat.com

he lost no time in catching up with court politics and cultivating close ties with Mughul nobles. He married a niece of Sharìf Khàn Atagah[584] and maintained very close relations with Sa'ìd Khàn Chaghattah. Thus, when he sought Jahàngìr's leave to go back to Thattah, Sa'ìd Khàn interceded on his behalf. However, though Jahàngìr agreed in principle, he postponed the Mìrzà's departure until his sister, whose engagement Akbar had arranged with Salìm's son, Khusrau,[585] was married to the prince.[586] Whether this matrimonial alliance ever materailzed we cannot say; but, subsequently, when Khusrau rebelled against his father, Jahàngìr, in sharp contrast to a policy of relying on his own judgement in matters of state and government,[587] which some historians stress,[588] consulted Mìrzà Ghàzì, as well as others. Since the Mìrzà's advice coincided with Jahàngìr's own inclination and action on it resulted in the capture of Khusrau, Jahàngìr's esteem for him increased substantially.

56. His Nomination for the Qandahàr Expedition

Jahàngìr was still at Lahore in this connection when news arrived that a group of Persian nobles, of Khuràsàn, who had seized Bust[589] and had been besieging Qandahàr for the last year, had made life difficult for the garrison, and its commandant, Shàh Bèg,[590] was looking for assistance.[591] The Emperor raised Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg to a *manṣab* of 5,000 personnel *(dhàt)* and horse, bestowed drums on him, and dispatched[592] him to Qandahàr at the head of a strong army, which included several nobles and generals, such as Qarà Bèg and Tùkhtah Bèg, who had been promoted with the titles of *Qarà Khàn* and *Sardàr Khàn*. Khwàjah 'Àqil was appointed the *bakhshì* of this army, and Qarà Khàn was given 43,000 rupees for expenses. Naqdì Bèg and Qilìch Bèg, who were also to accompany Mìrzà Ghàzì , received 15,000 rupees for expenses.[593]

possessed of such a fort, even if His Majesty had personally led the campaign, he would not have succeeded, and had so offended the Emperor (See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.180). And, although Mìrzà Jànì Bèg 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 that Akbar inadvertently took the wrong pill and died is hardly credible, because the Emperor lived for almost five years after the fall of Asìrgaṛh.

584. *T.T.*, p.255.
585. See n. 546, above.
586. *Tùzuk*, p.8; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I. p.20.
587. *Tùzuk*, p.32; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.68.
588. *T.N.*, pp.88-89.
589. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, pp.672-74; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.828; B.M. MS. Or 3397, *s.v.* Mìrzà Ghàzì.
590. See *infra*.
591. *T.N.*, p.89.
592. *Tùzuk*, p.33; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.71; *M.J.*, p.89. Cf. *T.N.*, p.90; *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.22; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.345.
593. *Tùzuk*, p.33; *Tùzuk (R&B)*, vol.I, p.71; *M.J.*, p.89. Cf. *T.N.*, p.89.

Marfat.com

Owing to the urgency of the situation, Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg had to depart from Thattah in great haste and the officers he had left in charge of administration had not fulfilled his expectations; so that when he was proceeding to Qandahàr, he had neither money nor the necessary number of men, and Qarà Khàn openly ridiculed him, asking how, with his meagre resources, the Mîrzà could face the Persian force.[594] When they were approaching Dùgì (Dùkì) and Chutyàlì,[595] Qarà Khàn fell sick and died.[596] His officers then wanted to transfer all his wealth and belongings to his son, who was looking after his interests at his *jàgìr* in Bhakkar. Considering that this would further deplete his resources, the Mîrzà asked the imperial *bakhshì* to put all that was left behind by Qarà Khàn at his disposal as a *musà'adat (loan)*, so that he could enlist the support of Qarà Khàn's men. The Mîrzà's request was approved, and Qarà Khàn's officers were obliged to relinquish charge of the property of their master in favour of the Mîrzà.[597] Meanwhile, on 9 Rabì' II 1015/14 August 1606, the Emperor ordered a reward of 30 làkh *dàms* for Mîrzà Ghàzì,[598] which should have eased the Mîrzà's financial situation. To further reinforce him, however, Jahàngìr, on 13 Rajab 1015/14 November 1606, sent off a 3,000 strong body of red cavalry (*ùymàq-i bùrì*)[599] under the command of Bahàdur Khàn Qùrbègì, whose *manṣab* had been raised to 1,500 personnel and 800

594. *T.T.*, p.255.

595. Cf. *T.T.*, p.255, where they have been erroneously treated as one place, called "Dùkì Junyànì", which is, no doubt, a corruption of "Dùkì wa Chutyàlì". According to Bàbur, who visited these two places, Chùtyàlì was a village of Dùkì (*B.N.*, p.238). Abù al-Faḍl (*A.A.*, vol.II, p.189) is silent about Chutyàlì, but records Dùkì as one of the eastern dependencies of the province of Qandahàr; and, according to him, it was mainly inhabited by Tarìn and Kàkar Afghàns. Aurangzìb gives a very vivid picture of these two places. According to him, Chutyàlì, with 300 Tarìn families, and Dùkì, with 500 Tarìn households, were separated by about a day's march from one another (cf. *B.N.*, p.238). Both these places were situated on the Multàn-Qandahàr (see *Ad. Al.*, vol.I, pp.37, 41, 43, 58-61, 63, 67, 91). Even when Qandahàr was in Ṣafawid hands, except for a short while during Shàhjahàn's reign (*A.S.*, vol.III, p.122, where Chutyàlì is mistakenly recorded as Chùbtànì), these two places continued to be part of the Mughul empire and were administered by the Mughul governor of Multàn (see *Ad. Al.*, vol.I, pp.37, 41, cf. H.C. Verma, *Medieval Routes to India*, Calcutta, 1978, p.125, n.162).

596. According to the *T.N.*, p.89, he died at Multàn. The *Maz. Sh.* is, however, silent about the place of his death.

597. *T.T.*, pp.255-56. Also see *T.N.*, p.89.

598. *Tùzuk*, p.36; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.75. this reward was bestowed upon Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg much before his arrival at Qandahàr, and not on the successful completion of the Qandahàr campaign, as erroneously suggested by Ràshidì in *Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn, & c., op.cit.*, p.77.

599. For the meaning of this word, see *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.82, n.1, Blochmann, p.402, n.1. Also see *Tùzuk*, p.147, line 17.

134225

Marfat.com

horse. For the expenses of this force, 2 làkh rupees were given, and 1,000 musketeers were also appointed.[600]

57. His Victorious Entry into Qandahàr

The imperial army was still several marches[601] short of Qandahàr when the Persians lifted the siege, retired and "did not draw rein until they had reached the Helmand, 50 or 60 *kòs* distant".[602] Mìrzà Ghàzì, victoriously entered Qandahàr on 12 Shawwàl 1015/10 February 1607;[603] and made it over to Sardàr Khàn, who had been appointed its governor. Soon, the reinforcements from Thattah also arrived,[604] but with the extreme scarcity of food caused by the long siege of Qandahàr, these only made matters worse: according to the author of the *Ta'rìkh-i Ṭàhirì*, who accompanied the Thattah army, men were obliged to eat the flesh of dead horses and camels. While the local populace somehow managed to deal with the situation, circumstances for the Mìrzà's men grew worse as the revenues expected from Thattah did not arrive. To meet his needs, the Mìrzà borrowed some money from Sardàr Khàn and Mir Buzurg, but this proved insufficient to pay the dues of all his men, who then resorted to loud protests outside his camp, demanding redress of their grievances.[605] When the Emperor received news of these circumstances from Mirzà Ghàzì, he ordered him to withdraw his forces to Bhakkar, replenish their supplies and wait for further instructions.

58. His Recall to Court and Reappointment to Qandahàr

While the Mìrzà was at Bhakkar, his opponents appear to have slandered him before the Emperor and given the impression that, once back at his *jàgìr* in Sind, the Mìrzà would never return to court. Thus, on his way back from Kàbul, Jahàngìr issued orders to the Mìrzà to proceed to court at once, which the Mìrzà did[606] and appeared before the Emperor, at Lahore, on 12 Sha'bàn 1016/2 December 1607.[607] Delighted at the loyalty and conscientiousness of the Mìrzà, Jahàngìr

600. *Tùzuk*, p.39; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.81-82.
601. *T.T.*, p.255. Cf. *Tùzuk*, p.41; *Tùzuk* (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, the two sides clashed at a distance of 5 *kuròhs* from Qandahàr, on the Indian side, and in the ensuing battle, the Persians were defeated, and fleeing, left behind a large number of horses, weapons and belongings. However, there is no evidence supporting this story, which, if true, should have left the Mìrzà's troops in much better condition than they actually were in.
602. *Tùzuk*, p.41; *Tùzuk* (R&B) vol.I, p.85; *M.J.*, p.95, n.3.
603. *Tùzuk*, p.41; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.85.
604. *T.T.*, p.256.
605. *Ibid.*, pp.257-58.
606. *Ibid.*, p.258.
607. *Tùzuk*, p.62; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.131; *M.J.*, p.109.

Marfat.com

gave him[608] a part of the province of Multàn[609] in addition to the whole of the province of Thattah that the Mîrzà already possessed, confirmed him in his *manṣab* of 5,000 personnel and horse,[610] and, conferring a robe of honour and jewelled sword on him, put him in charge of the government of Qandahàr and the protection of that extremely sensitive frontier of Hindùstàn.[611]

In his *Memoirs*, Jahàngìr is full of praise for the virtues and administrative capabilities of this Tarkhàn vassal;[612] and in his *farmàn* of appointment, he referred to the Mîrzà as 'son'[613] and exalted him with princely privileges, such as holding *salàm* ceremonies, and maintaining *qùr*[614] and fighting elephants. Jahàngìr also ordered that on the days that the Mîrzà held court, *manṣabdàrs* up to the rank of 1,000[615] would stand in his presence with their hands folded, and those above that rank would sit at a distance in a respectful manner. The Mîrzà was also allowed to run the provincial administration as he pleased, and was empowered to make promotions or demotions within the range of a rank of 1,000.

From Lahore, the Mîrzà went to Multàn, where he attended to the affairs of that region, and sent Aḥmad Bèg Sulṭàn, given the title of *I'timàd Khàn*, to deputize for him at Qandahàr.[616] Then he proceeded to Bhakkar, where he made relevant arrangements for the administration of the province of Thattah. He was still there when, on 14 Rajab 1017/24 October, Jahàngìr ordered him to betake himself to Qandahàr; and, curiously enough, as the Mîrzà left Bhakkar, the news of the death of the previous governor of Qandahàr, Sardàr Khàn, arrived at court.[617] On his way to Qandahàr, via Sìwì and Ganjàbah, the Mîrzà chastised the

608. Cf. *Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg & c., op.cit.*, pp.79-80; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.22; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.345-46.
609. On 10 Ramaḍàn 1016/29 December 1607. See *Tùzuk*, p.63; *Tùzuk* (R&B). vol.I, p.133; *Mîrza Ghàzì Bèg, & c.*, p.81. According to Jahàngìr 10 Ramaḍan was a Thursday, but our computation on the basis of Hàshimì shows it was a Saturday. Also see *Tùzuk*. tr..vol.I, pp.230-31, where the month of Ramaḍàn has throughout been confounded with that of Shawwàl. The same error has crept into *Mîrzà Ghàzì Beg, & c.*, p.87.
610. *Tùzuk*, p.63; *Tùzuk* (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.345-46.
611. *Tùzuk*, p.63; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.133; *M.J.*, p.110.
612. *Tùzuk*, pp.62-63; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.131, 133.
613. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.22; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.345. Also see *T.N.*, p.90.
614. A collection of flags, arms and insignia which followed a royal march. See Blochmann, p.52, n.4.
615. *T.N.*, pp.90-91.
616. *T.T.*, pp.260-61.
617. *Tùzuk*, p.72; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.151; *M.J.*, p.118.

Marfat.com

refractory elements,[618] and, on his arrival at Qandahàr, he made two major appointments: Bhà'ì Khàn Luṭf Allàh was sent to subdue the Afghàns,[619] Rà'è Mànak was entrusted with a campaign against a rebellious servant of Shàh Bèg,[620] Ḥaydar[621] by name. Rà'è Mànak also led a successful punitive expedition against the Hazàrahs and the Nigùdaris and forced their chiefs to acknowledge the authority of the Mìrzà.[622]

59. His Relations with Shàh 'Abbàs of Ìràn

To secure the frontier of Qandahàr against Persian intrigues and incursions, the Mìrzà entered into direct diplomatic negotiations with Shàh 'Abbàs by dispatching a friendly embassy[623] under Jalàl al-Dìn 'Abd Allàh, who held the title of *Mìr Khàn,*[624] to his court, and thus minimized the possibility of the Persians exploiting internal dissidents of Qandahàr. The Shàh reciprocated in like manner, and letters and gifts were exchanged between the two. Gradually, relations between Shàh 'Abbàs and Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg became so cordial that the former addressed the Mìrzà as 'son'[625] and conferred a robe of honour on him on more than one occasion.[626] The Mìrzà's regard for the Shàh of Ìràn transcended considerations of diplomatic expediency, as expressed by his fulsome praises of the Shàh in his eulogies.[627]

60. His Stay at Qandahàr

In contrast to the muddle of affairs at Thattah, the internal administration of Qandahàr started off well. Even before the arrival of the Mìrzà, his viceroy, Aḥmad Bèg Sulṭàn, 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.[628] Though primarily a Mughul governor, the Mìrzà's court had all the trappings of an independent monarch, while his personal life was characterized by extreme debauchery and dissoluteness.[629] On the other hand, his liberal

618. *T.T.*, p.261; *Maz. Sh.*, p.234; P.U. MS., ff. 392b-393a.
619. *T.T.*, p.261.
620. *Ibid.*; *Maz. Sh.*, p.335; P.U. MS., f.393a.
621. See *Infra.*
622. *Maz. Sh.*, p.335; P.U. MS., f. 393a.
623. *T.T.*, p.262.
624. For his particulars, see *Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn & c., op.cit.*,pp.424-31.
625. *T.N.*, p.91.
626. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.23; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.346.
627. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.23.
628. *T.T.*, p.260.
629. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.29-30. Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, p.235. n.2, calls him a "dissolute

Contd....

Marfat.com

patronage of *belles-lettres* transformed Qandahàr into a rendezvous for poets and scholars. The fame of his munificence spread far and wide, and it became wellnigh impossible for luminaries travelling between Ìràn and India to resist the temptation of calling at his court. Those who were not fortunate enough to reach it benefited from his bounties at their homes.[630]

After the death of Mìrzà Ghàzì on 11 Ṣafar 1021/13 April 1612[631] under dubious circumstances,[632] Bhà'ì Khàn Luṭf Allàh, son of Khusrau Khàn Charkas, assumed the role of his successor at Qandahàr, while Khusrau himself, who was on his way to Qandahàr under orders of the late Tarkhàn chief, retraced his steps to Thattah. Arriving there, Khusrau Khàn enthroned Mìrzà 'Abd al-'Alì Tarkhàn,[633] the only surviving minor prince from the line of Mìrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn, and himself became his regent.[634] To prevent the situation from getting out of hand, Jahàngìr rushed Abù al-Bì Uzbek to Qandahàr as its new governor,[635] and recalled Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn II[636] from the Deccan to assign the government of Thattah to him. However, subsequently, when it was pointed out to Jahàngìr that the Mìrzà had long been aspiring to become the ruler of his ancestral lands, and, once installed in Thattah, he might be tempted to repudiate his allegiance to the Mughul throne, the Emperor decided not to take any risks[637] and, instead of Mìrzà 'Ìsà sent Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq Ma'mùrì[638] to watch over the affairs of Thattah and induce[639] Khusrau

scamp".

630. For an exhaustive biography of the Mìrza, see Mìrza Ghàzi Bèg Tarkhàn & c., *op.cit.*

631. *Ibid.*, p.118. Authorities widely differ about his date of death. For a detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, pp.114-19.

632. Authorities are divided about the manner of his death. According to some, he was poisoned, while others believe he died from excessive drinking. For details, see *ibid.*,pp.108-13.

633. *T.T.*, pp.270-71; *T.N.*, p.93. Also see *Maz. Sh.*, pp.41-42; P.U. MS., f.255.

634. Son of Mìrzà Farrukh, son of Mìrzà Shàhrukh, son of Mìrzà Muḥammad Bàqì Tarkhàn. See *T.N.*, p.93.

635. *Ibid.*; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.24-25; 391. According to Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì, it was feared that Bhà'ì Khàn might hand over Qandahàr to the Persians. See *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.24.

636. He fled to the Mughul court in 1012/1603, during the days of Akbar (*T.N.*, p.96), and not during the reign of Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn (d.974/1566-67), as erroneously mentioned by *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.26, 210, and uncritically repeated by *M.U.*; tr., vol.III, p.408-9.

637. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.211; *M.U.*, tr., vol.III, p.409. The Emperor, however, exalted him with a rank of 1,000 personnel and 500 horse (*Tùzuk*, p.110). On the death of Jahàngìr, Shàhjahàn also appointed the Mìrzà as the governor of Thattah, but he was still on his way when he was recalled, and Shìr Khwàjah was dispatched instead. (*A.S.*, vol.I, pp.239, 226; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.486. Cf. P.U. MS. Shìr Khwàjah died on his way to Thattah, and Mìr Ḥusàm al-Dìn Injù was sent to replace him (*A.S.*, vol.I, p.241).

638. See infra.

639. See *T.N.*, p.94.

Marfat.com

Khàn to come and in person pay homage to the Emperor. In the meantime, Jahàngìr looked for a suitable person to head the administration of Thattah. Mìr Ma'mùrì handled the situation very prudently; and, as soon as the new governor, Mìrzà Rustam Ṣafawì, arrived at Thattah, he set out for court with Khusrau Khàn Charkas[640] and his minor protege,[641] Mìrzà 'Abd al-'Alì, arriving there on 26 Rabì' I 1022/16 May 1613.[642] Both Charkas and his protege were imprisoned;[643] but the household of

640. The Persian text of the *Tùzuk-i Jahàngirì* (p.117) has two serious errors in this regard, and both these errors have gone undetected in English and Urdu translations of it. Firstly, in the original text, Mìrzà Jànì has been wrongly transcribed as "Mìrzà Khànì" and Tattah has been confounded with Patnah. In their English translation (*Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.240), Rogers and Beveridge arbitrarily change "Mìrzà Khanì" to "Mìrzà Khàn", but leave Patnah. I'jàz al-Ḥaqq Quddùsì (*Tùzuk*, tr., vol.I, p.396), in his Urdù translation, seems to have followed Rogers and Beveridge on this point. Nevertheless, in the explanatory note that he has added on "Mìrzà Khàn", the latter has been described as "Mìrzà Khàn", b. Mìrzà Ìraj Shàhnawaz Khàn b. Khàn-Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn" (*ibid.*, p.416, n.4). The fact of the matter, however, is that 'Mìrzà Khànì" is a transcriptional error for Mìrzà Jànì, (Tarkhàn ruler of Thattah and father of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn). Similarly, Patnah is a misreading for Tattah (Thattah).

641. *T.N.*, p.94. Jahàngìr (*Tùzuk*, p.117) makes no reference to his arrival.

642. *Tùzuk*, p.117, *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.240. *Tùzuk*, tr., vol.I, p.396, erroneously has 6 Rabì' I 1022.

643. Whereas Jahàngìr's own statement in the *Tùzuk* (p.117) does not give any clue to the fate of Khusrau Khàn Charkas, or any of his companions, according to *T N.*, pp.94-95, his son, Luṭf Allàh, and 'Abd al-'Alì Tarkhàn were all three put to prison, where he subsequently, died. The latter two, however, were released on the intercession of Nur Jahàn. 'Abd al-'Alì's services were placed at the disposal of Àṣaf Khàn (d. 1051/1641), whom he served until his death – probably in 1039/1629-30, although the inscription on his grave in Thattah 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 Farìd Bhakkarì, Luṭf Allàh was received very kindly by Jahàngìr (*Dh.Kh.*, vol II, pp.23-24), while 'Abd al-'Alì was awarded life imprisonment *(ibid.*, vol.II, pp.24-25; 391). Bearing in mind the fact that Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì completed his *Dh. Kh.* some time around 1061/1650-51, and the *Tarkhàn Nàmah* was completed in 1065/1654-55, several years after the death of 'Abd al-'Alì Tarkhàn, the divergence of opinion between these two Sindhì authors is quite bewildering. Neverthless, truth seems to be on the *Tarkhàn Nàmah*'s side. Being a history of the Tarkhàns of Sind written on the request of one of the Tarkhàn princes, Mìrzà Ṣàliḥ Tarkhàn, it would not be unfair to assume that its author would have made necessary enquiries before committing anything to paper about 'Abd al-'Alì, who was a cousin of his patron. Secondly, Shaykh Farid's statement suggests that 'Abd al-'Alì was languishing in prison at the time of the writing of the *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn*. Unless it is accepted that he wrote his work over a number of years and did not find an opportunity to bring it up to date before his death, this is anachronistic, because Mìrzà 'Abd al-'Alì had died in 1039/1629-30 or 1040/1631. As far as Khusrau Charkas is concerned, he might have been imprisoned to start with, but he seems to have died a free man, and was buried at Ajmèr. See *T.K.*, p.216, n.1.

Marfat.com

Mîrzà Ghàzì was honoured with appropriate *manṣabs* in the imperial service and granted *madad-i ma'àsh* lands, the camp-followers of the late Tarkhàn chief joining service of Mîrzà 'Isà Tarkhàn II.[644] With this turn of events, Tarkhàn and Arghùn influence in Thattah was practically terminated and Thattah came under direct imperial rule.

644. *T.N.*, pp.94-95.

Marfat.com

Section II

THE AUTHOR AND HIS FAMILY

1. Yùsuf Mîrak

"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 better testifies to the truth of this remark than the way in which the rediscovery of *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* had drawn attention to its author. Scion of an outstanding family of imperial *manṣabdàrs* with an enormous contribution to the literary and cultural heritage of Sind to its credit, close associate of several Mughul *jàgìrdàrs*, and, last but not the least, writer of an unparalleled work of historical significance about the country of his adoption *(waṭan-i ikhtiyàrì)*, Yùsaf Mîrak did not find even a passing mention in his contemporary, or later, annals and biographies, until the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* was by lucky 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. In accordance with these circumstances, our knowledge of him is derived entirely from the incidental remarks that sporadically occur in his book. Unfortunately, they tell us little about the early years of his life. The earliest information about him in the book goes back to Ramaḍàn 1016/December-January 1607, when his father, Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, was transferred from the *thànèdàrì*[3] of Bàjaur to the *jàgìrdàrì* of Sihwàn, and he dispatched Yùsuf Mîrak, at the head of an advance party, to look after the affairs of that place until his arrival.[4] Before his appointment at Bàjauṛ, Mîr Namakìn had served at various places, including Bhakkar, Sihwàn and Jalàlàbàd; in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is plausible 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 Sihwàn, Mîr Namakìn left the administration of *jàgìr* in the hands of his elder son, Mîr Abù al-Baqà, as he himself had

1. Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, ch.i, sec. 21, quoted in Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotation*, New York, 1967, 10th Ed., p.2256.
2. See *Maẓ.Sh.*, Introduction, pp.1-4.
3. A *thànedàr* was also a *jàgìrdàr* in his capacity as a *manṣabdàr*.
4. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.114 ; P.U. MS., f.307a.

Marfat.com

to go to Qandahàr in the company of Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn.[5] Apparently, Yùsuf Mîrak also stayed back at Sihwàn. After about a year, when Mîr Namakìn passed away, Jahàngìr conferred the *jàgìr* of Sihwàn on Abù al-Baqà' and Shamshìr Bèg Uzbek jointly. Disenchanted with the latter's participation in the *jàgìr*, which he had managed singlehandedly in the absence of his father, Mîr Abù al-Baqà' hastened to Àgrah with his entire family.[6] Being a man of independent character, Yùsuf Mîrak would seem to have parted company with his brother at this juncture. He renounced his *manṣab* and, contenting himself with some *madad-i ma'àsh* (subsistance 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 independent opinion and considerable personal courage, successive Mughul administrators of the region off and on sought his counsel and advice.

In the beginning of Shàhjahàn's reign, the *jàgìrdàrì* of Sihwàn was entrusted to the Emperor's father-in-law and *wakil*, Nawwàb Àṣaf Khàn's nephew, Aḥmad Bèg Khàn.[8] Aḥmad Bèg showed little interest in affairs of state, and spent most of his time within the four walls of the harem. His authority was exercised by his brother, Mirzà Yùsuf, who derived sadistic pleasure from inflicting physical and mental pain on the local populace, and strove to increase his own fortunes in utter disregard of moral principles. As a consequence of his repressive policies, the administrative organization of the region caved in, and rebellious tribes reverted to their unruly and violent ways. The situation at headquarters was hardly any better: Mirzà Yùsuf's hirelings openly robbed the people in the streets, levied exorbitant duties on traders, and exacted taxes from whomever and at whatever rate they liked. Movement within the region was possible only with the written permission *(dastak)* of the Mirzà, while the life and honour of local inhabitants were publically flouted under his auspices. When nobody knew where to turn for relief and redress of grievances, a solitary voice of protest was heard, and that was the voice of Yùsuf Mîrak. He openly protested against the misrule and moral turpitude of Mirzà Yùsuf and reproached Ahmad Bèg Khàn for not preventing his brother from perpetrating his brutalities.[9] Shaken from his long stupor, Ahmad Bèg Khàn hesitantly set about taking some remedial measures, and also led some punitive campaigns against refractory elements. At times, Yùsuf Mîrak accompanied him, but, finally,

5. *Infra*
6. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.121-22; P.U. MS., f.312b.
7. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.122; P.U. MS., f.313a.
8. For his particulars, see *infra*.
9. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.154-59; P.U. MS., ff.338b-343a.

Marfat.com

apprehending retaliation from Mirzà Yùsuf, he took leave of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn at Sàmitànì and, under the pretext of visiting Jùnèjah, which lay in the *jàgìr* of his brother, headed for Multàn, where Mìr Abù al-Baqà' acted as governor on behalf of Nawwàb Àṣaf Khàn. As soon as the real intention of Yùsuf Mîrak dawned upon Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, he dispatched a special emissary to prevail upon him to return to Sihwàn and, at the same time, instructed his subordinates at Bhakkar to intercept Mìrak and dissuade him from proceeding to Multàn. However, these frantic efforts of Ahmad Bèg did not succeed, and Yùsuf Mìrak reached Multàn unimpeded. From Multàn, Mìrak thought he would be able to undertake a journey to Àgrah, where he wanted to inform the Emperor of the woeful condition to which Ahmad Bèg and his depraved brother had reduced the people of Sihwàn, but before long, Abù al-Baqà' was ordered to take over as the governor of Thattah, and Aḥmad Bèg was sent to Multàn to replace him.[10] Mìr Abù al-Baqà' was not a novice in the art of government, nor in the etiquette of court life and the conspiracies that surrounded it. Expediency did not permit him to let his brother proceed on his idealistic errand. Consequently, he took Yùsuf Mîrak to Thattah with him, and promised to send him to court as soon as suitable arrangements for such a journey had been made Soon after his arrival at Thattah, Yùsuf Mìrak was taken ill. Meanwhile, on the one hand, Aḥmad Bèg and his brother's departure from Sihwàn obviated the urgency of the expedition, and on the other, the fact that such an incompetent person as Aḥmad Bèg had been awarded the governorship of Multàn, which was a far more important and prosperous domain than Sihwàn, discourged Yùsuf Mîrak from pursuing the matter any further. The fact that he would have had to pass through Multàn to reach the capital must also have dampened Mìrak's enthusiasm. Giving up his original intention, he then vowed that, on his recovery, he would write a book about the affairs of Sind and present it to the Emperor.[11] He did write the book, but it was not to be completed until 19 Muḥarram 1044/15 July 1634.[12] Whether he obtained the honour of presenting it to Shàhjahàn, to whom it was dedicated, and, if he did, how far his recommendations for the reform of 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 Bèg Khàn and the brutalities of his brother, Mirzà Yùsuf, who were nephews of the Prime Minister, Nawwàb Àṣaf Khàn, and cousins to the Emperor's favourite queen, Nùr Maḥall, the odds are that it had not been considered expedient

10. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.160-61; P.U. MS., 343a-344b.
11. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.162; P.U. MS., 344b.
12. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.257; P.U. MS., f.410a-b.

Marfat.com

to bring it to the notice of Shàhjahàn. In any case, the original copy remained with the author until 1048/1638-39, when he finally made it over to his nephew, Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf, for safe custody.[13]

As long as Mìr Abù al-Baqà' remained the governor of Thattah, Yùsuf Mìrak would seem to have stayed with him; but around Shawwàl 1041/ May 1632,[14] when the former was transferred to Jùnàgadh, he accompained him as far as the village Raḥmàn, on the border of the desert of Kachh, whence he returned to Sihwàn. [15] Here, as usual, he stood high in the favour of the new Mughul *jàgìrdàr*, Dìndàr Khàn.[16] He admired the leniency, the piety and the humanitarian attitude of Dìndàr Khàn, but lashed out at the weak rule and the misconduct of his officials.

As in the case of the early years of his life, the circumstances of Mìrak's old age and death are also unknown. Available sources shed little light on the place of his burial; but presumably he died at Sihwàn and was buried there.

2. His Father

Yùsuf Mìrak's father, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, was the first person of his family to set foot on Indian soil. He traced his origin to a distinguished branch of the Ḥusaynì Sayyids of Haràt, whose main task it was to look after the shrine of the eighth Shì'ì Imàm, 'Alì al-Riḍà [17] (d.203/818), at Mashhad, in eastern Ìràn. The rise to power of Shìbànì Khàn Uzbek,[18] in 906/1500-1 in Central Asia, heralded an era of strife and turmoil that lasted for a long time. An empire-builder cast in the mould of his ancestor, Chingìz Khàn, Shìbànì Khàn overran Samarqand, Bukhàrà, Tàshqand and Farghànah in quick succession, and gradually brought the whole of Khuràsàn under his sway. In 913/1507-8, as we have seen earlier, he wrested Haràt from the weak hands of the imbecile and mutually warring descendants of Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà; but, within a span of three years, he lost it to his sworn enemy, the Ṣafawid dynast, Shàh Ismà'ìl. In a fierce battle that took place in 916/1510, Shìbànì Khàn was killed, his body hacked to pìeces, and the pieces dispatched to different parts of the Ṣafawid Empire. His head was stuffed with straw and sent to the Ottoman Sulṭàn Bàyazìd II (886-918/1481-1512) at Constantinople

13. See the author's note on the fly-leaf of the P.U. MS. It is also reproduced in *Maẓ.Sh.*, Introduction, p.85.
14. See *T.A.Kh.*, p.100.
15. *Maẓ.Sh.*, P.U. MS.
16. For his particulars, see *infra*.
17. *T.K.*, tr., p.393.
18. For his early career, see *R.S.*, vol.VII, pp.197-201; *H.S.*, vol.II, iii, pp.299-303; *B.N.*, *passim*.

Marfat.com

(Qusṭanṭìniyyah); 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 Àqà Rustam Rùzafzùn, the ruler of Màzandaràn, who had boasted of his alliance with him on a previous occasion.[20]

The fall of Haràt to the Shì'ite Qizilbàshes was a disaster for its overwhelmingly Sunnì populace, as it brought, in its wake, an unprecedented wave of religious persecution. Until the middle of the 10th/16th century, the entire region of Khuràsàn, but especially Haràt, was several times alternately harried by Uzbek and Qizilbàsh hordes. The frequent fanatic outrages of the contending parties against the people of opposite sectarian denominations[21] and the constant uncertainty and persistent threat to life and property resulted in a huge exodus of the local population. Amongst this stream of refugees was one Mullà Mìr Sabzwàrì,[22] a man of scholarly background hailing from Bayjaq,[23] a dependency of Haràt, whose future generations were destined to rise to high eminence under the Mughul Emperors of India. Like numerous other displaced persons, Mullà Mìr and his dependants also trekked to the south-eastern marches of the erstwhile Tìmùrid kingdom of Haràt. When his caravan reached the outskirts of Qandahàr, the Mullà suddenly died.[24] What then befell his family, relatives and friends accompanying him on this arduous journey is now difficult to ascertain. All that can be established, on the basis of the *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn*, is that the Mullà's son, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim, at some stage travelled to Kàbul and entered the service of Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm [25] (d.993/1585), the half-brother of Akbar who ruled virtually as the king of that territory.[26] The tiny principality of Kàbul, however, proved too small for the realization of the dreams of the exuberant Abù al-Qàsim, who, either impelled by his spirit of enterprise or forced by some developments at Kàbul, or because

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; *Shàh Ṭahmàsb Ṣafawì*, ed., 'Abd al-Ḥuysayn Nawà'ì, Tehran, 1350 H.Sh., p.31.
22. *T.K.*, tr., p.393.
23. For various transcriptions of this name, see *ibid.* and *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.6-7 and n.2 on p.6. The correct form, however, is *Bayjaq*, as recorded by Yùsuf Mìrak in P.U. MS. It is a village in the Anardara subdistrict of Sabzwàr, 3 miles southwest of Ziken. It is also called Kàrìz Muḥammad Àdhar Khàn, and is now inhabited by 20 houses of Ghùrìza'ì and Jìjì Nùràza'ìs. In recent maps, the name is spelt Bojuk. See *Herat and Northwest Afghanistan, op.cit.*, pp.55-56.
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.

Marfat.com

of both, moved farther afield and waited upon Emperor Akbar, at Lahore.[27] In due course, Akbar bestowed Bhèrah and Khwùshàb, in the Panjàb, upon him as a *jàgìr*[28]. The grant of these important frontier outposts[29] in the direction of Kàbul, with whose ruler Akbar's relations were certainly far from cordial, to smebody who had only recently emigrated from that kingdom was in sharp contrast to the cautious policy of Akbar[30] and his successors in similar situations. It therefore speaks volumes for the trust Akbar reposed in the loyalty and talents of this new *emigre* to his court. Though to us unknown, the circumstances of the Mìr's defection to the rival court might also have contributed to this extraordinary favour, there is little doubt that he was fully conversant with the tact and finésse that were an essential part of court life and etiquette. Taking advantage of the proximity of his *jàgìr* to the Salt Range in the Sind Sàgar Dòàb, and to emphasize his faithfulness to Akbar, the Mìr presented to him a cup and a plate[31] and some other utensils,[32] thus making a subtle allusion to the fact that he would remain loyal to his salt.[33] The shrewd monarch reciprocated in a similar light-hearted manner, and favoured him with the nickname of *Namakìn,*[34] an appropriate acknowledgement of his noble sentiments and the ingenuity with which he had exhibited them to the Emperor. Henceforward, the cognomen of Namakìn became an inseparable part of Mìr Abù al-Qàsim' 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, Gujaràt, which had been under the sway of Humàyùn for a short time seemed just the place with which to start his campaign for expansion.[35] It is in connection with this campaign that, for the first time, Mìr Namakìn's name is seen in Mughul chronicles. Akbar departed from Pattan on his way to Aḥmadàbàd on 7 Rajab 980/13 November 1572. As he approached Chòtànah, it was brought to his notice that Sulṭan Muẓaffar Gujaràtì was wandering in a distracted state in that vicinity. The Emperor forthwith dispatched Mìr Khàn Yasàwul and Farìd Qaràwul

27. *T.K.*, tr., p.393.
28. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I, p.198; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.73.
29. *B.N.*
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 *namakḥalàl (true to his salt)*, see *Ẓafar Nàmah*, vol.II, p.39. Also see *B.N.*, pp.50, 325. 397, where its antonvm *namakḥaràm* 'traitor to his salt' is used.
34. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I, p.198; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.73.
35. See Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.78-79.

Marfat.com

to investigate the matter, and, on their heels, sent Mìr Nàmakìn and Karam 'Alì to assist in this. However, in the meantime, Mìr Khàn found Sulṭàn Muẓaffar, hiding in a cornfield, and, having apprehended him, presented him before Akbar.[36] Available sources shed no light on the subsequent activities of Mìr Namakìn; but presumably he participated in various expeditions associated with Akbar's campaign for the conquest of Gujaràt, and returned to Fatḥpùr Sìkrì with the royal entourage on 2 Ṣafar 981/3 June 1573.[37]

Akbar's departure for Gujaràt coincided with the death of Sulaymàn Karàràni, the Afghàn ruler of Bangàl, Bihàr and Òrìsah, and the news of his death arrived at the imperial camp when the Emperor was already well on his way to Gujaràt. Although a large number of nobles counselled Akbar to turn back towards the eastern provinces, he preferred to press on with the Gujaràt campaign. Mun'im Khàn-i Khànàn was, however, directed to take necessary measures for the annexation of those regions to the Mughul Empire.[38] Sulaymàn was succeeded by his elder son, Bàyazìd, who, in sharp contrast to the policy of appeasement of the Mùghuls successfully followed by his father over a number of years, assumed all the insignia of royalty and ordered the recitation of the *khuṭbah* and the striking of coins in his own name. Though the nobility of Bangàl soon supplanted him with his younger brother, Dà'ùd, the policy initiated under his reign was not abandoned.[39] In fact, emboldened by the enormous military might Sulaymàn Karàràni had bequeathed to his sons, Dà'ùd went a step further and occupied the fort of Zamàniyah[40] on the frontiers of Jaunpùr. The hostilities that ensued lasted almost four years, during which Akbar personally supervised the reduction of the forts of Ḥàjjìpùr and Patnah in 982/1574.[41] This was followed a few months later by the famous battle of Tukaroi,[42] in Òrìsah, between Afghàns and Mughuls. Included in the left wing of the Mughul army,[43] Mìr Namakìn, together with other generals, played a crucial role in turning an immiment Afghàn victory into a disastrous defeat for them.[44] However, smouldering embers of Afghàn disaffection continued to flare up intermittently until, finally, Dà'ùd was captured and beheaded on 15 Rabì' II 984/12 July

36. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.6.
37. *Ibid.*, p.39.
38. *Ibid.*, p.4.
39. *Ibid.*, p.20.
40. *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.
41. *Ibid.*, pp.95-101.
42. The correct name of the place is Tukra. For its exact location, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p.72.
43. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.123.
44. *Ibid.*, p.125.

Marfat.com

1576.[45] With this, Mîr Namakìn's association with the war effort in Bangàl came to an end. The court chronicler, Abù al-Faḍl, quite naturally, does not mention him by name in any significant context but available reference in the *Akbar Nàmah* leave little doubt about the value of his contributions. He seems to have generally served under the command of Ràjà Tòdar Mal; and, barring the blunder in his response to a surprise attack of Junayd Karàràni,[46] a cousin of Dà'ùd,[47] the Mîr fully justified the confidence placed in him by his colleagues and superiors. Nevertheless, a vague remark of Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì suggests that, some time during the protracted warfare against Dà'ùd, a gold elephant-chain was found in the Mîr's house, on account of which his standing with the Emperor suffered a setback.[48] The author of the *Ma'àthir al-Umarà'* reproduces this remark, like numerous other extracts from the *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn,* of Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì, without any acknowledgement or analysis.[49] However, in the absence of any corroborative evidence in relatively more contemporary sources, such as the *Akbar Nàmah,* the *Ṭabaqàt-i-Akbarì,* or the *Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh*, and bearing in mind the glowing tribute Akbar paid to the Mîr at the time of his subsequent appointment to Bhakkar,[50] it may be surmised that either Shaykh Farìd was misinformed, or, if there was any basis for such a report, the Mîr succeeded in clearing his name honourably.

When, in the wake of important administrative and financial reforms introduced by Akbar, which were often mismanaged by his officers and much detested by some of his nobles, and as a direct consequence of a shift in his religious policies, which in the eyes of his opponents and the orthodoxy, verged on apostasy, his court became a hotbed of intrigue and especially the eastern provinces of Bangàl and Bihàr became involved in seditious conspiracy and armed insurrection,[51] the gallant Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn is seen stalking through the turmoil in Bangàl. Here he served in the imperial army which inflicted a crushing blow on Ma'ṣùm Khàn Farankhwùdì, one of the chief rebels.[52] Similarly, after the generals of the ruler of Kàbul, Mîrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm, had twice invaded

45. *Ibid.*, p.182.
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 erroneously described as Dà'ùd's uncle.
48. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.198.
49. *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.73-74.
50. For the text of this *farmàn,* see Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn,* I.O. MS., 1535.
51. See Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.132-33.
52. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.331.

Marfat.com

Mughul territory[53] and the Mìrzà had then himself made an attempt to take Lahore by storm,[54] when Akbar finally mustered and led probably the greatest army of his entire career[55] against the Mìrzà, at a time when disloyalty had widely infected the imperial camp,[56] the Mìr was again among the outstanding generals chosen to spearhead the campaign, under the command of Prince Muràd.[57] Following a stubbornly fought battle, these generals victoriously entered Kàbul at the head of dedicated troops, and stamped out the rebellion once and for all. As far as the significance of the sucessful culmination of this campaign aginst Mìrzà Ḥakìm is concerned, V.A. Smith[58] 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 Kàbul 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 Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm's death on 16 Amurdàd 993/7 August[59] 1585, when Kàbul became a province of the Mughul Empire,[60] the need to restrain the fiercely independent spirit of the Afghàns, particularly of the Yùsufza'ìs, who inhabited much of the difficult hilly terrain spanning the region between Kàbul and the Indus and virtually controlled the highway to and from Kàbul, became all the more imperative. During Akbar's last march to Kàbul, some of the Yùsufza'ì chiefs had waited upon the Emperor and assured him of their loyalty. One of these chiefs, Kàlù [Khàn] by name, was shown great consideration by the Emperor and was even inducted into imperial service. Nevertheless, the Yùsufza'ìs soon resumed their predatory activities, and Kàlù [Khàn] escaped from the court. He was captured at Attock and sent back to court, but again fled to his home country and assumed the leadership of the Afghàns.[61]

During his sojourn at Ràwalpindì, on 9 Day 994/30 December 1585, the Emperor, on the one hand, dispatched Zayn Khàn Kùkah to chastise

53. *Ibid.*, pp.336, 494.
54. *Ibid.*, p.494.
55. R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1974, p.267.
56. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.355-58.
57. *Ibid.*, p.518.
58. Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, p.144.
59. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.466.
60. Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, p.166.
61. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.475.

Marfat.com

the Yùsufza'ìs and conquer Swàt and Bàjauṛ, and, on the other, entrusted Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn, Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, Ra'èsingh and others, with the task of subduing the refractory tribes of Balùchistàn.[62] The Balùches submitted after a brief resistance; and on 19 Farwardìn 994/8 April 1586, the victorious Mughul army, under the command of Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn, waited upon the Emperor at Attock. When Qulì Khàn presented such Balùch chiefs as Ghàzì Khàn, Chìtah, Bahàdur Khàn, Nuṣrat Khàn and Ibràhìm Khàn[63] to the Emperor, he 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 Yùsufza'ìs, who, though initially chastised by Zayn Khàn Kùkah, had inflicted a heavy blow on the imperial troops, killing as many as 500 men, including Ràjà Bìrbar, a boon-companion of Akbar. Shocked by this, Akbar sent a punitive expedition against the Yùsufza'ìs under the command of Prince Muràd.[65] The Prince was later replaced by Ràjà Tòdar Mal, who, in due course, gave his place to Ràjà Màn Singh,[66] and himself returned to court. Subsequently, when Màn Singh was ordered to proceed to Kàbul, the command of the campaign was entrusted to Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn; and distinguished commanders, such as Màdhù Singh, Sa'ìd Khàn Gakhkhaṛ, and Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, were sent to accompany him.[67] Coupled with a scarcity of food and an outbreak of some mysterious epidemic among the Afghàns, measures taken by Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn and his companions reduced the Afghàns to severe straits. A delegation of Afghàn chiefs, including Sulṭàn Quraysh, Bùstàn, Kàlù and Sulṭan Bàyazìd, then came out of the hills and pleaded with Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn for his intercession with the Emperor on their behalf.[68] Even so, this success of Mughul arms failed to make the Yùsufza'ìs desire peace with the Mughuls. To make matters worse, the Raushanà'iyyah[69] leader, Jalàlah, fled from Tìrah and took refuge with the Yùsufza'ìs.[70] This sparked off a series of new military initiatives against them. Akbar ordered Zayn Khàn Kùkah to march upon Swàt and Bàjauṛ from Kàbul. The imperial troops stationed at Jamrùd and Bangash were alerted to the possibility that Jalàlah might try to escape through those parts; and Ismà'ìl Qulì Khàn was ordered to

62. *Ibid.*, pp.475-76.
63. *Ibid.*, p.488.
64. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.488.
65. *Ibid.*, p.485.
66. *Ibid.*, p.487.
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.

Marfat.com

proceed to Qiblah Ayàzì from Òhind and keep an eye on Ashnaghar.[71] Ṣàdiq Khàn was dispatched from court to take up an appropriate position in the plain of Swàt, and a body of troops under the command of Jagan Nàth was rushed to reinforce Zayn Khàn [72]

Ṣàdiq Khàn's arrival on the front oftended Ismà'il Qulì Khàn, who then left the path to Tìrah unattended and returned to court.[73] His departure, however, had no ostensible effect on such fellow commanders as Mìr Namakìn, because, when Àṣaf Khàn was sent to take the place of Ismà'il Qulì, it appears that they were retained to serve under his command. Meanwhile, Jalàlah fled towards Kàbul, and his family was delivered up to the Mughuls by the Afghàns.[74] Subsequently, Zayn Khàn Kùkah conquered Bàjauṛ and, with the help of Jagan Nàth and Àṣaf Khàn, soon established Mughul control over Swàt. After the fall of Swàt, Àṣaf Khàn took leave to return to court, and went there via Màlàkand. Mìr Namakìn was also about to follow suit, when the Afghàns, led by Muḥammad Baḥrì and Malik Aṣghar, launched a surprise attack on Saròbì. The Mìr, who was soon joined by Shìr Khàn, fought manfully and inflicted grievous losses on the Afghàn.[75]

Towards the close of Amurdàd 997/August 1589, when Akbar, on his way back from Kashmìr, was just about to enter the valley of Mastang, the Mìr arrived from Swàt, together with the adventurous Yùsufza'ì chief Kàlù Khàn who in desperation had sought asylum with him, and waited upon the Emperor near the tomb of the latter's favourite pigeon-fancier Khwàjah Ṣandal. Thanks to the good offices of the Mìr, Kàlù who had a long record of flouting Mughul authority, was spared his life and sent to prison instead.[76] The Mìr, it seems, once again returned to Swàt or thereabouts.

On 15 Farwardìn 1001/4 April 1596 the Mìr returned from his *tuyùl* somewhere in the north-west, and obtained the privilege of an audience with the Emperor.[77] Shortly before him, the Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn had also returned from Sind with Mirzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn, the vanquished ruler of Thattah.[78] Consequently, the regions of Multàn and Bhakkar, which had till then been in the *jàgìr* of the Khàn-i Khànàn.

71. *Ibid.*, p.526.
72. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, pp.493-94.
75. *Ibid.*, pp.532-33.
76. *Ibid.*, p.559
77. *Ibid.*, p.637.
78. *Ibid.*, p.633.

Marfat.com

in order to facilitate his campaign in Sind, were now distributed by the Emperor between Mirzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn and Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn. The Tarkhàn chief recieved a *manṣab* of 3,000 and was appointed the governor of Multàn,[79] while the *sarkàr* of Bhakkar, except for the *parganahs* of Darbèlah, Kàkṛì, and Chandùkah, which belonged to the *jàgir* of Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì,[80] passed under Mìr Namakìn as his new *jàgìr*, and he was also made responsible for the maintenance and defence of the fort of Bhakkar. Besides, all *jàgìrdàrs* within and around the area were instructed to extend all possible help to the Mìr in his efforts to crush refractory elements.[81]

It was during his stay at Bhakkar that Mìr Namakìn, together with Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì, Sayyid Bahà' al-Dìn Bukhàrì, the *tuyùldàr* of Uchh, Bakhtiyàr Bèg, the *iqtà'dàr* of Sìwistàn, and other soldiers from the province of Multàn, was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against the Pannì Afghàns of Sìwì. Sìwì was a frontier outpost which lay on the route to Qanḍahàr, whose possession had developed into an issue of honour and prestige between the rulers of two mighty empires of Asia, the Ṣafawid and the Mughul. Traditionaly, it was a dependency of Bhakkar; but encouraged by the weakness of successive *jàgìrdàrs* of Bhakkar, it had gradually slipped out of Mughul control. Sayyid Muḥammad Mìr 'Adl reasserted Mughul authority through an expedition led by his son in 984/1576,[82] but this phase did not last long. In 997/1588-89, Shìrùyah Sulṭàn made a half-hearted attempt to recapture the town, sending a not very well equipped army under the command of his son, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bèg, but the latter sustained heavy losses and the entire campaign ended in a fiasco.[83]

This further emboldened the Afghàns, who became virtually independent from Mughul rule. Distinguished veteran that Mìr Namakìn was of campaigns against the hardy Afghan and Balùches stretching over more than a decade, it was he who was now chosen to lead an expedition against the Afghans. To start with, the Mìr exacted submission he arrived on 3 Isfand 1003/22 February 1595. The Pannì Afghàns came out of the fort of Sìwì to fight with a strength of 5,000 men; but after only a short engagement, they retreated back into the fort. When the Mughul troops began to storm the fort, the garrison surrendered without

79. *Ibid.*, p.637.
80. *T.S.*, p.251.
81. See 50, above.
82. *M.T.*, vol.II, p.245.
83. *T.S.*, pp.249-50.

Marfat.com

further resistance.[84] Mìr Namakìn imposed a fixed seasonal tribute on the Afghàns, which continued to be realized from them at least up to 1044/1634-35.[85] 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 Mìrzà,[86] of the inadvisability of any hostile action in this area, especially as it might ruin his negotiations with the Mughuls on terms for his defection to them.[87]

The Mìr also put forward a proposal for the subjugation of the tract of Kìch-Makràn, which, though traditionally a part of Sind, extended only nominal loyalty to the Mughuls.[88] But, since this region bordered on the Ṣafawid provinces of Kirmàn and Sijistàn, and was in close proximity to the port of Hurmuz,[89] Akbar, according to Yùsuf Mirak, in deference to his friendship with Shàh 'Abbàs I, did not allow this scheme to be put into operation.[90] The Shàh, however, did not reciprocate these sentiments and, as soon as an opportunity offered itself, had no compunction in bringing the ruler of this region under his vassalage.[91]

According to Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì,[92] the Mìr, during his first tenure at Bhakkar, was accused of oppressing its peasants and *arbàbs*, and was consequently transferred from Bhakkar. The aggrieved parties followed him to court and appealed for the redress of their grievances. Mìr 'Abd al-Hay, the *qàḍì* of the royal camp, issued summons to the Mir, but he failed to appear before the *qàḍì*. The *qàḍi* reported the matter to the Emperor, who ordered the Mìr to be tied to the foot of an elephant and paraded through the city. Meanwhile, the Mìr, in consultation with Shaykh Ma'rùf, the *ṣadr* of Bhakkar, paid some money to the complainants and persuaded them to go back to Bhakkar. The following day the Mìr appeared before the Emperor and complained that the the *qàḍi* was trying to harrass him on account of some baseless charges. The *qàḍi* was naturally not able to produce the complainants in support of his summons, as they had already left for Bhakkar. Thereupon, Akbar decreed the preparation of descriptive rolls of complainants before their appearance before the Emperor.

84. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.666.
85. *Maz. Sh.*, pp.28-29.
86. For his antecedents, see infra.
87. See Riazul Islam, p.
88. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.958.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Maz. Sh.*, p.23.
91. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, pp.861-62. During Shàhjahàn's reign, these regions once again came under Mughul control. See *Àd.'Àl.*, vol.I, p.26.
92. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.198-99.

Marfat.com

The picture of Mìr Namakìn that emerges from this tale is not only diametrically opposed to the image of a noble and conscientious man that one conjures up from his own writings,[93] but also flies in the face of the evidence his son provides in favour of his being a farsighted, sagacious and considerate administrator.[94] None the less, coming as it does from the pen of somebody who took pride in having been one of the Mìr's pupils, it cannot be brushed aside lightly.

The defensive and offensive military operations that began with Akbar's departure for the Punjàb in 994/1585-86 had two basic objectives: in particular, to intimidate 'Abd Allàh Khàn Uzbek, and in general, to keep an eye on all the prospective threatres of war, extending from Kashmìr to Balùchistàn[95] and stemming from what A.L. Srivastava[96] terms Akbar's "quest for scientific frontiers". Providing evidence of the practical genius, military prowess and inexhaustible physical energy of Akbar, the realization of these goals – except for the failure to eradicate Afghàn hostility towards the Mughuls, which continued to be a perennial source of concern even to successors of Akbar – kept the indefatigable monarch constantly on the move away from the capital of Àgrah for more than 13 lunar years. During all this period, Mìr Namakìn was constantly engaged in contributing to the advancement and protection of imperial interests in different campaigns. In this pursuit, he went back and forth between places as far apart as Sìwì and Kashmìr. Finally, When Akbar returned to Àgrah on 26 Àbàn 1007/17 November 1598,[97] Mìr Namakìn came from Kashmìr to Àgrah, on 30 Àban/21 November, and paid his respects to the Emperor. [98] Neither Abù al-Fadl nor any other authority has shed any light on the purpose and date of the Mìr's visit to Kashmìr. Akbar himself came to Lahore on 3 Àdhar 1006/24 November 1597[99] from his third visit to Kashmìr, which had lasted four months, and thereafter spent a whole year at Lahore before heading for Àgrah on his way to Ahmadnagar. We do not know whether Mìr Namakìn accompanied the Emperor on his journey to Kashmìr, or was summoned to that northern summer resort later on, or was sent to Kashmìr on some special errand after the Emperor's return to Lahore. However, on 9 Day 1007/30 December 1598,[100] when the royal tents werė pitched in the vicinity of

93. See his note reproduced by Ràshidì *T.A.Kh.*, pp.67-68 from *Gauhar-i Manẓùm*, an unpublished diary of Miyàn Ghulàm 'Alì Maddàḥ.
94. See *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.108-9.
95. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.493-94.
96. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Agra, 1962, vol.I, pp.331-69.
97. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.
98. *Ibid.*, p.746.
99. *Ibid.*, p.734.
100. *Ibid.*, p.748. *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.1117, mistakenly gives the date as 19 Day.

Marfat.com

Thànèsar, Akbar once again conferred the *iqtà'dàrì* of Bhakkar[101] on Mìr Namakìn, who then retraced his steps to that region. But before long, he was transferred from Bhakkar and given the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn except for the *parganah* of Kàhàn, Jùnèjah and half of Khittah – as his new *jàgìr*.[102]

On the death of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn, in Bahman 1009/Junuary 1601, Akbar sent a robe of honour to his son, Mìrzà Ghàzì and gave him the ancestral *jàgìr* of Thattah.[103] When, even after a long passage of time, Mìrzà did not appear at court, the governor of Multàn, Sa'ìd Khàn,[104] was directed to go to Sind and put pressure on the young Mìrzà not to delay his appearance at court any further.[105] At the same time, Mìr Namakìn was ordered to cooperate with Sa'ìd Khàn towards this objective.[106] Consequently, the Mìr and Mìrzà Ghàzì joined Sa'ìd Khàn at Darbèlah,[107] whence they started off for Àgrah. On 14 Mihr 1004/6 october 1606, a few days before the death of Akbar, they obtained the honour of a royal audience.[108]

According to Yùsuf Mìrak,[109] but for the sudden demise of Akbar and the reversal of his orders by the new Emperor, Jahàngìr, the Mìr would have taken over as the governor of Qandahàr from Shàh Bèg Khàn,[110] with Bhakkar, Sìwì and Sihwàn as his *tankhwàh jàgìr*. Though as a son of Mìr Namakìn, Yùsuf Mìrak had access to first-hand information from his father, this statement of his is open to question. In the first place, the governorship of Qandahàr was normally entrusted to persons of a much higher *mansab*.[111] The *mansab* of the Mìr, as far as we know, was not more than 700 up to the fortieth regnal year of Akbar;[112] and it was only during the first year of Jahàngìr's reign that he was promoted to a *mansab* of 1,500.[113] Secondly, even before Mìr Namakìn waited upon Akbar for the last time and before his supposed appointment to Qandahàr, the Emperor had decreed that *dìwàns* should manage the affairs of the

101. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.748. The text erroneously has Bihàr. See *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.1117, n.4.
102. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.108.
103. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.783.
104. For his career, see *infra*.
105. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.111-12.
106. *Ibid.*, *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.816.
107. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.112.
108. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.839.
109. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.112-13.
110. For his career, see *infra*.
111. See M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, p.1.
112. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.162; Blochmann, p.525.
113. *Tùzuk*, p.13.

Marfat.com

kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sultàn Salìm,[114] the future Jahàngìr, and that his seal should be affixed to grants of *mansabs*. Apparently, any administrative changes in one of the most sensitive provinces of the Mughul Empire – Qandahàr – would also have had the approval of the Crown Prince. While the possibility of Jahàngìr changing his mind cannot be ruled out, such instances are rather rare. Thirdly, Yùsuf Mìrak's statement is corroborated neither by the *Akbar Nàmah*, which records the Mìr's audience with Akbar, nor by the *Tùzuk*, in which Jahàngìr mentions the promotion of Sardàr Khàn and his appointment as the new governor of Qandahàr.

Being an old servant of Akbar, Mìr Namakìn seems to have been quite intimately known to Jahàngìr, who, besides recording the promotion of the Mìr to a *mansab* of 1,500, supplies very interesting information about the number of his children.[115] According to the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì*, when the Mìr's appointment to Qandahàr fell through, Jahàngìr sent him on some expedition to Jalàlàbàd.[116] Incidentally, the Mìr was still at Gujràt,[117] probably on his way to Jalàlàbàd, when Prince Khusrau (who had fled from the Àgrah fort on the night of 8 Dhì al-Hijjah 1014/17 April 1606,[118] and, after his defeat by Shaykh Farìd Bakhshì,[119] was being hotly pursued by the Emperor and numerous grandees) tried to slink across the Chinàb on the night of 28 Dhì al-Hijjah 1014/6 May 1606.[120] Arriving here from Kashmìr at about this time Hìlàl Khàn joined forces with Mìr Namakìn and Khwàjah Khiḍr. They blockaded the western bank of the river, and after a skirmisk arrested the rebel prince.[121] According to the *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn*, [122] one of the sons of Mìr Namakìn, Mirzà Kashmìrì, was found guilty of complicity in Khusrau's rebellion, and had to pay for this with the excision of his genitals. According to the *Ma'àthir al-Umarà'*, the Emperor rewarded the Mìr for his contribution to the

114. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.839.
115. *Tùzuk*, p.13.
116. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.113.
117. Curiously enough, Momin Mohiuddin ["The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography", *Indo-Iranica*, XIX/2 June 1966, p.40; *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, VIII/1 (January 1960), p.91] has completely failed to understand the significance of Akbar's *farmàn* (included in the *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn)* concerning Mìr Namakìn's first appointment at Bhakkar. He wrongly translates *maḥàl parganahs* as "a village" and fails to distinguish between "Gujaràt" (=Gujràt, in the Punjàb) and Bhakkar, in Sind.
118. *Tuzuk.*, p.24.
119. *Ibid.*, p.30.
120. *Ibid.*, p.31.
121. *Ibid.*, pp.32-33; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.134; *M.J.*, pp.85, 495; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.76.
122. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.200.

Marfat.com

arrest of Khusrau by promoting him to a *mansab* of 3,000 and reappointing him as the governor of Bhakkar;[123] but this is not true. A year later, when Jahàngìr, on his way to Kàbul from the Panjàb, alighted at Ghrìbkhànah, across the Màrpìch pass, on 29 Muharram 1016/26 May 1607, the Mîr waited upon him.[124] In early Safar/June, the Emperor entrusted the *jàgìrdàrì* of Jalàlàbàd to 'Arab Khàn, and Mìr Namakìn was made the commandant of the *thànah* of Bàjaur.[125] How long he occupied this position, it is difficult to say. However, when the agent of Sardàr Khàn[126] in Sihwàn, Darwìsh Bèg, died from the injuries he had sustained in an encounter with the rebellious Samèjahs, the region of Sihwàn, with the exception of the *parganahs* of Kàhàn, Jùnèjah, and half of Khittah, was once again given to Mîr Namakìn as his *jàgìr*.[127] The Mìr had hardly been able to repair the damage done to the administrative machinery of Sihwàn during the tenures of his predecessors when, sometime around 14 Rajab 1017/23 October 1608, he was ordered to accompany Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn, [128] the governor designate of Qandahàr, to that region. Almost at the same time, the Làkhah peasants of the region of Sihwàn also brought an imperial order addressed to Mìr Namakìn, commanding him to recover their lands from the Samèjah occupation and to administer condign punishments to the Samèjahs for their excesses against the peasants. At first, the Mîr thought of sending a strong body of troops under the command of his son, Abù al-Baqà', with Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg to Qandàhàr, so that he could stay back to chastise the Samìjahs; but finally, in deference to Ghàzì Bèg's wishes, he reversed this idea. Consequently, he proceeded to Qandahàr with Ghàzì Bèg, at the head of a 400 to 500 strong contingent of his loyal Mughul servants.[129] The Mìr was not destined to see Sind again – a year later, when he was travelling to Sihwàn, he died and his mortal remains were carried to Bhakkar.[130]

a. Mìr Namakìn's Children

Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn begot numerous children. "There are few men such as he", writes Jahàngìr,[131] "for abundance of children; he has

123. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.76.
124. *Tùzuk*, p.49.
125. *Ibid.*, p.50.
126. For his career, see *infra*.
127. See *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.116.
128. See *infra*.
129. *Maz.Sh.*, pp.115-16.
130. *Ibid.*, p.120. The exact year of Mìr Namakìn's death is unknown. There are three chronogrammatic inscriptions on his grave, at Ṣuffah-i Ṣafà': two of them yield 1018/1609-10, and the third 1019/1610-11. See *Ibid.*, p.294n.; *T.A.Kh.*, p.52.
131. *Tùzuk*, p.13.

Marfat.com

30 sons; and if his daughters are not as many, they must be half that number." Shàhnawàz Khàn[132] gives 22 as the number of the Mìr's sons; but, besides the aforementioned Mirzà Kashmìrì and Mìr Abù al-Baqà', he mentions only two others by name: Mirzà Husàm al-Dìn and Mirzà Yad Allàh. The former rose to a comparatively high *mansab*, but his career was cut short by his early death. The latter was in the service of Nawwàb Khàn-i Jahàn Lòdhì.[133] Shaykh Farìd, who was the *bakhshì* of the Nawwàb, writes that Mirzà Yad Allàh was not a capable person, although his stock with the Nawwàb was very high.[134]

We owe the identification of three more sons of Mìr Namakìn to the discovery of the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì*. Besides its author, Yùsuf Mìrak, two other sons of the Mìr, Luṭf Allàh and Nùr Allàh, also served in Thattah under their elder brother, Mìr Abù al-Baqà'.[135]

Of the female offspring of the Mìr, nothing is known. Neverthless, Shaykh Farìd [136] mentions one of his sons-in-law, Jamìl Bèg, son of Tàsh Bèg Kàbulì, who was killed in a battle against Ràjà Bàsù, of Kàngràh. He was buried on the outskirts of Kalànpùr, and his father erected a magnificent mausoleum over his grave. The gullible Shaykh Farìd writes, on the authority of some 'reliable' persons, that even after his death Jamìl Bèg continued to visit his home, as he did in his lifetime, and regularly cohabited with his wife!

b. Mìr Namakìn's Servants

Like his sons, Mìr Namakìn's retainers also achieved eminence. One of them called Khwàjah Hilàl, a eunuch, subsequently joined the service of Prince Salìm; and when the latter succeeded his father, the Khwàjah was made the *Mìr Tùzuk*.[137] The town of Rangattah, 6 *kuròhs* north-west of Àgrah,[138] was in his *jàgìr*. Khwàjah Hilàl built a fort and an inn there, and renamed it Hilàlàbàd. "In Àgrah towards the Madar Gate he built a lofty mansion, and invited most of the leading officials to a housewarming feast. Sa'ìd Khàn, who was also there, approved the building, and praised it greatly. Khwàjah Hilàl out of politeness said, 'Take it as a *pìshkash* [present]". Sa'ìd Khàn took him at his word, stood up and made three salutations and sent for his men and furniture. When Hilàl objected, Sa'ìd

132. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.76.
133. For his life, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.69-116; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.715-31.
134. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.200.
135. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.40, 46.
136. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.395.
137. *Ibid.*, p.192; *Tùzuk* (R&B,) vol.II, p.103.
138. Blochmann, p.352 Cf. *M.J.*, p.12.

Marfat.com

Khàn's servants used force. On hearing about the incident, "the Emperor remarked to Sa'ìd Khàn 'This behaviour was not worthy of your position.' Sa'ìd Khàn 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." "With this ignoble ruse, "he succeeded in taking possession of the house."[139]

During his fourtienth regnal year, when Jahàngìr passed through Rangattah on his way to Kashmìr from Àgrah, Hilàl Khàn expressed the desire to make an offering to the Emperor. "In order to dignify him," writes Jahàngìr, "I took a trifle from him."[140]

c. Mìr Namakin's Works

Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn'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'àt al-Namakìn*[141] and the *Jawàmi' al-Jawàhir*,[142] that have survived the ravages of time manifest his profound scholarship and entitle him to a place of eminence beside Mirzà Nizàm al-Dìn Ahmad Bakhshì and Mìr Ma'sùm Bhakkarì. The Mìr took a keen interest in the welfare of scholars and literati, and went to great lengths to ensure a comfortable living for them.[143] He enjoyed their company, and, notwithstanding all his official engagements, found some time for the instruction of the progeny of his friends. Shaykh Ma'rùf, the *sadr* of Bhakkar's son, Shaykh Farìd, was one of his students in poetry and calligraphy.[144]

Having lived a strenuous, hard and demanding life, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn 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 elite of his time and clime, surrounded by his worthy descendants.

139. *M.U.*, tr. by H. Beveridge, rev. by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979, repr., vol.II, part, II, p:682; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.192-93.
Ibid.,
140. *Tùzuk* (R&B,) vol.II, p.103.
141. 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 India Office manuscript, another copy of the *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn* is preserved in the Lytton Collection No.3/26/7 of the Aligarh Muslim University Library.
142. Dealing with the philosophy of Islàm, the work is dedicated to Mìrzà Muḥammad Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn, and its only known manuscripts are available in the Bodleian Library. See *Indo-Iranica, op.cit.*, p.40.
143. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.121.
144. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.200.

Marfat.com

The place is situated at the top of a majestic mountain, whose base is constantly caressed by the mighty river Sind, which lends its name to the country about it and contributes as much to its prosperity as the ceaseless endeavours of such prodigies as Mîr Namakìn and his long line of illustrious offspring.

3. His Elder Brother and His Descendants

Yùsuf Mîrak's elder brother, Mîr Abù al-Baqà', was an outstanding commander, intrepid soldier and illustrious successor to his father. His early life is shrouded in mystery; and it is only in Rajab 1017/October 1608, on the eve of his father's departure for Qandahàr, that we hear of him for the first time. In Mîr Namakìn's year-long absence from Sìwistàn, the way in which Abù al-Baqà' conducted various expeditions against disloyal tribes presaged a brilliant career in the years ahead. Each of these campaigns bore testimony to his military prowess, mental agility and physical endurance. His lightning raid on the Bèglàr stronghold of Sadgarh, where rebellious elements sought refuge in times of need, and the way he ensured the final defeat of the Bèglàrs by anticipating a retaliatory attack from them and appointing a capable commandant at Sadgarh show his command over military strategy. The fortresses he built and adequately manned at various strategic points also served to keep the rebellious tribes in check.[145]

On the death of Mîr Namakìn, Jahàngìr bestowed Sìwistàn on his family, headed by Mîr Abù al-Baqà', and on Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek collectively.[147] Mîr Abù al-Baqà' who then held a *manṣab* of 500,[147] did not approve of Shamshìr Khan's participation in his hereditary *jàgìr*, and, counting on the record of his family's long service to the Mughul throne, hastened to the presence of Jahàngìr at Àgrah. Jahàngìr responded by leaving Sìwistàn with Shamshìr Khàn and giving Mîr Abù al-Baqà' the territories of Ùbawṛah, Ganjàbah and Riprì Langàhàn in *jàgìr*.[148]

Ever since its conquest by Mîr Namakìn, the situation in Sìwì had been calm and completely under the control of the Mughul authorities at Bhakkar, of which Sìwì was a dependency. Mîr Abù al-Baqà's stay at Ganjàbah, however, coincided with the outbreak of an Afghàn rebellion. Realizing the military weakness of Qùch 'Alì Kurd, the Mughul *jàgìrdàr* of Sìwì, the Pannì Afghàns put him under a virtual siege. Alarmed at the possible consequences of this revolt in a remote border outpost, Jahàngìr

145 *Maz.Sh.*, pp.116-20.
146 *Ibid.*, p.121.
147 *M.U.*, vol.I. p.171; Kèwalràm, *s.v.*, Amìr Khàn.
148 *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.121-22.

Marfat.com

directed Mîr Abù al-Baqà' to procure whatever help he needed from Tàj Khàn, the *jagirdàr* of Bhakkar, and rush to the rescue of Qùch 'Alì. As soon as the Mîr appeared in Sìwì, the Afghàns gave up their revolt and once again accepterd Mughul suzerainty.[149]

On the death of Tàj Khàn, in 1023/1614, Shamshìr Khàn[150] took his place as the governor of Thattah; and Sihwàn was bestowed jointly on Mîr Abù al-Baqà' and Mirzà Dùst Bèg. When soon afterwards Mirzà Dùst Bèg went to Qandahàr with the royal treasury of Multàn, the responsibility of administering the entire region of Sihwàn devolved upon the shoulders of Mîr Abù al-Baqà'; who, however, managed this most excellently. Travelling long distances speedily and stealthily, he fell upon the Chàndiyahs, the Nuhmardìs and the Samèjahs Ùnar, and brought them to their knees. Likewise, he punished the Shùrahs and took necessary measures, including repairs to the Wînjarah fort and the deployment of a strong force there, to protect the region's peasants from future excesses of the recalcitrants.[151] At this time, Muzaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì[152] was the *bakhshì* of Thattah. Subsequently, when he was elevated to the position of governor, and Shamshìr Khàn was subordinated to him as the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, Mîr Abù al-Baqà' was transferred to Badìn, with Nayrankòt and Shàl as his *tankhwàh jàgìr*.[153] During his governorship of Thattah, Muzaffar Khàn made an unsuccessful bid to crush the rebellion of the Dals of the region of Shàl; but, owing to the stiff resistance of the latter, many of his troops were killed and his initiative lost all its momentum. The following night, Mîr Abù al-Baqà' arrived from Badìn. In a stormy attack on the Dals in the foothills, he killed about 200 of their men and thus brought the campaign to a successful conclusion. Thereafter, Muzaffar Khàn left Mîr Abù al-Baqà' at Nayrankòt, whence the latter sent some expeditions against the Dals and the Shùrahs, and himself returned to Thattah. It was in one of these military forays against the Shùrahs, that Mîr Abù al-Baqà's younger brother, Lutf Allàh, lost his life.[154]

According to Mîrak Yùsuf, from Badìn, Mîr Abù al-Baqà' was recalled to the court to join the campaign against the fort of Kàngaṛah.[155] Military proceedings against this hill fort, which had defiantly withstood all attempts at its conquest by Muslim rulers of the Subcontinent since the

149. *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.
150. For his career, see *infra*.
151. *Maz.Sh.*, pp.123-219.
152. For his life, see *infra*.
153. *Maz.Sh.*, pp.35, 45.
154. *Ibid.*, pp.45-46.
155. *Ibid.*

Marfat.com

days of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd,[156] started on 14 Farwardìn 1024/3 April 1615[157] and were completed on 1 Muḥarram 1030[158]/26 November[159] 1620, when it surrendered to Mughul arms. During this period, Mìr Abù al-Baqà' received two promotions: on 18 Mihr 1027/10 October 1618,[160] Jahàngìr bestowed on him a *mansab* of 800 personnel and 600 horse, which was raised to 1,000 personnel and 600 horse on 11 Urdìbihist 1029/1 May 1620.[161]

After the conquest of Kàngarah, the Mìr seems to have joined the entourage of the Khàn-i Jahàn, on whose recommendation, on 1 Shahrìwar 1031/23 August 1622,[162] Jahàngìr elevated him to a *mansab* of 1,000 personnel and 900 horse. Subsequently, the Mìr also secured the favour and confidence of Nawwàb Àṣaf Khàn; and, towards the close of Jahàngìr's reign, when Multàn was conferred on Àṣaf Khàn, the latter appointed Mìr Abù al-Baqà' as his governor in Multàn. [163] On the accession of Shàhjahàn, Àṣif Khàn's governorship of Multàn was confirmed,[164] and Mìr Abù al-Baqà' continued carrying out his duties undisturbed. In the meantime, his title of *Mìr Khàn* was changed to that of *Amìr Khàn,* and, as a mark of his gratitude, he proffered a gift of one *làkh* rupees to the Emperor.[165]

By the end of Jahàngìr's reign, Mìr Abù al-Baqà' had already attained a *mansab* of 2,500 personnel and 1,500 horse.[166] In early 1039/1629, when the governorship of Thattah fell vacant on the demise of Husàm al-Dìn Murṭaḍà Khàn II,[167] Shàhjahàn raised the *mansab* of Mìr Abù al-Baqà' to 3,000 personnel and 2,000 horse and transferred him to Thattah as its governor.[168] After his arrival here, one of the first things Mìr Abù al-Baqà' did was to punish those, including the Jàm Hàlah of Kukràlah, who had

156. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*,Third Edn.. Allahabad. 1940.p.268; *Tùzuk*, pp.138-39, 318.
157. *Tùzuk*, pp.138-39.
158. *Ibid.*, p.319. The Text erroneously has A.H. 1031.
159. Beni Prasad, *op.cit.*, p.270, has 26 November.
160. *Tùzuk*, p.245.
161. *Ibid.*, p.304.
162. *Ibid.*, p.347.
163. Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
164. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.226. Shàhjahàn also conferred Bandar Làharì on Àṣaf Khàn in *in'àm. Idem*
165. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
166. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.171; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn. Shaykh Farid Bhakkarì *(Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.199 wrongly states that Amìr Khàn had reached the *manṣab* of 3,000 and appointed the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah and Sìwistàn, before the death of Jahàngìr.
167. For his particulars, see *infrà.*
168. *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.171-72; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.

Marfat.com

helped Nawwàb Sharìf al-Mulk in setting at naught Prince Shàhjahàn's design to capture Thattah unlawfully during the last days of his father's life. After this victimization and the bestowal of favours on well-wishers of Shàhjahàn had served their purpose,[169] Mìr Abù al-Baqà' devoted his entire attention to the subjugation of rebellious tribes[170] and restoring the confidence of the peasantry in the imperial authority. He established a strong fort at Wìnjarah and sent bodies of troops under the commands of his sons, Diyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf and Abù al-Qàsim, to Darbèlah and Hàlàkandì, respectively, in order to chastise the Samèjah freebooters.[171] Meanwhile, Shìr Khàn Tarìn [172] raided Sìwì and Ganjàbah. Thus, on the advice of his *dìwàn*, *bakhshì* and other imperial *mansabdàrs*, Mìr Abù al-Baqà' abandoned his campaign against the Samèjahs, rushed to Thattah and, giving a strong contingent to his younger brother, Lutf Allàh, dispatched him to Bhakkar with Dìndàr Khàn.[173] Until 22 Shawwàl 1041/ 12 May 1632,[174] the Mìr continued to serve in Thattah, but then or thereabouts was transferred to Jùnàgaḍh as its governor. In 1044/1634-35, when Mìrak Yùsuf wrote his *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì*, Mir Abù al-Baqà' was still there.[175]

Before his departure for Jùnàgadh, Mìr Abù al-Baqà' had around 1,500 excellent soldiers at his disposal; but as soon as they heard about the dearness and the bad conditions prevailing at Sùrat, 500 of them deserted him at Thattah. Consequently, the Mìr, doubling and trebling the allowances of about 500 of his old retainers, who had been with him for 10 to 20 years, and paying their salaries for two months in advance, speedily dispatched them ahead of him under the command of his elder son, Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf. As Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn turned his reins from Jùnàgadh to Ùnah, 450 of his men fled back to Thattah, so that he was left with only 50 loyal soldiers. These large-scale desertions caused a panic among the followers of Mìr Abù al-Baqà' and landed him in dire straits. Consequently, he rallied a strength of between 700 to 800 men, mainly comprising his family, friends and old servants, and proceeded to Sùrat. Had he been allowed to retain his old *jàgìrs* in Thattah as long as he had not satisfactorily established himself in the place of his new assignment, he would not have run the risk of a shortage of funds, and his men would not have deserted him.[176]

169. *T.K.*, tr., p.295.
170. See *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.35.
171. *Ibid.*, pp.39-40.
172. For his career, see *infra*.
173. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.40,
174. See *T.A.Kh.*, p.100.
175. *P.U.* MS.
176. See *Ibid.*, ff.

Marfat.com

Mìr Abù al-Baqà' also participated in Shàhjahàn's Deccan campaign; and in 1045/1636, when that Emperor set out from Daulatàbàd for Àgrah, the Mìr held a *jàgìr* in the *sarkàr* of Bìr in the Deccan, and was for some time among the auxiliaries *(kumukiyàn)*.[177] In Rabì' I 1051/June 1641, the Emperor honoured him with a robe of honour and a horse and appointed him to the governorship of Sìwistàn, vice Qazzàq Khàn.[178] The following year, in Rabì' I 1052/June 1642, he was once again appointed the governor of Thattah, vice Shàd Khàn;[179] and it was during his stay here that he died, while still in office,[180] sometime in Rabì' I 1057/ March-April 1647,[181] and, as already noted, was buried at the Suffah-i Safà'.[182]

a. Mìr 'Atìq Allàh

Like his father, Mìr Abù al-Baqà' begot many children.[183] His eldest son *(pisar-i kalàn)*, Mìr 'Atìq Allàh, took an active part in maintaining law and order in his father's *jàgìr*. In 1023/1614,[184] when Sìwistàn passed under the joint administration of Mìr Abù al-Baqà' and Mirzà Dùst Bèg, Mìr 'Atìq Allàh led a punitive expedition against the rebellious Samèjahs. The latter were prepared to settle matters in an amicable manner, but the young Mìr impetuously rejected the offer out of the hand, and thus drove them to rebellion once again. Though his father ultimately subdued them, in the meantime many of Mìr 'Atìq Allàh's men were killed unnecessarily.[185] In 1028/1619, while he was engaged in procuring ibexes *(rang-hà)*, in the region of Sihwàn, for the imperial court, 'Atìq Allàh, together with Sayyid Bàqir, son of Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì, who was on a similar mission on behalf of his father, extended military help to Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's agent in Sihwàn, Khwùsham Bèg, to subjugate recalcitrant elements.[186] Finally, it was probably in one of his military campaigns against the turbulent tribes of this region that 'Atìq Allàh met with his death on 4 Rajab 1037/10 March 1628, and was buried alongside

177. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
178. *A.S.*, vol.II, p.284; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172. Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
179. *A.S.*, vol.II, p.302; *M.U.*, vol.I, p,172; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
180. See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.199.
181. 'Abd al-Ḥamìd Làhaurì, *Bàdshàh Nàmah*, ed., Kabìr al-Dìn Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Raḥìm, Calcutta, 1866-72, vol.II, pp.641, 723.
182. Henry Cousens *(The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, p.117 on the authority of *Tuḥfat al-Kiràm*, of Mìr Qàni' Thaththawì, mistakenly presumes his tomb to be in Thattah. See *T.A.Kh.*, pp.111-12.
183. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.199; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.172, 303.
184. *T.A.Kh.*, p.120.
185. *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.125-28; P.U. MS., ff.315a-318b.
186. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.142; P.U. MS., f.329a-b.

Marfat.com

the grave of his father on the Ṣuffah-i Ṣafà'.[187]

b. Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf

Mìr 'Atìq Allàh's brother, Mìr Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf, was so gifted with erudition that in this he stood head and sholders above his brothers, and among his admirers counted even his uncle, Mìrak Yùsuf,[188] the author of the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì*. During his father's tenure in Sind, like his other brothers, Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn also participated in the administration, and played no insignificant role in the subjugation of different tribes.[189] Mìr Abù al-Baqà' had effectively chastised Jàm Hàlah,[190] the Sammah[191] ruler of Kukràlah;[192] but subsequently, when the administration of Bhakkar and Thattah,[193] passed under the control of Prince Aurangzìb, who was then the governor of Multàn,[194] the Jàm's sons, Mastà and Gàhiyah, once again took up arms. Aurangzìb sent an army to crush their revolt. While Mastà accepted Mughul suzerainty and prepared to wait upon the prince at Multàn, his brother fled to Kachh and, with the aid and abetment of the ruler of that region, prepared for an invasion of his ancestral lands. However, before he could embark on this, Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf, assisted by his brother, Mìr Abù al-Makàrim, issued forth from Thattah with a huge park of artillery and put Gàhiyah to flight.[195]

Similarly, when Nawwàb Zafar Khàn,[196] the last Mughul governor of Shàhjahàn in Thattah,[197] wanted to stop Samèjah raids on the route between Sìwistàn and Hàlàhkandì and sought an imperial injunction for the *faujdàr* (commander) of Sìwistàn to cooperate in this task, the Emperor nominated Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn to lead this campaign.[198] Towards

187. *T.A.Kh.*, pp.124-25; *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.304-5b.
188. See his note on the flyleaf of the P.U. manuscript reproduced in *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.85.
189. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.39, P.U. manuscript, f. 256b.
190. *Ibid.*, p.35; P.U. manuscript, f. 253b. Also see *T.K.*, tr., p.395.
191. *T.T.*, p.249n.
192. Kukràlah comprised the present day *ta'alluqahs* of Shahbandar and Tatì in Thattah district. *Ibid.*
193. On 1 Dhì al-Ḥijjah 1059/6 December 1649. *Àd.Àl.*, p.24n. also see *T.K.*, tr., p.298.
194. He held that position from 29 Ṣafar 1058/25 March 1648 to 17 Sha'bàn 1062/24 July 1651.
195. *Àd.Àl.*, p.26; Sayyid Najìb Ashraf Nadwì, *Ruqa'àt-i 'Àlamgìr*, ed., Maulawì Mas'ùd 'Alì Nadwì, A'ẓamgaṛh, 1929, p.301.
196 He was appointed to Thattah in 1063/1652-53 and served there for six years. In 1065/1654-55, when Sipihr Shukùh, son of Dàrà Shukùh, who held a *manṣab* of 7,000, came to Thattah as the governor of that place, Ẓafar Khàn was made his deputy. See *T.K.*, tr., p.299.
197. *Ibid; M.Sh.*, p.380.
198. Miyàn Nùr al-Ḥaqq Mushtàqì, *Munsha'àt-i Mushtàqì*, manuscript in the Private Collection of Pìr Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, 1979, transcript, p.26.

Marfat.com

the close of Shàhjahàn's reign, Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn held a *mansab* of 1,000 personel and 600 horse. [199] Aurangzìb conferred the title of *Khàn* upon him and appointed him the *faujdàr* of Sìwistàn.[200] The Mìr served in this capacity until Jumàdà II 1075/January 1665, when he was replaced by Arsalàn Khàn.[201]

Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf's grandson *(nabìrah)*[202] Mìr Abù al-Wafà', was also in the imperial service; and in 1114/1702, in addition to his other duties, he was made the *dàrùghah* of the royal oratory. This latter position gave him ample opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Emperor. Once Aurangzìb received a letter in cryptic language from Prince Mu'azzam; and however much he tried, certain points remained unclear. Finally, he handed over the letter to Mìr Abù al-Wafà' and ordered him to solve the obscurities. The Mìr readily worked out a solution to the problematic words, and produced a satisfactory purport of the entire letter for the Emperor. The latter was so highly impressed by the sharpness and intellectual capacity of Mìr Abù al-Wafà' that he rewarded him most generously, raising him in rank to a *chahàr sadì* (400).[203] The collection of Aurangzìb's rough notes called the *Raqà'im-i Karà'im* contains at least two references to Mìr Abù al-Wafà', that indicate his closeness to the Emperor.[204] The Mìr outlived the reign of Aurangzìb, and was a frequent visitor to the literary gatherings that used to be held at Amìr 'Abd al-Karìm Khàn's during the reign of Bahàdur Shàh (1119-24/1707-12). During the six regnal year of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19), Mìr Abù al-Wafà' waited upon the Emperor and was awarded a robe of honour.[205] The following year he died.[206]

c. Mìr Abù al-Qàsim

Mir Abù al-Baqà's third son, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim, also played an active role in the restoration of law and order in his father's *jàgìr*.[207] Beyond that, virtually nothing is known about him, except that he died in 1045/

199. *A.S.*, vol II, p.364.
200. Muḥammad Kàẓim, *'Àlamgìr Nàmah*, ed., Khàdim Husain and 'Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1867, vol.I, p.875. Also see *T.K.*, tr., p.297.
201. *M.'Àl.*, p.273.
202. See n. 287, below.
203. *M.'Àl.*, pp.273-74.
204. Hermann Ethe, *op.cit.*, p.375. I.O. manuscript No.3021, ff. 2b, 10b. *Ruka'àt-i 'Àlamgìrì or Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr., J.H.Billimoria, Delhi, 1972, pp.106, 163.
205. Kàmwar Khàn, p.231.
206. *Ibid.*, p.242.
207. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.39; P.U. manuscript f.256b.

Marfat.com

1635-36 and was buried on the *Suffah-i Safà'*.[208] Likewise, his brother, Shams al-Dìn, finds only a passing mention in the *Tuhfat al-Kiràm*[209]

d. Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq

Yet another son of Mìr Abù al-Baqà' was known as Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq, who waited upon Shàhjahàn on 22 Shawwàl 1041/12 May 1632 and, on his father's behalf, presented to him some jewels, Sindhì fabrics *(aqmishah)* and one thousand **mohars.**[210] He, subsequently, joined the imperial service and rose to a *mansab* of 900 personnel and 300 horse.[211] He was killed in Shì'ì-Sunnì clashes in 1062/1651-52, and was buried on the Suffah-i Safà'.[212] According to Qàni' Thattawì, the Mìr was well read in the sciences, had an excellent command of languages and a remarkable memory.[213]

e. Mìr Abù al-Makàrim Shuhùd

Mìr Abù al-Baqà's fifth son, Mìr Abù al-Makàrim Shuhùd, also participated in military campaigns during Shàhjahàn's reign;[214] but his simple and austere style of life, strong inclination towards mysticism and poetry gave an altogether different hue to his personality. Although he was well-versed in a variety of sciences, his fame rested on his literary attainments. Besides a *Dìwàn* (collection of poems), he also left behind a romantic *mathnawì* (a long poem) called the *Parìkhànah-i Sulaymàn*. Another of his long poems, dealing with the romance of Badì' al-Jamàl and Sayf al-Mulùk, was left incomplete when he died in 1073/1662-63, and was buried in Sìwistàn near the tomb of Shaykh La'l Shàhbàz.[215] He was survived by four sons, namely Amìn al-Dìn Khàn Husayn, Mu'ìn al-Dìn Hasan, Radì al-Dìn Fidà'ì and Mìr Hàfiz al-Dìn Khàn.

A disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wàsi',[216] Mìr Amìn al-Dìn Khàn Husayn was appointed the governor of Thattah in 1114/1702-3, and he worked in this capacity for almost a year.[217] Thereafter, he seems to have been made the *faujdàr* of the *sarkar* of Bhakkar, and he occupied this position

208. *Maz.Sh.*, p.39, n.2; *T.A.Kh.*, pp.125-26.
209. *T.K.*,tr., p.297.
210. 'Abd al-Hamìd Làhaurì, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.242.
211. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.368.
212. *T.A.Kh.*, p.117.
213. *M.Sh.*, pp.416-17; *T.K.*, tr., p.297.
214. See n. 194, above.
215. *M.Sh.*, pp.349-54. Also see *T.K.*, tr., pp.631-22.
216. *M.Sh.*, p.430. He had to his credit an excellent commentary on the *Makhzan al-Asràr* of Nizàmi Ganjah'ì.
217. *Ibid.*, pp.24-28.

Marfat.com

at least until 1120/1708-9.[218] He was an accomplished poet and erudite scholar. The onerous responsibilities of the high offices he held from time to time did not prevent him from associating with contemporary scholars and following his literary pursuits. Besides some stray verses, he left behind two fine encyclopaedic works, the *Rashahàt al-Funùn*[219] and the *Ma'lùmàt al-Àfàq,*[220] which bear ample testimony to the learning and insight of their author. He died in 1127/1715 and was buried in the Maklì graveyard[221] Mìr Amìn al-Dìn fathered three sons, namely Mìr Matìn al-Dìn[222] Khàn. Mìr Muhammad Gadà and Mìr Muhammad 'Aṭà'. Mìr Matìn al-Dìn, who thrice served as the *diwàn* of Thattah, 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 àge.[223] He died in 1177/1763-64,[224] leaving behind two sons, Mìr Muhammad Ghauth and Mìr Abù al-Mafàkhir. Mìr Muhammad Ghauth served the Kalhòṛah chiefs, Miyàn Nùr Muhammad (1132-67/1719-54), Miyàn Muràdyàb (1167-70/1753-57), and Miyàn Ghulàm Shàh (1170-86/1756-73) with great distinction. He died some time around 1181/1767-68, and was succeeded by his son, Mìr Muhammad Karìm al-Dìn, in the office of *bakhshì.* When Karìm al-Dìn died around 1219/1804-5, the Tàlpurs granted a stipend to his son, Sayyid Qanbar 'Alì. After the death of the latter, the stipend was transferred to his two sons, Sayyid Karam 'Alì and Pìr Wadan Shàh.[225]

About Mìr Matìn al-Dìn's second son, Mìr Abù al-Mafàkhir, our information is limited to the fact that he maintained his ancestral dignity during his life, and after his death, was survived by one son, who was a contemporary of Mìr Qàni' Thattawì.[226].

Mìr Amìn al-Dìn's second son, Mìr Gadà, was a poet of some merit. He died some time between 1172/1758-59 and 1181/1767-68,[227] and left behind one son.[228] Mìr Gadà's brother, Mìr 'Aṭà', associated extensively

218. *Tabṣirat al-Nāẓirìn. op.cit.*, pp.61-62, In 1120/1708-9, he built a beautiful mosque in the town of Sukkur, and Mìr 'Abd al-Jalìl Bilgràmì composed a poem, containing a chronogram, to celebrate the occasion.
219. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Khudà Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna. See *T.A.Kh.*, pp.195-96.
220. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.
221. *T.A.Kh.*, p.206.
222. Cf. *T.K.*, tr., p.632, where his name has been recorded as Amìn al-Dìn.
223. *Ibid.; T.A.Kh.*, pp.207-11.
224. *T.A.Kh.*, p.210.
225. *Ibid.*, pp.213-15.
226. *T.K.* tr., p.632.
227. *T.A.Kh.*, p.215.
228. *T.K.* tr., p.632.

Marfat.com

with his contemporary social elite, but met the less distinguished with equal ease and cheerfulness. His propensity for mysticism made him amiable company to the mystics,[229] and he enjoyed close relations with the illustrious Sindhì poet, Shàh 'Abd al-Latìf Bhità'ì.[230] Being an outstanding scion of his family, his death on 3 Sha'bàn 1178/26 January 1765,[231] was a serious loss to the Amìrkhànì Sayyids and to the community at large. He left behind two sons.[232]

Mìr Abù al-Makàrim Shuhùd's second son, Mìr Mu'ìn al-Dìn Hasan had also drunk deep at the fountain of mysticism. Once he was engaged in the repair of his house and used a rope instead of the required iron reinforcement. A passer-by remarked that when he could afford to use iron, why he was contenting himself with a poor substitute. The Mìr instantly recited two verses which purported: A house, temporary and perishable as it is, 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.[233] Mìr Shuhùd's third son, Mìr Radì al-Dìn Muhammad, who died in 1120/1708-9, was also a fine poet and craftsman of words.[234] His son, Mìr Haydar al-Dìn Abù Turàb Kàmil, howerver, surpassed him not only as a poet but also in mystical accomplishments. Because he was a pious, celebate and scholarly person, a large number of people, including several nobles, turned to him for spiritual guidance, but he remained aloof from all worldly matters.[235] Nawwàb Mahàbat Khàn Kàzim made an offer of a stipend to him, but he declined. He spent most of his time in meditation, and several supernatural deeds were attributed to him.[236]

Mìr Kàmil's appearance on the literary horizon of Sind marked a new phase in the development of Hindì poetry in this region. His contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Hakìm 'Atà'[237] and Mìr Mahmùd Sàbir,[238] were already expressing their thoughts in that language, and, on the latter's own testimony, [239] we know that the fame of his poetry

229. *M.Sh.*, p.444; *T.K.*, tr., p.632.
230. *T.A.Kh.*, p.218.
231. *Ibid.*, pp.216-17.
232. *T.K.*, tr., 632.
233. *M.Sh.*, p.175.
234. *Ibid.*, pp.492-93; *T.K.*, tr., p.633.
235. *T.K.*, p.633.
236. *M.Sh.*, pp.670-71.
237. 'Abd al-Ḥakìm 'Atà' Thaththawì, *Diwàn-i 'Atà'*, ed., Sayyid Muḥammad Muṭì' Allàh Ràshid Burhànpùrì, Hyderabad, Sind, n.d., pp.459-61.
238. For his life, see Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Balòch, *Sindh mein Urdù Shà'irì* Lahore, 1978, pp.21-38.
239. *Ibid.*, p.25.

Marfat.com

had reached as far as the Deccan. Through his towering personality, enormous literary output and numerous promising disciples, Mîr Kàmil gave a new impetus to this movement. Even towards the close of the 12th/18th century, his poetry enjoyed so much popularity that his only biographer, Mîr Qàni', considered it too well known to be quoted extensively in his biographical encyclopaedia, the *Maqàlàt* al-Shu'arà'.[240] The Mîr died in 1164/1750-51.[241] Little is known about his brother, Mîr Hàfiz al-Dìn,[242]but the latter's son, Mîr Hafiz al-Dìn 'Alì, though far less learned than his uncle, Mîr Kàmil, followed in his footsteps. He was more at home in Hindì than in Persian, and exhibited such exceptional versatility in his Hindì writings, prose and verse, that his contemporary, Mîr Qàni', refers to him as the second Amìr Khusrāū[243] and writes that, had Mîr Hafiz al-Dìn not been handicapped by defects of eyesight and hearing,[244] he would have become another Mîr Kàmil.[245] At the time of the writing of the *Tuhfat al-Kiràm,* the Mîr was still alive and led a life of celebacy and withdrawal from the world.[246]

f. Mîr 'Abd al-Karìm

Unlike his brothers, Mîr 'Abd al-Karìm, the youngest son of Mîr Abù al-Baqà', did not confine himself to the region of Sind. He moved himself farther afield in the Subcontinent, where he succeeded in carving out a brilliant career and maintained the family tradition of rising to higher rungs of imperial service. It was an old practice with Mughul Emperors to draw their personal attendants (*khwàsi*) from the ranks of the progeny of their *amìrs*. Mîr 'Abd al-Karìm was lucky enough to attract the attention of Aurangzìb.[247] 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 the Emperor. In Sha'bàn 1093/August 1682, when Auranzìb was encamped at Aurangàbàd, the Mîr was appointed the *dàrùghah* of the royal oratory (*jànamàzkhànah).*[248] Before long, the duties of the *amìn* of the seven *chaukìs* were also entrusted to him.[250] Mîr 'Abd al-Karìm

240. *M.Sh.*, p.673.
241. *Ibid.*, p.671.
242. *T.K.*, tr., p.633.
243. *M.Sh.*, p.182.
244. *Ibid.*
245. *T.K.*, tr., p.634.
246. *Ibid.*
247. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.303.
248. *M.'Al.*, tr, pp.135-36.
249. Mounting guard is called *Chauki* in Hindì. The four divisions of the army were divided into seven parts, each of which was appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy *manṣabdàr. Selected Documents of Shàh Jahàn's Reign,* p.89, n.1.
250. *M.'Al.*, tr., p.146.

Marfat.com

discharged the dual responsibilities until he was relieved of the latter job,[251] and made the *dàrùghah* of the *naqqàshkhànah* instead,[252] in addition to his position of the head of the royal oratory.

In Dhì al-Hijjah 1097/October 1685, when Prince Shàh 'Àlam communicated the news of his victory over Abù al-Hasan, the ruler of Tilangànah, and the reduction of Hyderàbàd and recommended the grant of suitable rewards to the officers serving under his command, the Emperor gave the Mìr 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, 4 *kòs* short of Hydaràbàd, the Mìr was ambushed by the men of Abù al-Hasan: his entire entourage was massacred, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Abù al-Hasan kept him under detention for four days, and then had him conveyed to the prince's camp, where the Mìr's wounds were tended. On his recovery, Mìr 'Abd al-Karìm waited on the Prince and told him about the gifts sent by the Emperor and how these had been looted. He then returned to court[253] and resumed the usual duties of the *dàrùghah* of the royal oratory. Soon afterwards, the *amìnì* of the seven *chaukìs* was again given to him.[254] In Rabì' II 1098/February 1657, Aurangzìb appointed Sayyid Sharìf Khàn, son of Mìr Sayyid Muhammad Qannaujì, the spiritual guide of Shàhjahàn, as the *karòrì-i ganj* of the camp and collector of *jizyah* for the four provinces of the Deccan, and ordered him to visit the aforementioned provinces in order to ensure a strict observance of Islamic law in the collection of *jizyah*.[255] A few months later, the Mìr was retained as the *dàrùghah* of the royal oratory, but instead of *amìn* of the *chaukìs*, was appointed as deputy to Sayyid Sharìf Khàn,[256] and put in charge of the collection of fines.[257] The duties of the *karòrì-i ganj* entailed strict supervision of the supply of foodgrain to the royal camp at a reasonable price.

While famine raged throughout the surrounding regions, the Mìr handled the situation so skilfully that the imperial camp was kept well supplied without any significant rise in prices. The Emperor expressed his pleasure at this by honouring him with the title of *Multafat Khàn*.[258]

251. *Ibid.*, p.153.
252. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.303. During the 28th regnal year of Aurangzìb, owing to some fault *(qusùr)* the Mìr was suspended from the *dàrùghahship* of the royal oratory.
253. *M.'Àl.*, tr., pp.164-65; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.303-4.
254. *Ibid.*, p.174.
255. *Ibid.*, pp.178, 181.%
256. *Ibid.*, p.181; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.304.
257. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.184; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.304.
258. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.199; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.304.

Marfat.com

This was followed by his appointment as the head of the *àbdàrkhànah*[259]. Meanwhile, in Rajab 1104/ March 1693, when Anwar Khàn, son of Wazìr Khàn Shàhjahànì died, yet another feather was added to the Mìr's cap and thenceforward he became the *dàrùghah* of the *khawàṣìs.*[260] Sometime after Dhì al-Ḥijjah 1112/April 1701, he was created *Khànahzàd Khàn,* and before long,[261] the title of *Mìr* was also officially appended to his name.[262] On 20 Dhì al-Qa'dah 1115/15 March 1704, the Emperor conferred on him his father's title of *Amìr Khàn.* While doing so, he remarked in a light-hearted manner that, when Shàhjahàn had bestowed the same title on the Mìr's father, he had presented 100,000 rupees to the Emperor so what were his plans in that regard. The Mìr replied that his life and property were all bound in propitiation *(taṣadduq)* to the Emperor; and the following day, he presented him with a copy of the *Qur'àn* transcribed by Yàqut, a renowned calligraphist of the 3rd/9th century.[263] There could have been no better connoisseur of this precious gift than Aurangzìb, whose own favourite recreation was to pen copies of the *Qur'àn* in his own hand, which apart from being sold, were also sent to the holy shrines at Makkah and Madìnah. In appreciation of this gift, the Emperor presented an elephant o the Mìr.

After the conquest of Wàkinkhèṛah, the Emperor promoted Mìr ' Abd al-Karìm from a *manṣab* of 2,500 to that of 3,000 personnel.[264] However, the Mìr's official rank and formal designation only partly reflected his personal intimacy and influence with the Emperor. This made him the envy of great and small, and earned him the epithet of "close to the Emperor's person"[265] from contemporary annalists.

Once the Emperor decreed that only those of his *amìrs* and princes could ride to the royal enclosure in their palanquins who owned them by

259. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.204; The *Ma'àthir-i 'Àlamgìrì* also adds that the Mìr was promoted by 100 *dhàt.* which office brought him close to the Emperor's person.
260. *Ibid.*, p.212.
261. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.265. He had already been promoted to a *manṣab* of 1500/200 in 1696 A.D. *Ibid.*, p.237.
262. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.282.
263. *Ibid.*, p.290. shaykh Jalàl al-Dìn Yàqùt Musta'ṣimì, who was originally a slave of the 'Abbàsid caliph, al-Musta'ṣim Bi'llàh 640-56/1242-58, finally rose to the position of the Court Librarian. He is credited with the invention of the *naskh* style of calligraphy. Shaykh Aḥmad, alias Shaykhzàdah Suhrawardì, Arghùn Kàbulì, Maulànà Yùsuf Shàh Mashhadì, Maulànà Mubàrak Shàh Zarrìn Qalam, Maulànà Ḥaydar Kandahnawìs, *(Gundah nawìs ?) and Mìr Yaḥyà were six renowned pupils of Yàqùt. He died in* 697/1298 *during the reign of Ghàzàn Khàn. See A.A.*, vol.I, p.75; Blochmann, p.106; *Badàyi' al-Waqàyi', op.cit.*, vol.II. pp.88-89.
264. *M.U.*, vol., I, p.305.
265. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.300. Also see *ibid.*, p.199; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.305.

Marfat.com

virtue of royal favour. Although subsequently other leading personages, such as Bahrahmand Khàn, Mukhliṣ Khàn and Rùḥ Allàh Khàn, were also included in the privileged class, to start with, only Jumlat al-Mulk Asad Khàn and Mìr ' Abd al-Karìm qualified for this honour.[266]

The perpetual closeness of Mìr ' Abd al-Karìm to the Emperor, however, also produced some drawbacks. He became conceited and haughty and, at times, was discourteous even with prominent nobles.[268] Unable to avenge themselves otherwise, these nobles sometimes expressed their resentment through sarcastic remarks about him.[269] On the other hand, the Mìr's integrity, largely compensated for this flaw in his character. An unscrupulous person in his position could easily have amassed a fabulous amount of wealth but he strictly avoided all forms of gratification. Generally, to gain favour, merchants tried to sell items to him at a fraction of their real cost, but the Mìr always found this out and obliged them to accept the balance from him.[269]

He spoke and wrote eloquently and had a fine gift for composing extempore verse. Possessed of a quick memory, he could extensively quote verses with good effect. During the last days of Aurangzìb, 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 Niẓàmì of Ganjah were composed as a preface to the following couplet:

> Then 'tis better you remain joyful,
> And that in that joy you remember God.[270]

The Emperor ordered him to repeat the couplet, and then directed him to jot it down, after which the Emperor recited it several times under his breath. The following day, the Emperor, holding court, praised the Mìr for having revived his spirits by reciting the couplet.[271]

On yet another occasion, when Asad Khàn was apprehending some

266. *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.307-8.
267. *Ibid.*, p.307.
268. See *ibid.*, vol.III, p.159.
269. *Ibid.*, p.308.
270. *M.U.*, tr., H. Beveridge, rev., annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979, repr., vol.I, p.256; *M. 'Àl.*, tr., p.302.
271. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.306.

Marfat.com

severe reprimand because of his rift with Prince Kàmbakhsh, Mìr 'Abd al-Karìm's timely reference to a famous adage, "There is a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge", saved the situation, and Asad Khàn was allowed to kiss the feet of the Emperor and was honoured with royal favours.[272]

After the death of Aurangzìb, when his second surviving son A'ẓam Shàh declared himself Emperor,[273] Mìr 'Abd al-Karìm, like most other officials and commanders, joined his entourage. A'ẓam Shàh removed Amìr Khàn from the *dàrùghahship* of the *khwàṣìs*,[274] but what other position was bestowed on him instead is not known. Nevertheless, Amìr Khàn accompanied the new Emperor in his march towards Àgrah, via Gawàliyàr, and participated in the subsequent battle between A'ẓam Shàh and his brother Prince Mu'aẓẓam at Jàjau.[275] In this battle, A'ẓam Shàh lost his life, and Mu'azzam ascended the ancestral throne, assuming the title of Bahàdur Shàh (119-24/1707-12). Realizing that, if, at the time of his father's death, his own sons had been in the Deccan, they would, under the pressure of circumstance, probably have also allied themselves with their late uncle,[276] Bahàdur Shàh welcomed all the servants of his father, regardless of their loyalties after his death. Amìr Khàn was appointed the governor of Akbaràbàd.[277] During those days, his house was a rendezvous for the town's writers and poets, such as Miyàn 'Alì 'Aẓìm, [278] Mirzà Ḥàtim Bèg and Mìr Abù al-Wafà' Wafà'ì[279] Amìr Khàn himself was an exquisite poet, and his criticism of the poetry of others was regarded highly.[280]

During the fourth regnal year of Bahàdur Shàh, Amìr Khàn's sons, Abù al-Khayr Khàn, Muḥtaram Khàn and 'Alì Riḍà Khàn, waited upon the Emperor and were honoured with special robes of honour.[281] Emperor

272. *Ibid.*, p.313.
273. He declared himself Emperor on 10 Dhì al-Ḥijjah 1118/15 March 1746. Kàmwar Khàn, p.2; William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, ed., Jadunath Sarkar, New Delhi, 1971, repr., p.8.
274. Kàmwar Khàn, p.3.
275. See Mubàrak Allàh Wàḍiḥ, *Ta'rìkh-i Iràdat Khàn*, ed., Ghulàm Rasùl Mihr, Lahore, 1971, p.54. According to *M.U.*, vol.I, p.308, he was left behind at Gawàliyàr with the heavy baggage of the army.
276. *Later Mughals*, vol.I, p.36.
277. Kàmwar Khàn, p.22.
278. For information on him, see Bhagwàn Dàs Hindì, *Safinah-i Hindì*, ed., S. Shàh Muḥammad 'Atà al-Raḥmàn, Patna, 1958, pp.132, 134; Kishan Chand Ikhlàṣ, *Hamìshah Bahàr*, ed., Waheed Qureshi, Karachi, 1973, pp.172-73.
279. Bindrabin Dàs Khwùshgù, *Safinah-i Khwùshgù*, ed., S. Shah Muḥammad 'Atà' al-Raḥmàn, Patna, 1959, p.148. Also see *ibid.*, p.218.
280. *Ibid.*, p.148.
281. *Ibid.*, p.102.

Marfat.com

Bahàdur Shàh also bestowed one elephant each on Abù al-Khayr Khàn and Muḥtaram Khàn.[282]

On his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) reappointed Amìr Khàn the governor of Akbaràbàd,[283] and his son, Muḥtaram Khàn, was exalted with the directorship *(mutaṣaddìgarì)* of Bandar Sùrat.[284] Subsequently, when an envoy from Ìràn alighted at that harbour, Muḥtaram Khàn was ordered to put 30,000 rupees at the disposal of the royal visitor and make arrangements for his journey to the capital.[285] During the second regnal year of Farrukhsiyar, Amìr Khàn was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbaràbàd; and Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah Khàn-i Dauràn Bahàdur took his place as the governor of the province,[286] but entrusted most of his responsbilities to Amìr Khàn. During the sixth year of Farrukhsiyar's rule, Amìr Khàn waited on him to present a gift of 100 ashrafis, one thousand rupees and a copy of the *Qur'àn*.[287] Soon afterwards, Amìr Khàn's brother's grandson, Abù al-Wafà'[288] and his sons, 'Abd al-Aẓìm Khàn, Maḥram Khàn[289] and 'Alì Riḍà Khàn, did homage to the Emperor and were rewarded with robes of honour.[290] Amìr Khàn also received a robe of honour and was made the *dàrùghah* of the *khwàṣìs*. Since he had become too old to carry all the burden of that exalted office by himself, Muḥtaram Khàn was appointed his deputy.[291] The following year, when Mìr Abù al-Wafà' died and Amìr Khàn retired into mourning, Emperor Farrukhsiyar especially ordered Amìn al-Dìn Khàn Bahàdur[292] to fetch the Khàn and, besides consoling him, favoured him with a robe of honour.[293]

During the interregnum that followed the death of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers raised Amìr Khàn to the office of the *ṣadr al-ṣudùr*, vice Afḍal Khàn.[294] The elder Sayyid, Quṭb al-Mulk 'Abd Allàh Khàn held him in such high esteem that he offered Amìr Khàn a seat at the corner

282. *Ibid.*, p.114.
283. *Ibid.*, pp.172, 173.
284. *Ibid.*, p.173.
285. *Ibid.*, p.185.
286. *Ibid.*, p.189
287. *Ibid.*, p.231.
288. *M.'Àl.*, tr., p.273; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172 Kàmwar Khàn, p.242. In this latter work, on p.231. Abù al-Wafà' is referred to as Amìr Khàn's nephew (*biràdarzàdah*) which is probably a transcriptional error.
289. This could be a misreading for Muḥtaram Khàn.
290. Kàmwar Khàn, p.231.
291. *Ibid.*, p.232.
292. For his particulars, see *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.356-57; Kèwalràm, *s.v.*
293. Kàmwar Khàn, p.242.
294. *M.U.* vol.I, p.309.

Marfat.com

of his own *masnad*. As *ṣadr al-ṣudùr*, Amìr Khàn spared no effort to ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy who turned to him for help.[295] Under Muḥammad Shàh, Amìr Khàn also served as *ṣadr al-ṣudùr* for a while; but, after his replacement by Mìr Jumlah,[296] he seems to have retired from active life. Nevertheless, towards the close of his second regnal year, Muḥammad Shàh favoured him with a robe of honour.[297] Amìr Khàn died some time between 16 Rabì' 1132/27 January 1720, when he received the robe, and on 1 Rajab 1134/27 April 1722, when his son, Abù al-Khayr, was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbaràbàd, on the recommendation of Jumdat al-Mulk Bahàdur, *wazìr-i a'là*.[298]

About Amìr Khàn's sons, the author of the *Ma'àthir al-Umarà'* writes that, except Abù al-Khayr Khàn, who because of his proximity to Khàn-i Dauràn 'Àṣim Khàn, received the title of *Khàn* from Farrukhsiyar,[299] the others contented themselves with the acquisitions of their father. This statement is not borne out by facts. Among other things, as we have seen earlier, the title of *Khàn* appears with Abù al-Khayr's name, as it does with the names of his three brothers, as early as the fourth regnal year of Bahàdur Shàh.

From the preface to the *Raqà'im-i Ḵarà'im*, where the compiler of that work calls himself Sayyid Ashraf Khàn Mìr Muhammad al-Husaynì and refers to Amìr 'Abd al-Karìm as *qiblaṅgàhì* and *Khàn-i marḥùm*,[300] Rieu[301] surmised that Sayyid Ashraf was also a son of Amìr Khàn. Other scholars have followed suit,[302] but the conclusion drawn from so slim a basis appears unjustified in the absence of any corroboration.

As for Amìr Khàn's daughters, one of them was married to Prince A'izz al-Dìn,[303] a great grandson of Aurangzìb,[304] during the 51st regnal year[305] (1118/1707) of that Emperor. The unfortunate prince was, however, blinded by Farrukhsiyar on 6 Muharram 1126/22 January 1714, and he died at Delhi on 8 Dhì al-Hijjah 1157/12 January 1745.[306]

295. *Safìnah-i Khwùshgù*, p.148.
296. Kàmwar Khàn, p.303. For information on Mìr Jumlah, see M.U., vol.III, pp.710-12.
297. Kàmwar Khàn, p.332.
298. *Ibid.*, p.338.
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. Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Amìr Khàn.
304. He was a son of Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dìn Bahàdur. See Kàmwar Khàn, p.9.
305. Kèwalràm, *s.v.*, Amìr Khàn.
306. *Later Mughals*, p.242.

Marfat.com

g. Mìr Abù al-Baqà's Daughters

Finally, a word about the female descendants of Mìr Abù al-Baqà'. A reference in the *Sakìnat al-Auliyà'* of Prince Muhammad Dàrà Shukùh suggests that the Mìr fathered several daughters and at least five sons.[307] On the other hand, miscellaneous other sources available to us record the names of seven sons, who have been dealt with in preceding paragraphs and make specific reference to only one daughter.

It seems that, even after the death of Mìr Abù al-Baqà', his family continued to enjoy a prestigious position in court circles, and Shàhjahàn's favours towards them did not undergo any significant change. Shàhjahàn's fourth son, Sultàn Muràd Bakhsh, had been married to a daughter of Shàhnawàz Khàn Safawì[308] for more than a decade,[309] but she had not borne him a son. In 1066/1656, about nine years after Mìr Abù al-Baqà's death, Shàhjahàn obtained the hand of his daughter, who was not only adorned with the ornament of elegance, writes the court chronicler Muhammad Sàlih, but was also a worthy match for that Prince of exalted birth. The bride, with a dowry worth 100,000 rupees, was dispatched to Ahmadàbàd, where the Prince was then serving as governor.[310]

307. Dara Shukùh, *Sakìnat al-Auliyà'*, ed., Tàrà Chand and M. Jalàlì Nà'inì, Tehran, 1344 H. Sh. pp.30-31.
308. For his career see *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.669-75.
309. The marriage took place in the 15th regnal year of Shàhjahàn. See *ibid.*, p.671.
310. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.176.

Marfat.com

SECTION III

THE BOOK

1. The Development of Persian historiography in Sind

The first use of Persian in Sind goes back to some time during the 4th/10th century, but, apart from some occasional compositions of literary merit, it remained a little used alien tongue until the 10th/16th century. It is from the early part of this century onwards that we witness an outburst of creative efforts in this language, which resulted in a spate of fine compostions, in both prose and verse, and transformed Sind into one of the foremost centres of Persian scholarship and literature in the Subcontinent. This efflorescence can only be understood in terms of the cumulative effect of various factors simultaneouly at work in Sind, on the one hand, and in Transoxiana, Khuràsàn, Ìràn, Turkey and India, on the other.[1]

Sind's literary contribution to Persian, includes eminent historical writings which bear comparison with the best produced anywhere in the Mughul Empire. Sind's tradition of historiography goes as far back as the 3rd/9th century, when an anonymous writer compiled his *Minhàj al-Dìn wa'l Mulk* in Arabic between 215/830 and 225/840, which was subsequently rendered into Persian as the *Fatḥ Nàmah*, better known as the *Chach Nàmah*, by 'Alì b. Hàmid b. Abì Bakr al-Kùfì in 613/1216-17.[2] However, this tradition somehow failed to strike root, and the next time we hear of a historian hailing from Sind is after a lapse of almost four centuries. This was the famous Mullà Aḥmad Thathawì who wrote a major portion

1. The 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/16th century were similar to those that governed its development at Delhi and other centres of learning in the Subcontinent. The latter have been discussed in detail by various authorities, including Shiblì Nu'mànì, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, 5 volums, 5th Edition, À'zamgaṛh, 1956, vol.III, p.4 ff.; E.G. Browne, *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.

2. 'Alì b. Ḥàmid b. Abì Bakr al-Kùfì, *Faiṭh Nàmah-i Sind*, ed., 'Umar b. Muḥammad Dà'ùdpòtah, Delhi, 1939.

Marfat.com

of ther *Ta'rìkh-i Alfi*, a general history of 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 Khàn-i Khànàn, 'Abd al-Rahìm Khàn, the thread of historiography was once again picked up by local chroniclers, The *Ta'rikh-i Sind* of Mìr Muḥammad Ma'sùm Bhakkarì is the first of these local works. Beginning with the Arab conquest of Sind, it proceeds to chronicle the vicissitudes of Sind up to the time that Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn appeared at Akbar's court, after his surrender to the Mughul commander, 'Abd al-Rahìm Khàn-i Khànàn. In sharp contrast to his reputation as a historian of great distinction,[4] Mìr Ma'sùm's writings suffer from insufficient care about dates and consistency, an inadequate acknowledgement of sources and, largely as a result of an attempt to encapsulate history, a lack of perspective. These shortcomings infect even his borrowings from the *Chach Nàmah*, for the earlier period of Sind's history, and the *Raudat al-Safà'* and the *Habìb al-Siyar*, for the early history of the Arghùns. And, despite his close association with the Mughul campaign in Sind, his description of events is not as adequate as that of the *Ma'àthir-i Rahìmì* and the *Akbar Nàmah*, or even the comparatively brief treatment of the *Tabaqàt-i Akbarì*. But, even with all these defects, the value of *Ta'rìkh-i Sind*, as the earliest history of the Arghùns and Tarkhàns, can hardly be overemphasized. If Mìr Ma'ṣùm had not written about the lives and achievements of the writers, poets and saints of the period in Sind he covered,[5] we would have remained largely ignorant about the cultural development in this region during the 10th/16th century. In addition, his book sheds light on the Langàh rulers of Multàn, provides information on Balùch and native tribes of the area, and helps us to identify several historical sites. Mìr Ma'ṣùm's detailed account of the Mughul expedition against Bhakkar and this territory's subsequent administration by its imperial functionaries offers a rare insight into the dissensions and squabbles riddling the royal camp during and immediately after the campaign and the mediocre quality of the officers generally appointed to administer this important new Mughul acquisition.

Within a decade of the completion of the *Ta'rìkh-i Sind*, another Sindhì scholar, Idràkì Bèglàrì undertook the writing of the biography of his patron, Amìr Qàsim Khàn-i Zamàn.[6] Sayyid Qàsim Beglàr, under the

3. For details, see C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, London, 1970, repr., vol.I, part i, pp.120-22.
4. See *H.A.T.S.*, Introduction, p.6.
5. *T.S.*, pp.196-206; 215-18; 237-41.
6. For his particulars, see *infra*.

Marfat.com

title of the *Bèglàr Nàmah.*[7] Written on the advice of the Khàn-i Zamàn and with the constant encouragement of his son, Shàh Muqìm Sultàn, the *Bèglàr Nàmah* constitutes an important link in the series of historical writings produced in this region. Though primarily an account of the Khàn-i Zamàn's life, exploits and family circumstances, it is also a treasure of information about the internecine political struggles and scramble for power of contemporary Tarkhàn rulers, during whose reigns Shàh Qàsim flourished and played vital role in numerous developments. Details about native tribes inhabiting different parts of Sind found in this book are second only to the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì* in their extensiveness. The *Bèglàr Nàmah* also yields significant new information about various aspects of the battles fought between Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn and the Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Rahìm Khàn. Some incidental remarks of the author indicate that in 1017/1608-9 he was still engaged in the writing of his work and that, 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 Khàn-i Khànàn and the blinding of his son, Abù al-Qàsim Sultàn, on the instance of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn, are quite conspicuous by their absence from this work. Yet couched in elegant Persian prose, interspersed with Arabic maxims and Persian verses, the *Bèglàr Nàmah* is a durable monument of the skill and proficiency of its author.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the *Bèglàr Nàmah,* 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'rìkh-i Baldah-i Thattah,* or the *Ta'rìkh-i Tàhirì,* of Mìr Tàhir Muhammad Nisyànì,[8](1051/1641). Descended from a family of Astràbàdì Sayyids, who had long been in the service of the local Arghùn and Tarkhàn rulers[9] and enjoyed matrimonial relations with the powerful Sa'tah tribe of Darbèlah,[10] Mìr Tàhir Muhammad was in touch with contemporary developments. His father was in the service of Mìrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn;[11] and, after his death continued to serve under his son and successor, Mìrzà Jànì Bèg, taking an active part in his exploits against Mughul forces under the command of the Khàn-i Khànàn.[12] Tàhir Muhammad's maternal grandfather, the influential Sa'tah chief, 'Umar Shàh, and his son Dà'ùd had done all in their power to facilitate Humàyùn's stay in Sind; and they

7. Ed., N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1980.
8. Cf. *T.K.*, tr., p. 636 wrongly records his name as 'Lasyànì'.
9. *T.T.*, p.75.
10. *Ibid.*, p.113.
11. *Ibid.*, p.156; *T.K.*, tr., p.636.
12. *T.T.*, p.189.

Marfat.com

were rewarded with a letter of appreciation, which also entitled them to the possession of Darbèlah as an imperial gift as and when Humàyùn retrieved his throne and brought Sind under his sway.[13] The author himself was a retainer of Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn. Ever since the latter's death, in 1021/1612, Mîr Ṭàhir Muhammad had entertained the idea of writing a history of Sind, but had not been able to put this idea into effect[14] until 1030/1620-21. however, the *Ta'rìkh- Ṭàhirì* as it has come down to us does not seem to be incomplete. Apart from the fact that the style of te author suffers from prolixity and fulsome adulations of various personages, the existing codex contains only five chapters, as against the 10 Ṭàhir Muhammad planned for this work. The first two of the existing chapters are based on folkore and hearsay concerning the Sùmrah and Sammah periods of Sind's history, and close with an account of Jàm Fìrùz's defeat at the hands of Shàh Bèg Arghùn.

Based on eye-witness reports of the relatives, friends and contemporaries of the author, the next two chapters give an exhaustive account of Arghùn and Tarkhàn rule in Sind. Though the events up to Mîrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn's departure for India are also dealt with by Mîr Ma'sùm Bhakkarì, the description of Ṭàhir Muhammad is much more picturesque and rich in detail. 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 Mîrzà Ghàzì Bèg, and constitutes the first and only primary source of information on this period, which encompasses almost two decades of Sind's history.

Although unreliable in dates and lacking chronological order, the *Ta'rìkh-i Ṭahìrì'a* contribution to the elucidation of various aspects of Sind's socio-economic and political history can hardly be over-estimated. Moreover, it is of immense interest to the linguist looking for indigenous words commonly employed by native writers of Persian.

2. The Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì as a Work of History

Unlike Idràkì Bèglàrì's occasional remarks, in the *Bèglàr Nàmah*, regarding various attributes of Bèglàr rulers and their functionaries, his contemporary, Yùsuf Mîrak, devoted Part I of his *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*.[15] entirely to the treatment of this subject. The circumstances which led to the compilation of this work have already been discussed. Since the historical merit of the work mainly rests on its Part II this is here dealt with first, before returning to Part I in section 3 below.

Part II of the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì* consists of four chapters. The first

13. *Ibid.*, pp.75-76.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.10-23.
15. Ed., S. Ḥusam al-dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1962.

Marfat.com

three are devoted to the affairs of Bhakkar, Sìwì and Thattah, respectively, and seek to clarify various aspects of Mughul administration in those regions. The author frequently refers to the Arghùn and Tarkhàn periods, and does not hesitate to draw upon the *Ta'rìkh-i Sind* wherever it suits his purpose. Since Sìwistàn was the central point from which refractory tribes infiltrated the aforementioned three *sarkàrs*, Mîrak discusses the affairs of this region in considerable detail.[16] Among other things, he outlines the administrative divisions of each *sarkàr*, describes the truculent tribes haunting them, sums up the merits and demerits of successive Mughul administrations and their good and bad effects on the prosperity of the region. He also describes various measures introuduced to improve the administration, including the bifurcation of the duties and functions of the *bakhshì* and the *wàqi'ah nawìs*. Earlier these two offices had been merged, but Mîrak wanted them to be restored to their separate original identities. He also recommended that the *qàḍì*, *amìn* and *sadr* should remain aloof from the *jàgìrdàr* and concentrate on discharging their duties fairly and equitably. Similarly, he vehemently opposed the subordination of the imperial *kòtwàl* to the local *jàgìrdàr*. Rent-farming and the extortionist demands of *'àmils* and *arbàbs* were two more customs that he thought caused a great deal of hardship to peasants and harmed the country. Concerning maintenance of law and order, Yùsuf Mîrak does not disguise his abhorrence of the violent tribes, and recommends their extermination by force of arms.

Yùsuf Mîrak exhibits amazing skill in tracing the origins 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 *À'ìn-i Akbarì*[17] of Abù al-Fadl.

Yùsuf Mîrak's evocative description of the indifference of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn towards the proper discharge of his duties as the *jàgìrdàr* of Sìwistàn and the oppressive manner in which his brother misused his powers has so carried away some Sindhì scholars that, notwithstanding the fact that the part dealing with the tenure of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn in Sìwistàn is no more than a small fraction of the whole book, the subtitle of the Sindhì translation of Part II published by the Sindhì Adabì Board, describes it as "An Account of Mughal Rule in Sindh under Nawab Ahmad Beg Khan (1038-1039 A.H.)".[18] Doubtless, Aḥmad Bèg and his brother's abominable misconduct deserves censure and condemnation, but that does not justify

16. *Ibid.*, p.242.
17. *A.A.*, vol.II, pp.173-77.
18. Yùsuf Mîrak, *Ta'rìkh-i Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, Sindhi tr., Niyàz Humàyùnì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1979, p.4.

Marfat.com

such a distortion of facts.

The higher echelon of Mughal nobility, constituting the governing class of the country, was generally of Iranian or Tùrànian origin. Outsiders as these *manṣabdàrṣ* were, they showed little compassion and consideration for the inhabitants of their *jàgìrs*. And the Mughul emperors, too, despite all their zeal and enthusiasm for justice, and occasional exemplary punishment of corrupt functionaries, did not succeed in restraining the tyrannous tendencies of some of the nobles, such as Mìrzà Rustam and Mìrzà Muẓaffar. Even Mìr Ma'ṣùm and Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, who have been profusely admired by Mìrak for their concern for the welfare of the peasantry, have not escaped charges of excesses from other historians.[19]

Similarly, Mìrak's observation that in the Shì'ì faith, the torture of the Sunnìs seems to be an act of extreme piety[20] should be viewed in its true historical perspective. Although there is no direct evidence, some incidental remarks in contemporary works suggest that the 10th/16th century in Sind was marked by extreme sectarian tension between Sunnìs and Shì'ìs. The son of the sister of Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg Bandarì, who was the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar during Aḥmad Bèg Khàn's *jàgìrdàrì* of Sìwistàn, Sulṭàn Aḥmad Khàn, showed his disdain towards the first three Rightly Guided Caliphs by inscribing their names on the soles of his shoes.[21] Mìrzà Yùsuf'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, in 1062/1051-52, Yùsuf Mìrak's nephew, 'Abd al-Razzàq, was killed.[22]

A great deal has been written about the power and influence of Nùr Jahàn and her family during the reign of Jahàngìr.[23] Mìrak alleges that, during the ascendancy of the great queen, many of the *zàmìndàrs* had procured *musammàtì farmàns*[24] by paying money, and had thereby succeeded in appropriating some of the best lands as *madad-i ma'àsh* holdings. If any *jàgirdàr* ever tried to investigate these irregularities, these people silenced him by offering him huge bribes.

19. See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.198-99; 204-5.
20. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.156.
21. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.369-70.
22. See *T.A.Kh.*, p.177.
23. E.g., see Irfan 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.; Muḥammad Afzal Khan, "Position of I'timad 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'àsh* lands to ladies.

Marfat.com

The *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* is based mainly upon the personal observation of the author and quite eloquently bears out his administrative capabilities, his critical acumen and his deep insight into the problems of the local population. This work is a most valuable source of information on the history of the imperial *jàgìrdàrs* of this region, its administrative set-up, revenue system and classification of lands, the ethnic composition of its population, its trade and commerce, weights and measures, geography and topography, and the rites and customs of the local people. It provides very useful data on some important imperial *manṣabdàrs*, and it is through this work that several of the members of Mìr Namakìn's family, including the author himself, have come to light for the first time. No writer on the ṣocio-economic conditions of Sind during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries can afford to overlook this book.

As far as the history of proselytizatıon in this region is concerned, the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* is the first work which categorically states that the peasants in this region were Muslims, but their economic conditions were hardly enviable.[25]

In the Epilogue *(khàtimah)* of his work, Yùsuf Mìrak describes the ways and means by which kings, *wazìrs* and nobles could raise their stature in the eyes of God without relinquishing their just worldly pursuits. In doing so, he divides the Muslim community into three categories: the kings of the world and the hereafter; the beggars of the world who were the kings of the hereafter; and the kings of the world who were beggars of the hereafter. The first category comprises the four Rightly Guided caliphs and those 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 hereafter as well as of the world, and explains 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 which was 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 supremacy of justice over tyranny and

25. *Maz. Sh., p.242.*

26. This division of the Muslim community is virtually the same as is found in the *Taqsìm al-anàm ʿalà arbaʿat al-aqsàm*, a letter of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì addressed to Nawwàb Murtaḍà Khàn Shaykh Farìd. See his *Irsàl al-Makàtib wa'l Rasà'il ilà Arbàb il-Kamàl* wa'l Faḍà'il, manuscript in the Private Collection of the late S.V.H. Abidì, Lahore 1972.

Marfat.com

oppression, because, he adds, no king can do without justice if he wishes to ensure the endurance of his kingdom.[27]

Among other things, he exhorts the king to be always accessible to petitioners, and in this regard, reminds him of the chain of justice. Anùshirwàn and, in later times, Jahàngìr[28] had hung before their palaces. He, however, does not seem to be impressed with the idea of such a chain; instead, he recommends that a corner of the imperial court be set aside for the appearance of petitioners, so that the king could immediately notice anyone standing in that corner and ask him to speak and relate his grievances.

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 responsbilities of his high office. These prayers are reminiscent of the ones contained in the *Ta'rìkh-i Fakhrì* of Ibn Ṭaqṭaqà.[29]

3. The Maẓhari-i Shàhjahànì as a 'Mirror for Princes

The term 'Mirror for Princes' is generaly applied to those ehtico-political tracts which are basically 'designed to present the latter with a picture of the ideal ruler and his officials'.[30] This type of work has a long history in Persian litertature; but as far as the Mughuls of India are concerned, the first such book, the *Akhlàq-i Humàyùn*, seems to have been written in 912/1506-7 by Qàḍì Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn Harawì[31] for Bàbur.[32]

27. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.250.

28. Jahàngìr himself has made the following observation about his chain: "After may acession, 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 [indulge in] 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 'Iràqì maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shàh Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river". *Tùzuk* (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: "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 Anùshirwàn, see *Siyàsat Nàmah*, p.50; *The Book of Government*, p.40 ; Sa'dì, *Risàlah Panjum dar Nasìḥat-i Mulùk, Kulliyàt-i Sa'dì*, p.57.

29. Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Tabàtabà, generally known as Ibn Ṭaqṭaqà, *Ta'rìkh-i Fakhrì*, translated into Persian by Muḥammad Waḥìd Gulpàyigànì, 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 Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian*

Marfat.com

who had yet to pass through many vicissitudes before the final establishment of his dynasty. Based on various early standard works on ethics, the book is, however, most influenced by the *Tahdhìb al-Akhlàq* of Ibn Miskawayḥ (325-421/936-1030).[33] The next important work on ethics for rulers, the *Akhlàq-i Hakìmì,* was written after Humàyùn's death, for his son, Mìrzà Muḥammad Hakìm of Kàbul, by Hasan 'Alì al-Munshì al-Khàqànì b. Ashraf Tajawaz Allàh.[34] The reign of Akbar, besides Abù al-Fadl's remarks on the subject scattered throughout his works[35] saw the compilation of the *Tuḥfat al-Wulàt wa Naṣìḥat al-Ra'iyyat wa'l-Ru'àt*[36] by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ṭàhir Pattanì;[37] but the real flowering of this genre is seen under Jahàngìr, whose personal interest in listenig to the views of various divines on the subject seems to have generated great activity among contemporary scholars. Upon request, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì wrote his *Risàlah-i Nùriyyah-i Sulṭàniyyah*,[38] which was followed by the *Mau'iẓah-i Jahàngìrì* of Muḥammad Bàqir Najm-i Thànì[39] and the *Akhlàq-i Jahàngìrì* of *Qaḍì-i Khàqànì* Nùr al-Dìn Muḥammad b. Shaykh Mu'ìn al-Dìn.[40] During the reign of Shàhjahàn Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì compiled his *Tarjumat al-Aḥàdìth al-Arba'ìn fì Naṣìḥat al-Mulùk wa'l Salàṭìn*[41] for his guidance.[42]

Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1924, p.662. For the life of Qàdì Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn, see Sa'ìd Nafisì, *Ta'rìkh-i Naẓm-o Nathr dar Iran-o dar Zabàn-i Fàrsì,* Tehran, 1344 H. Sh., p.278. The Qàḍì waited upon Bàbur during the latter's visit to Kàbul in the wake of Sulṭan Ḥusayn Bàyqarà's death. Bàbur admires his treatise on jurisprudence and mentons his 'collection of homonymous verses from the Quran', but is reticent about this particular work of the Qàḍì. See *B.N.*, p.285.

32. Probably misled by the name of this work, Felix Tauer *op.cit.*, p.427. attributes its dedication to Bàbur's son Humàyùn, but this is a mistake, since Humàyùn was born in 913/1508, a year after the compilation of the book. For Humàyùn's birth, see Avasthy, p.18.
33. For his life and achievements, see M. abdul Haq ansari, *The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih,* 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 manuscript of it dated 13 Rabì' II 1034/23 January 1625 was discovered by the present author in the Public Library of Khairpur Mirs', Sind.
37. For his life, see M.A. Quraishi, *Muslim Education and Learning in Gujrat 1297-1758,* Baroda, 1972, pp.205-10.
38. Edited by Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Islamabad, 1985.
39. Ethe, I.O. 1535; Wladimir Ivanow, p.662.
40. Hermann Ethe, *Neupersische Litteratur,* translated into Persian by S.R., Shafagh as *Ta'rìkh-i Adabiyyàt-i* Fàrsì, Tehran, 1958, p.272.
41. The only manuscript of this work is in the Gìlànì Library of Uch. See Mas'ùd Ḥasan Shahàb, *Khiṭṭah-i Ùch,* Bahawalpur, 1967, pp.345-46.

Marfat.com

All these works were general in nature. They abounded in moral exhortations, but hardly touched upon specific problems, let alone suggesting any solutions for them. It was against this background that Yùsuf Mîrak set about the writing of Part I of the *Mazhar-i-Shàhjahàni* and in doing so, outshone all his predecessors in the Subcontinent, including the much-celebratred author of the *Fatàwà-i Jahàndàri*[43] Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Baranì. Mîrak's contribution in this field is marked by the same originality that characterizes his history, despite the fact that its last chapter,[44] dealing with the virtues kings should adorn themselves with, is plagiarized from the *Akhlàq-i Muḥsnì*,[45] of Mullà Ḥusayn Wà'iẓ Kàshifi (d.910/1504-5). Like Niẓam al-Mulk in the *Siyàsat Nàmah*, he comes to grips with real problems of his time; and, drawing upon his long association with Sind and his familiarity with every part of the region, he tries to suggest practical solutions for them. It is this aspect of his work which endows it with the precision and thoroughness of a manual of administration and distinquishes it from all earlier works on the subject. To support his viewpoint, the author, side by side with instances from both past and then prevailing situations in Sind, freely quotes from the sayings, stories and anecdotes of ancient kings, regardless of their religion.

42. Khalìq Aḥmad Niẓàmì, *Hayàt-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì*, Delhi, 1953, pp.169-70. The author has confounded this collection of *aḥàdìth* by the Shaykh with another one of his collections concerning religious sciences.
43. Ḍiyà'al-Dìn Baranì, *Fatàwà-i Jahàndàrì*, ed., A. Salm̃ Khàn, Lahore, 1972.
44. P.U. MS., ff. 108b. to 230b.
45. Ḥusayn Wà'iẓ *Kàshifì*, *Akhlàq-i Muḥsinì*, Lucknow, 1957.

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

A TRANSLATION OF
THE MAZHAR-I SHÀHJAHÀNÌ

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

A TRANSLATION OF
THE MAẒHAR-I SHÀHJAHÀNÌ

PART TWO

An Account of the Country of Sind from Bhakkar to Thattah

Be it known that during the days of Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn this country was divided into six *sarkàrs*, namely the *sarkàr* of Bhakkar, the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn, the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, the *sarkàr* of Chàchkàn, the *sarkàr* of Thattah and the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah and Jaun. The *sarkàr* of Bhakkar having already fallen to the victorious armies of Ḥaḍrat* -i 'Arsh Àshiyànì,* after the conquest of Thattah and surrender of Mìrzà Jànì Tarkhàn, Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì incorporated the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn and Bandar Làharì* into the protected imperial dominions and bestowed the rest of the four *sarkàrs* on Mìrzà Jànì in *jàgìr*. Hence, this slave *(khànahzàd)* has also [for the purpose of this book] divided the country *(wilàyat)* of Sind into three regions (*mulk*), the fourth being the region of Sìwì, which was vanquished a long while after the conquest of Bhakkar and Thattah; so that Part Two [of this book] has come to consist of four chapters (*bàb*).

Marfat.com

CHAPTER ONE

An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Bhakkar

Be it clear to the intellect of sun-like brilliance 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 has an abundance of 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 Łòhrì.* There is another hill on this side, in the midstream,* overlooking the fort where Pìr Ghulàm* had built a quadrangular platform with a minaret on every corner of it, and had named it the *Ṣuffah-i Ṣafà* (the platform of purity). He spent most nights of the *àyyàm-i bìḍ** there in the company of the learned, and consumed the melons (*kharbùzah*) of the village Niyahbadrah,* which lies 4 *kuròhs* from this place and is known for its wonderful indigenous *(wilàyatì)* melons. The choicest of these melons Pìr Ghulàm sent to Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì who ate them with great relish.

On the other side of the fort, facing Sìtpùr Nàhiràn, water is scarce and during winter at times, the river becomes so shallow that one can walk across it; and towards the north, on the bank of the river facing the fort, is situated the city of Shakkar.* Towards the east, at a bowshot from the fort, they have built the shrine *(àstànah)* of Ḥaḍrat-i Khiḍar,* on whom be the peace of God. Westward from the fort, at a distance of a quarter *kuròh*, 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 Shàd Bèlah. And at a distance of half a *kuròh* [from the fort?] there used to be a small hill in the middle of the river. During the summer, when the water subsided, it became visible, whereas in the flood season it disappeared. Consequently, boats* coming downstream ran into it, were shipwrecked and sunk. Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì caused a ship laden with stones to be sunk at that place, and upon it, constructed a green dome, naming it Sìtàsar,* which has developed into a beautiful recreation spot. Plenty of people go there for a walk and enjoy themselves; and on sight of it, boats take precautions in navigating the flood waters. 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 pleasant spot. Therefrom, towards the river, descends a flight of stone stairs, whereby

Marfat.com

people come down and perform their ablutions. During the days of *'Id*, this is a place of amusement (*tamàshàhgàh*) for the people of Bhakkar and Shakkar.

The region of Bhakkar consists of eight *parganahs:* five of them stand on the side of Lòhrì and three in the direction of Shakkar. Out of the five *parganahs*, the first is called Màtìlah,* which has a now worn-out (*kuhnah*) and old (*qadìm*) fort of baked bricks. Mainly Dàrèjahs and Mahars inhabit this *parganah*. The second *parganah* is called Alòr; it has a strong, old, worn-out fort situated on top of a hill. In* olden times the river flowed just underneath this fort, and it was the capital of the rulers of those days. Amìr Shàh Bèg Arghùn demolished the old fort of Bhakkar and replaced it with another one, built of kiln-backed bricks, which were procured by pulling down the fort of Alòr and razing to the ground most of the buildings belonging to the Turks and the Sammahs, situated on the outskirts of Bhakkar. And even now, when the year 1044 [1634-35 A.D.] is current, this fort still stands. This *parganah* also belongs to the Dàrèjah tribe (*mardum*), though the people of the Pawàr clan are also settled here in great numbers. The latter are possessed of a large number of camels and ply them on lease to Jaisalmèr, Multàn and Qandahàr.

The third *parganah* is called Ladah Kàkan* and is also inhabited by the Dàrèjah tribe. During the days of Amìr Shàh Bèg, they had committed some acts of intemperance, which led to a reprisal against them. The *Ta'rìkh-i Sindh** relates that incident as follows: Amìr Shàh Bèg Arghùn entrusted the government of Bhakkar to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn, and made the Sayyids of Bhakkar responsible for extending all possible help to him. He also ordered some Dàrèjah chiefs to abide within the precincts of the fort. But these short-sighted people, disregarding the promise, fled away and thus not only opened the gates of hostility and conflict with the inmates, but also started annoying and affronting Sulṭàn Maḥmùd. They left no stone 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 prepared for battle with him in the field of Lòhrì. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd, who was 12* at that time, got impatient and wanted to attack them. But the Sayyids did not let him do so, and instead endeavoured to pacify him. The Dàrèjahs twice mustered all their strength to cross the river into the fort in an attempt to capture Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn. Realizing the danger, the Sayyids of Bhakkar strengthened all their fortifications and prepared for war. Frightened by the strength of the Sayyids, the Dàrèjahs did not dare do anything. Meanwhile, Amìr Shàh Bèg Arghùn turned his reins from Shàl and Sìwì to the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn, a dependency of the region of Sihwàn, killing all the Màchìs who had gone into open rebellion. He destroyed

Marfat.com

their families, plundered all their cattle and razed their fort to the ground. Thence he proceeded towards Bhakkar. When he reached the town of Chandùkah, 30 *kuròhs* west of Bhakkar, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn dispatched his foster-brother, Bàbà Chùchuk,* to his father [Mìr Fàḍil], and apprised him of the circumstances confronting him. Mìr Fàḍil* submitted his representation just as it was to Amìr Shàh Bèg; and, with his permission, crossed the river with 200 cavalry near Chandùkah. Consoling and comforting the Dàrèjah chiefs (*kalàntar*) and headmen (*muqaddam*) on the way, he took them with him. In short, when Mìr Fàḍil* approached the outskirts of Bhakkar, Làlì Mahar, the chief of all the *zamìndàrs*, along with his brothers, obtained the felicity of the former's audience. The other Dàrèjah chiefs also of necessity hastened to his presence from all villages [of the *parganah*], until Mìr Fàḍil reached Bhakkar along with 47 Dàrèjah chiefs. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd also had the good fortune of kissing his father's feet. When Shàh Bèg learnt that Mìr Fàḍil had reached Bhakkar safely, he proceeded thither all the more speedily and alighted in the town of Shakkar. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd hastened to his presence and kissed his feet, received a variety of favours, and submitted a report on the Dàrèjahs to him. Shàh Bèg turned his face towards Qàḍì Qàḍan,* one of the nobles and dignitaries of that town (*diyàr*). The Qàḍì remarked that the land of this country (*wilàyat*) was damp and abounded in thorns; one should always keep a hoe in one's hand. No sooner did Shàh Bèg hear this remark than he ordered the massacre of these people. Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn immediately made for the city and, having killed these people during the night, threw them down from the edifice [subsequently] called the Bloody Tower (*Burj-i khùnì)*;and thereafter until our day no irregularity has ever been witnessed from the Dàrèjahs.

The fourth *parganah* is known as Kàkarì* and belongs to the Mangnèjah tribe. These* people had also shown some discourtesy towards the agents of Mìr Sayyid Muḥammad Mìr 'Adl, of Amròhah,* in the early days of the incorporation of the region of Bhakkar into the imperial domains, when the latter was the *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar, but ultimately they were reprimanded. The detail of this incident is as follows: when Mìr Sayyid Muḥammad arrived in Bhakkar, he was very strict in the imposition of the revenue assessment regulations (*dastùr al-'amal*) on the peasants. By way of *kankut*, he imposed on them a standard levy of 5 maunds per *bìghah* uniformly, regardless of the good or bad quality of the crops, and deployed his managers (*ṣàḥib-i-ihtimàmàn*) all over the cultivated lands. The latter meted out very harsh treatment to the peasants, and thus the Mangnèjah residents of the said *parganah,* in protest against this strict enforcement of *kankùt,* went into rebellion and put pressure on the agents of the Mìr 'Adl. The latter fortified themselves in a castle situated between

Marfat.com

the villages of Gunbad and Winjar. The Mangnèjahs ruthlessly attacked the besieged with arrows. Hence, quite a few of the Mìr 'Adl's fine men (*mardum-i khwùb*) were martyred. The Mangnèjah wretches 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 Mìr 'Adl gave an army to his son, Sayyid Abù al-Fadl, and dispatched him to avenge those people. Scarcely had he proceeded towards them, when the Mangnèjahs left their homes and fled. Abandoning his pursuit, Mìr Abù al-Fadl then also withdrew to the fort of Bhakkar. Having thus been put down, the Mangnèjahs are still submissive and obedient.

The fifth *parganah* is Darbèlah which is inhabited by the Sahtah tribe. Two clans *(qaum)* of the Samèjahs; namely the Rajpàl and Bahan, also engage in cultivation in the plain *(dasht)* of this *parganah*. Previously, they were contumacious and paid the dues to the *hàkim* of Bhakkar in the manner of charity *(dast bardàshtah)*. When Sayyid Bàyazìd had been appointed the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar, his sons, on the occasion of *'Ìd al-Fitr*, charged forth from Bhakkar on horseback and, having attacked both these factions *(firqah)* 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 *hàkim* of Bhakkar, and regularly pay the revenue *(màl-i dìwàn)*. During the days of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, both these *parganahs* were in the *jàgìr* of Mìr Ma'sùm Bhakkarì, who raised the prosperity of land and people to its 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 *'àmils* that, when recording the measurement of land *(dabt)*, they should have both ends of their chain *(jarìb)* directed correctly and take due notice of productive and unproductive *(bùd wa nàbùd)* or damaged *(tukhmzadah)*, that is, they should enter only the productive cultivated land in their survey register *(khasrah)* and leave out the rest altogether. For example, a village *(qaryah)* had 1,000 *jarìbs* under cultivation; by some heavenly calamity, 999 *jarìbs* were destroyed and only one *jarìb* was left intact. Thus only that one *jarìb* was recorded in the survey register and the remaining 999 *jarìbs* were completely ignored. And wherever a canal was needed, he excavated one at his own expense to bring water to that place. In fine, he asked of his peasants nothing more than cultivation. As a result of his wise management, these two *parganahs* attained such prosperity that there was hardly any jungle left between them. All available land was brought under the plough and populated, leaving scarcely any ground even for hunting; and Mìr Ma'sùm, who was very fond of hunting with *gaz* and *tìr*, had to go out of his

Marfat.com

parganahs to look for the game. The author has learnt from reliable people of the town of Darbèlah that, when that *parganah* was given in *jàgìr* to Mìr Ma'ṣùm, during the first year 500 *bìghahs* of cultivated land belonging to both the peasantry and the nobility *(a'immah)* were recorded; but when the peasantry received encouragement and was assured of his consideration and justice, then, within a short span of one *kharìf*, the cultivated land in that area rose to 50,000 *bìghahs*, excluding the unproductive and the damaged. Hence you can imagine the population and prosperity of other places.

All five of these *parganahs* pay their revenue regularly, and none of their inhabitants are recalcitrant. The assessment *('amal)* of these *parganahs* has always been based upon land measurement *(ḍabṭì)* and the regulations *(dastùr)* regarding each harvest, autumn (*safîdbarì)* as well as spring *(sabzbarì)*, were also laid down in days past. Thus, to increase the produce in these *parganahs*, the greatest favour to the peasants would be to demand nothing of them beyond the requirements of the assessment regulations *(dastùr al-'amal)*. At the time of measurement *(ḍabṭ)*, enough attention should be paid to productive and unproductive; and the *arbàbs*, the *ra'ìses*, the *qànùngùs* and the *'àmils* should be prohibited from making any extra exactions *(malbah)* from them, that is, in addition to the land-revenue. If for the welfare of the peasants and the prosperity of the Treasury *(Dìwàn)*, the peasants receive some rebate in the land-revenue during one season, they will increase their cultivation, and that will add to the affluence of both parties. The residents of these *parganahs* do not fear the contumacious and the recalcitrant from any quarter, except the imprudent Samèjah freebooters who belong to the region of Sihwàn and whose depredations extend right up to Màtìlah, rather Ubàwràh, which lies within the boundary of Multàn, and Jaisalmèr. Incidentally, if the people of some *parganah* happen to be strong, the rebellion *(tamarrud)* of these wretches *(badbakhtàn)* – except by way of stealing – is unable to harm them. But if the residents of some *parganah* become weak, they carry away their cattle with impunity and martyr whoever comes in their way; so that the peasants find it hard to stay there much less engage in cultivation. Mostly, when a village has been attacked and devastated by the Samèjahs, the rehabilitation of the people in their original habitat becomes impossible.

Of the three *parganahs*, that lie in the direction of Shakkar, one is the *parganah of Jatò'ì*. In olden times *(dar 'amal-i sàbiq)*, the chiefs of this *parganah* hailed from Balùch tribes, such as the Jatò'ì. Bulidì, Kùrà'ì, Dàrdasht, Lòrà'ì, and Shar and so on; and they often indulged in mischief and sedition. Amìr Shàh Bèg put an end to their sedition. The detail of this incident is as follows:

Marfat.com

Once Àmìr Shàh Bèg had found peace with the completion of the fort of Bhakkar and the resolution of the problems of his subjects, he took counsel on the problem of the short-sighted Balùch who continued with their mischief and rebellion, and concluded that the fire of that people *(qaum)* should be quenched with the temper of the sword. It was resolved to deploy a few experienced men to live with the Balùch in every village for some time, and then at a previously determined opportune moment every contingent of these men was to strive to accomplish its assigned task. Thus a contingent was planted in every village and bided its time. When that particular moment came, they all simultaneously took their swords and did away with the rebellious group, so that, on that particular day, 42 villages of the Balùch were completely exterminated. Then, he entrusted the chieftaincy of that *parganah* to the Mahars. Ever since this incident, the peasants of that *parganah* have abandoned sedition and pay the revenue, except for the Bulidì Balùch, who occassionally resort to contumacy. They also possess a fort called Darì; yet just a little attention of the *jàgìrdàr* is enough to bring them in line.

The second *parganah* is Chandùkah. Large *parganah* that it is, quite a few strong clans *(sàḥib-i jam'iyyat)*, including, firstly, the Bukyah Samèjahs, secondly, the Sàngìs, thirdly, the Abrahs (these last two also call themselves Samèjahs) and, fourthly, the Mahdèjah Shaykhs, live here. The people of this *parganah* are inclined towards insubordination. If there is a strong army stationed in the region of Bhakkar, which subdues them at the beginning of every season, and if they are not required to pay more than what is justified by the assessment regulations and are treated with consideration, they pay the revenue obediently. But if they do not sense the strength of the army, they resist the 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 to traverse. Thirdly, they live in the neighbourhood of nomadic and hill tribes *(aḥshàmàt)*, such as the Balùch of the Magasì, Làshàrì, Dàrdasht, Rind, Dìnàrì, Dùbinkì, Katùhar and Bulidì stock, who belong to the region of Sìwì, and the ill-fated Chàndiyahs, who belong to the region of Sihwàn. Whenever they break into rebellion, they send their 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 at times of their own choosing *(waqt yàftah)*.

The third *parganah* is called Takar and is inhabited by the Bukyah and Làkiyàr Samèjahs. Samèjahs that both these clans are, they have contumacy ingrained in their nature. The only difference is that, to start

Marfat.com

with, they were extremely recalcitrant, but now have abandoned much of their intransigence and pay the revenue.

The revenue assessment of these three *parganahs* is also based upon land measurement. And their inhabitants have no fear of the nomadic tribes *(mardum-i a aḥshàmàt)* except that of the wretched Chàndiyah kidnappers *(ḥurrfurùshàn)* who, let alone the cattle, even carry off the children of the peasantry and sell them.*

As regards the improvement of this region, it may be pointed out that none of these eight *parganahs* is short of land; plains sprawl among them. When the peasants are comfortable, receive encouragement from the *jàgìrdàr* and, either on their own, as has been mentioned previously in Part One in the case of Mìr Abrah, or with the aid of the *jàgìrdàr,* as has been recently described in the case of Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì, excavate canals from the river to the plains, the cultivation increases tremendously.

Moreover, as has also been previously mentioned, in the land-measurement system the *jàgìrdàr* should not demand anything from the peasants beyond the assessment regulations. Similarly, at the time the land is measured, he should do his utmost to ensure that the surveyors (*ṭanàbkashàn*) use the chain properly and the accountants (*kàrkunàn*) record the productive and unproductive land only after a good deal of on-the-spot investigation, and after the revenue assessment (*jam'bandì*) the rent collector (*shiqqdàr*) of every *parganah* settles the account of every peasant (*asàmìwàr*) in his own presence, so that the *arbàbs, ra'ìses,* and *qànùngùs* do not burden the peasantry with their own exactions (*taujìhàt*). Whatever revenue-free grants (*in'àm*) the *arbàbs* and the *ra'ìses* have inherited from their predecessors (*ḥukkàm-i-sàbiq*), the *jàgìrdàr* should defray these from his own revenue assignment (*khàliṣah*), and, excepting the land-revenue (*màl-i wàjib*), he should not demand anything else of the peasantry. Wherever there is fallow land (*zamìn-i uftàdah*), 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 cultivating it. Consequently, they will not only pay the *jàgìrdàr* a land-revenue that is greater than the amount assessed (*jam'*), but also put up the kind of resistance against refractory elements which prevents the arm of their mischief from reaching the ryot. As well, he should do away with the innovation of obliging the peasantry to cultivate more than they did in the previous year – which has survived in this region from the days of Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì – because it causes unnecessary hardship to them; for, as has been shown in the case of Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì, there is no better way of motivating the peasantry to pay more heed to cultivation than to show beneficence

Marfat.com

(iḥsàn) towards them.

Moreover, he should avoid the practice of revenue-farming (*'amal-i ijàrah*), because it ruins and destroys the country and is tantamount to selling one's own poor peasants to others. It is certain that the revenue (*ijàrah*) will be collected by the *arbàbs*, who in the process, at the sight of so much wealth, will be tempted to spend it extravagantly. Besides, they will overlook their own harvests, as well as those of their friends and relatives (*muta'alliqàn*), and will, instead, forcibly exact the whole amount of *ijàrah* from the poverty-stricken peasants. They may well do this for one year; but what about the next year? It is quite obvious that the amount of *ijàrah* will fall short, and the *arbàbs* will not have enough money in their homes to make up the difference. Consequently, fearing arrest, they will prefer wilderness to population and run away. Since it is difficult for the peasants to persevere in their places without the *arbàbs* and the *ra'ìses*, they, too, will take to flight on their heels, and that will bring the country to ruin. Besides, when a new revenue-collector (*'àmil*) takes over, he, as is the wont of revenue-collectors, will demand a still higher rate of *ijàrah* for his master, until the country is pushed to the brink of destruction. Therefore, the *dastùr al-'amal* should always be adhered to, because herein lies the prosperity of both parties. To be brief, renting out land on lease (*ijàrah kardan*) is not good, and it is still worse in the country of Sind. It is mostly this practice, coupled with demanding more from the peasants than what is stipulated by the assessment regulation, that drives them into rebellion. The peasantry acts as a medium between the king and the rest of his subjects: as long as the peasantry remains behind the king, he is a true king, and the rest of the people remain his loyal subjects.

As regards the *arbàbs*, there are two facets (*ṣifàt*) to their position: they are subordinates as well as rulers. As long as a deputy of the king (*nà'ib-i padishàh*) receives the revenue from the *arbàbs* as he would from other peasants, pays whatever he owes to them as their remuneration for acting as *arbàbs* from his own *khàliṣah*, does not permit them to exact their expenses (*taujìh*) from the petty peasants (*ra'iyyat-i rìzah*), and, through his benevolence, wins over the hearts of the latter to himself, the *arbàbs* adhere to their correct subordinate role. They behave like *ra'iyyat* and never let themselves be carried away by the idea of mischief-mongering. But, on the contrary, when the *jàgìrdàr* leaves peasants at the mercy of *arbàbs*, either through revenue-farming or through rack-renting (*taujìh-i ziyàdah ṭalabì*), the latter develop characteristics of a ruling class, which automatically makes peasants dependant on them for two reasons: firstly, the *arbàbs*, hailing as they do from the same territory, now act as pillars of government; secondly, a deputy of the king has

Marfat.com

unconditionally handed over the peasants to them. Thus, when the peasants fail to live up to the demands of *ijàrah* or, for that matter, those of excessive exactions, and the *arbàbs* also do not have enough money in their homes to make up the difference, the latter inevitably break into rebellion and run away. Consequently, the petty peasantry also goes into exile behind them, mainly because of two fears: firstly, they fear the possibility that, if they stay in their homes, the ruler might force them to pay the aforementioned shortfall in revenue and exactions, which they cannot do without selling their children: secondly, they fear that, if they do not flee and remain in their homes, the *arbàbs* might return and kill them. Therefore, why should one in the capacity of a deputy of the king hand over the reins of government, which are all-important, to a handful of arrogant (*shàkh nàtràshìdah*) *arbàbs* and destroy his populous and prosperous country?

In the region of Bhakkar, there are two places which need a constant deployment of force: firstly, in the *parganah* of Chandùkah, where, after building a strong fort right in its centre, a strong guard (*thànah*) should be stationed so that the inhabitants may constantly see the faces of Mughuls, who, in turn, would keep an eye on their good and bad behaviour and keep their headstrong ways in check; and, secondly, in the *parganah* of Takar. The rest of the *parganahs* of this country will pay their land revenue even if there is only one rent collector and accountant in each of them. However, the presence of an imperial auditor (*amìn*)* is essential in this country to prevent the *jàgìrdàr* from overstepping the asessment regulations. And God knows best what is right.

Marfat.com

CHAPTER TWO

An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Sìwì

Be* it known that the region of Sìwì is situated at the foot of a small mountain. All the stones on the surface of this mountain are round in shape, and however deep into the ground one may dig, one still finds the same type of stone. Towards the north of Sìwì, there appears a dome that is known as Màrì Kìhar Rà' in Sindhì. However, when people go towards it, it disappears. Once, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn Bhakkarì gathered two to three thousand persons; and, arm in arm, they went up those hills, but saw nothing, nor was the dome found. They say it is some miracle (*ṭalism*) devised by ancient people, and that a treasure is buried there. Once a dervish who had gone to those hills picked up something. He was followed by numerous people also expecting to find something, but they found nothing. The stream that runs below Sìwì apparently flowed over a sulphur deposit. Except the local population, who had become used to it, whosoever drank of its water was taken ill, and most people died after drinking it.

When the region of Bhakkar came into the hands of Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn, he, every year, sent fresh men to defend and protect the fort of Sìwì; and all but a few died there.

During the days of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, a flood completely swept away this sulphur deposit, or submerged it. In any case, the malady has ceased to exist. After traversing a distance of 50 *kuròhs,* the stream's water accumulates at a place called Sarwà, where it is used for cultivation, and whatever of it is left flows into the lake called Mànchar, near Sihwàn. The snakes found on the bank of this stream are extremely long and thin, and their victim seldom survives. The inhabitants of this place, whether male or female, wear long, baggy trousers to protect themselves from being bitten by these snakes. In Kùr Zamìn and Chhatar, dependencies of Sìwì, the cotton plant measures up to a jujube tree in height. Hence, people pluck cotton on horseback. In every cotton plant, there are to be found between 100 and 200 span-long snakes; so that, whenever people of that area get ready to pluck the cotton, they first of all shake the plants with the aid of wooden sticks to drive away the snakes, and only then

Marfat.com

proceed to pluck the cotton. If anyone is bitten by a snake, they forthwith make an incision with a razor into the bite, and then someone sucks its venom; if this is not done, the victim dies.

In the neighbourhood of Ganjàbah, a dependency of Sìwì, at one place water once erupted from the ground and inundated a vast tract of land, where fish are also to be found. The flank of one of the hills of Ganjàbah protrudes in the shape of a portico, whence an iron cage (*pinjirah*) is suspended. Rumour has it that there is something hidden in it; but it is beyond the access of any person. If one tries to lower a rope to the cage from the top of the hill and have somebody clamber down it, the cage swings further away. Likewise, if one tries to climb up from below, one finds that end of the hill too high, slippery (*malsà'*) and far-removed from the cage. Cultivation in Ganjàbah depends, firstly, on the river Mauzàh, which emanats from the hill, and, secondly, on the river Nàrì, which depends on rain water; most of the Balùch nomads (*aḥshàm-i Balùch*), such as the Làshàrìs, Magasìs, Dìnàrìs and Rinds, live here. Sìwì is at two nights' distance from Ganjàbah. The tract of land between Sìwì, Bhakkar and Sìtpùr Nàhiràn is called Bàrkàn, and the horse of this area is not inferior to that of 'Iràq. Its colt walks on pebbles for a year, so that its hoofs become hard like stone and do not require shoeing. So it continues to roam about on pebbles without shoes. The bearing of the land of Sìwì and Ganjàbah is like this: if one starts from the river bank and travels past Ganjàbah, Sìwì, Aràrah and Pàtar, and continues towards the river, one will find oneself making a circle. The area thus enclosed is a plain that once contained forts and settlements (*ma'mùrah*) which now lie in ruin; the road to Qandahàr passes through this desert (*dasht*). Extending from the river to Sìwì, this desert is 100 *kuròhs* long and 60 *kuròhs* wide. Usually, the path across is traversed overnight with the aid of the Pole star, but a knowledgeable guide, like the navigator of a ship, is needed to help one find one's way; otherwise people who embark upon this journey perish, and that is what happended to the people from the plain. The details of this incident are as follows: Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn appointed a group of men from the plain in Ganjàbah to carry out the revenue assessment of the nomadic tribes of the place but, when they arrived there, they failed to do so. Consequently, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn recalled them to Bhakkar, and dispatched another party to replace them. These people from the plain, who numbered about 200, left Ganjàbah for Bhakkar with their families. On their way back, their guide felt giddy and told them to stop for an hour or so to enable him to recover his balance. Instead of waiting, they became furious and killed him with a stroke of the sword, and then were left alone to wander in that waterless desert. The entire party succumbed to thirst and died to the last person.

Marfat.com

Travellers still find their belongings, such as arms, and most of the land is swept by the simoom, which blows for four months during the summer.

By the grace of God and owing to the everlasting fortune of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, the fort of Sìwì was wrested from the Pannì Afghàns by Pìr Ghulàm during the days of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì. When the region of Bhakkar was transferred to him in *jàgìr* from the Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn, Pìr Ghulàm, realizing the potentials of that region, implored the Emperor to allow him to bring the region of Kìch and Makràn under the sway of the imperial army. The Emperor forbade him, saying that Kìch and Makràn lay on the fronteir of Shàh 'Abbàs' empire; and, since relations between the two sides were cordial, it would not be right to make an encroachment upon the region of Kìch and Makràn without any reason.

The same *ijàrah*, in cash and kind, that Pìr Ghulàm had levied upon the Sìwì Afghàns still continues in force. At the beginning of every season, functionaries from Bhakkar go to the submissive tribes (*aḥshàm-i ra'iyyat*) and collect the fixed amount (*muqṭa'ì*) from them.

If the army (*jam'iyyat*) is strong, the revenue administration (*sarishtah-i 'amal*) is also good; but if the army is weak, the revenue is also slender (*zabùn*). When Sìwì was in the *jàgìr* of Qùch 'Alì Kurd,* he showed a great deal of valour vis-à-vis the Afghàns of Sìwì; but, since his army was weak, the Pannì Afghàns besieged him in the fort of Sìwì. During those days, Tàj Khàn* was the *jàgìrdàr* of the region of Bhakkar; and the *jàgìr* of Ubàwrah* and Ganjàbah* was under my brother, Abù al-Baqà'. When this news reached Emperor Jahàngìr, an exalted *farmàn* was dispatched through Madù Sazàwul to the author's brother, commanding that, having obtained reinforcements from Tàj Khàn, he should betake himself to the rescue of Qùch 'Alì. He left Ubàwrah for Bhakkar, obtained 200 troops from Tàj Khàn, and went to Sìwì along with his own army, which comprised his brothers, relatives and old servants from the days of his father. Taken aback, the Afghàns waited upon him; and that was how he rescued Qùch 'Alì from the besieged fort. On another occasion, when Ganjàbah was also part of the *jàgìr* of Quch 'Alì, he taught a good lesson to the Afghàns, in which a large number of them were killed. He fought several set battles with them. Although he had only 200 Mughuls at his disposal and the Afghàns, every time, confronted him with a strength of 2,000 to 3,000, he always fought and defeated them. Once his mind was set at peace concerning the Afghàns and other nomadic tribes, he left Sìwì and made forced marches through the hills for three days and nights, until he reached the fort of Kùhyàr and besieged it. Some fierce battles took place between him and the Balùch occupants of the fort, and both sides suffered casualties. Consequently, Ibràhìm Khàn, the commandant

Marfat.com

of the fort, waited upon him with special gifts from the hills, such as horses, camels, goats and chequered carpets (*shaṭranji*). Then, Qùch 'Alì returned to Sìwì. Had his means allowed him, he would have stationed a guard in that fort. The following year, he was again planning to lead an expedition to the hills; but, in the meantime, he was transferred to India. Such things are not impossible for an adventurous (*kàrṭalab*) soldier. For instance, it is mentioned in the *Ta'rìkh-i Sindh* that, during the days of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, Mirzà Mujàhid came with 30 soldiers and, near the fort of Màtìlah, gave battle to Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn Bhakkarì's slave, Mubàrak Khàn, who was accompanied by about 2,000 men, defeated him and put him under siege in the fort of Màtìlah. Thus retrieving the outskirts of the fort of Bhakkar from Maḥmùd Khàn Bhakkarì, he brought the region of Bhakkar under the sway of the victorious army of the Emperor. The Qur'ànic verse, "How oft by Allàh's will hath a small force vanquished a big one",* has found its fullest expression here.

After the transfer of Qùch 'Alì, when the *faujdàrì* of Bhakkar was bestowed upon Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì, he dispatched an old servant of his (*az qadìmiyàn*) called Shaykh Bòl as the *shiqqdàr* of Sìwì. The Pannì Afghàns killed him. His sons mustered a force and rushed to Sìwì, where a fierce battle was fought between them and the Pannì Afghàns. The Afghàns were defeated, and a large number of their men were killed. Their chief, Jangì Khàn, was arrested and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.

In short, Sìwì is surrounded by numerous nomadic tribes. If a brave and resourceful person is appointed there, he will find ample chances of exhibiting his valour. Thus, when Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan bestowed the government of Sìwì on Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Khàn Bhakkarì, he captured many of the forts of the Balùch, which had been under their control for several years, and punishing the contumacious and rebellious elements of the hill country, reduced them to submission and obedience. This country requires military force for its administration; but it abounds in *zahrì* horses,* mountain camels, goats, 'Arab dogs, Sanjarì rugs, and exquisite carpets worthy of the seat of masters (*khwàjahnashìn*). And God knows best what is right.

Marfat.com

CHAPTER THREE

An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Thattah

Be it known that Thattah is the name of a big city situated on the bank of the river. Towards Multàn it has a small but strong fort where the governor resides. It is also possessed of another strong fort called Kalànkòt and Tagharàbàd,* which still stands on top of a hill at two *kuròhs* from the city, but has been reduced to a ruin.

This city abounds in men of learning (*'ulamà'*), poets, exquisite calligraphers, and God-fearing people. Most of the artisans (*kàsib*) 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 'Iràq and Europe (*Farang*). Devout Muslims that they are, they exert themselves fully in prayer, 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 20,000 to 30,000 people congregate for prayers, and these mosques are so profusely jammed on Fridays that if one reaches there late for the Friday prayers, one finds room for prayers only with a great deal of difficulty and effort.

The region of Thattah consists of four *sarkàrs*. Firstly, the *sarkàr* of Thattah, secondly, the *sarkàr* of Chàchkàn; thirdly, the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr. These three *sarkàrs* are situated on the Thattah side of the river. The fourth *sarkàr*, of Chàkar Hàlah, however lies towards the hills across the river. Each of these *sarkàrs* consists of a number of *parganahs*, and every *parganah* 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 *sarkàrs* only.

Be it not a secret that the peasants of the *sarkàr* of Thattah are indigent, but they are not intractable. Since they were always in fear of the Kìhar and Nakàmarah* robbers, the Tarkhàns peacefully won over the chiefs of these last mentioned two clans and tamed them. Subsequently, when the region of Thattah fell into the hands of the agents of the Emperor Jahàngìr [Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì], he also appeased Jàm Hàlah and Ra'nà 'Umar with petty manṣab (*juzwì manṣab*), and allowed them to stay in their respective areas, from which they were ever ready to extend

Marfat.com

a helping hand to the governor (*ṣàḥib-i ṣùbah*) of Thattah.

In keeping with the will of the Master of the world and the people of the world (*saḥib-i 'àlam wa 'àlamyàn*) , and as a measure of security for the country, by the grace of God and by virtue of the good fortune of the Emperor, my brother, Abù al-Baqà', has recently exterminated the Kìhars, together with their chief, Jàm Hàlah. Since no orders were issued with regard to the Nakàmarah, he did not move against them, with the result that their chief, Ra'nà 'Umar, also stayed in his place and continued to behave in a submissive manner.

As regards the *sarkàr* of Chàchkàn, its peasants also are poor and tractable. The Mandarah had formerly been recalcitrant since the days of the Tarkhàns but during the governorship of Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì,* when Badìn* was, for the first time, given in *jàgìr* to my brother, he chastised them in such a befitting manner that they have thereafter remained submissive; indeed, in contrast with the rest of the peasantry, they are more subservient to the *jàgìrdàr* and pay the land revenue. Apart from the Sahùdah and the Samèjah Dal who belong to the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, this *sarkàr* does not fear rebellion from any direction, and, since the former two have also been satisfactorily reprimanded by the aforementioned brother, the land measurement (*ḍabṭ*) of this *sarkàr* is accomplished with a minimal show of force.

In the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, some of its inhabitants, such as the Sahùdah, the Samèjah Kìbar, the Samèjah Sànd, the Samèjah Jùnèjah, the Samèjah Kìriyah and the Samèjah Dal, are refractory. But the most contumacious of them all, who do not pay the revenue, are the Samèjah Dal. The *parganah* of Samwàtì, whose income recovered for salaries (*jam'-i tankhwàhì*) amounted to 4 million *dàms*, also owes its devastation to them.

When Mìrzà Rustam Qandahàrì* was on his way to Thattah, he sent Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek*, the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, ahead at the vanguard of his army, and himself followed on his heels. When Shamshìr Khàn drew near to the village of Pallì Samṃah, which lies within the *parganah* of Samwàtì, the Samèjah Dal plundered the cattle of that village. Chasing them, Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek put many of their men to death and freed the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those wretched ones.

Another seditious element of this *sarkàr* consists of the wretched Samèjah Ùnar, who belong to the region of Sihwàn and are settled upon the border of the *parganah* Hàlah Kandì, which lies just within the *sarkàr*. They have ravaged this last-mentioned *parganah* whose income recovered for salaries (*jam'-i tankhwàhì*), amounted to 2 million *dàms*. During the days of Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì, the produce of this *parganah* had risen to 11,000 *kharwàrs*, and whatever it now produces is also well known.

Marfat.com

Most of this *parganah*'s destruction took place during the tenure of Mìrzà Ḥusàm al-Dìn Murtaḍà Khàn II;* and the following briefly describes what happened: He dispatched his son, Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah, to deal with the Samèjah Ùnar. Reaching the village called Thattì which lay at a distance of half a *kuròh* from the town of Hàlah Kandì and was such a big village that it competed in size with the aforementioned town, Ṣamṣam dug a formidable moat around his army and shut himself up in a barricade of thorny bushes (*khàrbandì numùdah nishast*). Becoming impatient, he dispatched Mùsà Khàn Afghàn, the commandant (*thànahdàr*) of Hàlah Kandì, at the head of a body of soldiers, to attack the Samèjah, who were already aware of the arrival of Ṣamṣàm's army, and were keeping a watch on its movements. When Mùsà Khàn's contingent emerged from the army's fortified position and set out for their area, the Samèjah went behind the enemy and waited in ambush. When this contingent neared the Samèjah villages, but was still in the jungle, they swooped upon it and martyred many of its men. Yùsuf Samèjah, the *arbàb* of the *parganah* Kìbar, who had, for some reason, been estranged from his *shiqqdàr* and had absconded, took the Samèjah Ùnar with him, and in broad daylight attacked the town of Hàlah Kandì. Ḥajjì Muḥammad, the *shiqqdàr* of this *parganah*, was so mortified by this turn of events that he slew his wife with his own hands and fought against the ambushers until he, too, attained martyrdom. The wretches then plundered the town and ran away. Having observed all this, Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah could not stand remaining inactive. He arrested the *arbàbs* of the *parganahs* of Hàlah Kandì and Samwàtì and took them to his father in Thattah, who, as a reprisal for the default of the Samèjah, imposed a heavy indemnity on them. When they failed to pay that indemnity, he obliged them to execute legal bonds (*tamassukàt-i shar'iyyah*). Because of these bonds, during the tenure of my brother, Abù al-Baqà', they were still entangled in the affliction they caused. Being themselves unable to fulfil their obligations, they extorted contributions from the poor peasants (*bar ra'iyyat-i gharìb taujìh mìkardand*). After the return of Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah, one night, the Samèjah Ùnar fell upon the village of Thattì and killed most of its inhabitants. The surviving few ran to the township of Hàlah Kandì and settled there. Thattì is still lying in ruins, and the sight of its desolation overwhelms one with grief.

Thanks to the efforts of brother Abù al-Baqà', this *parganah* has started developing again. Carrying out a raid on the Samèjah Ùnar and killing some of their prominent chiefs, he encamped at the village Wìnjarah and there laid the foundation of a huge fort. Thence, he dispatched an army under the command of his elder son, Ḍiyà, al-Dìn Yùsuf, to the *parganah* of Darbèlah, a dependency of the region of Bhakkar. Ḍiyà

Marfat.com

al-Dìn Yùsuf put about 200 Samèjah to death in this *parganah* and handed over those taken prisoner to Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ.* then *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar. Brother Abù al-Baqà' sent yet another army under the command of his middle son, Abù al-Qàsim, in the direction of Hàlah Kandì, and he achieved a good deal of success. Consequently, Dìndàr Khàn,* then *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, pleaded for a reprieve on behalf of the Samèjahs. Meanwhile, Shìr Khàn Afghàn* invaded the region of Sìwì and Ganjàbah. Hence, the *dìwàn* and the *bakhshì* of Thattah, as well as the *manṣabdàrs*, decided that they should reach Thattah immediately, while Dìndàr Khàn should hasten to Bhakkar at the head of an army obtained from my brother. Thus brother Abù al-Baqà' returned to Thattah, and dispatched his younger brother, Luṭf Allàh, together with a strong army, under Dìndàr Khàn to Bhakkar. Otherwise, the Samèjahs would have been exterminated by him. Abù al-Baqà' set up a *thànah*, comprising 300 horse, and 150 matchlockmen and archers, in *parganah* Hàlah Kandì.

The *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr* needs a strong army at two places, namely Samwàtì and Hàlah Kandì. The other *parganahs* pay their land revenue freely, needing no more than a single revenue-collector (*az dast-i yak bàjì 'amal mìdihand*).

The *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah is situated at the foot of a mountain, and the mountain itself teems with intractable hill people. Hence, the tribes of this *sarkàr*, because of its proximity to the mountain, also tended to be contumacious. This *sarkàr* is inhabited by several clans. While three of them, namely the Shùrah, the Samèjah Dal and the Babar Balùch, have been notorious for their sedition and mischief-making, four of them, namely the Palèjah, the Kòrèjah, the Linjàr and the Nàrèjah, have all along been subservient to the *jàgìrdàrs*.

During the days of the Tarkhàns, this *sarkàr* was very populous and prosperous. But so far as the first three tribes are concerned, even the Tarkhàn administration had been helpless, and the Shùrahs had gone so far as to kill Rustam, the elder son of Khusrau Bèg, the *ḥàkim* of Tattah. Khusrau Bèg mustered an army and set out to punish them, but they joined forces with the Nuhmardìs and retired into the hills. Khusrau Bèg pressed on in pursuit to the villages of Kùhyàr and Wankàr, which lay right in the midst of the hills, but the Shùrahs did not fall into his hands. He emerged from these hills where they faced Sihwàn without achieving any result.

When Mìrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn became the *ṣùbahdàr* of Qandahàr, he bestowed the title of *Hindù Khàn* on a Hindù called Sà'ìndinah, and dispatched him to Thattah to replace Khusrau Bèg. Similarly, he invested an attendant called Shahbàzì with the title of *Khàn*, and sent him to

Marfat.com

Naṣrpùr to take the place of the sons of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn. When Sà'ìndinah reached Thattah, Khusrau Bèg came out of the city, and, encamping in the town of Hàlah Kandì, contemplated proceeding towards Qandahàr. Meanwhile, the news of Mìrzà Ghàzì's death reached Sà'ìndinah in Thattah. He crossed the river with his party, and, following the foothills, fled to Sihwàn. When he reached territory of the Shùrahs they, in accordance with orders of Khusrau Bèg mustered in strength and assailed Sà'ìndinah. They drove him to the village of Badàpùr, where they arrested him, together with his brother, Nàrù, who had received the title of *Shujà'at Rà'è* from Mìrzà Ghàzì, and killed them both. The Shùrahs also made off with their 'Iràqì horses, pieces of gold brocade (*mìlak-ha-i zarrìn*)* and saddle-bags of money *(kharjìnhà-i mal)* that Sà'ìndinah and his companions had brought from Qandahàr. They also pillaged several other belongings, including their kettle-drums and palanquin *(sakpàl)*.*

After the death of Mìrzà Ghàzì, Emperor Jahàngìr sent Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì to Thattah. At that time, Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek was the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn. He picked out 300 of the best and most resolute of his soldiers, and sent them, under the command of Khwàjah Jàn, who was related to him, with Muẓaffar Khàn. When Muẓaffar Khàn reached Thattah, Khusrau Bèg took fright at the sight of this Uzbek contingent. Playing a trick on Muẓaffar Khàn, he told him that the Shùrah, Dal, and Babar tribes had gone into rebellion, and he should, therefore, dispatch Khwàjah Jàn to suppress them. Ignorant of the terrain as the Uzbeks were, they set out in that direction hesitatingly. As a matter of custom, the Uzbeks usually fix a *qarqarah** on their heads. As soon as they reached the field on the outskirts of the fort of Nayrankòt, the rebels, who numbered 2,000 horse and 8,000 foot and lay in wait for the Uzbeks, noticed this headgear and decided among themselves to play a trick (*par gudhàrìm*) on them, to the effect that every horseman of theirs should be flanked by four foot-soldiers, two on each side, to give battle to the Mughuls in this formation. Accordingly, they came out to face the Uzbeks in this formation. When the Uzbek soldiers gave rein to their mounts as they reached the midst of the enemy, the foot-soldiers fell to the ground and were killed. An Uzbek called Khwàjah Muḥammad Sulṭàn, who was one of the heroes (*az bahaduràn*) of Shamshìr Khàn, also lost his life in this battle. The defeated remainder of the contingent retreated to the fort of Nayrankòt. Surrounding the fort, the rebels encamped around it. On receiving news of this, Shamshìr Khàn left Sihwàn with a strong army and hastened to the rescue of his soldiers. When the rebels learnt of his advance, they lifted the siege and returned to their strongholds. Khwàjah Jàn left the fort with his men and came to Sihwàn.

Among the Shùrah, Ismà'ìl Shùrah made a name for himself in sedition.

Marfat.com

He roamed about with the kettle-drum and the *sakpàl* of Sà'ìndinah Hindù, and none of the mountain tribes or of the peasants of the aforementioned *sarkàrs* or the region of Sihwàn could stand up to him. Secondly, Dà'ùd Shùrah, who lived in the village of Khasà'ì Shùrah on the bank of the river near the foothills, commanded a large number of Hùsarah river pirates, and fearlessly lay in ambush on both river and land routes. Thirdly, among the Dal, a man called Manàhì was quite notorious.

An Account of the Governorship of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek in Thattah

After the death of Tàj Khàn Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek was appointed the governor of Thattah; and the region of Bhakkar, after his transfer from there, was, as a revenue assignment (*jàgìr-i tankhwàhì*), collectively bestowed upon my brother and Mìrzà Dùst Bèg. My brother dispatched an attendant of his called Maḥabbat Khàn with melons from the village of Nàrlam in a boat for Shamshìr Khàn and for Muẓaffar Khàn, who was then the *bakhshì* of Thattah. When the boat sailed past the ferry of Khasà'ì Shùrah, the Hùsarahs of Dà'ùd Shùrah leapt into their boats and, catching up with Maḥabbat Khàn, killed him and took the water melons to Dà'ùd Shùrah. When news of this reached my brother, he lost his patience and the same day, around the time of the evening prayers, left Sihwàn by boat. He sailed continuously for three watches of the night. During the last watch, one *kuròh* before the ferry of Sann, he disembarked on the side of Sihwàn and rode hard towards Khasà'ì Shùrah. By the time he reached there, Dà'ùd Shùrah had somehow already learnt of his approach, and had retired into the hills with his family. The imperial army set fire to the Khasà'ì Shùrah, killed a few of the Shùrah it encountered, and plundered whatever possessions it could lay its hands upon. This was the first blow the imperial army struck against the Shùrahs.

An Account of the Governorship of Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì in Thattah

After the transfer of Shamshìr Khàn, Muẓaffar Khàn took over as the governor of Thattah, while the former came back to Sihwàn. Meanwhile, my brother was appointed to Badìn, in the *sarkàr* of Chàchkàn, with Nayrankòt and Shàl, in the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah, as his revenue assignment. Hence, in accordance with the imperial *farmàn,* he went to Badìn.

Once, intending to punish the Samèjah Dal who lived in the *parganah* of Shàl, Muẓaffar Khàn, together with the *manṣabdàrs* in attendance on

Marfat.com

him at Thattah, rode out of that city. My brother had not yet arrived at Thattah from Badìn. When the army of Muẓaffar Khàn reached the outskirts of Shàl, Manàhì, the chief of the Dal, appeared in strength, intercepted it and, in the course of an action, martyred some of its soldiers. Taking stock of the situation, Muẓaffar Khàn, instead of going further, pitched his tents right there. The soldiers faced great difficulty in moving out of their encampment, even to get fodder and fuel; but in the meantime my brother, who rode post-haste from Badìn, joined the forces of Muẓaffar Khàn within the span of an intervening night. The following night he set out for the habitation of the rebels. He travelled overnight, and in the morning fell upon the wretches in the foothills. He killed 200 to 300 of their men and brought their heads to Muẓaffar Khàn, thus bringing the expedition against the Samèjah Dal to a befitting conclusion. Thereafter, Muẓaffar Khàn left my brother in the area at the fort of Nayrankòt and himself returned to Thattah.

My brother once again took strong punitive action against the Samjah Dal, and against some of the Shùrah who counted themselves among the followers of Ḥamìd Shùrah. The Dals were completely routed. Humiliated as they were, Manàhì and Ḥamìd Shùrah thenceforth stayed in attendance on my brother and regularly paid the land revenue. In the course of an incursion against this group of Shùrahs, another of my brothers, Nùr Allàh was martyred on top of the hill called Dàrùband; the latter laid down his life in the fulfilment of an imperial responsibility, and his brother, Abù al-Baqà' carried the day. But subsequently, when Abù al-Baqà' was appointed to lead an expedition to Kàngṛah, and, in keeping with imperial orders, he left for that place, these Shùrahs resumed their recalcitrance and contumacy in full swing under the leadership of Ismà'ìl Shùrah, and in the process extirpated the poor peasantry and laid waste the garden of Bàbù Palèjah.On receiving news of their sedition, Muẓaffar Khàn dispatched his nephew, Mirzà Muḥammad, at the head of a strong force to deal with these wretches. Mirzà Muḥammad crossed the ferry of Thattah and launched a frontal attack on the men of Ismà'ìl Shùrah, who did not get a chance even to deploy his troops properly. While his companions were busy contriving the escape of their families, he, along with some of his brothers, stopped the advancing army, and died in the course of the ensuing battle. Thus the efforts of Mirzà Muḥammad were crowned with an excellent victory. He set up his tents right in the middle of Shùrah territory, brought together the cattle of the Shùrah, Babar and Dal from everywhere and rounded up a large number of captives, thus administering a severe blow to the Shùrah. Those of them who survived abandoned their homes and hearths and took refuge in the foothills. They lost even their bare subsistance; whatever little they secured was obtained through the cattle lifting that they effected in complicity with the mountain people.

Marfat.com

Nevertheless, Dà'ùd Shùrah still maintained his position much as before.

Meanwhile, in compliance with orders of Emperor Jahàngìr, Shamshìr Khàn left Sihwàn to reinforce Bahàdur Khàn Uzbek* in Qandahàr. There he entrusted the government of Sihwàn to his relative, Shàh Khwàjah, and dispatched him to replace the incumbent Khwùsham Bèg. The village of Khasà'ì Shùrah lay in the *jàgìr* of Shamshìr Khàn, but its inhabitants indulged in contumacy and did not pay the revenue. One afternoon, Shàh Khwàjah and his men boarded some boats at Sihwàn and, around false dawn, disembarked and hid themselves at the ferry of Ranbahan, which was situated at one *kuròh's* distance from Sann on the side of Sihwàn. At the middle hour between sunrise and noon, he swooped upon the Khasà'ì Shùrah, which was about 10 *kuròhs* from the ferry, killed a large number of Dà'ùd Shùrah's men, and rounded up a number of captives, which included the wife of Dà'ùd Shùrah. Shàh Khwàjah brought the captives with him to Sihwàn. Finding himself helpless, Dà'ùd Shùrah followed Shàh Khwàjah to Sihwàn, called on him there, paid the fine and outstanding dues of his village, and liberated his wife from captivity. The followers of Dà'ùd Shùrah thus received a befitting chastisement at the hands of Shàh Khwàjah and chose to become submissive. Abandoning their old habitation in the foothills, they settled in Bèlah, 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 Bàyazìd Bukhàrì in Thattah

When Sayyid Bàyazìd became the governor of Thattah, his sons, giving rein to their adventurous spirit mustered an army in compliance with the orders of Emperor Jahàngìr, and, riding into the hills, went right up to the forts of Kà'ìrah and Anùnbèlah. The chief of each of these forts called on them with offerings (*pìshkash*), recited the *khuṭbah* in the name of the Emperor, and pledged his allegiance to the Emperor. On their way back, they kept a watchful eye on the Shùrah and Dal tribes. Riding hard towards these short-sighted ones, they fell upon them early in the morning in the foothills. In close analogy to the hunting-ring formed to gather in game for the grand royal chase (*qamurghah*), they surrounded the wretches. They killed many of them, captured Jùnjàr, son of Ismà'ìl Shùrah, together with several of his followers, and plundered all the cattle of the two tribes. Bàyazìd's sons brought the captives to their father in Thattah, where Ismà'ìl Shùrah's son died in captivity. Except for the few who escaped to the hills and cast in their lot with the hill tribes, or those who chose to submit this expedition exterminated the Shùrahs and the

Marfat.com

Dals. The submissive ones remain submissive and do absolutely no harm to the peasants of the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah.

The Babar were related to Bàbù Palèjah. When they were deprived of the support of the Shùrah and the Dal, those of them that survived came and took up their abode near the village of Bàbù Palèjah. But Bàbù Palèjah soon found an opportunity to inform on them to the troops of Sayyid Bàyazìd, stationed at the *thànah* of Nayrankòt; and they one morning attacked and killed most of them. The remaining few offered their allegiance. During the days of Sayyid Bàyazìd, these three intractable tribes in the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah were completely exterminated. Consequently, the wild Nuhmardìs who inhabited the hills in the direction of Sihwàn, then gained control over the peasants of Chàkar Hàlah. The *jàgìrdàrs* of this *sarkàr* therefore gave them some of their villages in *jàgìr* to conciliate them, and thus managed to save the rest of their *jàgìrs* from being ravaged. From Nayrankòt up to the shrine of Uways-i Qaranì,* may the mercy of God be upon him, the Nuhmardìs are now settled. A description of this shrine *(nazargàh)* will be given presently.

This *sarkàr* and a part of the *sarkàr* of Thattah, including the *parganah* Sàkirah, which lies towards the *parganah* Chàkar Hàlah, stand in need of an army to control them. The nomads found in the vicinity of the *parganah* Sàkirah are made up of Kalimàtì and Jòkiyah Balùches, and these two factions (*firqah*) together number around three thousand horse and foot. They have been offering seasonal tribute (faslànah)* of some heads of camel and goats to the *sùbahdàr* of Thattah and avoid creating unnecessary disturbance in the region of Thattah. However, to keep an eye on their activities, the *sùbahdàr* of Thattah always stations a *thànah* in the fort of the village of Nàrèlah.

During the tenure of Sayyid Bàyazìd, the Jòkiyahs once went amiss; the details are as follows: The Sayyid gave 50 horsemen to his adopted son, Shàh Muhammad, and appointed him the commandant of the *thànah* Nàrèlah. Whimsical person that he was, Shàh Muhammad was infuriated by a remark of Hàjjì, son of Bajàr Jòkiyah, and in a fit of rage flung his shoe at him. This sent a wave of consternation throughout the Jòkiyahs, who abandoned their homes and headed for the hills. Shàh Muhammad followed them with his army and tried to conciliate them, but in vain. Consequently, they found themselves arrayed in battle against each other. Shàh Muhammad's men fought with hand weapons, such as sabres and spears, but those wretches took recourse to arrows. They killed Shàh Muhammad and all the 50 soldiers accompanying him, stripped them of their horses and weapons, and ran into the hills. Hence, Sayyid Bàyazìd imposed an embargo on the movement of grain and other commodities

Marfat.com

in that direction until the Jòkiyahs called on him under a promise of safe conduct. The Kalimàtìs and Jòkiyahs occasionally raid the region of Sihwàn . Between them and the Nuhmardìs there is open hostility, and they are always at war with each other. But, with their large numbers, the Nuhmardìs retain a superiority over their rivals.

The revenue assessment of the region of Thattah has until today been based upon crop-sharing (*ghallah-bakhshi*). The crop-sharing system contributes to the prosperity of the country, provided the *jàgìrdàrs* do not resume more than half the produce and do not hold the peasants' shares in ransom for their excessive exactions (*taujìhàt-i bàṭilah)* until the next crop.

As regards the development of this region, it is essential that the description-roll *(taujìh*) of this country should be called for from the *qànùngùs* and scrutinized in the royal presence; so that whatever excessive exactions the *jàgìrdàrs* take from the peasantry, beyond half of their produce, may be abolished by a royal decree. An upright *amìn* should be appointed here with the stipulation that he would, henceforth, be responsible for the prosperity of the country and for not allowing the *jàgìrdàr* to compel peasants to give more than what is permissible under the regulations.

The frontiers of this region should be safeguarded against refractory elements; so that out of this one region the produce of 10 regions could be procured and the region itself could be brought back to the prosperity it enjoyed under the Tarkhàns. This will strengthen the peasants, and enable them to cooperate with the *jàgìrdàr* in the extermination of the recalcitrants. The prosperity of the days of the Tarkhàns 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 one-third or one-fourth of the produce. Hence, the country was populous and the peasantry strong; and it was not possible for the contumacious to subjugate them easily. But now, because of the misdeeds of some of the *jàgìrdàrs,* the peasantry has lost its vitality, while the recalcitrants have grown strong and at times molest the peasants. In these circumstances, if the peasantry falls into the hands of an oppressive *jàgìrdàr,* they will be sapped of their remaining vitality. On the contrary, if they are administered by a God-fearing *jàgìrdàr,* they will pick up some stability; and that *jàgìrdàr* will also be benefitted by this proportionately, in the sense that he will secure a large income from his *jàgìr,* than his oppressive counterpart, who, with the passage of every season, will get a steadily decreasing income from his *jàgìr,* until he finally gets sick of his *jàgìr* and seeks to exchange it with another one. And yet he will not sicken of his oppression; had he

Marfat.com

been capable of this, he would have had the happiness of both worlds.

Given the fact that there is no *Shari'ah* sanction for it, if the *jam'-i asb-i tankhwàhì* were lifted from the peasants of Thattah, and instead made part of the *jam'* of the *parganah*, it is possible that the *taujih-i pìshkash-i asb* would become a source of inconvenience to the peasants, and the *'amils, arbàbs, ra'ìses* and *qànùngùs* would make it a pretext for their own exactions.

If the police station (*kòtwàlì*) of the city of Thattah, is, as of old, transferred to the Crown (*khàliṣah*) it would contribute to the welfare of the people of that city. Since nowadays hardly one per cent of the *jàgìrdàrs* are afraid of God and follow the path of the Prophet, it is certain that if the police station (*chabùtarah-i kòtwàlì)*, is situated within the bounds of the *ṣùbahdàr's jàgìr*, some of the *ṣùbahdàrs*, out of craving for worldly goods, will not respect the rights of the noble and respectable people. They will inflict a variety of tortures on the local population on baseless charges and impose penalties out of all proportion 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 and his mundane life, because the very existence of the world hinges on means of livelihood. But if the police station is headed by an imperial city magistrate (*kòtwàl*)* and the fines imposed are remitted to the crown (*khàliṣah sharìfah*) liberal as the imperial Government is, the *kòtwàl* will realize the fine from each person, in keeping with the dictates of the resplendent sacred law (*sharì'at-i bayḍà'*), and deposit it with the Treasury (*bayt al-màl*). This does not involve any molestation of the common people, and, as a matter of fact, the appointment of an imperial *kòtwàl* in all the regions (*mulk*) numerous as they are, is of far-reaching consequence, because the world has become very corrupt; taking every possible precaution is justified. Order is supreme and paramount, and God knows best what is right.

Marfat.com

CHAPTER FOUR

An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Sihwàn and Its five Sections

Section I

A Brief Description of the Parganahs of This Region

Be it known that Sihwàn* is the name of an old, dilapidated mud-built fort which is perched on a mound on the bank of the river in the direction of Sìtpùr Nàhiràn. 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, Makhdùm Làl Shàhbàz, who is blessed with mystic spiritual flight (*quds parwàz*), lies to the extreme south of the city and the tomb of his holiness Makhdùm Chhatà Imràni,* on whom be the mercy of God, is situated at a quarter of a *kuròh's* distance outside the city. At a *kuròh's* distance from Thattah sprawls a mountainous tract. The hills of this area, which measures three *kuròhs* by half a *kuròh*, lie nearby. They consist of green sedimentary rock united by sand. At the start of this mountainous region there is a hill which is known as Yak Tanbì* in the Sindhì 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 (*nazargàh*) of his holiness, Amìr 'Alì, may God be pleased with him. On top of this mountain, Pìr Ghulàm erected a platform like the one at Bhakkar and named it Ṣuffah-i Wafà' (the Platform of Fidelity). The nights of the *ayyàm-i bìḍ* (the 13th, 14th and 15th of each lunar month) he mostly spent there and regaled himself in the company of sages, scholars and soldiers, eating melons from the village Nàr. Even now, in the year 1044 [1634-35 A.D], that platform is still intact. Half a *kuròh* away from this hill the sand is red and harbours innumerable skinks (*rìgmàhì*).* The time for hunting these skinks is summer, 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 Làl Shahbàz, may God halo his grave. Like Wilàyat, here also the custodians of the tomb (*mujàwiràn*) of his holiness Làl Shahbàz use the water of these springs* for agricultural purposes.

On the day following the Shivràtrì (*(Shìwràt)*)* of the Hindùs, those

Marfat.com

Hindu inhabitants of the city who cannot afford going to the Dakrì-i Kalàn, both males and females, wash themselves at one of these springs and call that spring the Dakrì-i Khurd. The Dakrì-i Kalàn will be described later.

Three *kuroh*s 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 Kìch and Makràn, and in the north joins the mountain ranges of Qandahàr, Kàbul and Kashmìr. In the middle of this mountain there is a large population which is mainly composed of Balùchì tribes. They do not stay at one place; but roam from one good pastureland to another. Some forts, such as Kà'ìnarah, Anùnbèlah, Kùhyar, Winkàr, also dot this area, where cultivation also takes place. On top of the hill *(pusht-i kùh)* called Lakkì there stands a kiln-baked brick dome which now lies in ruin. This dome has come to be known as the Màrì of Emperor Humàyùn, which in Sindhì means an upper chamber. The place is at 4 *kuròhs'* distance from the city. There are two accesses to the hill: one is called Bàqì Jì because it was cut out by Mìrzà Muḥammad Bàqì Tarkhàn; the second is known as Gànah and passes by the aforementioned Màrì. Gànah in Sindhì means an oil mill (*raughankadah*); in this path there lies a stone which looks like an oil mill, and hence the name. Both paths are extremely dangerous. Very few people have survived the journey through these paths, since most travellers are martyred by the Balùch. This hill abounds in mysterious spirits (*mardàn-i ghayb*)* and martyrs (*shuhadà'*) and quite frequently the voice of their rememberance (*dhikr*) is distinctly heard in the dead hours of the night. It was at the foot of this very hill, in the direction of Thattah, that Mìrzà Jànì Tarkhàn fought with, and was defeated by, the followers of the Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm, who formed part of the victorious armies of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, while the Khàn-i Khànàn had for some reason lifted the siege of the fort of Sihwàn and proceeded to the *parganah* of Jaun, a dependency of the *parganah* of Chàchkàn. This defeat broke Mìrzà Jànì's back, while, on the other side, Dàrù, a son of Ràjà Tòdarmal, was killed in this battle.

At present, 11 *parganahs* 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 *parganahs* on this side of the river are described below:

First, the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn: It is a big *parganah* inhabited by a variety of tribes, such as the tribe (*mardum*) of the Maliks of Bàghbànàn, the Pahwàrs, and the Àbirahs, and clans (*qaum*) of the Samèjah, namely the Jùnèjah, the Baryah, the Bukyah. The people of all these clans (*quam*)

Marfat.com

are peasants; they pay the revenue and are not intractable. A fourth Samèjah clan, that of the Tìbahs, is as contumacious as the Samèjah Ùnar. If at the time of harvest, a strong army is sent against them, they pay their dues; otherwise they pay nothing. This clan owns four villages, namely Kandhkòt, Jin, Tìbah, which all belong to the aforementioned *parganah*, and Patrèjah, which lies in the *parganah* of Takar, and is a dependency of the region of Bhakkar.

During the administration of the Sammahs, this *parganah* reached the zenith of its growth and prosperity, so much so that Makhdùm* Ja'far Bùbakànì, who was a renowned scholar of Sind, related that he had heard Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn say that, during the invasion of Sind by Shàh Bèg Arghùn's army, which he had dispatched from Qandahar, the army attacked the town of Bàghbànàn* and captured 1,000 camels, which used to work the Persian wheels in gardens (*charkhhà-i bàghàt*).* Hence, you can imagine other aspects of the prosperity of that place.

During the days of the Tarkhàns also, this *parganah* was well populated. Sulṭàn Muḥammad Bartatkànì Arghùn was the *thànahdàr* of this *parganah*. Besides properly manned forts at various places, he built a strong fort at the village called Pulijì and stationed himself there. This prevented the intractable elements from doing any harm to the peasants of this *parganah*. But now, since it lies just next to the wretched Chàndiyah tribe and the Tìbah clan, and its *thànahs* are not looked after properly, it has become paralysed and most of its villages have been reduced to desolation. This *parganah* is possessed of a big lake called Mahà, where *par-i kilkì* fish of very good quality is found is abundance.

Second, the *parganah* of Pàtar: this *parganah's* peasants comprise mostly poor Khwàjahs, who stand in need of encouragement from the *jàgìrdàr*.

Third, the *parganah* of Nayrùn Qal'ah: in olden times, this place was known as Wàhì, which in Sindhì signifies a stream of water flowing down from the mountain. There are four such streams in this place. They descend from the mountains and pass through the plains, where they are used for cultivation. Previously, this area (*mauḍi'*) belonged to the Màchhìs; they were intractable people who did not pay anything to the *jàgìrdàr*. Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn exterminated them in the course of an attack, named the place Akbaràbàd and made it over to the Pahawàrs, who are docile peasants. He allocated one stream to each of the four groups of Pahawàrs headed by Mùsà Pahawàr, 'Ìsà Pahawàr, Dà'ùd Pahawàr and Jalàl Pahawàr. The area is still in the hands of the Pahawàrs. Previously it formed part of the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn; but, during the days of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, it was detached from that *parganah*,

Marfat.com

named Nayrùn Qal'ah, and added to the assessment *jam')* of Sihwàn. Under Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, it was absolutely destroyed.

Fourth, the *parganah* of Kàhàn:* it is a big *parganah* and several tribes and clans live here: firstly, the Pahawàr clan, who call themselves Qurayshì, and trace their descent to Bìbì Ḥalìmah, the foster-mother of the Holy Prophet, on whom be the blessing and peace of Allàh; secondly, the Kòrèjah tribe; thirdly, the Samèjah Bukyah tribe; fourthly, the Samèjah Tìbah tribe; fifthly, the Rah Pòtrah tribe, who belong to the Samèjah clan; sixthly, the Bahan tribe; seventhly, the Sayyids; eighthly, the Shaykhs.

Since the Pahawàr and Samèjah clans in this *parganah* outnumber the others, the *parganah* has no fear of intractable elements (*mardum-i mawàs pàrah*), and its peasants spare themselves no effort in paying the revenues due to the *jàgìrdàr* and in accompanying him in his expeditions against the rebellious. Just a single revenue collector is enough to collect the revenue from them. The tyranny of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn laid waste this *parganah* so that some of its villages, lying in the foothills, are still in a state of desolation.

Fifth, the *parganah* of Bùbakàn: this *parganah* is also inhabited by a variety of tribes: firstly, the Bùbaks, who call themselves Khaljì and include a group of Makhàdìm, who are descended from Makhdùm Ja'far,* on whom be the mercy of God, and live in the town of Bùbakàn; secondly, the Samèjah Dal, thirdly, the Samèjah Bukyah, fourthly, the Khwàjahs, or the new Muslims; fifthly, the Bahjahs, who belong to the Samèjah clan, sixthly, the Pahawàrs; and seventhly, the Hindùs. The peasants of this *parganah* are extremely poor. They endure all the hardships perpetrated on them by the *jàgìrdàr* without ever rebelling. Given encouragement, this *parganah* could improve tremendously in growth and prosperity. But the town of Bùbakàn is very rich in slanderers and caluminators (*mardum-i sà'ì wa chughul*). As soon as a new *jàgìrdàr* arrives, one informs on the other and thus ignites a fire that not only consumes him personally, but also burns up others, and in the process causes destruction in the entire country.

Sixth, the *parganah* of Ḥawèlì Sihwàn: the peasants of this *parganah* are extremely indigent and destitute. Besides submission they have no other occupation.

Seventh, the *parganah* of Nayrùn: in olden times, this aquatic *parganah* was known as Kùlàb-i Manchhur (Manchhur lake). It does not have any cultivation worth the name. Its only produce is fish, other aquatic products and grass (*kàh*), and it is only in the form of these articles that the inhabitants of the place pay the fixed revenue demand (*muqṭa'i*). Its

Marfat.com

peasantry consists of poor boatmen,* most of whom have never set foot on land, never eaten grain worth the name and do not know what clothing is. 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 side of its as well. Looking like a mound (*tal*), it stays afloat on water, and the bigger ones are known as *madd* in the Sindhì 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 and go out in search of their livelihood. They wear mat and live on aquatic food, including fish and grass-roots, which are known in the Sindhì language as *biha,** *kuma* and *lùra;* and if one brings these people to the land, they have difficulty in walking normally.

There are 16 big villages afloat on water. it is a huge lake, measuring 10 by 10 *kuròhs*. During the winter season, there is a great abundance of game in this lake, such as goose (*qàz*), heron (*kulang*) and other water-fowl, so that they descend on the lake in lacs and crores and are hunted by whatever method the people can devise. For this purpose, the boatmen have manufactured different types of nets for use by day and by night. They catch these birds with the aid of these nets. Likewise, the hunters carry a decoy (*qàlib)** with them,.which they put on their heads to catch them. But 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 often that with a single shot between three to four geese have fallen. The author has often hunted with a matchlock at this lake.

On the outskirts of the lake a grass called *dìr* in Sindhì, from which one can weave good mats, grows abundantly. After the *rabì'* crop has been gathered and water runs short, all the peasantry of the region of Sihwàn, and indeed most from the region of Bhakkar also, throng here. They pull out the roots of this grass, which are known in Sindhì as *bad,* and purify them on a fire. These people live mostly on these roots until the following year. Eating only these roots, they engage themselves in the *kharìf* and *rabì'* cultivation for the whole of the year. Had this grass not existed in the region of Sihwàn during the tenures of some of the region's *jàgìrdàrs* that the author has witnessed, not a single human being would have survived. Considering this place their homeland, these people 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,* which is the staple food of the horses of this region, and suits them extremely well, too. But, if another animal, such as a cow, buffalo, sheep or goat grazes on this grass, its stomach stops functioning and it dies.

Marfat.com

To start with, this lake was included in the revenue assessment of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn; but, during the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, it was made part of the revenue assessment of the region of Sihwàn, under the name of Nayrùn. In this lake the *par-i kilkì* fish are also met with.

Eighth, the *parganah* of Sann: this is a big *parganah* and a variety of tribes and clans live here, including the Sayyids, the Lakahs, and the Kòrèjahs. These three groups are extremely submissive. Besides them, the Mànjhands, the Kumàns, the Jajars and the Kàhèjahs also live in this *parganah*. But all four of them are partly contumacious. However, a slight tightening of screws by the *jàgìrdàr* is enough to discipline them.

Four places in this *parganah*, namely the town of Sann and the villages of Lak'alwì, Àmirì and Thattì Walì Muḥammad, belong to the Sayyids.

The Sayyids of Lak'alwì are of a very pure lineage. They do not marry their daughters to the other Sayyids of the region. When, as the result of a calamitous happening, Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Àshiyànì blessed this place with victorious standards, these Sayyids rendered meritorious services to the victorious armies. The entire country had been laid waste under the orders of Mìrzà Shàh 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. Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Àshiyànì was so gratified by their serivces that he honoured them with a *farmàn* for the conferment of that village in *suyùrghàl** upon them. When the region of Sihwàn was given to Pìr Ghulàm in *jàgìr*, the vicissitudes of the times had already uprooted the Lak'alwì Sayyids from their habitat, and they had taken up their abode in the *parganah* of Kàhàn. They did not have the means to go back and settle in their original place. Pìr Ghulàm consoled them and assured them that the state would only demand a reduced share of their crops and rehabilitate them in their former abodes. Even now this place is adequately populated. Having seen the *farmàn* of Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Àshiyànì, Pìr Ghulàm strongly recommended that the Sayyids go to the imperial court and have it perused and endorsed by Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì. They were still contemplating taking the *farmàn* to the court when, by Divine providence, a blaze occurred in the village of Lak'alwì, and they lost it in the fire.

This *parganah* was well populated until the start of Shamshìr Khàn's tenure because the Làkahs of this *parganah*, who were quite bold and possessed of great strength, were involved in active personal hostilities with the wretched Samèjah Ùnar. Some villages of the Làkahs, lay on the side of the river bordering Sann, and they resisted the incursions of the mountain people. Likewise, the villages situated across the river in

Marfat.com

the neighbourhood of the short-sighted Samèjahs also helped to keep the latter at bay. Consequently, the peasants of this *parganah* were protected against the incursions of both these intractable communities. Nonetheless, Shamshìr Khàn, having constructed a fort on the bank of the river in the town of Sann, had established a strong *thànah* there, under the command of his relative, Khwàjah Jàn. After Shamshìr Khàn's departure for Qandahàr, this *parganah* grew weak and was gradually destroyed by the Samèjahs and the hill people. Thus, two of the villages, Àmirì and Thattì Walì Muḥammad, occupied by Sayyids, were completely demolished, and most of the Sayyids of these villages were martyred by the mountain people and the Samèjahs, and the peasants were driven into the wilderness. The villages Adarbèlì, of the Làkahs, and Jaysarùt, of the Kòrèjahs, were similarly destroyed; but, during the days of Dìndàr Khàn, these people were partially rehabilitated.

Now let us take up the *parganahs* lying across the river. One of them is the *parganah* of Jùnèjah. This is a big *parganah* and several tribes and clans inhabit it; among them there are the Kòrèjah, the Pahawàr, and the Shaykh. These three tribes are completely submissive and exhibit no contumacy at all. However, a fourth tribe, the Samèjah Bukyàh, are rebellious and have matrimonial ties with the wretched Samèjah Ùnar. In sum, to start with, like the Samèjah Ùnar, they were also complete rebels. They paid only a fraction of their dues to the *jàgìrdàr,* and that too reluctantly. When my brother, Abù al-Baqà', in whose *jàgìr* this *parganah* lay for some time, led some expeditions against them, these people were brought to their senses: they gradually realized the delight of cultivation, and now they are not contumacious at all.

This *parganah* lies next to the territory inhabited by the short-sighted Samèjah Ùnar. In olden times, the Kòrèjah and the Pahawàr tribes were strong enough to resist the Samèjahs adequately, and they also participated in the expeditions led by the *jàgìrdàr* against them. But now, weak as the people of this *parganah* are, the arm of the tyranny of the Samèjahs has been extended to them.

This *parganah* is exceedingly rich in game animals, such as deer (*gawazn*), white-footed antelope of Pennat (*nìl gà'è*) wild ass (*gùr khar*), and a short-legged deer, *kùtàh pàchah*. It also has a lake called Rèl, which abounds beyond all description in game birds, such as the *murghàbì-i sùnah*. It is rich in good quality *pallah*, a fish which is used for bringing into flight the *bàz* and *jurrah* (two species of falcon), and also contains the *par-i kilkì* fish in abundance.

Secondly, the *parganah* of Khiṭṭah. This is a big *parganah* which is inhabited by a variety of tribes; among them are the Hàlahpòtrah, the

Marfat.com

Shaykh, the Samèjah, the Turks, the Dìtah, the Pallì; the Làkah. These 11 tribes are completely submissive and are not contumacious at all. However, a twelfth tribe, the Samèjah Dàhirì is intractable and can only be tackled with force. When a part of this *parganah* was included in his *jàgìr*, Rà'è Singh, grandson of Gùryah Hindù, exhibited considerable valour against these people. This is what happened: He had 100 horsemen of his own and, collecting 200 horsemen and foot-soldiers from the peasants, he rode out from the town of Talhattì with the intention of attacking a faction of the Dàhirìs. By the time he reached their villages, they had got wind of his approach, and around 1,000 Dàhirì horsemen and foot-soldiers fell on him and put him to flight. Wherever he fled, the Dàhirìs followed. At last, while passing through a forest, Rà'è Singh deployed 50 horsemen on each side of the path in the forest, leaving no sign on it. When the enemy reached the midst of these horsemen, they let fly their arrows and killed 30 of the Dàhirì vanguard. Most of their big chieftains, such as Shàh Mìr and Sànd, fell into Rà'è Singh's hands. Though there were about 20 casualties on his side, too, the Dàhirìs were routed. Thus defeated, they accepted the overlordship of the *jàgìrdàr* and agreed to pay the revenue (*pàrah'ì màlgudhàrì*).

The Hàlahpòtrahs were another strong tribe in this *parganah*. They had been resisting the Samèjah Ùnar and were quite diligently engaged in cultivation. They also extended their help to the *jàgìrdàr* in his expeditions against the Samèjah Ùnar up to the days of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek. After his tenure, when the tyranny and oppression of some of the *jàgìrdàrs* reduced the peasants of this *parganah* to prostration, the Hàlahpòtrahs were also weakened, and the Samèjah Ùnar's arm of oppression was extended to this *parganah*. But some sort of peace still prevailed between these two tribes until, during the tenure of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, the Samèjah Ùnar completely devastated this *parganah* and most of its inhabitants were driven into the wilderness. With the destruction of this *parganah*, the oppression of the Samèjahs, now extended to the villages of the *parganahs* of Bùbakàn, Ḥawèlì Sihwàn and Sann, which lay on this side of the river. Since the *parganah* of Khiṭṭah was situated entirely on the bank of the river, adjacent to the *parganah* of Lakùt, which was the habitat of the Samèjah Ùnar, and its villages were yet intact, the wretched, infamous Samèjah Ùnar chose the peasants of this *parganah* as the target of all manner of coercion and aggression. When the *jàgìrdàr* rode out in support of the imperial subjects, the Samèjahs, having subdued the peasants of this *parganah*, hastily withdrew 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 for the other side. The destruction of the *parganah* Khiṭṭah greatly

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

increased the power of the Samèjah Ùnar.

Then Dìndàr Khàn bestowed some of the villages of Khiṭṭah, Làkùt and Sann on the Samèjah Ùnar and the Sayyids of Sann and Lak'alwì in *jàgìr*, and this created an atmosphere of complete peace and tranquility. He brought Karan, the chief of one section of the Samèjahs, and settled him right in the middle of the Khiṭṭah *parganah*. Thereafter, some of the villages of this *parganah* were rehabilitated. However, this *parganah* still needs to be protected from the Samèjah Ùnar and to be developed, because in its prosperity lies the destruction of the Samèjah Ùnar. And God knows best what is right.

Thirdly, the *parganah* of Làkùt. This is the *parganah* wherein the wretched Samèjah Ùnar reside. It comprises two *tappahs* one belongs to the aforementioned Samèjah while the other is inhabited by the Làkah tribe, which entertains an instinctive resentment against the other. In olden times, the *jàgìrdàrs* of Sihwàn actively sided with the Làkahs, and at the time of harvest led strong expeditions against the Samèjah Ùnar. The Làkahs were always in the forefront, and also acted as informers. Wherever they came across the Samèjah, they exterminated them, even their children. The *tappah* of the Làkahs was adequately populated and prosperous, and they paid the revenue quite readily.

Frightened as the Samèjah were of the Làkah and the imperial army, they did not cultivate the *rìzànì* lands on the bank of the lakes, but instead did most of their *rabì'* and *kharìf* cultivation, such as that of millet (*jawàrì*) and barley (*jau*), in arid land, with the aid of rain water. That cultivation of theirs was also plundered by imperial soldiers in collaboration with the Làkah, or else they obliged the Samèjah to pay revenue. Under these circumstances, there was hardly any chance for the Samèjah to establish themselves and the peasants also gave their allegiance to the Làkah tribe. Subsequent to the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, however, the irregularities of some of the *jàgìrdàrs* weakened the Làkah tribe, and most of their lands were appropriated by the Samèjah Ùnar, who exterminated them ruthlessly. Those of them who survived emigrated to Sann and settled there. The majority of the peasantry of this *parganah* then swung towards the Samèjah tribe, and the latter started harvesting their crops with complete peace of mind. Nobody asked them to pay revenue; the *parganah* of Làkùt was written off from the revenue roll and the Samèjah grew stronger. When Dìndàr Khàn concluded peace with the Samèjah, the remainder of the Làkah in their habitat across the river also gained some stability. For the control of this *parganah*, a good army of efficient soldiers under the command of a bold leader is indispensable. And God knows best what is right.

Marfat.com

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, Thattah and Jaisalmèr Are also Not Safe from Their contumacy

Be it known that the intractable elements comprise three groups. One of the groups is that of the Samèjah, who apparently are divided into 12 clans, including the Bukyah, the Tìbah, the Jùnèjah, the Pariyah, the Dal, the Kìbarah, the Ùtah, the Làkiyàr, the Ràjpàl, and the Bihan. These 10 clans, excepting the Tìbahs of the *parganah* Bàghbànàn and the Dal of the *parganahs* Samwàtì and Shàl,* are submissive and pay their revenues to the *jàgìrdàr*, as has already been alluded to in the account of the affairs of the *parganahs*. The eleventh clan is that of the Mangiwànah, who are scoundrels. The twelfth clan is that of the Ùnar, who comprise five factions. Three of these, the Ràhùs, the Dàhirì and the Sànd, have always been obedient to the *jàgìrdàr*. The fourth called the Sànaryah, is further divided into four *jamà'ats*, namely the Dàrèjah, the Ràhùjah, the Manàhijah and the Fìrùzjahs. The fifth clan is known as the Kìriyah.

The Kìriyah and the Mangiwànah are both sandwiched between the Sànaryah, who are the source of all mischief and trouble and are not repressed by any chastisement. When the *jàgìrdàr* is a weakling, other factions of the Ùnar also join hands with the Sànaryah and start causing mischief. Thus, in so far as the mischief of the Samèjah is concerned, it is the Ùnar who come to our attention. The Sànaryah themselves number around 5,000 in the *parganah* of Làkùt, comprising 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot. In battle, their foot-soldier is bolder than their horseman. Actually, their horsemen, proud of their skill with the sword, dismount before engaging in battle. They inhabit the *parganah* of Làkùt, amid seven strong clans of the imperial peasantry.

The enemies of these blackguards are: southwards, the Hàlah, who belong to the *parganah* of Hàlah Kandì, one of the dependencies of the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr; northwards, the Kòrèjah and Pahawàr, who belong to the *parganah* of Jùnèjah and the Sahtah, who belong to the *parganah* of Darbèlah, one of the dependencies of the region of Bhakkar; westwards, the Làkah and the Hàlahpòtrah from the *parganahs* of Làkùt and *Khiṭṭah*; and eastwards, amongst the sand-hills of Jailsalmèr, the Ràjpùts of the Ràjà of Jaisalmèr.

increased the power of the Samèjah Ùnar.

Then Dìndàr Khàn bestowed some of the villages of Khiṭṭah, Làkùt and Sann on the Samèjah Ùnar and the Sayyids of Sann and Lak'alwì in *jàgìr*, and this created an atmosphere of complete peace and tranquility. He brought Karan, the chief of one section of the Samèjahs, and settled him right in the middle of the Khiṭṭah *parganah*. Thereafter, some of the villages of this *parganah* were rehabilitated. However, this *parganah* still needs to be protected from the Samèjah Ùnar and to be developed, because in its prosperity lies the destruction of the Samèjah Ùnar. And God knows best what is right.

Thirdly, the *parganah* of Làkùt. This is the *parganah* wherein the wretched Samèjah Ùnar reside. It comprises two *tappahs* one belongs to the aforementioned Samèjah while the other is inhabited by the Làkah tribe, which entertains an instinctive resentment against the other. In olden times, the *jàgìrdàrs* of Sihwàn actively sided with the Làkahs, and at the time of harvest led strong expeditions against the Samèjah Ùnar. The Làkahs were always in the forefront, and also acted as informers. Wherever they came across the Samèjah, they exterminated them, even their children. The *tappah* of the Làkahs was adequately populated and prosperous, and they paid the revenue quite readily.

Frightened as the Samèjah were of the Làkah and the imperial army, they did not cultivate the *rìzànì* lands on the bank of the lakes, but instead did most of their *rabì'* and *kharìf* cultivation, such as that of millet (*jawàrì*) and barley (*jau*), in arid land, with the aid of rain water. That cultivation of theirs was also plundered by imperial soldiers in collaboration with the Làkah, or else they obliged the Samèjah to pay revenue. Under these circumstances, there was hardly any chance for the Samèjah to establish themselves and the peasants also gave their allegiance to the Làkah tribe. Subsequent to the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, however, the irregularities of some of the *jàgìrdàrs* weakened the Làkah tribe, and most of their lands were appropriated by the Samèjah Ùnar, who exterminated them ruthlessly. Those of them who survived emigrated to Sann and settled there. The majority of the peasantry of this *parganah* then swung towards the Samèjah tribe, and the latter started harvesting their crops with complete peace of mind. Nobody asked them to pay revenue; the *parganah* of Làkùt was written off from the revenue roll and the Samèjah grew stronger. When Dìndàr Khàn concluded peace with the Samèjah, the remainder of the Làkah in their habitat across the river also gained some stability. For the control of this *parganah*, a good army of efficient soldiers under the command of a bold leader is indispensable. And God knows best what is right.

Marfat.com

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, Thattah and Jaisalmèr Are also Not Safe from Their contumacy

Be it known that the intractable elements comprise three groups. One of the groups is that of the Samèjah, who apparently are divided into 12 clans, including the Bukyah, the Tìbah, the Jùnèjah, the Pariyah, the Dal, the Kìbarah, the Ùtah, the Làkiyàr, the Ràjpàl, and the Bihan. These 10 clans, excepting the Tìbahs of the *parganah* Bàghbànàn and the Dal of the *parganahs* Samwàtì and Shàl,* are submissive and pay their revenues to the *jàgìrdàr*, as has already been alluded to in the account of the affairs of the *parganahs*. The eleventh clan is that of the Mangiwànah, who are scoundrels. The twelfth clan is that of the Ùnar, who comprise five factions. Three of these, the Ràhùs, the Dàhirì and the Sànd, have always been obedient to the *jàgìrdàr*. The fourth called the Sànaryah, is further divided into four *jamà'ats*, namely the Dàrèjah, the Ràhùjah, the Manàhijah and the Fìrùzjahs. The fifth clan is known as the Kìriyah.

The Kìriyah and the Mangiwànah are both sandwiched between the Sànaryah, who are the source of all mischief and trouble and are not repressed by any chastisement. When the *jàgìrdàr* is a weakling, other factions of the Ùnar also join hands with the Sànaryah and start causing mischief. Thus, in so far as the mischief of the Samèjah is concerned, it is the Ùnar who come to our attention. The Sànaryah themselves number around 5,000 in the *parganah* of Làkùt, comprising 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot. In battle, their foot-soldier is bolder than their horseman. Actually, their horsemen, proud of their skill with the sword, dismount before engaging in battle. They inhabit the *parganah* of Làkùt, amid seven strong clans of the imperial peasantry.

The enemies of these blackguards are: southwards, the Hàlah, who belong to the *parganah* of Hàlah Kandì, one of the dependencies of the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr; northwards, the Kòrèjah and Pahawàr, who belong to the *parganah* of Jùnèjah and the Sahtah, who belong to the *parganah* of Darbèlah, one of the dependencies of the region of Bhakkar; westwards, the Làkah and the Hàlahpòtrah from the *parganahs* of Làkùt and *Khiṭṭah*; and eastwards, amongst the sand-hills of Jailsalmèr, the Ràjpùts of the Ràjà of Jaisalmèr.

Marfat.com

The Sànaryah engage in cultivation in their villages, but do not pay revenue in cash and kind as the other peasants do. When the *jàgirdàr* puts pressure on them, they compromise on a negligible fixed amount (*muqṭa'ī*), on the pattern of revenue-farming (*baṭarìq-i ijàrah*). But even the payment in kind they settle with decrepit horses, camels, cows and donkeys. After the tenure of Shìr Khwàjah, they have not paid anything to anybody. In fact, they have killed, plundered and laid waste the imperial peasantry. They have seized the *parganah* of Khiṭṭah and most of the Làkah district *(ṭaraf)*. Besides several small villages (*dìhàt-i rìzah*), these waylayers apparently own five villages in the *parganah* of Làkùt, where they engage in cultivation: firstly, Dìrà'ùn, which is the habitat of the Dàrèjah, and is situated at a distance of 8 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn; secondly, Kàtirah, which is around 11½ *kuròhs* from the fort, and third, Wìnjarah, which is situated 12 *kuròhs'* from the fort, both of which are habitats of the Manàhijah; fourth and fifth, Sàbih and Paryàrì, which are homes of the Ràhùjah and Fìrùzjah, who are settled side by side, and are both situated at a distance of 14 *kuròhs* from the fort. These are all wonderful places. In the entire region of Sihwàn, indeed, even in the whole region of Bhakkar, Thattah, and Multàn, there are hardly any places as rich in game and as fertile in land. Great lakes lie in them and beyond these lakes is a plain, which, in autumn, always produces bumper crops of millet (*jawàr*). On the near side of these lakes, there is a plenty of *rìzànì* land suitable for spring (*rabì'ī*) crops, which does not need ploughing, simple seed-sprinkling being enough to grow barley (*jau*). They cover the seeds with hay to prevent animals and birds from eating them up. By the grace of God, without anything more being done, the barley attains perfection, ripens and becomes food for these wretches. Even if they were to pay no more than one-tenth of the value of this cultivation in land-revenue, that would still be plenty.

The second group is that of the intractable Chàndiyah Balùches, who live at the foothills near the *parganah* Bàghbànàn. They cultivate the land and are possessed of a great number of cattle. Since the tenure of Bakhtiyàr Bèg and Pìr Ghulàm, nobody has ever realized any revenue from them. They are divided into two factions: first, the Gòrà, which means 'white' in Sindhì; secondly, the Kàrà, which signifies 'black'. The reason they are so called is that a mountain Balùch called Chàndiyah had two sons, of whom one was named Gòrà and the other Kàrà, and while the descendants of Gòrà are known as Gòràs, those of Kàrà are called Kàràs. In all, they number around 1,000 horse and foot, around 300 horse and about 700 foot. This type of mischief-maker is rarely met with. Besides cattle-lifting, they engage in the abduction of human beings (*àdamduzdì*)

Marfat.com

and the sale of free-born people (*hurr fìrùshì*). The *parganah* of Bàghbànàn owes its ruin and destruction to the oppression exercised by these people, and the collapse of the *parganahs* of Kàhàn, Pàtar and Akbaràbàd is also mostly due to them.

The third group of intractable elements is made up of the Nuhmardìs. The reason behind this nomenclature is that nine factions of the Samèjahs broke away from the tribe and settled in the hills, and from those wretches were begotten these wretched ones. However, originally the Nuhmardìs were Samèjahs. They form a faírly large body, numbering around 6,000: 1,500 horse and 4,500 foot. They are divided into four *ṭarafs* (sections), namely the ṭaraf-i Kanbò, the ṭaraf-i Hàrùn, the ṭaraf-i Chòlì, and the ṭaraf-i Lashkarì. They mostly inhabit the hilly country contiguous to the *parganahs* of Ḥawèlì Sihwàn and Sann. Since the *jàgìrdàrs* of the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah, on their own initiative, recently bestowed some villages on them as a reward (*in'àm*), some of them are also found around the mountains of Chàkar Hàlah.

They do not engage in cultivation, nor are they settled in any particular place. Whatever place they settle in for a while they call a *thànah*. They own plenty of horses, camels, goats, cows and various products of the mountains. They are not short of anything and actually are quite rich. The finest of a special breed of camel (*shuturàn-i rangìn*) are to be found with them. Nevertheless, their sole occupation is rapine and plunder. In those *parganahs* of Sihwàn which are situated near the fort of Sihwàn on its side of the river and in the *sarkar* of Chàkar Hàlah they are the main source of trouble; and, until now, no *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah and no *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn has ever disturbed them or invaded any of their *thànahs*, except where, in retaliation for their plunder of a place, he might have pursued and killed some of them. And God knows best what is right.

Section III

Description of the Cause of the Destruction of the Peasants of the Region of Sihwàn and the Strenghtening of the Insurgents

As an account of this matter involves the tenures of some past *jàgìrdàrs*, I here first venture to outline the tenures of these *jàgìrdàrs*. Be it known that during the administration of the Tarkhàns, because of their good conduct and lack of tyranny, the peasantry was quite well-to-do and regularly paid the revenue. Moreover, the Tarkhàns had established strong *thànahs* everywhere, so that no one clan could harm the other and the peasantry remained safe from the arm of insurgents. Indeed, besides

Marfat.com

the protection of the *thànahdàrs*, the peasants themselves were strong enough to defend themselves* against intractable elements as well as against one another. Consequently, no trouble erupted among the peasants, and they busied themselves with cultivation in complete peace of mind and had no occupation besides agriculture. Thus, wherever there was waste land, they brought it under the plough, and paying the share due to the revenue officer (*dìwàn*), retained their own share. Side by side with the others, the Samèjah Ùnar also worked as peasants; but, since most of the Arghùn and Tarkhàn chiefs had married their daughters or otherwise entered into matrimonial relations with them, they tended to be arrogant. On the other hand, Mìrzà Ṣàlih Tarkhàn had done a good deal of killing among them, and Mìrzà Muḥammad Bàqì had personally led a riverine expedition against them. One night the Samèjah took Bàqì's army unawares; some Samèjahs even attacked his own boat. The Mìrzà jumped aboard a guard-boat (*zauraq-ì chaukì*) and hid himself in a corner. Rà'iḥah Bègum, daughter of Nàhìd Bègum, the wife of Mìrzà Bàqì, however, was killed by them. That means that the Samèjah Ùnar indulged in this type of misdeed even during the days of the Tarkhàns.

Other tribes, such as the Chàndiyah Balùches and the Nuhmardìs belonged to the *salàmì* category: they presented a goodly share of their belongings, such as camels, horses and goats, as a seasonal tax *(faṣlànah)*, 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 Àstànì, when the country of Sind was conquered by the Khàn-i Khànàn, 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn, his conduct towards the people of Sind was even better than that of the Tarkhàns, so that, despite Mìrzà Jànì's presence there, the Sindhìs gave their allegiance to the Khàn-i Khànàn without any discord in their hearts. Subsequently, when Mìrzà Jànì was blessed with the kissing of the imperial threshold, Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àstànì, perceiving the affairs of the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn and Bandar Làharì through royal prudence, resumed them from the former and incorporated them into the crown-administered lands (*khàliṣah-i sharìfah*). The remaining four *sarkàrs* were, however, bestowed upon Mìrzà Jànì in *jàgìr*. And it is a fact that whenever the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn is properly under the control of somebody, the Sahtahs cannot raise their heads. On behalf of the Khàn-i Khànàn Maqṣùd Bèg was the *ḥàkim* of that *sarkàr*.

After him, the *sarkàr* of Sihwàn was bestowed on Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn* in *jàgìr*. He was an exceedingly good soldier, and it is said that he administered and developed this region even better than the Tarkhàns. Administering appropriate chastisement to each of the above-

Marfat.com

mentioned insurgent tribes, he brought them 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 the army. Having about 1,000 good, brave and resolute horsemen in his service, he always strove for the comfort of his army, as Shaykh Sa'dì, on whom be the mercy of God, says in the *Bùstàn*:

When a courageous man one time shows hardihood,
His rank should be advanced:
A second time his heart he'll set on perishing,
And have no dread to fight with Gog!
Treat pleasantly your troops in days of ease,
That they may be of service in hard times:
Now is the time to kiss your warriors' hands –
Not when the enemy's begùn to beat his drums!
When the soldier has no good part in provisions,
Why should he set his heart on death on tumult's day?
The regions of the realm from the palm of ill-intent
By an army keep safe and the army by payment!
The king's is the upper hand over the foe,
When the army's easy-hearted, satiated:
Consuming its own head as fee,
It were not fair that it endure hardship too:
When treasure's grudged the soldier,
He'll grudge to take his hand unto his sword;
How shall he in conflict's battle-line show manliness,
His hand being empty, his case in low condition?

Secondly, I put his military preparedness on record. He had commanded his soldiers always to keep at least three days' provisions in readiness. If anyone was found disregarding this order, he was subjected to the confiscation of one month's salary. He had won over and employed some spies from amongst the hill tribes and the Samèjah Ùnar. They had become loyal to him, and constantly kept him posted about the activities of insurgents. He divided his army into seven detachments; and each detachment, in turn remained on the alert for 24 hours. Equipped with both fife (*nafirì*) and trumpet (*karranà'è*), he had ordered that, whenever he rode out with just the sound of the fife, only the detachment on duty should ride out with him. The remainder were prohibited from doing so. Whenever he rode with the sound of the trumpet, all his soldiers, regardless of whether or not a signal was given by the *bakhshì** and the *jàrchì*,* were to follow him with their three days' provision of food and water. This was the acme of military preparedness, and it enabled him

Marfat.com

to move without attracting attention. Otherwise, in these days, when a chief decides to undertake an expedition, it takes him two months of preparation to set out.

Thirdly, though he led his army through several expeditions and numerous adventures against insurgent nomads of this region, I venture to describe just a few of them. First of all, when he reached the region of Sihwàn, he sent his *shiqqdàr,* Shahsawàr, to the abode of the Samèjah Ùnar, which was one of the dependencies of the *parganah* Làkùt. Stationed amidst the Samèjah Ùnar, he collected revenue from them. One day, finding an opportunity, the Samèjahs killed him. As soon as Bakhtiyàr Bèg got the news, he dispatched an army under the command of Qùch 'Alì Shàmlù against the short-sighted Samèjah Ùnar. The following day this army fell upon the wretches, and killed many of them. The Samèjah chiefs, such as Paryah, Bòdlah, Mahmùd, Farìd, Jayùndah and Jùdah, drawn from all the four of their quarters *(tarafs)*, called on Qùch 'Alì and pleaded for pardon. He put the heads of the slain insurgents into baskets and sent them with these six chiefs to Bakhtiyàr Bèg in Sihwàn. Bakhtiyàr Bèg kept these chiefs under custody until Qàsim Khàn Arghùn,* who was the *hàkim* of Nasrpùr from the side of Mìrzà Jànì Bèg, guaranteed the realization of a fine of 24,000 Làrìs* from the Samèjah and procured their release. Bakhtiyàr Bèg dispatched his men to Qàsim Khàn in Naṣrpùr to make arrangements to fetch the aforementioned sum of money. Being indigent, the Samèjahs chose the option of exile, and went and settled in the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr. 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 Bakhtiyàr Bèg conveyed this wish to their master, who, rejecting the request, crossed the river and encamped at the fort of Wìnjarah. From there, he wrote to Qàsim Khàn Arghùn asking him to pay the balance in cash or else soon expect him on his head. He also warned him against granting asylum to the Samèjahs, who were Bakhtiyàr Bèg's subjects. When this letter reached Qàsim Khàn Arghùn he started temporizing with excuses and protests. Bakhtiyàr Bèg, putting his army on the alert, marched towards Naṣrpùr. When he reached Nāgar, a place neighbouring the said *sarkàr*, Qàsim Khàn Arghùn was brought news of this, and he instantly paid the balance of the fine in cash from his own exchequer to the agents of Bakhtiyàr Bèg, and wrote back to him apologizing profusely. He also deputed his men to keep an eye on the Samèjah Ùnar, so that wherever they migrated into the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, they should be captured and dispatched back to the region of Sihwàn, thus extricating himself from the surety he had offered in respect of the Samèjahs. Consequently, finding themselves helpless, the Samèjahs came back to

Marfat.com

their own habitation, adopted the manners of peasants, and gave up their short-sighted insurgency. Bakhtiyàr Bèg repaired to Sihwàn, but his *shiqqdàr* stayed among the Samèjah Ùnar and realized the revenue from them, as he did from the rest of the peasants, so that, even in the case of cultivation in plains whose irrigation depended on rainfall, he charged revenue from them in accordance with the assessment regulations.

Meanwhile, Bakhtiyàr Bèg had adopted a Charkas slave called Rahmàn Qulì as his son. Recognizing Rahmàn Qulì's gallantry, Bakhtiyàr Bèg had stationed him with 50 horsemen in the town of Sann. One day, some Nuhmardìs came and carried away the cattle of Sann. Receiving this news around midday, he instantly set a *pà'ikash* before himself, and mounting his horse, set out in pursuit of those criminals. He rode day and night until two watches past the following day, when around midday, he caught up with the insurgents, who numbered around 300 horse and foot. Abandoning the stolen cattle, they retreated to the top of a hill. Raḥmàn Qulì made over the cattle to the residents of Sann accompanying him, and himself turned to the hill. He killed about 200 of their men, decapitated them, and dispatched their heads to Bakhtiyàr Bèg in Sihwàn. After that day, the Nuhmardìs never caused any trouble in the region of Sihwàn, and they desisted from insurgency all through his tenure.

Besides this, Bakhtiyàr Bèg himself led an expedition against the intractable Machhìs of the village of Akbaràbàd and exterminated them, to which reference has been made earlier. Then, on one occasion, when the Nùḥànì Balùches, who will be dealt with later on, defaulted in the payment of their revenue, Bakhtiyàr Bèg rode out personally against them and slew 17 of their warlike chiefs. But a Balùch called Ṭùṭà fought valiantly and killed some of Bakhtiyàr Bèg's soldiers. And when Raḥmàn Qulì galloped towards this Balùch, the latter hamstrung his horse. Raḥmàn Qulì fell to the ground and the two of them grappled with each other. As Raḥmàn Qulì was clad in mail, the Balùch's blows had little effect on him, whereas his blows so wounded the Balùch that he died. Subsequently, Bakhtiyàr Bèg bestowed honours on the Nùḥanìs and made them responsible for the passes lying towards the villages of the *parganah* of Ḥawèlì, so that they could keep an eye on the Nuhmardì army.

About the same time, he dispatched Raḥmàn Qulì with 50 soldiers to the villages of Khasà'ì Shùrah and Budàpùr, which were dependencies of the *parganah* Ùnarpùr in the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah, at that time, lying in the *jàgìr* of Mìrzà Jànì Tarkhàn, and ordered him to seize the produce (*mazrù'àt*) of these villages and transfer it to Sann. Reaching the area, Raḥmàn Qulì encamped at the village of Kumàn, a dependency of the *parganah* Sann adjacent to Khasà'ì Shùrah. He seized the *rabì'*

Marfat.com

crop of Khasà'ì Shùrah, loaded it in boats and dispatched it to Sihwàn. He was still trying to capture the produce of Badàpùr when Khusrau Bèg, who was the *ḥàkim* of Thattah on behalf of Mìrzà Jànì, dispatched troops stationed at the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah and Naṣrpùr, accompanied by the nomads of these two *sarkàrs*, to intercept Raḥmàn Qulì. This big army crowded into the village Khasà'ì Shùrah and put up their camps there. Raḥmàn Qulì notified Bakhtiyàr Bèg that a powerful army had arrived from Thattah, and asked if he could send his private (*khàṣṣah*) elephant with good succour so that he could put up a fight against this army. Bakhtiyàr Bèg 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 Raḥmàn Qulì, he had an excellent feast together with his men, and then, putting on saffron-coloured clothes, he remarked: "Tomorrow is my wedding-feast (*ṭawì*)." When the day broke, he prepared himself for battle and set out for the village Khasà'ì Shùrah. The army of Thattah stood in front of it in battle array. Launching a frontal attack on the enemy with his 50 men, Raḥmàn Qulì tore through their front line and entrenched himself. Suddenly, the nomads of Sann accompanying Raḥmàn Qulì took flight, and the army of Thattah, surrounding the latter and his detachment, killed him and 25 of his soldiers. The remaining 25 soldiers escaped from the battlefield and reached Bakhtiyàr Bèg. The news they brought greatly saddened him, and he prepared for an expedition against the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah. Meanwhile, the region of Bhakkar was bestowed upon the Khàn-i 'Aẓam Mìrzà Kùkah* in *jàgìr*, and he sent his son, Mìrzà Anwar, to Bhakkar. Then the Chàndiyahs started ravaging Bhakkar. Mìrzà Anwar dispatched his servant, Ḥaydar Bèg, with a strong army to fight the Chàndiyahs. The latter defeated him in a battle fought in broad daylight and carried away his military stores and kettledrum (*naqqàrah*). When Mìrzà Anwar heard this news, he prepared for an expedition and, at the same time, sent a message to Bakhtiyàr Bèg, asking him to mount a simultaneous attack. Bakhtiyàr Bèg wrote back in reply: "I am ready. As soon you leave you may assume that I have arrived." Simultaneously, he sent his spies towards the Chàndiyahs to ascertain the exact situation. Around midday he sounded his fifes and set out from the fort of Sihwàn towards Manchhur lake as if on a hunting expedition. A couple of ducks struck by hawks fell into his hands, which he took as a good omen; and he turned his steps towards a tomb about a quarter of a *kuròh* from Sihwàn. Dismounting there, he wrote brief messages to the submissive nomad tribes, such as the Pahawàr, Kòrèjah and Samèjah. He gave them to swift and speedy riders, telling them to deliver the messages and then present themselves with the tribes on the following day, early in the morning, in

Marfat.com

the village of Kùnarkòt, one of the dependencies of the *parganah* of Kàhàn. Sounding the trumpet, he himself rode out from that place in the afternoon. He travelled the whole night, reaching the village of Kùnarkòt in the morning, and there his entire army and subject tribes gathered by midday. Then, calling the Pahawàr chiefs, 'Ìsà, Mùsà, Dà'ùd, and Jalàl, he warned them: "The Chàndiyah do not yet know anything about my attack. I am advancing on them. If they now learn about my advance and run away I shall kill you instead of the Chàndiyah." He then placed the four chiefs in the fore as guides. Setting out in the afternoon, he rode stealthily, the rest of the day and the following night, falling upon the Chàndiyah at dawn. Considering this no different than the previous army from Bhakkar, they came forth valiantly to engage in battle, but were taken aback when they learnt that it was Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn come from Sihwàn. The Chàndiyahs, nevertheless, fought bravely, but were defeated; a large number of the ill-starred ones were killed and many were taken prisoner. From here, Bakhtiyàr Bèg sent one of his men to Mìrzà Anwar with some captives and the heads of several Chàndiyah chiefs. The latter was still busy preparing his army when the Chàndiyah heads and captives were presented to him. This expedition so completely broke the Chàndiyahs, that Mìrzà Anwar appointed his *shiqqdàr* among them. Thus, throughout his rule, he realized revenue from them as he did from his other peasants.

Bakhtiyàr Bèg's tenure in Sihwàn lasted for seven years. He had made a crop-sharing arrangement with his peasantry, which varied from one-half to two-fifths, one-third and one-fourth at other places. He followed only the crop-sharing system. The income from one *rabì'* crop during his tenure had reached 80,000 *kharwàrs* of grain, which, of course, did not include the *wujùh-i sabzbarì* and the grain of the *kharìf* crop. He looked upon the *zamìndàrs* of this region as his people *(ra'ìyyat)* and did not burden them with oppressive exactions. He treated everyone with due consideration, so that no one gained preference over the other. He gave grants to the *arbàbs* and *muqaddams* and never inconvenienced the peasants on that account. This sort of behaviour contributes tremendously to the prosperity of a people, because, in the crop-sharing system, the holding of an *arbàb, muqaddam,* or *qànùngù* is as subject of assessment as that of an indigent peasant. There is no chance of complicity in extortion *(sitam sharìkì)* in it; whereas in *ḍabṭ,* at the time of assessment, *muqaddams* and *qànùngùs.* separate their own holdings, and, adding their own revenue on to that of the assessable lands of the peasants, get involved in making exorbitant assessments. How prudent and discerning an administrator should be to forestall this vile practice of the *arbàbs, muqaddams,* and *qànùngùs,* while performing the duties of assessment.

Marfat.com

has been briefly commented upon previously in connection with Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì. Besides, in the crop-sharing system, the peasants cultivate the low-yield lands as well as, if not better than, the high-yield lands, whereas in the *ḍabṭì* system they cultivate only those lands which can fulfil the *ḍabṭì* obligations, and ignore the low-yield ones altogether.

In his expedition against the fort of Sìwì, Bakhtiyàr Bèg, by order of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh 'Ashiyànì, accompanied Pìr Ghulàm with a fair contingent, while, in the Qandahàr expedition, he sent his younger son, Bà Abà Bèg, at the head of 300 choice horsemen.

In short, during the tenure of Bakhtiyàr Bèg, not only was the region of Sihwàn well-administered, populous and flourishing, the army also built up on the strength of this region and carried out imperial assignments in other territories as well. His discipline kept the tribes of the region of Bhakkar and Thattah in awe and order. Highly as he regarded the Emperor, every step he took, from purchase and sale to assessment of land, was taken in collaboration with the local magistrate *(qàḍì)* and *muftì* (jurisconsult on Muslim law), 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 require. And God knows best what is right.

When Bakhtiyàr Bèg fell ill and his condition deteriorated day by day, his sons, 'Abd al-Raḥmàn and Bàbà Bèg, imprisoned all the Pahawàr chiefs in the fort of Sihwàn, except for Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, who was at large. Then while the **rabì'** crop was being harvested, Bakhtiyàr Bèg entrusted his life to God. Goriyah Hindù procured this harvest from the imperial court on lease at a specified rent and entrusted it for assessment to Jaysar Hindù, whom he had employed as a *qànùngù* in Sihwàn. Meanwhile, the Samèjahs, finding an opportunity, decided to exterminate the Pahawàrs and the Kòrèjahs, who were pure peasants *(ra'iyyat-i khàliṣ)*. Thus, every Samèjah, no matter whether he was in the region of Bhakkar or in the territory of Sihwàn, prepared to get rid of the Pahawàrs and Kòrèjahs. On this side of the river, the Samèjahs of the village Lakiyàr, a dependency of the region of Bhakkar, advanced and set fire to the village Binhan, a dependency of the *parganah* of Kàhàn, which formed part of Sihwàn, and ran off with whatever they could lay their hands on. Likewise, the Samèjahs of the village Kanharì, a dependency of the *parganah* of Kàhàn, set ablaze the village Sàmtànì, which also was a dependency of this *parganah* and the home of Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, and looted it. similarly, the Samèjah Ùnar, across the river, ravaged the villages of the Kòrèjahs and Pahawàrs, which lay in the *parganah* of Jùnèjah. Thus the region of Sihwàn presented a spectacle of complete chaos. Left with no alternative, the Pahawàrs and Kòrèjahs unanimously

Marfat.com

resolved to give battle to the Samèjahs who were the root of this disorder and confusion; and if, by the grace of God, they succeeded against the Samèjahs, well and good, otherwise they would emigrate to the region of Thattah. In keeping with this resolution, 4,000 to 5,000 Pahawàrs and Kòrèjahs, horse and foot, went across the river to the village Babrì, one of the dependencies of the *parganah* Jùnèjah, and encamped there. Jaysar Hindù also joined them with his army. On the other hand, 5,000 to 6,000 Samèjah horse and foot came together and took up positions in the village of Kajìrah, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *parganah*. Consultations held by the Pahawàrs and Kòrèjahs led them to the conclusion that they should mount a surprise attack on the Samèjahs. Completing preparations overnight they set out for the destination with Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr at the head of 300 horsemen. On the other hand, deciding on the same expediency, the Samèjahs also rode out overnight. As soon as the day broke, the two armies engaged each other and a fierce battle ensued. Though both sides sustained a large number of casualties, the breeze of victory blew towards the imperial subjects. Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, arrived well in time to get the better of the Samèjah chief, Parayah, who was the source of all this violence and mischief, and killed him. The Samèjahs were defeated and the victorious imperial subjects returned and settled in their respective places.

At the beginning of autumn, Khwàjah Nùr al-Dìn Kaṛòṛì was sent to the region of Sihwàn. He, in turn, dispatched his nephew Tìmùr Bèg, together with 300 horsemen, against the Samèjahs, so that he could recover the balance of the previous *rabì'* crop and make arrangements for the assessment of the forthcoming *kharìf* harvest. Tìmùr Bèg went and encamped in the fort of Wìnjarah, and the Samèjahs crowded together on the island in the Sùnaharì lake, which had water all around but was dry in the middle. They were ready to pay the balance from the previous *rabì'* crop in kind, such as horses, camels and cows, but, as was usual with them, they put relatively higher prices on them. Tìmùr Bèg did not approve of this attitude and therefore rode out against them. When he was close to the lake Sunaharì, he came across a Samèjah hamlet. As his men began to ravage it, a cloud of dust rose before him. When Tìmùr Bèg enquired about the nature of this dust, some said it was a whirlwind while others said that it was raised by the approaching enemy. They were still talking when the Samèjahs made their appearance. Instead of engaging them right at the outset, Tìmùr Bèg retreated. His army was defeated and many of his men were killed and their horses and arms looted. That day the Samèjah Ùnar acquired a new strength. Tìmùr Bèg retired post haste into the fort of Wìnjarah and shut himself up there. The Samèjah came and laid siege to the fort, recaptured their own *kharif*

Marfat.com

barley and, wherever possible, snatched that of the peasants as well.

Khwàjah Nùr al-Dìn dispatched another army, together with the submissive tribes, in aid of Tìmùr Bèg, under Mànak Hindù, son of Ghùriyah Hindù, who was the *ḥàkim* of *parganah* Kàhàn, on behalf of his father, and performed the functions of *qànùngù* as well. When he crossed the river, the Samèjahs lifted their siege of the fort and moved towards the sand-hills of Jaisalmèr. Mànak Hindù joined forces with Tìmùr Bèg, and the two of them pursued the Samèjahs up to the edge of those hills, but all in vain. Tìmùr Bèg returned to Sihwàn, and Khwàjah Nùr al-Dìn could do nothing more. That is what is implied by the destruction of subjects and the strengthening of insurgents.

After the end of the tenure of Khwàjah Nùr al-Dìn, the region of Sihwàn was given to Shaykh Musà Gìlànì in *jàgìr*, and he sent his son, Jàn Muḥammad, to govern this area on his behalf. Jàn Muḥammad did not have any army with him, and hence his control of the region was so poor thăt, during his term of office, he could not go out of the fort to hunt even within the radius of one *kuròh*, let alone ride out against the insurgents. In the city right beneath the fort, not to speak of its outlying areas, robbers killed people. That is what is meant by the destruction of the country and the strengthening of insurgents.

After Jàn Muḥammad's transfer, this region was bestowed on Qarà Bèg* in *jàgìr*, who also sent agents to rule the area. As the soldiers of Qarà Bèg began to take over, they clashed with the soldiers of Jàn Muḥammad, in the main street of Sihwàn, and the *shiqqdàr* of Qarà Bèg, Àqah Muḥammad, was killed by Jàn Muḥammad's men. But eventually Qarà Bèg's drove back Jàn Muḥammad who retired into the fort and strengthened its defences. He remained besieged in the fort for some time, and then, one night, he had an opening dug in the wall towards the river and made good his escape.

The administration of Qarà Bèg's agents was also ineffectual, and it is the administration's weakness that creates troubles in the country. During these three aforementioned tenures, while the insurgents gained strength, the subjects became weak beyond all description. This happened because the subjects left to the mercy of the insurgents were rendered destitute by their incursions, and those under the control of the *jàgìrdàr* were wrecked and ruined by his evil exactions. Moreover, when the *zaimìndàrs* of this region sensed the weakness of the *jàgìrdàr's* army, they revived their old rivalries, fought amongst themselves, and destroyed one another.Consequently, this country was laid waste in such a manner that it reminded one of the old Indian legend wherein somebody reached a ruined city where a demon (*ràkas*)* had eaten all its inhabitants and

Marfat.com

reduced the city to desolation. And there is no demon worse than a tyrannous administrator (*'àmil*).

After the transfer of Qarà Bèg, the country of Sihwàn, except for the *parganahs* of Kàhàn and Junèjah and half of the *parganah* of Khiṭṭah, was given to Pìr Ghùlàm in place of Bhakkar, whence he was transferred. When Pìr Ghulàm reached Sihwàn, he found a wrecked and destroyed country. He summoned the *qànùngùs* and ordered them to give him a detailed list of all the villages in every *parganah* and indicate which of them were populated and which were lying in ruin. With this list in hand, he traced out the peasants of the destroyed villages from wherever they had gone 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. He took no notice of vested interests and what slanderers told him about the peasants. He stationed strong *thanahs* on the frontiers of this region and appointed a *shiqqdàr* in the *tappah* of the Samèjahs, 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 Samèjah Ùnar made a raid on the cattle of the Làkahs in the village Kujràn, which lay in front of Sann, just across the river. A servant of Pìr Ghulàm named Bàyazìd, who was the *shiqqdàr* of the *parganah* of Sann, felt outraged by this audacity of the Samèjahs. He leapt into a small boat, together with his horse, and, crossing the river, fell upon them all by himself. Those accursed ones hamstrung his horse and killed him. This news reached Pìr Ghulàm four watches past the day. He mounted his horse immediately, but, before he could cross the river, his servants *(khànahzàds)* had already betaken themselves to the villages of the Samèjahs with a party of soldiers, killed a group of them and severed their heads. A delegation of the chiefs of these scoundrels, including Danìpasà, Ṭayyib and Farìd, called on those *khànahzàds*. The latter apprehended them and subsequently presented them, along with the severed heads to Pìr Ghulàm, who, having crossed the river, had encamped in the village of Mihràn, which lay in the *parganah* Khiṭṭah. The following day, the rest of the Samèjah chiefs also called on Pìr Ghulàm, with some of their girls and an offering of a big indemnity, pleading for pardøn. Henceforth, he established a strong fort in the village of Wìnjarah, which lay right in the centre of the Samèjah area, and another in the village of Dìh, which was situated in the *parganah* of Ḥawèlì on the bank of the river, and stationed strong *thànahs* there. Then, during his tenure, these Samèjahs never again committed any insurgency and paid the revenue as the rest of the peasants did.

Marfat.com

On another occasion, another Samèjah clan, the Tìbah, resident in the *parganah* Bàghbànàn, whose insurgency has been described earlier, rose in rebellion in collaboration with the Chàndiyahs. Pìr Ghulàm rode out personally and encamped in the centre of the Tìbah villages, such as Kandhkòt, Chin, and Pìtah. The *kharìf* crop had turned out to be extremely good, and he got it assessed to his satisfaction. The Tìbahs and the Chàndiyahs all called on him and pledged their obedience. Thereafter, they to: never again committed any insurgency during his term of office and paid the revenue regularly.

In yet another instance, the Nuhmardìs stole cattle from the villages of *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn. A young man called Qulì Jàn, who was the *thànahdàr* of the village Tìrì, came out and pursued the insurgents. He retrieved the cattle, but a severe battle ensued between them. By the grace of God and owing to the eternal good luck of the Emperor, the insurgents were defeated and a large number of their men were killed. Thus chastised they never again resorted to rebellion in this region. All their cheifs called on Pìr Ghulàm and secured a promise of safe conduct. Henceforth, a caravan of theirs, comprising between 4,000 and 5,000 camels, regularly came to the city of Sihwàn and traded mountain products 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.

When Mìrzà Jànì died, his son, Mìrzà Ghàzì, was in Thattah. To capture him, Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì bestowed the regions of Bhakkar and Sìwì on Sa'ìd Khàn* in *jàgìr* and dispatched him to that area. Having arrived there, Sa'ìd Khàn encamped in the *parganah* of Darbèlah. An order was also issued to Pìr Ghulàm that he should personally go to Thattah and escort Mìrzà Ghàzì to the court. Thus, having prepared a good force, in keeping with the imperial decree, Pìr Ghulàm decided to reach Thattah beforeSa'ìd Khàn and accompany Mìrzà Ghàzì as a steward (*sazàwul*) to the capital of Àgrah. He went personally to Naṣrpùr, which is the navel of the region of Thattah, and then sent ahead one of his servants, Mir 'Aṭà' Allàh Mashhadì, who was outstanding in the excellence of his poetry and calligraphy, as an envoy. On hearing this news, Mìrzà Ghàzì wrote to him: "I submit to the orders of the Emperor. You go back and I shall follow you." Pìr Ghulàm, taking him along called on Sa'ìd Khàn, after which all three of them set out for the capital of Àgrah. When they bowed in at the imperial threshold, the province of Qandahàr was bestowed on Pìr Ghulàm; that is to say the Emperor commanded that the province should be made over to him on the transfer of Shàh Bèg Khàn* from there, and that the regions of Bhakkar, Sìwì and Sihwàn should be given to Pìr Ghulàm in *tankhwàh* (as revenue assignment). In

Marfat.com

the mean time, the Emperor died and Jahàngìr ascended the royal throne. He transferred Tùkhtah Bèg Khàn* from the *ṣùbahdàrì* of Kàbul, honoured him with the title of *Sardàr Khàn*, bestowed on him the region of Bhakkar, Sìwì and Sihwàn in *jàgìr*, and instead of Shàh Bèg Khàn, entrusted him with the province of Qandahàr. Pìr Ghulàm was then dispatched to the expedition of Jalàlàbàd. As soon as Sardàr Khàn approached Multàn, the army of Shàh 'Abbàs advanced and besieged Shàh Bèg Khàn in the fort of Qandahàr. On hearing this news, the Emperor Jahàngìr dispatched Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg and Qarà Bèg with a body of the veterans (*aḥadìs*) to Qandahàr. This party also joined Sardàr Khàn, and then together they marched towards Qandahàr. Qarah Bèg died on the way, but Mìrzà Ghàzì and Sardàr Khàn reached Qandahàr with the army. The army of Shàh 'Abbàs could not muster the courage to fight against the Chaghatà'ì army and retreated the same way it had come.

Mìrzà Ghàzì was recalled to the court while the *ṣùbahdàrì* of Qandahàr continued to be vested in Sardàr Khàn. A servant of Sardàr Khàn, Darwìsh Bèg, was the *ḥàkim* of Sihwàn on the former's behalf. He, in collaboration with Mànak, son of Gùriyah, mustered an army and rode out on the Samèjahs. He was camping at the village Dìrà'ùn when the Samèjahs found an opportunity to launch a night sortie on Darwìsh Bèg's army and killed about 500 of his men. Mànak fought very steadfastly that night, but, the following day, Darwìsh Bèg who could not stay there, returned to Sihwàn, where he died. When this news reached the Emperor through dispatches of reporters (*wàqi'ah nawìs*), he transferred the region of Sihwàn from Sardàr Khàn to Pìr Ghulàm, who was the *thànahdàr* of Bàjauṛ at that time.

Pìr Ghulàm dispatched this *khànahzàd*, the present writer, with a strong body of troops, to Sihwàn, and himself arrived there on his heels. He found the whole region in a state of confusion and desolation, and again encouraged the scattered subjects to return to their homes. Meanwhile, Sardàr Khàn died at Qandahàr, and Mìrzà Ghàzì was sent there in his stead. Pìr Ghulàm was instructed to accompany the Mìrzà to Qandahàr. Pìr Ghulàm left Sihwàn, and, in accordance with the royal decree, met Mìrzà Ghàzì at Bhakkar. In the mean time, the Làkahs, whose territories had been plundered and seized by the accursed Samèjah during previous administrations sent a body of their men to the court around which the world revolved to invoke royal assistance. Addressed to Pìr Ghulàm, the royal decree said that, having recovered the territory of the Làkahs from the wretched Samèjahs, he should make it over to the Làkahs, and the Samèjah should be so sternly dealt with that they themselves began to abhor their headstrong ways. if he could not perform this duty adequately, he should let the exalted court know, so that someone

Marfat.com

else might be entrusted with the task of securing the rights of the oppressed from the hand of the tyrant and restoring them to the oppressed.

In short, he simultaneously received two orders: one, that he should accompany Mîrzà Ghàzì to Qandahàr and, two, that he should administer appropriate chastisement to the Samèjah Ùnar and compel them to return the territory of the Làkahs that they had forcibly usurped from them. In these circumstances, particularly when the region of Sihwàn was lying in ruin and two and a half of its excellent, well-populated *parganahs* were outside his revenue assignment (*tankhwàh jàgìr*), Pìr Ghulàm wanted to send my brother, Abù al-Baqà', with a sizable army to accompany the Mîrzà , himself staying back in Sihwàn for the chastisement of the Samèjah. Mîrzà Ghàzì, 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 Qandahàr and have assisted me in the administration of that place, you may return to your *jàgìr.*" Seeing no alternative, Pìr Ghulàm, along with 400 to 500 experienced Mughul soldiers, accompanied Mîrzà Ghàzì and left my brother, Abù al-Baqà', in Sihwàn, handing over the decree (*farmàn*) with the following instructions to him: "Do whatever you can to the Samèjah scounderels and, recovering the rights of the Làkahs from them restore them to the latter." My brother turned to Mîrzà Ghàzì and said: "Whenever the Samèjahs are in distress, they, because of their kinships with the clan of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn, take refuge in the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, which belongs to you. What do you suggest I do about this situation?" Mîrzà Ghàzì replied: "Since the farmàn commands that the Samèjahs should be punished severely, wherever these accursed ones turn, you must pursue them and put them to death, capture their families and confiscate their cattle." My brother said: "Put these two things in writing, so that the blame does not subsequently fall on me." Mîrzà Ghàzì immediately put it all down in writing and, affixing his seal on this handed it over to my brother, and himself left for Qandahàr together with Pìr Ghulàm. Abù al-Baqà' also left for Sihwàn via Bhakkar. On the way, when he reached the *parganah* of Jùnèjah, which lay in the *jàgìr* of Mîrzà Ghàzì, the latter's revenue-collectors told him that the Samèjah Bukyah of the village Kajìrah had taken to insurgency and refused to pay the revenue. He therefore decided to go straight to the village Kajìrah, and rode hard to that place. Since the Bukyahs had already dug a formidable ditch and put a barbed fence (*khàrbandì*) around the village, a battle of arrows took place. Most of the men and two horses of my brother were wounded, but he then broke through the fence and killed some of wrethches. The remainder of their chiefs called on him and pleaded for pardon. He handed them over to the revenue-collectors of Mîrzà Ghàzì,

Marfat.com

and he himself made for Sihwàn, whence, after necessary preparations for a raid on the Samèjah Ùnar, he crossed the river.

No sooner had he done so than the Samejahs dispersed and ran away. Some of them went towards the sand hills of Jaisalmèr while others came to the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr. Here he learnt that a Samèjah chief called Ṭàlib had crossed the river Sànkarah with his group and was heading towards the sand hills of Naṣrpùr. My brother then rode hard in his pursuit and overtook Ṭàlib before the could reach his destination. Nearby, there was a fort called Ṣadgar, where Shìr Bèg, the son-in-law of Qàsim Arghùn lived. Ṭàlib, together with his group, entered this fort and strengthened its defences. My brother besieged the fort, and the garrison of the fort fought back with arrows, muskets and cannon. But the imperial army humbled them with a single blow: they put an elephant in the fore and charged the gate of the fort. By the grace of God and by the enternal good luck of the Emperor, the elephant followed by the soldiers broke through the gate. Thus the Samèjahs were massacred right in the middle of the fort. About 1,200 Samèjahs, along with their chief, Ṭàlib, were killed; and the imperial army was blessed with a deservedly brilliant success.

On the way back, my brother subdued the region of the Samèjahs comprising the villages of Sàbah, Winjarah, Kàtrah, Dìrà'ùn and Jànrah, crossed the river at the ferry called Mandìhjì, in front of the fort of Sihwàn, and reached Sihwàn. But vicious and perfidious as this tribe is, the Samèjah came back and attacked the *parganah* Khiṭṭah. My brother played a trick and, under the pretext of riding out against the Samèjah Tìbah, who lived in the *parganah* Bàghbànàn, returned from Sihwàn for the second time. It was around the time for the noon prayers that he reached the township of Pàtar He crossed the river at the ferry of Muhrah, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *parganah*, and, around the time for the evening prayers, set out towards the Samèjah Ùnar. That night and the following day and night, he galloped along the border of the desert of Jaisalmèr. After traversing a distance of about 6 *kuròhs*, around dawn, he fell upon the village Dìrà'ùn, killed about 500 men of the Samèjah Ùnar, rounded up a large number of capitves, and seized countless cattle. Thence, he came to the village Kajràn, where the Làkahs pleaded with him to establish a fort for them in that village and to station a strong *thànah* there. Complying with this request of the Làkahs he built a strong fort in that village, named it Jahàngìràbàd, appointed an old servant of Pìr Ghulàm, Fatḥ 'Alì, with a strong detachment, as the *thànahdàr* of that fort, and himself left for Sihwàn.

When the news of the return of my brother reached Qàsim Khàn Arghùn in Naṣrpùr, he resolved to avenge the embarrassment of the

Marfat.com

defeat at the Ṣadgar fort, and dispatched his sons, Jindà'ì and Fatḥì, together with about 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, comprising Samèjah Ùnars, and Sahudahs, to storm the fort of Jahàngìràbàd, an Afghàn called Ibràhìm, happened to come out of the fort on a hunting expedition and, observing the situation, rode back post-haste to convey the news to Fatḥ 'Alì. He immediately deployed a body of archers and musketeers on top of the fort, and, mounting his horse, came out of the fort with his army, positioning himself between the barbed fence and the ditch of the fort. As soon as the army of Jindà'ì and Fatḥì appeared and made a dash for the fort, it was subjected to a volley of arrows and musket-shot. Whatever God Most High does is appropriate: in the very first volley, all the 10 to 15 soldiers riding in the forefront were killed, and the enemy troops, failing to presevere, beat a retreat. Relying on the meaning of the verse, "How oft, by Allàh's will, hath a small force vanquished a big one,"* Fatḥ 'Alì pursued them and killed around 200 more of their men. He severed their heads and dispatched them to my brother in Sihwàn. After that day, the Samèjah Ùnar never again indulged in any insurgency during the tenure of my brother. They left the territory of the Làkahs, and like other subjects paid the revenue.

Pìr Ghulàm served for one year in Qandahàr with Mìrzà Ghàzì, and then, with the permission of the latter, set out for his *jàgìr;* but on the way, by Diving decree, he breathed his last.

In short, in both of his tenures, regardless of the fact that the region of Sihwàn was not entirely in his *jàgìr,* Pìr Ghulàm, not only administered this region befittingly, but also deployed his army to serve successfully in other imperial dominions and that is what is meant by the prosperity of a country and the destruction of miscreants.

The tenure of Pìr Ghulàm's two terms extended over a period of six years, during which peasants participated in a system of fifty-fifty crop-sharing; and in many places, Pìr Ghulàm, in fact, resumed only one-third or one-fourth of the total produce. He was favourably disposed towards scholars and sages; and it was he who introduced the practice of providing subsistence aid *(madad-i ma'àsh)* in this region, so that, during the days of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, he himself paid daily allowances *(ùzyànah)* to most of the scholars, provided them with porters, even personally escorted them to the late Mìràn Ṣadr-i Jahàn, recommended every one of them in proportion to his erudition, saw to the preparation of relevant decrees, and then, paying these scholars travelling expenses for the way back, allowed them to return to Sihwàn.

When news of Pìr Ghulàm's death reached Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì, he bestowed the region of Sihwàn on Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek along with

Marfat.com

the young slaves of the royal household. Disapproving of entering into a partnership with Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek my brother, Abù al-Baqà', took his clan (*qabìlah*) with him and headed for the capital of Àgrah to the presence of the Emperor. The latter then made over the entire region of Sihwàn to Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek as his *jàgìr-i tankhwàh*. At the same time, the Emperor subordinated the whole clan to my brother, and bestowed Ubàwrah, Ganjàbah, and Riprì Langàhàn upon them in *jàgìr*. This *khanahzàd*, the present writer, since that day renounced his *manṣab* and, contenting himself with a small allowance retired into seclusion in Sihwàn.

Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek also did much to develop this region further and raised an efficient army, so that, out of about 700 Uzbek soldiers that he possessed, about 100 wore ornate turbans, used golden belts for their daggers and sat on silver saddles when riding, while every one of them possessed seven to eight 'Iràqì and Turkish horses in his stable. The rest of his soldiers also generally owned two 'Iràqì or Turkish horses and wore silver-hilted scimitars.

Shamshìr Khàn stationed his *thànahs* at strategic places on the frontiers. Awed by his strength, the Samèjah Ùnar and other miscreants mostly avoided insurgency, and passed their time generally with conciliation. After the death of Mìrzà Ghàzì, Shamshìr Khàn, in the company of Mìrzà Rustam Qandahàrì, along with 300 to 400 Uzbek horsemen, left for Thattah and, on the way, as has been mentioned earlier, he pillaged the Samèjah Dal of Samwàtì. After his arrival in Thattah, he stayed there in imperial service for a year. Meanwhile, he also kept the administration of Sihwàn in his hands. After the end of the year, he returned to Sihwàn.

When Tàj Khàn, the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah, died, Sahamshìr Khàn was appointed its *ṣùbahdàr*, and the region of Sihwàn was bestowed upon Abù al-Baqà', conjointly with Mìrzà Dùst Bèg, in *tankhwàh jàgìr*. Meanwhile, Mirzà Dùst Bèg received an order to escort the Multàn treasury to Qandahàr. Accordingly, he went to Qandahàr, and my brother, with means of only two to three *parganahs* at his disposal, was compelled to administer the whole of the region of Sihwàn. He led some successful expeditions against the insurgents of this region. Firstly, the Chàndiyahs and the Samèjah Tìbah extended the arm of their insurgency towards the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn. Two-thirds of this *parganah* was situated in the *jàgìr* of Mirzà Dùst Bèg; and his revenue collectors (*'ummàl)* came and prayed for help. Hence, my brother left Sihwàn in the morning, rode hard the whole day and night, and reached the village of Akbaràbàd at the middle hour between sunrise and noon (*chàsht*). Here, he fed his horses *guṛ* (raw sugar) and *ardàwah*,* and then, in the afternoon (*waqt-i*

Marfat.com

zawàl), rode out towards the Chàndiyahs. He rode the whole day and night, and, at dawn, fell upon them in the mountain pass called Dàrùband and killed and captured a large number of these scoundrels. On the way back, he severely chastised the Samèjah Tìbah in the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn, arrested their chief, Gùriyah Tìbah, and brought him to Sihwàn. After that day, the Chàndiyahs and the Samèjah Ùnar never again indulged in insurgency, and paid the revenue obediently.

Secondly, on one occasion, the Nuhmardìs plundered the cattle of the *parganahs* of the town (*qaṣbah*) of Sihwàn. My brother went in their pursuit up to Lundah hill, killed a number of those wretches, and retrieved the stolen cattle from them. Subsequently, the Nuhmardìs called on him and promised not to attack the region of Sihwàn again; and it was then agreed that their caravans would, henceforth, visit that region for trade. They also undertook to pay some seasonal tribute (*pìshkash-i faṣlànah*), such as camels and goats, which they conveyed every season quite regularly.

Thirdly, he stationed a servant of his called Manẓùr, with 50 soldiers, at the fort of Jahàngìràbàd in the *tappah* of the Samèjah Ùnar. One day, the aforementioned Manẓùr rode out against a group of Samèjah Ùnar. The latter, who had got news of his expedition came behind him and blockaded the road. When Manẓùr was returning, after achieving the goal of expedition, the Samèjahs attacked him, killed 10 to 15 of his soldiers, and carried away the horses and arms of the dead together with the kettle-drum. Thus defeated, Manẓùr returned to the fort of Jahàngìràbàd. When news of this reached my brother, he was running a temperature and could not ride out personally. Hence, he dispatched his elder son, 'Atìq Allàh, accompanied by his own brothers, relatives and soldiers against the Samèjahs. 'Atìq Allàh came to and camped in the fort of Jahàngìràbàd. Securing the intercession of certain personalities, the Samèjah called on 'Atìq Allàh, brought along the horses and other belongings of the dead soldiers, together with the kettle-drum,and offered to pay indemnities, as well. 'Atìq Allàh, who had the pride of youth in his head, turned down this offer of peace, and, instead, chose to ride out against them. When he reached the plain of the Sàbah lake, he found a luxuriant crop of millet (*jawàrì*) standing there. The Samèjah sent their families and cattle towards the deserts of Jaisalmèr, and themselves took positions behind that crop. 'Atìq Allàh, having traced their tracks, sent Mìr Kàmil, a cousin of his father, at the head of 200 serviceable soldiers as an advance party, and, after completing necessary preparations, himself followed them. These armies were probably about two *kurohs'* distance from each other when the Samèjah came face to face with the detachment

Marfat.com

of 'Atìq Allàh and engaged it in a battle, wherein, hamstringing the horses of 30 to 40 good soldiers, who were right in the forefront, they killed the soldiers. The Samèjahs also suffered numerous casualities; indeed, Làkah, a son of Parayah Samèjah, the brother-in-law of Mìrza 'Ìsà Tarkhàn, a prominent Samèjah chief, was killed in this battle. The Samèjahs then hamstrung the camel carrying the kettle-drum and defeated the imperial army. 'Atìq Allàh, however, did one good thing: together with 10 to 15 soldiers, he removed the kettle-drum from the back of the camel and, putting it on a mule, retreated to the fort of Jahàngìràbàd on the heels of the defeated army. When this news reached my brother, he was extremely distressed. Suffering from fever though he was, he set out from the fort of Sihwàn, crossed the river, and encamped at the village Mihràn in the *parganah* Khiṭṭah, which lay at a distance of 11 *kuròhs* from the fort of Jahàngìràbàd. When the Samèjah Ùnar became aware of this situation, they brought in some mediators and called on my brother. Meanwhile, the army of 'Atìq Allàh had also joined my brother. The Samèjahs agreed to pay the revenue, and my brother, still encamped at the village Mihràn, settled the account of the *kharìf* and *rabì'* crops with them. But then he decided to ride out against the Samèjah Ùnar. Then, while the Dàrèjah and the Manàhìjah people, who had received assurances of peace, remained in their homes and abodes, their chiefs, Danìpasà and Ṭayyib, accompanied my brother. The Ràhùjahs, the Fìrùzjahs and the Mangwànahs, however, took to flight. My brother left the village of Mihràn right in the prime of the summer heat of the region of Sihwàn, at the middle hour between sunrise and noon, reaching the village Wìnjarah, which lay right in the centre of the area occupied by the Samèjah Ùnar, around the time of the midday prayers. The soldiers, going into the nearby forests, rounded up between 2,000 to 3,000 cows. They also brought with them the heads, of some of the Ràhùjahs they had killed in the process. That night, Abù al-Baqà' spent in camp on the bank of the Wìnjarah lake, telling his soldiers that he was bent on crushing the Samèjahs: he needed only their heads; their cattle did not interest him. They had better have those captured animals slain, so that they would not be encumbered by them. The soldiers carried out this order. The next day, after the midday prayers, he rode out in pursuit of the Samèjahs. He travelled that day and the following night, and, at dawn, reached the lake in the village called Katàhar. Having said his morning prayers, he equipped himself and his army, and then galloping stealthily for a distance of about 30 *kuròhs*, around noon fell upon the Mangwànahs near the village of the *parganah* of Hàlah Kandì. He killed some 200 of those wretches and seized many of their men and cattle. Severing the heads of the dead and dispatching them to Muẓaffar Khàn, who was the *bakhshì*

Marfat.com

of Thattah at that time, he returned by way of the habitation of the Samèjahs and encamped in the fort of Jahàngìràbàd. Samèjahs from all four quarters called on him, and then took their *shiqqdàr* with them to their *tappah* and, henceforth, paid their revenue regularly.

On another occasion Abù al-Baqà' led an expedition from Sihwàn against the village Khasà'ì Shùrah. On his way back, he passed by the ferry of Sann and went to the village Wìnjarah, encamping there to repair its fort. He engaged himself daily hunting waterfowl, patridges (*durràj*) and hares *(kùtàh pàchah)*, while the Samèjahs continued docilely to sit in their abodes and pay their revenue. Doubtless, the village Wìnjarah has very rich hunting-grounds. He stayed there until the *kharìf* crop was harvested; and then, apprehending visits from prominent leaders of all the sections of the Samèjah Ùnar, he left his cousin, Mìr Kàmil, at the fort of Wìnjarah, with a strong army, and himself proceeded towards the *parganah* of Jùnèjah. About this time, he received the news that the governorship of Thattah had been bestowed upon Muẓaffar Khàn, and Shamshìr Khàn had again been appointed to Sihwàn, while he himself had been granted a *tankhwàh jàgìr* in the province of Thattah, in subordination to Muẓaffar Khàn. On hearing this, he left the town of Junèjah and came to the village Rafi'àn, which lay in the *parganah* of Khiṭṭah and overlooked the positions of the Samèjah Ùnar. He encamped there, and demanded that they pay the balance of his dues. While he was still dealing amicably with the Samèjahs, receiving horses and camels in lieu of his balance, he summoned the army he had stationed at Wìnjarah. Finally, when the agents of Shamshìr Khàn started arriving, my brother realized that his dealings with the Samèjahs had reached the end of their conciliatory phase. Thus, right in the middle of the rainy season, from the village Rafi'àn, he led an expedition against the Samèjahs, herded in 2,000 to 3,000 of their cows, drove them to Sihwàn, and encamped there. On Shamshìr Khàn's arrival in Sihwàn from Thattah, they met each other, and brother Abù al-Baqà' left for Thattah. But thereafter, as soon as the Samèjahs failed to fulfil their undertakings, he went to Badìn and chastised each one of them.

This time when Shamshìr Khàn came to Sihwàn, the Samèjah Ùnar were inclined to be rebellious, and, at times, even robbed the merchants on land as well as on the river. Once some Thattah merchants were travelling with 1,000 camels towards Bhakkar. When they reached the town of Hàlah Kandì, they realized the difficulty of taking the beasts across the river and travelling past the fort of Sihwàn, because the near bank of the river, bordering the territory of the Samèjahs, was juxtaposed to other bank, with the fort, as a string to a bow. The merchants therefore

Marfat.com

picked up a guide from amongst the Samèjahs and proceeded on the road that passed by the abode of those waylayers. As soon as they arrived amidst the Samèjahs, the latter, despite their earlier assurances, plundered the merchants' camels. On yet another occasion, a big boat belonging to some Thattah merchants, laden with goods such as *àlachah* and *tafdìlah* silks, was coming up the river. The Samèjahs fell on this boat, killed most of the unfortunate merchants, and looted their merchandise. Shamshìr Khàn recovered the camels and the merchandise from the Samèjahs and made them over to the merchants. However, he had the value of whatever was destroyed assessed and paid the cost from his own pocket. Besides, to subdue the bandits, he went across the river with an army and, through a stratagem, caused considerable slaughter among the Samèjah. The details of the ruse are as follows: when Shamshìr Khàn crossed the river, the Samèjah chiefs, Danìpasà and Ṭayyib, called on him on behalf of the Dàrèjahs and the Manàhìjahs, respectively, but nobody called on him from the side of the Ràhùjahs and the Fìrùzjahs. Shamshìr Khàn said that he would take no action against those Samèjahs who stayed within their homes, but would pursue those who tried to flee. Relying on his word, the Samèjahs, particularly those of the Dàrèjah and Manàhìjah clans, remained in the village Dìrà'ùn with their families; and, in accordance with the terms of the truce, they laid down their arms and behaved like ordinary peasants. When Shamshìr Khàn passed by the village, this *khànahzàd*, the present writer, who, on account of his friendship with Shamshìr Khàn, was in attendance on him, told him that he would never again find such an opportunity and urged him to order his troops to attack the village Dìrà'ùn because, whereas sometimes his troops had to ride hard for 50 to 60 *kuròhs* to decapitate a single Samèjah, without any guarantee of success, now they could easily sever the heads of 2,000 to 3,000 of these rebels. Though some of the *zamìndàrs* of Sihwàn did not approve of the idea, Shamshìr Khàn rather liked this advice. But, since he had given his promise to the Samèjahs, he prevaricated and told his soldiers and peasant tribes (*aḥshàm-i ra'iyyat*) to act in accordance with what the present writer told them to do. No sooner was this uttered, than, by the grace of God and owing to the eternal good fortune of the Emperor, a massacre was wrought amongst the Samèjah Ùnar. God Most High tied the hands of the Samèjahs with His power, and those wretches were not able to show any valour at all that day. About 1,000 of them were killed, around 700 of their leading men (*mardum-i sardàr*) and others were captured, and the extent of the cattle and other property belonging to them seized by the soldiers and the peasant tribes accompanying Shamshìr Khàn is known only to God. Having killed Danìpasà and Ṭayyib, Shamshìr Khàn put up his camp right in the middle of the battlefield.

Marfat.com

The following day, he left Dìrà'ùn for the village of Wînjarah, rapaired its fort afresh, and established his camp in that fort. Every day, on a revolving basis, he sent a body of his troops in pursuit of the scattered Samèjahs. These troops returned with the heads of between 50 to 60 Samèjahs each time. As a consequence, the Samèjahs were greatly weakened.

Of the Hùsarah boatmen who lived among the Samèjahs, and with their backing ambushed travellers along the river route, about 100 persons were captured alive. Shamshìr Khàn ordered them all to be hanged at the ferry of the town of Làkùt on the bank of the river. He stayed in the fort of Wînjarah for only a week. Had he stayed there another two months, the Samèjah Ùnar would have been completely extirpated, and he could have distributed their territory to whatever section of peasants he chose. But, despite all efforts of this *khànahzàd* to make him stay for another two months, Shamshìr Khàn did not agree. Instead, acting on the advice of some *zamìndàrs* who had good relations with the Samèjahs, he left the fort of Wînjarah, took the captives along with him, and moved to the bank of the river in the town of Làkùt, where, within one week, he raised a suitably strong fortress and encamped there. The hill people were prepared to give 1,000 camels in exchange for the Samèjah captives, but Shamshìr Khàn did not accept this offer. Finally, through the *zamìndàrs* who favoured them, the Samèjahs were able to convince Shamshìr Khàn that, since they had become submissive and were now easy to deal with, he should repair to Sihwàn. Shamshìr Khàn was a simple, God-fearing man; overwhelmed by compassion, one Friday, he abandoned all the captives to the Samèjahs and, crossing the river, returned to Sihwàn.

On yet another occasion, when the Chàndiyah Balùches marauded the *parganahs* of Bàghbànàn, Kàhàn and Akbaràbàd, seizing peasants and selling them as slaves, the people of these *parganahs* appealed to Shamshìr Khàn for help against those scoundrels. Shamshìr Khàn rode out on the Chàndiyah clan. This *khànahzàd,* the present writer, who again accompanied him in the capacity of a friend, told him that the Chàndiyahs could be captured with a sudden attack following up on a reconnoitring party. Shamshìr Khàn did not approve of the forced march this required, and, instead, approached the villages of the Chàndiyahs stage by stage. The Chàndiyahs caught wind of this and relocated into hills well in time. On reaching the Chàndiyah villages, Shamshìr Khàn laid siege to their millet fields, dug a ditch around his army and surrounded it with a barbed fence. In the night, the Chàndiyahs returned and showered arrows on his army; but, by the grace of God, they were unable to do any harm. The following day, Shamshìr Khàn mounted his horse and rode up to the hills

Marfat.com

while the Chàndiyahs stood on top of a hill and beat a drum. Shamshir Khàn paid no heed to them, and ordered his soldiers to cut down the unripe millet crop with their swords so that the Chàndiyahs might ruefully witness the loss of their crop with their own eyes. The soldiers complied and cut down as much of the crop as they could. At nightfall, Shamshir Khàn returned to his encampment. The Chàndiyahs then approached the Pahawàrs, who lived in their neighbourhood, to act as mediators, and, through their intercession, waited upon Shamshìr Khàn the following day and agreed to tender a small gift (*pìshkash*). After that day, they seldom marauded the region of Sihwàn during his tenure.

On another occasion, the Bàrèjah Balùches, who lived in the hills and, as part of the revenue asessment of the *parganah* Bùbakàn, presented some camels and sheep to the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn every season, made a slight reduction in their fixed quota. Shamshìr Khàn asked this *khànahzàd* what steps he should take against them. I replied that, if he attacked them as he did the Chàndiyahs, he would achieve nothing even after traversing the long distance involved. They lived at a distance of four watches; if he managed to move stealthily, he might attain his goal. The suggestion found its way into his heart. He rode out of Sihwàn around evening prayers and travelled secretly through the night. It was around one watch after dawn that he reached the Bàrèjahs in the foothills, attacked them and killed many of their men. Their chief, Qàsim Bàrèjah, and his son were killed, and a large number of their womenfolk and children were seized. Thence, he came to Sihwàn with the captives and the heads of the slain. The remainder of the Bàrèjahs came out and, following him, waited upon him, whereupon he released the captives. Henceforth, they paid the seasonal tribute regularly.

Still another occasion concerns the Nùhànì Balùches, who lived 14 *kuròhs* away from Sihwàn. There are two springs which flow from the hills; one of them is called Kà'ì and the other Nì'ìng. These Balùches are also divided into two clans. One of them is settled near the Kà'ì and the other inhabits the area around the Nì'ìng. They engage in cultivation and form part of the revenue assessment of the *parganah* of Bùbakàn. During the tenures of Bakhtiyàr Bèg and Pìr Ghulàm, they made an offering of some goats and sheep as a seasonal tribute and accompanied both these *jagìrdàrs* in their military expeditions. During the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn, also, they paid the tribute *(muqṭa'ì)*, and accompanied him in his military expeditions, including the campaigns against the Samèjah across the river. Though the hill people living in deserts and jungles are generally weak, still the *zamìndàrs* of Sihwàn, who nourished an enmity towards them, instigated Shamshìr Khàn against them. Consequently, Shamshìr Khàn prepared his army for an expedition agains the Samèjah Ùnar and

Marfat.com

came to the ferry of Mandìhjì, a quarter of a *kuròh* from the fort of Sìhwan, where he encamped. From there, around the time of afternoon prayers, he marched rapidly against the Nùhànì Balùches and attacked them in the morning, killing many of their men. The chief of the Nì'ìng spring branch, Nàtàlah by name, was slain along with 12 of his brothers and sons, besides other Balùches. The back of this group was so badly broken that it has not been able to recover its strength. They had numbered around 200 in the beginning; about 60 of them were killed in this battle, and the ramainder dispersed hither and thither.

Because of the threat from the Nuhmardì, Bakhtìyàr Bèg and Pìr Ghulàm had adopted an accommodating attitude towards the Nùhànì. This tribe was settled right at the pass of the hill, and, whenever the Nuhmardì began to advance upon the villages of the town of Sihwan, the Nùhànìs came and warned the peasants, and they retired towards lake Manchhur with their cattle. Likewise, forewarned by such news, the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwan dispatched a body of his troops to those villages, which stayed there until the Nuhmardì army was dispersed. Thus, the Nuhmardi were unable to do much damage to the villages of the town of Sihwàn. After the aforementioned incident, however, the remainder of the Nùhànìs emigrated, and took up their abode amidst the Nuhmardis. Erstwhile natives (*bùmìyah)* of that area as the Nùhànìs were, now they guided the army of those wretches and left no stone unturned in inflicting whatever damage they could. Consequently, most of the villages of the *parganas* Hàwèlì Sihwàn and Sann were destroyed and laid waste at the hands of the Nuhmardì. Later on, Shamshìr Khàn patronized one Murìd, chief of a strong faction of the Nuhmardìs, summoned him to his presence, and gave him Tihnì, one of the villages of the *parganah* Bùbakàn, in *jàgìr*, whose income amounted to Rs. 2,000 to 3,000 and in this region initiated the practice of a weak *ḥàkim* giving *jàgìrs* to intractable elements. He entered into a firm agreement with Murid, and, constructing a wall around the village Nàr at his own expense, stationed a group of his soldiers there. Nevertheless, the Nuhmardìs did not abandon their abominable deeds. After peace was concluded, in keeping with an old practice, during the flood season, the peasants of the *parganahs* Kàhàn and Bùbakàn took their cattle to the foothills towards Kàchah. The Nuhmardìs attacked them, without consulting Murìd, and killed most of the peasants of the *parganah* Bùbakàn. Besides, other things, they plundered the peasants of the said *parganah* of about 45,000 of their cattle. When this news reached Shamshìr Khàn, Murìd was present before him in Sihwàn. A group of people advised Shamshìr Khan to apprehend Murìd, so that, if the Nuhmardìs had destroyed the peasants, they should at least return

Marfat.com

the cattle. Shamshìr Khàn rejected this proposal, and, recalling Murìd, told him that, lest the peasants of Bùbakàn turn to him for the redress of their grievances, he should for the time being, go back to his homeland, whence he might subsequently return. Accordingly, Murìd left for his home in the night. After some time, when the uproar died down, he came back to the presence of Shamshìr Khàn.

On yet another occasion, from the side of the villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn, which were situated near the hills, around afternoon prayers, news was brought to Shamshìr Khàn that the Nuhmardì troops had charged forth from their home and were proceeding towards these villages. Unfortunately, that day most of his army was away, the soldiers having gone to their *thànahs* and *jàgìrs*. Nevertheless, mustering whatever was at his disposal, he dispatched between 60 to 7 soldiers with his brother-in-law, Bàdshàh Khwàjah, to village Nàr, 7 *kuròhs* away from Sihwàn near a pass in the hills. Bàdshàh Khwàjah went and overninght, stationed himself in the fort of Nàr. The following day, Shamshìr Khàn also rode out of the city to the bank of the Dàdijì stream and encamped there. At the same time, he bade Shàh Khwàjah to go to the village of Nàr with 20 horsemen and join the advance guard. In the meantime, the author also got this news and betook himself to the side of Shamshìr Khàn. The latter related the whole story to him, telling him what he had heard and that he had dispatched troops for the protection of the villages. The author remarked that it might have been better if he had himself gone for, in his absence, the Uzbeks hardly exerted themselves, whereas, in his presence, they seemed bent on sacrificing their lives. This observation stirred him, and he forthwith mounted his horse, and rode off with 10 to 12 of his closest equestrian friends present there, including the author. Meanwile, he kept back Bàdshàh Khwàjah and his comrades at the fort of Nàr. Shàh Khwàjah and his companions had reached the village Tirì, at a distance of 3 *kuròhs* from Sihwàn, when the army of the Nuhmardìs, comprising 200 to 300 horse and 700 to 800 foot, at four watches after dawn, invaded the village Kachì, which was situated at a distance of 5 *kuròhs* from Sihwàn, killed several of the peasants of the village and drove their cattle to the hills. When Shàh Khwàjah learnt of this incident, he rode towards the army of the Nuhmardìs, but soon realized that, with his small body of troops, he was no match for the Nuhmardìs in a battle of arrows and swords, because the Nuhmardis far outnumbered him and shot their arrows with extreme dexterity. Thus, he took up his musket and, while riding, fired at them from a distance. When the enemy turned to attack him, he whisked his horse around and when they resumed their march, he pursued them and fired his musket at them. Having heard of

Marfat.com

this, Shamshìr Khàn went to the village of Kachì. While he was standing beside the casualties among the poor peasants, he realized that he had been cut off from the rest of his troops, with the enemy standing between himself and these troops. The contigent with him was not sufficient to face the enemy. Thus, he made no advance towards it. Meanwhile, Shàh Khwàjah was continuously engaging the enemy, and, in this battle, an arrow hit and killed Bèg Muḥammad Qurq Uzbek, a close confidant of Shamshìr Khàn. Though Bàdshàh Khwàjah's troops, accompanied by a body of men from the village of Nàr, caught up with the Nuhmardìs, they crossed the stream, through which the rain water flowed from the hills, and from there dispatched their cattle with some men on foot to the hills, and themselves took up positions and prepared for a battle of arrows. Meanwhile, the bright world put on the black garment of night and the Uzbek force, failing to gain any advantage, returned to its master. The Nuhmardìs, however, continued their aggression against the villages of the *parganahs* of Sihwàn and Sann, and Shamshìr Khàn made no further effort to stop them.

In short, mischievous and intractable elements cannot be subdued adequately without blows of the sword, especially such as the Nuhmardìs who do not live at any particular place. Wherever they find a good pasture in the mountains, they settle down; and when that pasture is grazed off, they move on to another rich pasture, take up residence there and graze their cattle. They do not engage in cultivation anywhere, and their sole profession and calling is stealing and plundering.

After some time, an order of Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì reached Shamshìr Khàn, telling him that he should proceed to Qandahàr to help Bahàdur Khàn Uzbek. Accordingly, he left for Qandahàr with 400 to 500 resolute Uzbeks, and, at Sihwàn, left one of his relatives, Qanbar Khwàjah, as *ḥàkim*. The latter died soon afterwards; and, in his stead, Shamshìr Khàn dispatched Khwùsham Bèg Atagah from Qandahàr as *ḥàkim*. At the time of his appointment, Khwùsham Bèg was an inexperienced man. When he reached Sihwaṅ, he decided to lead an expedition against the Samèjah Ùnar. Having prepared an army and organized the peasant tribes, he went across the river and lay encamped in front of Sihwàn for a few days. The peasants had not completely assembled yet when, out of haste, he left this encampment and, going to the ferry at the village Kàkah, there, on the bank of the river enclosed himself within a barbed fence. Thus, with the army positioned upstream, the boats were left downstream. When the hour for midday prayers struck and people busied themselves with their prayers, Khwùsham Bèg also started saying his prayers. In the meantime, as fate would have it, a wind and storm rose from the direction

Marfat.com

of the Samèjahs, and, with it, he and his soldiers heard a dreadful din. He finished his prayers hurriedly, gathered his men, and sent somebody outside the barbed fence to ascertain what was happening. Before long, the Samèjahs broke through the fence and attacked his army. Many of the Uzbeks and Mullà Ràjù Kambò, the *diwàn* of Shamshìr Khàn, were killed in battle; most of the remainder of the men ran and fell into the river. The Samèjahs carried away about 300 horses together with a hoard of goods and arms. However, Khwùsham Bèg somehow managed to ride out of the battlefield with whatever strength was left with him. He reached the fort of Kàkah around the time of the afternoon prayers and fortified himself there. The Samèjahs laid siege to the fort and sat around it waiting. During those days, Abù al-Baqà's elder son, 'Atìq Allàh, whom the Emperor Jahàngìr had sent to Sihwàn to hunt for mountain goats *(rang-hà)*, and Sayyid Bàqir,* a son of Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì,* the *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar at that time, whom his father had sent to capture mountain goats, were both in Sihwàn. 'Atìq Allàh, together with his party and this *khànahzàd*, the present writer, betook themselves to the fort of Kàkah and joined Khwùsham Bèg. The following day, Sayyid Bàqir also reached the fort with his men, and this gave strength to Khwùsham Bèg. The Samèjahs then retreated some distance away from the fort; but stayed there for quite some time. Later, on the basis of the intercession of certain people, the Samèjahs laid down a foundation for peace and returned whatever horses, arms and other things they had plundered. Having concluded peace, they returned to their homes and abodes. Khwùsham Bèg also repaired to Sihwàn. Thereater, he bid farewell to such adventurism and tried to restore stability to the region through conciliatory means.

Shamshìr Khàn spent between three to four years at Qandahàr in imperial service, and, during this time, the region of Sihwàn continued to thrive and prosper. During the siege of Qandahàr, the first person to fire a shot at the army of Shàh 'Abbàs was Shamshìr Khàn. When Qandahàr fell into the hands of the Shàh, the nobles of Qandahàr came to Spèrà Afghàn at Multàn. He then dispatched 2,000 *aḥadì* horsemen and petty *manṣabdàrs* with Shamshìr Khàn towards Sihwàn for the chastisement of the Samèjah Ùnar. Shamshìr Khàn and the *aḥadìs*,* however, did not get along well. Hence, he did not proceed with the expedition against the Samèjah Ùnar, and sent the army back to Multàn.

In short, this region was flourishing and prosperous during the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn. It sustained an army that was also employed for imperial service in other regions; and this is what is implied by the prosperity of the peasants and the destruction of the insurgents.

Marfat.com

Putting his two terms together, Shamshìr Khàn's tenure lasted for 15 years. In respect of the *kharìf* crops (*safidbari*), he dealt with the peasants in tèrms of fifty-fifty crop-sharing; and, at certain places, he resumed only one-third or one-fourth of the crop. On the *rabì'* crops (*sabzbari*), he calculated the revenue in accordance with the local rate *(ḥaqq wa ḥisàb).* He had bestowed *jàgìrs* on the whole of his army, down to the *farràsh* (sweepers) and *sà'is.* (grooms). During the last phase of his rule, in deference to the pleadings of the peasants in his *khàliṣah,* on the *kharìf* crop, he assessed the revenue by *ḍabṭì,* but only in so far as it conformed to the sanctioned rules (*dastùr al-'amal*). He cared the utmost for the edicts of God – May He be glorified and exalted – and those of the Emperor Jahàngìr. He spent most of his time in the mosque and had ordered his mace-bearers (*chùbdàràn*) never to raise their mace against the peasants, so that they should not hesitate to 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 Uzbeks in his employ who, at times, disregarded even his orders. At the time of the afternoon prayers when the nobles and *qàdìs* came to his audience, he would proclaim: "Friends! You know me. Every oppressed person who comes to me receives redress of his grievances. It is possible that there might be some headstrong (*shàkh nàtràshìdah*) Uzbeks who enjoy my confidence, but perpetrate injustice in their *jàgìrs,* or even in the city; and out of fear nobody brings it to my notice. If you know of it and do not let me know, tomorrow, on the Day of Judgement, it is you who will be held responsible in the presence of God, Exalted be His name."

Sihwàn so thrived and prospered during his tenure that out of the products of India 'Iràq and Europe whatever one wanted was available. Except for a *sèr* of candy *(nabàt)* that he realized from every boat, the merchants were free from all sorts of revenue imposts (*kharàj ma'nà).* The peasants, *imàms* merchants and artisans all lived comfortably. If a merchant should happen to be looted in his *jàgìr,* he always strove to recover his goods and, on recovery, returned them to him; and, if anything remained missing, he paid compensation from his own pocket, making the merchant happy. As a matter of fact, during his term of office, people were so well off that they thanked God. The mosques were full of worshippers and he himself paid much heed to the performance of prayers, fasting and *taḥajjud* (additional prayers in the night). He met the expenses for his clothes and food from the income of his personal boats and never spent anything on himself from the public exchequer.

After the transfer of Shamshìr Khàn, in the *rabì'* season of the year

Marfat.com

Sìjqàn'ìl,* 1032 A.H., this region was bestowed upon Shìr Khwàjah,* better known as Bàqì Jàn Khwàjah, 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 cultivated the lands extensively during this season. As the fields were afflicted by a scarcity of rain, most of the cultivation dried up. And where some of the cultivation survived, the per *jarìb* (about five-eights of an acre) yield of wheat and pulses did not exceed 5 *kàsahs* (30 Jahàngìrì *sèrs*) and 2 *tòyahs* or 3 Jahàngìrì *sèrs*, respectively). When Bàqì Khwàjah's agents arrived in this region, the slanderers and caluminators offered them their assistance and registered all the areas under cultivation, 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 the *ḍabṭ* assessment of grain, they added up the total (*jam' bar bastah*) and, computing the price of grain at double 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 Shamshìr Khàn, they endured the oppression of the revenue collectors of Bàqì Khwàjah. The petty peasants were, however, scattered hither and thither, and whatever means of cultivation they possessed they sold and used the returns to meet the iniquitous demands of the latter. Similarly, misled by the slanderers, the agents measured the lands of the *imàms* with the rope (*ṭanàb*) of injustice and tyranny and levied revenue on these mendicants (*fuqarà'*), hanging *imàms* publically to recover the imposts from them. They also levied excessive surcharges on the boats of merchants, charging a huge amount on each boat. The generally nominal *dharat** tax, they increased, too. On account of this tyranny and oppression, all the *imàms* and several of the peasants set out for the imperial court. The Emperor was in the capital of Lahore during those days, and Shìr Khwàjah was a royal confidant (*muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat*). When group after group of the impoverished people started reaching Lahore to seek redress of their greivances, Shìr Khwàjah at last learnt about the shameful conduct of his agents. He called the complainants to his presence and comforted each one of them individually. He issued warrants (*parwànchah*) of *madad-i ma'àsh* to all the *imàms*, and authorized them to reoccupy their holdings. Whatever his agents had extorted from them by tyranny and oppression, he obliged them to return to the *imàms*. Shìr Khwàjah also reassured the peasants about their future, giving them a written guarantee that, henceforth, they would be governed by the same revenue regulations that were observed by Shamshìr Khàn. Having suffered greatly during his term of office, these unfortunate people were not prepared to be satisfied

Marfat.com

with these measures. Hence, he ordered the arrest of his agents, as well as those on whose false reports (*sa'àyat*) they had perpetrated their injustice and tyranny on the people, and imposed a heavy fine on them. He appointed new agents in their place, and advised them, in no uncertain terms, to desist from all manner of oppression. Henceforth, his agents never resorted to injustice or tyranny, and the peasants and *imàms* passed their days in comfort. However, in comparison with previous practice, these agents did continue to exact an excessive amount of *dharat* from the merchants for their boats.

The tenure of Shìr Khwàjah proved quite effective in respect of the Samèjahs. He sent a young Chùlàgh Sayyid, called Mìr 'Àqìl, as the *faujdàr* of the *parganah* of Làkùt to keep an eye on the Samèjahs. With the help of 50 soldiers, Mìr 'Àqil so efficiently controlled the Samèjahs that words can hardly describe his success. He constructed a fort on the bank of the river in the township of Làkùt and constantly lay encamped in that fort. Previously, the boats plying to and from Thattah used to queue up before they could cross the check-post, 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 Samèjah Ùnar and the Hùsarahs ever interfered with them. He fought several bettles against the Samèjah Ùnar, defeating them in each and selling the Samèjahs he captured. Subsequently, Yàr Muḥammad Kùkah, who was the *ḥàkim* of Sihwàn on behlaf of Shìr Khwàjah, developed a feeling of enmity towards Mìr 'Àqil and, summoning back 40 out of the 50 soldiers given to Mìr 'Àqil proceeded with them in the direction of *parganah* Bàghbànàn. When Yàr Muḥammad thus withdrew with the whole contingent of Sihwàn, Mìr 'Àqil was left with only 10 soldiers in the fort of Làkùt. In these circumstances, one day, around afternoon prayers, the Samèjahs plundered the camels of Mìr 'Àqil from outside the fort of Làkùt. Mìr 'Àqil chased those scoundrels with the soldiers at his disposal and caught up with them at the time of evening prayers. He told the 10 horsemen that he would meet his martyrdom there, and they had better leave him and take care of their children. Five to six of the men, lacking perseverence, returned to the fort of Làkùt, but the remaining four to five tightened their girdles and, together with Mìr 'Àqil, prepared to fight the Samèjahs. Having disposed of these men, the Samèjahs turned to Mìr 'Àqil 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. Mìr 'Àqil acted accordingly. Holding the mane of his horse, he dismounted, shouting *Yà Allàh*, and

Marfat.com

died fighting singlehanded against two to three men. Verily, to Allàh we belong, and to Him we return.*

During the chaos following the rebellion of the Khàn-i Khànàn Mahàbat Khàn, Sharìr al-Mulk, who was the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah on behalf of Sulṭàn Shahryàr, came and encamped in the town of Làkùt, under the pretext of leading an incursion against the Samèjahs. There, he sent for Yàr Muḥammad Kùkah and his army, so that they might together attack the Samèjahs. When Yàr Muḥammmad arrived with his army, Sharìr al-Mulk sent his men to occupy the fort of Sihwàn. Thus, without any valid authority, he wrested the region of Sihwàn from the men of Shìr Khwàjah; and, appointing Shams al-Dìn the *ḥàkim* of the region, himself returned to Thattah without taking any action against the Samèjahs.

The tenure of Shams al-Dìn was quite ineffectual. He never rode out against the insurgents of this region, except once, when he dispatched one of his young relatives, Khwàjah 'Àrif, with an army towards the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn against the Samèjah Tìbah. Failing to accomplish anything there, Khwàjah 'Àrif returned to the village of Akbaràbàd Wàhì, where some of the Samèjah Tìbah were staying as guests with the local Pahawàrs. On discovering this, Khwàjah 'Àrif perfidiously captured two of these men and set out for Sihwàn. As these men had been under the protection of the Pahawàrs, the latter rebelled and defeated Khwàjah 'Àrif in battle, killing about 200 of his horsemen and foot soldiers. Khwàjah 'Arif slew both his captives, and swiftly returned to the fort of Sihwàn. Having entered the fort, he put to death about 18 of the imperial servants, including the unfortunate Shams al-Dìn and Laṭìf Bèg, and interred them in a collective grave. The arrears of the iniquitous demands which Sharìr al-Mulk had levied against the local people were still outstanding, when he was transferred and Naurùz Bèg was dispatched to Sihwàn to take his place. He subjected the petty peasents, traders, and all the artisans to flagellation to exact those arrears from them, thus destroying this region, and himself left for Thattah. 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 "... no bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another."*

Except for the fact that during his tenure, Shaykh Muṣṭafà, the *karòṛì* of the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn, led a daring expedition against the Nuhmardìs, the administration of Naurùz Bèg was even worse. The details of Shaykh Muṣṭafà's expedition are as follows: He came to Sihwàn from the *parganah* of Bàghbànàn to submit his accounts *muḥasabah* and encamped outside the fort with about 60 to 70 horsemen from his dependencies. In the meantime, the Nuhmardìs plundered the cattle of

Marfat.com

the *parganah* of Sihwàn, and news of this reached Sihwàn around afternoon. Shaykh Muṣṭafà, camping as he was outside the fort, rode out in pursuit of these scoundrels. He reached the village of Nàr 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 Muṣṭafà did not listen to them. He alighted there, fed morasses and *ardàwah* to his horses and having tightened their straps and girths rode out from that place around the time of evening prayers. That night, until one watch after dawn, he travelled secretly. The recalcitrants, unaware of this approach, left their horses and cattle to graze and themselves went to sleep beside a spring. The army of Shaykh Muṣṭafà fell upon them, killed about 40 of the Nuhmardìs, severed their heads, captured their horses and equipment, and returned with the cattle of the peasants.

On the transfer of Naurùz Bèg, this region was jointly bestowed upon Sayf al-Mulùk Kàshgharì and some other *manṣabdàrs*. He had been given the territory in *tankhwàh* for the *kharìf* crop, but he reached there so late that that crop had been disposed of and the *rabì'* crop was also about to be lifted. Naurùz Bèg had already assessed and appropriated the revenue of the *kharìf* crop. Sayf al-Mulùk Kàshgharì got his share from him, and also obtained a written commitment to the effect that it was Naurùz Bèg's responsibility to account for the revenue of the *kharìf* crop to the imperial court. The *rabì'* crop was assessed by Sayf al-Mulùk, who was a good soldier. With the intention of inspiring awe for his army among the hill people and to impress the Samèjah Ùnar, Sayf al-Mulùk dispatched his brother, Mahdì Sulṭàn, with an army to the *parganah* of Sann. Mahdì Sulṭàn was about to cross the ferry of Sann towards the Samèjah Ùnar, when their four chiefs, representing all the four *ṭarafs* waited upon him in the town of Sann with the intercession of the Sayyids of that town. Mahdì Sulṭàn brought them to his brother in Sihwàn. Sayf al-Mulùk, who was contemplating a campaign against the Samèjahs as soon as the winter became milder, detained them and decided to keep them under his custody as a military strategy.

On another occasion, the Nuhmardìs rode out on the villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn. Peasants of the area brought news of the impending raid to Sayf al-Mulùk,. He pre-emptively dispatched Mahdì Sulṭàn to the village of Nàr. Reaching this village, Mahdì Sulṭàn spent the night in its fort. The following day, the Nuhmardìs, skirting the foothills and bypassing the village of Nàr, drove away the cattle of the village Kachhì, which lay beside Nàr, towards the fort of Sihwàn. Sayf al-Mulùk received news of this around midday. Although he had already

Marfat.com

sent the army with his brother and himself was left with only a bunch of decrepit horsemen, having heard this news, his sense of honour did not allow him to sit idle. He therefore rode out with the five or six horsemen left with him. Meanwhile, his brother Mahdì Sulṭàn had already left the village Nàr in pursuit of the insurgents and had caught up with them around the time of evening prayers. The Nuhmardìs took up positions on a hill, and a battle of arrows and muskets ensued between the two parties. Nobody was killed, but the Nuhmardìs were defeated, and they retreated. Having retrieved the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those accursed ones, Mahdì Sulṭàn turned back. On the way, the two brothers met and together came back to Sihwàn.

As soon as the *kharìf* crop was half ripe, and the time for leading an expedition against the Samèjahs arrived, Sayf al-Mulùk was transferred, and this region, except for the *parganah* of Junèjah, was bestowed upon Aḥmad Bèg Khàn.* Until the arrival of Aḥmad Bèg, his relative, Murṭaḍà Khàn Mirzà Ḥusàm al-Dìn, who was the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah at that time, dispatched his men, namely Muḥammad Riḍà Bèg as *ḥakim* and Ibràhìm Bèg as *dìwàn*, to undertake the revenue assessment of that region. Hardly had they recorded the *kharìf* cultivation when Aḥmad Bèg Khàn also arrived. In the early phase of his tenure, for some days, he behaved fairly with the people, so that the *arbàbs*, and *muqaddams* of the *parganahs* and villages all turned towards him, and Aḥmad Bèg Khàn realized that most of the people who had left had returned to Sihwàn. He was accompanied by a brother called Mirzà Yùsuf, who was so oppressive that, to him, even Yùsuf-i Ḥajjàj* would have been an ordinary disciple in tyranny. Aḥmad Bèg Khàn entrusted all his affairs to him, took off the signet-ring from his own finger and made it over to him. Henceforth, the *dìwàn* also began to be held at Mirzà Yùsuf's house.

The first thing that Mirzà Yùsuf proceeded with was the arbitrary arrest of the former *'àmils*. He also started detaining the *arbàbs* of the entire region and, acting upon the advice of the slanderers, decided that all rain-irrigated villages, such as Aràrah, which will be discussed later, and the village of Akbaràbàd Wàhì, which had never been subjected to *ḍabṭì* previously, and had always followed the crop-sharing system, be subjected to the *ḍabṭì* system and that this revenue be imposed upon the peasants, such as the Pahawàrs. He also ordered the immediate branding of the cattle of both the *parganahs* of Sihwàn in his *jàgìr* and the collection of cattle statistics *(gàwshumàrì)*, which had previously been abolished throughout the imperial domains by a decree of Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì and until now in the year 1044 A.H., that order of abolition remains in force. Consequently some of the *arbàbs*, such as Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, who were strong enough, made good their escape in the dark of night.

Marfat.com

Other Pahawàr chiefs, such as Arbàb 'Alì and Arbàb Dà'ùd, who nursed hostility towards Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr and considered Sihwàn their native land, did not choose to flee. Forty-one out of these chiefs were ordered by Mirzà Yùsuf to go to the village of Akbaràbàd Wàhì and assess it by the *dabṭì* system. With them, he also sent a small number of his own men. When this party reached the village, the men of Bahà'al-Dìn Pahawàr, in league with the hill nomads, came and killed each one of the 41 Pahawàrs and then escaped. All the remainder of the Pahawàr chiefs, no matter whether they were *arbàbs, muqaddams, patwàrìs* or *qànùngùs,* Mirzà Yùsuf put in jail together with their assistants *(gumàshtah-hà).* Thus, in accordance with the substance of this couplet, the heavens were set spinning:

When He chooses to destroy a people
He puts their land into the hands of a tyrant.

He inflicted a variety of punishments on these people. Every day he had 200 to 300 men flogged at his house without any justification; each one of them receiving 100 to 200 lashes. A silk merchant was kept sitting there so that whenever the whip-cord wore out, he was there to repair it immediately.

Aḥmad Bèg spent all day in his palace, and at nightfall came out to hold his court, which continued until the last watches of the night. Mirzà Yùsuf usually joined his brother, and, even in his presence, subjected people to floggings. Some people even died under his lashes but he was never moved in the least. It seems that in the Shi'ì faith, the perpetration of torture on Sunnìs is an excellent act of devotion *('ibàdat-i khùbast).* Be that as it may, the situation came to such a pass that, regardless of their sex, whomever of the people of Sihwàn the Mirzà suspected of possessing something, he summoned on the basis of some baseless charges, flogged and forfieted all their belongings. In this region, if anybody owned a camel and Mirzà Yùsuf could subjugate him, he usurped the beast by violence and oppression and added it to his personal estate. As the proverb goes, "a handful is enough to show what's in an ass-load (*kharwàr*)": you can well imagine what else was happening there.

Mirzà Yùsuf posted his own men at the ferries and issued strict instructions that nobody should be allowed to pass without a permit with the Mirzà's personal stamp on it. Every boat that came from upstream or downstream, the Mirzà stopped, summoned its occupants and recorded their particulars, held the boat in the ferry indefinitely and told the owners to unload their goods there. Consequently, fed up with the situation, the merchants paid him a considerable sum for every boat to ensure its release. Even then, he allowed only the boatmen and the owners of the goods to

Marfat.com

depart, detaining whoever else was with them. He asked such people to enter his service, and subjected those who refused to floggings. Whatever merchandise attracted the Mirzà's fancy, he compelled the owner by violence to sell to him at half the normal price. When a robber from some village deserving capital punishment was brought before him, the Mirzà removed his shackles, offered him a robe, inducted him into his personal service, and exhorted him to commit robbery wherever he pleased, so long as he brought all the stolen articles to him. The Mirzà infested the city streets with gamblers from Bangàl, who forced whoever passed by them to gamble with them, winning away whatever he possessed. If, losing all, he still owed them anything, they even snatched away his shawl (*chàdur*).

Around the city of Sihwàn, he made both gentry and common man dig a foundation and ordered a wall to be constructed there. He also ordered that they should carry mud and water to the site on their heads. Whoever took along a labourer to do his work for him was subjected to torture.

The Mirzà sold Qàḍì 'Abd Al-Wàḥid, the magistrate of the village Sàmitànì, to Ibràhìm Balùch for 100 rupees in gold, the rent of the holding given to him by a royal decree. A man flogged Ibràhìm Balùch and said: "Be quick, pay 100 rupees!", and Ibràhìm Balùch whipped Qàḍì 'Abd al-Wàḥid and said: "Make haste, give 100 rupees!". Although each of those days passed like the Day of Judgement on the residents of the city, they still laughed at the sight of this situation.

Mirzà Yùsuf openly admitted slanderers and caluminators into his presence and called them knowers of the truth *(ḥaqìqat dànàn)*. The rate of the *dharat* tax was also increased by him.

He brought all the lands (*chak-hà*) of the *imàms* under *ḍabṭi*, and imposed land revenue, like in the case of the peasantry, on all the female and most of the male holders of such lands, and obliged them to pay it.

Mirzà Yùsuf's settlement of revenue*(jam'bandì)* on the peasants and the *imàms* was such that even if they had paid this with their entire produce, together with all the returns from the sale of their means of cultivation, including oxen, ploughs, lands and homes, part of the revenue demand for the *kharìf* crop would still have remained outstanding against their names. Bad as his intentions were, by the will of God, the *rabì'* crop was afflicted with drought and most of it dried up. The little of it that survived also gave a low yield. None the less, the Mirzà decided to proceed with the assessment of this crop, regardless of its calamity-stricken nature, and to impose, as he did in the case of the *kharìf* crop, doubly and trebly inflated revenue on the peasants. Seeing no alternative, those

Marfat.com

of the peasants who were still outside the Mirzà's jail, and still owed a part of their revenue obligations in respect of the *kharìf* crop; abandoned the standing crops and took to flight. When the petty peasants had fled, whatever was left behind in their homes was either plundered by the soldiers of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn or carried away by refractory elements. Out of fear of Mirzà Yùsuf, nobody could relate the actual situation to Aḥmad Bèg 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 *khànahzàd,* the present writer, told Aḥmad Bèg, in no uncertain terms, that that country belonged to God, and God Most High had bestowed it upon the Emperor, and the Emperor had sent him 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 to task, in the Hereafter, he would be accountable to God Almighty. By the grace of God Eternal and Wise, these words touched his heart. While I was talking, one of his brother's informers, whom Mirzà Yùsuf had honoured with a robe, was also sitting just before the platform where Aḥmad Bèg held his *dìwàn.* The aformentioned informer had taken too much *bhang* (Indian hemp) that night, and, out of drowsiness, was fast asleep, with his mouth agape. Aḥmad Bèg Khàn commanded one of his men to pour dust into the mouth of that informer; and this order was carried out.

That night, about 200 to 300 men were released from jail on the orders of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn. He also relieved the inhabitants of the city from the forced labour (*bègàr*)* for the construction of the wall around Sihwàn. Besides, he took back his signet-ring from Mirzà Yùsuf, and put it back onto his own finger. But what was the use of these measures, when the country was already ravaged and the peasants had gone into exile, abandoning their fields? The few villages of the *parganahs* Bùbakàn and Kàhàn that were still intact, the Pahawàrs, together with other hill people, raided, completely destroying them. On hearing this news, Aḥmad Bèg Khàn came out of Sihwàn and encamped in the village Sàmitànì, in the *parganah* of Kàhàn, which was the abode of Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, and busied himself with 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 condition of his chosen homeland, this *khànahzàd,* the present writer, took leave of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn at Sàmitànì to visit one of the dependencies of Sihwàn, the *parganah* of Jùnèjah, which was then included in the *jàgìr* of my brother, Abù al-Baqà'. Having reached there, I set out for kissing the sky-high imperial threshold. It

Marfat.com

also crossed my mind that I should write down the affairs of this region, particularly those concerning the tenure of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, in a report (*ṭùmàr*) and present it to the holiest and most exalted sight [of the Emperor]. But as soon as I reached Bhakkar Ḥakìm Ṣaliḥ, Muḥammad 'Ali Bandarì and Màn Singh, who were *ḥakims* of Bhakkar at that time, brought Aḥmad Bèg Khàn up to date. When Aḥmad Bèg Khàn heard their report, he was unnerved and immediately abolished all oppressive practices against the peasants and the *imàms*. He realized the revenue in respect of the *rabì'* crop from the peasants by sharing the stacks of their unthrashed corn (*khàlìhà*); and he returned to the men and women of the *a'immah* class whatever he had already resumed in this regard from the holdings bestowed upon them by royal decrees. At the same time, he dispatched his servant, Mìr Hàshim, towards this *khànahzàd*, the present writer, together with messages for Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ, Muḥammad 'Alì Bandarì and Màn Singh, to the effect that Mìrak Yùsuf be comforted and prevailed upon to come back, and that he should not be allowed to proceed to the Court. By the time Mìr Hàshim reached Bhakkar, I had already left for my destination. My brother, Abù al-Baqà', was the *ṣùbahdàr* of Multàn during those days. Thus, I went to him first, so that after making necessary arrangements for my journey to India, he could send me off to that land. In the meantime, his position in Multàn was taken away from him, and he was entrusted with the *ṣùbahdàrì* of Thattah. Consequently, he took me to Thattah with himself, saying that he would make the arrangements for my journey and see me off to India from Thattah. Unfortunately, owing to the unsuitable climate of Thattah, I was overwhelmed by a bad cold, and proceeding on a 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 perambulation of the Ka'bah of the creatures of the seven climes (*haft iqlìm*). 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,

the transcript of the *Mazhar al-Tadbìr* ('Manifestation of Management') has been completed; and I hope that the Just Amìr, Strengthener of Islàm, Refuge of the People, Leader of East and West, Abù al-Muẓaffar Shihàb al-Dìn, Second Lord of Happy conjuction, Shàhjahàn Pàdishàh Ghàzì,

O thou who in the field of *khilàfat* for years have been
the Lord of the Happy Conjuction!
It is out of thy love that mankind and the geni aspire to live in thy
dominions.

Marfat.com

will look at it with the eye of charity.

While Aḥmad Bèg Khàn was involved with the Pahawàr peasants of the *parganah* Kàhàn, the parganah of Khiṭṭah was destroyed by the Samèjah Ùnar, and the *parganah* of Bùbakàn, Ḥawèlì, and Sann were laid waste by the Nuhmardìs and the aforementioned Samèjahs. Once the Nuhmardis not only plundered the cattle of the town of Sann, but also entered the town and looted the inhabitants. Shaykh Fatḥ and Sahykh Ḥabìb, two brothers who were the *shiqqdàrs* of this *parganah,* ran away and took refuge in their homes. Some of the soldiers who came in the way of the Nuhmardì wretches were killed, and the latter made good their escape. On hearing this news, Aḥmad Bèg Khàn got the inhabitants of Sann to construct a wall around the town. Even now, in the year 1044 A.H., that wall still exists.

The *parganahs* Bùbakàn, Kàhàn, Pàtar and Akbaràbàd were ruined by the Chàndiyahs, and there was virtually no difference left between a rebel and a peasant of this region, for most petty peasants dispersed hither and thither, some of the *zamìndàrs* moved out and settled among the insurgents, and the rest, as a defensive measure against the excesses of an oppressive *jàgìrdàr,* abandoned their animosity towards the recalcitrants and made peace with them. What was then needed was a united army that, on the one hand, would have comforted the displaced persons, and, on the other, would have initiated measures for dealing with the refractory elements, including the Balùches, Samèjahs and other rogues, 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 Aḥmad Bèg'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, Aḥmad Bèg Khàn was reluctant to pay anything to the soldiers. That explains why, when he led some expeditions against the Pahawàrs and fought them, he was defeated. As regards the calamity-stricken crop, it fell neither into his hands nor into those of the peasants. It was rather turned into a public feast *(khwàn-i yaghmà)* open to everybody's rapine and pillage. Whatever Aḥmad Bèg Khàn 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 Aḥmad Bèg Khàn have not recovered their prosperity yet; and this is what is implied by the destruction of the peasants and the strengthening of the recalcitrants.

When the news of Aḥmad Bèg's* oppression and tyranny reached the imperial court through the reports of Abù al-Qàsim Ṭabàṭabà, the *wàqi'ah nawìs* (news-writer) of Thattah, and Màn Singh, the *wàqi'ah nawìs* of

Marfat.com

Bhakkar, this region was transferred from him to Dìndàr Khàn, and Aḥmad Bèg Khàn was made the *ṣùbahdàr* of Multàn. On reaching Thattah, Dìndàr Khàn found this region in a state of utter chaos and confusion. Following a prudent policy, he bestowed a village on every *zamìndàr* who could muster some strength. Thus, except for a few tracts that Dìndàr Khàn retained in his own *khàliṣah*, he distributed the entire region in *jàgìrs* to his soldiers. Although they did not earn much during the first year, in the following year, when the peasants gained confidence, their income doubled and, in some instances, the incomes of the *jàgìrdàrs* exceeded their salaries. No *jàgìrdàr* got less than his salary, and thus the entire region was set on the path of progress.

Towards the insurgents, such as the Samèjahs, Nuhmardìs and Chàndiyahs, he conducted himself politely. He gave *jàgìrs* to each one of these tribes; and, no matter how irresponsibly they behaved, he did not change his attitude towards them. The Samèjahs plundered the horses of his soldiers right from the middle of the city of Sihwàn, slew people under the city wall and stripped them of their belongings. Ni'mat Allàh, the *wàqi'ah nawìs* of Sihwàn, who had been appointed by Màn Singh, the *wàqi'ah nawìs* 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 Sihwàn, the Samèjahs plundered; and if the owners objected, they killed them. The ferry of Mandihjì, situated at a quarter of a *kuròh's* distance to the south of the city, was equally vulnerable. The Samèjahs looted the people here, nay killed them, too. They also set ablaze the huts of the boatmen who lived there; and if anybody tried to obstruct them, they killed him.

The raids of the Samèjahs also extended to the abode of the Tùrah boatmen, one-eighth of a *kuròh* away from the city in the south. The Samèjahs put them to the sword and set their homes on fire. Terrified by their maraudings, the remainder of these boatmen abandoned their abode and took up residence near the city. The laundry of the washermen of the city was yet another frequent prey of the Samèjahs.

Likewise, the Nuhmardìs and Chàndiyahs also plundered the cattle of the city of Sihwàn in broad daylight. They also abducted people and sold them. While all this was going on, Dìndàr Khàn sat unmoved in the fort of Sihwàn. Neither did he himself ride out, nor did he care to dispatch his army. However, when the Samèjah marauding incursions into the city of Sihwàn exceeded all limits, he had yet another protective wall constructed around the city at his own expense; and this was a very commendable step on his part.

Marfat.com

In short, Dìndàr Khàn acted very wisely, and, through his prudence, secured the whole region. Once the *arbàbs* of the *parganah* of Sann, Sayyid Yùsuf and Sayyid Jung, on whom Dìndàr Khàn had bestowed villages in *jàgìr*, became estranged from him. Sayyid Yùsuf went across the river towards the Samèjahs, and Sayyid Jung turned to the Nuhmardìs in the hills; and, enlisting the help of these two insurgent tribes, they attacked the fort of the town of Sann. They broke open its gate, entered the town, looted it and then, around noon, went to the *'Ìdgàh*, a quarter of a *kuròh* away from the town, and sat there. Khalìl al-Raḥmàn, the *shiqqdàr* of the town, and his men failed to do anything, but fortified themselves in his house. On receipt of this news, Dìndàr Khàn emerged from the fort of Sihwàn and, standing beside the shrine of Ḥaḍrat Pìr Tòpan, on whom be the mercy of God, dispatched Sayyid Jalàl to Sann with a strong army. As Sayyid Jalàl neared the town of Sann, the Nuhamardìs withdrew into the hills. Sayyid Jalàl camped in the town of Sann, and persuaded both the aforementioned *arbàbs* to return to him from the Samèjahs and from the hills, respectively, bestowed further favours upon them, in addition 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 Dìndàr Khàn.

Yet another incident concerns a scavenger *(ḥalàl khwùr)** of the Samèjah Ràhùjah, 'Arabì by name, who was a ruthless robber. Neither land nor river routes were secure from his depredations, a whole world had been tormented by him and many merchants and soldiers had been robbed under his direction. As a result of the peace concluded with the Samèjahs, he also started visiting the town of Sann. One day, he was noticed by a soldier called Shaykhù, whose brother he had killed, and was in return slain by him. On hearing this news, Dìndàr Khàn apprehended the soldier; and decided that, after keeping him in prison for a few days, he would have been killed as a reprisal for the murder of that robber. On the subsequent intercession of some people, he spared his life, but did not keep him in his service. Thus, impressed by the favours of Dìndàr Khàn, the insurgents abandoned thier incursions into his *jàgìr* and acknowledged his authority.

Dìndàr Khàn is also credited with having raised a strong army in this region. In the *kharìf* season of the Takhàfù'ìl,* 1043 A.H., he personally went across the river with a resolute and well-prepared military force and encamped in the village of Jahàngìràbàd, and thus, without any trouble, gained control over the cultivated land on the Làkah side. Instead of fleeing their homes, the Samèjahs waited upon him and, under pressure of circumstances, even paid some revenue. The Làkahs of this village,

Marfat.com

whom the tyranny and oppression of the Samèjahs had driven to seek redress for their grievances at the imperial court, returned from there with a *farmàn* ordering Qilìch Khàn to chastise the Samèjahs. Qilìch Khàn* dispatched Bahàdur Khwàjah, a *manṣabdàr*, with the Làkahs, who carried the *farmàn* to Dìndàr Khàn, asking him to carry out the imperial orders. They presented the *farmàn* to Dìndàr Khàn while he was still encamped in the village. Dìndàr Khàn gave some land and a paltry sum of money in reward to the plaintiffs, and, by a subterfuge, extracted a letter of satisfaction from them. Then, departing from Jahàngìràbàd and subduing several Samèjah villages, including Wìnjarah, he proceeded to the city of Sihwàn. The Samèjahs remained in their homes, but their chiefs accompanied him to the ferry of Mandìhjì, near the fort of Sihwàn, whence Dìndàr Khàn crossed the river and returned to the city. In Sihwàn, the chiefs of all the four Samèjah clans *(ṭaraf)* mostly remained in attendance upon him, and enjoyed complete freedom. In keeping with the Samèjàh undertaking that they would offer Dìndàr Khàn some grain in the *rabì'* season, in the *rabì'* Ìt'ìl of the aforementioned year, he again crossed the river and went among the Samèjahs. If he had so wished, he could then have exterminated them by force of arms; but about this time the region was transferred from him to Jàn Nithàr Khàn.* On hearing this news, the Samèjahs murdered most of the men he had charged with the responsibility of collecting the grain from their villages, and looted their horses and equipment. The remainder of these men returned to Dìndàr Khàn, who, realizing the danger, immediately crossed the river and retired into the fort of Sihwàn. This explains why the appellation of the 'tail of a dog' *(dum-i sag)* is applied to the Samèjahs. Just as the dog's tail cannot be divested of its crookedness, the Samèjahs also, no matter how much consideration one shows them, persist in their misdeeds and, except for the blow of a sword, nothing can really tame them.

The tenure of Dìndàr Khàn augured well for the nobles *(ashràf)*, the *imàms* and the erstwhile soldiers of the imperial army in this region. He was very fond of the company of *ṣùfis* and ecstatics, 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 that were particularly noted for their pomp and show and were held with the accompaniment of religious singing and music *(tarànah wa surùd)*. He maintained a large number of singers akin to *qawwàls** *(muṭribàn)* for this purpose. He showed great enthusiasm for the recitation of the Qur'àn and observed a fast on numerous days. During the month of *Sha'bàn*, regardless of whether it fell in winter or summer, on the 13th, 14th and 15th, he observed the *ṭayy* fast. He celebrated the month of fasting *(Ramaḍàn)* with such zeal

Marfat.com

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 *iftàr* (fast-breaking) parties. Between 300 to 400 persons said their *taràwiḥ** prayers in his company every day; he listened to recitations, from the Qur'àn during these prayers in a standing posture, and the Qur'àn was completed in these congregations on the Night of Power (27th Ramaḍàn. On that night, he handed out charitable bounties to the *'ulamà'*, *ḥuffàẓ* (those who know the Qur'àn by heart) and hermits *(gùshah nashìnàn)*, and the following day read the entire Qur'àn from beginning to end. During the winter, he presented robes to all his soldiers and acquaintances, and sent such large quantities of cloth to the nobles that it lasted them even through the following year. Whenever he proceeded on a journey not only to the nobles and grandees who accompanied him, but also to the local peasants, he sent meals from his household, and wherever there was a tomb of a saint, he stopped and made arrangements for its repair and restoration. But his *khàliṣah* villages, his *wakìl*, Qaḍì Pìrah, landed in hardships and problems of calamitous proportions. Summoning the *arbàbs* and *muqaddams* of those villages at the time of valuation *(nasaq)*, *the* Qàḍì arrested them and, under the pain of flogging, forced them to give him an undertaking that they would cultivate two to three times as much land as in the previous year, failing which they would be taken to task. What he failed to realize, however, was that those *arbàbs* and *muqaddams* possessed nothing at their homes and all cultivation was the result of the efforts of petty peasants, made on their encouragement of these peasants, not as a consequence of their oppression and tyranny, and that, too, only to the extent that it was physically feasible for them. At the time of harvest, he ordered the *qànùngùs* to submit an estimate of the crops, and threatened them with dire consequences if it was not sufficiently close to reality. After they submitted this estimate, he doubled it and, thus converting it into an impossible proposition, showed it to the *arbàbs* and *muqaddams* and subjected them to tyrannous pressures. Left with no alternative, the *arbàbs* and *muqaddams*, despite the wailing and crying of the peasants, gave him a written assurance to pay the *ijàrah* (rent) according to his estimate of the crops. Once the deal was struck, the peasants were left at the mercy of the *arbàbs* and *muqaddams*, who, leaving aside their own cultivation charged the entire amount of the rent to the cultivation of the indigent peasants. The peasants gave all their produce in rent, but the dues were still not paid off. Consequently, some Hindùs from the town of Bùbakàn, including, in particular, one called Parbat, carried their grievances against this treatment to the royal court, and returned from there with a *farmàn* prohibiting the farming out *(ijàrah)* procedure and calling for the

Marfat.com

reintroduction of the old system of crop-sharing. During the aforementioned *rabì'*, Dìndàr Khàn was contemplating the reimposition of the crop-sharing and *ḍabṭì* systems, in keeping with the old statutes of this region, but, in the meantime, he was transferred.

Qàḍì Pìrah, similarly, levied a heavy duty on the boats of merchants and increased the *dharat* tax inordinately, so that on every *kharwàr*, which comprised 60 *kàsahs* in this region, of grain, 2 *kàsahs* were charged. On every maund of Indigo, 3 rupees were charged, 2 from the buyer and 1 from the seller; and, during those days, one maund of indigo cost 20 rupees. On every maund of tobacco, 7 *dàms* were charged, while every maund of it was sold for 8 *tankahs*. Thus, if on every *kharwàr* of grain 2 *kàsahs*, on every maund of indigo 3 rupees, and on every maund of tobacco 7 *dàms* are charged, the rate of tax works out to more than 1/40th, i.e. 2.5 percent.

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 Sihwàn, up to 30 and 40 rupees, some times more and some times less, were charged in tax, as a matter of fact, the unfortunate marchants and boatmen were detained at the ferries and underhandedly pestered into paying much more than that. Since such details can only be verified from the papers of *qànùngùs*, which are beyond my access, I have not touched upon them.

The least of the *khànahzàds*, the present writer, says that the purpose of prolixity in recording the tenures of the *jàgìrdàrs* of Sihwàn is not to describe the affairs of these *jàgìrdàrs* for their own sake, because. if it were so, the description of the affairs of the ancient kings would have been far more advantageous.

The sense of ṣeeing is the foremost among the five senses upon which human perception and thinking is based; and this *khànahzàd* has witnessed most of the affairs of the region of Sihwàn with his own eyes and has personally experienced the various factors contributing to its prosperity and its destruction. On the other hand, 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 growth and destruction of the region of Sihwàn in the context of the tenures of each of its *jàgìrdàrs;* so that the effects of a good and a bad tenure could be brought to light and it could also be shown which of the *jàgìrdàrs* succeeded in achieving one of the essential features of government that have been discussed in Part One of this book, namely, besides the imposition of their *khuṭbah* and currency, kings aspire for at least one of the following two benefits from their dominions: firstly, a

Marfat.com

part of the revenue of every area which is in excess of the expenditure of the *jàgìrdàr* himself should flow into the imperial treasury every season of every year; second, the army that is raised on the strength of the resources of a region, besides meeting the administrative requirements of that particular region, should be usable for conquests and deployment in other regions. Every *jàgìrḍàr* that failed in the administration of this region ravaged and ruined the royal subjects who were a good source of income for the imperial exchequer, and his tyranny and oppression did not earn him anything but a bad name. Gradually the inhabitants of this region were reduced to utter helplessness and destitution, so that if the *jàgirdàr* of Sihwàn killed 100 men without any justification no one could stop him. If some unfortunate person, having suffered a great deal of hardship, 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, the slanderers of Sihwàn developed a feeling of enmity towards him and, within a brief period of time, had him destroyed at the hands of the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn. Thus, if a *jàgìrdàr* 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 *imàms;* otherwise, he trampled upon both of them. There was not a single functionary of this region, including the *ṣadrs, qàḍìs, qànùngùs* and *arbàbs,* who gave sincere advice to the *jàgìrdàr* in time of need. Rather, everybody saved his own skin and looked upon the circumstances, which had all the lineaments of the Day of judgement, with complete apathy and indifference. If a tyrant *jàgìrdàr* encouraged one of the *zamìndàrs* of this region and made him his accomplice, that *zamìndàr* set on fire a whole world of peasants and *imàms,* ruining them. You can imagine the circumstances of this region from the bare fact that, whereas, in all the protected imperial dominions, imperial news-writers *(wàqi'ah nawìs)* are at work, in Sihwàn after the departure of Shamshìr Khàn, no *jàgìrdàr* ever accepted any *wàqi'ah nawìs* in his *jàgìr.* As has been mentioned earlier, during the tenure of Dìndàr Khàn, a *(wàqi'ah nawìs)* Ni'mat Allàh by name, who had come from Bhakkar, was slain right under the Sihwàn fort and nobody looked into the matter, whereas as has been demonstrated by Ḥakìm Sanà'ì in a poem,* the fact is that, on the Day of Judgement, a ruler will have to account even for the fracture of a goat's leg on a bridge in his domain.

On another occasion, Màn Singh sent, from Bhakkar, one of his agents, 'Abd al-Bàqì, who stayed here for a few days and then went back. Then, the *bakhshì* of Thattah dispatched one of his functionaries as the *wàqi'ah nawìs* of Sihwàn, but Dìndàr Khàn did not accept him and, soon after his arrival, returned him to Thatṭah. If one is not intent on oppression,

Marfat.com

what could be the harm in the appointment of a *wàqi'ah nawìs*

Similarly, during the tenure of Dìndàr Khàn, a bailiff *(sazàwul)* arrived with an imperial decree ordering the *qànùngùs* to accompany him to the court with a statement of a ten-year settlement and to explain to the Emperor all the factors contributing to the destruction of this region, including the excesses of the *jàgìrdàrs*, as well as the depredations of the refractory elements. How much of an effort was involved in sending the *qànùngùs* 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 Bèg Khàn. The details of the oppressive ways of his brother Mirzà Yùsuf have already been described to the attendants of the royal throne; except that Aḥmad Bèg Khàn was transferred from this region, no trace of wrath seems to have touched him. On the contrary, he was treated still more kindly, as is apparent from the fact that he was made the *ṣùbahdàr* of Multàn, which was a better place. It was the sight of this state of affairs that dismayed the victims of his oppression; and so, instead of following him to the heavenly court for the redress of their grievances, as they had originally intended, they retraced their steps back to their native places in Bhakkar. If the Emperor had instituted an inquiry into the administration of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, and, in keeping with the canons of sacred law, had obliged him to return to the oppressed whatever he had tyrannously extorted from them, and, in consonance with imperial justice, had made him bear the consequences of whatever bloodshed he had illegally perpetrated, not only would no *jàgìrdàr* thenceforth have allowed this region to be ruined with impunity, but the *jàgìrdàrs* of other protected dominions would also have desisted from indulging in tyranny, and, instead, would have adopted an upright and benevolent attitude towards their peasants.

It is recorded in the historical works* of Sind that Sulṭan Muḥammad Shàh bin Tughlug Shàh* departed from this world for the hereafter near Thattah, and that after his death, as willed by him, Fìrùz Shàh ascended the throne and left for the capital of Delhì. Jàm Khayr al-Dìn, the ruler of Sind, accompanied him for a few stages, but returned to Thattah from the outskirts of Sann, a dependency of Sihwàn. After the departure of Sulṭàn Fìrùz Shàh, Jàm Khayr al-Dìn opened the gates of justice and benevolence and did all in his power to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants and common people. An interesting story is told about this pious Jàm. One day, while he was out riding with his nobles and attendants, he caught sight of some human bones in a ditch. He pulled in the reins of his horse, and for a moment looked at those bones. Then, turning to his companions, he asked them if they knew what he thought those bones

Marfat.com

singnified. They hung their heads in silence. " They are some oppressed people who demand justice", the Jàm continued. Deciding to find out the circumstances of the death of those people, he summoned the old man who owned that tract of land, and inquired from him about those bones. The old man told him that 70 years* ago a caravan had come thither from Gujaràt and that a certain clan had slain those people and captured their belongings. The old man also told the Jàm that most of the plundered goods were still in the possession of that clan. On hearing this, the Jàm ordered the recovery of the goods, and most of them were recovered. Then he dispatched them to the ruler of Gujaràt, requesting him to make them over to whatever descendants of the murdered people were still alive, and he subjected the murderers to retaliatory punishments. But here, during the reign of my great, respected and exalted Emperor, the victims of the high-handedness of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn and his brother are alive in Sihwàn, and so are both of them, in comfort and luxury, yet no action has been taken.

The little stability that the peasants of this region enjoyed during the tyrannous tenures stemmed from the cultivation of the *a'immah* lands by them, because to populate their holdings, the *imàms,* of necessity, provided the small farmers with help and resumed only a reasonable share from their harvest. It is owing to this help from the *imàms* that these peasants not only carry on the cultivation of the *jàgìrdàr's khàliṣah* land, but also meet whatever oppressive demands he makes on them; otherwise, the conditions of the peasants of this region are extremely wretched and miserable.

Let us return to the original theme. The foregoing discussion has revealed that the region of Bhakkar, and two *sarkàrs* of the region of Thattah, Chàkar Hàlah and Naṣrpùr, owe most of their ruin to the refractory elements from the region of Sihwàn. Consequently, all the exalted efforts and imperial policies devoted to the welfare of Sind must first be aimed at the inhabitants of the region of Sihwàn. Since the area is subject to insurgency, this needs to be controlled by military expeditions, and appointing a *bakhshì,* and *amìn,* and a *waqi'ah nawìs* here is also of the utmost importance. Furthermore, the frontiers of the region also need to be made secure, so that refractory elements may be restrained from transgressing the path of moderation. However, the conditions of the region of Sihwàn have come to such a pass that, it is said, no *jàgìrdàr* will accept this region in his *jàgìr* of his own accord. It is long since the news of the lawlessness of the wretched Samèjahs reached the attendants of the imperial throne and strict decrees were issued, ordering the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah, and the *jàgìrdàrs* of Bhakkar and Sihwàn, to totally exterminate these accursed ones; but action against these wretches, the

Marfat.com

damn·d 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.

Section IV

A Brief Account of Measures for the Improvement of the Region of Sihwàn

Be it known to the brilliant sun-like consciousness of the Emperor that the peasants of this region, as has been stated earlier, have been reduced to extreme penury and indigence. Most of the *zamìndàrs* who used to be submissive have now joined hands with the insurgents, and some of the malpractices introduced by the oppressive *jàgìrdàrs* in this region are still in vogue. Hence, to start with, the Emperor might like to acquaint himself with this region's regulations governing its *ḍabṭì*, crop-sharing, grant of *in'àm* to *arbàbs* and *muqaddams* and cesses of *qànùngùs*, and with the tax on boats and the *dharat* tax from the beginning of the tenure of Bakhtiyàr Bèg to the close of the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, as determined by the findings of this author. In this regard, what needs to be taken into account first of all is the fact, that the *kharwàr* (ass-load) of this region comprises 60 *kàsahs;* each *kàsah*, according to the weight of the old maund, consists of 6 *sèrs*, 21/2 quarters Jahàngìrì and 11/2*dàm*, and every *kàsah* contains 4 *tòyahs*. Secondly, the *ḍabṭì* and *ghallah bakhshì* conditions of this country should also be borne in mind. The *ḍabṭì* is recorded per *pukhtah bìghah*. Out of which two *bìswìs*, in accordance with the 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 *nàbud, tukhmzadah* and *shùrah* remissions which are granted after inspection at the time of recording (*ḍabṭì*).

Kharìf

Indian Millet *(jawàrì)*	
Nachnì and Ràgì (*mandwah*)	in kind: 33 1/2 *kàsahs* per *bìghah*
Rice paddy *(shàlì)*	in cash: *1 Muràdì tankah* and 35 1/2 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Cotton *(panbah)*	
Melon *(kharbùzah)*	
Watermelon *(tarbùzah)*	

Marfat.com

Vegetables *(tarkàrì)*	
Sesame *(kunjid)*	in cash: 25 *Muràdì tankahs* and 29 1/4 *dams* per *bìghah*
Radish *(turb)*	
Common millet *(arzan)*	
Kangnì *(gàl)*	
Tag-san, or	
Bangal san	
Carrot *(zardak)*	in cash: 35 *Muràd-ì tankahs* per *bìghah*
Urd *(màsh)*	in cash: 14 *Muràdì tankahs* and 2 1/2
Mùng *(mung)*	*dàms* per *bìghah*
Sugarcane *(nayshakar)*	in cash: 72 *Muràdì tankahs* per *bìghah*
Dilpasand *(kachrah)*	in cash: 6 1/2 *Muràdì tankahs* per *bìghah*
Indigo (nìl)	in cash: 35 *Muràdì tankahs* per bìghah

Rabì'

Wheat *(gandum)*	in kind: 33 1/2 *kàsahs* per *bìghah*
Barley *(jau)*	in cash: 1 *Muràdì tankah* and 35 1/2 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Bangàl gram *(nakhùd)*	in kind: 17 1/2 *kàsahs* per *bìghah*
	in cash: 45 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Mustard seed *(sarshaf)*	in kind: *28 kàsahs* and 3 *tòyahs* per *bìghah*
	in cash: 1 *Muràdì tankah* and 8 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Khardal *(àhùrì)*	in kind: 28 1/2 *kàsahs* per *bìghah*
	in cash: 35 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Common millet *(arzan)*	
Onion *(piyàz)*	
Melon *(kharbùzah)*	in cash: 25 *Muràdì tankahs* and 29 1/2 *dàms* per *bìghah*

Marfat.com

Watermelon *(tarbùzah)* Tag-san, or Bangal san Egg-plant *(bàdinjàn)*	
Mùng *(mung)* Chickling vetch *(masang)*	in cash: 14 *Muràdì tankahs* and 21/4 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Lentil *('adas)*	in cash: 28 *Muràdì tankahs* and 31 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Cummin *(zìrah)* Fennel *(bàdyàn)* Safflower *(gul-i mu'aṣfar)* Parsley *(ajwad)*	in cash:48 *Muràdì tankahs* and 371/2 *dàms* per *bìghah*
Garlic *(sìr)* Hemp *(bhang)* Opium poppy *(kùknàr)* Tobacco *(tanbàkù)*	Not existing previously, this was introduced during Dìndàr Khàn's tenure. in cash: 21/2 rupees per *bìghah* with each rupee comprising 24 *Muràdì tankahs*

Crop-Sharing

1/2	Out of every two *kharwàrs*, one goes to the peasants and one is resumed.
1/3	Out of every three *kharwàrs*, two go to the peasants and one is resumed.
1/4	Out of every four *kharwàrs*, three go to the peasants and one is resumed.
1/5	Out of every five *kharwàrs*, four go to the peasants and one is resumed.
2/5	Out of every five *kharwàrs*, three go to the peasants and two are resumed.
4/9	Out of every nine *kharwàrs*, five go to the peasants and four are resumed.

Marfat.com

The Arbàbs and Muqaddams' In'am Out of the Revenue

During the tenure of Bakhtiyàr Bèg the *in'àm* rate was *dih nìmì*, that is, out of every 100 *kharwàrs*, 5 *kharwàrs;* and out of every 100 rupees, 5 rupees were given to them in *in'àm*. After his tenure down to the close of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's, on every 100 *kharwàrs* 2 *kharwàrs;* and out of every 100 rupees 2 rupees were paid to them.

The Qanùngù's Cesses

They charged 1 percent from the peasants, that is on every 100 *kharwàrs*, 1 *kharwàr;* and on every 100 rupees, 1 rupee.

The Boat Tax

During the tenures of Bakhtiyàr Bèg and Pìr Ghulàm, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, to start with, this tax was the same as the *zakàt*, that is, 1/40th of the value of the merchandise was charged from the merchants. Considering that there was only one ferry in the region of Sihwàn, there was no harm in this. When Pìr Ghulàm came to this region for the second time, during the reign of the Emperor Jahàngìr who had abolished the *zakàt*, on every laden boat, half a *sèr* of white sugar *(nabàt)* was realized in kind, while the empty boats were allowed to pass without any tax; and there was still only one ferry in Sihwàn. At beginning of the first term of Shamshìr Khàn, on every laden boat, the price of one *sèr* of white sugar, that is, 10 *Muràdì tankahs* were charged; but, after some time, the tax was doubled to 20 *tankahs*. When, on his transfer from Thattah, Shamshìr Khàn came to this region for the second time, he charged 1 rupee on every laden boat; but from the empty boats nothing was demanded, and there was still only one ferry in the city of Sihwàn.

Dharat

During the aforementioned tenures, this tax was confined to grain *(ghallah)* only ; on every *kharwàr*, 1 *tòyah* was realized from the buyer.

The *qànùngùs* of this region should be summoned to the imperial court and asked to explain the working of some of the tenures, such as that of Dìndàr Khàn's, and, taking due notice of what has been exacted from the peasants in excess of the requirements of the regulations, 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 returned to the creatures of God; or else, the income from these heads should be transferred to the royal treasury, because the people's lives and properties are beholden to the Emperor. Moreover, investigation into the number

Marfat.com

of villages in every *parganah*, and how many of these villages are populated and how many of them are lying in ruin, should be taken in hand. Then, to ensure the welfare of the peasants of this region, an upright and prudent *amìn* should be despatched from the royal court with a decree comprising statutes for this region. Once here, the *amìn* should look into the affairs of every *parganah*, village by village. The peasants of the populated villages should be comforted and assured that, though whatever had happened in the past could not be remedied, henceforth the statutes would be strictly adhered to. He should also tell them that they should busy themselves with the cultivation of their crops, so that the village might flourish and prosper. In the case of villages lying in desolation, their former inhabitants should be sought out, soothed, and brought back to their homes and rehabilitated there. The *amìn* should make sure that no *jàgìrdàr, qanungù, arbàb* and *muqaddam* exacts anything oppressively in excess of the statutory 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 *arbàbs, muqaddams* and *qànùngùs* begin to abhor the oppressive malpractices of the *jàgìrdàrs* and realize that the peasants are like a good treasury to the Emperor and the *amìn* is the keeper of that treasury; and that to commit excesses against peasants contributes to the destruction of that treasury. The *amìn* 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 not allow avarice to drive him into the society of the *jàgìrdàr*. He should appoint an agent in every village, who should keep himself abreast of the activities of the *jàgìrdàr* and report the real situation to his master every day. Wherever peasants are subjected to any tyranny, the *amìn* should look into the matter. If he finds himself helpless, he should seek the assistance of the *jàgìrdàr;* and, in case the *jàgìrdàr* also favours the tyranny, he should report the matter to the heavenly court, so that some solution is indicated to him from there. This type of *amìn* should be looked on as a treasurer. A treasurer pays 100,000 rupees against a cheque *(baràt)* 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 exerts more pressure on him, he seeks the help of the owner of the wealth, which puts off the burden of the matter from his shoulders onto those of the malefactor, and the owner takes steps to chastise him. Likewise, if the *jàgìrdàr* demands more from the peasants than what is allowed by the statutes, the *amìn* should not allow him to do so. If the *jàgìrdàr* persists in making such exactions forcibly, the *amìn* should apprise the Emperor. Since the peasants are the best of all the imperial treasures – as has been mentioned earlier –

Marfat.com

the Emperor should take 10 times more offence at this attitude of the oppressor than the owner of the wealth does in the case of the aforementioned treasurer, and he should bury the tyrant in the ground, so that other oppressors learn a lesson from this example. In this connection, if two or three of the slanderers, who by their falsehoods caused the destruction of the imperial peasants, are apprehended and punished, this will be a still better deterrent for oppressors. And the *amìn* 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, with two responsibilities entrusted to a single person neither are fulfilled. The *amìn* should also send a yearly return, for each *parganah* and village, about their progress and prosperity to the imperial secretariat, so that the ministers of the brilliant government *(arkàn-i daulat-i bàhirah)* are also annually kept informed about the latest state of the progress and prosperity of this region.

The Emperor's august consciousness should never entertain the idea that a *qànùngù* can replace an *amìn*. Held in low esteem as the *qànùngùs* are, they can hardly do anything to make the *jàgirdàr* desist from oppression and tyranny. As a matter of fact, it is quite likely that they would become the *jàgirdàr's* accomplices in his excesses. The *amìn* ought to be a respectable and honest person, so that the *jàgirdàr* is receptive to whatever he says.

For the welfare of the army, which, as will be explained presently, is essential in this region, a *bakhshì* should be appointed, so that he may obtain a sufficient force from the *jàgìrdàr* of this region to deploy on the borders, and thus secure the peasants from the mischief of insurgents, enabling the former to busy themselves in cultivation, and making the *kharàj* levied on them lawful *(ḥalàl)*. If the jàgirdàr withholds the salary *(ḥaqq) of the army, the bakhshì* should send him a word that in fact the army belongs to the Emperor and is meant for imperial expeditions, and that the *jàgìrdàr* is nothing but a link between the Emperor and the army. And when a *jàgirdàr* is transferred, unless the new incumbent's soldiers are stationed at the borders, the *bakhshì* should not allow the army of the transferred *jàgìrdàr* to be withdrawn from the frontiers.

As for the job of news writing *(akhbàr nawìsì)*, a separate *wàqi'ah nawìs* news-writer ought to be appointed, as was the previous practice in the provinces; and this function should never be entrusted to the *bakhshìs*, as has lately come into vogue.

The *imàms* of this region, who are an army of worship *(lashkar-i du'à)*, are also discontented and dishonoured. They comprise four categories. The first category consists of *manṣabdàrs*, and includes *qàḍìs*, *muftìs*,

Marfat.com

ṣadrs, and *muḥtasibs*; the second of scholars and those who have memorized the *Qur'àn* by heart *(ḥuffàẓ)*; the third of Sayyids, *mashà'ikh*, and the Mughuls of pure descent, who, turning their backs on the inordinate desires of the world, have retired into seclusion and are content with the *madad-i ma'àsh* bestowed upon them by the court, with no other source of income. These three groups obtained their *madad-i ma'àsh* by presenting themselves before Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì and Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì and his successor Shàh Jahàn, may God perpetuate his empire; and their *madad-i ma'àsh* is such that, notwithstanding all their diligence in making the most of their little holdings, they eke out a bare subsistence from it. At the time of every crop, every year, they cajole the labourers, give them aid and dig canals, and thus arrange to cultivate a part of their holdings. Despite all these endeavours, the yield of their lands is small. The fourth category of *imàms* comprises *zamìndàrs* who are also *arbàbs* and *muqaddams*. They never waited upon Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì and Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì. Having procured *musammàtì farmàns*, in exchange for money, during the days of Nùr Jahàn, these *imàms*, being the *zamìndàrs* that they were, had demarcated very productive tracts of land in good locations, and had secured control over them. The peasants, who depend for their succour on these *zamìndàrs*, cultivate their lands, without any help from them or any digging of canals. Thus, despite the fact that these *zamindàrs* do not exert themselves for the inhabitants of their *chaks*, most of their lands are cultivated. Thus, if any *jàgìrdàr* tries to institute a strict investigation into the condition of the *a'immah* class, this last category of them come forward and offer to pay the *jàgìrdàr* a huge amount, and then collect an equal cess *(taujih)* on the *madad-i ma'àsh* from all the *imàms*. The first three categories of the *a'immah* find the payment of these oppressive cesses beyond their capacity. Besides the entire produce of the *madad-i ma'àsh*, they also pay twice as much from the return on the sale of their books, homes and any other belongings that they might have; but they still remain in arrears. Hence the bailiffs *(piyàdah-hà)* of the *zamìndàrs* disgrace and humiliate them in the streets. Consequently, they are abased and ruined and their *madad-i ma'àsh* lands mostly lie deserted *(maṭrùḥah)*. In sharp contrast to this, the fourth category of *a'immah* is not harmed at all.

Worried as he is about the safety of his own *madad-i ma'àsh*, the *ṣadr* of this region cannot say the right thing to the *jàgìrdàr*. Thus, for the welfare of the *imàms* of this region, it is necessary to strengthen the hands of the *ṣadr*, so that he may look into the affairs of the *a'immah*, and recover the *fautì, faràrì, dò jà'ì, taqallubì*, and *libàsì* holdings and restore them to the *khàliṣah sharìfah*. In this way, the income of the waste lands, which are excused from the payment of revenue, will accrue to the *khàliṣah*

Marfat.com

sharìfah; otherwise, within one season, lands will be deserted *(maṭrùḥah).* Moreover, the indigent *a'immah* should be so strengthened, and secured from the excesses of the *jàgìrdàr,* that they are enabled to appropriate their *madad-i ma'àsh* with peace of mind and to continue praying for the Emperor, while carrying out the usual responsibilities expected of them.

The *qàḍì* should restrict himself to the profession of administering justice, which is the best of all ways of earning one's livelihood. He should continuously sit in his court of justice, and hand down decisions regarding the transactions of people in accordance with the lucid sacred law. Neither of these two functionaries, *ṣadr* and *qàḍì,* should interfere in other affairs of government. They should be content with what the Emperor has bestowed upon them, and consequently should not be misled by their avarice into appeasing the *jàgìrdàr.* And God knows what is best.

Section V

On Ways of Quelling the Fire of Insurgency of Refractory Elements of the Region of Sihwàn and the Army that Is Needed for This Purpose

I lay it bare before the Emperor's world-adorning and happiness-increasing intellect that the affairs of the *parganahs* 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 *parganahs* has also been discussed; here I propose to explain ways of exterminating the aforementioned insurgents, and, in that connection, ways for securing the progress and prosperity of each *parganah* will also be discussed at lenght. This section comprises three parts, each known as a *rukn* (pillar, member, item).

Item One

On Ways of Exterminating the Samèjah Ùnar Who Have Revaged and Ruined Four Parganahs in Full and Some Other in Part

These *parganahs* are Junèjah, Khiṭṭah, Làkùt, and Sann, and some villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn, which are situated across the river on the side of those wretches. The Samèjah also pester the inhabitants of four *parganahs* of Bhakkar, namely, Màtìlah, Alòr, Ladah Kàkan, and Darbèlah. Most of the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, in the province of Thattah, also owes its destruction to them, and the Ràjà of Jaisalmèr is going through hell right in this world at their hands. The land and river routes remain unsafe, because of their insurgency; so that to make this route again

Marfat.com

worthy of travel with less than 500 to 600 horsemen without the consent of the Samèjah leaders is impossible. Consequently, merchants seldom use the route. As for the river route, merchants' boats wait for some time in the ferry of Sihwàn, and each boat pays a huge sum to the *jàgìrdàr* and to the guards to obtain an escort to the ferry of Sann. At the ferry of Sann, they are again charged the same amount as before, and then another escort is provided to them to the ferry of Hàlah Kandì. Despite all these safeguards, the insurgents frequently plunder the merchants' boats and kill the owners of the merchandise. In short, the extermination of these wretched Samèjahs is absolutely obligatory upon the victorious armies; and before this can be done, it is necessary to know that, from the days of the Tarkhàns down to the close of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's tenure, various, previously mentioned, groups of peasants consistently resisted the Samèjah Ùnar; so that when the *jàgìrdàr* led an expedition against the Samèjahs, most of these groups of the peasants, particularly the Làkahs, who lived in the neighbourhood of the Samèjah Ùnar, did their best to destroy them. When such a big proportion of the population made genuine efforts to subdue them, and the *jàgìrdàr* also did all in his power to achieve the same objective, the goal was indeed achieved. Some of the Samèjahs were killed, some were taken captive, and most of their cattle were seized. A strong *thànah* was always stationed among them and the *Làkah* quarters of the *parganahs* Làkùt and Khiṭṭah, which bordered on the habitation of these wretches, were flourishing and prosperous. This stopped the Samèjah Ùnar from gaining in strength, keeping them constantly concerned about safeguarding their own quarter in the *parganah* of Làkùt, lest they should really be obliged to pay the revenue. The *jàgìrdàr,* nevertheless, made them pay at least a part of the revenue. by way of *ijàrah;* and, whenever they ventured to rebel, he forthwith rode out against them and wreaked vengeance on them.

After the departure of Shamshìr Khàn, except for Muḥammad 'Alì Bandarì, no *jàgìrdàr* attempted to punish these waylayers. Coming from Bhakkar, Muḥammad 'Alì joined forces with the men of Shìr Khwàjah. chastised the Samèjahs, and, seizing a large number of their men, sold them off to the Afghàns of Sìwì.

He also apprehended a prominent chief of these recalcitrants from the Darèjah quarter, Bùdalah by name, and took him to Bhakkar. As a result of this blow, as mentioned in the Part One of this book, the Samèjahs abandoned their headstrong ways for two to three years, and led a life of isolation. Thereafter, while they gradually recovered their power, the high-handedness of the *jàgìrdàrs* reduced the peasants to utter weakness. After Shìr Khwàjah, whoever got this region in *jàgìr*, thinking that all

Marfat.com

the income from the *parganah* Làkùt was spent on the maintenance of the men stationed in the *thànah* of the Samèjahs, neither paid any heed to that *thànah* nor ever ventured to lead an expedition against them. Thus, in the meantime, the Samèjahs completely overwhelmed the *parganah* Khiṭṭah and the Làkah quarter, and gained control over these areas. They slew all the robust men, and the weak ones accepted their supremacy. Most of the villages of the *parganahs* Ḥawèlì, Sann and Junèjah were also ruined by them. When the peasants had been thus weakened, nay destroyed, some *zamìndàrs* through matrimonial relations and others out of farsightendness expressed their willigness to collaborate with the Samèjahs, and this situation still prevails. Thus, if the goal is to quell the rebellion of the Samàjahs and Chàndiyahs, the *parganahs* Kàhàn and Junèjah, which are, on the whole, still prosperous, and the *parganahs* Khiṭṭah and Làkùt, which lie in ruin, should be bestowed in *jàgìr* on some bold and prudent person. If only the task of dealing with the Samèjahs and Chàndiyahs 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 brought under his control, they would not be able to do any harm to other regions. But if the objective is to exterminate the Samèjah Ùnar, this can be achieved in two ways. The first way is that victorious imperial armies are launched on them from all four directions. This may be achieved by swift and speedy land stewards *(sazàwuls)* fetching the *jàgìrdàr* of Bhakkar, the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah, the Ràjà of Jaisalmèr and the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, with their armies, to be deployed, respectively, at the village of Karank, in the *parganah* of Darbèlah; at the village Abrèjah, in the *parganah* of Hàlah Kandì; at the places of retreat of these trouble-makers in the sand hills of Jaisalmèr; and at the village Làkah, a dependency of the *parganah* Khiṭṭah; so that neither might grain reach these waylayers, nor might they flee with their families and cattle. Then an attempt should be made to terminate the friendship and accord that characterize relations between these refractory elements and some *zamìndàrs* of Sind, which came into existence during the recent developments in Sind. This may be achieved by sending a public crier around with the proclamation that, if any village harboured any Samèjah Ùnar, or gave refuge to their wives, children, cattle or other effects, and this were proved, the inhabitants of the village would also be slain like the Samèjahs, and their cattle would be seized, without any distinction between high and low. Out of fear of the victorious imperial armies, the *zamìndàrs* of this country would renounce their compromise with the Samèjah, which came about under the pressure of circumstances, and, renewing their opposition to them, would jointly endeavour to destroy those waylayers. Then, 1,000 excellent horsemen, with swift and speedy mounts, and 500 heads of camel, well-

Marfat.com

provisioned with water, should be dispatched towards the Samèjahs, to keep track of those shortsighted ones. The Samèjah men number between 5,000 and 6,000, and their womenfolk and children number around 20,000. Where would they go? Even 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, the robust among them would die defending their families, some would be taken captive, and their families and cattle would be seized. Surrounded as they would be on all sides by victorious armies, those who run away would also be captured. Even if they were to grow wings, they would still be captured; and those of them who escape the sword would not be able to do anything, and perforce would become peasants. When such an excellent victory is achieved, the lands of these insurgents should be distributed among the peasants of the surrounding areas. Thus, the lands of these wretched ones on the Sahtah side should be incorporated into the *parganah* Darbèlah and made over to the Sahtahs; who should be favoured with a concession in revenue, too, because they will be populating the territory of other people. In the fort of Karank, a *thànah* with 100 horsemen and 50 matchlockmen should be stationed by the *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar, so that this region of the Samèjahs comes properly under the control of the Sahtahs. These days this fort belongs to the Sahtahs, and, afraid as they are of the wretched Samèjahs, they always keep it in a state of readiness. The *kharìf* crop of the region of Bhakkar, even in the arid areas, are usually bumper ones. At the time of the *kharìf* cultivation, the Sahtahs gather a strong army and take up positions in that fort, while, in the surrounding areas, the peasants keep busy with their cultivation of the *kharìf* crop. Likewise, the lands of the Samèjah region that border on those of the Kòrèjahs and Pahawàrs may be included in the *parganah* Junèjah and given to these tribes. Rebate in revenue should also be given to the peasants, so that they might eagerly employ themselves in the development of this territory. Moreover, a fort should be constructed in the village of Kajìrah, at which, the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn should arrange to put up a *thànah* with 100 horsemen and 50 matchlockmen. In the same way, the territory of these waylayers that borders on the *parganah* Khiṭṭah, may be made over to the Hàlahpòtrahs and others, who are the peasants of that *parganah*, and the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn should establish a *thànah* with 50 horsemen and 25 matchlockmen in the fort of Kàkah, so that that *parganah* once again recovers its previous well-being and prosperity.

Similarly, the territory of these wretches lying on the side of the Làkahs, may be bestowed on them. If the Làkahs, both those living in their old territory and those settled in the areas that are now given to them, are treated benevolently, they will become instinctive enemies of the Samèjah

Marfat.com

Ùnar. As soon as they gain strength, the Samèjahs will lose their position. The fort of Wìnjarah whould be repaired and manned by the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn with 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen, so that the Làkahs might devote themselves wholeheartedly to the task of cultivation. Also, the territory of the Samèjah insurgents lying on the side of the *parganah* Hàlah Kandì, one of the dependencies of the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr, may be included in this *parganah* and made over to the Hàlahs. Out of fear of the Samèjah Ùnar, the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah at present maintains a *thànah* at Hàlah Kandì; now, he should be ordered to station 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen in the fort of Abrèjah, a dependency of the aforementioned *parganah,* which was constructed by my brother, Abù al-Baqà'.

The total strength of all these *thànahs* comes to 650 horsemen and 325 matchlockmen: 100 horsemen and 50 matchlockmen from the *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar, 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen from the *ṣùbàhdàr* of Thattah, and 350 horsemen and 225 matchlockmen from the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn.

If this policy is implemented in *parganah* Làkùt, this one *parganah* will become as good as five *parganahs.* The four aforementioned *thànahs* should stay in place for the first four years; and then, just one permenent *thànah* at Wìnjarah, with 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen, from the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, will be enough. And God knows best what is right.

The second way is that the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, on his own, without the assistance of the armies of Thattah, Bhakkar and Jaisalmèr, should accomplish the task of exterminating these waylayers; and this would become possible if the region is bestowed in *jàgìr* on a person who is gallant, loves his soldiers, patronizes his peasants and abhors tyranny. Having arrived here, he should, first of all, gain full control over two things, the peasants and the soldiers, so that, with the strength of these two, he may exterminate the insurgents and restore the well-being and prosperity of this region. To gain control over the peasants, he should deal with each *parganah* separately. The details of this strategy are given below:

The *parganah* Bàghbànàn is one of the eight *parganahs* lying on this side of the river with the fort. For the development of this *parganah,* it is necessary that the fort of Sulṭàn Muḥammad Barnankànì Arghùn, situated in the village Pulijì, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *parganah,* should be strenghened afresh, with a *thànah* of 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen stationed there. This *parganah* is inhabited by four clans of the Samèjahs, the Bukyahs, the Juǹejahs, the Baryahs and the Tìbahs. While the first three clans are submissive

Marfat.com

and pay their revenue, the fourth comprises recalcitrant rascals. If the *jàgìrdàr* is possessed of the strength of a sensible army, and he sends this to their villages at the time of harvest, they resign themselves to paying something; otherwise they pay nothing.

As has already been mentioned, the wretched Chàndiyahs also live beside this *parganah*. When such a force is stationed among them as a permanent *thànah*, it will make it possible to keep an eye on both these tribes, and thus stop them from attempting any rebellion.

The *jàgìrdàr* should comfort the peasants of this *parganah*, and follow the previous regulations to the letter. The details of regulations are as follows: although this *parganah* has mostly been assessed on the basis of the *ḍabṭì* procedure, while, in other places, two *bìswìs* are given as usual practice, in this *parganah*, three *bìswìs* are allowed and a rebate of a quarter of a rupee per *bìghah*, on the rate of the grain, is also remitted. The *jàgìrdàr* should also repair the canals that were previously operating and bring them into working order again, so that not only do the displaced peasants from every place throng to this ruined *parganah* and it recovers its prosperity again, but the *kàchah* lands which lie on the side of Mahà lake and the Màrwì nullah, which flows from the side of Sìwì and Ganjàbah, also come under the plough and this *parganah* assumes the position of four *parganahs*. The *parganah* of Bàghbànàn lies at a distance of 22 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn.

The second *parganah* is called Nìrùn Qal'ah. For its development it is necessary that a *thànah* with 20 horsemen and 10 matchlockmen should be stationed at 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 Bakhtiyàr Bèg down to the term of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, should be revived. The details of this practice are as follows: the cultivations of Arbàb Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr may be assessed on the basis of three shares, that is, two shares should be left with him, and one share should be resumed, while cultivations of the rest of the peasants should be assessed on the basis of nine portions, that is, five portions to be left with the peasants and four to be resumed. If possible, an even smaller share should be realized from the latter, so that they might attain some stability, because they occupy a very difficult area that lies right in the middle of the hill tribes and the Chàndiyahs, and is presently in a state of desolation. This place is situated at a distance of 25 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn.

The third *parganah* is Kàhàn, and the fourth Bùbakàn. Both these *parganahs* contain some alluvial villages; the lands of those villages receive their alluvium from the water of the river. At present, most of these

Marfat.com

villages are prosperous. 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 *parganah* in the foothills are of the *kàchah* type. During the rainy season, when the water flows from the hills, the lands of these villages are covered with alluvial deposits, and they produce very good crops of millet and sesame, in the *kharìf* season, and mustard seed, in the *rabì'*. Ever since the departure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek, the population of these villages has gradually dwindled, and now they are lying in utter desolation. This has happened because these villages are situated in impassable hill passes, where, as has been mentioned earlier, its peasants live under the constant fear of the hill tribes and the Nuhmardìs and Chàndiyahs, so that, without the backing of a strong army, they cannot engage in cultivation.

Until the close of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's tenure, the peasants were firm of purpose, so that the Pahawàrs of the *parganah* Kàhàn could raise a fully equipped army of around 1,000 horsemen and between 4,000 to 5,000 foot soldiers. Similarly, the *parganah* of Bùbakàn could muster a strength of between 2,000 to 3,000 horsemen and around 2,000 to 3,000 foot soldiers. The *jàgìrdàr* encouraged the peasants with a reduced resupmtion of his share at the time of crop-sharing. Moreover, while the *jàgìrdàr* stayed in Sihwàn with a strong army, all the peasants of these two *parganahs* evacuated the alluvial villages during the flood season and retired into the foothills with their families. They took all their cattle there to graze, and themselves cultivated the land. They posted spies on the hillside; and when they brought news of the arrival of a huge and strong army, they withdrew their families and cattle to the alluvial villages. Thus freed from all encumbrances, they watched the movement of the enemy. On the other hand, if news of only a small army was brought, they contented themselves with setting up outposts in the hill passes, so that the mountain army could not fall upon their families and cattle unawares. Thus the *kàchàh* villages gained in prosperity and provided the *jàgìrdàr* with a huge income. And as has already been mentioned, these resolute peasants also helped to fight the wretched Samèjahs.

After the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn, some *jàgìrdàrs* following the *ḍabṭì* system, some levied a fixed revenue on the peasanats of these villages. Consequently, the peasants paid all their produce in revenue and were still in arrears. They therefore also paid all the returns from the sale of their means of cultivation and were reduced to utter penury. Encouraged by their penury and helplessness, the hill tribes started committing excesses against these unfortunate peasants; they killed most of the men

Marfat.com

and plundered their cattle, with the result that they are now unable to muster enough strength to return to those villages and rehabilitate them.

To repopulate these villages, it is necessary to reintroduce the system of crop-sharing, with reduced shares for the State, that was in vogue during the tenures of Bakhtiyàr Bèg, Pìr Ghulàm and Shamshìr Khàn. The following procedure should be adopted: the cultivation of the descendants of the late Makhdùm Ja'far Bùbakànì, 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 Makhdùm, and one share should be resumed in revenue. From the cultivation of Arbàb Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, one-third should be resumed as the State-share; and the cultivation of the petty peasants should be assessed on the basis of nine shares, five shares to the peasants and four to the State. If possible, a smaller share should be realized from them, because, during those earlier tenures, the peasants were stronger; now they do not have that strength.

Besides, when Jàm Nandah, the ruler of Sind, dispatched his Hindù minister, Jàklah, along with his foster son, Daryà Khàn, to Sihwàn, he constructed a lime *(gach)* and gravel *(mash)* dam on the Sàwah nullah thus inundating the *kàchah* lands and enriching them with alluvium. These *kàchah* villages had become so populous and prosperous during those days that the present writer has heard from Nasìr al-Dìn, son of the late Makhdùm Ja'far Bùbakànì, that, though this dam lasted only two and a half days before it gave way, because of the malediction of a dervish, its effect was so great that the produce of these *kàchah* villages, when assessed on the basis of 10 shares, that is, nine shares to the peasants and one to the State, Jàm Nandah received 100,000 *kharwàrs.* With an expenditure of about 2,000 to 3,000 rupees that dam should be restored; and, having constructed a fort here, a *thànah* with 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen should be stationed there to ensure the safety of the dam and thus contribute to the stability of the peasants.

The villages called Qàsim Bàrèjah and Balùchàn-i Nùhànì, which are situated in the hills and are included in the dependencies of the *parganah* Bùbakàn, had fallen from the revenue roll after the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek. They should again be developed into revenue yielding areas.

Moreover, water from a natural spring in the hills, on the upper side of the village Kòtlah, flows down into some non-cultivable lands and goes to waste. This spring should be dammed with lime and gravel, and its water should be left on the lands of the *kàchah* villages. Then one may behold the grace of God and see how much income accrues from those villages – everyone of them will vie with a *parganah.*

Marfat.com

There are three proper *kàchah* villages in these two *parganahs:* firstly, the village Ùthal, which belongs to the *parganah* Bùbakàn and is divided into six sections, namely Dùmak, Ankì, Sàdar, Tàbak, Kùrànah and Aknàrì; secondly, the village Aràrah and, thirdly, the village Karwatì, both of which lie in the *parganah* Bùbakàn.

The village Ùthal and Aràrah are situated 16 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn, and 8 and 11 *kuròhs,* respectively, from the big mountain *(kùh-i kalàn).* The village Karwatì lies 20 *kuròhs* away from the Sihwàn fort, and 6 from the big mountain. The towns of Kàhàn and Bùbakàn are situated at a distance of 13 and 5 *kuròhs,* respectively, from the fort of Sihwàn.

The fifth *parganah* is called Pàtar 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 may flourish. The town of Pàtar is situated at a distance of 30 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn.

The sixth *parganah* consisting of a lake is called Nìrùn. Lying at a distance of 1 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn, it is surrounded by the villages of the *parganahs* Kàhàn, Bùbakàn, and Ḥawèlì Sihwàn. A fixed sum 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 *parganah* is called Ḥawèlì Sihwàn and comprises 15 villages. Of these, 10 lie on this side of the river along the fort; and of the 10, seven are situated in the foothills, on the side of the hill tribes. The development of the last together with the five villages of the *parganah* Bùbakàn, coming to a total of 12, is discussed subsequently.

The village Sàwah lies at a distance of 15 *kuròhs* from the big mountain.

The village 'Azìzànì lies at a distance of 15 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn and 8 *kuròhs* from the big mountain.

The village Pàhanì Kòt lies at a distance of 10 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn, and 7 *kuròhs* from the big mountain.

The village Tihnì lies 13 *kuròhs* away from the fort of Sihwàn and two *kuròhs* from the big mountain.

All these four villages are dependencies of the *parganah* Bùbakàn.

The village Jankàr lies at a distance of 7 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn and 5 *kurohs* from the big mountain.

The village Bàzàràn lies 5 1/2 *kurohs* from both the fort of Sihwàn and the big mountain.

The village Kàchì lies about 5 *kuròh* away from the fort of Sihwàn, as

Marfat.com

well as from the big mountain.

The village Nàr lies 7 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn and 4 *kuròhs* from the big mountain. This village produces the choicest quality of *wilàyatì* melons. It is a beautiful spot. There is a perennial spring of water, which originates in the mountain 2 *kuròhs* from this village. The author has time and again visited the source of this spring. It looks like a fountain that has erupted from the ground and then flows towards the aforementioned village. The peasants of the village use this water for irrigation, which they arrange in the manner used in Afghànistàn *(wilàyat)*. Here, in addition to melons, indigo is also produced, and the indigo of this place vies in quality with that of Biyànah. The water is so scarce here that, throughout the year, only 250 *jarìbs* (about 156 acres) are irrigated. There was no dearth of land and had there been enough water, up to 20, 000 *jarìbs* (about 12,500 acres), or more, could have been brought under the plough.

The saint, Àrì Shìhànì, on whom be the mercy of God, is buried here. Lying at a distance of a quarter of a *kuròh* from the village proper, his grave is resplendent with divine grace. His name Shìhànì, is derived from the Sindhì word *shìh*, which means a lion. One day in his life, as he was going for a walk with his companions, a lion suddenly appeared. Scared, his companions ran away, but he grabbed the ear of the beast, and, sitting on his back, went for a ride.

When the region of Sihwàn was conjointly bestowed in *jàgìr* on my brother, Abù al-Baqà', and Mirzà Dùst Bèg, my brother sent the melons of this village to Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì, who ate them with great relish and, comparing them with the original Afghàn melons found these much better in taste. Hence this village was included in the *khàliṣah sharìfah*, and handed over to Nawwàb Àṣaf Jàh. Thenceforth, it remained under the control of the latter's agents for a number of years.

The aforementioned four villages belong to the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn; and these, together with the previous four, total eight villages. The peasants of these eight villages never remain safe from the excesses of the hill tribes for even a single year. In a year, the hill tribes of the Nuhmardìs, the Chàndiyah Balùches, and others, invade these villages frequently, plunder the cattle and capture many children, killing whoever comes in their way from the peasants' side – hence the ruin and destruction of these villages. The peasants of these villages may be assessed by the crop-sharing system on the basis of nine shares, with five shares left to them and four resumed as revenue. One more share may be remitted to the peasants for the acquisition of weapons, so that they might arm themselves and, in the hour of need, be able to resist the hill tribes.

Marfat.com

Still another village is called Tìrì. It is presently lying in complete ruin, because most of its peasants have been killed by the hill people, and the remainder, driven by their poverty, have scattered hither and thither. Towards the close of his tenure, Dìndàr Khàn bestowed this village in *in'àm* on the Sayyids attached to the shrine of Ḥaḍrat-i Makhdùm Làl Shahbàz, 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 *jarìbs* of land were cultivated in this village. Aḥmad Bèg Khàn built a fort in the village, and this was a commendable deed on his part. This fort should be repaired, and a *thànah* with 100 horsemen and 50 matchlockmen should be stationed there. Moreover, the scattered inhabitants of this village should be resettled in their old homes, and, for the first year, their cultivation should be exempt from taxation. Then the same system of crop-sharing, on the basis of five shares, should be followed, with one share resumed as revenue and the remaining four left with the peasants. The population of this village is of great importance, since, in a way, it prevents the hill tribes from raiding the town of Sihwàn. This village lies 3 *kuròhs* away from the fort of Sihwàn and 2 *kuròhs* from the big mountain. The men stationed in the Tìrì *thànah*, together with those comprising the thànah at the Sàwah dam, would look after all the aforementioned villages which lie on the side of the big mountain.

Next, there is the village Kàhì Ma'jùbì, which is situated on the way to the Lakkì mountain. It is an extermely dangerous path, which has been, and continues to be, responsible for the deaths of a large number of people. The river passes by this mountain; and in the winter, when the river water recedes, people skirt the mountain to come and go; and, when the river is in flood, they use the other two paths that have been described earlier. The hill insurgents and the Samèjahs attack these paths quite frequently, killing the wayfarers and plundering their belongings. The Tarkhàns reassured the peasants of this village, and paid them a certain amount in reward for keeping the path to the Lakkì mountain open. Thus the revenue of whatever these people cultivated was adjusted against the sum of that reward. Hence the appellation of *muwàjibì* (pensioners) that was applied to them during the days of the Tarkhàns; nowadays, in this region, they are generally referred to as *ma'jùbì*.* After the tenure of Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn, the peasants of this village, ruined at the hands of the *jàgìrdàrs* of Sihwàn scattered in different directions. When Pìr Ghulàm came to Sihwàn, he recalled them from Bhakkar, after reassuring them, and gave them some help to resettle 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 Lakkì

Marfat.com

path, lying along the Sihwàn fort. The responsibility for the other half, lying on the side of the *parganah* Sann, was entrusted to the Nìt Bant ah Balùches, who lived in the village of Lak'alwì, and whatever they themselves cultivated in the aforementioned village was given to them in *in'àm*, and this practice continued down to the close of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's tenure. After his tenure, nobody cared about the welfare of the peasants of this village, and they gradually grew weak and most of their robust men were killed by the hill insurgents. During the tenure of Dìndàr Khàn, a group of the Nuhmardìs raided this village, killing whomever they considered a man, amputating the ears of womenfolk, and taking children captive. Some of the peasants who escaped their swords took up residence in the town of Sihwàn, and others scattered hither and thither, so that the village was left to rack and ruin. It lies 2 *kuròhs* away from the fort of Sihwàn and 1 *kuròh* from the Lakkì mountain. The cattle from the city were mostly sent to the mountain for grazing and woodcutters brought wood from it. Once that village had been destroyed, the Samèjah robbers and the hill people directed their depredations towards the town of Sihwàn. They plundered cattle, slew travellers, including the woodcutters, and others, and decamped with their belongings. Even within the city, it became difficult to safeguard cattle and horses, so that sometimes the Samèjah robbers were able to snatch away the horses of the soldiers of Dìndàr Khàn right from the middle of the city, without anyone standing, in the way of those wretches. As a result of this violence, Dìndàr Khàn constructed a wall around the city of Sihwàn, which has already been described. One day, this *khànahzàd* told Dìndàr Khàn that letting such a village lie in ruin was unbecoming of his tenure. The remark touched him, and he gave the village to Sayyid Jalàl, who named it Kamàlpùr, after the name of his son, Sayyid Kamàl, built a wall around it, reassured 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, resuming one share and leaving the remaining three to the peasants. Encouraged by this assurance, the peasants cultivated between 10 to 20 *jaribs* (6 to 13 acres) during the *rabì'* season; but soon after this, Dìndàr Khàn was transferred. In short, the development of this village is also imperative. The revenue arrangement of Sayyid Jalàl should be continued in respect of this village, and 10 matchlockmen and 10 archers should be deployed here, so that its peasants might regain their confidence and keep an eye on their half of the Lakkì path.

Both these villages are dependencies of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn.

Next, we come to the turbulent town of Sihwàn, whose development has been discussed along with the aforementioned villages. For the welfare

Marfat.com

of its peasants, the old practice of 50/50 crop-sharing should be continued; and because the fort of Sihwàn is in a delapidated condition, and its moat has also become useless, it would be desirable to repair this fort.

Then there are the springs called Kà'ì and Nà'ìng. Both these springs are treated as one village in the records *(daftar)* and are counted among the dependencies of the *parganah* of Bùbakàn. The area around both these springs is inhabited by the Nùḥànì Balùches, who engage in cultivation, but do not pay revenue as the rest of the peasants do. During the tenures of Bakhtiyàr Bèg and Pìr Ghulàm, nay to the end of Shamshìr Bèg's tenure, they presented some goats and sheep and participated in military expeditions, which have been described above. The area around these springs are now in a poor state and, as such, have fallen from the revenue roll. These two springs are about 1 *kuròh* from each other, and they lie in the hills at a distance of 14 *kuròhs* from Sihwàn. Game, including *rang* and *qùch* (goats and rams), is found in abundance around these springs. The present writer, together with the late 'Atìq Allàh, the elder son of my brother, Abù al-Baqà', whom Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì had sent to hunt *rangs,* has hunted a great many *rangs* and *qùches* in those hills.

For the protection of the aforementioned areas, these Balùches should be encouraged to stand firm against the turbulence of the hill tribes, and some reward should be bestowed on them in the shape of a *jàgìr.* They should station 100 of their men in the *thànah* of the aforementioned villages along with the detachement of troops already there, while another 100 should continue to live in their dwellings around the aforementioned springs. Moreover, the fort that was constructed by Aḥmad Bèg Khàn on the Nì'ìng spring, which counts among his commendable deeds, should be repaired, and a *thànah,* comprising 20 horsemen and 10 matchlockmen, should be stationed there, so that the Nùḥànì Balùches might also serve under the command of the imperial army, and thus keep the inmates of the *thànah* informed about the hills tribes.

These measures would protect the aforementioned 12 villages from the imposition of the hill people, so that the mind of the *jàgìrdàr* will also be at peace in this respect.

Out of the 10 villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn, three villages, Kabrùt, Sànakpùr and Bhùtarah, lie on this side of the river. These three villages are separated from the hills by the Mànchhar lake; hence, the inhabitants of these villages have no fear of the hill insurgents. To develop these villages, their peasants should also be assessed on the basis of a 50/50 crop–sharing.

Five of the villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì are situated on the other

Marfat.com

side of the river, in the vicinity of the wretched Samèjahs; and because of those accursed ones, they are lying in a state of desolation. Measures for reviving these villages will be listed when we deal with the development of the *parganah* Khiṭṭah. These villages are known as: Linjàr, Saydàn Kàrah, Daulatàbàd, Dìh, Bèlì Shaykh Mùmah.

The eighth *parganah* is called Sann, and, because of the damage done to it by the Nuhmardìs and Samèjah Ùnar, is presently lying in ruin. Indeed, some of its villages have been utterly desolated and depopulated.

For the development of this *parganah*, the fort built by Aḥmad Beg Khàn in the village Àmirì, which was yet another commendable deed of his, should be repaired and a *thànah*, with 50 horsemen and 25 matchlockmen, should be stationed there, so that the villages lying towards the west of the town of Sann may also be rebuilt. The aforementioned village, Àmirì, and the village Thattì Walì Muḥammad are now in utter ruin. Both these villages had been inhabited by the Sayyids, and, up to the close of Shamshìr Khàn Uzbek's tenure, they had been at the zenith of their progress and prosperity. After his tenure, most of the Sayyids of these two villages were killed by the Nuhmardìs and the Samèjah Ùnar; and the few who survived were scattred here and there. Dìndàr Khàn gave the village of Àmirì in *jàgìr* to Sayyid Yùsuf, an *arbàb* of Sann, and the village Thattì to one of the Sayyids, Sayyid Ḥasan, of the village Lak'alwì who did something to repopulate these two villages. The scattered peasants of both these villages should be found and resettled in their former dwellings, and their crops should be assessed for revenue on the basis of four shares, with only one share resumed and the other three left to them.

The village Lak'alwì, inhabited by Sayyids, retains the ratio of crop-sharing that Pìr Ghulàm had fixed for them, so that one-fourth of the total produce of the descendants of Ḥaḍrat Miyàn Sayyid Abù Bakr, on whom be the mercy of God, and one-third of the produce of the rest of the Sayyids and the petty peasants are resumed by the *jàgìrdàr*, leaving the balance with the peasants Consequently, this village is flourishing. Not a single span of cultivable land in this village is left uncultivated, and, in its prosperity, it vies with the entire *parganah* of Sann. The inhabitants of this village live in the foothills on their own strength. Had they been weak, like the Sayyids of Àmirì and Thattì, they would long since have been killed by the hill insurgents, and their village would also have been reduced to desolation. Then, a fire would have been started in the town of Sann and another in the city of Sihwàn and, in between these two places, not even a bird would have fluttered its wings before the hill insurgents and the Samèjah Ùnar. This village should continue

Marfat.com

to be assessed as before; and the cultivation of Nùt Bandah Balùches lying outside this village should be exempt from revenue as before, while, as suggested earlier, the responisibility for supervising half of the Lakkì path is entrusted to them.

One *kuròh* away from this village, in the hills, there is a spring which flows over a sulphur deposit. The day following the Sìwahràt (a festival in honour of Siva) of the Hindùs, all the Hindùs of the region of Sihwàn and most from the regions of Bhakkar and Thattah, men and women alike, bathe themselves in this spring, and this presents a great spectacle. Men and women both take off their clothes and, wearing only loin-cloths, descend into this spring. Just above this spring, Mìrzà Jànì Tarkhàn had a niche cut out of the hill to seat two to three persons for watching these proceedings. The Hindùs call this spring Dhàrà Tìrath,* while, in the Sindhì language, it is known as Dakrì-i Kalàn.

At a distance of 3 *kuròhs* from this village, on top of a hill, there is a large grave, made of kiln-baked bricks. About 50 to 60 cubits long, it is said to be the grave of the Patriarch Aaron, on whom be the mercy 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 ofJaysrùt, which lies east of the town of Sann, and a *thànah,* comprising 50 horsemen and 25 matchlockmen should be stationed there. From the aforementioned village and the village Adarbèlì Làkah – both of which were at the height of their prosperity during the tenure of Shamshìr Khàn, but have since been reduced to ruin – only one-foruth of the total produce should be resumed in revenue, while the town of Sann and rest of the villages are assessed on the basis of a 50/50 crop-sharing. The peasants of this *parganah* should be comforted. If a person possesses weapons, well and good; but if he does not, he should be helped to acquire them, so that all the people of this area might become auxiliaries of the army stationed in its *thànahs.*

It should be so arranged that the wages *('alùfah)* of troops stationed in a particular *parganah* are disbursed to them from the income of the same *parganah,* lest the insurgents attack the peasants while the soldiers are away collecting their wages.

Until such time as the peasants do not become self-reliant, and that will not happen in less than a year, the *thànahs* should be maintained as suggested. After one year, as a result of the measures indicated, God willing, this region will become so populous that it will be difficult to find words to describe the change. Then the strength of the troops staioned at the *thànahs* may be reduced by a half.

The town of Sann lies 18 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn in the direction

Marfat.com

of Thattah, and 7 *kuròhs* from the big mountain. Five *kuròhs* from Sann towards Thattah, on top of a hill, there are the tombs of Ḥaḍrat Khwàjah Uways-i Qaranì and his mother, on both of whom be the mercy and forgiveness of God. It is said that these places are watched by them *(naẓargàh-i ìshànast)*. On the day of Ḥajj, a whole world of hill tribes and others throngh to this place to render homage.

Once the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn has set his heart at peace with regard to the safety of the *parganahs* on this side of the river, deploying 640 horsemen and 340 matchlockmen and archers in the *thànahs* of these eight *parganahs*, and soothing the peasants, he can quite confidently go across the river with 500 horsemen and 200 matchlockmen, construct a fort in Wìnjarah, lay down gardens around the Wìnjarah lake, and encamp in the Winjarah fort, with view to resolutely exterminating the wretched Samèjah Ùnar and developing the three *parganahs* which lie in the vicinity of those accursed ones. He should assess the peasants of the *parganah* Junèjah on the basis of a 50/50 crop-sharing.

The *parganah* of Làkùt comprises two quarters, one is inhabited by the Làkahs, who are pure peasants, and the other is inhabited by the wretched Samèjahs, and this has already been described. From the beginning of Bakhtiyàr Bèg's tenure down to the days of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, the Làkah quarter was assessed on the basis of one-third of the produce in crop-sharing, as well as by *ḍabṭì*. Out of consideration for the weakness of the Làkahs, and to the advantage of both parties, Dìndàr Khàn rdeuced the State share to one-fourth of the total produce. For the Làkah quarter, this old rate of revenue fixed by Dìndàr Khàn, that is, one-fourth of the total produce, should be continued.

As regards the Samèjah quarter, so long as the Samèjahs paid the revenue during the tenures of Bakhtiyàr Bèg, Pìr Ghulàm and Shamshìr Khàn, one-third of their produce was resumed as revenue. But when an area has fallen from the revenue roll, it becomes difficult to make it pay any revenue. Nevertheless, as far as the Samèjah quarter is concerned, the same old system should be upheld and one-third of their total produce, under all circumstances, must be forcibly resumed in kind from those wretched ones. And the peasants of the *parganah* Khiṭṭah and those of the villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn lying on the Samèjah side should be assessed on the ratio of three to one, that is, three shares should be left with the peasants and one should be resumed.

The town of Junèjah is situated at a distance of 15 *kuròhs* from the fort of Sihwàn, from the town of Làkùt 8 kuròhs and from the town of Khiṭṭah, which is the same as the village Thattì, at a distance of 3 *kuròhs*. However, the name Khiṭṭah has come to denote the whole *parganah*.

Marfat.com

Moreover, if the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn encamps confidently at Wînjarah for a whole year, this will help to desroy and ruin the Samèjah Ùnar, and all three of these *parganahs* will then regain their previous populousness and prosperity. The petty peasants who had been obliged to bid farewell to the *parganahs* of Khiṭṭah, Sann and Junèjah and desert their homes to take refuge with the Samèjahs will leave those wretched ones, as they have done before, and return to their former dwellings in the three aforementioned *parganahs,* in the Làkah quarter of the *parganah* Làkùt, and in some villages of the *parganah* Ḥawèlì Sihwàn, which have been mentioned above. What will those black-faced ones do then without the peasants? It is obvious that they will scatter hither and thither and will be ruined. Then a town crier should be sent around proclaiming that any soldier or peasant capturing a Samèjah, his wife, or any cattle shall be allowed to keep them for ever. Then, steadfastly keeping his promise, the *jàgìrdàr* should ride towards the Samèjahs and see for himself what, by the grace of God, happens to them. Most of them will be killed, their families taken captive and their cattle confiscated. Those who survive the sword shall wait on him in great humility and become ordinary peasants. Within a period of five years, like the Shùrah, Babar and Dal, who lived in the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah, the Samèjah 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 1,440 horsemen and 540 matchlockmen and archers cannot be sustained by the income of the region of Sihwàn; for, if the type of person that has been mentioned above becomes the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, he will not only be able to maintain the aforementioned army, but also remit a tribute of 50,000 rupees to the imperial exchequer – except for the first year, while he will be comforting the peasants and developing the army. After five years, when the insurgents of this region have been obliterated, and one realm (*mulk*) assumes the proportions of 10, he may either be transferred from this region to let another person take over or he may be entrusted with some other assignments in the same province. This may include leading an expedition in the hills on behalf of the Emperor, to capture Anùnbèlah, which has an active mine of antimony and a potential mine of copper and exploiting that mine of copper. In this connection, I might mention the example of a Hindù called Mànak, a son of Ghùriyah, who during the reigns of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Àshiyànì and Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì, accomplished a great many things with the resources of just one *parganah,* called Kàhàn. A brief account of this follows.

Two-thirds of this *parganah* was in the *jàgìr* of Ghùriyah and one third

Marfat.com

in that of the imperial washerman. Ghùriyah obtained this last also on lease *(ijàrah)* from that washerman, and, as has been mentioned above, made the entire *parganah* over to his son, Mànak, who showed considerable valour during his tenure. He built a fort in the town of Kàhàn and sat there in readiness with an army compirising 300 good Mughul and Afghàn horsemen and 200 to 300 matchlockmen and archers. Through his military strategy, he administered severe punishment to the aforementioned three refractory tribes, namely the Samejah, the Chàndiyah and the Nuhmardì. He also attacked and routed the Magasi Balùches who belonged to the region of Sìwì. He had also planned to enter the hill tract, built a fort at the village Habb, and there settle one family of peasants from each of the villages of the *parganah* of Kàhàn, so that they might cultivate the land. In this connection, he even engaged 1,000 farriers (*òpchì·i na'l*) as a preliminary measure for his incursion into the hills. But he could no translate this scheme into action. The people of Sind still talk about his achievements.

Once, when peasants from the Pahawàr tribe revolted against him, and he was riding out against them, his whip fell to the ground from his land. The Pahawàr chief, 'Isà, remarked: "Pick up the balance beam (*dastah-i taràzù*) of the Mihtah and give it to him." Mànak remembered this remark; and one day invited all the Pahawàr chiefs to a feast and detained them in the fort of Kàhàn, while he himself rode out with his army to the village Sagburjì, where 'Isà Pahawàr lived. Mìr, a son of 'Isà, mustered an army and tried to resist Mànak. A gruelling battle ensued, wherein Mìr was killed; and, despite the fact that the Pahawàrs were in full strength and could muster as many as 700 to 800 horsemen and 2,000 to 3,000 foot soldiers, they were defeated. Mànak severed the head of Mìr and sent it to his father, 'Ìsà, with the message that he might weigh it in the same balance he had talked of the other day. Then, after capturing all the military equipment of the Pahawàrs, including their horses, coats of mail, swords and shields, and levying a fine, he released the chiefs from imprisonment. Henceforth, wherever Mànak led an expedition, the Pahawàr army accompanied him. He was able to chastise the Pahawàrs in this way only because the petty peasants and soldiers were happy with his rule. On the other hand, despite the fact that Aḥmad Bèg Khàn had 10 *parganahs* of Sihwan and part of the *parganah* Chandùkah, one of the dependencies of the region of Bhakkar, in his *jàgìr*, he was defeated by the Pahawàrs time and again, and failed to accomplish anything, because he did not keep his peasants and soldiers happy.

During the days of Ḥadṛat-i Jannat Makànì, when the *parganah* of Kàhàn was bestowed on Mìrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn, Mànak decided to proceed to the imperial court. When he reached Bhakkar, Mìrzà Ghàzì, who was

Marfat.com

on his way to Qandahàr, was also there, making preparations for his journey. The Mìrzà sent for Mànak, soothed him; and, taking him in his own employ, bestowed the *parganah* of Kàhàn upon him in *jàgìr-i tankhwàh*. Thus, Mànak, together with 150 good horsemen, went with the Mìrzà to Qandahàr. On the way, the Magasì Balùches failed to wait on the Mìrzà. Mìrzà Ghàzì dispatched Mànak against them. He pursued them, raided their villages, and, having severed the heads of some, captured a large number of their cattle, which he then presented to the Mìrzà . Reaching Qandahàr, the Mìrzà entrusted the fort of Zamìndàwàr to Mànak. There, Mànak performed several feats of valour against Ḥaydar, with which, after a few pitched battles, he defeated him. He also rode out against the Hazàrahs and subdued them. The chief of the Nikùdars, Raushan Sulṭàn, also waited upon him with gifts, including horses, slaves, falcons and hawks *(churgh)*.

Subsequently, as has been mentioned above, when Mìrzà Ghàzì transferred the government of Thattah from Khusrau Bèg to a Hindù called Sà'ìndinah, and that of the *sarkàr* of Naṣrpùr from the sons of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn to his personal servant, Shahbàz Khàn, both of them requested and secured the appointment of Mànak as their *faujdàr*. Thus, he accompanied Sà'ìndinah and Shahbàz Khàn to Naṣrpùr, with a strong army, where, after expelling the sons of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn from the fort of Naṣrpùr, he turned it over to Shahbàz Khàn. Khusrau Bèg told the sons of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn that, among the whole party, it was only Mànak who really mattered, as the others were worthless creatures; and urged them to kill Mànak in whatever way they could. Accordingly, Fatḥì, a son of Qàsim Khàn Arghùn, invited Mànak to a feast at his home and killed him treacherously. After Mànak's death, Fatḥì's brother, Jandà'ì, mounted an elephant and, at the head of a big army, made for the camp of Mànak. Shahbàz Khàn and Sà'ìndinah closed the gates of the fort of Naṣrpùr and strengthened their defences. Rà'èsingh, a son of Mànak, at the head of his father's army, gave battle to Fatḥì and defeated him. He killed many of Jandà'ì's men and, capturing his elephant, presented it to Shahbàz Khàn. Shìr Bèg, a son-in-law of Qàsim Bèg Arghùn, was killed in this ba'tle. Rà'èsingh then attacked Jandà'ì's camp, 5 to 6 *kurohs* from Naṣrpùr, and looted all that he could lay his hands upon. In short, Mànak accomplished all these deeds on the strength of one *parganah*. And God knows what is right.

Item Two

On Ways of Subduing the Chàndiyah Balùches

The commandant (*thànahdàr*) of the *parganah* Bàghbànàn can easily deal with the Chàndiyah Balùches. If they choose to stay in their homes

Marfat.com

and abodes, they shall have to pay the revenue like rest of the peasants and stay away from headstrong ways. If they refuse to do so, he shall ride out against them and take such measures that not only will they be reprimanded, but others, too, shall learn a lesson from their fate. And if, instead, they leave their native land and take up residence in the region of Sìwì and Ganjàbah, even then the goal of subduing them will be achieved: the nomads of those parts, who entertain an instinctive hostility towards these wretches, will destory and ruin them. And God knows best what is right.

Item Three

On Measures for Quelling the Fire of Nuhmardì Sedition

The present writer would like to explain to the world-adorning and joy-spreading intellect of the Emperor how the Nuhmadis may be subdued in one of two ways. Firstly, as has been said above, they are a warlike people and possess a strong army. Following the dictum that man is responsive to benevolence, the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn may send for the chiefs of all the four Nuhmardì clans, and, after soothing them,send them off to the heavenly imperial court, where a petty *manṣab*, together with a *tankhwàh jàgìr*, may be bestowed on each one of them either in the *parganah* Chàkar Hàlah or the *parganah* Sann. Once they have experienced the taste of a *jàgìr* and become used to imperial service, they will also become amenable to rendering military service, for weakening all the remaining hill tribes, driving them to the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn, and helping in the imposition and realization of the annual tribute *(sàliyànah)*. Moreover, if the conquest of Qandahàr, or that of the region of Kìch and Makràn, is ordered, they might be helpful in its execution as well. And God knows best what is right.

Secondly, they might be so weakened that the imperial dominions are no longer threatened by their excesses; the achievement of this goal also rests with the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn. The hill tribes, particularly the Nuhmardìs do not engage in cultivation, but posess a large number of livestock, including camels, horses, goats, and cows, and, for their livelihood, are totally dependent on the *parganahs* of Sihwàn and the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah. They bring their camels, horses, goats, rugs, *shaṭranjìs* (chequered carpets) and other merchandise from the hills and sell them at these places, from where they then buy grain, arms and cloth. On the other hand, the merchants of this region, on their side, carry cloth and arms to the hills and return from there with hill articles, including camels, horses, goats, and other things. Therefore, the *jàgìrdàr* should order his men in the above-mentioned *thànahs* to terminate all traffic of the Balùches and merchants to and from the hills, so that nobody may

Marfat.com

smuggle any Sindhì articles to the hills. Similarly, the *sùbahdàr* of Thattah should also ban the supply of arms and cloth from his region to these people. The victorious imperial armies do not stand in need of any of these articles. If the armies need camels, the Jàts have a large number of them; if horses are needed, so many are available from Qandahàr and Kìch that there are not enough buyers; and if meat is required, goats and chickens are so plentiful in the territory of Sind that one cannot keep track of them. Thus, there is no need to look for anything to these wretches.

Moreover, the *jàgìrs* bestowed on them by the *jàgìrdàrs* of the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah should be cancelled, so that they are again obliged to return to the hills. Then, if, by the grace of God, there are no rains in the hills for a year, as did happen during the recent years, when they were settled in their *jàgìrs* in the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah and nobody interfered with their affairs, they will be destroyed and ruined without any effort on the part of the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwan. Yet if the need for an expedition still arise, the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwan should ride out against them only after a thorough reconnaisance, so that, by the grace of God, they may be caught unawares and thus destroyed. If they should somehow escape, another attempt should be made. Thus, during a period of five years, as has been mentioned earlier, the peasants will gain strength and the Nuhmardìs will become so weak that they will no longer be able to do any harm to the region of Sihwàn and the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah. Meanwhile, if they choose to pay a reasonable annual tribute, as they did during the days of the Tarkhàns, the road to the hills may be reopened. At the moment, they are extremely arrogant because the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn tries to please them with grants of *jàgìrs* in his region, and so do the *jàgìrdàrs* of the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah.

This strategy for dealing with them and other hill tribes was once adopted by Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì during his tenure as the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah. Appointing his men at various points, including Sihwàn, he made sure that nobody travelled to or from the hills. Subsequently, when they and other hill tribes waited upon him in Thattah with tributes, he ordered the reopening of the roads, to the hills and recalled his men from Sihwàn and other places. And God knows best what is right.

If, as in the case of Sihwàn, the *sarkàr* of Chàkar Hàlah beyond the region of Thattah is also conclusively bestowed upon another person, and the *parganahs* of Jatò'ì, Chandùkah, and Takar, from the region of Bhakkar lying near Sukkur, are made over to yet another person, with the territory of Sìwì and Ganjàbah given to him in *tankhwàh jàgìr*, and if these three *amìrs* agree among theselves on points of justice and fairplay,

Marfat.com

and not on those of oppression and tyranny, from which may God save us, in the performance of their imperial service, then the rest of the country of Sind, from Bhakkar to Làharì Bandar, may be declared *khàliṣah sharìfah*. Then tax inspectors *(karòṛìs)* may be appointed to assess the lands in accordance with prevalent procedures, while reasssuring the peasants. The tax inspectors should be made responaible for the people of the entire region, so that the country may develop and prosper day by day, and, with every passing day, the exchequer may become richer, but of course not through any increase in the rates of revenue, which, in the end, only destroy the country. May God therefore enhance the imperial bounty. Administered on these lines, the territory of Sind will soon become populous and excel other *khàliṣah* lands in India by a wide margin, because the peasants of the country of Sind are Muslims and are mostly poor and God-fearing. They are too weak to bear the oppression and tyranny of the *jàgìrdàrs*. And God knows best what is right.

This humblest of the *khànahzàds* submits that all the prolixity in this description of the affairs of the region of Sihwàn stems from the desire to emphasize the need for developing the region on the lines indicated, so that it may embark upon the path of progress and its insurgents may be eradicated. Once this region attains prosperity, there will no longer be any cause for concern about other parts of Sind, for it is the insurgents from this region who disturb the law and order of the regions of Bhakkar and Thattah. This explains why I have described the affairs of the region of Sihwàn last of all in the overall description of the affairs of the territory of Sind. If the measures outlined for the development of this region prove successful, similar measures may be devised and implemented in respect of other parts of this territory.

It may also be noted that the real purpose behind the creation of man is that he should take care of both sides of life. One side pertains to the lower world *('àlam-i sifli)*, and it requires that as long as a man lives he should live in comfort and enjoy a good name. The second side pertains to the upper world *('àlam-i 'ulwì)* which signifies that when, in accordance with the judgement that "Everything will perish save. His countenance,* man steps into the stages of the divine world *('àlam-i ulùhiyyat)* on the day that is described as " That day will a man flee from his brother, and his mother and his father, and his wife and his children; for each one of them that day shall have concerns enough to make him heedless of others",* he undergoes the experience of " Then he who is given his record in his right hand will verily receive an easy reckoning, and he will turn to his folk, rejoicing",* and enjoys the pleasure of "They shall be on thrones encrusted with gold, reclining on them, facing each other. There, immortal youths shall go round attending them, with goblets and

Marfat.com

ewers and a cup from a pure spring, wherefrom they get no aching of the head nor any unconsciousness, and fruits that they prefer and the flesh of fowls that they desire. And (there will be) fair ones with wide, lusterous eyes, like unto pearls well-guarded, a reward for what they used to do."* Te protection of these two sides by kings and *amìrs* is possible only if they act in accordance with the substance of the following verse:

> The comfort of both the worlds is the exposition of these two points:
> Generosity to friends and peace with enemies.

And, in both the worlds, there is no better friend for them than the peasants; for it is from the peasants' earnings that they acquire revenue without undergoing any toil or drudgery themselves. Peasants lead a life of pain and misery while kings and *amìrs* pass their time in ease and luxury. When they treat peasants benevolently, and do not demand anything from them against the canons of the sacred law, they live in comfort and enjoy a good name in this world, and, in the world to come, the peasants bear witness 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: the justice of one moment is better than the good deeds of both worlds. Then, why is it that some *amìrs* and their agents behave neglectfully towards such a friend and by their oppression earn a bad name and suffer uneasiness in this world, and, in the Hereafter, face embarrassment before God? That is exactly what Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ did in the region of Bhakkar, which resembled a golden cup full of precious stones. By the imposition of unauthorized leases *(ijàrahs)* and the demand of revenue in respect of the dead *(fautì)* and runaway (faràrì) cultivators, he drove the peasants who paid their revenue voluntarily into rebellion. Had there been an imperial *amìn* in such a region who prevented the violation of the regulations *(dastùr al-'amal)*, this type of situation would not have arisen.

Strangely enough, these injudicious people, dubbing the outstanding dues of their tyrannous demands as arrears, put the peasants in jail. They become so absorbed in these petty irregular demands that they sacrifice huge amounts of regular official revenue. Once peasants have been put behind bars, who can then attend the court of the *jàgìrdàr*? However, the refractory elements who neither pay the revenue nor attend the court of the *jàgìrdàr* rightly deserve to be imprisoned.

How small an army Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg 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 did, and accompanied him wholeheartedly in his expeditions for the eradication of insurgents. On the other hand, despite all the army at the disposal of

Marfat.com

Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ, because of his mistreatment, the peasants of the *parganah* Chandùkah and Takar went into rebellion, caused confusion in the region of Bhakkar, and took to headstrong ways. Here is an account of this incident: When the aforementioned Ḥàkìm Ṣàliḥ, who had already imprisoned the *arbàb* of the *parganah* Màtìlah called Jallò, also captured Ṣiddìq and Shàh Bèg, son and son-in-law, respectively, to Nandah, the *arbàb* of the *parganah* Chandùkah, and took them to Bhakkar, the Àbrahs killed Dayàl Dàs, a relative of Màngsingh, the *dìwàn* of Bhakkar and Turàj, a son of Gòpàl, the *qànùngù* of Bhakkar, in a row about the assessment of their cultivations and plundered a caravan from Siwì. Ṭàhir Muḥammad, the *shiqqdàr* of the *parganah* Takar, with the help of 80 horsemen, wanted to lay his hands upon the *arbàb* of the aforementioned *parganah*, 'Abd al-Wàḥid by name, who was then in the village Làkiyàr, a dependency of the *parganah* Takar; and, with this intention, rode out towards the village Làkiyàr. The Samèjahs of Làkiyàr destroyed the dam that lay in his way, and thus Ṭàhir Muḥammad's army found itself stranded in water. The wretched Samèjahs shot all the 80 horsemen with arrows, looted their arms and horses, and took Shiqqdàr Ṭàhir Muḥammad, into custody.

In the hour of need, when there is no escape left,
The hand grabs the sharp blade of the sword.

Had Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ followed the traditional procedure of assessment and realized the official revenue seasonally, protecting the peasants from the oppressive wolves, he would never have had to put up with such an embarrassment; and now, even if Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ were to be shredded into a hundred pieces, the region of Bhakkar would not recover its previous prosperity. That will only happen gradually and through the tender care of a prudent person. The following verse reflects the situation of the aforementioned Ḥàkìm:

Did you see what the stupid ass did?
He committed oppression and the riches went to others.

This is the last thing that I have to say in Part Two. Now, on behalf of all the peasants, I submit the following verse from an auspicious panegyric to the holiest presence of the Emperor:

O the noblest of all creatures! I have no place of refuge
When the Day of Judgement approaches, or my body is
overpowered by death.

And with that I turn to the epilogue. And God is the Guide to the Right Path.

Marfat.com

EPILOGUE

On Treading the path of the Hereafter for Kings, Wazìrs and Amìrs, with their Preoccupations with the world, and the Easy Way for Obtaining the Stages and Virtues that are Mentioned in Different Books and Are Summarized in Section One of Chapter One of Part One and the Way to Escape from the Threats that are Described in Section Two of Chapter One

It is not unknown to enlightened minds that Muslims are divided into three categories. Firstly, the kings of the world and the Hereafter, who are the four [Rightly Guided] Caliphs, with whom may God be pleased, just kings and the rich *(ghanìyàn)* who follow their path. Secondly, the beggars of the world and kings of the Hereafter, who are those who are patient in poverty and hunger, do no complain of worldly adversities and are content with whatever mundane possessions they have. Thirdly, the kings of the world and beggars of the Hereafter, who are the 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 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 preoccupations 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 *amìr* and yet avoid all the concomitant pitfalls, particularly when we realize that the baser self is inclined towards mischief and corruption – the world is sweet, alluring and attractive, and Satan is a poweful enemy?", I would say that there are two ways to achieve this objective. One of these two ways is a God-given gift *(wahbì)*, and one finds it without any effort or struggle on one's part. This happens when divine light illuminates the king's heart, and, through that light, he perceives the good and bad sides of different things. Thus, by the grace of God, represented by that light, he follows the virtues and abandons the evils. This is not difficult for a person to whom God is kind and whom He strengthens with the inspiration that is at His command, exalted be His name. The second of these ways is the acquired one (*kasbì*), and that follows from the performance of certain other things, such as the king

Marfat.com

engaging himself in the people's affairs during the day and occupying himself with the concerns of his own baser self during the night – that is, he should busy himself humbly in worship and prayer, so that God Most High might lighten the burden of the worldly office *(shaghl-i dunyà)* that he shoulders. Thus his neck shall be saved from the sin of tyranny. The king's effort to acquire knowledge is yet another such thing. He should, every evening, make four persons stand before him, each one, in turn, reading out to him those characteristics of the just kings and the traditions of the Prophet that exemplify the excellence of justice and the eradication of oppression and tyranny; for justice and policies leading to the prosperity of the realm are the basic supports of a king. Yet another such thing is that the king should sleep in a place where he can hear the voice of the oppressed and the supplicants. It is said of Nùshìrwàn that he had installed a chain of which one end was linked to his bed chamber and the other was suspended from a window, so that when a supplicant pulled that chain, Nùshìrwàn at once became aware of it, and could then redress his grievance. During the beginning of his reign, Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makànì had also installed such a chain of justice. This least of the *khànahzàds*, however, says that there is no need to put up such a chain of justice. Instead, the king should allocate a special place within his sight for the oppressed and the supplicants, which every poor, and rich person should be able to reach without let or hindrance. Thus, the moment the king notices anybody there, he should know that person is a supplicant, and he should then 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'ahs* of supererogatory morning *(ishràq)** prayers with the intention of invoking divine guidance (*istikhàrah*). During the first *rak'ah*. he should recite "*Qul yà ayyuhaal-kàfirùn*" ["Say: O disbelievers", Qur'àn *Sùrah* 59] after the *Fàtiḥah*, and, during the second *rak'ah* he should recite " *Qùl Hù Allàhu Aḥad*" ["Say: He is Allah, the One," Qur'àn, *Sùrah* 62] when he has completed the prayers, he should raise his hands and recite the following invocation [Omitted here].

Indeed, this invocation is just like a living preceptor to a disciple. Thus, whoever says these prayers regularly may hope that, by the grace of God, his sayings, deeds, movements and pauses will conform to the *shari'ah* of the Prophet and, God willing, he would attain high stages in Paradise.

Yet another such thing is that the king should say two *rak'ahs* in the night (*'Ishà'*) prayers before the *witrs* (prescribed *rak'ahs*). During these two *rak'ahs*, he should think of repentance and returning to God Most High. In every *rak'ah*, after the *Fàtiḥah*, he should recite from the Qur'an whatever he can and then say the following invocation [omitted here].

Marfat.com

As for the benefit of these last prayers of repentance, the *Ṣùfi* masters, on whom be the mercy of God, said that a true disciple is one who renders the recording angel on his left shoulder so idle that he stops recording any of his sins. They have said that it does not mean that the disciple no longer commits any sins; unimpeccable as he is, he does commit sins; but the angel does not record them until that person goes to bed. Hence, one should repent all one's sins before that time, and make it a habit to say these prayers all through one's life, so that the angel remains idle and does not record one's sins. Whoever says these prayers regularly, and repents every day before going to bed, may hope that, by the grace of God, his good deeds (*hasanàt*) are recorded and sins (*sayyi'àt*) are ingnored. Thus, God willing, on the Day of Judgement, only the good deeds will be recorded in his roll of deeds, and no sins will be found in it. He wil enter Paradise without any interrogation and, as, by the grace and mercy of God Almighty, he attains high stages in Paradise, he will be reckoned among the Kings of Paradise; and this is not beyond the benevolence 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 that 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, Shadow of Divine Kindness on the people of the world, Abù al-Muẓaffar Shihàb al-Dìn Muḥammad, Lord of the Second Conjunction Shàh Jahàn Pàdshàh Ghàzì.

☆ ☆ ☆

Marfat.com

COMMENTARY

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

COMMENTARY

139:10 A title of respect which precedes the names of kings, saints and some other respected personages.

139:11 'Nestling at the foot of the Divine throne', a posthumous title of the Emperor Akbar. The Mughul emperors Bàbur, Humàyùn, Jahàngìr, Shahjahan and Aurangzìb were, after their death, respectively, styled Firdaus Àshiyànì, Jannat Makànì, Firdaus Àshiyànì[1] and Khuld Makànì by Persian chroniclers.

139:13 For the history and importance of Làharì Bandar, see Chalbànì, pp.60-1; 101-3.

140:4 Abù al-Fadl (*A.A.*, vol.II, p.160) confounds Bhakkar with Mansùrah.[2]

140:5 "seven rivers"– A term applied to the Indus near Bhakkar. Gùlbadan Begum[3] also uses this word in the same sense.

According to the Yajur Veda[4] which was compiled a century or two after the Righ Veda[5] Suturdri (Sutlaj), Vipas (Biàs), Parushni (Ràvì). Asikni, or Chandrabhaga (Chinàb), and Vitasta (Jhèlum) together with Sindhù and Saraswatì formed the Saptasindhì (seven rivers).

Some authorities put the Kubha in the place of the Saraswatì[6]

140:8 Lòhrì's modern name is Ròhrì.[7]

140:9 Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì[8] refers to this part of the Indus as the Panjàb river (*daryà-i Panjàb*)[9] and Kinàr, or Kahàr Tàtrì.

1. See *H.N.*,p.3; *Tuzuk* p.3; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.[illegible] *M.A.*, vol.I, p.*wàw*; Kàmwar Khàn, p
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, Third Edn., Banaras, 1957. (Book XXXIV, Verse 26), p.335 and commentary.
5. The Rig 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 Ròhrì, see Chalbani, pp.59-60; *H.A.T.S.*, pp.235-37.
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

Contd.

Marfat.com

140:9 Pìr Ghulàm means 'an old servant'. The author refers to his father by this name throughout the book, implying that he was an old servant oî the Emperor.

140:12 *ayyàm-i bìḍ*: "The days of the bright nights", that is, the 13th, 14th and 15th of each lunar month.[10]

140:13 Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì[11] refers to Niabadrah as Tatabadra, and according to him it lay in the town of Alòr, 3 *kuròhs*, or 6 miles, from the *Ṣuffah-i Ṣafà'*.

140:20 Modern Sukkur.

140:21 Though generally believed to be a prophet, his name does not appear in the Qur'àn.[12] 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 was thus destined to live until the last trump of the Day of Judgement was sounded.[14] *Ṣùfi* literature abounds in references to different saints' encounters with him;[15] and, according to some, he was a companion and guide of Moses.[16] He is regarded as the patron saint of water; and people of the Subcontinent are in the habit of offering oblations of lamps and flowers to him.[17]

140:29 The following extract from the *Akbar Nàmah* gives some idea about the type of ships which passed through the Indus during the days of Akbar:

> On the 30th,[18] a boat was completed on the banks of the Ràvì. The length of the keel (*còbì*) which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilàhì yards. 2936 large planks (*shahtìr*) of sàl and pine (*naga*),[19] and 468 *mans* 2 *sìrs* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths and others were employed. His Majesty went to see the spectacle. A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In 10 days it was brought from dry land to

rather than a popular name. See *ibid.*, pp.287-89n.

10. *D.I.*, *s.v.*
11. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.199.
12. Muḥammad Khazà'ilì, *A'làm-i Qur'àn*, 2nd Edn.. Tehran, 1350 H. Sh., p.210.
13. *D.I.*, s.v. 'Al-Khizr'.
14. Raverty, 492n.
15. *Tarjumah-i Risàlah-i Qushayriyyah* ed., Badì' al-Zamàn Furùzànfar, Tehran, 1967, pp.32, 250, 658, 681, 682, 688, 692-93.
16. *Ibid.*, pp.584-85.
17. Raverty, 492n. For further details, see G. Rentz, *s.v.*, *E.I.* Khurdàd 1002/May-June 1594.
19. Text has wrongly 'nakhùd.'

Marfat.com

the water, and sent to Bandar Làharì. There was much difficulty on account of the deficiency of water.[20]

140:32 Sìtàsar: Whereas Farìd Bhakkarì[21] and modern Sindhì scholars accept the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì's* version of the name of this monument, the author of the *Ma'àthir al-Umarà'*,[23] and Blochmann[24] record its name as "Satyàsar" or "Satyàsur". This monument no longer exists;[25] but when extant, it was considered one of the wonders of the world.[26] *Gunbad-i daryà'ì*[27] was its chronogrammatic name, which, according to the *abjad* system of calculation, yielded 1007 A.H./1598-9 A.D. as the year of its construction.

141:6 Màtìlah (*var.* Màthìlah). Abù al-Faḍl mentions this place amongst the *maḥals* of the Bàrì Dòàb, in the *sarkàr* of Multàn, in the *ṣùbah* of the same name. It comprised 2,068 *bìghas* of land, and its revenue amounted to 608,418 *dàms*. The place was inhabited by Jàts, who provided 20/500 strong cavalry and infantry.[28] Màtìlah is now included in the Ghòtkì *ta'lùqah* of Ròhṛì district, about 45 miles north-east of Ròhṛì and 6 miles south-east of the Ghòtkì railway station.[29]

141:9 'In olden times ... Bhakkar', is taken from *T.S.* (p.124).

141:20 Ràshidì speculates that it should be transcribed as Ladhà Gàgan.[30]

141:23 See *T.S.*, p.122

141:33 Cf. *T.S.*, p.122. According to some manuscripts of *T.S.*, Sulṭàn Maḥmùd was aged 15[31] at that time, but, considering the fact

20. *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.1001; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.651-52. For more information about transportation on the Indus, see Chalbani, pp.101-3.
21. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I. p.204.
22. Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Mìr Muḥammad Ma'ṣùm Bakharì*, Hyderabad, 1979, pp.202, 335-36, 363-66.
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 Urdù translator of *M.U.*, (vol.III, p.277n.) has confounded the Sìtàsar with the domed tomb of Mìr Ma'ṣùm in the city of Sukkur. For the latter, see Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East-India Company*, London, 1854, vol.IV, p.605; *Gazetteer of the Provinces of Sind*, B, vol.III (Sukkur District), Bombay, 1928, p.49; Henry Cousens, *op.cit.*, pp.150-52; Ràshidì, *op.cit.*, pp.344-61.
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

Cont'd

Marfat.com

that he was born in 898[32]/192-93; his age should have been more than 20 years at that time.

142:4 Could he be the same person who has been described as one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kàmràn[33] and whom Mìrzà Ḥaydar Dùghlàt during Kàmràn Mìrzà's absence to Qandahàr in 941/1534,[34] unsuccessfully tried to send to Kashmìr on a military expedition?[35] He was also dispatched by Kàmràn Mìrzà, during the last phase of Humàyùn's wanderings in Sind, to Mìrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn with a proposal for the latter's daughter.[36]

142:5 Mìr Fàḍil b. 'Àdil b. Aḥmad Khwàjah hailed from a respectable family of Khùràsgàn,[37] a town in the subdistrict of Jay in the province of Iṣfahàn, on the Iṣfahàn-Yazd road.[38] His grandfather, Khwàjah Aḥmad Iṣfahànì who traced his origin to the proverbial philanthropist, 'Abù 'Adì Ḥatim-i Ṭà'ì,[39] fell into the hands of Mìr Dhù al-Nùn's father, Mìr Ḥasan Baṣrì, when the latter was engaged in a punitive expedition against the inhabitants of Iṣfahàn, under Amìr Tìmùr Gùrkàn,[40] in 789/1389.[41] Mìr Ḥasan Baṣrì adopted Khwàjah Aḥmad as his son,[42] and thus laid the foundation of close cooperation between the two families. Khwàjah Aḥmad's son, 'Àqil Khwàjah Atakah,[43] and grandson, Fàḍil Kùkultàsh,[44] took sides with Dhù al-Nùn and his son, Shàh Bèg Arghùn, through thick and thin, and distinguished themselves in many difficult enterprises.

Fàḍil Kùkultàsh and his sons, particularly Sulṭàn Maḥmùd

he was 14 years old.

32. *T.S.*, pp.236-37; *M.R.*, vol.II, p.335.
33. *T.R.*, Introduction, p.18.
34. For details, see Riazul Islam, pp.22-24.
35. *T.R.*, p.482.
36. *H.N.*, tr., pp.163-64; *H.N.*, pp.64-65; *T.S.*, p.181; *H.A.T.S.*, p.106 and n.2 on the same page.
37. *H.A.T.S.*, p.146.
38. *Farhang-i Jughràfiyà-i Ìràn*, 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.* Mìr Ma'ṣùm erroneously records his name as 'Adì b. Ḥatim-i Ṭà'ì.
40. *T.S.*, p.218; *H.A.T.S.*, p.147.
41. Mu'ìn al-Dìn Naṭanzì, *Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh-i Mu'ìnì*, 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*.

Marfat.com

Bhakkarì, Bàbà Aḥmad[45] and Mìr 'Abd al-Fattàḥ,[46] made a significant contribution in carving out an independent Arghùn kingdom in Sind, and in the restoration of law and order in its precincts. A seasoned soldier though he was, Mìr Fàḍil's harsh and cruel nature could inspire fear and awe, but could not win over the hearts of his subjects. Once Mìr Dhù al-Nùn assigned to him the township of Kazìw, in the region of Zamìn Dàwar, but Fàḍil destroyed it by his excesses. The favourite of the Mìr that he was, no one could bring the matter to the notice of the Arghùn chief – that is not until Maulànà Ṣubùḥì, a poet and boon companion of the Mìr, finally apprised him of the plight of the population of the town and rescued the people from the high-handedness of Mìr Fàḍil.[47]

Mìr Fàḍil died in 928/1521-22 and was buried at Bhakkar.[48]

142:19 The scion of an old and illustrious family of the *Qàḍìs* of Sind[49] and paternal grandfather[50] of the celebrated Qàdirì saint, Miyàn Muḥammad Mìr Sindhì Làhaurì,[51] Qàḍì Qàḍan's versatile personality and the high esteem in which he was held by contemporary rulers spontaneously brings to mind the famous Safawid Qàḍì-i Jahàn.[52] His ripe wisdom, innovative genius and profound learning and piety made him equally popular with the Jàm[53] and the Arghùn[54] 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 spiritual refinement. He died in 958/1551.[55]

45. *Ibid.*, pp.125, 144-45.
46. *Ibid.*, pp.125, 146, 228.
47. Zayn al-Dìn Maḥmùd-i Wàṣifì, *Badàyi' al-Waqàyì*, ed., Alexandar Boldyrev. Moscow, 1961, vol.II pp.1156-87. From this work one gets the impression that Mìr Fàḍìl was a foster-brother of Mìr Dhù al-Nùn, not of Shàh Bèg.
48. *T.S.*, p.125.
49. His genealogy goes like this: Qàḍì Qàḍan b. Qàḍì Abù Sa'id b. Qàḍì Zayn al-Dìn b. Qàḍì Qàḍan, who, in turn, traced his descent through a long chain to one Qàḍì Abù al-Khayr. Qàḍì Qàḍan's brother, his son (*T.S.*, pp.200-2, 281) and four of his daughter, Bìbì Fàtimah's sons were also Qàḍìs. See Muḥammad Dàrà Shukùh, *Sakìnat al-Auliyà'*, ed., Tàrà Chand and Sayyid Muḥammad Razà Jalàlì Nà'ìnì, Tehran, n.d., pp.27, 50. Dàrà Shukùh, p.26.
51. For his life, see Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, *Ḥaḍrat Miyàn Mìr Qàḍirì Làhauri*, *Quarterly Urdù*, LII/2 (1976), pp.35-59 (in Urdù), and its Sindhì translation by Nawàz 'Alì Shauq in *Mihran*, 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 Sindhì poetry; and the discovery

Contd....

Marfat.com

142:29 Kàkṛì (*var.* Kakhrì). During the days of Akbar, this place was one of the 12 *maḥals* of the *sarkàr* of Bhakkar, in the province of Multàn. Its inhabitants are described as Mankrèrah in the *À'ìn,*[56] which is one of the several variations of the word Mangnèjah.[57] According to Hughes,[58] they are a Sindhì clan settled in Naushahro district. They are perhaps so called because they are descended from a person named 'Nanghe'.[59]

142:30 Derived from *T.S.* (p.245).

142:31 Sayyid Muḥammad belonged to a distinguished family of the Sayyids of Amròhah,[60] an important town in the *sarkàr* of Sanbhal. He studied *Ḥadìth* under the most accomplished teachers of his agė, and then joined the imperial service under Akbar.[61] The Emperor subsequently chose him as his *Mìr 'Adl.* This office was introduced by Akbar for the first time in the history of Mughul administration in the Subcontinent.[62] There was no such office under the Sulṭàns of Dihlì nor does an office under this designation ever seem to have existed in the judicial structure of any Muslim government outside the Subcontinent. Under the Mughuls, the appointment to this post was made only in instances where the *qàḍì* 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] Producing the litigants before the *qàḍì* and implementing the latter's verdict were also the *Mìr 'Adl's* responsibilities [65]. Besides this, he was supposed to help the *ṣadr*, along with the *qaḍi.* to inquire into the circumstances of applicants for a grant of the *madad-i ma'àsh*

and publication of some of his verses in India recently generated a lively debate about his poetic genius among Sindhì scholars of Pakistan. See *Mihràn,* XXCIII/3-4 (1979), pp.91-108. One of the earliest references to Qàḍì Qàḍan's poetry is seen in *G.A.*, f. 178b.

56. *A.A.*, vol.II, p.164; *A.A.*, tr., vol.II, p.336.
57. *T.S.*,p.245. The correct form, however, is 'Mangnèjah; See Hodivala, vol.I, p.111.
58. *Sind Gazetteer*,p.583.
59. Hodivala, vol.II, p.111.
60. In the Muràdàbàd 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.
65. A.A., vol.I, p.197.

Marfat.com

and to assist him in the processing of these cases.[66]

By virtue of his universally recognized 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 Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkarì, when court circles did not approve of the appointment of descendants of Sayf al-Mulùk to a frontier province such as Bhakkar,[68] Akbar, who was already contemplating the liquidation of the orthodox clique at court,[69] promoted Sayyid Muḥammad, a man of strictly orthodox outlook,[70] to a rank of 1,000,[71] bestowed upon him a special sword, a horse and a robe of honour,[72] and made him the governor of Bhakkar.[73] Ṣayyid Muḥammad arrived in Bhakkar on 11 Ramaḍàn 983[74]/13 December 1575.

In view of his extensive experience as *Mîr 'Adl*, and his learning and piety, Sayyid Muḥammad was given the powers of the *ṣadr* as well, and authorized to grant means of subsistence to deserving Sayyids, scholars, saints and other inhabitants of the area in accordance with their needs. Sayyid Muḥammad made such liberal use of this prerogative that, during the short span of his office, before his death on 8 Sha'bàn 984/29 October 1576, he had distributed around 50,000 *bìghahs* of land among various deserving people.[75]

After the death of Sayyid Muḥammad *Mîr 'Adl*, his son, Mìr Abù al-Faḍl, held his position for some time, until, in the same year, 984/1576-77, he was replaced by I'timàd Khàn

66. Blochmann, p.278.
67. *T.A.*, vol.III, p.438; *M.T.*, vol.III, p.75; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.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.*, vol.I, p.217, where the Sayyid is erroneously reported to have been appointed as the *Mîr 'Adl*, and not the governor of Bhakkar.
74. *T.S.*, p.245. Badàyùnì records the grant of the governorship of Bhakkar to Sayyid Muḥammad among the events of the year 983/1575-76 (*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 984/1576-77. The earlier year, which is corroborated by the *A.N.*, vol.III, p.224, and the T.S., p.245, however, seems correct.
75. *T.S.*, p.246; cf. *M.T.*, vol.III, p.76, where 986/1578-79 is mentioned as the year of his death.

Marfat.com

143:11 Khwājahsarà.[76]

Darbèlah (*var.* Darbèlò). One of the 12 *mahals* of the *sarkàr* of Bhakkar during the days of Akbar, containing 121,146 *bìghahs* of land, with a total revenue of 1,262,761 *dàms.*[77] According to Abù al-Faḍl, the place was inhabited by Bhattìs and provided a 200/500 strong cavalry and infantry.[79]

Darbèlò lies about 76 miles south-east of Bhakkar and 10 miles north of Naushahro, in the *ta'lùqah* of the same name.[80]

145:1 Based on *T.S.*, (pp.124-25).

146:7 The other manuscript of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* has the following additional information about it: "The fourth *parganah* is called Fatḥpùr, but; since it has been lying in utter ruin, I have not ventured to describe it."

149:4 Based on *T.S.* (pp.128-30)

151:2 *T.S.*, p. 130. According to *A.A.*, vol.II, p.161, the simoom blew for three months.

151:20 According to Farìd Bhakkarì,[81] he was of pure Turkmàn stock. He and his brother Burj 'Alì, both were in the imperial service. Burj 'Alì did not make much of his life, but Qùch 'Alì, after serving for some time in Gujaràt, was, during the reign of Jahàngìr, honoured with the *jagìr* of Sìwì and Ganjàbah, a dependency of Bhakkar. During his stay there, Qùch 'Alì led some punitive expeditions against the Afghàns and Balùch of the *kàchah* region, and wrought such a havoc among them that thenceforward the Afghàns disciplined their children by frightening them with his name. A man of barbarous temperament, he kept two big vats of boiling water prepetually ready; the moment a criminal was brought to his presence, regardless of the nature of the crime, he was tied hand and foot and flung into one of these vats. Around 1,000 persons in that region met their death at his hands in this manner.

He had borrowed a sum of about 100,000 rupees from the money-lenders of Akbaràbàd, Làhore and Multàn. When he came

76. Blochmann, p.473.
77. *A.A.*, vol.II, p.164; *A.A.*, tr., vol.II, p.336.
78. For Bhattìs, 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.
81. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II., p.378.

Marfat.com

to Sind, he brought these money-lenders along and, after somehow or other obtaining a receipt for the money he owed to them, he killed them one and all. When news of his tyrannous administration reached the imperial court, he was recalled, and his *jàgìr* was made over to the sons of Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì. Suspecting Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì of having manoeuvred his transfer, Qùch 'Alì wanted to obtain the *faujdàri* of Bhakkar, the native place of his opponent, and wreak vengeance on him. Meanwhile, the efforts of Shaykh Farìd bore fruit, and Qùch 'Alì was obliged to accompany Muqarrab Khan to Patnah,[82] where he eventually died.

Quch 'Alì's only child was a daughter, whom he dressed like a son and called by a male name, Khiḍar Khàn. Excessively fond of her, he swore by her and did not allow her to marry during his lifetime.[83]

151:23 His original name was Tàsh Bèg Qùrchìn.[84] He was at first in the service of Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm,[85] and, when the latter revolted against Akbar and started conferring indiscriminate honours on his followers, Tàsh Bèg was nominated for a command of 1,000 and honoured with the title of *Khàn*, together with a standard and kettle-drum.[86] After the death of Mìrzà Ḥakìm, Tàj Khàn entered Akbar's service,[87] and, over the years, distinguished himself in a number of military expeditions in different parts of the Subcontinent.[88] In recognition of his excellent performance in a campaign against Ma'ù, Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Khàn* [89] and promoted him to a command of 2,000.

On his accession, Jahàngìr promoted Tàj Khàn to a rank of 3,000;[90] and, during his second regnal year, charged him with the responsibility of looking after the affairs of Kàbul and its environs until the arrival of Shàh Bèg Khàn from Qandahàr.[91]

82. Muqarrab Khàn, a confidant of Jahàngìr, was oppointed the governor of Bihàr in 1027/1618. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.38. For his life, see *Dh,Kh.*, vol.II, 271-73.
83. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II.pp.378-79.
84. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.473, cf. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31; Kèwalràm, *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; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31.
90. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31.
91. *Tùzuk*, p.58.

Marfat.com

By the time Tàj Khàn became the *faujdàr* of Multàn,[92] he already held a *manṣab* of 3,000 personnel 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 Kàbul.[94] After serving there for some time, Tàj Khàn was made the governor of Bhakkar,[95] where he served for two years until, in Ṣafar 1023/March 1614, he was raised to a *manṣab* of 4,000 personnel and 3,000 horse,[96] and entrusted with the governorship of Thattah, vice Mìrzà Rustam Ṣafawì.[97] It was during his tenure at this last place that he soon afterwards died.[98]

His son, Jamìl Bèg, who was married to the daughter of Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn,[99] was also in the imperial service. He was killed in a battle against Ràjah Bàsù.[100] Tàj Khàn, who was deeply shocked by the untimely death of his son, constructed an imposing mausoleum for him outside the town of Kalànpùr and decorated its walls with a moving elegy. After his death, Tàj Khàn was also buried in this tomb.[101]

151:24 During the days of Akbar, it was one of the 17 *maḥals* of the Bìrùn-i Panjnad area of the *sarkàr* of Multàn in the province *(ṣùbah)* of Multàn. It contained 11,320 *bìghahs* of land, and its revenue amounted to 915, 256 *dàms*. The place was inhabited by the Dhars, who maintained a 30/50 strong cavalry and infantry.[102]

151:24 Situated 75 miles from Ròhṛì, on the road to Multàn, Ùbàwrah now forms part of the Ròhrì Deputy Collectorate.[103]

152:15 Qur'àn 2:249

152:31 A special breed of horse peculiar to Zahrì, a place some 15 miles southeast of Quṣdar.[104]

153:4 For the economic and historical importance of Thattah, see

92. *Ibid.*, p.80. He was relieved by Abù al-Bì Uzbek
93. See *ibid.*, p.86.
94. *Ibid.*
95. See *ibid.*, p.110.
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*, Second Edn., Hyderabad, 1975, p.157. For Quṣdar, see Guy Le Strange, pp.331-33.

Marfat.com

Chalbani, pp.52-6; 175. For its origin, see N.A. Baloch, in Dani, pp.198-200.

153:7 For Kalànkòt and Tagharàbàd, see *T.T.*, p.338 n.

153:30 The Nakàmarah were a subdivision of the Meds who inhabited the entire coastal belt from Kàthiyàwàr to Makràn and were notorious for their piracy at sea. Even as early as the 8/14 century, local Sindhì rulers were unable to enforce their will on these pirates.[105]

154:12 Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì[106] belonged to a family of Sayyids hailing from a village called Ma'mùràbàd,[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 *bakhshì* of Bihàr,[110] Gujaràt,[111] and Bangàl[112] under that monarch. On his accession to the throne, Jahàngìr also made him a *bakhshì* and gave him a robe of honour.[113] Soon afterwards, his services were transferred to Sulṭàn Parwìz, who was appointed to lead a punitive expedition against Mèwàr[114] However, before long, he was recalled to court and permanently appointed the *bakshì-i ḥuḍùr* (*bakhshì* at headquarters) to work in collaboration with[115] Abù al-Ḥasan.[116]

During the later phase of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn's

105. 'Alì b. Ḥamid b. Abì Bakr al-Kùfi, *Chachnàmah*, ed., 'Umar b. Muḥammad Dà'ùdpòtah, Bombay, 1939, p.89.
106. The names 'Abd al-Razzàq and Abd al-Razzàq Ma'mùrì refer to one and the same person, not two persons as suggested by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangìr*, 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. *Tùzuk*, p.6; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.13.
114. *Tùzuk*, p.7; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.16.
115. In 994/1585-86 Akbar decided to appoint two *Amìrs* 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 *Amìrs*, every province was provided with one *dìwàn* and one *bakhshì*. (See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.511). Jahàngìr'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.' *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.82; *Tùzuk*, p.39.
116. *Ibid.*

Marfat.com

jàgìrdàrship of Thattah, his agents in that province had, much to his vexation, been behaving quite arrogantly. While remedial measures initiated by him were still in progress, the Mìrzà died suddenly at Qandahàr, on 11 Ṣafar 1021/13 April 1612. To avoid any further deterioration in the situation at Thattah,[117] Jahàngìr forthwith dispatched Mìr 'Abd al-Razzàq Ma'mùrì to look after the affairs of that province,[118] while he pondered about the suitable incumbents who might be entrusted with the governorship of that province on a long-term basis.[119] In the meantime, when Mìrzà Rustam Ṣafawì, who had been recalled to court from the Deccan expedition at his own request,[120] arrived at court, Jahàngìr appointed him the new governor of Thattah with a substantial increase in his *manṣab*.[121] After Mìrzà Rustam's arrival[122] at the seat of his government, 'Abd al-Razzàq Ma'mùrì returned to the court with the headstrong slave of the late Mìrzà Ghàzì and some other Arghùn and Tarkhàn notables.[123] Not long afterwards, the Mìr was once again on his way to Thattah as the *bakhshì* with a few more laurels in his cap,[124] and the title of Muẓaffar Khàn to his credit.[125] On 15 Rabì' I 1025/2 April 1616; he was promoted to the governorship of Thattah.[126] Henceforth, except for a brief interlude, when he visited the court during the

117. The crux of the problem was the growing independence in the attitude of Mìrzà Ghàzì's agents at Thattah, 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 *Tùzuk* (p.110, *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.255). The original text purports that 'Abd al-Razzàq was sent to Thattah by Jahàngìr 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. Jahàngìr does not specify his designation. But whatever he has written *(Tùzuk*, p.110) read in conjunction with *Maz.Sh.*(p.42) and the colophon of a Persian manuscript entitled the *Tarjumah-i Nahj al-Balaghah* by Qàḍì Nùr al-Dìn 'Abd al-'Azìz, preserved in India Office Library and Records (Handlist entitled *Delhi Persian Collection* prepared by Bilgràmì and Sims Williams, p.194, Entry no. 474.251) clearly supports the view that he was appointed as the governor of that place.

119. *Tùzuk*, p.110; *Tùzuk* (R&B), p.225.

120. *Ibid.*

121. *Tùzuk*, p.111; *Tùzuk* (R&B), p.229. He was sent on his journey to Thattah on 26 Jumàdà II 1021/25 August 1612.

122. According to *T.N.*, p.94, he arrived at Thattah on 10 Muḥarram 1021/13 March 1612, which cannot be correct for obvious reasons (Note 121 above). Could it then perhaps have been 10 Muḥarram 1022/2 March 1613?

123. *Tùzuk*, p.117; *Tùzuk* (R&B), p.240; *T.N.*, p.94.

124. *Tùzuk*, p.118; *Tùzuk* (R&B), p.242.

125. *T.N.*, p.94.

126. *Tùzuk*, p.156.

Marfat.com

13th regnal year.[127] Muẓaffar Khàn continuously held that position for almost five years, until towards the close of the 15th regnal year (1030/1621), he was recalled to court.[128] During the remaining period of Jahàngìr's reign, he was twice appointed the *Mîr Bakhshì* and as many times the governor (*ḥàris*) of Akbaràbàd,[129] before his final assignment as the governor of Màlwah.[130] When Shàhjahàn emerged from Ajmèr and proceeded to take over the mantle of power, Muẓaffar Khàn waited on him[131] and pledged his loyalty to him. However, he could not survive long under the new order and soon retired from service.[132]

154:13 Badìn lies 62 miles south-south-east of Hyderabad.[133]

154:28 Mìrzà Rustam was a great grandson of Shàh Ismà'ìl Ṣafawì. His father, Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mìrzà, son of Bahràm Mìrzà, was a nephew of Shàh Ṭahmàsb Ṣafawì, who entrusted him (965[134]/1558) with the government of Qandahàr, Zamìndàwar and its dependencies as far as the Hìlmand river.[135] Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mìrzà held this region for almost two decades until he died (984[136]/1576) during the reign of Shàh Ismà'ìl II. He was survived by five[137] sons, namely Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mìrzà, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà, Mìrzà Rustam, Abù Sa'ìd Mìrzà and Sanjar Mìrzà. Shah Ismà'ìl, blood-thirsty monarch that he was, slew Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mìrza, and issued orders for the elimination of his brothers at Qandahàr.[138] Luckily for the Mìrzàs, before the plan could be executed, the Shàh himself passed away. His successor, Muḥammad Khudà Bandah bestowed Qandahàr on Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà, and gave Zamìndàwar and its dependencies to

127. *Ibid.*, pp.234,238.
128. *Ibid.*, pp.326-27.
129. Kèwalràm, *s.v.*, Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì; *Tùzuk*, p.361.
130. *A.S.*, vol.,III, p.226; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.377.
131. *Ibid.*, pp.183, 226; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shàhjahàn of Dihlì*, Allahabad, 1958, p.62.
132. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.378. The last time he is heard of in the *A.S.* (vol.III, p.405) is 18 Shawwàl 1041/8 May 1632.
133. Hodivala, vol.I, p.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 erroneously attributed to the years 974/1566.
137. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; *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.

Marfat.com

Mìrzà Rustam and his two younger brothers, Abù Sa'ìd and Sanjar.[139] The intrigues of their enemies, and the irrepressible desire of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà and Mìrzà Rustam to advance 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 retaliation from the Maliks of Sìstàn, whose ruler, Malik Maḥmùd, he had treacherously killed,[141] and realizing that it was well-nigh impossible to resist both the ever-growing Uzbek pressure[142] and the covetous designs of the Mughuls,[143] Mìrzà Rustam expressed a desire to emigrate to the Subcontinent.[144] Akbar accepted his request, 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 Mìrzà at Làhore in Muḥarram 1002/1593. His brother, Sanjar Mìrzà, his four sons, Muràd, Shàhrukh, Ḥasan and Ibràhìm, and 400 Turkmàns were also present on the occasion. Every one of them was adequately rewarded.[147]

With an eye on further impressing Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà, who still held Qandahàr, Akbar showed all the more warmth and generosity to Mìrzà Rustam; he gave him a *manṣab* of 5,000,[148] Multàn and many *parganahs* of Balùchistàn[149] in *jàgìr*, and a cash reward of 10 million *Muràdì Tankahs*.[150] He was also favoured

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.295-97, 433-35; Blochmann, pp.328-29.
141. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, pp.483-84.
142. See *ibid.*, p.485; *Tùzuk* (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 Mìrzà first came to Bhakkar, whence he accompanied Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn to the court of Akbar; whereas the fact is that Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn had already arrived at the Mughul court in Jumàdà II 1001/March 1593 with Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn (*A.N.*, vol.III, p.633; *M.T.*, vol.II, p.386). Evidently, Iskandar Bèg Munshì has confounded the details of Mìrzà Rustam's journey to the court with those of his brother, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, for it was the latter who was received, among others, by Mìrzà Jànì Bèg Tarkhàn (*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.

Marfat.com

with a standard and drums.[151]

The Mîrzà Rustam's arrival in the Subcontinent 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 Qandahàr and strengthened their case for their suzerainty over it.

Consequent upon the desolation of Multàn at the hands of Mîrzà Rustam's functionaries,[152] it was converted into crown property (*khàliṣah*) in 1004[153]/1595-96, and, instead, Chittor and its environs were offered to the Mîrzà, in *jàgìr*.To control the tyrannous nature of the Mîrzà, the Emperor dispatched Amìn al-Dìn with him, but the Mîrzà sent him back from Sirhind.[154] The following year, Pathànkòt was given to him in *jàgìr*, and he was entrusted with the responsibility of stamping out the rebellion of Ràjah Bàsù. 'Àṣaf Khàn was supposed to help him in this task, but they could not get along with each other, and the Mîrzà was recalled to court.[155] In 1007/1598-99, he got Rà'èsìn and its neighbourhood in *jàgìr*.[156]

In 1020/1611, Jahàngìr summoned the Mîrzà from the Deccan, and, having raised him from a rank of 5,000 personnel and 1,500 horse to that of 5,000 personnel and 5,000 horse,[157] honoured him with a special elephant, a horse with a jewelled saddle, a jewelled sword and a superb robe of honour, then made him governor of Thattah.[158] After the death of Mîrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn, the affairs of Thattah had become chaotic. It was hoped that the Mîrzà would be able to control them in a competent manner;[159] but his oppressive rule soon created consternation among high and low alike, and, before long, he was recalled to court. Jahàngìr handed him over to Anì Rà'è Sangdilan for an inquiry into his

151. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435.
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 A.H.) regnal year of Akbar.
154. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.696. Cf. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.436; Blochmann, p.329; *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p.1041. All these authorities give an altogether different interpretation of the original text of the *Akbar Nàmah*.
155. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.712.
156. *Ibid.*, p.749.
157. There seems to be some serious anomaly in the *Tùzuk* with regard to the promotion of Mîrzà Rustam from 5,000/1,000 onwards. See *Tùzuk*, pp.111, 223, 352; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.229; vol.II, pp.2, 245.
158. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.229.
159. *Ibid.*, p.262; vol.I, p.100.

Marfat.com

case,[160] but, ubsequently, when the Mìrzà 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 Qandahàr expedition under Prince Shahryàr,[162] whose guardian he was appointed for the executions of the campaign.[163] In 1032/1623, as a precaution against the possible advance of Shàhjahàn towards Bangàl, he was appointed the governor of Allàhàbàd.[164] In 1036/1623, he was made the governor of Bihàr.[165] On his accession to the throne, Shàhjahàn removed him from this position,[166] sanctioned an annual *madad-i ma'àsh* of Rs. 120,000 for him, and retired him on grounds of old age.[167] He died at Akbaràbàd some time in 1051[168]/1641 at an advanced age of more than 90 years.[169]

A shrewd politician and an oppressive administrator with a haughty temperament, Mìrzà Rustam was, none the less, an exquisite poet,[170] and in marksmanship, second only to Emperor Jahàngìr.[171] Like him, all his sons also joined imperial service, and three of his daughters were married to the Mughul princes, Parwìz,[172], Shujà'[173] and Dàrà Shukùh,[174] respectively.

His original name was Arsalàn Bì Uzbek.[175] He enjoyed an honoured position at the court of 'Abd al-Mù'min Khàn, the ruler of Tùràn.[176] When Jahàngìr visited Kàbul during the second[177] year of his reign, Arsalàn Bì waited on him and was

160. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.262-63.
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. *Tùzuk* (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, p.100.
168. *A.S.*, vol.II, p.306. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.100; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.438-39; 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. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.15; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.439-40; *M. Sh.*, pp.488-92.
171. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.105.
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. *Tùzuk*, pp.56, 60, 90; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.118, 125, 203; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.632.
176. *Tùzuk*, pp.60, 56; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.125, 118.
177. *M.U.*, vol.II, p.632 wrongly attributes it to the 3rd regnal year.

Marfat.com

rewarded with a special robe of honour[178] Jahàngìr assessed him as a simple but industrious Uzbek, fit for education and honour. He was also impressed by his sincerity and loyalty.[179] After a few years, Arsalàn Bì was given the title of Shamshìr Khàn[180] and appointed the governor of Sìwistàn.[181] On 30 Shawwàl 1020/5 January 1612, he was honoured with a standard.[182]

After the death of Tàj Khàn, some time in Jumàdà II 1023/July 1612,[183] the governorship of Thattah devolved upon Shamshìr Khàn. But when Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì was appointed the governor of Thattah, on 15 Rabì' I 1025/2 April 1616,[184] Shamshìr Khàn reverted to his previous position in Sìwistàn.[185]

When Persian pressure on Qandahàr began to increase towards the latter part of Bahàdur Khàn Uzbek's governorship, Shamshìr Khàn was ordered to proceed to his aid with his army. Though Bahàdur Khàn subsequently got himself transferred to court,[186] Shamshìr Khàn continued to serve at Qandahàr under its new governor. He was one of the Mughul officers who waited on Shàh 'Abbàs when Qandahàr fell to the Persian forces.[187].

During his stay in Sind, Shamshìr Khàn married into the family of Khusrau Khàn Charkas.[188] Notwithstanding tales of his utmost simplicity told by some authorities,[189] his tenure in Sind was characterized by fair discipline and good administration.[190] Even while he was away, stationed at Qandahàr, he evinced considerable interest in the affairs of Sìwistàn, then looked after by his agents.[191]

Though he continued to serve under Shàhjahàn and apparently rose to a *manṣab* of 3,000 personnel and 2,500 horse,[192] little

178. *Tùzuk*, p.60; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.125.
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301.
181. See *Tùzuk*, p.99; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.203.
182. *Ibid.*
183. See *Tùzuk*, p.131.
184. *Ibid.*, p.146; Kèwalràm, *s.v.*,Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.633, where this incident is mistakenly attributed to the 9th regnal year of Jahàngìr.
185. *Maz.Sh.*, pp.47, 143.
186. *Tùzuk*, 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 *jàgìrdàr* in Sind who, according to the *Maẓhar* (p.174), allowed a *wàqi'ah nawìs* to be attached to his establishment.
191. *Ibid.*
192. *M.U.*, vol.II, p.633; *A.S.*, vol.III, p.353.

Marfat.com

else is known about his activities.[193] He died at Lahore.[194]

155:2 Mìr Ḥusàın al-Dìn Ìnjù, son of the celebrated Persian lexicographer,[195] 'Aḍud al-Daulah Mìr Jamàl al-Dìn Ḥusayn,[196] was married to a niece[197] of Nùr Jahàn Bègum. This matrimonial alliance with close relations of the royal consort not only raised the Mìr's stock in the eyes of his contemporaries, but also aided the advance of his career.[198] In 1026/1617, Jahàngìr promoted him to the *manṣab* of 1,000 personnel and 400 horse.[199] Towards the close of 1029/1620, when an ambassador of Shàh 'Abbàs, Zanbìl Bèg by name, reached the nighbourhood of Lahore, the Emperor deputed the Mìr to receive him and to present him with a robe of honour and 30,000 rupees for his expenses. He was also charged with the responsibility of looking after the distinguished royal guest during his stay at Lahore.[200]

The Mìr served under Prince Khurram during the Mèwàṛ expedition in 1022[201]/1613, and in 1032/1623, when the latter, having been defeated by Mahàbat Khàn at Dihlì, turned his reins first to Màlwah and Màndò and then to Asìr, the Mìr, 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. For this, the prince promised him a *manṣab* of 4,000 personnel, with standard and drums, and the title of *Murtaḍà Khàn,* and he joined him with all of his family.[203] Later on, while he was travelling from Burhànpùr towards the Deccan, he was captured by the imperial forces and produced before Mahàbat Khàn who imprisoned him and extracted 1,000,000 rupees from him in cash and kind.[204]

193. According to Farìd Bhakkarì *(Dh.Kh.,* vol.II, p.301), under Shàhjahàn, he was deprived of his *manṣab* and *jàgìr* because of persistent reports of his incompetence.
194. *Ibid.*
195. He presented his *Farhang-i Jahàngìrì* to Jahangìr during the 18th year of his reign. For the Emperor's comments, see *Tùzuk,* p.359.
196. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.409.
197. According to Jahàngìr, she was the daughter of Nùr Jahàn's maternal uncle *(dukhtar-i taghà'i-i Nùr Jahàn)* (See *Tùzuk,* p.371), but authorities generally believe that she was a niece of Nùr Jahàn. 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. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.409.
200. *Ibid.,* vol.II, p.179.
201. *A.S.,* vol.I, pp.57-58.
202. *Tùzuk* (R&B) vol.II, p.277.
203. *Ibid.; A.S.,* vol.I. p.144.
204. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II. p.295; *Tùzuk,* pp.380-81.

Marfat.com

On his accession to the throne, Shàhjahàn gave the Mîr a rank of 3,000 personnel and 2,500 horse, a robe 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 personnel and 3,000 horse, given the title of *Murtaḍà Khàn*, honoured with a jewelled dagger, an elephant and Rs. 50,000 in cash, and made the governor of Thattah,[206] where he died some time around Rabì' I 1039/October-November 1629.[207]

The most successful of his sons was Mîr Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah.[208] On 1 Muḥarram 1048/15 May 1648, Shàhjahàn appointed him the *bakhshì*, *wàqi'ah nawìs* (news writer) and *dàrùghah-i tùpkhànah* (superintendent of the artillery) at Qandahàr.[209] On 14 Rabì' II 1049/15 July 1539, he was promoted to the *dìwànship* of that place.[210] On 1 Shawwàl 1053/13 December 1644, he was made the *dìwan* of Kàbul.[211]

On 1 Safar 1057/8 March 1647, when Prince Muḥammad Shàh Shujà' was entrusted with the governorship of Bangàl, Mîr Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah accompanied him as the *dìwàn* of that province.[212] In Rabì' I 1060/March 1650, he received a *manṣab* of 1,000 personnel and 200 horse.[213] His *manṣab* was raised to 1,500 personnel and 500 horse on 1 Dhì al-Ḥijjah 1065/2 October 1655 and he was appointed as the *ḥàris* of Oṛìsah by the Prince.[214] He died soon after.[215]

156:2 From 1038-1042/1628-33, Bhakkar was in the *jàgìr* of Nawwàb Àṣaf Khàn and Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ was his '*àmil* in that *sarkàr*.[216] Meanwhile, when Khàn-i Jahàn Lòdì fell from grace at court[217] and fled for his life,[218] Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì, who was in his service, returned to his home in Bhakkar in great distress. Mîrzà Ḥusaynì was the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar at that time. On account of

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.
214. *Ibid.*, p.147.
215. *M.U.*, vol.II, p.383.
216. *Ḍamimah-I Ta'rìkh-i Ma'ṣùmì* quoted in *Maz.Sh.*, p.323.
217. See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.342. For detail see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *op.cit.*
218. On 27 Ṣafar 1039/16 October 1629. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.724.

Marfat.com

his cordial relations with Shaykh Farìd, he allowed him a good deal of say in the day-to-day running of the *sarkàr*, and, thanks to the influence and resourcefulness of the Shaykh, collected a considerable amount of wealth. This aroused the jealousy of Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ, and, through Màansingh, the wàqi'ah nawìs, he wrongly reported to the court that Farìd Bhakkarì was engaged in raising an Afghàn army at Bhakkar; that he had sent word to Khàn-i Jahàn to come to Bhakkar from Sirònj; that, on his behest, Shìr Khàn Tarìn, of Shàl, had ravaged the town of Ganjàbah, a dependency of Bhakkar; and that his stay at Bhakkar endangered the area's peace and security. Soon thereafter, a royal decree was issued, stipulating that Shaykh Farìd be required to produce a guarantor for his good conduct and that, in the meantime, he should be made to present himself at the court. At about the same time, Mirzà Ḥusaynì was removed from his post. Subsequently, both of them were sent to Burhànpùr, where Mìr Jumlah Bakhshì presented them before the Emperor. But, luckily for them, since Khàn-i Jahàn had, in between, been killed,[219] Shàhjahàn pardoned them and ordered them to be set free.[220].

156:5 A close relative and admirer[221] of Nawwàb Murtadà Khàn Shaykh Farìd,[222] Sayyid Bahòwah, generally known as Dìndàr Khàn, twice held the governorship of Dihlì during the reign of Jahàngìr.[223] When Mahàbat Khàn raised the standard of revolt, and from Thattah headed towards the forests of Mèwàṛ, Sayyid Bahòwah was included in the army that was charged with the task of chastising him. Meanwhile, when Jahàngìr died and Shàhjahàn arrived at Ajmèr, together with other *amìrs* of this army, Sayyid Bahòwah also waited upon him and assured him of his loyalty.[224] On the eve of Shàhjahàn's coronation, he was

219. On 1st Rajab 1040/3 February 1631. *Ibid.*, pp.728-29.
220. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.342-43.
221. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.304. He named his son Farìd. This son was subsequently married to the daughter of Sayyid Jalàl, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Gujaràtì (*Ibid.*, vol.III, p.31), who counted the Mughul Emperors Jahàngìr and Shàhjahàn among his devotees.
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 Jahàngìr. As a matter of fact, he held this position more than once. Jahàngìr refers to him as the governor of Delhi during the 14th year of his reign [*Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.109-11]; and then, while bestowing this honour on him again in the 18th regnal year, remarks: "he had already done this service well." (*Ibid.*, p.287).
224. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.184. Cf. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, p.62, where his name is erroneously

Contd....

Marfat.com

given the rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,200 horse.[225] A robe of honour, a jewelled *jamdahr* (lit. 'death-bearer' that was a kind of dagger), a standard and a horse were also presented to him. In consideration of his piety, Shàhjahan gave him the title of *Dìndàr Khàn*.[226] After some time, he was appointed the *faujdàr* of *Dòàb*.[227] He also participated in military expeditions under the commands of Islàm Khàn, then the Mìr *Bakhshi*, and Prince Aurangzìb.[228] After the transfer of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn,[229] he was made the governor of Sìwistàn, which position he seems to have occupied for about four years.[230] He was transferred from there in Rabì' II 1043/October-November 1633, and died in 1045/1635-36.[231]

During his tenure of office, in Sìwistàn, besides galvanizing the administration, Sayyid Bahòwah also gave a good deal of attention to the social life of the area and built a number of historical monuments as well.

156:7 A vassal chief of Pùshang (*var.* Fùshanj; Qùshanj; modern Pishìn[232]), a dependency of Qandahàr, under the Ṣafawids, Shìr Khàn Afghàn, or Tarìn, to be more precise, emigrated to Ìràn at an early age, with his father, Ḥasan Khàn who had developed some serious differences with Shàh Bèg Khàn, the Mughul governor of Qandhàr.[233] At the conquest of Qandahàr by the Persians in 1031[234]/1632, Shír Khán was appointed the *ḥákim* of Púshang.[235] In 1037/1627-28, he called on Shàh 'Abbàs at Qazwìn. The Shàh received him warmly and bestowed a variety of honours upon him. Lying on the highway to the Subcontinent as Pùshang did, its commercial and strategic importance was fully realized

given as 'Sayyid Bàrah'.

225. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.223; vol.III, p.357 has 500 horse.
226. Làhaurì, vol.I, p.121.
227. *Ibid.*, p.191; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.23; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Dìndàr Khàn.
228. *A.S.*, vol.II, pp.65, 90.
229. When Amìr Khàn took over as the *ṣùbahdàr* of Thattah in Rabì' I 1039/September-October 1629 (*A.S.*, vol.I, p.301), Aḥmad Bèg 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 year of construction as 1040/1630-31, 1041/1631-32, 1042/1633-34. See *Maz.Sh.*, pp.328, 270-1n.
231. *M.U.*, vol.II, p.24; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Dìndàr Khàn.
232. *I.G.I.*, vol.XX, p.153. For an 11/17 century description of this place, see *Ad. Al.*, vol.I, 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.

Marfat.com

by the astute Ṣafawid, who exhorted Shìr Khàn to take all precautions for the smooth flow of trade and traffic between the two neighbouring empires, so as to ensure the safety of merchants and travellers to and from Ìràn.[236] Shìr Khàn not only turned a deaf ear to the ailing monarch's advice, but also, soon after his death and succession by his young grandson, Shàh Ṣafi I, failed to renew his allegiance to the Persian court.[237] Ṣhàh Ṣafi, who was alarmed by the headstrong ways of Shìr Khàn, time and again summoned him to his presence, but to no avail. Ultimately, he ordered 'Alì Mardàn Khàn,[238] the Ṣafawid governor of Qandahàr, to lead a punitive expedition against him.[239] Aware of the materializing threat, Shìr Khàn approached the Mughul court for asylum. Shàhjahàn welcomed his initiative and forthwith dispatched an emissary, Kashmìrì Khàn, to receive him at the first stage of his journey to the Subcontinent. Shìr Khàn kept Kashmìrì Khàn, waiting for a long time at Bhakkar; and, in the meantime, made out that Kashmìrì's presence there was an unwarranted Mughul move to win him over to their side, thus endeavouring to reduce the Ṣafawid threat to himself. To emphasize his loyalty to the Persians, he offered to plunder the Mughul frontier towns of Ganjàbah and Sìwì, provided the Ṣafawids assured him that they did not mean him any harm. While Shàh Ṣafi apparently did nothing to arouse Shìr Khàn's suspicion, he commanded 'Alì Mardàn Khàn to execute his previous orders expeditiously.[240] Thus, while Shìr Khàn was busy ravaging Sìwì and Ganjàbah in 1040/1630-31, 'Alì Mardàn Khàn stormed Pùshang and seized all his relatives, including his womenfolk, and dispatched them to the Persian court.[241] Failing in his efforts to rescue his family and recover his stronghold, Shìr Khàn now again turned to the Mughul court for refuge. Shàhjahàn received him with open arms and treated him graciously.[242] During his stay in the Subcontinent, Shìr Khàn Tarìn enjoyed

236. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.1074.
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 Pùshang to 'Alì Mardàn Khàn's personal animosity towards Shìr Khàn Tarìn. See *Baḥr al-Asràr*, pp.99-105; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.397-98.
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.

Marfat.com

the patronage of Shàhjahàn — and, when called upon, participated in some military expeditions also —;[243] but the thought of his family and friends in Persian captivity left him restive.[244] He tried to enlist Mughul support for an offensive against Qandahàr; but, by a single masterly stroke, the Persians brought to nought all his efforts in this direction. A letter dispatched to him from the Ṣafawid court referrred to his collusion with them. This letter, as intended, fell into the hands of Shàhjahàn, who, quite naturally, lost all his confidence in the loyalty of Shìr Khàn, and depriving him of all privileges, confined him to his house.[245] Thus, this unfortunate exile's last hope of returning to his homeland was also shattered for all time to come. He died from tuberculosis in the Subcontinent.[246]

156:16 For the economic and historical importance of Naṣrpùr, see Chalbani, pp.56-7.

157:12 *Milak* was a kind of rich silk material 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 from 3 to 70 *Mohrs*.[250]

157:14 *sakpàl, sukhpàl* means a kind of palanquin. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.828 and its translation by H. Beveridge. *A.N.*, tr., vol. III, p.1240.

157:25 As would appear from the following extract from B.N., this practice was not peculiar to the Uzbeks. Referrring to Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Bàyqarà, Bàbur writes: "He used to wear either the black lambskin cap (*burk*) or the *qalpaq*, * but on a feast-day would

243. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.105; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.399, 407, 517; vol.II, pp.109, 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 Aurangzìb in his abortive campaign against Qandahàr in 1062/1651, and was rewarded by the Mughul court. See *Àdàb-i 'Àlamgìrì*, pp.60, 62; *A.S.*, vol.III, 110-11, 364. The author of the *Lubb-i Ta'rìkh-i Sindh*, Khudàdàd Khàn, was a descendant of Shìr Khàn Tarìn. See *Lubb*, pp.77-78.
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.
250. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.68.

* This is a felt wide-awake worn by travellers in hot weather (Shaw); The Turkman bonnet. (Erskine)

Marfat.com

sometimes set up a little threefold turban, wound broad and badly,** stick a heron's plume in it and so go to prayers.[251]

160:3 Bahàdur Khàn Uzbek's original name was Abù al-Bì.[252] Under 'Abd al-Mù'min Khàn he served as the governor of Mashhad;[253] but, when the former was assassinated in 1006[254]/1598, notwithstanding all efforts of Bàqì Khàn to assuage his fears, Abù al-Bì 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 personnel and 150 horse,[255] and before long he succeeded in carving out a respectable position at the Mughul court.[256]

After the accession of Jahàngìr, when Khusrau made good his escape from the court, the Emperor appointed Abù al-Bì with 57 other *manṣabdàrs* to assist Ṣhaykh Farìd in the task of pursuing the fugitive prince.[257] In Shawwàl 1018/January 1610, he was raised to a command of 1,500 personnel and 1,000 horse;[258] and then in Muḥarram 1019/March 1610, he was made the *faujdàr* of Multàn.[259] In 1021/1612, when Mìrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn, the governor of Qandahàr died, Jahàngìr promoted Abù al-Bì to a rank of 3,000 personnel and horse, honoured him with the title of *Bahàdur Khàn* and a flag, and appointed him the governor of Qandahàr.[260]

During 1029/1620, when, sensing the high intrigue riddling the Mughul court, the Persians were gradually reinforcing their efforts to recover Qandahàr from the Mughuls, and Jahàngìr was making necessary preparations for its defence, Bahàdur Khàn, who had not long before been favoured with a sudden rise to the *manṣab* of 5,000 personnel and 4,000 horse,[261] requested his recall to the imperial court on the pretext of some eye disease.[262] He was ordered to hand over charge of the fort to 'Abd al-'Azìz

** Hai. MS: *yamànlik*, badly; Elph. MS: *namàyàn*, whence Erskine's *showy*.

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. *Tùzuk*, p.28.
258. *Ibid.*, pp.80, 109.
259. *Ibid., p.109.*
260. *Ibid.; Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.24.
261. *Tùzuk*, p.310.
262. *Ibid.*, p.323. According to some sources (e.g., *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.315) he spent a sum of 200,000 rupees at the court to have himself transferred from Qandahàr.

Marfat.com

Naqshbandì and himself to come to the court.[263] Abù al-Bì reached the court some time during Jumàdà II 1031/April 1622;[264] but was soon afterwards again selected to go as an auxiliary to the army of Qandahàr, and favoured with a horse and a dress of honour.[265]

In Rajab 1036/March 1627, Abù al-Bì was appointed the governor of Allàhàbàd.[266] After the death of Jahàngìr, he pledged his allegiance to Shàhjahàn and continued to serve under him.[267] He held the *sarkàr* of Chandàwar, near Akbaràbàd in *jàgìr* for some time and finally died there.[268]

161:15 One of the *Taba' tàbi'ìn* or companion of the companions of the Prophet of Islàm. Hailing from the Qaran quarter of Najd oasis of Arabia, Uways was a contemporary of the Prophet; but because of his ecstatic condition and the old age of his mother he never managed to undertake a journey to Madìnah. Nevertheless, his devotion to the Prophet was so overwhelming that when he heard that the Prophet had broken some of his teeth in the battle of Uḥud, not knowing which teeth were affected, he pulled all his own teeth out. He owed his spiritual attainments to the direct attention of the Prophet, who left his patched robe (*khirqah*) with 'Umar and 'Alì to pass on to Uways after his death. Hence the epithet of Uwaysì applied to all the subsequent *ṣufis* who attained their spiritual perfection without mediation of any *ṣùfì* master. He was killed in the battle of Ṣiffìn (37/657) while fighting at the side of 'Alì.[269]

His devotees in Sind erected a mausoleum for him, which was known as Naẓargàh-i Uways-i Qaranì.

163:21 *Kòtwàl* is generally considered to be a Persian word, but in fact it is derived from the Hindì word *Kotapala*, the officer in charge of a fort. His primary duty was to maintain law and order within the four walls of the towns,[270] but gradually he came to embrace

263. *Tùzuk*, 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.
269. 'Alì b. 'Uthmàn al-Hujwìrì al-Jullàbì al-Ghaznawì, *Kashf al-Maḥjùb*, ed., Muḥammad-i 'Abbàsì, Tehran, 1336 H.Sh., pp.50, 99-102; 'Aṭṭàr-i Nìshàbùrì, *Tadhkirat al-Auliyà'*, ed., M. Isti'làmì, Tehran, 1346 H.Sh., pp.19-29.
270. For the history of *Kòtwàl*, see P. Saran, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1952, pp.104-12.

Marfat.com

almost all those functions which were required of a *Muḥtasib* in Islamic lands.[271]

164:7 For the economic and historical importance of Sihwàn, see Chalbani, pp.57-8.

164:13 (*var.* Chhùttah Imrànì),[272] Chhuttah Imrànì[273] and Chhuta (Imrànì).[274] 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 Tamìms in Sind, was born at Brahmanàbàd some time during the second half of the third[275]/ nineth century and travelled outside India for some time before taking up his permanent residence at Sihwàn.

His tomb, which has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries,[276] can still be seen in the old cemetery of Sihwàn, along the road to the railway station.[277] Its inscriptions[278] indicate that Nawwàb Dìndàr Khàn made several additions to the orignal structure, some of which are still intact.

164:18 For Yak Tanbì, see Henry Cousens, p.45; *T.A.Kh.*, pp.324-7

164:28 The Moroccon traveller, Ibn Baṭṭùtah, who visited Sìwistàn in 734/1333, recorded the following observations about the sandfish and how it was dug out and eaten by the natives: "... the people there eat skinks. These are little animals resembling the lizard[279] (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 yellow stick)[280] 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]

271. For the essential qualities, duties and functions of a *muḥtasib*, see Ibn Ikhwah, *Ma'àlim al-Qurbah fi Aḥkam al-Ḥisbah* (*À'in-i-Shahrdàrì*), tr., Ja'far Shi'àr, Tehran, 1347 H.Sh.
272. 'Abd al-Ghafùr b. Ḥaydar Sìwistànì, *Tadhkirah-i Mashà'ikh-i Sìwistàn* ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì (published in *Mihran*, 3:1974), pp.213-14.
273. *T.T.*, p.28.
274. *T.K.*, pp.67, 81-82.
275. N.A. Baloch reports to have seen an old seal in Sihwàn which belonged to this saint and bore the date 305/917-8. See *T.T.*, p.292n.
276. See *Tadhkirah*, p.213; *T.T.*, p.31; *T.K.*,tr., p.407.
277. *Maz.Sh.*, p.278n.
278. *Tadhkirah*, p.213; *Maẓ. 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-jannah* is the wall lizard.
280. Persian, *zard chùbah*.
281. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta (A.D. 1325/1354), tr., H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge, 1971*

Contd....

Marfat.com

164:33 Those springs still exist and the custodians of the tomb of Makhdùm Shahbàz use their water for cultivation. This area is known as Bàgh-i Qalandar La'l Shahbàz and La'l Wàhì. See Ràshidi's note, *Maz. Sh.*, p.59n.

164:35 A sectarian festival of comparatively modern origin,[282] Shivràtrì, as the name denotes, is cleberated during one of the dark nights[283] of the Màgha[284] (January-February) or the Phàlguna[285] (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 allowed to worship Shiva and chant Mantras, with the exception that they are prohibited from pronouncing the mystical word 'Om'. According to Hindu belief, the observance of this festival at a place 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 Vaidyanàth temple in Bangàl, Mallikarjuna temple in the Deccan and the Island of Elephàntà as the major places of Hindu assemblage on the eve of Shivratri.[286]

The Mughul Emperors, Akbar[87] and Jahàngìr,[288] held special feasts on this occasion and celebrated the festival in the company of the Yògìs.

165:6 The mountain range, extending to Kìch and Makràn and lying

vol.III, p.598.

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 details, 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" in *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed., Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, 1953, p.191.

285. Radhagovinda Basak, "The Hindu Concept of the NaturalWorld" in *The Religion of the Hindus*, p.97.

286. H.H. Wilson, pp.220-21.

287. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.54; *T.A.*, vol.II, p.343; Blochmann, p.210.

288. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.361; *The Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughal*, ed., William Foster, H.S.Publication, n.d., p.366.

Marfat.com

next to Lakkì Mountain, on the west bank of the Indus, constituted a major habitat of Balùch tribes, including the Nuhmardì and the Jokìah.[289] The latter once harboured a defaulting peasant of Shàh Qàsim Bèglàr, and were chastised for this by him.[290]

165:24 *Mardàn-i ghayb, rijàl al-ghayb,* literally invisible men, were believed to be mysterious spirits that 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 *Fawà'id al-Fu'àd*[291] we read that a young contemporary of Shaykh Shihàb al-Dìn Suhrawardì 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 *mardàn-i ghayb* led the congregational prayers. The worshippers heard him recite the Qur'àn and followed his commands throughout the ceremony, but they never saw him. One of these spirits even sent a present to Shaykh Shihàb al-Dìn Suhrawardì through that youth.

According to yet another anecdote narrated by the Khwàjah,[292] a man called Khwàjah 'Alì used to be visited by these spirits, who always greeted him in the usual Muslim fashion. Once they called on him in large numbers and repeated the salutation "Peace unto you". Khwàjah 'Alì lost his temper, and asking how long they would continue greeting him in this fashion, he demanded that they come face to face with him. The *mardàn-i ghayb* did not like this attitude and stopped visiting Khwàjah 'Alì.

The Mughul Emperors, Humàyùn[293] 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/ 1730-31 a number of Bilgràmì Sayyids were killed in a battle between Nawwàb Sarbuland Khàn and Ràjah Abhì Singh Ràthòre. According to Sayyid Muḥammad, since the body of one

289. *T.T.*, p.182; also see *Maz. Sh.*, p.59.
290. *Bèg.N.*, pp.216-18.
291. Khwàjah Nizam al-Dìn Auliyà', *Fawà'id al-Fu'àd,* comp., Amìr Ḥasan 'Alà' Sijzì, Urdù tr., Muḥammad Sarwar, Lahore. 1973, p.69-70.
292. *Ibid.*, p.70.
293. Khwajah Ni'mat Allàh, *Ta'rìkh-i Khànjahànì wa Makhzan-i Afghànì,* ed., Sayyid Imam al-Dìn, Dacca,1960, vol.I, pp.311-12.
294. Ḥàjjì Muḥammad 'Àrif Qandahàrì, *Ta'rìkh-i Akbarì,* ed., Sayyid Mu'ìn al-Dìn Nadwì and Sayyid Azhar 'Alì Dihlawì, revised by Imtiyàz 'Alì 'Arshì, Ràmpùr, 1962, p.179.

Marfat.com

Sayyid Ghulàm Muṣṭafà could not be found on the battlefield, it had probably been whisked away by the *mardàn-i ghayb*.[295]

'The Arabic word for "martyr" in the Qur'àn, and in Muslim theology, is *shahìd*, with *shuhùd* or *shuhada'* as plural forms, 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 Muslim 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'àn, Surah iv, 71: "whoso obeys God and the Apostle, these are with those with whom God has been well pleased – with prophets (*nabìyìn*), and confessors (*ṣiddiqìn*), and martyrs (*shuhadà*), and the righteous (ṣalihìn): a fair company are they.'[296]

166:9 'Makhdùm ... that place', is almost a verbatim reproduction from *T.S.* p.110.

166:13 One of the *maḥals* of the *sarkàr* of Sìwistàn during the days of Akbar,[297] Bàghbànàn is now known as Bàghbàn and lies 27 miles north of Sihwàn,[298] between Khudà Àbàd and Dàdù.[299]

166:14 Our earliest evidence about the use of the wheel for irrigational purposes in Sind comes from the *Ta'rìkh-i Sind* of Mìr Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì[300] and not from the *Mazhar-i Shàhjahànì*, as is mistakenly assumed by Irfan Habib.[301]

Though the documented history[302] of the use of the 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 Mìr Ma'ṣùm in Sind and is preserved in the *Memoirs* of Bàbur. Referring to

295. *Tabṣirat al-Nàẓirìn*, MS., Pìr Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì-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; *Maẓ. Sh.*, p.204.
299. *T.S.*, p.309.
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 *Maẓhar* is also indebted to the *Ta'rìkh-i Sind* for his information.
302. See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p.194.
303. M.C. Joshi, "An Early Inscriptional Reference to the Persian Wheel" in *Professor K.A. Nilkanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, ed., Saw. Ganesan, Madras, 1971, p.216.

Marfat.com

the modes of irrigation in India, Bàbur remarks:[304]

> In Lahore, Dibàlpùr[305] 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 to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of 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 *rahaṭ*, *arhaṭ* and *urhàṭ* in Hindi[307] and *sàqiyah*[308] in Arabic, and which is used for raising water from wells, another type of wheel known as *nà'ùr*[309] or *nà'ùrah*[310] in Arabic and noria in Spanish[311] and English, is employed to lift water from rivers, streams and lakes, etc. 'It differs from the *sàqiya* 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

304. *B.N.*, p.486.
305. A.S. Beveridge omits 'and Sirhind' after Dìbàlpùr. See *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.26, n.14.
306. For a late 17th century description of this contrivance in the Punjàb, 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.
309. Zamakhsharì, *Asàs al-Balàghah*, Beiruth, 1965, *s.v.*
310. E.W.Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v., daulàb;* Needham, pp.356-62. Cf. Ibn Manẓùr, *Lisàn al-'Arab al-Muḥiṭ. ed.*, Youssef Khayàt and Nadîm Mer'achli, Beyrouth, n.d.
311. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, unabridged, Springfield, Massachausetts, 1961, *s.v.* Spanish-English dictionaries, however, usually consider 'Persian wheel' the equivalent of noria. See Emilio M. Martinez 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.;* Earnest Klien, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1966, *s.v.*
312. Needham, p.356; Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alì Imàm Shùstarì, *Farhang-i Wàzhihhà-i Fàrsì*

Contd....

Marfat.com

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 draught animals. 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 the noria to the Subcontinent,[317] but our literary sources are too scant and much too vague to enable us to determine how widespread their use in India has been, or what sort of technology was involved in their working. A dispatch of the agents of the East India Company in Sind, during the first half of the 17th century, makes a passing reference to the possiblity of the indigo cultivators of Naṣrpùr increasing the number of wheels on the river;[318] but as far as the mechanical structure of these wheels is concerned, they did not consider it important enough to merit a mention in their dispatch.[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 provide any indication that could help us to

dar 'Arabì, Tehran, 1347 H. Sh., *s.v.*, *daulàb*.

313. Needham, p.356; Imàm Shùstarì, 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.
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, vol.II, p.94. As Irfan Habib (vide *Presidential Address*. p.150) has pointed out, W.Crooke erroneously identifies it with a Presian wheel.
320. *Charkhì*. See H.T. Lambrick, "Early Canal Administration in Sind" in *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 *charkhì* with a Persian wheel. Cf. H.H. Wilson, *s.v. Charkhì*.
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, not a *sàqiyah*, 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.

Marfat.com

differentiate between a noria and a *sàqiyah*. Nevertheless, judging from the fact that norias have been, and still are, in use in the Middle East,[323] China,[324] Indonesia,[325] etc., to lift 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 *nàr*[326] in Sind, as compared to *charkhì*, a term which is indiscriminately applied to both noria and *sàqiyah*.

167:3 Generally incorrectly transcribed as Kàhàn in Oriental works,[237] Gàhàn is presently called Gaha and lies 21 miles north-west of Sihwàn[328] Abù al-Faḍl[329] mentions it as one of the *maḥals* of the *sarkàr* of Sìwistàn.

167:20 Scion of a family of leading scholars of Sind during the 10/16 century, Makhdùm Ja'far b. Makhdùm Mìràn b. Maulànà Ya'quḅ Bùbakànì was a contemporary of Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhaṅ. He specialized 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 *Iḥyà' al-'Ulùm, 'Awàrif al-Ma'àrif* and *Faṣl al-Khiṭàb*. He seems to have been a prolific writer, and some of his works that have survived the ravages of time demonstrate his profound erudition. His descendants lived in Sind until as late as the later half of the 18th centurey.[330]

168:1-7 See also *A.A.*, vol.II, p.165.

323. *Asàs al-Balàghah, s.v. na'ur;* Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie,* Tome 1, p.220, quoted in *Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. daulab;* Imàm Shùstarì, *s.v. daulàb.*
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.
326. *nàr* in Sindhì 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. *Bèg.N.*, p.395. *T.S., pp.76, 77, 107 passim.*
328. *I.D.C.*, pp.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.151-53; *Maẓ Sh.*, p.68, n.I.; Sayyid Jamil Aḥmad Raḍawì, "Punjab University Library mein Microfilm aur Rotograph – èk Kitabiyàtì Jà'izah," *Quarterly Research Journal,* University of the Punjab, Lahore, vol.II/2, p.49.

Marfat.com

168:3 This reed, or *này*, was probably obtained from a plant called *pan* in Sindhì, Indian bulrush in English and scientifically known as *Typha elephantine* (Rox). It is used for the manufacture of ropes, mats, baskets and the small rude boats known as *tirhò* in Sindhì. 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]

168:11 Bihah is the root of an edible species of water-lilies scientifically known as *Nelumbium speciosum* (Wild) and called *pabban* in Sindhì. Writing in 1848, Stocks remarked that the rhizome of the *Nelumbium* was sold in every bazaar in Sind.[332] *Kuma* is the Sindhì name for seeds of *nìlùfar* (waterlily).[333] *Luṛa* must be read *Lorha*. It is also the root of a wild edible waterlly called *kuni*, or *puni*, in Sindhì. Its scientific name is *Nymphaea pubescens*. Its tubers are eaten, raw, roasted, and boiled, and they have a flavour between potatoes and chestnuts. According to Stock the *lorhi* and the *bihah* were mainly collected about Lake Manchhur and were a source of considerable revenue to the government.[334]

168:20 By *qàlib*, Yùsùf Mìrak probably means the following device for catching waterfowl described by Abù al-Faḍl in the *À'ìn-i Akbarì*.[334]

> 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]

173:12 Abù al-Faḍl counts Shàl among the five eastern dependencies of the *sarkàr* of Qandahàr. The place was possessed of a mud fort and its inhabitants were mainly the Kast Afghàns and Balùches.[336] Henry Walter Bellews, a surgeon of the Bengal Staff Corps, who passed through this area during his journey to Iran in 1872,

331. J.E. Stocks, "Practical Remarks on the Plants of Sind, etc." in *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.
336. *A.A.*, vol.II, p.189; *A.A.*, tr., vol.II, p.402.

Marfat.com

writes:[337]

> Shal 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 vey poor, and more or less in a state of decay. By the natives it is called Shàl Kòt, and by the Afghans Kwatta, or "the little fort" whence our Quetta.[338] The valley of Shal is very similar to that of Mastung ...

176:2 The Muslim highway-robbers who trespass on the lands of Islàm and are captured, can be killed, according to the Muslim sacred law (*sharì'ah*), but cannot be sold, no matter how superficial their profession of that faith may be.[339]

176:39 An Akbarì *amìr*, [340] with a *manṣab* of 600,[341] who distinguished himself in several military campaigns, served successfully under Ràjah Màn Singh in Kàbul,[342] and made a significant contribution in the reduction of Thattah under the command of the Khàn-i Khànàn Mìrzà 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn.[343] When Mìrzà Rustam Qandahàrì defected to the Mughul court, Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to welcome the Ṣafawì prince at three different stages.[344] After the conquest of Thattah, when Akbar decided to return the whole region, with the exception of Sìwistàn and Bandar Làharì, to Mìrzà Jànì Tarkhàn, Bakhtiyàr Bèg, together with some other Mughul grandees, was honoured with the *jàgìrdàrì* of Sihwàn.[345] During his stay in Sìwistàn, Bakhtiyàr Bèg participated in the expedition against the Pannì Afghàns of Sìwì and brought that campaign to a successful conclusion.[346]

178:19 A notable general and distinguished noble of the Tarkhàn court, Amìr Shàh Qàsim Khàn-i Zamàn traced his origin, from his

337. *From the Indus to the Tigris,* London, 1874, pp.96-97.
338. Cf. *B.N.*, p.337, where the translator, A.S. Beveridge wrongly takes Mastung for Quetta.
339. See 'Ayn al-Dìn 'Abd Al!àh Màhrù, *Inshà'*, 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.
345. *Ibid.*, p.642.
346. *Ibid.*, p.666.

Marfat.com

father's side, to a prominent Sayyid family of Samarqand.[347] The relations between his forbears and the local Turk tribes, particularly the Arghùns, were so close[348] that, over the years, it became difficult to distinguish the two families from one another.[349] His father, Shàh Qàsim Bèglàr, emigrated to Sind during the reign of Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn,[350] who bestowed on him the *parganaiis* of Jàhèjah[351] in *suyùrghàl*.[352] Impressed by his intrepidity and skill in the art of war, the Wîrsì Sòdhahs offered him the hand of their daughter, who was also related to the ruling dynasty of Jaisalmèr.[354] From this union[355] was born Amìr Shàh Qàsim,[356] who, though orphaned at the age of seven,[357] by dint of his courage and sagacity, subsequently rose to great heights under the Tarkhàns, and dominated the political scene of the region throughout the rule of that dynasty.

His talents were first noticed by Mîrzà Shàh Ḥasan Arghùn, who presented him with the village Kachì in *suyurghàl*.[358] After Mîrzà Arghùn's death, Shàh Qàsim cast his lot with Mîrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn and, notwithstanding his young years, played a significant role in quelling the rebellion of his son, Mîrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn.[359] Shàh Qàsim enjoyed the full confidence of the heir to the Tarkhàn throne, Mîrzà ṢàliḥTarkhàn, whose marriage he arranged in a princely family of the Wîrsì clan of the Sodhahs.[360] After the assassination of Mîrzà Ṣaliḥ, Ṣhàḥ Qàsim allied himself with his younger brother, Jàn Bàbà, and spared no effort to obtain the

347. *Bèg.N.*, p.25.
348. *Ibid.*, p.26.
349. Though his own tribe was Bèglàr, some authorities refer to him as Arghùn as well.
350. *Beg N.*, p.27; *M. Sh.*, p.525; *T.K.*, p.201. Not 'with the Arghuns' as suggested by Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, n.67.
351. This place is now known as Udèrò Làl. 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. *Bèg.N.*, pp.29-30.
355. See *Bèg.N.*, p.34.
356. See *T.K.*, p.201, n.67, of. Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, where his name has been confused with that of his eldest son.
357. Shàh Qàsim was born in 947/1540-41, and, according to Idràkì Bèglàrì *(Bèg. N.*, p.32). his father died in 950/1543-44. However, the date of the latter's death recorded on his tombstone (see its photograph in *Chanèsar Nàmah*, ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, 1956, p.69) is Rabì' I 954/April-May 1647, and there is no reason to disbelieve this.
358. *Bèg.N.*, p.39.
359. *Ibid.*, pp.40-47.
360. *Ibid.*, p.49.

Marfat.com

throne for him from his brother, Mîrzà Bàqì.[361] However, when Jàn Bàbà was killed, Mîrzà Bàqì extended his hand of friendship to Shàh Qàsim and appointed him as the *wakìl* of his son, Mîrzà Shàhrukh, who then held Naṣrpùr.[362] When Shàh Qàsim finally waited on him, the Mîrzà received him with open arms, arranged his marriage with the daughter of Mîr 'Abd al-Majìd Tarkhàn, and charged him with the responsibility of restoring law and order and making proper arrangements for the realization of revenue from the Ùnars of the *parganahs* of Lakhàwat, Khiṭṭah and Junèjah.[363] He had scarcely accomplished this assignment, when he was ordered to proceed to 'Umarkòt and settle the dispute resulting from the murder of Ràna Rà'èmal Wîrsì at the hands of Ràna Mèghràj Wîsaḥ.[364]

In Ramaḍàn 980/January 1573, he was entrusted with the government of Kukràlah, where law and order had completely broken down. He not only chastised the truculent tribes, but also taught a lesson to Rattah Sòdhah, who refused to honour the transfer order sent by Mîrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn.[365] Soon afterwards, Kukràlah was given to Jàm Wîsar, and Shàh Qàsim was made the *jàgìrdàr* of the Ùnar region, which had again lapsed into rebellion. Shàh Qàsim brought the whole region under his control in a befitting manner.[366]

In 989/1581, upon the death of Mîrzà Shàhrukh, he was appointed the governor of Naṣrpùr.[367] Shàh Qàsim used every measure to ensure peace and prosperity in the area under his jurisdiction, ranging from charity and chastisement to obtaining the hands of the daughters of local chiefs[368] for his sons.[369]

When Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn appeared at the gates of Sìwistan with a Mughul army,[370] Mîrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn conferred the standard and drums bequeathed by his son, Shàhrukh, on Shàh Qàsim,[371] and directed him to proceed towards Sìwistan with

361. See *ibid.*, pp.51-151.
362. *Ibid.*, p.174.
363. *Ibid.*, pp.176-78.
364. *Ibid.*, p.191.
365. *Ibid.*, pp.192-211.
366. *Ibid.*, pp.212-18.
367. *Ibid.*, p.218.
368. *Ibid.*, p.221.
369. *Bèg.N.*, pp.267-268.
370. See *T.T.*, pp.332-33n.
371. *Bèg.N.*, p.224.

Marfat.com

the armies of Naṣrpùr, Samàwàtì, Hàlakandì, Khèbràn, Lakhawat and Khiṭṭah; but before he could get there, Mìr Subḥàn Quli Bahàdur Arghùn had already been defeated.[372]

On the death of Mìrzà Bàqì Tarkhàn, Shàh Qàsim allied himself with Mìrzà Jànì, son of Pàyandah Tarkhàn, against his uncle, Mìrzà Muẓaffar Tarkhàn, and did not relax until Mìrzà Jànì had ascended the throne.[373] He gave Jànì Bèg his daughter in marriage, and extended all possible help to him to overcome his differences with his uncle, Mìrzà Muẓaffar, in a peaceful manner.[374] Upon Mìrzà Muẓaffar's failure to heed these conciliatory efforts, Jànì Bèg bestowed the horse and dress of honour meant for him on Shàh Qàsim.[375]

Under Mìrzà Jànì, Shàh Qàsim continued to serve as the governor of Naṣrpùr. During the war with the Mughul forces led by Khàn-i Khànàn, Shàh Qàsim not only fought valiantly, but also favoured Mìrzà Jàni with his mature and wise advice.[376] Following his capitulation, when the Mìrzà proceeded to the Mughul court with Khàn-i Khànan, among others, Shàh Qàsim also accompanied him, and, like other members of the Mìrzà's entourage,[376] he was also duly honoured by Akbar.[377] Later on, when Thattah was once again bestowed upon Mìrzà Jàni, Shàh Qàsim, together with Khusrau Khàn Charkas, was dispatched to administer it on behalf of the Mìrzà. Back in Thattah, while the executive side of the administration mainly lay with Khusrau Khàn, military affairs were generally looked after by Shàh Qàsim.[378]

On the death of Mìrzà Jànì in 1009/1600-1, when Thattah was conferred on his son, Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn, Shàh Qàsim retained his influential position under the new ruler as well.[379] His eldest son, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, who had distinguished himself in a number of military campaigns under Mìrzà Jànì,[380] however, later refused to acknowledge the authority of the young Mìrzà, and this sparked off a grave crisis. The intervention of Shàh

372. *Ibid.*
373. *Ibid.*, pp.227-8.
374. *Ibid.*
375. *Ibid.*, p.229.
376. E.g., see *Bèg.N.*, pp.232, 235, 240.
377. *Bèg.N.*, p.242; *T.K.*, p.202.
378. *Bèg.N.*, p.235.
379. *Bèg.N.*, p.250.
380. *Bèg.N.*, p.234, 237.

Marfat.com

Qàsim averted the possibility of a direct confrontation and patched up their differences for the time being;[381] but the matter did not rest there. Outraged by the continued defiance of Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, Mîrzà Ghàzì blinded him and put him in jail.[382] He escaped but was caught and again imprisoned.[383]

Shàh Qàsim died on 14 Ramaḍàn 1019[384]/30 November 1610 at the age of 72. He was survived by seven sons[385] and a large number of grandsons. Although he himself married only Tarkhàn and Bèglàr women, his sons freely entered into matrimonial alliances with local tribes. Out of the 12 male children[386] of his eldest son, Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, only one was by a Tarkhàn wife. Three were grandsons of Ràná Rà'èmal Wîrsì, one was a grandson of Ràná Mèghràj Wîsah, and six were born of Samèjah wives. Shàh Qàsim's third son, Mîr Shàh Muqìm fathered seven male children. Four of them were grandsons of 'Alà' al-Dìn, an Ùnar chief, and two were by the daughters of Ràná Mèghràj and Ràná Prithìràj, respectively. In like manner, out of the eight children of Shàh Qàsim's fourth son, Fatḥì Bèg, one was by a daughter of Ràná Bàkar, while three were grandsons to Hàshim, a chief of the Sànd clan of the Samèjah..

The close association Shàh Qàsim's family had with local tribes helped to check their turbulent tendencies, and, in a way, contributed to his continued ascendancy in the volatile situation prevailing in the region; yet, at times, it also proved a liability.

178:20 The *Làrì*, or Larin, "was Persian money, and reached India in

381. *T.T.*, pp.225-35.
382. *Ibid.*, p.235-38.
383. *Ibid.*, pp.243-50.
384. See the photograph of his tombstone in the *Chanèsar Nàmah*, Introduction, p.70. His grave still exists in his family graveyard.
385. Their names were, Mîr Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn., Mîrzà Qàsim, Mîr Shàh Muqìm, Mîr Fatḥì Bèg, Mîr Yàran Bèg, Mîr Salìm Khàn and Mîr Muràd Khàn. While the last three were still young at the time of the composition of the *Bèglàr Nàmah*, the first four were married and quite well-known for their social activities and military exploits. The author of the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì* mentions another son of Shàh Qàsim, by the name of Jindà'ì. 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 Mîrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn, he escaped to India and entered Jahàngìr's service, and was exalted with a *manṣab* and *jàgìr*. Subsequently, however, he ran away to Thattah, together with the stable of imperial horses he had been entrusted with. Back in Sind, he took to a *ẓamìndàr's* way of life. In his harem, he had 100 beautiful Samèjah, Sùmrah and Sòdhrah ladies, who bore him about 20 sons.

Marfat.com

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]

180:25 Khàn-i A'zam Mîrzà 'Azìz Kùkah, a foster brother of Akbar, is generally known for his opposition to the religious[388] and administrative[389] policies of Akbar and for his conspiracy[390] to enthrone Khusrau instead of Jahàngìr after the death of Akbar. He grew up with Akbar, who showed great attachment to him right to the end of his life. Mìrzà 'Azìz held several positions of power and responsibility under Akbar and Jahàngìr, though his outspoken attitude and inept behaviour, occasionally, particularly during the reign of Jahàngìr, landed him in grave trouble. In 988/1580-81 Akbar promoted him to a *manṣab* of 5,000 and gave him the lofty title of Khàn-i A'ẓam. Later, in 1003/1594-95, he was elevated to the office of *Wakìl*, 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 further enhanced the prestige of the Mîrzà. In 1005/1596-97, Multàn was given to him in *jàgìr*.[391] Since Bhakkar was a dependency of Multàn during those days,[392] it is not improbable that the Mîrzà might have received it, too. It seems he assigned the administration of Multàn and Bhakkar to his two sons, 'Abd Allàh and Anwar, respectively, and himself continued to stay and work as *Wakìl* at the court. Anwar, who had a reputation for immoderate drinking and indolent habits and, because of these habits was subsequently superseded by his younger brothers, 'Abd Allàh and Shàdmàn, in promotion to a rank of 1,000 (1010/1601-02),[393] apparently proved to be a better administrator[394] than his brother in Multàn,[395] who offended the local population by his excesses and irresponsible behaviour.

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 Bèg Qazwìnì, *Risàlah-i Ta'rìkh*, B.M. MS., pp.51-54. 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, 163-64.
393. See *A.N.*, p.804, cf. H. Beveridge's translation, p.1208.
394. *Dh.Kh.* vol.II, pp.325-26.
395. *Ibid.*, pp.326-27.

Marfat.com

184:22 A veteran of the campaigns against the ruler of Kashmìr and the Tàrìkìs,[397] Qarà Bèg Turkmàn played an important role in the conquest of Thattah under the command of the Khàn-i Khànàn.[398] When Mìrzà Rustam Qandahàrì defected to India, Qarà Bèg was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to receive him.[399] Subsequently, when the Mìrzà's elder brother and arch rival, Muẓaffar Qandahàrì made some friendly overtures to the Mughuls and sent his mother and elder son, Bahràm Mìrzà, to India, in view of his old ties with the House of the Ṣafawìs, Qarà Bèg was dispatched to reassure Muẓaffar of Akbar's favour and to accompany him to the Mughul court.[400]In 1007/1595-96, when Akbar left for the Dakkan and entrusted the execution of the campaign against the Ṛànà of Ùdaipùr to Prince Salìm, among others, Qarà Bèg was also attached to his retinue.[401] On his accession to the throne, Jahàngìr honoured Qarà Bèg with the title of *Khàn*[402] and, together with other *manṣabdàrs*, dispatched him to the Qandahàr expedition under the command of Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn.[403] This army joined Sardàr Khàn near Multàn, whence they marched off to Qandahàr, but Qarà Khàn died on the way.

184:41 *Ràkas* is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *rakshasa* which means a demon or fiend. These *rakshasas* 'haunt cemeteries, distrub sacrifices, harass devout men, animate dead bodies, devour human beings, and vex and afflict mankind in all sorts of ways.'[404]

186:25 A great general and grandee from the days of Akbar, Sa'ìd Khàn, son of Ya'qùb Bèg, son of Ibràhìm Chabuq[405] was, described by Jahàngìr 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]

396. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.523.
397. *Ibid.*, p.510.
398. *Ibid.*, pp.585, 602, 608, 633-34.
399. *Ibid.*, p.646.
400. *Ibid.*, p.650; *M.T.*, vol.II, p.402. According to the latter, Qarà Bèg was *Mìr-i shikàr* at that time.
401. *M.J.*, p.36.
402. *Tùzuk*, p.33.
403. *Ibid.*; M.J., p.89.
404. See John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature, London*, 1950, pp.254-55.
405. *M.U.*, vol.II, p.408; Blochmann, p.351.
406. *Tùzuk*, vol.I, p.13.

Marfat.com

Commentary

By dint of his sagacity, dedication to duty and other sterling qualities, Sa'ìd Khàn rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was the tutor *(atàlìq)*[407] of Prince Dàniyàl for some time, participated in several expeditions, served as the governor of the Panjàb, Bangàl and Bihàr and earned a promotion to the *manṣab* of 5,000. Akbar also bestowed upon him the revenue assignment of Multàn and Bhakkar.[408]

When Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg Tarkhàn failed to heed the imperial edict sent to him through Bàbà Ṭàlib in 1009/1600-01,[409] two years later, in 1011[410]/1602-03, Akbar charged Sa'ìd Khàn with the responsibility of bringing the Mìrzà to court.[411] Encamped at Bhakkar, Sa'ìd Khàn[412] sent his men to the Mìrzà and commended a return to the fold of loyalty to him. Good sense prevailed on the Mìrzà and, at long last, entrusting the affairs of his *jàgìr* to Khàn-i Zamàn and Khusrau Khàn Charkas, in Shawwàl 1013/Feburary-March 1506, he set out for Bhakkar,[413] whence Sa'ìd Khàn together with Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn escorted him to Àgrah. They were still in Àgrah, when the Emperor died.[414] In the confusion surrounding the question of accession to the throne, Sa'ìd Khàn sided with the pro-Jahàngìr elements.[415]

Unlike his contemporaries, Zayn Khàn Kùkah and Qilìch Khàn, who maintained huge stables of elephants and horses, Sa'ìd Khàn was famous for his strong passion for eunuchs,[416] a predilection which seems to have been encouraged by the abundance of eunuchs in Bangàl, a place where he served for a considerably long time. Some of these eunuchs acquired names for

407. *Atà* in Turkish means father, and the termination *lìq* indicates relationship.Thus the word *atàlìq* literally signifies the relationship of a father and son. 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; *Bèg.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 20,000 *sawàrs*.
412. *Tùzuk* (R&B) , vol.I. p.223. During his stay at Bhakkar, Sa'ìd Khàn built a mosque at a little distance to the south-west of the island shrine of Khwàjah Khiḍr 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*, p.147.
413. *Bèg.N.*, p.21. See also *T.N.*, p.87; *T.T.*, pp.240-42.
414. Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg was the first noble to congratulate Jahàngìr 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.

Marfat.com

themselves through good deeds,[417] the misdeeds of others recoiled on their master. For example, immediately after his succession when Jahàngìr appointed him the governor of the Panjàb, he warned Sa'ìd Khàn 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'ìd Khàn's death is not exactly known.[419] However, when in the middle of the first regnal year Khusrau revolted against Jahàngìr, Sa'ìd Khàn was encamped on the Chinàb, on his way to Kashmìr. Having heard this news, he hastened to Lahore to strengthen the royal army.[420]

Sa'ìd Khàn seems to have fathered two children, a son and a daughter. His son, Sa'ìd Allàh, subsequently styled *Nawàzish Khàn* and *Bèglàr Khàn*,[421] was married to the daughter of Zayn Khàn Kùkah,[422] and the daughter to the son of Fùlàd Khàn Barlàs.[423] By the year 1061[424]/1650-51, all his descendants, as well as those of his brother, Makhṣuṣ Khàn, had died.[425]

Shàh Bèg, son of Ibràhìm Bèg, was at first in the service of Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm Akbar's brother, but upon the Mìrzà'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 Khan-i- Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn in the Sind expedition and played a prominent role in it. In 1003/1595, when Mìrzà Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ṣafawì decided to cede Qandahàr to the Mughuls, Shàh Bèg was appointed the governor of this strategic town.[428] Two years later, in 1005/1597, he was promoted to a

417. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.190-91; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.413-44.
418. *Tùzuk* (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. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.62; Beni Prasad, p.123.
421. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.250. On him, also see *T.T.*, pp.241-42; *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. The probable date of completion of the *Dh.Kh.* See *ibid.*, vol.I, Introduction, 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 *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.61, 126,172.
428. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.671.

Marfat.com

manṣab of 3,500.[429]

On his accession to the throne, Jahàngìr raised Shàh Bèg to a rank of 5,000,[430] and appointed Sardàr Khàn to take over the charge of Qandahàr from him.[431] Sardàr Khàn had hardly reached Multàn[432] when the Persians, taking advantage of Akbar's death and the rebellion of Khusrau,[433] laid siege to the fort of Qandahàr on three sides.[434] Shàh Bèg put up a stiff fight against the Persian invaders, and, notwithstanding an acute shortage of provisions and other handicaps, did all in his power to repel the Persian aggression.[435] There was hardly a 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 revels on top of the citadel before the very eyes of the invading host.[436] This situation continued for almost a year,[437] until, on 12 Shawwàl 1015/31 January 1607, the Mughul reinforcement finally arrived.[438] On hearing of the approaching Mughul army, under the command of Mìrzà Ghàzì Tarkhàn, the Persians lifted their siege and retreated post-haste to their own territory.[439] As ordered by Jahàngìr,[440] the fort was handed over to Sardàr Khàn, and Shàh Bèg returned to court with the relieving force.[441] The Emperor conferred the title of *Khàn-i-Dauràn* on him, and gave him a jewelled dagger, a male elephant and a special horse. Together with a *jàgìr* and *faujdàrì* of the whole of the *sarkàrs* of Tìrah, Kàbul, Bangash and the province of (Sawàd) Swàt Bàjauṛ, he bestowed on him the task of beating back the Afghàns of those regions.[442] For the next several years, the Khàn-i Dauràn was involved in active service in those areas; and, subsequently, he even rose to the position of governor of Kàbul.[443] Since the latter

429. *Ibid.*, p.721.
430. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.49. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235.
431. *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.113.
432. *Ibid.*
433. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.70; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235.
434. *Tùzuk* (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. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.126; *T.T.*, p.254.
438. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.70-71, 85-86, 126.
439. *Maz. Sh.*, p.113; *T.T.*, p.255.
440. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.86.
441. *Ibid.*; cf. Blochmann, p.409.
442. *Ibid.*, p.128; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.236.
443. See *Tùzuk*, p.96; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.236; Kèwalràm, *s.v.*

Marfat.com

position required a good deal of exertion, of which Shàh Bèg was growing increasingly incapable because of his old age, finally Jahàngir transferred him to the governorship of Thattah;[444] he also gave the Khàn the *manṣab* of 6,000 personnel and 5,000 horse.[445] Not long after, however, the Khàn-i Dauràn's request for retirement on account of age, was granted and he was pensioned off to the *parganah* of Khwùshàb, which had already been his *tankhwàh jàgìr* 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]

Tùkhtah Bèg was a brave soldier and intimate attendant of Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥakìm Kàbulì,[448] and had fought quite valiantly against the forces Akbar had sent to quell the rebellion of the Mìrzà.[449] Upon the death of his master, Tùkhtah Bèg, with many of his comrades, waited upon Akbar at Ràwalpindì in 993/1585, and was received generously.[450] Henceforth, he mostly served in the north-western parts of the Mughul Empire and played a very important role in the suppression of frequent Afghàn revolts.[451] In 998/1589-90, a *jàgìr* in Ghaznì was bestowed upon him.[452] In 1002/1594, he was attached to the retinue of Prince Salìm, and received another *jagìr* in the Panjàb.[453] In 1013/1604-05, Akbar conferred the title of *Khàn* on him,[454] which, on his accession to the throne, Jahàngìr elevated to Sardàr Khàn.[455] The new Emperor also raised Tùkhtah Khàn from his previous *mansab* of 2,500 to that of 3,000,[456] and dispatched him to take over the government of Qandahàr from Shàh Bèg, who was then besieged by the Persians.[457]

Sardàr Khàn died at Qandahàr round about 14 Rajab 1016/4 November 1607.[458] He was survived by two sons, Hayàt Khàn and

444. *Tùzuk* (R&B), p.397.
445. *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.81.
446. *Ibid.*, p.97.
447. *Ibid.*, p.172.
448. *Tùzuk* (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. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31.
456. *Ibid.*, cf. *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.480-81; Blochmann, p.523.
457. *Tùzuk*, pp.33, 41, 60.
458. See *ibid.*, p.72

Marfat.com

Hidàyat Khàn;[459] each of them receiving half of their father's *manṣab* upon his death.[460]

189:9 Completed in 1012/1603-04, this strong fortress on the bank of lake Ganbat, was constructed by Mìr Shàh Bèg Khàn-i Zamàn with a view to countering the predatory raids of the Samèjah Ùnar and the Junèjah in the *parganahs* of Hàlahkandì, Khèbràn and Jàhèjah.[461]

189:9 Shìr Bèg, a son of Mìr 'Alì Shìr Bèg Arghùn, was killed on 11 Ramaḍàn 1010[462]/17 November 1711 in a battle against Rà'è Singh, a son of Mànak Chand.

189:27 *Namàz* is the Persian equivalent of the *Arabic ṣalàt*, which is the second of the five pillars (*arkàn*) of the practical religion of Islam. It is obligatory for every Muslim to perform this devotional exercise five times a day, namely in the early morning (*fajr*), at midday (*ẓuhr*), in the afternoon (*'aṣr*), in the evening (*maghrib*), and at night (*'ishà'*). In Persian these prayers are generally known as *namàz-i subḥ*, *namàz-i pìshìn*, *namàz-i dìgar*, *namż-i shàm*, *namàz-i khuftan*. Besides, there are three voluntary prayers also, *tahajjud*, *ishràq* and *chàsht*: the first is performed after midnight, the second in the morning, and the third before noon.[463]

Conscious of the close association of these prayers with their timings, Muslim writers transformed their names into a set of terms with the help of which they designated different times of the day,[464] and in doing so, as is abundantly clear from the following extract from the *Bàbur Nàmah*, made absolutely no distinction between the religious or secular nature of the events involved. Referring to one of his Bohemian episodes, Bàbur writes:

> We also invited Shàhì, a qalandar, and one of the *kàrèz-men* who played the rebeck. There was drinking till the Evening Prayer on the rising-ground behind the *kàrèz* we then went into Tardì Bèg's house and drank by lamp-light almost till the Bed-time prayer.[465]

459. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
460. *Tùzuk*, p.72. Also see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.481.
461. See *Bèg.N.*, p.261.
462. His grave is in the cemetery of Mìyùn Wahyùn, in Ta'alluqah Tandò Allàhyàr (see *T.T.*, p.354n). For a facsimile of his tombstone, see Idràkì Bèglàrì, *Chanèsar Nàmah*, *op.cit.*, Introduction, p.73. Its contents have also been reproduced in *Maẓ.Sh.*, p.292n. and *T.T.*, p.354n.
463. *D.I., s.v.*
464. See *Q.N.*, pp.60, 65, 68, 168; Bayhaqì, *Ta'rìkh-i Bayhaqì*, ed., 'Alì Akbar Fayyàḍ, Mashhad, 1971, pp.31, 484.
465. *B.N.*, p.417; also see, p.418.

Marfat.com

194:9 Although the term *kùtàh pàchah* normally refers to a spotted deer-like quadruped, its rare meaning of hare has here been used because one would otherwise have expected the large game to have been mentioned first.

195:5 A finely woven silk from Turkistan believed to have been introduced into India by the Mughuls.[466] Akbar ordered numerous improvements in its colour and texture.[467] The main centres of its production in India were Patnah, Àgrah, Sirhind, Lahore,[468] and Sind.

A variant of *Tafṣìlah* Sind excelled amongst industrial centres of India[470] in the manufacturing of *Tafṣìlah,* as well as other fine cloth. The demand for the *Tafṣìlah.* with gold threads seems to have been so high in the days of Akbar that it was imported from Makkah, and while the price of Indian *Tafṣìlah* ranged from 8 to 12 rupees apiece.[471] the imported stuff was sold for 15 to 20 rupees apiece.[472]

201:14 Sayyied Bàqir rose to a *manṣab* of 700 personnel and 400 cavalry during the reign of Shàhjahàn.[473]

201:14 In 1028/1619, Sayyid Bàyazìd Bukhàrì, who was then the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar, sent aṇ ibex as a gift to Jahàngìr. He had brought the animal from the hills when it was small and raised it in his house. Jahàngìr, who was greatly delighted at the receipt of this gift, records in his Memoirs:

> Of *màrkhwùr* and hill sheep I have seen many brought up in the house, but I never saw a *rang* tamed. 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 *markhwùr* of the *quchqar.* Sayyid Bayàzìd was raised to the *manṣab* of 1,000 personnel and 700 horse.[474]

201:35 *Aḥadìs* were veteran pensioners liable to be called out on active service when needed.

203:1 It is the first year of the Turkish Twelve Year Cycle. Each year is named after an animal followed by the Turkish word *ìl,* which means year. The name of each year and its meaning[475] are given

466. *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* For the origin of this word, see *F.A.R., s.v.*
467. *A.A.*, vol.I, pp.67-68; 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.
474. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.114; *Tùzuk,* p.284.
475. *A.A.*, vol.II, pp.189-90. Cf. S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Edicts from the Mughal Harem.* Dëlhi.

Marfat.com

Commentary

below:

1.	Sìjqàn-ìl	The Mouse Year
2.	Ud-ìl	The Cow Year
3.	Pàrsa-ìl	The Leopard Year
4.	Tawishqàn-ìl	The Hare Year
5.	Yoyi-ìl	The Crocodile Year
6.	Yilan-ìl	The Snake Year
7.	Yunt-ìl	The Horse Year
8.	Qu-ìl	The Sheep Year
9.	Bich-ìl	The Monkey year
10.	Takhàqù-ìl	The Fowl Year
11.	Ìt-ìl	The Dog Year
12.	Tankuz-ìl	The Hog Year

According to this cycle, the *kharìf* (autumn) and *rabì'* (spring) crops never fall in the same year. If a year's *kharìf* corresponds with Sìjqàn-ìl, the *rabì'* will coincide with Ud-ìl. Similarly, the next year's *kharìf* and *rabì'* will fall in Ud-ìl. and Pàrsa-ìl, respectively.[476]

203:1 A veteran soldier from the days of Akbar, Bàdshàh Khwàjah, also known as Shìr Khwàjah, was, on his father's side, a descendant of the Prophet,[477] while, on his mother's side, he traced his ancestry to the famous saint, Shaykh Bahà' al-Dìn Naqshband (d.895/1491).[478]

1979, Appendix III, where several of the names are erroneously transcribed.

476. For the history of this calendar in Persian literature, see Abù al-Faḍl Nab'ì, "*Taqwìm-i Dawàzdih Ḥayawànì dar Ta'rìkh-i Farhang-i Ìrànì*" in *Ayandih* Tehran, VIII/7, Mihr 1361 H.Sh., pp.388-97.

477. *M.U.*, (vol.II, p.648) uses the phrase "Sàdàt-i Atà'ì"; and Blochmann (perhaps on the analogy of the Sàdàt-i Bàrahah) translates it as the "Sayyids of Itàwah". Itàwah or Etawah is the name of a place in the Dò-àb (see Thornton, *s.v.*). According to the rules of Persian grammer, a person hailing from or belonging to that place would be known by the cognomen of Itàwah'ì or Etàwa'ì, and not that of Itàwah as Blochmann implies. As a matter of fact, *Atà* is a Turkish word meaning 'father' (see Steingass, *s.v.*; George S.A. Ranking, tr., *Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh*, vol.I, p.568, n.6) and the adjective derived from it is Atà'ì, which may mean anything from fatherly and fatherlike to 'belonging to father' and 'on father's side'. This speculation is further strengthened by the language of the *Ma'àthir*, which says that "He hailed from the Atà'ì Sayyids (i.e. the type of Sayyids who are descended from the Prophet on their father's side) and on his mother's side he is a *Naqshbandi.*" According to some sources (e.g. Kèwalràm, *s.v.*) Shìr Khwàjah belonged to the clan of Mìrzà 'Alì Bèg Akbarshàhì. (For his life, see Blochmann, p.539.)

78. He was one of the leading lights of the Silsilah-i Khwàjigan, which subsequently, under the influence of his personality, came to be known as Silsilah-i Naqshbandiyyah. See 'Abd al-Raḥmàn b. Aḥmad Jàmì, *Nafaḥat al-Uns*, ed., Mahdì Tauḥìdìpùr, Tehran,

Contd....

Marfat.com

During the 30th regnal year of Akbar, he served under Sa'ìd Khàn Chaghattah against the Yùsufza'ì Afghaṅs, and, afterwards, under Prince Muràd in the Dakkan. In the 40th regnal year, he carried out a sortie on Patan and distinguished himself against Ikhlàṣ Khàn. The following year he participated in the battle against the ruler of Khàndèsh, Ràjah 'Alì Khàn, and fought valiantly. In the engagement that took place near the town of Bìr, he was wounded, but, nevertheless, succeeded in capturing the fort. Notwithstanding the acute shortage of provisions, Shìr Khwàjah tenaciously held the fort until Abù al-Faḍl came to his rescue and obliged the enemy to raise the siege. **Abù al-Faḍl** proposed to leave his own son, 'Abd al-Raḥmàn, at the *thànah* Bìr; but Shìr Khwàjah did not quit the post. In the 46th year of Akbar's reign, he was honoured with a drum and flag. The title *Shìr Khwàjah* was also conferred upon him by Akbar for his bravery.[479]

During the reign of Jahàṅgìr, the fortunes of Shìr Khwàjah continued to rise.[480] When Mahàbat Khàn revolted on the bank of the river Jhelum, Shìr Khwàjah sided with the imperial forces. Later on, he espoused the cause of Shàhjahàn and fought against Shahryàr at Lahore.[481] When Shàhjahàn ascended the throne, he gave Shìr Khwàjah the *manṣab* of 4,000 personnel and 3,500 horse[482] and honoured him with the title of *Khwàjah Bàqì Jàn*. The Emperor also presented him with a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a flag, a drum and a horse, and then made him the governor of Thattah,[483] vice Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn.[484] The Khwàjah died on his way to Thattah, and was succeeded by Mìr Ḥusàm -al-Dìn Injù Murtaḍà Khàn as the governor of that province.[485]

205:2 Qur'àn 2:156.

205:4 At first, a *bakhshì* of Nawwàb I'timàd al-Daulah,[486] Sharìf al-Mulk subsequently joined the service of Prince Shahryàr. In

n.d., pp.384-99.

479. *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.649-50; Blochmann, p.510.

480. In the middle of Akbar's reign, he was a commander of 800; during the days of Jahàṅgìr he rose to a *manṣab* of 4,000 (see Kewàlràm, *s.v.*).

481. Làhaurì, vol.I, p.73; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.174.

482. Làhaurì, vol.I, p.181; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.233. Cf. *M.U.*, and Blochmann, where he is mentioned as a commander of 4,000 personnel and 1,000 horse.

483. Làhaurì, vol.I, p.181; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.233.

484. Lahauri, vol.I, p.181; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.239.

485. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.241.

486. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.404-5.

Marfat.com

1031/1622, when Shàhjahàn forcibly tried to take possession of the estates in the *jàgìr* of Nùr Jahàn and Prince Shahryàr, especially Dhòlpùr,[487] which had been assigned in *tankhwàh* to Shahryàr by the Emperor, Sharìf al-Mulk was the *faujdàr* of that place. In the scuffle that followed between him and Daryà Khàn Afghàn, whom Shahjahàn had sent to capture the estates, both sides suffered heavy casualties,[488] and Sharìf al-Mulk lost one of his eyes.[489] Hence the epithets of *kùr chashm*[490] (blind) and *yak chashm*[491] (one-eyed) after his name.

Later on, when, in Muḥarram 1035/October 1625, Muṣṭafà Khàn Shaykh Bàyazìd[492] died and Thattah was transferred to Shahryàr,[493] the latter sent Sharìf al-Mulk to administer it on his behalf.[494] A few month later, when Shàhjahàn appeared before the gates of Thattah, Sharìf al-Mulk defended the town valiantly and forced the rebel prince to beat a retreat.[495] On his accession to the throne, Shàhjahàn replaced Sharìf al-Mulk with Mìrzà 'Ìsà Tarkhàn II as the governor of Thattah,[496] and subjected Sharìf al-Mulk and his subordinates to humiliating treatment [497]

205:5 Born of a concubine in 1013/1605, Shahryàr was the youngest surviving son of Jahàngìr.[498]He was married to the daughter of Nùr Jahàn by Shìr Afkan.[499] The astute and powerful queen groomed him to be the successor of her husband and a pliable means of continuing her hold on the affairs of state.[500] She spared no measure to push forward the fortunes of her son-in-law. She exploited the strained relations between Shàhjahàn and his father,[501] who promoted Shahryàr to a *manṣab* of 12,000 personnel and 8,000 horse and put him in charge of the Qandahàr

487. '20 *kos* from Àgrah, near the left bank of the Chambal river. Blochmann, p.384.
488. *Tùzuk*, p.326; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.235-36.
489. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.62. Cf. *T.K.*, p.320; *L.T.S.*, pp.95-96.
490. *L.T.S.*, p.95, *Dh.Kh.* (vol.II, p.211) refers to him as *Kùr* (blind).
491. *T.K.*, p.318; *T.K.*, tr., p.292.
492. Muṣṭafa Khàn was the title of Bàyazìd Bukhàrì; and they are not two different persons as erroneously suggested by *L.T.S.*, p.95.
493. *Tùzuk*, p.397.
494. Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Sharìf al-Mulk.
495. *Iqbàl Nàmah-i Jahàngìrì*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.432-33; *A.Ṣ.*, vol.I, pp.159-60. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.211.
496. *A.Ṣ.*, p.181. For 'Ìsà Khàn's life, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.210-12; *T.K.*, pp.320-22.
497. *T.K.*,tr., pp.437-38.
498. *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.20.
499. *Ibid.*, pp.199, 202.
500. Beni Prasad, *op.cit.*, p.275.
501. See Banarsi Prasad Saksena, p.39.

Marfat.com

expedition.[502] On the death of Jahàngìr, Shahryàr, on the instigation of Nùr Jahàn, proclaimed himself emperor, only to be outwitted, defeated and captured by the protagonists of his elder brother and arch rival, Shàhjahàn. He was first blinded and then killed in 1037/1628.[503]

205:34 Qur'àn 6:164; 17:15; 35:18; 39:7.

206:7 *Ardàwah* is a mixture of parched and bruised grain and barley given to cattle as fodder, dry or mixed with water.

206:16 Subsequently, he rose to a *manṣab* of 1,000 personnel and 400 horse.[504]

207:15 He was a nephew of Nùr Jahàn, and his sister was married to Mìr Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ìnjù (Murtaḍà Khàn).[505] In 1030/1621, Jahàngìr promoted him to a *manṣab*, original and increase, of 2,000 personnel and 500 horse, bestowed upon him the title of *Khàn*, a standard and drums, and made him the governor of Oṛìsah.[506] It was during Aḥmad Bèg Khàn's governorship of Oṛìsah that, in 1033/1623, the rebellious prince, Shàhjahàn, succeeded in penetrating Oṛìsah from the Gòlkundah side and obliged Aḥmad Bèg Khàn to flee to Dhàkah, where his uncle, Ibràhìm Khàn Fatḥ Jang, the governor of Bangàl, resided.[507] In the battle that ensued between the rebel and the imperial forces at Akbarnagar, or Ràj Maḥall as it was alternatively called,[508] Ibràhìm Khàn was killed and Aḥmad Bèg made good his escape to Dhàkah, where, subsequently, he surrendered himself to the prince, and fabulous booty fell into the hands of the victorious army.[509]

On his accession to the throne, Shàhjahàn gave Aḥmad Bèg Khàn a robe of honour and a horse, and raised him to a rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,500 horse.[510] Not long afterwards, on 13 Rajab 1037[511]/19 March 1628, he was appointed the *jàgìrdàr* of

502. *Ibid.*, p.301.; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.237.
503. Mu'tamid Khàn, *Iqbàl-Nàmah-i Jahàngìrì*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.435-38; *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.
504. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.366.
505. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.308; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.382.
506. *Tùzuk*, p.332; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.210.
507. *Tùzuk*, p.382; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.298.
508. Beni Prasad, p.321; *Tùzuk* (R&B), vol.II, p.299.
509. *Tùzuk*, p.384.
510 *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 personnel and 500 horse.
511. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.236.

Marfat.com

Sihwàn. Except for the construction of a few forts here and there,[512] Aḥmad Bèg's rule at Sihwàn was generally characterized by maladministration, inefficiency and extreme oppression. The way he acquiesced to the tyranny of his brother, Mìrzà Yùsuf, over the people of Sihwàn cast serious doubts on his capability to hold any position of responsibility, and clearly demonstrated the degenerate condition of the Mughul administration in far-flung areas, such as Sind, during this period.

On his transfer from Sihwàn, evidently he was first appointed the *faujdàr*[513] of Multàn and then promoted to the governorship[514] of that province. During the 25th regnal year,[515] Shàhjahàn raised him to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 2,000 horse and appointed him the *faujdàr* of Bìswàrah.[516] He also served as the *faujdàr* of Lakhnau, where, during the 28th regnal year,[517] he was replaced by Iràdat Khàn.[518] Later on, Shàhjahàn deprived him of his *manṣab* and *jàgìr*[519] for some unknown reason, but he got them back during the 30th year[520] of that monarch's reign.[521] Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Aḥmad Bèg Khàn. His two sons, Mukhliṣ Khàn[522] and Muḥammad Sharìf,[523] were also in Shàhjahàn's service.

207:25 It should be Ḥajjàj-i Yùsuf, or Ḥajjàj b. Yùsuf, the Thaqafi governor of 'Iràq under the Umayyad caliphs, 'Abd al-Malìk and Walìd. He is a byword for tyranny and oppression in Islamic history. He ruthlessly put down the rebellion of 'Abd Allàh b. Zubayr at Makkah, and, in the course of his action against him, did not even hesitate to destroy the Ka'bah. At the time of his appointment as the governor of 'Iràq, its annual revenue amounted to 100,000 dirhams, but, as a consequence of Ḥajjàj's

512. See *Maẓ.Sh.*, pp.163, 215.
513. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.361.
514. He held this position when Shìr Khàn Tarìn turned to the Mughul court for refuge after losing his stronghold to 'Alì Mardàn Khàn, the Ṣafawid governor of Qandahàr in 1044/ 1634-35. See *A.S.*, vol.I, p.399, 201.
515. Started on 1 Jumàdà II 1061/22 May 1650.
516. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.129.
517. Started on 1 Jumàdà II 1064/19 April 1653.
518. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.143.
519. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194 mistakenly puts this incident in the 26th regnal year of Shàhjahàn.
520. Started on 1 Jumàdà II 1066/ 27 March 1656.
521. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.174. He also held the *parganahs* of Jà'ìs and Amèthì in *jàgìr*. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.238; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194.
522. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.239.
523. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.381.

Marfat.com

oppressive rule, this 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 protect the inmates from inclement weather.[524] He considered himself a scourage of God.[525]

208:35 For a specimen of the *dastak* of Shàhjahàn's reign, see *S.D.Sh.*, p.92.

210:25 *Bègàr* is a Persian word which means to force someone to work without remuneration[526]and, in that sense, it 'corresponds to the old French *corvee*'.[527] 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 found some justification, but, generally speaking, it was considered an act of tyranny.[528]

An interesting example of *bègàr* is seen in the *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1629-1643).* On his way to Ìràn from India, in the vicinity of the Mughal province of Qandahàr, 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 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, that the Kan or Viceroy of Ferra was proposing to cross the frontier with twelve thousand Georgian horse and some Persian and Gorazane 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

524. Mas'ùdì, *Al-Tanbìh wa'l-Ishràf*, tr., Abù al-Qàsim Pàyandih, Tehran, 1349 H.Sh., pp.292, 296-97.
525. See Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazàlì-i Ṭùsì, *Naṣìḥat al-Mulùk*, ed., Jalàl al-Dìn Humà'ì, Tehran, 1351 H.Sh., p.132.
526. *F.J.; B.Q.; F.A.R.; H.J.;* Steingass., *s.v. Bìgàr*, or *Bègàr*.
527. *T.F.S.M.*, p.265, n.12.
528. See *F.J.*, s.v. *Bìgàr, Shakar* and *Sukhra*, with relevant footnotes.

Marfat.com

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."[529]

211:5 Originally he hailed from Iṣfahàn but since during the days of Jahàngìr for some time he was in charge of the government of Bandar Łàharì, the epithet of Bandarì became a permanent part of his name.[530] The contemporary authorities hardly give any worthwhile information about his early or subsequent career. According to some sources,[531] in 1038/1615-16 when Bhakkar was transferred from the *jàgìr* of Nùr Jahàn to that of Àṣaf Khàn, the latter appointed Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg as the *faujdàr* of that place. On the other hand, according to the *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*,[532] Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg, with the help of the agents of Shìr Khwàjah in Sihwàn, led a punitive expedition against the Samèjahs and captured a great number of their men.

Sihwàn was conferred on Shìr Khwàjah by Jahàngìr as his *tankhwàh jàgìr* in the *rabì'* season of 1032[533]/1622-23. Shìr Khwàjah dispatched his agents to look after the *jàgìr* and himself stayed in the royal presence. When Jahàngìr was arrested by Mahàbat Khàn in 1035/1625-26 on the bank of the Bihit river, Sharìf al-Mulk, who was the governor of Thattah on behalf of Prince Shahryàr, captured Yàr Muḥammad Kùkah, the *ḥàkim* of Sihwàn, on behalf of Shìr Khwàjah and, brought Sihwàn under his own control.[534] Little is known about the fate of this region until Shàhjahàn, after his accession, appointed Shìr Khwàjah the governor of Thattah, on 1 Rajab 1037/7 March 1628, and dispatched Aḥmad Bèg Khàn as the *jàgìrdàr* of Sihwàn on 13 Rajab 1037/19 March 1628. The former died on the way, and Mìr Ḥusàm al-Dìn Murtaḍà Khàn was appointed in his place.

If we accept the version of Yùsuf Mìrak about Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg's expedition against the Samèjah, which, incidentally, is confirmed by some other sources,[535] it could not have happened after the death of Shìr Khwàjah in 1037/1628; and, with the little

529. *T.F.S.M.*, pp.265-67.
530. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
531. Bèg Muḥammad b. Zindah 'Alì Bèg, *Ḍamìmah-i Ta'rìkh-i Ma'ṣùmi*, quoted in *Maẓ. Sh.*, p.362n.
532. *Ibid.*, p.196n.
533. *Ibid.*, p.146.
534. *Ibid.*, pp.148-50.
535. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.

Marfat.com

knowledge we have about the period between the removal of Shir Khwàjah's men by Sharìf al-Mulk and the fresh appointment of Shìr Khwàjah as the governor of Thattah, it would be reasonable to assume that Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg led this expedition some time before 1035/1625-26, when he held the position of the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar. Probably, he still occupied this office when Bhakkar was transferred from Nùr Jahàn to Àṣaf Khàn.[536] Evidently, Àṣaf Khàn also confirmed him as the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar; but, soon afterwards, he was arrested on charges of embezzlement, and, after a good deal of humiliation, he died in jail.[537]

214:21 "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."[538] According to Abù al-Faḍl[539] the sweepers (kannàs) in India were known as *Ḥalal-Khwùr*.

214:36 *The fowl* year.

215:4 A gallant soldier and capable administrator, Qilìch Khàn Tùrànì was a nephew[540] of a Mughul grandee of the same name[541] who flourished under Akbar and Jahàngìr. He started his career[542] as a retainer of 'Abd Allàh Khàn Fìrùz Jang,[543] but subsequently joined the service of Prince Shàhjahàn and served him so loyally[544] and efficiently that, on his accession to the throne, Shàhjahàn bestowed on him the rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,500 cavalry. The Emperor also honoured him with a robe (*khil'at*), a jewelled dagger, a horse, a standard, an elephant and a cash reward of Rs.5,000.[545] Soon after, a kettle-drum was also given to him.[546]

536. According to the *L.T.S.* (p.77), Nawwàb Mìrzà 'Alì Muḥammad Bèg was appointed the *ḥàkim* of Bhakkar, which lay in the *jàgìr* of Nùr Jahàn, in 1031/1621, and was replaced by Faujdàr 'Muḥammad 'Alì in 1038/1628. Apparently, it is one and the same person who served as the *faujdàr* of Bhakkar first on behalf of Nùr Jahàn and then on behalf of Àṣaf Khàn.
537. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
538. Steingass, *s.v.*
539. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.97. Also see Blochmann, p.147n.
540. Kèwalràm, *s.v.*
541. Qilìch Khàn Andìjànì. For his life, see *N.M.*, *s.v. Ulfatì*, his poetical name; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.172-75; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.68-73.
542. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.66; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.91.
543. This title was conferred on him by Shàhjahàn. 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.
544. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.220.
545. *Ibid.*, p.223.
546. *Ibid.*, p.260.

Marfat.com

Qilich Khàn served as the governor of Dihli, Allahàbàd, Multàn, Qandahaŕ, the Panjàb, Badakhshàn and Kàbul.[547] He was twice appointed to Multàn,[548] and served there for a total of about seven and a half years.

He played an important role in the smooth transfer of Qandahàr from the Ṣafawìds to the Mughuls in 1047/1638, on the defection of its Persian governor, 'Alì Mardàn Khàn. During his governorship of Qandahàr, he also conquered Zamìndàwar and Bust. He is also credited with stamping out a rebellion at Allahàbàd[549] and restoring law and order at Badakhshàn.[550] In sum, he attained to the pinnacle of glory under Shàhjahàn,[551] and died at Bhèrah, in the Panjàb, on 15 Ṣafar 1064/5 January 1654.[552]

215:20 A close and trusted servant of Shàhjahàn from the days of his princeship, Kamàl al-Dìn Ḥusayn,[553] alias Jàn Nithàr Khàn, is first heard of in 1037/1627, when, on receipt of the news of the death of Jahàngìr, Shàhjahàn, considering ḥimself to be the *de facto* sovereign of India, dispatched him with an important *farmàn* to Khàn Jahàn Lòdhì in Burhànpùr, confirming him in his post and extending to him a variety of other concessions.[554] Later, on the eve of his coronation, when Shàhjahàn conferred honours on his courtiers, Jàn Nithàr Khàn was given the rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,000 horse. The Emperor also bestowed upon him a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a standard, a horse, an elephant, and 12,000 rupees in cash.[555] As is abundantly borne out by the Khàn's subsequent rapid promotions, he seems to have enjoyed the undiminished confidence of Shàhjahàn right until the close of his career.

In 1038/1629, Shàhjahàn increased his rank by 200 horse.[556] After a few months, he received an increase of 500 personnel in his *manṣab*.[557] The following year (26 Rabì' I 1040/2 November

547. *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.92-93.
548. From Shawwàl 1041/May 1632 to Shawwàl 1047/March 1638 (see *A.S.*, vol.I, p.405; vol.II, p.228) and from Rabì' I, 1051/ June-July 1641 to Dhì al-Ḥijjah 1052/March 1643. (*A.S.*, vol.II, pp.228, 33.)
549. *Ibid.*, vol.I, pp.357-58.
550. *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp.385-86.
551. He rose to the rank of 5,000 personnel and 5,000 cavalry. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.350.
552. *Ibid.*, p,137.
553. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.524.
554. Làhaurì, vol.I, p.75.
555. Làhaurì, vol.I, pp.118-19. Cf. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.525.
556. Làhaurì, p.260.
557. Làhaurì, p.288.

Marfat.com

1630), he was appointed the commandant of the fort of Aḥmadnagar,[558] in which position he served for a year, until he was recalled to the court.[559] Soon after, in Jumada II 1040/ December-January 1631-32, he was honoured with a robe of honour and a horse, and dispatched to Daulatàbàd under the command of Wazìr Khàn.[560] After his return from Daulatàbàd, he appears to have been made the *faujdàr* of Lakhì Jangal, whence he was relieved by Sazàwàr Khàn, son of Laskhar Khàn, in Shawwàl 1042/April 1633.[561]

In Rabì' II 1043/October-Novermber 1633, Jàn Nithàr Khàn was promoted to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 1,500 horse[562] and appointed the *ḥàkim* of Sìwistàn, whence, in Shawwàl 1047/ February-March 1638, he was ordered to proceed to Qandahàr and help Qilìch Khàn, the governor-designate of that place, in his expedition[563] Jàn Nìthàr Khàn served in the Qandahàr campaign with distinction and, on 1 Rajab 1048/8 November 1638, an imperial directive returned him to his prior assignment in Sìwistàn.

On 10 Shà'bàn 1048/18 December 1638, he was promoted to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 2,500 horse and ordered to take over as the *nàẓìm* of Bhakkar from Yùsuf Muḥammad Khàn Tàshkandì, who had served with him in the Qandahàr campaign and was now being promoted to the *ṣùbahdàrship* of Multàn. Yakkah-tàz succeeded Jàn Nithàr Khàn as the governor of Sìwistàn.[561] The latter died on his way to Bhakkar;[562] and, on 9 Ramaḍàn 1048/14 January 1639, Shàh Qulì Khàn was appointed the *nàẓim* of Bhakkar in his stead.[566]

558. *Ibid.*, p.320.
559. *Ibid.*, p.399.
560. *Ibid.*, p.410.
561. *Ibid.*, p.476.
562. *Ibid.*, p.542.
563. *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.35.
564. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.525, gives the impression that he died after assuming the office of *nàẓim* of Bhakkar, but this is an erroneous reading of the facts of the case. See Làhaurì, vol.II, p.131.
565. *Ibid.*, p.128.
566. *Ibid.*, p.131. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *op.cit.*, pp.60, 68, 69, 201, 202, 218, 221, 222, 359) has confused Kamàl al-Dìn Jàn Nithàr Khàn (d.1048/1639) with Yadigàr Bèg, son of Zabardast Khàn, who got the title of Jàn Nithàr Khàn 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 Làhaurì, vol.II, pp.488-489, 493, 499; Kèwalràm, *s.v.* Jàn Nithàr Khàn and Lashkar Khàn).

Marfat.com

Jàn Nithàr Khàn proved himself to be a good administrator. To keep a check on the truculent and predatory Sòdhàs and Samèjahs, he married the daughters of the *zamìndars* of those tribes. As long as he lived, these *zamìndàrs* remained submissive and docile; but the moment news of his death spread, they forcibly took away their daughters from his household and resumed their age-old practice of rapine and pillage.[567]

215:38 For the qualities expected in a good *qawwàl* and the etiquette of musical gatherings, see *Ghunyat al-Munyah*, ed., Shahàb Sarmadee, Bombay, 1978, pp.108-10.

216:4 *Taràwìḥ*. The plural of *Tarwìḥ*, meaning rest. The prayers, of usually 20 *rak'ahs*, recited at night during the month of Ramaḍàn; so called because the congregation sit down and rest after every fourth *rak'ah* and every second *salàm*.[568]

218:35 The 16 couplets that follow are taken from the *Ḥadìqat al-Haqìqah* of Sanà'ì.[569] The substance of the poem is that at the time of 'Umar's death, his son, 'Abd Allàh, 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 12 long years before he could fulfil this promise. Upon being asked about the reason for this delay, 'Umar told him that, during his caliphate, a goat had fallen from a broken bridge in Baghdàd and had hurt its 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 that, but for the infinite mercy of Allàh, he would not have been pardoned. Sanà'ì then wonders, if this could happen to 'Umar, whose name was synonymous with justice, what would the fate of other rulers be?

The story goes as far back as the *Ḥilyat al-Auliyà'* of Ḥàfiẓ Abù Nu'aym, and has been widely reflected in Arabic and Persian literature.[570] Ghazàlì quoted this anecdote in the *Naṣìḥat al-Mulùk*, as well as in the *Kìmyà-i Sa'àdat*, but Sanà'ì was apparently inspired by the *Siyàsat Namah's* version.[571]

567. See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.106; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.525-26.
568. *D.I., s.v.*
569. Ed. Mudarris Raḍawì, Tehran, n.d., pp.544-45.
570. Mudarris Raḍawì, *Ta'lìqàt-i Ḥadìqat al-Ḥaqìqah*, Tehran, n.d., pp.614-16.
571. *Naṣiḥat al-Mulùk, op.cit.*, Introduction, pp.66-67, 94.

Marfat.com

219:30 Reputed for his learning and misunderstood schemes, and renowened for his unprecedented generosity and unremitting punishments, Sulṭàn Muḥammad b. Tughluq was the second and most important sovereign of the Tughluq dynasty. The Sultanate of Dihli reached its zenith under him, but it also disintegrated towards the end of his reign.[572] The Sulṭàn ascended the throne of Dihlì in 725[573] /1325, and died on 21 Muḥarram 752[574] /20 March 1351, at the site of the modern Sòndah village, about 14 *kuròhs* north of Thattah.[575] while pursuing a rebellious slave, called Ṭaghi.[576] who had taken refuge with Jàm Ùnar, the Sammah dynast[577] of Thattah.

In keeping with his wishes,[578] after Muḥammad b. Tughluq's death, the crown was offered to his cousin, Fìrùz b. Rajab, who accepted it formally on 24 Muḥarram 752[579] /23 March 1351 and became the new king. In this hour of grief and panic, the imperial army was subjected to raids by troops from Thattah as well as invasions by Mongol hordes from Central Asia;[577] but Fìrùz Shàh 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 Sammahs had been exhausted,[578] that Fìrùz Shàh finally decided to lead a punitive expedition against them. His first attempt was marred by a scarcity of food and fodder and a subsequent pestilence among the army's horses which led to his sustaining immeasurable losses. But the following year, he returned in great force from Gujaràt and took the Sindhìs unawares. He seized all crops ready to be harvested.

572. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, op.cit.*, vol.III, pp.619-767; Shaykh 'Inàyat Allàh, *"Subḥ al-A'shà sè Muḥammad b. Tughluq Shàh Kè 'ahd-i ḥukùmat kè ba'd ḥàlàt," 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.
573. Baranì, p.456; Amìr Khwùrd, *Sayr al-Auliyà'*, Delhi, 1309/1891-92, p.591.
574. Baranì, p.525.
575. Agha Mahdi Husain, pp.297, 607-8; *Maqàlàt-i Maulawì Muḥammad Shafi'*, ed., Aḥmad Rabbànì, Lahore, n.d., vol.I, pp.317-25.
576. For details, see Ishwari Prasad, pp.225-32, 246-51.
577. For their advent in Sind, see Riazul Islam, *"The Rise of* the Sammas in Sind," *Islamic Culture*, Vol.XXII, No.4, pp.359-82.
578. Baranì, pp.529, 530, 532, 536.
579. Baranì, p.536; *Sayr al-Auliyà'*, p.592.
580. Baranì, pp.533-37.
581. See *Inshà'-i Màhrù*, pp.102, 186-88, 230-32 and the article referred to in note 577 above.

Marfat.com

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 Thattah, Jàm Jùnà and his nephew, Jàm Banhbìnah, surrendered themselves to the Sulṭàn, one after the other.[582] They were received honourably.[583]

Fìrùz Shàh entrusted the government of Thattah to Jàm Jùnah's son, Khayr al-Dìn Jàm Ṭaghàchì and to Banhbìnah's brother, Jàm Tamàchì, jointly, and he himself set out for Dihlì with the deposed chiefs of Thattah, together with all their households, in his train.[584]

The new rulers of Thattah paid 400,000 *tankahs* in cash, as a mark of their allegiance, and undertook to tender several *làkhs* of *tankahs* in money and goods yearly. After some years, Banhbìnah's brother, Tamàchì, rebelled at Thattah; and the Sulṭàn dispatched Jàm Jùnà to suppress his rebellion. The Jàm returned to Thattah and sent Tamàchì to Dihlì. Banhbìnah was also subsequently allowed to return to Thattah, but he died on the way.[585]

219:29 Taken from *T.S.* (pp.64-65).

220:5 *T.S.* (p.65): seven years.

236:19 The original *mallàḥàn* has been translated as boatmen. According to Khwàrazmì another meaning of the word *mallàḥ* is "a person who frequents the waterways (*mut'ahhid al-mà'*)". C.E. Bosworth adds: "the word comes ultimately from Akadian, and in ancient Mesopotamia, the *malahu* was a boatman, and perhaps, sometimes, a shipbuilder."[583]

242:13 *Dhàrà* means a stream, and *tìrath* (Hindì)or *tìrth* (Sanskrit) signifies a bathing place, a shrine or sacred place of pilgrimage (such as Banàras); especially, particular spots along the course of

582. See 'Afif, *Ta'rìkh-i Fìrùz Shàhì*, E&D, vol.III, pp.319-37.
583. *Ibid.*, p.335-36. Also see Muḥammad Waḥìd Mirzà "*Diwàn-i Muṭahhar-i Kaṛa'i.*" *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol.XI.No.3, pp.140-45.
584. 'Afif, E&D, vol.III, p.336. Also see Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Balòch, "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.23-29; *T.T.*, pp.307-8n; *Ta'rìkh-i Ma'ṣùmì*, tr., Akhtar Raḍawì; annotations by Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Balòch, pp.463-65n.
585. 'Afif, p.338.
586. C.E. Bosworth, "Abù 'Abdallàh al-Khwàrazmì on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XII (1969), p.153.

Marfat.com

sacred streams (such as the Ganges).[587]

246:11 Encouraged by the Persian siege[588] of Qandahàr, Ḥaydar, who was originally a servant[589] of Shàh Bèg Arghùn, also raised the standard of rebellion at Zamìndàwar,[590] a dependency[591] of Qandahàr. He collected some men and launched marauding raids on neighbouring territories. Some time, his raids extended to the fort of Qandahàr, as well.

He was known for his horse, called Chìnì, which resembled a camel in certain of its movements and could traverse as many as 100 *kuròhs* a day when called upon to do so in times of emergency.[592]

According to the *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn,*[593] his rebellion was quelled by Shàh Bèg Arghùn.

248:4 For Jàts, see Irfàn Habib, "Jatts of Punjab and Sind" in *Punjab Past and Present,* ed., Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, Patiala, 1976, pp.92-103.

249:33 Qur'àn 28:88.

249:38 Qur'àn 80:34-7.

249:40 Qur'àn 84:7-9.

250:4 Qur'àn 56:11;15-24.

250:6 The couplet is by Ḥàfiẓ,[594] and seems to have been inspired by the following saying[595] 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 a

587. John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English,* London, 1960, repr., *s.v. Dhàrà* and *Tìrth.*

588. 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.

589. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235; *T.T.*, p.254; *T.K.*, p.180; *T.K.*, tr., p.265.

590. Arḍ al-Dàwar and Balad al-Dàwar of the Arab geographers, a beautiful valley known for its fertility, down which the Helmand flows from the mountains of the Hindù Kush to Bust. See Guy le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 3rd Impression, London, 1966, pp.345-46; Ludwig W. Adamec, *Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan,* Graz-Austria, 1973, pp.296-302.

591. See *A.S.*, vol.III, p.63.

592. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.236.

593. *Ibid.*, Cf. *T.T.*, pp.261-62; *T.K.*, p.183; *T.K.*, tr., p.267, according to which, he was defeated by Rà'è Mànak Chand.

594. *Dìwàn-i Khwàjah Shams al-Dìn Muḥammad Ḥàfiẓ-i Shìràzì.* ed., Muḥammad Qazwìnì and Qàsim Ghanì, Tehran, n.d., p.5.

595. Kai Kàwùs ibn Iskandar, *The Qabùs Nàma (A Mirror for Princes),* tr., Reuben Levy, London, MCMLI, p.128. Persian Text, ed., Ghulàm Ḥusayn Yùsufi, Tehran, 1967,

Contd...

Marfat.com

space of time, he replied, "By winning over enemies by kindness and gathering friends about me by solicitude for them."

p.140; Ibn Ṭaqṭaqà, *Ta'rikh-i Fakhri*, tr., Muḥammad Waḥid Gulpàyigànl, Tehran. 1971, p.69.

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

'Abd al-Bàqì, Muḥammad Fu'àd, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-alfàẓ al-Qur'àn*. Cairo, 1364 A.H., Tehran, repr.

'Abd al-Ghafùr b. Ḥaydar Sìwìstànì, "Tadhkirah-i Mashà'ikh-i Siwistàn." ed., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Mihràn*, No 3, 1974.

'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì, *Irsàl al-Makàtìb w'al-Rasà'il Arbàb il-Kamàl w'al Faḍà'il*, MS. in the Private Collection of the late S.V.H. Abidi, Lahore, 1972.

———, *Risàlah-i Nùriyyah-i Sulṭàniyyah*, ed., Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Islàmabàd, 1985.

'Abd al-Nabì Fakhr al-Zamànì Qazwìnì, *Tadhkirah-i Maykhànah*, ed., Aḥmad Gulchìn-i Ma'ànì, Tehran, 1340 H.Sh.

'Abd al-Karìm Kashmìrì, *Bayàn-i Wàqi'*, ed., K.B. Nasim, Lahore, 1970.

Abdul Aziz, *The Manṣàbdàrì System and the Mughul Army*, Delhi, 1972, repr.

'Abdullah Muḥammad Al-Makkì al-Àṣafì al-Ulughkhànì Ḥàjjì ad-Dabìr, *Ẓafar al Wàlih bi Muẓaffar wa Àlih*, Eng. tr. *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, M.F. Lokhandwala, 2 vols., Baroda, 1970.

Abdur Raḥim, *Mughal Relations with Persia and Central Asia Babur to Aurangzeb*, Aligarh, n.d.

Abù al Faḍl *À'ìn-i Akbarì*, 3 vols, Lucknow, 1833. Vol. I, translated into English by H. Blochmann and edited by D.C. Phillott, Lahore, n.d., repr.; vols. II, III, tr., H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1868-94.

———, *Akbar Nàmah*, eds., Àghà Aḥmad 'Alì and 'Abd al-Raḥìm, 3 volumes., Calcutta, 1873-87; Eng. tr., H. Beveridge, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1897-1921.

——. *Har Sih Daftar*. Delhi, 1262 A.H.

Abù al-Faḍl Nab'ì, "Taqwìm-i Dawàzdih Ḥayawànì dar Ta'rikh-o Farhang-i Ìrànì," *Àyandeh*, VIII/7 Mihr 1361 H.Sh., pp. 388-97.

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

Abù al-Ẓafar Dasnawì Nadwì, Sayyid, *Ta'rìkh-i Sindh*, 2 vols., Azamgarh, 1970.

Marfat.com

Adamec, Ludwig W., *Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan,* Graz-Austria, 1973.

———, *Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan,* Graz-Austria, 1975.

'Afif, Shams-i Siràj, *Ta'rìkh-i Fìrùz Shàhì,* ed., Maulwì Wilàyat Hussain, Calcutta, 1890; Eng. tr., in H.M. Elliott., *History of India as Told by its Own Historans,* ed., John Dowson. Vol. III, pp.269-373, Patna, n.d., repr.

Aḥmad, Aziz, "Ṣafawid Poets and India," *Iran,* XIV (1976), pp.117-32.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffàrì, Kàshànì, *Ta'rìkh-i Nigàristàn,* ed., Murtaḍà Mudarris Gìlànì, Tehran, n.d.

Aḥmad, Niẓàm al-Dìn, *Ṭabaqàt-i Akbarì,* ed., B. De and Hidayat Hosain, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1913-35. Eng. tr., B. De, Calcutta, 1939.

Aḥmad Sirhindì, Shaykh, *Màktùbàt-i Imàm-i* Rabbànì, 3 vols., Karachi, 1972, repr.

Akhtar, Muḥammad Saleem, " Akbarì daur Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì Kì Nigàrishàt kè à'ìne mein," *Fikr-o-Naẓar,* XI/II (May 1974), pp.664-85.

———, "An Introduction to the Life and Works of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì," *The Muslim World,* LXVIII, No. 3 (1978),pp.205-14.

———, "Ḥaḍrat Miyàn Mìr Qàdirì Làhaurì," *Urdù,* LII/2 (1976), pp.35-59. In Urdu; Sindhì tr., Nawàz 'Alì Shauq, *Mihràn,* XXVIII/3-4 (1979), pp.134-52.

———, "Tuḥfat al-Wulàt wa Naṣìḥat al-Ra'iyyat wa'l-Ru'àt: Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ṭàhir Muḥaddith Patanì ḳì èk Nau Daryàft Ta'lìf," *Kitàbshinàsì,* Islamabad, No. 1, 1986, pp.7-69.

'Alì b. Ḥàmid b. Abù Bakr al-Kùfì, *Chachnàma,* ed., 'Umar b. Muḥammad Dà'ùdpòta, Bombay, 1939; Urdu tr., Akhtar Raḍawì, annotated by Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1963.

'Ali b. 'Uthmàn al-Hujwìrì al-Jullàbì al-Ghaznawì, *Kashf al-Maḥjùb,* ed., Muḥammad 'Abbàsì, Ṭehran, 1336 H. Sh.; Eng. tr., Reynold A. Nicholson, London, 1967, repr.

Ali, Shaukat, *Administrative Ethics in a Muslim State,* Lahore, n.d.

Alvi, M.A. and A. Rahim, *Jahangir the Naturalist,* New Delhi, 1968.

Amada, Emillor M. Martinez, *English-Spanish and Spanish-Englsh Dictionary,* Barcelona, 1946.

Amìr Khwànd, See Mìr Khwànd.

Amìr Khwùrd, *Sayr al-Auliyà' fì Maḥabbat-i Ḥaqq Jalla wa 'Alà,* Delhi, 1309/1892-93.

Anonymous, *Ghunyat al-Munyah,* ed., Shahàb-i Sarmadee, Bombay, 1978.

Marfat.com

'Anṣarì, M. Abdul Ḥaq, *The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih*, Aligarh, 1964.

Ansàrì, Nùr al-Ḥasan, *Fàrsì Adab bi'ahd-i Aurangzìb*, Delhi, 1969. In Urdu.

'Arif Qandahàrì, Ḥàjjì Muḥammad, *Ta'rìkh-i Akbarì*, ed., S. Mu'ìn al-Dìn Nadwì and S. Azḥar 'Alì Dihlawì, and rev. by Imtiyàz 'Alì 'Arshì, Ràmpur, 1962.

Asad Bèg Qazwìnì, *Risàlah-i Ta'rìkh*, B.M. MS.

Ashraf Khàn, *Raqà'im-i Karà'im*, I.O. MS. 3021.

'Aṭà Thaththawì, 'Abd al-Ḥakìm, *Dìwàn*, ed., Sayyid Muḥammad Muṭì' Allàh Ràshid Burhànpùrì, Hyderabad, Sind, n.d.

'Aṭṭàr Nìshàbùrì, Farìd al-Dìn, *Tadhkirat al-Auliyà'*, ed., Muḥammad Isti'làmì, Tehran, 1346 H.Sh.

'Aufì, Muḥammad, *Jawàmi' al-Ḥikàyàt*, ed., Muḥammad Ramaḍànì, Tehran, 1335 H.Sh.

Aurangzìb, *Ruka'at-i 'Alamgìrì or Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr., J.H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972.

Avasthy, Rama Shanker, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, Allahabad, 1967.

Bàbur Pàdishàh, Ẓahìr al-Dìn Muḥammad, *Bàbur Nama* (Memoirs of Babur), Eng. tr., A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, 1970, repr.

Badàyùnì, 'Abd al-Qàdir, *Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh*, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1864-69; Eng. tr., George S.A. Rankling, vol.I; W.H. Lowe, vol.II; Wolsley Haig, vol. III; Patna, 1973, repr.

Bakhtàwar Khàn, Muḥammad, *Mir'at al-'Àlam*, ed., Sàjida S. 'Alwì, 2 vols., Lahore, 1979.

Balòch, Nabì Bakhsh Khàn, "Chronology of the Samma Rulers of Sind," *Proceedings of the Meetings of the Second Session of the Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission, Peshawar, Feburary 1954*, Karachi, 1957.

———, *Sindh mein Urdù Shà'irì*, Lahore, 1978.

Baranì, Ḍiyà' al-Dìn, *Ta'rìkh-i Fìrùz Shàhì*, Calcutta, 1860-62; Eng. tr. in H.M. Elliot, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, ed., John Dowson, Vol.III, pp.93-268, Patna, n.d., repr.

———, Fatàwà-i Jahàndàrì, ed., A. Salìm Khàn, Lahore, 1972.

Basak, Radhagovinda, "The Hindu Concept of the Natural World," *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed., Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, 1953.

Basham, A.L., *The Wonder that was India*, Fourth Impression, London, 1974.

Bàyazìd Biyàt, *Tadhkirah-i Humàyùn wa Akbar*, ed., M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1941.

Bayhaqì, Abù al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, *Ta'rìkh-i Bayhaqì*, ed., 'Alì

Marfat.com

Akbar Fayyàḍ, Mashhad, 1971.

Bayley, Edward Clive, *History of Gujarat,* ed., Nagendra Singh, Delhi, 1970, repr.

Bayram Khàn, *Dìwàn-i Bayram Khàn,* eds., S. Husamuddin Rashdi and Muhammad Sabir, Karachi, 1971.

Bellews, Henry Walter, *From the Indus to the Tigris,* London, 1874.

Beveridge, H., "Tarkhan and Tarquinius," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1918, pp.314-16. Typescript in the Private Collection of Pir Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Karachi (1979).

———, "The Mongol Title Tarkhan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1917, p.834. Typescript in the Private Collection of Pìr Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Din Ràshidì, Karachi (1979).

Bhagwàndàs Hindì, *Safinah-i Hindì,* ed., Shàh Muḥammad 'Aṭà' al-Raḥmàn, Patna, 1978.

Blochmann, H., *The À'ìn-i Akbarì,* ed., D.C. Phillott, Lahore, n.d., repr.

Billimoria, "Some Ancient Tribes of Sapta Sindhu," *Journal of the Sind Historical Society,* VII/1-2 (July 1944).

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund, "Abù Abdallàh al-Khwàrazmì on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* XII (1969), p 113-64.

———, "The Early Islamic History of Ghùr," *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia,* London. 1977, IX, pp.116-33.

———, *The Islamic Dynasties,* Edinburgh, 1967; translated into Persian by Farìdùn Badraḥ'ì as *Silsilahhà-i Islàmì,* Tehran, 1349 H. Sh.

Briggs, John, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India Till the year 1612,* 4 vols., Calcutta, 1966, repr.

Browne, Edward Granville, *A Literary History of Persia,* 4 vol., C.U.P., repr.

Burhàn, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf Tabrìzì, *Burhàn-i Qàṭi',* ed., Muḥammad Mu'ìn, 5 vols., Second Edition, Tehran, 1342 H. Sh.

Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara,* 3 vols., London, MDCCCXXXIV.

The *Cambridge Economic History of India,* Vol.I, eds., DaTapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib; Vol.II, eds., Dharma Kumar and Meghanad Desai; Delhi, 1982, repr.

Chalbani, S.P., *Economic Conditions in Sind 1592-1843,* Bombay, 1951.

Chopra, P.N., *Life and Letters under the Mughals,* New Delhi, 1976.

Commissariat, M.S., *A History of Gujarat,* Bombay, 1938.

Cousens, Henry, *The Antiquities of Sind,* Calcutta, 1929.

Dani., A.H., "Sibi- A Forgotten People," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, IX/I (June 1964), pp.13-17.*

Marfat.com

Danvers, Frederick Charles. *The Portuguese and India*, London, 1894, quoted in *Ta'rìkh-i Ṭàhirì*, pp.326-7n.

Dàrà Shukùh, *Sakìnat al-Auliyà'*, eds., Tàrà Chand and S. Muḥammad Raḍà Jalàlì Nà'ìnì. Tehran, n.d.

Daulatshàh Samarqandì, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arà'*, ed., Muḥammad 'Abbàsi, Tehran, n.d.

Dawànì, Jalàl al-Dìn, *Akhlàq-i Jalàlì*, Nawalkishore, 1916.

De Bury, Richard, *Philobiblon*, Ch. I, sec. 21, quoted in Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotations*, Tenth Edition, New York, 1967.

Dehkhodà, 'Alì Akbar, *Lughat Nàmah-i Dehkhodà*, Tehran.

De Laet, John, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, Commentarius e vartis auctoribus congrestus*, Leyden 1631; English tr., *The Empire of the Great Mogol: Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*, J.S. Hoyland, annotated by. S.N. Banerjee, Delhi, 1975, repr.

Dowson, John, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, London, 1950.

Dùghlàt, Mìrzà Muḥammad Ḥaydar. *Ta'rìkh-i Rashìdì*, tr., E. Denison Ross, ed., N. Elias, London, 1895.

Echols, John M. and Hasan Shadily, *An Indonesian-English Dictonary*, Jakrata, 1974, repr.

Erskine, William, *A History of India Under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur Baber and Humayun*, 2 vols., Shannon-Ireland, 1972, repr.

Ethe, Hermann, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, rev. and completed by Edward Edwards, 3 vols., Oxford, 1903.

———, *Neupersische Litteratur*, translated into Persian by S.R Shafagh as *Ta'rìkh-i Adabiyyàt-i Fàrsì*, Tehran, 1958.

Fakhri b. Amìrì Harawì, *Rauḍat al-Salaṭìn and Jawàhir al-'Ajà'ib*, ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1968.

Falsafi, Naṣr Allàh, *Zindigànì-i Shàh 'Abbàs Awwal*, 5 vols., Tehran, 1352 H. Sh.

Farìd Bhakkarì, Shaykh, *Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn*, ed., S. Moinul Haq, 3 vols., Karachi, 1961-74

Fayḍì, Abù al-Fayḍ, *Inshà'-i Fayḍì*, ed., A.D. Arshad, Lahore, n.d.

Firishtah, Muḥammad Qàsim b. Hindùshàh, *Ta'rìkh-i Firishtah*, Nawalkishore, n.d.; translated into English by John Briggs as *History of the Rise of the Mohomedan Power in India Till the year 1612*, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1966, repr.

Foster. William, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, O.U.P., 1921.

Marfat.com

———, *The English Factories in India 1642-1645*, O.U.P., 1913.
———, *The English Factories in India 1646-1650*, O.U.P., 1914.
Fryer, John, *A New Account of East India and Persia; being nine years' travels, 1762-1681*, ed., W. Crooke, London, 1909-15.
Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, B., Vol.III, Sukkur District, Bombay, 1928.
Ghafur, M.A., *The Calligraphers of Thattah*, Second Impression, Karachi, 1978.
Ghani, M.A., *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, 3 parts, Allahabad, 1929-30.
Ghauthì Shaṭṭàrì, Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Gulzàr-i Abràr*, Persian MSS. 185, The John Rylands Library, Manchester; translated into Urdu by Faḍl Aḥmad Jìwarì as *Adhkàr-i Abràr*, Agra, 1326/1908.
Al-Ghazàlì Ṭùsì, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Naṣìḥat al-Mulùk*, ed., Jalàl al-Dìn Humà'ì, Tehran, 1351 H.Sh.; translated into English by F.R.C. Bagley as *Counsel for Kings*, London, 1964.
Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shàh Ismà'ìl Ṣafawì*, Aligarh, 1939.
Gulbadan Begum, *Humàyùn Nàma*, ed. and tr. by Annette S. Beveridge as *The History of Humayùn*, Delhi, 1972, repr.
Ḥàfiẓ, Shìràzì, Khwàjah Shams al-Dìn Muḥammad, *Dìwan*, eds., Muḥammad Qazwìnì and Qàsim Ghanì, Tehran, n.d.
Haig, M.R., *The Indus Delta Country*, Karachi, 1972, repr.
Ḥamd Allàh Mustaufì Qazwìnì, *Ta'rìkh-i Guzìdah*, ed., 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawà'ì, Tehran, 1339 H. Sh.
Ḥarìrì, Fars Ibràhìmì, *Maqàmah nawìsì dar Adabiyyàt-i Fàrsì*, Tehran, 1346 H. Sh.
Hàshimì, 'Abd al-Quddùs, *Taqwìm-i Ta'rikhì*, Karachi, 1965.
Hodivala, Shahpurshah Hormasji, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1979, repr.
Hughes, A.W., *The Country of Balochistan*, London, 1877.
A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Second Edition, London, 1876.
Hughes, Thomas Patrick, *Dictionary of Islam*, New Delhi, 1976, repr.
Husain, Agha Mahdi, *Tughluq Dynasty*, New Delhi, 1976, repr.
Husain, Wahed, *Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India*, Delhi, 1934, repr.
Ibbetson, Denzil Charles Jelf, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, ed., Horace Arthur Rose, 3 vols., Lahore, 1911-19.
Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325-1354*, translated by H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols, C.U.P., 1958-71.

Marfat.com

Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, 1967, repr.

Ibn Ikhwah. *Ma'àlim al-Qurbah fi Aḥkàm al-Ḥisbah*, translated into Persian by Ja'far Shi'àr as *À'ìn-i Shahrdàrì*, Tehran, 1347 H. Sh.

Ibn Manẓùr, *Lisàn al-'Arab al-Muḥìṭ*, eds., Yousef Khayat and Nadim Mer'achli. Beyrouth, n.d.

Ibn Ṭaqṭaqà, *Ta'rìkh-i Fakhrì*, tr., Muḥammad Waḥìd Gulpàyigànì, Tehran, 1971.

Idràkì Beglàrì, *Chanèsar Nàmah*, ed., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidi, Hyderabad, Sind, 1957.

———, *Bèglàr Nàmah*, ed., N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1980.

Ikhlàṣ, Kishan Chand, *Hamìshah Bahàr*, ed., Waḥìd Qureshì, Karachi, 1973.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, 25 vols., Oxford, 1907-9

'Inàyat Allàh, Shaykh, "Ṣubḥ al-A'shà sè Muḥammad b. Tughluq Shàh kè 'ahd-i ḥukùmat ke ba'ḍ ḥàlàt," *Oriental College Magazine*, XII/4, pp.141-53. In Urdu.

Ìnjù Shìràzì, Mìr, Jamàl al-Dìn Ḥusayn b. Fakhr al-Dìn, *Farhang-i Jahàngìrì*, ed., Raḥìm 'Afìfì, 3 vols., Mashhad, 1351-54 H. Sh.

Irfan Habib, "Jatts of Punjab and Sind," *Punjab Past and Present*, eds., Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, Patiala, 1976, pp.92-103.

———, *Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, Indian Historical Congress, Proceedings of the Thirty First Session Varanasi 1969*. Patna, 1970.

———, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963.

———, "The family of Nùr Jahàn during Jahàngìr's Reign; A Politicl Study," *Papers on Medieval Indian History, Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1965*, Aligarh, n.d.

Irvine, William, *Later Mughals*, ed., Jadu Nath Sarkar, New Delhi, 1971, repr.

Iskandar Beg Munshì, *Ta'rìkh-i 'Àlam Àrà-i 'Abbàsì*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1351 H. Sh.

Ivanow, Wladamir, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1924.

Jahàngìr Pàdshàh, *Tùzuk-i Jahàngìrì*, ed., Sayyid Aḥmad, Ghàzìpùr and Aligarh, 1863-64; Eng. tr., Alexander Rogers, ed., Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. Second Edition, Delhi, 1968, repr.; Urdu tr., I'jàẓ al-Ḥaqq Quddùsì, rev., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, 2 vols., Lahore, 1968-70.

Jàmì, 'Abd al-Raḥmàn b. Aḥmad, *Nafaḥàt al-Uns min Ḥaḍaràt al-Quds*, ed., Mahdì Tauḥàdìpùr, Tehran, n.d.

Marfat.com

Jauhar Àftàbchì, *Tadhkirat al-Wàqi'at*, Urdù tr., S. Moinul Haq, Karachi, n.d.

Kay Kàwùs ibn Iskandar, *Qàbùs Nàmah*, ed., Ghulàm Husayn Yùsufi, Tehran, 1967; translated into English by Reuben Levy as *A Mirror for Princes*, London, MCMLI.

Kèwalràm, *Tadhkirat al-Umarà'*, B.M. MS., Add. 16,703.

Kàmgàr Ḥusaynì, Khwàjah, *Ma'àthir-i Jahàngìrì*, ed., Azra Alawi, Bombay, 1978.

Kàmi Qazwìnì. Mìr 'Alà' al-Daulah. *Nafa'is al-Ma'àthir*. MS. Aumer 3,Munich.

Kàmwar Khàn, Muḥammad Hàdì, *Tadhkirat al-Salàṭìn-i Chaghtà*, ed., Muẓaffar 'Àlam, Bombay, 1980.

Kanbò, Muḥammad Ṣàliḥ, *'Amal-i Ṣàliḥ*, ed., Ghulàm Yazdànì, rev., Waḥìd Qureshi, 3 vols., Lahore 1967.

al-Kàtib al-Samarqandì, Muḥammad b. 'Alì al-Ẓahìrì, *Aghràḍ al-Siyàsat fì I'ràḍ al-Riyàsat*, ed., Ja'far Shi'àr, Tehran, 1349 H. Sh.

Kàẓim, Muḥammad, *'Alamgìr Nàmah*, ed., Khàdim Husain and Abd al-Hai, Calcutta, 1868.

Khan, Ansar Zahid, *History and Culture of Sind*, Karachi, 1980.

Khan, A.R., *Chieftains in the Mughul Empire during the Reign of Akbar*, Simla, 1977.

Khàn, Khudàdàd, *Lubb-i Ta'rìkh-i Sindh*, ed., Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Balòch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1959.

Khan, Muḥammad Afzal, "Position of Itimaduddaula's Family during the Reign of Shah Jahan," *Indian History Congress Hyderabad 1978, Papers on Medieval Indian History*, Aligarh, n.d.

Khazà'ilì, Muḥammad, *A'làm-i Qur'àn*, Second Impression, Tehran, 1350 H. Sh.

Khuhro, Hameeda, *The Making of Modern Sind*, Karachi, 1978.

Khwànd Mìr, *Ḥabìb al-Siyar*, 3 vols., Bombay, 1273 A.H.

Khwùshgù, Bindràbin Dàs, *Safìnah-i Khwùshgù*, ed., S. Shàh Muḥammad 'Aṭà al-Raḥmàn, Patna, 1959.

Klien, Ernst, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1968.

Làhaurì, 'Abd al-Ḥamìd, *Shàh Jahàn Nàmah*, eds., Maulawì Kabìr al-Dìn Aḥmad and Maulawì 'Abd al-Raḥìm, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1866-72.

Lambrick, H.T., "Early Canal Administration in Sind," *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, III/1 (August 1937).

———, *Sind: A General Introduction*, Second Edition, Hyderabad, Sind, 1975.

Lambton, A.K.S., "Islamic Political Thought," *The Legacy of Islam*, Second Edition, eds., Joseph Schacht and C.E Bosworth, O.U.P.,

Marfat.com

Paperback, 1979.

Lane, E.W., *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ed., Edward Stanley Poole, Fifth Edition, London, 1871.

———, *Arabic - English Lexicon*, Book I, New York, 1863-93.

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

———, *Medieval India under Mohammadan Rule, 712-1764*, London, 1903.

Le Strange, Guy, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Third Impression, London 1966.

Lockhart, L., *Nadir Shah*, Lahore, 1976, repr.

Maddàḥ, Miyàn Ghulàm 'Alì, *Gauhar-i Manẓùm*, an unpublished diary, quoted in Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, *Tadhkirah-i Amìr Khànì*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1961, pp.67-68.

Maḥjùb, Muḥammad Ja'far, *Darbàrah-i Kalìlah wa Dimnah*, Second Edition, Tehran, 1349 H. Sh.

Màhrù, 'Ayn al-Dìn 'Ayn al-Mulk 'Abd Allah b. Màhrù [sic], *Inshà'-i Màhrù*, ed., Abdur Rashid, rev., Muḥammad Bashìr Ḥusayn, Lahore, 1963.

Malik, Zahir Uddin, *The Reign of Muḥammad Shàh, 1719-1748*, Bombay, 1977.

Maltìwì, Muḥammad b. Ghàzì, *Barìd al-Sa'àdah*, ed., Muḥammad Shìrwànì, Tehran, 1351 H. Sh.

Manrique , F.S., *Tarvels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1629-1643)*, ed., C.E. Luard and H. Hosten, 2 vols, Oxford, 1927.

Marzbàn b. Rustam b. Sharwìn and Sa'd al-Dìn Waràwìnì, *Marzbàn Nàmah*, ed., Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhàb Qazwìnì, Tehran, 1337 H. Sh., repr.

Ma'ṣùm Bhakkarì, Sayyid Muḥammad. *Ta'rìkh-i Sind*, ed., 'Umar b. Muḥammad Dà'ùdpòta, Bombay, 1938; translated into Urdù by Akhtar Raḍawì, with annotations by Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Balòch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1959.

Mahdì Khàn Astràbàdì, Mìrzà, *Durrah-i Nàdirah*, ed., S. Ja'far Shahìdì, Tehran, 1341 H. Sh.

Maḥmùd b. Amìr Walì Balkhì, *The Baḥr al-Asràr*, ed., Riazul Islam, Karachi, 1980.

Masson, Charles, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab*, Karachi, 1974, repr.

Mas'ùdì, Abù al-Ḥasan 'Alì b. Ḥusayn, *Al-Tanbìh wa'l Ishràf*, tr., Abù al-Qàsim Pàyandih, Tehran, 1349 H.Sh.

Mìrak, Yùsuf, *Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì*, ed., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Rashidi, Hyderabad, Sind, 1962; translated into Sindhì by Niaz Humàyùnì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1979.

Marfat.com

Mìr Khwànd. Mìr Muḥammad b. Sayyid Burhàn al-Dìn Khwàwandshàh, *Rauḍàt al-Safà*, 7 vols., Tehran, 1339 H.Sh.

Mirzà, Muḥammad Waḥìd, "Dìwàn-i Muṭahhar-i Karah'ì," *Oriental College Magazine*, XI/3, pp.140-45. In Urdu.

Mohiuddin, Momin, "The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography," *Indo-Iranica*, XIX/2 (June 1966).

———, "*Munsha'àt al-Namakìn*," *Journal of the Pakistan* Historical Society; VIII/1 (January 1960).

Monier-Williams, Monier, *Hinduism*, London, 1897.

Moreland, W.H., *India at the Death of Akbar*, Delhi, 1962, repr.

———, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Allahabad, n.d.

Morgan, Kenneth W., ed., *The Religion of the Hindus*, New York, 1953.

Mu'aẓẓam Shàh, Pìr, *Tawàrìkh-i Ḥàfiẓ Raḥmat Khànì*, ed., Khàn Raushan Khàn, Peshawar, 1976.

Mudarris Raḍawì, S. Muḥammad Taqì, *Ta'lìqàt-i Ḥadìqat al-Ḥaqìqat*, Tehran, n.d.

Muḥammad Bilgràmì, S., *Tabṣirat al-Nàẓirìn*, MS., Pìr S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì Private Collection.Karachi (1979).

Muḥammad b. Ṭàhir Patanì, *Tuḥfat al-Wulàt wa Naṣìḥat al-Ra'iyyah wa'l-Ru'àt*, MS., Public Library, Khairpur Mirs', Sind.

Mu'tamid Khàn Bakhshì, Mìrzà Muḥammad, *Iqbàl Nàmah-i Jahàngìrì*, in H.M. Elliot, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, ed., John Dowson, vol.VI, pp.400-38, Patna, n.d., repr; Urdù tr., Muḥammad Zakariyà Mà'il, Karachi, 1963.

Mushtàqì, Miyàn Nùr al-Ḥaqq, *Munsha'at-i Mushtàqî*, MS. in the Private Collection of Pìr Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Din Ràshidi, Karachi (1979).

Musta'id Khàn, Muḥammad Sàqì. *Maàthir-i 'Alamgìrì*, Eng. tr., Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947; Urdu tr., Muḥammad Fidà 'Alì Ṭàlib, Second Edition, Karachi, 1967.

Nadwì, Ṣayyid Najìb Ashraf, *Ruq'àt-i 'Àlamgìr*, ed., Maulawì Mas'ùd 'Alì Nadwì, Azamgarh, 1929.

Nafìsì, Sa'ìd, *Ta'rìkh-i Naẓm-o Nathr dar Ìràn wa dar Zabàn-i Fàrsì*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1344 H.Sh.

Namakìn, Mìr Abù al-Qàsim, *Jawàmi' al-Jawàhir*, Bodleian Library MSS.

———, *Munsha'àt al-Namakìn*, India Office MS., 1535; Lytton Collection MS. 3/26-7, Aligarh Muslim University.

Naṣìr al-Dìn Ṭùsì, *The Nasirean Ethics*, tr., G.M. Wickens, London, 1964.

Naṣr Allàh Munshì, Abù al-Ma'àlì, *Tarjumah-i Kalìla wa Dimnah*, ed., Mujtabà Mìnùwì Tihrànì, Tehran, 1345 H. Sh.

Naṭanzì, Mu'ìn al-Dìn, *Muntakhab al-Tawàrìkh*, ed., Jean Aubin, Tehran, 1967.

Needham, Joseph, *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 1965.

Marfat.com

Niebuhr, *Vovage en Arabie*, quoted in E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. dùlàb.*

Nihàwandì, Mullà 'Abd al-Bàqì, *Ma'àthir-i Raḥìmì*, ed., M. Hidayat Hosain, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1910-31.

Ni'mat Allàh, Khwàjah, *Ṭa'rikh-i Khànjahànì wa Makhzan-i Afghàni*, ed., S. Muḥammad Imàm al-Dìn. 2 vols., Dacca, 1960-62.

Nisyànì, Tattawì, Sayyid Ṭàhir Muḥammad, *Ta'rìkh-i Baldah-i Thatta (generally known as Ta'rìkh-i Ṭàhirì)*, ed., N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind, 1964.

Nithàrì Bukhàrì, Khwàjah Ḥasan. *Mudhakkar-i Aḥbàb*, ed., S.M. Faḍl Allàh, Hyderabad, Deccan, n.d.

Niẓàm al-Dìn Auliyà', Khwàjah, *Fawà'id al-Fu'àd*, comp., Amìr Ḥasan Sijzì 'Alà, tr., Muḥammad Sarwar, Lahore. 1973.

Niẓam al-Mulk Ṭùsì, Khwàjah, *Siyàsat Nàmah*, ed., Hubert Darke, Tehran, 1340 H. Sh.; translated into English by Hubert Darke as *The Book of Government or the Rules for Kings*, Second Edition, London, 1978.

Niẓàmì 'Arùḍì Samarqandì, *Chahàr Maqàlah*, ed., Muḥammad Mu'ìn, Tehran, 1333 H.Sh.

Niẓàmì, Khalìq Aḥmad, *Ḥayàt-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì*, Delhi, 1953.

Nùr al-Dìn 'Abd al-Azìz, *Tarjumah-i Nahj al-Balàghah*, I.O. Library and Records (D.P. Collection Handlist compiled by Bilgramì and Sims Williams, Entry 474.251).

Parwìn Gunàbàdì, Muḥammad, "Hijdih Hazàr 'Àlam," *Yàdnàmah-i 'Allàmah Aminì*, eds., Sayyid Ja'far Shahìdì and Muḥammad Raḍà Ḥakìmì, Tehran, 1361 H. Sh., pp.21-32.

Platts, John T., *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, London, 1960, repr.

Prasad, Beni, *History of Jahangir*, Third Edition, Allahabad, 1940.

Prasad, Ishwari, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, Allahabad, 1974, repr.

———, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, Bombay, 1956, repr.

———, *The Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1974.

Qàbil Khàn, Shaykh Abù al-Fatḥ. *Àdàb-i 'Àlamgìrì*, comp., Ṣàdiq Muṭ ṭalibì Anbàlawì, ed., 'Abd al-Ghafùr Chaudharì, 2 vols., Lahore, 1971.

Qàni' Thaththawì, Mìr 'Alì Shìr, *Makli Nàmah*, ed., Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, Sind, 1967.

———, *Maqàlàt al-Shu'arà'*, ed., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì, Hyderabad, Sind,

———, *Tuḥfat al-Kiràm*, vol.III, part I, ed., S. Ḥusàm al-Dìn Ràshidì,

Marfat.com

Hyderabad, 1971.

———. *Tuḥfat al-Kiràm*, Urdù tr., Akhtar Radawì, rev. and annotated by Makhdùm Amìr Aḥmad and Nabì Bakhsh Khàn Baloch, Karachi, 1959.

Qanungo, Kalikaranjan, *Sher Shah and His Times*, Bombay, 1965.

Qàṭi'ì-i Harawì, Mullà, *Tadhkirah-i Majma' al-Shu'arà'-i Jahàngìr Shàhì*, ed., Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Karachi, 1979.

Qureshi, Ishtiaq Hussain, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, 1966.

Qureshi, M.A., *Muslim Education and Learning in Gujarat (1297-1758)*, Baroda, 1972.

Qushayrì, Abù al-Qàsim, *Risàlah*, tr. into Persian by Abù 'Alì Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad 'Uthmànì as *Tarjumah-i Risàlah-i Qushayriyyah*, ed., Badì' al-Zamàn Furùzànfar, Tehran, 1967; Urdu tr., Pìr Muḥammmad Ḥasan, Islamabad, 1984, repr.

Raḍawì, S. Jamìl Aḥmad, *"Punjab University Library mein Microfilm aur Rotograph; ek kitabiyàtì jà'izah,"* *Quarterly Research Journal*, University of the Punjab, II/2.

Rajabzàdih, Hàshim, *À'ìn-i Kishwardàrì dar 'ahd-i Rashìd al-Dìn Faḍl Allàh*, Tehran, 2435 Shàhanshàhì.

Rashìd al-Dìn Faḍl Allàh, *Letters of Rashìd al-Dìn Faḍl Allàh*, ed., Muḥammad Shafì', Lahore, 1947.

Ràshidì, S. Husam al-Dìn, *Mìr Muḥammad Ma'ṣùm Bakhrì*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1979 (in Sindhi).

———-, *Mìrzà Ghàzì Beg Tarkhàn aur uskì bazm-i adab*, Karachi, 1970.

———, *Tadhkirah-i Amìr Khànì*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1961 (in Sindhi).

———, "Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bakhrì kì zindigì kà èk pihlù", *Nadhr-i Ḥamìd Aḥmad Khàn*, ed., Aḥmad Nadìm Qàsimì, Lahore, 1980, pp.46-64.

Raushan Khàn, Khàn, *Tadhkirah: Pathànon kì aṣliyyat aur unkì ta'rìkh*, Second Edition, Peshawar, 1981.

Raverty, H.G., *The Mihran of Sind*, Lahore, 1979, repr.

Reïs, Sidi Ali, *Mir'at al-Mamàlik*, tr. into English by A. Vambèry as *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali* Reïs, *in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556*, London, 1899.

Riazul Islam, *A Calendar of Document on Indo-Persian Relations (1500-1750)*, Vol.I, Tehran, 1979.

———, *Indo-Persian Relations*, Tehran, 1970.

———, "Iran and the Mughul Frontier Provinces (A Study of Diplomatic contracts)," *Miscellanea in Honorem Ibràhìm Pùrdàvùd*, Tehran, 1976.

———, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind", *Islamic Culture*, XXII/4,

Marfat.com

pp.359-82.

Rieu, Charles, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1966, repr.

Rizvi, S.A.A., "Rawshaniyya Movement," *Abr-Nahrain*, Vol.VI (pp.63-91), Vol.VII (pp.62-98).

Roe, Thomas, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughal, 1615-1619*, ed., William Foster, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967, repr.

Rushbrook-Williams, L.F., *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century* Delhi, n.d., repr.

Rypka, Jan, et al., *History of Persian Literature*, ed., Karl Jahn, Dordrecht-Holland, 1969.

Sa'dì Shìràzì, Shaykh, *Kulliyàt-i Sa'dì*, ed., Muḥammad 'Alì Furùghì, Tehran, n.d.

———, *The Bùstan*, Eng. tr., G.M. Wickens, Tehran, Second Edition, 1364 H. Sh.

Ṣafà, Dhabìḥ Allàh, *Ta'rìkh-i Adabiyyàt dar Ìràn*, Tehran, Sixth Edition, 1347.

Sahityashastri, Bhattacharyya, "Religious Practices of the Hindus," *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed., Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, 1953.

Saksena, Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shàhjahàn of Dihlì*, Allahabad, 1958.

Sanà'ì, Abù al-Majd Majdùd b. Àdam, *Hadìqat al-Ḥaqìqah*, ed., Mudarris Raḍawì, Tehran, n.d.

Sankalia, H.D., "Panjab and the Aryans, or Prehistoric Panjab," *Professor Nilkanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, ed., Swa. Ganesan, et al., Madras, 1971.

Saran, P., *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1952.

———, *The Provincial Government of the Mughuls (1526-1658)*, Lahore, 1976, repr.

Sarkar, Jadunath, *Military History of India*, Calcutta, 1960.

———, *Studies in Economic Life in Mughul India*, Delhi, 1975.

Sarwànì, 'Abbàs Khàn, *Ta'rìkh-i Shìr Shàhì*, Eng. tr., Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya, Patna, 1974.

Selected Documents of Shàh Jahàn's Reign, published by Daftar-i Dìwànì, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1950.

Shàd, Muḥammad Pàdishàh, *Farhang-i Anand Ràj*, ed., Muḥammad Dabìr Siyàqì and Bìjan Taraqqì, 7 vols., Tehran, 1335-46 H. Sh.

Shafi', Maulawì Muḥammad, *Maqàlàt*, ed., Aḥmad Rabbànì, Vol. I, Lahore, n.d.

Shahàb, Mas'ùd Ḥasan, *Khiṭṭah-i Pàk-i Ùch*, Bahawalpur, 1967.

Shàhnawàz Khàn, *Ma'àthir al-Ùmarà'*, eds., Maulawì 'Abd al-Raḥìm and Maulawì Mirzà Ashraf 'Alì, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1887-91; translated

Marfat.com

into English by H. Beveridge, rev., annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, 2 vols., Patna, 1979, repr, (vol.II consists of two parts); Urdu tr., Muḥammad Ayyùb Qadiri, 3 vols., Lahore, 1968-70.

Shàh Ṭahmàsb Ṣafawì, eds., 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawà'ì, Ṭeḥran, 1350 H.Sh.

Shàmì, Niẓàm al-Dìn, *Ẓafar-Nàmah*, ed., Felix Tauer, 2 vols., Prague, 1937-56.

Shàmlù'ì, Ḥabìb Allàh, *Ta'rìkh-i Ìràn az Màd tà Pahlawì*, Tehran, 1347 H. Sh.

Sharma, Sri Ram, *A Bibliography of Mughal India (1526-1707 A.D.)*, Bombay, n.d.

Shiblì Nu'mànì, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, 5 volumes, Fifth Edition, Azamgarh, 1956, repr.

Shùstarì, S. Muḥammad 'Alì Imàm, *Farhang-i Wàzhih-ha-i Fàrsì dar 'Arabì*, Tehran, 1347 H. Sh.

Siddiqi, Mahmudul Hasan, "Chronology of Bàbur's Occupation of Qandahar and Expulsion of the Arghùns," *University Studies*, University of Karachi, III/1 (April 1966).

———, "The Balùch Migration in Sind and Their Clash with the Arghùns," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, XIII/IV (October 1965), pp.350-55.

———, *"History of the Arghùns and Tarkhàns of Sind (1507-1593)*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1972.

Sikandar ibn Muḥammad, alias Manjhù ibn Akbar, *Mir'àt-i Sikandarì*, eds., S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961.

Singh, Harbans and N. Gerald Barrier, *Punjab, Past and Present*, Patiala, 1976.

Sinha, S.N., *Ṣùbah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals*, New Delhi, 1974.

Smith Vincent A., *Akbar the Great Mogul (1542-1605)*, Delhi, 1966, repr.

Sorley, H.T., *Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The Province of Sind*, Karachi, n.d.

———, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, Lahore, 1966, repr.

Spuler, B., Ìl-khàns, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, ed., H.A.R. Gibb, et al., Leyden, 1960.

Srivastava, Ashirbadi Lal, *Akbar the Great*, 2 vols., Agra, 1962.

———, *Studies in Indian History*, Agra, 1974.

Srivastava, M.P., *Policies of the Great Mughals*, Allahabad, 1978.

Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary'* Fourth Impression, London, 1957.

Stocks, J.E., "Practical Remarks on the Plants of Sind, etc.," *Memoirs on Sind*, ed., R. Hughes Thomas, Karachi, 1979, repr.

Marfat.com

Storey, C.A., *Persian Literature: A Biobibliographical* Survey, Vol.I, Pat 2, London, 1953.

Tehran University Historical Atlas of Iran, Tehran, 1971.

The Texts of the White Yajurveda, tr., Ralph T.H. Griffith, Third Edition, Banaras, 1957.

Thomas, F.W., "Tarkhan and Tarquinius," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1918), pp. 122-3. Typescript in the Private Collection of Pìr Sayyid Ḥusam al-Dìn Ràshidì, Karachi (1979).

Thomas, R. Hughes, *Memoirs on Sind*, 2 vols., Karachi, 1979, repr.

Thorton, Edward, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company*, 4 vols., London, 1854.

Tirmizi, S.A.I., *Edicts from the Mughal Harem*, Delhi, 1979.

Tripathi, R.P., *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1974, repr.

'Uqaylì, Sayf al-Dìn Ḥàjjì Niẓàm, *Àthàr al-Wuzarà'*, ed., Mìr Jalàl al-Dìn Ḥusyanì Urmawì Muḥaddith, Tehran, 1337, H. Sh.

Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam, The University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1964.

Van Arendonk, C., "Abù 'Adì Ḥàtim Ṭà'ì," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, ed., H.A.R. Gibb, et al., Leyden, 1960.

Verma, H.C., *Medieval Routes of India*, Calcutta, 1978.

Wà'iẓ Kàshifi, Ḥusayn, *Akhlaq-i Muḥsinì*, Lucknow, 1957.

Wàṣifi, Zayn al-Dìn Maḥmùd, *Badàyi 'al-Waqàyi'*, ed., Alexander Boldyrev, 2 vols., Moscow, 1961.

Wilson, H.H., *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, London, MDCCCLV.

———, *Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus*, ed., Reinhold Rost, 2 vols., New Delhi, 1976, repr.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, (unabridged), Springfield, Massachusetts, 1961.

Wàḍiḥ Mubàrak Allàh, *Ta'rìkh-i Iràdat Khàn*, ed., Ghulàm Rasùl Mihr, Lahore, 1971.

Wàrid Tihrànì, Muḥammad Shafì', *Ta'rìkh-i Nàdir Shàhì*, ed., Riḍà Sha'bàni, Tehran, 1349 H. Sh.

Williams, Edwin B., *The Williams Spanish and English Dictionary*, London, 1966.

Yule, Henry and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed., William Crooke, London, 1968, repr.

Yµsuf Ali, Abdullah, *An Interpretation of the Holy Qur'an with full Arabic Text*, Lahore, 1975.

al-Zamakhsharì, Maḥmùd b. 'Umar, *Asàs al-Bulaghà'*, Beiruth, 1965.

Zimmer, Heinrich, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1879.

Marfat.com

Marfat.com

INDEX

A

A.A.,64, 77, 102, 103, 120, 130, 257, 259, 262, 264, 266, 270, 279, 283, 285, 288, 289, 290, 295, 302, 310.
A.A.A., 17, 28, 33, 34, 48, 101, 269, 270, 273, 277, 278, 279.
A.A., tr., 259, 262, 264, 266, 289.
'Abbàsid caliph, 120.
'Abbàs Khàn Sarwànì, 36.
'Abd al-'Aẓìm Khàn, 123.
'Abd al-'Aẓìm, Khwàjah, 27.
'Abd al-'Azìz Naqshbandì, 280.
'Abd al-Bàqì Nihawandì, Maulànà, 27, 28, 39, 61, 63.
'Abd al-Ghafùr b. Haydar Sìwistànì, 282.
'Abd al-Hàdì, Khwàjah, 17.
'Abd al-Ḥamìd Làhaurì, 112, 115.
'Abd al-Ḥay, Mìr, 101.
'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawà'ì, 19.
'Abd al-Karìm Kashmìrì, 4.
'Abd Allàh, 295.
'Abd Allàh b. Zubayr, 307.
'Abd al-Malik, 307.
'Abd al-Mù'min Khàn, 380.
'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn Khàn-i Khanàn, 99, 112, 126, 129.
'Abd al-Raḥmàn, 182, 304.
'Abd al-Razzàq, 131.
'Abd al-Razzàq (Ma'mùrì), Mìr, 115, 267.
'Abd al-Razzàq Mìrzà, 10, 11, 17, 18.
'Abd al-Salàm Collection, 22.
'Abd al-Wahhàb Pùrànì, Shaykh, 45.
'Abd al-Wàḥid, 251.
'Abd al-Wàsi', 6.
'Abd al-Wàsi', Jabalì, 6.
'Abd al-Wàsi' Shaykh, 115.
àbdàrkhànah, 120.
Abdul Aziz, 77.
Abdul Hai, 114.
Abdur Rahim, 270, 278.
Abdur Rashid, Sh., 290.
'Abidì, S.V.H., 132.
'Abirahs, 165.
Abìward, 6.
abjad, 259.
Abrahs, 145, 251.
Abrèjah, 230, 232.
Abr-Nahrain, 98.
Abù 'Abd Allàh al-Khwàrazmì, 315.
Abù al-Baqà', Mìr, 90, 91, 105, 106, 109, 115, 151, 156, 170, 188, 191, 194, 201, 210, 211, 232, 237, 240.
Abù al-Bì, 280, 281.
Abù Bakr, Ḥaḍrat Miyàn Sayyid, 241.
Abù al-Faḍl, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 75, 76, 77, 96, 102, 130, 257, 259, 264, 288, 289, 304, 310.
Abù al-Faḍl, Mìr Sayyid, 143.
'Abù al-Faḍl Nab'ì, 303.
Abù al-Ḥasan, 119, 267.
Abù al-Khayr Khàn. 122.
Abù al-Khayr Gùr, Mìr, 52, 55, 124.
Abù al-Qàsim Khàn, 124.
Abù al-Qàsim, Mìr, 93, 111, 156.
Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, 98.
Abù al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, 128.
Abù al-Qàsim Ṭabàṭabà', 212.
Abù al-Wafà', 123.
Abul jo Kot, 69.
Abù Sa'ìd, 270.
Abù Sa'ìd (Il-Khànid), 5.
Abù Sa'ìd Mìrzà, 269.
Abù Sa'ìd Pùrànì, Shaykh Jamàl al-Dìn, 27, 28.
Abù Sa'ìd (Tìmùrid), 5.
Abù Turàb Valì, Mìr, 34.
Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians, An, 286.
Àdàb-i 'Àlamgìrì, 279.
Ad. Al., 82, 113, 277.
Adamec, Ludwig W., 8, 316.
àdamduzdì, 174.
Àdam Gakhkhaṛ, 43.
Àdarbèlì, 170.
Àdarbèlì Làkah, 242.
'adas, 223.
Àdharbàyjàn, 16.
'Adì b. Ḥàtim-i Ṭà'ì, 260.
Administration of Justice, 133.
Administration of the Mughal Empire, The, 262.
'Aḍud al-Daulah, Mìr Jamàl al-Dìn Ḥusayn, 274.
Afḍal Khàn, 123.
Afghàn, Daryà Khàn, 305.
Afghànistàn *(Wilàyat)*, 237.

Marfat.com

Afghàn/s, 12, 13, 18, 35, 36, 61, 82, 85, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 151, 152, 190, 229, 237, 245, 264, 276, 290, 299, 300.
Afghàn, Shèr Khàn, 277.
'Afif, 315.
Afshàr, Shàhrukh Bèg, 21, 22.
Agham, 69.
Àghà Mahdì Ḥusayn, 314.
Àgrah, 31, 35, 56, 61, 70, 79, 90, 91, 104, 106, 107, 108, 112, 122, 133, 134, 186, 191, 297, 302, 325.
Agrarian System of Mughul India, The, 279, 286.
Aḥadì/s,
Aḥmadàbàd, 94, 125.
Aḥmad Bèg Khàn, 90, 91, 307.
Aḥmad Iṣfahànì, Khwàjah, 260.
Aḥmad Jàm, Shaykh, 41.
Ahmadnagar, 102, 312.
Aḥmad Rabbànì, 314.
Aḥmad Thathawì, Mullà, 126.
aḥshàmàt, 1450.
aḥshàmàt-i Balùch, 150.
ahshàmàt-i ra'iyyat, 151, 195.
àhùrì, 222.
a'immah, 56, 144, 211, 219, 227, 228.
À'ìn, 262.
À'ìn-i Akbarì, 130, 289.
À'ìn-i Shahrdàrì, 282.
A'izz al-Dìn, 124.
Ajmèr, 54, 87, 269, 276.
ajwad, 223.
Akadian, 315.
Akbaràbàd, 122, 123, 124, 166, 175, 179, 191, 196, 212, 269, 272, 281.
Akbaràbàd Wahì, 207, 208.
Akbarì rupee, 67.
Akbar, Jalàl al-Dìn Muḥammad, 5, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 86, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 126, 127, 257, 258, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 279, 283, 284, 285, 290, 293, 295, 296, 297, 299; 300, 302,303, 304, 310.
Akbarnagar, 306.
Akbar Nàmah, 96, 104, 127, 258, 271.
Ak bar The Great Mughul 1542-1605, 93.
Akhbàr nawisì, 226.
Akhlàq-i Humàyùn, 133.
Akhlàq-i Muhsinì, 135.
Akhtar, Muhammad Saleem, 19, 33, 134, 261.
Akhtar Raḍawì, 315.
'Alà' al-Dìn, 294.
alachah, 195.
'Àlamgìr Nàmah, 114.
A'làm-i Qur'àn, 258.
'àlam-i sifli, 249.
'àlam-i Ulùhiyyat, 249.
'àlam-i 'ulwi, 249.
Alà-tagh, 13.
Alexander the Great, 316.
'Alì, 281.
'Alì al-Riḍà, 92.
'Alì b. Hàmid b. Abì Bakr al-Kùfì, 126, 267.
'Alì b. 'Uthmàn al-Hujwìrì al-Jullàbì al-Ghaznawì, 281.
Aligarh, 16, 134.
Aligarh Muslim University Library, 22, 107.
'Alì Jàn, 57.
'Alì Reïs, 46.
Allàh, 152, 167, 190, 204, 313.
Allahàbàd, 35, 97, 110, 126, 131, 269, 272, 279, 281, 311, 314.
Alòr, 53, 71, 141, 228, 258.
'alùfah, 242.
Amada, Emile M. Martinez, 286.
'amal, 144.
'amal-i ijàrah, 147.
'amal-i sàbiq, 144.
Ambashthya, Brahmadeva Prasad, 36.
Amèthì, 307.
'àmil/s, 130, 143, 144, 146, 163, 185, 207, 275.
amìn, 55, 118, 130, 148, 162, 220, 225, 226, 250, 290.
Amìn al-Dìn, 116,271.
amìnì, 119.
Amìr 'Abd al-Karìm, 124.
Amìr 'Abd al-Qàsim Sulṭàn, 69.
Amìr 'Alì, 164.
Amìr al-Umarà', 14,28.
Àmir Amranì, 31.
Amìr Bèg Bakhshì, Khwàjah, 79.
Amìr Darwèsh, 9.
Amìr Dhù al-Nùn, 14.
Amìr Fakhr al-Dìn, 9.
Amìr Ghiyàth al-Dìn Muḥammad, 26.
Amìr Hasan 'Alà' Sijzì, 284.
Àmirì, 169, 170, 241.
Amìr Khàn, 26, 108, 110, 112, 120, 122, 123, 124, 277.
Amìrkhànì Sayyids, 117.
Amìr Khusrau, 118.
Amìr Khusrau Shàh, 9.
Amìr Khwùrd, 314.

Marfat.com

Amirpùr. 71.
Amir Qàsim Khàn-i Zamàn, 127.
Amir Quli Muhrdàr, 39.
Amir Shàh Qàsim, 291.
Amir Sulṭàn, 45.
Amir Sulṭàn 'Ali Arghùn, 13, 16, 22.
Amir Ṭàhir Ṣadr, 37.
Amir Timùr Gùrkàn, 4, 260.
amirs, 118, 120, 248, 250, 252, 267, 276.
Amir Shàh Bèg, 141, *see also Shàh Bèg Arghùn*
\mròhah, 56, 142.
A.N., 4, 19, 24, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 259, 263, 265, 269, 270, 271, 279, 280, 290, 295, 296, 298, 300.
Anàrdara, 93.
Andikhwùd, 13, 15, 22.
Anì Rà'e Sangdilan, 271.
Ankì, 236.
Annals of Bundi, 80.
Ansari, M. Abdul Haq, 134.
Antiquities of Sind, The, 112, 259, 297.
A.N., tr., 61, 267, 271, 279.
Anùnbèlah, 160, 165, 244, 262.
Anùshirwàn, 133.
Anwar Khàn, (son of Wazìr Khàn, 120.
Apostle, 285.
Àqa Rustam Rùzafzùn, 93.
Àgha Muḥammad, 184.
'aqd, 53.
Àq-sarà'i, 11.
'Àqil Khwàjah Atakah, 21, 260.
aqmishah, 115.
'Arab, 127.
'Arab dogs, 152.
'Arab geographers, 316.
Arabian sea, 76.
Arabic, 126, 128, 150, 214, 285, 286, 301.
Arabic-English Lexicon, 286, 288.
'Arab Khàn, 105.
'Arab Kùkah, 79.
'Arafàt, 43.
Aràrah, 207, 236.
Arabàb 'Alì, 208.
\rbàb Dà'ùd, 208.
arbàbs, 101, 130, 144, 146, 147, 148, 155, 163, 181, 241, 251, 257, 214, 216, 218, 221, 224, 225, 227.
Arḍ al-Dàwar, 316.
ardàwah, 191, 206, 306.
'tarḍdasht, 37, 38, 61.
Arendonk, C.Van, 260.
arhaṭ, 286.
'Àrif Qandahàri, Ḥajji, Muḥammad 284.
Aripòtrah, 46.
Àri Shihàni, 237.
arkàn, 301.
arkàn-i daulat, 226.
Arlòl, 71.
Arghandàb, 7.
Arghùn/s, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 37, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 74, 88, 127, 128, 129, 130, 176, 260, 261, 268, 291.
Arghùn, Amir Shàh Bèg, 141, 142, 145.
Arghùn Kàbuli, 120.
Arghùn Khàn, 4.
Arghùn, Mìr Dhù al-Nùn, 46.
Arghùn, Mìr Farid, 21.
Arghùn, Mìr Khwush Muḥammad, 33.
Arghùn, Mìrzà Shàh Hasan, 37.
Arghùn robles, 28.
Arghùn, Qanbar Bèg, 40.
Arghùn, Qàsim Khàn, 157, 178, 188, 189, 246.
Arghùn, Shàh-i Shujà', 9.
Arshad. A.D., 60.
'Arsh Àshiyànì, Ḥaḍrat, 137, 139, 143, 151, 152, 165, 182, 186, 190, 227, 244.
'Arsh Àstànì, Ḥaḍrat, 176.
'Arshì, Imtiyàz 'Alì, 284.
Arslàn, Bì, 273.
Arslàn Khàn, 114.
arzan, 222.
A.S., 86, 110, 112, 114, 115, 125, 257, 269, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 311, 316.
Asad Bèg Qazwìnì, 78, 80, 295.
Asad Khàn, 121, 122.
Àṣaf Jàh, Nawwàb, 237.
Àṣaf Khàn, Nawwàb, 87, 90, 91, 99, 110, 271, 275, 309, 310.
asàmiwàr, 146.
Asàs al-Balàghah, 288.
Asfazàr, 10.
Ashnaghar, 99.
ashràf, 215.
Ashraf Khàn Mìr Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynì, Sayyid, 124.
Asia, 100.
Asikni, 257.
Asìr, 63, 77, 274.
Asìrgarh, 81.
'Askarì, 32, 38.

Marfat.com

'aṣr, 301.
àstànah, 140.
Astaràbàd, 16.
Astràbàdì Sayyids, 128.
Atà, 297.
'Aṭà', 'Abd al-Ḥakìm, 117.
'Aṭà' al-Raḥmàn, S.Shàh Muḥammad, 122.
'Atà'ì Sayyids, 303.
atàlìq, 297.
Àthàr al-Wuzarà, 19.
'Atìq Allàh, 192, 193, 201, 240.
'Aṭṭàr-i Nìshàbùrì, 281.
Attindisches Leben, 257.
Attock, 97, 98.
Aubin, Jean, 260.
Aumer, 4.
Aurangzib, 82, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 257.
Austria, 8.
Avasthy, Rama Shanker, 3, 35, 43, 44, 134.
'Awàrif al-Ma'àrif, 288.
Ayyàm-i bìd, 137, 258.
Azamgarh, 113, 126.
A'ẓam Shàh, 122.
Azhar 'Alì Dihlawì, Sayyid 284.
Aziz Ahmad, 126.
Azìzànì, 236.

B

Bà Abà Bèg, 182.
bàb, 139.
Bàbà Aḥmad, 261.
Bàbà Bèg, 182.
Bàbà Chùchuk, 142.
Bàbà Ilàhì, 14.
Bàbà Ṭàlib Iṣfahànì, 78, 297.
Babar, 157, 159, 161, 167, 244.
Babar Balùch, 156.
Baber, 18.
Babrì, 183.
Babrìù, 36.
Bàbù Palèjah, 159, 161.
Bàbur, Ẓahìr al-Dìn Muḥammad, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 46, 82, 133, 134, 257, 279, 285, 286, 301.
Bàbur Nàmah, 301.
Badakhshàn, 18, 20, 25, 26, 36, 43, 76, 311.
Badapùr, 157.
Badàyi' al-Waqàyi', 7, 120, 261.
badbakhtàn, 144.
Bàdghìs, 15.
Badì' al-Zamàn Mìrzà, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.
Badìn, 57, 58, 69, 109, 154, 158, 159, 194, 269.
bàdinjàn, 223.
Bàdshàh Khwàjah, 199, 200, 303.
Bàdshàh Nàmah, 112.
bàdyàn, 223.
Bàghbàn, 285.
Bàghbànàn, 24, 141, 165, 166, 173, 174, 175, 186, 189, 191, 192, 196, 204, 232, 233, 246, 285.
Bàgh-i Fatḥ, 43.
Bagh-i Qalandar La'i Shahbàz, 283.
Bahà' al-Dìn Bukhàrì, Sayyid, 100.
Bahà'al-Dìn Naqshbandi, Shaykh, 303.
Bahà' al-Dìn Pahawàr, Arbàb, 182, 183, 208, 210, 227, 233, 235.
Bahàdur, 80.
bahaduràn, 157.
Bahàdur Khàn, 98.
Bahàdur Khàn Qùrbègì, 82.
Bahàdur Khàn Uzbek, 280.
Bahàdur Khwàjah, 215.
Bahàdur Shàh, 114, 122, 123, 124.
Bahan, 143.
Bahàwalpùr, 134.
Bahjahs, 167.
Bahrahmand Khàn, 121.
Baḥr al-Asràr, 278.
Bahràm Mirzà, 269, 296.
Baini Prashad, 107, 121.
Bajàr Jòkiyah, 161.
Bàjaur, 24, 89, 98, 99, 105, 187.
bàjì, 156.
bakhshì, 61, 81, 82, 106, 109, 111, 116, 130, 156, 158, 177, 193, 218, 220, 226, 267, 268, 275, 304.
bakhshì-i ḥuḍùr, 267.
Bakhshù Langàh, 36, 41.
Bakhtiyàr Bèg Turkmàn, 69, 70, 76, 77, 100, 166, 174, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 197, 198, 221, 224, 233, 235, 238, 240, 243, 290.
Balad al-Dàwar, 316.
Balkh, 13, 15, 22.
Baloch, N.A., 64, 128, 257, 267, 282.
Baloch, Nabì Bakhsh Khàn, 117, 315.
Balùch, 36, 62, 98, 100, 127, 144, 145, 150, 151, 152, 165, 174, 179, 197, 198, 212, 240, 245, 264, 284, 289.
Balùchàn-i Nùḥànì, 235.
Balùchistàn, 3, 98, 102, 270.

Marfat.com

Banàras, 257, 315.
Banawàlidàs Nawìsandah, 56.
Bandar Làhari, 75, 76, 137, 176, 259, 290, 309.
Bandar Sùrat, 123.
Banerjee, S.N., 80.
Bangàl, 33, 95, 96, 209, 267, 272, 283, 297, 299, 306.
Bangash, 98.
Bàqì Chaghànìyànì, 5, 12.
Bàqì Jàn Khwàjah, 203, 304.
Bàqì Jì, 165.
Bàqì Khàn, 280.
Bàràmùlà, 63.
Baranduq, Sulṭàn Muḥammad Khàn, 59.
baràt, 225.
Barbary goats, 302.
Barcelona, 286.
Barèjahs, 197.
Bàrì Dòàb, 259.
Bàrkàn, 150.
Baroda, 29, 32, 134.
Barrier, N. Gerald, 316.
Baryah, 165, 232.
Basak, Radhagovinda, 283.
Basham, A.L., 257, 285.
Bassein, 47.
Batùrah, 42, 43.
Bayàn-i Wàqi', 4.
Bàyazìd, 95.
Bàyazìd Biyàt, 43.
Bàyazìd Bukhàrì, Sayyid, 112, 146, 152, 160, 185, 201, 248, 302, 305.
Bayhaqì, 301.
Bayjaq, 93.
Bàyqara, 17, 47.
Bayram Khàn, 42, 47.
bayt al-màl, 163.
bàz, 170.
Bàzàràn, 236.
Bèg Muḥammad b. Zindah 'Alì Bèg, 309.
Bèg Òghlì, 53, 54.
Bègàr, 210, 308.
Bèglàr, 108, 291, 294.
beglàrbegi, 26.
Bèglàr Khan, 298.
Bèglàr, Mìr Qàsim, 33.
Bèglar Nàmah, 127, 128, 129, 294.
Bèglàr, Shàh Qàsim, 284, 291.
Bèg. N., 29, 50, 51, 56, 60, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 284, 288, 291, 292, 293, 297, 301.
Bègs, 11.
Bèlah, 160.
Bèli Shaykh Mùmah, 241.
Bellews, Henry Walter, 289.
Bengal 63, 95.
Bengal Staff Corps. 289.
Beni Prasad, 110, 267, 268, 272, 298, 305, 306.
Beveridge, A.S., 8, 28, 65, 286, 290.
Beveridge, H., 87, 107, 121, 279, 295.
Beyrouth, 286.
Bhagwàn Dàs Hindì, 122.
Bhà'ì Khàn, Luṭf Allàh, 59, 79, 85, 86.
Bhakkar, 3, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 89, 96, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 127, 130, 131, 137, 139, 142, 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156, 158, 164, 166, 168, 173, 174, 180, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 194, 201, 210, 211, 213, 218, 219, 220, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 238, 242, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 257, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 270, 275, 276, 278, 295, 302, 309, 310, 312.
Bhakkarì Bègum, 47, 58.
bhang, 210, 223.
Bhattìs, 264.
Bhattìwàhàn, 48.
Bhèrah, 24, 30, 94, 311.
Bhità'ì, Shàh 'Abd al-Laṭìf, 117.
Bhùtarah, 240.
Bias, 257.
Bìbì Fàtimah, 261.
Bìbì Ḥalìmah, 167.
Bìbì Ẓarìf Khàtùn, 22, 23.
Bibliotheca Lindesiana, 22.
Bìch-il, 303.
Bìgar, 308.
bìghah, 142, 144.
bìghah, pukhtah, 221.
bìhah, 168, 289.
Bihan, 173.
Bihar, 95, 96, 265, 267, 272, 297.
Bihit river, 309.
Bìkànèr, 64.
Bilgràmì, 268.
Billimoria, J.H., 114.
Billimoria, N.M., 8.
Bindràbin Dàs Khwùshgù, 122.
Bilgràmì Sayyids, 284.
Binhan, 182.
Bìr, 112, 304.

Marfat.com

biràdarzàdah, 123.
Bìrùn-i Panjnad, 266.
Bìswàrah, 307.
bìswìs, 221, 233.
Biyànah, 237.

Blochmann, 14, 20, 46, 76, 82, 84, 103, 106, 120, 259, 263, 264, 265, 266, 270, 271, 272, 276, 283, 289, 290, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 310.
B.M., 78, 80, 81, 295.
B.N., 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 42, 82, 92, 94, 134, 279, 280, 286, 301.
Boat Tax, 224.
Bòdlah, 178, 229.
Bodleian Library, 107.
Bohemian, 301.
Bòhrìyòn, 64.
Bojuk, 93.
Bòlàn Pass, 3, 24.
Boldyrev, Alexander N., 7, 261.
Bombay, 4, 22, 35, 74, 259, 267, 313.
The Book of Government, 133.
Boondee, 80.
Bosworth, C.E., 5, 6, 7, 315.
B.Q., 308.
Brahma, 283.
Brahmanàbàd, 282.
Briggs, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18.
Broecke, Peter Van den, 80, 81.
Browne, E.G., 5, 6, 125, 126.
Bùbak, 167.
Bùbakàn, 167, 171, 197, 198, 199, 212, 216, 232, 234, 235, 236, 240.
bucket wheel, 286.
Bùdàpùr, 179, 180.
bùd wa nàbùd, 143.
Buhrì, 64, 67, 69, 70.
Buhrì Jàhèjah, 63, 68.
Bukhàrà, 7, 92.
Bukyah, 145, 165, 173, 188, 232.
Bukyah Samèjah, 145.
Bulbul Khàn, 59.
Bulidì, 144.
Bulidì Balùch, 145.
bùmìyah, 198.
Burhànpùr, 274, 276, 311.
Burj 'Alì, 264.
Burj-i Khunì, 142.
burk, 279.
Burton, 287.
Bury, Richard de, 89.
Bust 81, 311, 316.
Bùstàn, 98, 177.
Byzantine, 72.

C

Calcutta, 34, 43, 62, 82, 95, 112, 134, 259.
A Calendar of Document on Indo-Persian Relations 1500-1705, 49.
Cambridge, 282.
Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, 107.
Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Britsh Museum, 124.
Caucasus, 5.
Central Asia, 92, 314.
The Central Structure of the Mughul Empire, 295.
Chabùtarah-i Kòtwàlì, 163.
Chachkàn, 37, 71, 139, 154, 158, 165.
Chach Nàmah, 126, 127, 267.
chàdur, 209.
Chaghatà'ì, 20, 40, 187.
Chaghattah, 75, 78, 81, 304.
Chihilzìnah, 27.
Chin, 186.
China, 288.
Chinàb, 104, 257, 298.
Chingìz Khàn, 4, 92.
Chìnì, 316.
Chìtah, 98.
Chittor, 271.
Chahàr Maqàlah, 7.
Chahàr sadì, 114.
Chàkar Hàlah, 139, 153, 156, 158, 161, 175, 179, 180, 220, 244, 247, 248.
chak/s, 209, 227.
Chùtbànì, 82.
Chùtyàlì, 82.
A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature, 296.
còbì, 258.
Coinage, 16.
Commissariat, M.S., 74.
A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 286.
Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 133.
Constantinople, 92.
"Corps of Braves", 5.
corvee, 308.
Cousens, Henry, 112, 259, 282, 297.

Marfat.com

Crooke, W., 287.
Crown Prince, 104.
C.U.P., 5, 93, 126.
Chalbani, S.P. 257, 259, 267, 279, 282, 287
Chambal, 105
Chanàren, 6
Chandèlas, 283
Chàndîyah/s 109, 146, 148, 166, 174, 176, 180, 181, 186, 191, 192, 196, 197, 212, 213, 230, 233, 234, 237, 245, 246
Chandrabhagha, 257
Chandùkah 100, 142, 145, 245, 248, 251
Chanèsar Nàmah 291, 294, 301
Chàrbàgh 36, 38
Charkas, 179
Charkas, Khusrau Khàn, 68, 86, 87, 273
charkh-hà-i bàghàt, 166
charkhis/s, 287, 288
chàsht, 191, 301
chauki/s, 118, 119
chhallah, 64
Chhatar, 149
Chhòtànah, 94
Chhuttah Imrànì 282
Chòlì, 175
chùbdàran, 202
Chùchuk Bègum, 13, 42, 43
Chulàgh Sayyids, 204
churgh, 246

D

ḍabṭ, 143, 144, 150, 154.
ḍabṭì, 182, 202, 207, 208, 209, 221, 233, 234, 243.
Dàdîjì, 199.
daftar, 240.
Dàhirìs, 171, 173.
Dakkan, 296, 304. *also see Deccan* Dakrì-i Kalàn, 165, 242.
Dalpat, 64.
Dals, 60, 109, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 173, 244.
dàm, 221, 259.
Ḍamìmah-i Ta'rìkh-i Ma'ṣùmì, 275, 309.
Dànì, 267.
Danìpasà, 185, 193, 195.
Danvers, Frederick Charles, 47.
Dàrà Shukùh, Muḥammad, 113, 125, 261, 272.
Darbèlah, 38, 79, 100, 103, 111, 128, 129. 143, 144, 155, 173, 186, 228, 231, 264. 330.
Dàrdasht, 144, 145.
Dàrèjahs, 141, 142, 173, 174, 193, 195, 229.
Darì, 145.
Dàrù, 165.
Dàrùband, 159, 192.
dàrùghàh, 20, 21, 114, 118, 119, 120, 123.
dàrùghàh-i tùpkhànah, 275.
dàrùghahship, 119, 122.
Darwish Bèg, 105, 187.
Daryà-i Panjàb, 257.
Daryà Khàn, 28, 29, 100, 235.
Daryà'ì Àbdàr, 58.
dasht, 143.
dast bardàshtah, 143.
dastah-i taràzù, 245.
dastak, 90, 308.
Dastam, 59.
dastùr, 144.
dastur al-'amal, 142, 144, 147, 202, 250.
Dà'ùd, 95, 96, 100, 128.
Dà'ùd Panhawàr, 146.
Dà'ùdpòtah, 'Umar b. Muḥammad, 5, 126, 267.
Dà'ùd Shùrah, 160.
daulàb, 286, 287, 288.
Daulat, 279.
Daulat Khàn Lòdì, 70, 71, 76.
Daulatàbàd, 112, 241, 312.
Daulatshàh Samarqandì, 5.
Dayàl Dàs, 251.
Day of Judgement, 202, 218, 254, 258.
Deccan, 63, 86, 112, 119, 122, 268, 271, 274, 283. *also see Dakkan*, Delhi, 61, 77, 80, 114, 124, 126, 133, 135, 219, 276, 281, 295, 302, 314. *also see* Dihlì,
Delhi Persian Collection, 268.
Dhakhìrat al-Khwànìn, 87, 93, 96, 104, 316.
Dh.Kh., 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94, 101, 104, 106, 107, 110, 112, 131, 257, 258, 259, 263, 264, 265, 266, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 301, 304, 305, 306, 309, 310, 313, 316.
Dhar, 266.
Dhàrà, 315, 316.
Dhàra Tìrath, 242.
dharat, 203, 209, 221, 224.
Dhàrèjah, 38.
dhàt, 77, 120.
Dhòlpùr, 286.
Dhù al-Nùn, Mìr, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,

Marfat.com

13, 14, 15, 17, 30, 260.
D.I., 258, 265, 301, 313.
A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English, 316.
Dìh, 185, 241.
dìhat-i rìzah, 174.
dih nìmì, 224.
Dihlì, Delhi, 262, 269, 274, 276, 311, 314, 315.*also see*
Dìndàr Khàn, Nawwàb, 92, 111, 156, 170, 172, 213, 214, 215, 219, 224, 238, 239, 241, 243, 276, 277, 282.
Dìnàrìs, 145, 150.
Dìn-i Ilàhì, 77.
dir, 168.
Dìrà'ùn, 174, 189, 195, 196.
Dìtah, 171.
Diùl, 76.
Dìw Sulṭàn, 22.
Dìwàn-i A'là, 117.
Dìwàn-i Bayram Khàn, 45.
Dìwàn-i Khwàjah Shams al-Dìn Muḥammad Ḥàfiẓ-i Shìràzì, 316.
Dìwàn-i Muṭahhar Kaṛah'ì, 315..
dìwàn/s, 103, 111, 116, 144, 156, 176, 201, 207, 210, 251, 267, 275.
dìwànship, 275.
Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Baranì, 135, 314.
Ḍiyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf, 111, 155, 156.
diyàr, 142.
Dòàb, 276, 303.
dò jà'ì, 227.
Dordrecht, 6, 133.
Dowson, John, 296.
Dòbinkì, 145.
Dùgì (Dùkì), 82.
Dùkì Jùnyànì, 82.
Dùkì wa Chùtyòlì, 82.
Dùmak, 236.
dumn-i sag, 215.
Dùrmìsh Khàn, 20, 26, 27.
Durrah-i Nadirah, 4.
durràj, 194.
Dùst Mîr Akhwùr, 31.
Dutch, 80.

E

East India, 287.
East India Company, 287.
Echlos, John M., 288.
Economic Conditions in Sind 1592-1843, 287.
Edicts from the Mughal Harem, 302.
Edinburgh, 5.
Edwards, Edward, 107.
E.F.I. 1642-45, 302.
E.F.I. 1646-50, 287.
E.I., 5, 258, 260.
Elias, 258.
Elph., 280.
Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughal, the, 283.
Emperor Jahàngìr, 160, 272.
Emperor Muḥammad Shàh, 4.
Emperors of Delhi, 3.
Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, the, 19.
Empire of the Great Mughal, the, 80.
England, 258.
English, 87, 257, 268, 285, 286, 289.
English-Spanish and Spanish English Dictionary, 286.
Erskine, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 28, 279, 280.
Essays and Lectures on the Religions of Hindus, 283.
Ethe, Hermann, 10, 114, 134.
Etawa, 303.
Ethical Philosophy of Miskwaih, the, 134.
Europe, 153, 202.
European, 68.

F

Fàḍil Kùkultàsh, 21, 30, 260.
Faḍl Allàh, S.M., 43.
Fakhrì b. Amìrì Harawì, 34.
Falsafì, Naṣr Allàh, 75.
F.A.R., 302, 308.
Farah, 8, 13, 19, 20.
Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan, 316.
Farang, 153.
faràrì, 227, 250.
Farhang-i Jahàngìrì, 274.
Farhang-i Jughràfiyà-i Ìràn, 260.
Farhang-i Wàzih-hà-i Fàrsì dar 'Arabì, 286.
Farìd, 185.
Farìd Bhakkarì, Shaykh, 62, 86, 87, 96, 101, 106, 107, 257, 258, 259, 264, 265, 274, 275, 276.
Farìd Qaràwul, 94.
fajr, 301.
Farghànah, 93.

Marfat.com

farmàn, 36, 49, 54, 56, 84, 96, 104, 151, 169, 188, 215, 311.
farràsh, 202.
Farrukhsiyar, 123, 124.
Fàryàb, 13.
Faṣl al-Khiṭàb, 288.
faslànah, 161, 176.
Fatàwà-i Jahàndàrì, 135.
Fatḥ 'Ali, 189, 190.
Fatḥbàgh, 69, 75, 76.
Fatḥì, 190, 246.
Fatḥì Bèg, 294.
Fatḥì Khàn, Masnad-i 'Àlì, 57, 58.
Fatḥ Nàmah, 126.
Fatḥpùr, 18, 21, 264.
Fatḥpùr Sìkrì, 95.
Fàtiḥah, 253.
faujdàr, 113, 114, 115, 131, 143, 204, 246, 266, 275, 277, 280, 302, 305, 307, 309, 310, 312.
faujdàrì, 152, 265, 297.
fautì, 227, 250.
Fayḍì, Shaykh Abù al-Faḍl, 60, 62.
Fawà'id al-Fu'àd, 284.
Fayyàḍ, 'Alì Akbar, 301.
Ferra, 308.
Fidà'ì, Raḍì al-Dìn, 115.
Firdaus Àstànì, 257.
Firishtah, 7, 30.
firqah, 143, 161.
Firùz b. Rajab, 314.
Firùzjah, 173, 174, 193, 195.
Firùz Jang, 'Abd Allàh Khàn, 310.
Firùz Shàh Tughluq, 219, 314, 315.
F.J., 302, 308.
Foster, William, 283.
From the Indus to the Tigris, 290.
Frontier, 61.
Fryer, John, 287.
Fùlàd Khàn Barlàs, 298.
fuqarà', 203.
Furùzànfar, Badì 'al-Zamàn, 258.
Fùshanj, 277.

G

G.A., 262, 288.
gach, 235.
Gadà 'Alì, Mullà, 59.
Gàhàn, 288.
Gàhìyah, 113.
Gakhkhar, Sa'ìd Khàn, 98.
gàl, 222.
Gànah, 165.
Ganbat, 301.
Gandaràn, 54.
Gandum, 40.
gandum, 222.
Ganesan, Saw., 285.
Gangìs, 316.
Ganjàbah, 55, 84, 100, 108, 111, 149, 151, 156, 191, 233, 247, 248, 264, 276, 278.
Ganjah, 121.
ganjìfah, 31.
Ganjì Khàn, 33.
Garḥì, 63.
Garmsìr, 11, 14, 16, 22, 26.
Gauhar-i Manẓùm, 102.
Gawaliyàr, 122.
gàwshumàrì, 207.
gaz, 133, 143, 168.
Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, 259.
Gazetteer of Sind, 63.
Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East-India Company, A. 259.
Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The Former Province of Sind, 287.
gawazn, 170.
ghallah, 224.
ghallah bakhshì, 162, 221.
Ghani, M.A., 126.
ghanìyàn, 252.
Gharìbkhànah, 105.
Ghazàlì, 313.
Ghàzàn Khàn, 120.
Ghàzì Bèg, 81, 105.
Ghàzì Khàn, 98.
Ghaznì, 19, 38, 421.
Ghòrìyah Lohànah, Mihtah, 59.
Ghòtkì, 259.
Ghulàm Muṣṭafà, Sayyid, 285.
Ghulàm Sarwar, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 93.
Ghunyat al-Munyah, 313.
Ghùr, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14.
ghuràb, 54, 55, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68.
Ghùrìyah Hindù, 67, 184, 244, 245.
Ghuriza'i, 93.
Gibb, H.A.R., 282.
Gìlànì Library, 134.
Gìsù Khàn, 55, 56.
Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, A. 286.
Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, A. 264.

Marfat.com

God, 8, 121, 132, 142, 148, 151, 152, 154, 161, 162, 163, 164, 167, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 182, 183, 186, 189, 190, 195, 196, 202, 209, 211, 214, 221, 224, 227, 228, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 267, 285, 308.
Goha, 288.
Gòlkundah, 306.
Gòpàl, 251.
Gorazane, 308.
Gòrìyah Hindù, 171, 182, 187.
Gòràs, 174.
Gog, 177.
Graz, 8, 316.
Great Mughul/s, 3, 49.
Great Tibet (Ladàkh), 78.
Greek, 285.
Gregorian era, 65.
Griffith, Ralph T.H., 257.
Gujràt, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 74, 94, 95, 104, 220, 264, 267, 314.
Gulbadan Bègum, 257.
Gulbarg, 13.
Gulbarg Begum, 25.
gul-i mu'aṣfar, 223.
Gulpàyigànì, Muḥammad Waḥìd, 133, 317.
gumàshtah, 208.
Gunbad, 143.
Gunbad-i daryà'ì, 259.
Gùnì Pargana, 46.
guṛ, 191.
gur khar, 170.
Gùristàn-i Mughùlàn, 43.
Gùrìyah Tìbah, 192.

H

Habb, 245.
Ḥabìb al-Siyar, 8, 22, 27, 127.
Ḥadìqat al-Ḥaqìqah, 313.
Ḥadìth, 262.
Ḥàfiẓ, 316.
Ḥàfiẓ Abù Nu'aym, 313.
haft iqlìm, 211.
Hai, 280.
Ḥàjam Ḥàjjì Lur, 10.
Ḥajjaj b. Yùsuf, 307.
Ḥajjaj-i Yùsuf, 307.
Ḥàjjì al-Dabìr, 'Abd Allàh Muḥammad al-Makkì al-Àṣafì al-Ulughkhànì, 29.
Ḥàjjì Muḥammad, 155.
Ḥàjjìpùr, 59, 95.
Ḥajjì (son of Jokhyah), 161.
ḥàkim, 142, 143, 156, 178, 180, 184, 187, 198, 200, 204, 207, 211, 231, 232, 277, 309, 310, 312.
Ḥakìm 'Ayn al-Mulk, 60.
Ḥakìm Ṣàliḥ, 156, 211, 250, 251, 275.
Ḥakìm Sanà'ì, 218.
Hàlà, 40, 71.
Hàlahkandì, 73, 74, 111, 113, 154, 155, 165, 157, 173, 193, 194, 229, 230, 232, 293, 301.
Hàlahpòtrah, 171, 173.
Hàlah/s, 173, 232.
ḥalàl, 226.
ḥalàl khwùr, 214, 310.
Ḥamd Allàh Mastaufì Qazwìnì, 19.
Ḥamìdah Bànù Bègum, 38.
Ḥamìd Shùrah, 159.
Hamìshah Bahàr, 122.
ḥaqìqat dànàn, 209.
haqq, 226.
ḥaqq wa ḥisàb, 202.
Haràt, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27, 28, 92, 93.
Harbans Singh, 316.
Har Sih Daftar-i Abù al-Faḍl, 61, 62, 74, 76.
Hàrùn, 175.
Ḥasan (ibn Sanjar) 270.
Ḥasan Shàdily, 288.
ḥasanah, 58.
ḥasanàt, 254.
Ḥasan Chalabì, 27.
Ḥasan Khàn, 277.
Hàshim, 294.
Hàshimì, 84.
Ḥatim-i Tà'ì, Abù 'Alì, 260.
Ḥ.Ạ.T.S., 6, 20, 30, 31, 43, 46, 47, 53, 65, 73, 77, 78, 127, 259.
Ḥawàlì, 179, 185, 212, 230, 240.
Ḥawèlì Sihwàn, 167, 169, 171, 175, 186, 198, 199, 206, 228, 236, 237, 239, 240, 243, 244.
Ḥayat Khàn, 300.
Ḥayat-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawì, 135.
Ḥaydar, 85, 246, 316, Ḥaydar Bèg, 180.
Ḥaydar Dùghlàt, Mìrzà, 17, 34, 35,

Marfat.com

260.
Ḥaydar Bandahanawis (Gundahnawis), 120.
Hazàrah, 7, 8, 11, 23, 24, 85, 246.
Hèlmand, 7, 83, 269.
Herat and Northwest, Afghanistan, 8.
Ḥidàyat Khàn, 301.
Ḥijàz, 43.
Hijrah, 65.
Ḥilyat al-Auliyà', 313.
Hilàlàbad, 106.
Hilàl Khàn, 104, 107.
Hilmand, see Helmand, Hindal Mirzà, 35, 38.
Hindi, 117, 118, 281, 286, 315.
Hindù, 58, 156, 164, 165, 167, 216, 235, 242, 244, 246, 283, 296.
Hinduism, 283.
Hindù Khàn, 156.
Hindù Kush, 316.
Hindùstàn, 12, 18, 23, 35, 84.
Historical Atlas of Iran, 5.
History and Culture of Sind, 7.
History of Gujrat, 34, 74.
History of Iranian Literatue, 133.
History of Jahàngìr, 110, 267.
History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, 126.
History of the Qaraunah Turks in India, A, 314.
History of Shàh Ismà'il Ṣafawi, 16.
History of Shàhjahàn of Dilhi, 269.
H.J., 308.
H.N., 25, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 60.
H.N., tr., 260.
Hobson-Jobson, 295, 302.
Hodivala, 30, 46, 64, 66, 67, 68, 259, 262, 264, 266, 269.
Holland, 6, 133.
Home Book of Quotations, The, 89.
Hoyland, J.S., 80.
H.S., 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 35, 48, 92, 93, 257.
ḥuffàẓ, 216.
Hughes, A.W., 63, 262.
ḥukkàm-i sàbiq, 146.
Humà'ì, Jalàl al-Dìn, 309.
Humàyùn, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 94, 128, 129, 134, 257, 260, 284.
hunaishat al-jannah, 282,
Hurmuz, 68, 74, 101.
ḥurr furùshàn, 146.
ḥurr furùshi, 175.
Husain M. Hidayat, 43.
Ḥusàm al-Dìn Mìrak, 31.
Hùsarah, 158, 196, 204.
Ḥusayn Amìn al-Dìn, 115.
Ḥusayn Bèg Lalah, 20.
Ḥusaynì Sayyids, 92.
Ḥusayn, Kamàl al-Dìn, 311.
Ḥusayn Wà'iẓ Kàshifi, 135.
Hyderabad, 27, 34, 69, 117, 119, 130, 131, 259, 266, 269, 291.
Hyderabad Deccan, 43.

I

'ibàdat, 208.
Ibbetson, D.C.J., 264.
Ibn Baṭṭùtah, 282.
Ibn Ḥasan, 295.
Ibn Ikhwah, 282.
Ibn Manẓùr, 286.
Ibn Ṭaqṭàqà, 133, 317.
Ibràhìm (Afghàn), 190.
Ibràhìm Balùch, 209.
Ibràhìm Bèg, 207, 208.
Ibràhìm Chabuq, 295.
Ibràhìm Khàn, 151.
Ibràhìm Khàn (Balùch), 98.
Ibràhìm Khàn Fath jang, 306.
Ibràhìm (son of Mìrzà Rustam), 270.
'Id, 141.
'Id al-Fiṭr, 143.
I.D.C., 63, 64, 285, 288.
'Idgàh, 214.
Idràkì Bèglàrì, 64, 127, 129, 291, 301.
iftàr, 216.
I.G.I., 277.
iḥsàn, 147.
Iḥyà' al-Ulùm, 288.
ijàrah, 147, 148, 151, 174, 216, 229, 245, 250.
ijàrah kardan, 147.
Ikhlàṣ Khàn, 304.
Ikhlaṣ, Kishan Chand, 122.
Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn (fort), 20, 21.
Ikù Tìmùr, 4, 5.
"Ìl-Khàns", 5.
imàms, 202, 203, 204, 211, 215, 218, 220, 226, 227.
Imàm Shùstarì, Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alì, 286, 287, 288.
De Imperio Mangi Mongolis, ..., 80.
in'àm, 146, 175, 221, 238, 239.

Marfat.com

'Inàyat Allàh, Shaykh, 314.
India, 3, 4, 12, 18, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 76, 80, 86, 89, 93, 126, 129, 133, 211, 249, 280, 285, 294, 295, 296, 298, 302, 308, 310, 311, 314.
India at the Death of Akbar, 295.
India Office Library and Records, 268.
Indian bulrush, 289.
Indian History Congress, 131, 285.
Indian maunds, 133.
Indian Subcontinent, 285.
Indian *Tafḍilah,* 302.
Indò Iranica, 104, 107.
Indonesia, 288.
Indonesian language, 288.
Indonesian-English Dictionary, An, 268.
Indus, 3, 4, 28, 37, 41, 42, 44, 47, 54, 63, 74, 257, 258, 259, 284, 289, 297.
Inshà', 290.
Inshà'-i Màhrù, 314.
I.O., 65, 124, 134.
Iqbàl Nàmah-i Jahàngìrì, 305, 306.
iqṭà', 9.
iqṭà'dàr, 100, 103.
Iràdat Khàn, 307.
Ìraj, 72.
Ìràn, 4, 5, 34, 43, 48, 61, 75, 85, 86, 92, 123, 126, 277, 278, 289, 308.
Iranian, 4, 15, 65, 131.
'Iràq, 150, 153, 202, 267, 307.
'Iràqì maund, 133.
Irfan Habib, 131, 285, 287, 316.
Irsàl al-Makàtìb wa'l Rasà'il ilà Arbàb il-Kamàl wa'l Faḍà'il, 132.
Irvine, William, 122.
'Isà Pahawar, 166, 245.
'Isà Tarkhàn, 44, 45, 47, 47.
Isfahàn, 22, 260.
'Ishà, 253, 301.
ishràq, 253, 301.
Ishwari Prashad, 314.
Iskandar Bèg Munshì, 270.
Islàm, 43, 107, 281, 290, 301.
Islamàbàd, 19, 134.
Islàm Khàn, 277.
Islamic Dynasties, the, 5, 14.
Islamic Culture, 314.
Island of Elephanta, 263.
Ismà'ìl Shùrah, 157, 159, 160.
Istanbùl, 16.
istikhàrah, 253.
Itàwah, 303.
I'tibàr Khàn, 48.
Ìtìl, 215, 303.
I'timàd al-Daulah, Nawwàb, 131, 304.
I'timàd Khàn, 53, 84.
I'timàd Khàn Khwàjahsarà, 57, 263.
Ivanow, Wladimir, 133, 134.

J

Ja'far Shi'àr' 282.
Jagan Nath, 99.
jàgìrdàrì, 90, 105, 131, 290.
jàgìrdàr/s, 89, 100, 108, 109, 130, 131, 132, 145, 146, 151, 154, 156, 157, 161, 162, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 184, 197, 212, 213, 218, 219, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 234, 235, 240, 241, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250, 292, 306, 209.
jàgìrdàrship, 89, 268.
jàgìr-i tankhwàh, 158, 191, 246.
jàgìr/s, 29, 51, 57, 62, 76, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 111, 112, 114, 131, 139, 143, 144, 151, 154, 160, 163, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176, 180, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 198, 199, 202, 207, 213, 214, 229, 230, 232, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 264, 265, 270, 271, 274, 281, 294, 295, 297, 299, 300, 305, 307, 309, 310.
Jahàngìr, 64, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 90, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 131, 133, 151, 153, 187, 201, 202, 257, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 274, 276, 280, 281, 283, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 304, 305, 306, 309, 310, 311.
Jahàngìr Mìrzà 10, 12, 14.
Jahàngìràbàd, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 214, 215.
Jahàngìrì *sèr,* 203, 221.
Jàhèjah, 64, 291, 301.
Jahn, Karl, 6, 133.
Jà'is, 307.
Jaisalmèr, 52, 64, 73, 141, 144, 173, 184, 189, 192, 228, 232, 291.
Jàjam Bardì, 10.
Jajar/s. 169.
Jàjau, 122.
Jajhwàhan, 48.
Jakarta, 288.
Jàklah, 238.
Jalàl, 181.
Jalàl Pahawàr, 166.
Jalàlàbàd, 61, 89, 104, 105, 187.

Marfat.com

Jalàlah, 99.
Jalàl al-Dìn 'Abd Allàh, 85.
Jalàl al-Dìn, Mìr, 59.
Jalàlì Nà'ìnì, S. Muḥammad Razà, 125, 261.
Jàlìk, 17.
Jallò, 251.
Jàm Banhbìnah, 315.
Jàm Firùz, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31, 46, 129.
Jàm Hàlah, 110, 113, 153, 154.
Jàm Jùnah, 315.
Jàm Khayr al-Dìn, 219.
Jàm Nizàm al-Dìn Nandah, 3, 28, 29, 235.
Jàm rulers, 261.
Jàm Sanjar, 29.
Jàm Tamàchì, 315.
Jàm Ùnar, 314.
Jàm Wisar, 292.
jam', 146, 163, 167.
jamà't, 173.
jam'bandì, 209.
jam' bar bastah, 203.
jam'-i asb-i tankhwàhì, 163.
jam'-i tankhwàhì, 154.
jam'iyyat, 151.
Jàmì, 'Abd al-Raḥmàn b. Aḥmad, 80, 303.
Jàmì, Khwàjah Ghiyàth al-Dìn, 39.
Jàmì, Shaykh 'Alì Akbar, 38.
Jamìl Bèg, 106, 266.
Jamrùd, 98.
jànamàzkhànah, 118.
Jàn Bàbà, 50, 51, 291, 292.
Jàn Muḥammad, 184.
Jàn Nithàr Khàn, 215, 311, 312, 313.
Jangì Khàn, 152.
Jànì Bèg, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 76, 293.
Jankàr, 236.
Jannat Àshiyànì, Ḥaḍrat, 169.
Jannat Makànì, Ḥaḍrat, 153, 200, 207, 227, 237, 240, 244, 245, 253, 257.
Jànrah, 189.
jàrchì, 177.
Jàrèjah Sammahs, 57.
jarìb, 143, 203, 237, 238, 239.
Jatò'ì, 144, 248.
Jàts, 248, 259, 316.
jau, 172, 174, 222.
Jauhar, 36, 38.
Jaun, 42, 69, 139, 165.
Jaunpùr, 95.
Java, 288.
Jawàhir al-'Aja'ib, 34.
Jawàmi' al-Ḥikàyàt, 19.
Jawàmi' al-Jawàhir, 107.
jawàr, 174.
jawàr, 172, 192, 221.
Jay, 260.
Jaysar Hindù, 182, 183.
Jaysarùt, 170.
Jayùr.dah, 178.
Jhelum, 157, 304.
Jìjì Nuràza'ìs, 93.
Jin, 166.
Jindà'ì, 190, 246, 294.
jizyah, 119.
Jòkiyahs, 161, 162.
Jòkiyah Balùches, 161.
Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 315.
Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, 104.
Journal of the Sind Historical Society, 8, 287.
Joshi, M.C., 285.
Jùdah, 178.
Jùibàr, 74, 75.
Jumdat al-Mulk Bahàdur, 124.
jumjumah, 64.
Jumlat al-Mulk Asad Khàn, 121.
Jùnagaṛh, 92, 111.
Junayd Karàràni, 96.
Jùnèjah, 91, 103, 105, 165, 170, 173, 182, 183, 185, 188, 194, 207, 210, 228, 230, 231, 232, 243, 244, 292, 301.
Jùnjàr, 160.
jurrah, 170.
Juruwàn, 13, 14.
juzwì manṣab, 153.

K

Ka'bah, 211, 307.
Kabìr al-Dìn Aḥmad, 112.
Kabirs, 67.
Kàbul, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 61, 83, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 105, 134, 165, 187, 265, 266, 272, 290, 299, 311.
Kabrùt, 240.
Kachh, 3, 31, 58, 92, 11.
Kàchah, 198, 233, 234, 235, 264.
Kàchì, 199, 200, 236, 291.
Kachhì, 206.
Kachrah, 222.
Kàl, 167.
Kàhàn, 24, 29, 103, 105, 168, 169, 175, 181,

Marfat.com

182, 184, 185, 196, 198, 210, 212, 230, 233, 234, 244, 245, 246, 288.
Kahàr Tàtrì, 257.
Kàhì Ma'jùbì, 238.
Kahmard, 14.
Kà'ì, 197, 240.
Kai Kawùs ibn Iskandar, 316.
Kà'nìrah, 165.
Kà'ìrah, 160.
Kajìrah, 183, 188.
Kajìràn, 189.
Kàkah, 200, 201, 231.
Kàkar, 12.
Kakarì, 100, 142, 262.
Kakr Palèjah, 69.
Kalànkòt, 69, 153, 267.
Kalànpùr, 106, 266.
Kalàntar, 142.
Kalhòṛah, 4, 116.
Kalimàtì, 161, 162.
Kàlù Khàn, 97, 98, 99.
Kamàlpùr, 239.
Kambò, 175.
Kàmì Qazwìnì, Mìr 'Alà' al-Dawlah, 5.
Kàmil, Mìr Ḥaydar al-Dìn Abù Turàb, 117.
Kàmràn Mìrzà, 27, 32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 260.
Kàmwar Khàn, 114, 122, 123, 124, 257.
Kandahàr, 7, 20, 308.
Kandhkòt, 166, 186.
Kàngaṛah, 106, 109, 110, 159.
Kanhjàrì, 182.
Kanjarjah, 'Abd Allàh, 59.
Kankòt, 57.
Kankùt, 142.
Kannàs, 310.
Kaprùs, 285.
Karachi, 7, 33, 45, 122, 262, 285, 287, 289, 295, 315.
Karam 'Alì, Sayyid, 95, 116.
Karan, 172.
Karank, 230, 231.
Kàrà, 174.
Kàrèz, 301.
Karìm al-Dìn, 116.
Kàrìz Muḥammad Àdhar Khàn, 93.
Kàrkunàn, 146, 152.
Karòṛì, 56, 249.
Karoṛì-i ganj, 119.
karrànà'è, 177.
Karwatì, 236.
kàsah, 203, 221.
kasbì, 252.
Kashf al-Maḥjùb, 281.
kàsib, 153.
Kashmìr, 35, 36, 61, 63, 99, 102, 104, 107, 165, 260, 296, 298.
Kashmìrì Khàn, 278.
Kàst Afghàns, 289.
Katàhar, 193.
Kàthiyàwàṛ, 267.
Kàtirah, 189.
Kàtrah, 189.
Katùhar, 145.
Kazìw, 8, 261.
Kèwalràm, 61, 77, 108, 110, 112, 123, 124, 265, 269, 273, 277, 299, 303, 304, 305, 310, 312.
Khadìjah Àghà, 10.
Khàdim Husain, 114.
Khairpur Mìrs', 134.
Khalìfah, Mìr Niẓàm al-Dìn, 31.
Khànahzàd Khàn, 120.
khalì-hà, 211.
Khalìl al-Raḥmàn, 214.
khàliṣah, 76, 146, 147, 163, 202, 213, 216, 249, 271.
khàliṣah sharìfah, 163, 176, 227, 228, 237, 249.
khaljì, 167.
Khàn, 48, 49, 114, 124, 156, 265, 296, 300, 306.
Khàn, 'Abd al-Mu'min, 272.
Khàn, Aḥmad Bèg, 130, 131, 167, 171, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 219, 238, 240, 241, 243, 245, 277, 306, 307, 309.
Khàn, 'Alì Mardàn, 278, 307, 311.
Khàn, 'Alì Riḍà, 122, 123.
Khàn, Amìr 'Abd al-Karìm, 114.
Khàn, Anṣàr Zàhid, 7, 8, 12, 17, 22, 29, 30, 58, 291.
Khan, A. Salim, 135.
Khàn, Ismà'ìl Qulì, 25, 51, 53, 55, 98, 99.
Khàn, Mìr Gìsù Khàn, 55.
Khàn Mìrzà, 17, 18, 25.
Khàn, Muḥammad Qàsim, 56.
Khàn, Muḥammad Ṭàhir, 31.
Khàn, Moḥibb 'Alì, 51, 53, 55.
Khàn, Sayyid Sharìf, 119.
Khàn, Shàh Bèg Khàn, 71, 103, 265, 277.
Khàn, Tarsùn Muḥammad, 56.
Khànahzàd/s, 139, 185, 187, 191, 195, 196, 197, 201, 210, 211, 239, 253.
Khàndèsh, 304.
Khàn-i Aẓam Mìrzà Kùkah, 180.
Khàn-i Dauràn, 299, 300.

Marfat.com

Khàn-i Dauran 'Àṣim Khàn, 124.
Khàn-i Jahàn Lòdhi, Nawwàb, 36, 48, 106, 110, 275, 276, 311.
Khàn-i Khànàn 'Abd al-Raḥìm Khàn, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 90, 126, 127, 128, 151, 165, 176, 270, 290, 293, 296, 298.
Khàn-i Zamàn, Amir Shàh Qàsim, 50, 60, 73, 74, 127, 128, 290, 297.
kharaj, 226.
kharàj ma'nà, 202.
khàrbandì, 155, 188.
kharbùzah, 137, 221, 222.
kharìf, 168, 172, 181, 183, 186, 193, 194, 201, 206, 207, 209, 214, 221, 231, 234, 303.
kharjìnhà, 157.
kharwàr/s, 154, 181, 208, 221, 223, 224, 235.
Khasà'ì Shùrah, 156, 158, 160, 179, 180, 194.
khasrah, 180.
khaṭà'ì, Maulànà, 15.
khèbràn, 293, 301.
Khiḍr, Haḍrat, 140.
Khiḍr Khàn, 32, 265.
khilàfat, 211.
"Khilat" (Qalàt), 13.
khil'at, *310*.
khingàr, *31*.
khirqah, 281.
Khiṭṭah, 103, 105, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 185, 189, 193, 194, 212, 228, 229, 230, 231, 241, 243, 244, 292, 293.
Khiṭṭah-i Ùch, 134.
'Al-Khiẓr', 258.
Kh.T., 286.
Khudà Àbàd, 285.
Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 116.
Khudàdàd Khàn, 279.
Khudàwand Maḥmùd, Khwàjah, 27.
Khuld Makànì, 257.
Khuràsàn, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 26, 28, 45, 81, 92, 93, 126.
Khuràsgàn, 260.
Khurs, 60.
Khusrau, 9, 81, 86, 104, 105, 126, 280, 295, 298, 299.
Khusrau Bèg, 156, 157, 180, 246.
Khusrau Beg Charkas, 60, 65, 68, 66, 79, 86, 87, 293, 297.
khuṭbah, 6, 16, 22, 30, 32, 38, 95, 160.
Khwàjah 'Alì, 284.
Khwàjah 'Aqil, 81.
Khwàjah Fattàḥ, 54.
Khwàjah Hilàl, 106.
Khwàjah Jàn, 157, 170.
Khwàjah Kalàn, 33, 34.
Khwàjah Khiḍr, 104, 297.
Khwàjah Malik Khwàjahsarà, 56.
Khwàjah Muḥammad Qùrbègì, 6.
Khwàjah Muqìm Harawì, 55.
khwajàhnashìn, 152.
Khwàjah/s, 99, 166, 167, 303.
Khwàjah Ṣandal, 99.
Khwàjah Shams al-Dìn, 31.
Khwàndamìr, 22.
Khwànd Mìr, 7, 20, 22, 27.
khwàn-i yaghmà, 212.
Khwàrazmì, 315.
khwàṣì/s, 118, 120, 122, 123.
Khwàṣṣ Khàn, 36.
Khwùsham Bèg, 112, 160, 200, 201.
Khwùsham Bèg Atagah, 200.
Khwùshàb, 24, 30, 36, 94, 300.
Kìbar, 154, 155.
Kìbarah, 173.
Kìch, 151, 165, 247, 248, 283.
Kimyà'-i Sa'àdat, 313.
Kinàr, 257.
kintjir, 288.
kintjiràn, 288.
Kìrìyah. 173.
Kirmàn, 101.
Klien, Earnest, 286.
Kòrèjah/s, 156, 167, 169, 170, 173, 180, 182, 183, 231.
kòs 33.
Kòt Aghamànì, 69.
kòtapàlà, 281.
Kòtlah, 225.
kòtwàl, 130, 163, 281.
kòtwàlì, 163.
kubha, 257.
Kùchik Bègum, 13.
Kùchik bin Subḥan Qulì, 59.
kùh-i kalàn, 236.
Kùhyàr, 151, 156, 165.
kuhnah, 141.
Kujràn, 185.
Kùkah, Zayn Khàn, 97, 98, 99, 297, 298.
kùknàr, 223.
kukràlah, 51, 110, 113, 292.
kùlàb, 167.
kulliyàt-i Sa'dì, 168.
kulang, 168.
kuma, 168, 289.

Marfat.com

kumàns, 169, 179.
kumukìyàn, 112.
Kunarkòt, 181.
kunì, 289.
kunjid, 222.
kùr, 305.
kùrà'ì, 144.
Kùrànah, 236.
kùr chashm, 305.
Kùr Zamìn, 149.
kùtàh pàchah, 170, 194, 302.
Kwotta, 290.

L

Ladah Kàkan, 141, 228.
Ladàkh, 78.
Ladhà Gàgan, 259.
Laet, John de, 80.
Làharì Bandar, 249, 257.
Làhaurì, 277, 304, 311, 312.
Lahore. 4, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 46, 51, 60, 61, 62, 76, 84, 94, 97, 102, 116, 117, 122, 135, 203, 230, 262, 264, 270, 272, 274, 284, 286, 288, 290, 298, 302, 304, 314.
Làkah, 169, 170, 171, 172, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193, 214, 215, 229, 232, 243, 344.
Lak'alwì, 169, 172, 241.
Làkhah, 50, 105.
Lakhandwàla, M.F., 29.
Lakhàwat, 292, 293.
Lakhì Jangal, 312.
Lakhnau, 307. *see also* Lucknow Làkiyàr, 64, 173, 182, 251.
Làkiyàr Samèjahs, 145.
Lakkì, 29, 45, 63, 70, 165, 238, 239, 242, 284,
Lakkì hills, *see* Lakkì. Lakkì Mountain, *see* Lakkì.
Lakkì pass, 69.
Làkut, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178, 196, 204, 228, 229, 230, 232, 243.
Làl, 59.
Làlì Mahar, 142.
Làl Shahbaz, Hadrat-i Makhdùm Shaykh, 115, 164, 238.
La'l Wàhì, 283.
Lambrick, H.T., 266, 287.
Lamghàn, 11.
Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, The 14, 316.
Lane, E.W., 282.
Lane-Poole, Stanley, 4, 6.
Langàhs, 31, 47, 127.
Langar Khàn, 31.
Larin, 178, 269, 294.
Làrìs, 294.
Làshàrì, 145, 150.
Lashkarì, 175.
Lashkar-i du'à, 226.
Lashkar Khàn, 312.
Later Mughuls, 122, 124.
Levy, Reuben, 316.
Leyden, 80.
libàsì, 227.
Literary History of Persia, A., 5, 93, 126.
Lin-Heng, Wang, 287.
Linjàr, 156, 241.
Linjwàrì, 52.
Lisan al-'Arab al-Muhìt, 286.
Little Tibet (Baltistàn), 78.
Lockhart, L., 4.
Lohgarh, 38.
Lohrì, 137, 141, 257.
London, 7, 44, 47, 127, 257, 283, 286, 287, 290, 296, 316.
Lòrà'ì, 144.
Lords of the Gates, 14.
Lorha, 289.
L.T.S., 305, 310.
Lubb-i Tà'rikh-i Sindh, 279.
Lucknow, 135.
Luqhat Nàmah, 6.
Lundah hills, 192.
lura, 168, 289.
Lutf Allàh, 87, 109, 111.
Lutf Allàh Sultàn, 79.
Lytton Collection, 107.

M

M.A., 257.
M.'Al., 114, 118, 119, 122.
M. 'Al., tr., 119, 120.
Ma'àlim al-Qurbah fì Ahkàm al-Hisbah, 282.
Ma'àthir, 303.
Madàr Gate, 106.
Màdhu Singh, 98
Madìnah, 120, 281.
Madìnah Màchhànì, 29.
Madràs, 285.
Madù Sazàwol, 151.
Magasì, 145, 150, 245.
Magasì Balùches, 246.
Maghrib, 301.
Mahà, 166.

Marfat.com

Mahàbat Khàn, 158, 274, 276, 304, 309.
Mahàbat Khàn Kàzim, Nawwàb, 117.
Mahàls, 9, 264, 266.
Màh Bègum, Hajjì, 17, 22, 23, 31, 45, 49, 51.
Màh Chùchuk, 19.
Mahdìjah Shaykhs', 145.
Mahdì Sultàn, 206, 207.
Mahdì Tauhidìpùr, 303.
Maḥmùd, 178.
Maḥmùdàbàd, 32.
Maḥmùd Khàn, 51.
Maḥmùd Wàsifì, Zayn al-Dìn, 261.
Maḥram Khàn, 123.
Màhrù, 'Ayn al-Dìn 'Abd Allàh, 290.
Majàlis al-Nafà'is, 5.
Ma'àthir-i-'lamgìrì, 120
Ma'àthir al-Umarà', 96, 104, 124, 259.
Ma'àthir-i Rahìmì, 61, 127.
Máchhìs, 141, 166, 179.
Madad, 167.
Madad-i Ma'àsh, 51, 88, 90, 131, 190, 203, 227, 228, 262, 272.
Majma'al-Shu'arà-i Jahàngìr Shàhì, 33.
Ma'jùbì, 238.
Makhàdìm, 167.
Makhdùm Chhattak Imrànì, 164.
Makhdùm Ja'far Bùbakanì, 166, 167, 235, 288.
Makhdúm Miràn, 288.
Makhdùm Làl Shàhbàz, 164, 283.
Makhsùs Khàn, 54, 298.
Makhzan al-Asràr, 115.
Makkah, 120, 302, 307.
Maklì graveyard, 116.
Makràn, 151, 165, 247, 267, 283.
Malàhu, 315.
Màlàkand, 99.
Maldèw, 41.
Màlgudhàrì, 171.
Màl-i dìwàn, 143.
màl-i-wàjib, 146.
Malik Aḥmad, 58.
Malik Asghar, 99.
Malik Maḥmùd, 270.
Malik Muḥammad Tabasì, Khwajah, 33.
Malik, Zahìr Uddìn, 4.
Maliks of Bhàghbànàn, 165.
Maliks of Sìstàn, 270.
Malik Shàh Saljùqì, 19.
Malikah-i Jahàn, 64.
mallàh, 144, 315.
Màrqadam Qùrchì, 58
mallàhàn, 315
Mallikarjuna temple, 283
malsà', 150
ma'mùrah, 150
Ma'làmàt al-Àfàq, 116
Màlwah, 269, 274
Ma'muràbàd, 267
Manàhi, 158, 159
Manàhiyah, 173, 174, 193, 195
Mànak, 187, 244, 245, 246
Mànak Chand, 301
Mànak Hindù, 184
Manchester, 22
Manchhur, 63, 149, 180, 198, 240, 289
Mandarah, 154
Mandihjì, 198, 213, 215.
Mando, 274
Mandwah, 221
Mangal, 119
Mangiwànah/s, 173, 193
Mangnèjah/s, 142, 143, 262
Manjhand, 169
Mankrèrah, 262
mansab, 56, 64, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 90, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 113, 114, 120, 153, 191, 247, 266, 268, 270, 273, 274, 275, 280, 290, 294, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 311.
mansabdàr/s, 67, 71, 84, 89, 111, 118, 131, 132, 156, 158, 201, 206, 226, 280, 296, 315.
Mansabadari System and the Mughul Army, the, 77.
Màn Singh, 98, 211, 213, 218, 251, 276
Manorah Island, 75.
Mansùrah, 257.
mantras, 283.
Manzùr, 192.
Maqàlàt-al-Shu'arà', 118.
Maqàlàt -i-Maulawi Muḥammad Shafi', 314.
Maqṣùd Bèg 176.
mardàn-i-ghayb, 165, 284, 285.
mardum, 165.
mardum-i-ahshàmàt, 146.
Mardum-i Khwab, 143.
mardum-i-mawas pàrah, 167.
Mardum-i-sà'i wa chughul, 167.
mardum-i-sardàr', 195.
màrì, 165.
Màrì Kìhar Rà,'è, 149.
Màrì of Emperor Humàyùn, 165.
màrkhwùr, 302.

Marfat.com

Martyr, 285
Marùchaq, 10, 15.
Marw, 10, 20.
Marw al-Rùd, 13, 14, 15
Màrwàr 41
Marwi'-nullah, 233.
masang, 223.
màsh, 222, 235.
mashà'ikh, 227.
Mashhad, 6, 92, 280, 301.
masnad, 31, 124.
Massachusetts, 286.
Masta, 113.
Mastùng, 18, 21, 99, 290.
Ma'ùdì, 308.
Ma'sùm, 27.
Ma'sùm Khàn Farankhwùdì, 96.
Ma'sùmì, 29, 46.
Màthìlah, 38, 52, 141, 144, 152, 228, 251, 259.
mathnavi, 115.
Matli, 69.
maṭrùḥah, 227, 228.
Mà'u, 265.
maudi, ' 166.
mauzàh, 150.
Maymanah, 13.
Maẓhar, 273, 285.
Maẓhar al-Tadbìr, 211
Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì, 89, 104, 106, 111, 113, 128, 129, 132, 133, 135, 137, 139, 259, 264, 285, 294, 309.
Màzandaràn, 93.
mazrù'àt, 179.
Maz.Sh., 63, 79, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, , 111, 112, 113, 114, 131, 132, 133, 259, 273, 275, 277, 282, 283, 284, 285, 289, 299, 301, 307, 309.
Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, The, 7.
Medieval India, 285.
Medieval Routes to India, 82.
Meds, 267.
Memoirs (of Jahàngìr), 84, 302.
Memoirs on Sind, 289.
Mesopotamia, 315.
Mewàr, 267, 274, 276.
M.H., 302.
Middle East, 288.
Mihr, Ghulàm Rasùl, 122.
Mihràn, 60, 185, 193, 261, 262, 282.
Mihtah, 245.
Mihtah Ghùriyah, 67.
Mihtar Sunbul, 25.
mìlak, 279.
mìlak-hà, 157.
Military History of India, 95.
Minhàj al-Dìn wa'l Mulk, 126.
Mìr, 96.
Mìr, son of 'Ìsà, 245.
Mìr 'Abd al-'Alì, 87.
Mìr 'Abd al-Fattàḥ, 261.
Mìr Fatḥì Bèg, 294.
Mìr 'Abd al-Ḥay, 101.
Mìr 'Abd al-Jalìl Bilgràmì, 116.
Mìr 'Abd al-Karìm, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122.
Mìr 'Abd al-Majìd Tarkhàn, 292.
Mìr Abd al-Razzàq Muẓaffar, Khàn Ma'mùrì, 86, 267, 268.
Mìr Abrah, 146.
Mìr Abù al-Baqà', 36, 38, 92, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 118, 125.
Mìr Abù al-Faḍl, 263.
Mìr Abù al-Mafàkhir, 116.
Mìr Abù al-Makàrim, 113.
Mìr 'Alì Khàn, 57.
Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Namakìn, 79, 89, 90, 91, 96, 98, 100, 106, 107, 131, 266, 297.
Mìr Abù al-Qasim Sulṭàn, 60, 71, 74, 294.
Mìr Abù al-Qàsim Tarkhàn, 293.
Mìr Abù al-Wafà', 122.
Mìr 'Adl, 78, 143, 262, 263.
Mìrak Pùranì, Shaykh, 37.
Mìrak Yùsuf, 211.
Mìr 'Alì, 31.
Mìr 'Alì Khàn, 57.
Mìr 'Alì Shèr, Bèg Arghùn, 301.
Mìràn Ṣadr-i Jahàn, 190.
Mìrànshàhì court, 7.
Mìr Amìn al-Dìn, Khàn Ḥusayn, 115, 116.
Mìr 'Àqil, 204.
Mìr 'Atà' Allàh Mashhadì, 186.
Mìr 'Atìq Allàh, 112.
Mìr Bakhshì, 269, 277.
Mìr Barakah, 39.
Mìr Buzurg, 83.
Mìr Dhù al-Nùn. 46, 260, 261.
Mìr Diyà' al-Dìn Yùsuf, 92, 111, 113, 114.
Mìr Fàḍil b. 'Adì b. Aḥmad Khwàjah, 8, 21, 30, 142, 260, 261.
Mìr Farrukh, 32.
Mir Ghiyàth al-Dìn, 27.

Marfat.com

Mīr Ḥafīẓ al-Dīn 'Alī, 118.
Mīr Ḥafīẓ al-Dīn Khān, 115.
Mīr Ḥasan Baṣrī, 260.
Mīr Hāshim, 211.
Mir Ḥusām al-Dīn Injū Murtaḍā Khān, 86, 274, 304, 306, 309.
mirīs, 67.
mīr-i shikār, 296.
Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, Urmuwī Muḥaddith, 19.
Mīrjī Tawājī, 54.
Mīr Jumlah Bakhshī, 124, 276.
Mīr Kāmil, 117, 118, 192, 194.
Mīr Khān, 85.
Mīr Khān Yasāwul, 94, 95, 110.
Mīr Khwānd, 7, 14, 15, 20, 22, 27.
Mīr Luṭf Allāh, 106.
Mīr Matīn al-Dīn Khān, 116.
Mīr Muḥammad 'Atā', 116.
Mīr Muḥammad Gadā, 116.
Mīr Muḥammad Ghauth, 116.
Mīr Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn, 116.
Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī, 5, 6, 16, 20, 27, 28, 30, 46, 49, 100, 107, 126, 127, 129, 131, 140, 143, 144, 146, 182, 259, 260, 285.
Mīr Muḥammad Walī Bēg, 20.
Mīr Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan, 117.
Mīr Murād Khān, 294.
Mīr Namakīn, 79, 89, 90, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 132.
Mīr Qānī', 116, 118.
Mīr Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad, 117.
Mirror for Princes, 133.
Mīr Salīm Khān, 294.
Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Qannaujī, 119.
Mīr Shāh Bēg Khān-i Zamān, 301.
Mīr Shāh Muqīm, 294.
Mīr Shams al-Daulah, 275.
Mīr Subḥān Qulī Bahādur Arghūn, 293.
Mīr Ṭāhir Muhammad Nisyānī, 128, 129.
Mīr Tahir Ṣadr, 39.
Mīr Tuzūk, 106.
Mīr Yaḥyā, 120.
Mīr Yārān Bēg, 294.
Mīrak, 130, 131.
Mīrak Yūsuf, 109, 111, 113.
Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Alī, 86.
Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, 128.
Mīrzā Abū al-Fatḥ, 73.
Mīrza 'Alī Bēg Akbarshāhī, 303.
Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Bēg, Nawwāb, 310.
Mīrza Anwar, 180, 181, 295.
Mīrzā Arghūn, 291.
Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūkah, Khān-i A'ẓam, 78, 294.
Mīrza Badī' al-Zamān, 3.
Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 76, 86, 128, 176, 291, 292, 293.
Mīrzā Dūst Bēg, 109, 112, 158, 191, 237.
Mīrza Farrukh, 86.
Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg Tarkhān, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 103, 105, 107, 128, 129, 156, 157, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 245, 246, 267, 268, 271, 280, 293, 294, 296, 297, 299.
Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg Tarkhān aur uskī Bazm-i Adab, 77, 82, 84, 85, 86.
Mīrzā Ḥakīm, 97.
Mīrzā Ḥasan, 39.
Mīrzā Ḥātim Bēg, 122.
Mīrzā Hindāl, 38.
Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Dīn, 106.
Mīrzā Ḥusaynī, 275, 276.
Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān, 44, 46, 49, 50, 86, 166, 193, 288, 291.
Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān, II, 78, 305.
Mīrzā Jahāngīr, 157.
Mīrzā Jān Bābā, 51, 57.
Mīrzā Jānī Bēg Tarkhān, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 87, 99, 101, 103, 127, 128, 129, 139, 142, 176, 178, 179, 180, 186, 270, 290, 293.
Mīrzā Kāmrān, 35, 43.
Mīrzā Kashmīrī, 104, 43.
Mīrzā Kashmīrī, 104, 106.
Mīrzā Khān, 87.
Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astrābādī, 4.
Mīrzā Muḥammad, 159.
Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, 165.
Mīrzā Muḥammad Sulṭān, 56.
Mīrzā Mujāhid, 152.
Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ṣafawī, 298.
Mīrzā Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, 107.
Mīrzā Pāyandah Muḥammad, 57, 73.
Mīrzā Rustam, 87, 131, 154, 191, 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 290, 296.
Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, 45, 49, 59, 176, 291.
Mīrzā Shah Ḥasan Arghūn, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 42, 42, 46, 139, 152, 169, 291.
Mīrzā Shāhrukh, 76, 86, 292.
Mīrzā Sulaymān, 76.
Mīrzā Yad Allāh, 106.
Mīrzā Yādigār Nāṣir, 38, 40.
Mīrzā Yūsuf, 90, 91, 131, 207, 208, 209, 210, 219, 307.

Marfat.com

Miscellanea in Honorem Ibràhìm Purdawùd, 48.
Misra, S.C. 32.
Mithqàls, , 42, 67.
Miyàn 'Alì 'Aẓìm, 122.
Miyàn Ghulàm Shàh, 116.
Miyàn Muḥammad Mîr Sindhì Làhaurì, 261.
Miyàn Muradyàb, 116.
Miyàn Nùr Muḥammad, 4, 116.
Miyàn Wàhìyùn, 301.
M.J., 81, 83, 104, 106, 184, 296.
M.N., 28, 57, 77, 78, 87.
Mongol, 4, 5, 314.
Mahars, 141, 145, 279.
Momin Mohiuddin, 104, 107.
Monier Williams, Monier, 283.
Moroccans, 282.
Morgon, Kenneth W., 283.
Moscow, 261.
Moses, 258.
M.R., 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 75, 78, 79, 96, 97, 260, 297.
M.Sh., 113, 115, 117, 118, 272, 288, 291.
M.T., 43, 65, 77, 96, 100, 262, 263, 270, 271, 296.
M.U., 14, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 76, 78, 79, 84, 86, 93, 94, 96, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 259, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 296, 298, 300, 301, 303, 304, 306, 307, 310, 311, 312, 313.
Mubàrak Khàn, 28, 52, 53, 54, 152.
M.U., tr., 306.
Mudarris Raḍawì, 311.
Mudhakkar-i Aḥbàb, 43.
muftìs, 182, 226.
Mughul Emperors, 284.
Mughul Empire, 95, 97, 104, 126, 270, 300.
Mughul Frontier Provinces, 48.
Mughul/s, 4, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 108, 109, 110, 113, 118, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 148, 151, 157, 188, 227, 245, 262, 265, 270, 271, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279, 280, 288, 290, 292, 293, 296, 298, 299, 302, 307, 308, 310, 311.
Muḥaddith Dihlawì, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 19, 80, 132.
Muḥammad 'Abbàsì, 5, 281.
Muḥammad 'Alì Bèg Bandarì, 131, 211, 229, 250, 309, 310.
Muḥammad 'Afìfì, 19.
Muḥammad b. 'Alì b. Ṭabàṭabà, 133.
Muḥammad Baḥrì, 99.
Muḥammad Baranduq, 40.
Muḥammad Bilgaràmì, Sayyid, 4.
Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, 114.
Muhammad Ḥusayn Bèg, 100.
Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mîrzà, 269.
Muḥammad Kàẓi, 114.
Muḥammad Khazà'ilì, 258.
Muḥammad Khudà Bandah, 269.
Muḥammad Isti'làmì, 281.
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazàlì Ṭùsì, 308.
Muḥammad Ma'ṣùm Mîrzà, 11.
Muḥammad Mu'în, 7.
Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dìn Bahàdur, 124.
Muḥammad Muqìm, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25.
Muḥammad Qazwìnì, 316.
Muḥammad Qulì Bèg, 54.
Muḥammad Raḥìm, Khwàjah, 54, 310.
Muḥammad Ramḍànì, 19.
Muḥammad Riḍa Bèg, 207.
Muḥammad Sàbir, 45.
Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ, 125.
Muḥammad Sarwar, 284.
Muḥammad Shafi', Maulawì, 314.
Muḥammad Shàh, 124.
Muḥammad Sharìf, 307.
Muḥammad Sulṭàn, Khwàjah, 157.
Muḥammad Wàris Mîrzà, 315.
Muḥammad Zamàn b. Badì' al-Zamàn Mîrzà, 13, 34.
Muḥarram, 6.
Muḥibb 'Alì, 54, 55, 56.
Muhrah, 189.
Muḥtaram Khàn, 122, 123.
muḥtasib, 227, 282.
Mu'în al-Dìn Ḥasan, 115.
Mu'în al-Dìn Naṭanzì, 260.
Mujàhid Khàn, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56.
mujàwiràn, 164.
Mukhliṣ Khàn, 121, 307.
mulk, 139, 163, 244.
Mullà Mîr Sabzwàrì, 93.
Mullà Ràjà Kambò, 201.
Multafat Khàn, 119.
Multàn, 3, 31, 42, 47, 51, 52, 54, 62, 76, 78, 82, 84, 91, 99, 100, 103, 109, 110, 113,

Marfat.com

127, 141, 144, 153, 174, 187, 191, 201, 211, 213, 219, 259, 262, 264, 266, 270, 271, 280, 295, 296, 297, 299, 307, 311.
mung, 222, 223.
Munich, 5.
Mun'im Khàn Khàn-i Khànàn, 48, 95.
Munsha'àt al-Namakin, 96, 107.
Munsha'at-i Mushtàqi, *113*.
Munsha'àt-i Namakin, 49.
Muntakhab al-Tawàrikh, 96, 303.
Muntakhab al-Tawarikh-i Mu'ini, 260.
muqaddam/s, 142, 181, 207, 208, 216, 221, 224, 225, 227.
Mùqàn desert, 5.
Muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat, 203.
Muqarrab Khàn, 265.
muqṭa'i, 151, 167, 174, 197.
murghàbi-i sùnah, 170.
Muràd, 270.
Muràdi tankah, 224, 270.
Muràdàbàd Distt., 262.
Murghàb, 13, 14.
Murid, 198, 199.
Murtaḍà Khàn. II Mìrzà Ḥusàm al-Dìn, 110, 155, 207, 274, 275.
Murtaḍà Mudarris Gìlànì, 19.
Murv, 14.
Mùsà 181.
mùsà'adat, 82.
Mùsà Gilàni, Shaykh, 180.
Mùsà Khàn Afghàn, 155.
Musammàti farmàns, 131, 227.
Mùsà Pahawàr, 166.
Mushtàqì, Miyàn Nùr al-Haqq, 113.
Muslim Education and Learning in Gujarat 1297-1758, 134.
Muslim Highway robbers, 290.
Muslim law, 285.
Muslim sacred law, 290.
Muslim/s, 7, 109, 126, 127, 132, 133, 167, 249, 262, 284, 285, 301.
Mustafà *Khàn Shaykh Bàyazìd*, *305*.
Mustang, *22*.
Musta'ṣim Bi'llàh, *120*.
Muta'ahhid al-mà', 315.
muta'alliqàn, 147.
Mu'tamid Khàn, 356.
muṭribàn, 215.
mutaṣaddìgarì, 123.
Muẓaffar Bèg, Khwàjah, 27.
Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mìrzà Qandaharì, 10, 14, 15, 77, 101, 269, 270, 296.
Muẓaffar Khàn Ma'mùrì, 109, 154, 157, 158, 159, 193, 194, 269, 273.

N

Nabàt, 202, 224.
nabirah, 114.
nabiyàn, 285.
nàbùd, 221.
Nadhr-i Ḥamid Aḥmad Khàn, 46.
Nadìm Mer'achll, 286.
Nàdir Shàh, 4.
Nadwì, Maulànà Mas'ùd 'Alì, 113.
Nadwì, Sayyid Mu'ìn al-Dìn, 284.
Nadwì, Sayyid Najìb Ashraf, 113.
Nafaḥàt al-Uns, 303.
Nafà'is al-Ma'àthir, 5.
nafiri, 177.
naga, 258.
Nagar, 178.
Nàgore, 56.
Nàhar Khàn, 57.
Nàhid Bègum, 22, 23, 25, 31, 49, 50, 51, 52, 176.
Najàbat Khàn. 50.
Najaf, 267.
Najd, 281.
Nakàmrah, 60, 153, 154, 267.
nakhùd, 222, 258.
namak halàl, 94.
namak ḥaràm, 94.
Namakìn, 49, 79, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100.
namàyàn, 280.
namàz-i dìgar, 301.
namàz-i khuftan, 301.
namàz-i pìshìn, 301.
namàz-i shàm, 301.
namàz-i ṣubḥ, 301.
Nandah, 251.
Nanghe, 262.
Napier, 287.
Naqdì Bèg, 81.
naqqàrah, 180.
naqqàsh khànah, 119.
Naqshbandì, 303.
Nàr, 198, 199, 200, 206, 288.
Nàrèjah, 156.
Nàrì, 150.
Nàrlam, 158.
Nàrìlah, 161.
Nàrù, 157.
nasaq, 216.
Naṣiḥat al-Mulùk, 308, 313
Nasim, K.B., 4

Marfat.com

Naṣìr al-Dìn, 235.
Naṣir Mìrzà, 17, 18, 19.
naskh, 120.
Naṣràbàd, 45.
Naṣr b. Aḥmad, 7.
Naṣrpùr, 32, 60, 63, 69, 73, 74, 79, 139, 153, 154, 156, 157, 173, 178, 180, 186, 188, 189, 228, 232, 246, 279, 287, 292, 293.
Nàtàlah, 198.
nà'ùr, 286, 288.
nà'ùrah, 286.
Naurùz Bèg, 206.
Nawshahro, 262, 264.
Nawà'ì, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, 93.
Nawalkishore, 16.
Nawàzish Khàn, 298.
này, 289.
Nayrankòt, 71, 73, 109, 157, 158, 159, 161.
Nayrùn, 167, 169.
Nayrùn Qal'ah, 166, 167.
nayshakar, 222.
naẓargàh, 161, 164, 243.
Naẓargàh-i Ụways-i Qaranì, 281.
nàẓim, 312.
Needham, Joseph, 286, 287.
Nelumbium speciosum (wild), *Neupersische Litteratur*, 134.
New Account of East India, and Persia, A. 287.
New Delhi, 4, 19, 122, 283, 314.
New York, 89, 283.
Night of Power, 216.
Nìgùdarì (Nìkùdarì) 7, 8, 11, 24, 85, 246.
Ni'ìng, 197, 198, 240.
nìl, 88, 222.
nìlgà'è, 17.
Nilkanat, K.A., 285.
nìlùfar, 289.
Nìlùfarì, 74.
Ni'mat Allàh, 213, 218.
Ni'mat Allàh Khwàjah, 284.
Nìmrùz, 14.
Nirah-tù, 19.
Nìrùn, 236.
Nìrùn Qal'ah, 233.
Nithàrì Bukhàrì, Khwàjah Ḥasan, 43.
Niyàbadrah. 137, 258.
Niyàz Humàyùnì, 130.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Aḥmad, 30.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Aḥmad, Khwàjah, 55.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Auliyà', Khwàjah, 284.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Khalìfah, 25.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Shàmì, 5.
Niẓàm al-Dìn Ṭùsì, 19.
Niẓàm al-Mulk, 135.
Niẓàmì 'Arùḍì Samarqandì, 7.
Niẓàmì, Khaliq Aḥmad, 135.
Niẓàmì, Shaykh, 121.
N.M., 261, 310.
noria, 286, 287, 288.
Nùḥànì Balùches, 179, 198, 240.
Nuhmardìs, 109, 161, 162, 175, 176, 179, 186, 192, 198, 199, 200, 206, 207, 212, 213, 214, 234, 237, 239, 241, 245, 247, 248.
Nùr al-Dìn Karòrì, 183, 184.
Nùr al-Din Muḥammad Safidùnì, 5.
Nùr Allàh, 106, 159.
Nùr Jahàn, 87, 131, 227, 274, 305, 306, 309, 310.
Nùr Maḥall, 91.
Nùshirwàn, 253.
Nusrat Khàn, 98.
Nùt Bandah Balùches, 239, 242.
Nymphaea pubescens, 289.

O

Ohind, 99.
òpchì-i na'l, 245.
Oriental College Magazine, 314, 315.
Oriental works, 288.
Orìsah, 95, 306.
Ottoman, 16.
Oxford, 107, 124
Oxford English Dictionary, 286.
Oxus, 11.
pabban, 289.
Pàdishàh, 19.
Pahànì Kòt, 236.
Pahawàr/s, 141, 165, 166, 167, 170, 173, 180, 182, 183, 197, 207, 208, 210, 212, 231, 234, 245.
pà'ikash, 179.
Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission, 315.
Palèjahs, 60, 156.
Pallah, 170.
Pallì, 171.
Pallì Sammah, 154.
pan, 289.
panbah, 221.
Panhwàrì, 54.
Panjàb, 94, 61, 102, 104, 105, 257, 297, 298, 300, 301, 316.
Pannì Afghàns, 100, 108, 151, 152, 290.

Marfat.com

Papers on Medieval Indian History, 131.
Parayah Samèjah, 193.
Parbat, 216.
parganah, 228.
par gudhàrdan, 157.
Parikhànah-i Sulaymàn, 115.
par-i kilkì, 166, 169, 170.
Parìyah, 173, 178, 183.
Parùshnì, 257.
Parsà-il, 303.
parwànchah, 203.
Parwìz, 272.
Paryàrì, 174.
Pàtar, 38, 59, 150, 175, 189, 212, 236.
Pathànkòt, 271.
Patiàla, 38, 316.
Patnah, 36, 59, 87, 95, 107, 116, 121, 122, 265, 285, 302.
Patrèjah, 166.
Patriarch Aaron, 242.
Pattan/Patan, 32, 94, 304
patwàris, 208.
Pàyandah Bègum, 6.
Payandah Muḥammad, 57.
Pàyandah Tarkhàn, 293.
Pàyandih, Abù al-Qàsim, 308.
Persia, 74, 287.
Persian, 6, 22, 33, 48, 49, 81, 82, 85, 87, 118, 126, 128, 133, 134, 268, 273, 274, 278, 281, 294, 301, 303, 308, 311, 312, 316.
Persian Epistolography, 104.
Persian Historiography, 126.
Persian Literature :
A Bio-Bibliographical Survey, 127.
Persians, 83, 86, 129, 269, 277, 280, 299, 300.
Persian wheel, 166, 285, 286, 287, 288.
Peshawar, 315.
Philobiblon, 89.
pinjirah, 150.
Pìr Ghulàm, 137, 151, 164, 169, 174, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 197, 199, 224, 235, 238, 240, 241, 243, 258.
Pìr Topan, Haḍrat, 214.
Pìr Wàdan Shàh, 116.
pisar-i kalàn, 112.
pìshkash, 61, 106, 160, 197
pìshkash-i faṣlànah, 192.
Pishìn, 277.
Pìtah, 186.
piyàdah, 227.
piyàz, 222.
Platform of Purity, 107.
Platts, John T., 316.
Poole, Edward Stanley, 286.
Portuguese, 47, 68, 74, 75.
The Portuguese and India, & c., 47.
Prague, 5.
Prince Aurangzìb, 113, 277, 279.
Prince Dàniyàl, 297.
Prince Kàmbakhsh, 122.
Prince Khusrau, 77, 104, 274.
Prince Mu'aẓẓam, 114, 122.
Prince Muḥammad Dàrà Shukùh, 125.
Prince Muḥammad Shàh Shujà', 275.
Prince Muràd, 97, 98, 304.
Prince Salìm, 54, 106, 296, 300.
Prince Shàh 'Àlam, 119.
Prince Shàhjahàn, 111, 310.
Prince Shahryàr, 272, 304, 305, 309.
Prince Sulṭan Salìm, 104.
Prince Ṭahmàsb, 26, 27.
Professor K.A. Nilkantha Sastri Felicitation Volume, 285.
Prophet, Holy, 127, 132, 163, 167, 253, 281, 303.
Provincial Government of the Mughuls (1526-1658), the, 262.
Public Library of Khairpur, 134.
Pulijì, 166, 232.
P.U.MS., 79, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 93, 112.
Punjàb, 78, 105, 286.
Punjab Past and Present, 316.
Punjab University Library, 115, 288.
Pùshang, 277, 278.
pusht-i kùh, 165.
pustnìs, 67.

Q

qabìlah, 191.
Qabùlah, 28.
Qàbùs Nàma (A Mirror for Princes), the, 316.
qàḍì, 101, 130, 182, 202, 218, 226, 228, 262.
Qàḍì Abù al-Khayr, 261.
Qaḍì 'Abd al-Wàḥid, 209.
Qàḍì Abù Sa'ìd, 261.
Qàḍì Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffàrì Kàshànì, 19.
Qàḍì-i Jahàn, 261.
Qàḍì Ikhtiyàr al-Dìn Harawì, 133, 134
Qàḍì Pìrah, 216.
Qàḍì Qàḍan, 142, 261, 262.
Qàḍì Nùr al-Dìn 'Abd al-Azìz, 268.

Marfat.com

Qàḍì Zayn al-Dìn, 261.
qadìm, 141.
qadìmìyàn, 152.
Qàdirì, 261.
Qàjàr, Shàh Budàq, 34.
Qal'ah-i Bìst, 10.
Qal'ah-i Bust, 10.
Qal'ah-i Pàshang, 10.
Qal'ah-i Pàshlang, 10.
Qal'ah-i Ẓafar, 20.
qalandar, 301.
Qalàt, 12, 13, 14, 18, 25
Qalàt-i Ghaznìn, 12.
Qalàt-i Ghilza'ì, 12.
qàlib, 289.
qalpàq, 279.
qamurghah, 160.
Qambar Khwàjah, 200.
Qanbar 'Alì, Sayyid, 116.
Qandahàr, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 61, 62, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 93, 100, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 141, 150, 156, 157, 160, 165, 166, 170, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 200, 201, 246, 247, 248, 260, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 289, 296, 298, 299, 300, 305, 307, 308, 311, 312, 316.
Qàni' Thaththawì, Mìr, 112, 115.
Qannauj, 35.
Qanungo, Kalikaranjan, 35, 41.
qànùngùs, 144, 146, 163, 181, 182, 184, 185, 208, 216, 218, 219, 218, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, 251.
Qaràbàgh, 50.
Qarà Bèg, 63, 81, 184, 187.
Qarà Bèg Tarkhàn, 296.
Qarà Khàn, 61, 82
Qaràchàh Bèg, 38.
Qaran, 281.
Qara-tu, 24.
Qaraunah Turks, 314.
qarqarah, 157.
qaryah, 143.
qaṣbah, 192.
Qaṣbah-i Adasiyah, 10.
Qaṣbah-i Ùbih, 10.
Qàsim Bàrèjah, 197, 235.
Qàsim Bèg, 25, 45.
Qàsim Bèglar, Sayyid, 127.
Qàsimì, Aḥmad Nadìm, 46.
Qàsim Kùkultàsh, 19, 22, 23.
Qàsim Ghanì, 316.
Qàsim Ṭaghà'ì, 37.
Qàti'ì-i Harawì, Mullà, 33, 60, 78.
qaum, 143, 145, 165.
qawwàl/s, 215, 313.
Qazwìn, 277.
Qazzàq Khàn, 112.
Qiblah Ayàzì, 99.
Qilìch Bèg, 81.
Qilìch Khàn Andijànì, 310.
Qilìch Khàn Tùrànì, 215, 297, 310, 311, 312.
Qipchàq, 4.
Qizilbàsh, 34, 54, 93.
Q.N., 301.
qùch, 240.
Qùch 'Alì Kurd, 108, 109, 151, 152, 178, 264, 265
Qùch, 'Alì Shàmlù, 178.
Qùchìn, 25.
Quddùsì, I'jàz al-Ḥaqq, 87.
Quarterly Research Journal, 288
Quarterly Urdù, 261.
quds parwàz, 164.
Quetta, 8, 18, 290.
Qù-ìl, 303.
Qulì Jàn, 186.
Qulì Khàn, 98.
Qundùz, 12.
qùr, 84.
qurà, 32.
Qur'àn, 120, 123, 134, 216, 253, 258, 266, 284, 285, 304, 306, 316.
Qurayshì, 167.
Qureshi, I.H., 262.
Qureshi, M.A., 134.
Qùshanj, 277.
quṣùr, 119.
Qusṭantìniyyah, 93.
Quṭb al-Mulk 'Abd Allàh Khàn, Sayyid, 123.
Quzdar, 266.

R

ràbi', 11, 168, 172, 179, 181, 183, 193, 202, 206, 211, 215, 234, 239, 303, 309.
rabì'ì, 174.
Ràdanpùr, 32.
Raḍawì, Sayyid Jamìl Aḥmad, 288.
Rà'è Bahàrah, 58.
Rà'e Mànak Chand, 85, 316.
Rà'epad Qànùngù, 52.
Rà'è Rà'esingh Darbàrì, 56, 58, 64, 67, 98,

Marfat.com

171, 246, 301.
Rà'esèn, 271.
Rafi'àn, 194.
rahat, 286.
Raḥmàn, 92.
Raḥmàn, M.L., 32.
Raḥmàn Qulì, 179, 180.
Ràh Pòtrah, 167.
Ràhùjah, 174, 193, 195.
Ràhùs, 173.
Ràhùt, 75.
Rà'iḥah Bègum, 50, 176.
ra'ìses, 144, 146, 147, 163.
ra'iyyat, 155, 181.
ra'iyyat-i khàliṣ, 182.
ra'iyyat-i rìzah, 147.
Ràjà, Abhì Singh Ràthore, 284.
Ràjà, 'Alì Khàn, 304.
Ràjà Bàsù, 106, 266.
Ràjà Bìrbar, 98.
Ràjà Màn Singh, 80, 98, 290.
Ràjà of Jaisalmèr, 173, 225, 230.
Ràjà Parmànand, 57.
Ràjà Tòdarmal, 57, 96, 98, 165.
Ràj Maḥall, 306.
Ràjpàl, 143, 174.
Ràjpùt, 3, 173.
rak'ah, 184, 313.
Ràkas, 296.
rakshasa, 296.
Ránà Bàkar, 294.
Ránà Mèghràj Wìsah, 292, 294.
Ránà Prithìràj, 294.
Ránà Rà'imal Wìrsì, 292, 294.
rang, 112, 201, 240, 302.
Rangattah, 106.
Ranìpùr, 55, 284.
Ranking, George S.A., 303.
Raqà'im-i Karà'im, 114, 124.
Rashaḥàt al-Funùn, 116.
Ràshìd Burhànpùrì Sayyid, Muḥammad Muti' Allàh, 117.
Ràshidì, Pìr Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn, 27, 34, 45, 46, 48, 78, 82, 102, 113, 259, 282, 283, 291.
Ràshidì Private Collection, Sayyid Ḥusàm al-Dìn, 4, 285.
Rattah Sòdhah, 292.
Rauḍat al-Ṣafà, 27, 127.
Rauḍat al-Salàtìn, 34.
raughan kadah, 165.
Raushanà'iyyah, 98.
Raushan Sulṭàn, 246.
Ravens' Garden, 6.
Raverty, 257, 258.
Ràvì, 257, 258.
Ràwal Bhìm, 64.
Rawalpindi, 97, 300.
Rayy, 16.
Reign of Muḥammad Shàh, 1719-1748, 4.
Reis, Sìdì 'Alì, 44.
Rèl, 60, 170.
Rèn Bàrgàh, 74.
Rentz, G., 258.
Riazul Islàm, 17, 21, 22, 27, 34, 48, 49, 59, 61, 101, 278, 280, 314.
Riḍà Sha'bànì, 4.
Rieu, Charles, 124.
Rightly Guided Caliphs, 132.
rìgmàhì, 164.
Rig Veda, 257.
rijàl al-ghayb, 284.
Rind/s, 145, 150.
Riprì Langàhàn, 108, 191.
Risàlah-i Nùriyyah-i Sulṭàniyyah, 19.
Risàlah-i Panjum dar Naṣìḥat al-Mulùk, 133.
Risàlah-i Tà'rìkh, 78, 295.
Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, 97.
rìzànì lands, 172, 174.
Rizvi, S.A.A., 98.
Rogers, 87.
Ròhrì, 36, 38, 39, 40, 53, 55, 56, 257, 259, 266.
Rohrì Deputy Collectorate, 266.
Rolim, Pedro Barreto, 47.
Ross, E. Denison, 34.
Rost, Reinhold, 283.
R.S., 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 34, 92.
Rùdakì, 7.
Rùḥ Allàh Khàn, 121.
Ruka'àt-i 'Àlamgirì or, Letters of Aurangzèb, 114.
rukn, 228.
Ruq'àt-i 'Àlamgìrì, 113.
Rushbrooke-Williams, L.F., 19, 23, 26, 28.
Rustam, 59.
Ruṣtam b. Khwùsham Bèg, 156.
rùzyànah, 190.
Rylands Library, 22.
ryot, 146.
Rypka, Jan, 6, 133.

S

ṣàḥib-i-ṣùbah, 154.
Sahityasashtri, Bhattacharyya, 283.

Marfat.com

Sahtah tribe, 143, 173, 176, 231.
Sahùdah/s, 154, 190.
Sa'ìd Allàh, 298.
Sa'ìd Khàn, 51, 53, 54, 79, 81, 103, 106, 107, 186, 296, 298.
Sa'ìd Nafisì, 134.
Sà'ìndìnah Hindù, 156, 157, 246.
Ṣà'imah Bègum, 55.
Saint George, 258.
sà'ìs, 202.
Sàkhar, 8, 9, 13, 14, 40.
Sakìnat al Auliyà', 125, 261.
Sàkirah, 161.
sakpàl, 157, 158.
Saksena, Banàrsì Prasad, 269, 275, 276, 278, 305, 306, 312.
Ṣalàḥ al-Dìn, 28, 29.
salàm, 84, 313.
salàmì, 176.
ṣalàt, 301.
Ṣàliḥ Tarkhàn, 44, 46.
ṣàliḥìn, 285.
Salìm, 81.
sàliyànah, 247.
Salt Range, 94.
Samandar Bèg, 37.
Sàmànid, 7.
Samarqand, 5, 6, 11, 15, 23, 92, 291.
Samèjah, 60, 105, 111, 112, 113, 143, 144, 145, 155, 156, 165, 166, 167, 170, 172, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201, 204, 206, 207, 212, 213, 214, 215, 220, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 238, 239, 241, 243, 244, 245, 251, 294, 309, 313.
Samèjah Bukyah, 167, 170, 188.
Samèjah Dal, 154, 156, 158, 167, 191.
Samèjah Dàhirì, 171.
Samèjah Jùnèjah, 154.
Samèjah Kìbar, 154.
Samèjah Kìriyah, 154.
Samèjah Ràhùjah, 214.
Samèjah Sànd, 154.
Samèjah Tìbah, 167, 189, 191, 192.
Samèjah Ùnaṛ, 109, 154, 155, 166, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 204, 206, 212, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241, 243, 244, 301.
Sàmitànì, 91, 209, 210.
Sammah, 3, 28, 47, 60, 113, 129, 141, 166, 314, 315.
Ṣamṣàm al-Daulah, 123, 155.
Sàmwatì, 154, 155, 156, 173, 191, 293.
Sanà'ì, 313.
Sànakpùr, 240.
Sànaryah, 174.
Sànd, 171, 173, 294.
Sàngìs, 145.
Sanjarì, 152.
Sanjar Mìrzà, 269.
Sànkarah, 189.
Sann, 39, 50, 73, 158, 160, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 179, 180, 185, 194, 200, 206, 212, 214, 228, 229, 230, 239, 241, 242, 244, 247.
Sanskrit, 296.
sàqìyah, 286, 287, 288.
Saraswatì, 257.
Sardàr Khàn, 81, 83, 84, 104, 105, 187, 296, 299, 300.
sa'àyat, 204.
Sàbah, 189.
Sàbah lake, 192.
sàbàṭ, 68.
Ṣàbir, Mìr Maḥmùd, 117.
sabzbarì, 144, 202.
Sabzwàr, 10, 26, 93.
Sa'd Allàh Khàn, 78.
Sàdar, 236.
Sàdàt-i Bàrhah, 303.
Sàdàt-i Atà'ì, 303.
Ṣadgar, 169.
Sa'dì, 133.
Ṣàdiq Khàn, 58, 59.
Ṣàdiq Muḥammad Khàn, 60, 99, 292.
ṣadr, 56, 101, 107, 130, 218, 227, 228, 262, 263.
ṣadr al-ṣudùr, 123, 124.
Ṣafawid/s, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 48, 61, 82, 92, 100, 101, 126, 200, 261, 271, 277, 278, 279, 296, 307, 311.
safidbarì, 144, 202.
Safinah-i Khwùshgù, 122, 124.
Safiyànìs, 38.
Sagburjì, 245.
Sàghar, 7.
ṣàḥib, 174.
sàḥib-i-ihtimàmàn, 142.
ṣàḥib-i-jam'iyyat, 145.
sarishtah-i 'amal, 151.
Sarkar, Jadunath, 95, 122.
sarshaf, 222.
Sarobì, 99.
Sarwà, 149.

Marfat.com

Satyàsar, 259.
Satyàsur, 259.
Sawàd (Swàt), 299.
Sàwah, 236.
Sàwah nullah, 235.
Sàwah dam, 238.
Sawà-sang, 13.
Sawàr, 77.
Saydàn Kàrah, 241.
Sayf al-Mulùk Ḥàjjī Niẓàm 'Uqaylī, 19.
Sayf al-Mulùk Kàshgharī, 56, 115, 206, 209, 263.
sayyi'àt, 254.
Sayyid Abù al-Faḍl, 57.
Sayyid Bahòwah, 276, 277.
Sayyid Barah, 277.
Sayyid Bàqir, 112, 201, 302.
Sayyid Bàyazìd, 143.
Sayyid brothers 123.
Sayyid Ḥasan, 241.
Sayyid Imàm al-Dìn, 284.
Sayyid Jalàl, 214, 239, 276.
Sayyid Jung, 214.
Sayyid Kamàl, 239.
Sayyid Muhammad Mìr 'Adl, 57, 100, 142, 262, 276, 284.
Sayyid Ṣafà'rī, 56.
Sayyid Yùsuf, 214, 241.
Sayyid/s, 56, 141, 161, 167, 169, 170, 172, 206, 227, 238, 241, 263, 267, 291.
Sayyids of Amrohah, 262.
Sayyids of Itàwah, 303.
sazàwul, 186, 219, 230.
Science and Civilization in China, 286.
Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, 118.
sèr, 221.
Shàdbèlah, 43, 140.
Shàd Khàn, 112.
Shàdmàn, 295.
shaghl-i dunyà, 253.
Shafaq, S.R., 134.
Shàf-tiwàr, 20.
Shàh 'Abbàs, 74, 75, 85, 101, 151, 187, 201, 273, 274, 277.
Shahàb Khàn, 57.
Shahàb, Mas'ùd Ḥasan, 134.
Shahàb Sarmadee, 313.
shàhbandar, 113.
Shahbàzì, 156.
Shahbàz Khàn, 79, 246.
Shàh Bèg, 4, 10, 12, 23, 24, 25, 28.
Shàh Bèg Arghùn, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 44, 46, 70, 81, 85, 129, 166, 251, 260, 261, 298, 299, 300, 316.
Shàh Bèg Khàn, 76, 103, 186, 187.
Shàh Bùdàq, 34.
Shàh Burj, 133.
Shàhgaṛh, 69, 70, 71, 74.
Shàh Ḥasan, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 260.
Shàh Ḥusayn, 7.
Shàhì, 301.
shahìd, 285.
Shahìdì, Sayyid Ja'far, 4.
Shàh-i Gharìb Mìrzà, 10.
Shàh-i Shuja', 9.
Shàh Ismà'il Ṣafawì, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 92, 269.
Shàh Ismà'il II, 269.
Shàhjahàn, 82, 86. 90, 91, 101, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 131, 211, 229, 254, 257, 269, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311.
Shàh Khwàjah, 199, 160, 200.
Shàh Mìr, 171.
Shàh Muḥammad, 161.
Shàhnawàz Khàn, 87, 106.
Shàhnawàz Khàn Ṣafawì, 125.
Shàh of Ìràn, 61, 85.
Shàh Qàsim, 127, 128, 291, 292, 293, 294.
Shàh Qulì Khàn, 312.
Shàhrukh, 6, 21.
Shàhrukh (ibn Sanjar), 270, 292.
shàhrukhì, 67.
Shahryàr, 304, 305, 306.
Shàh Ṣafì I, 278.
Shàh Ṭahmàsb Ṣafawì, 33, 34, 48, 93, 269.
shàkh nàtràshìdah, 148, 202.
Shakkar, 140, 141, 142, 144.
shakar, 308.
Shàl, 8, 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 109, 141, 159, 173, 276, 289, 290.
shàlì, 221.
Shàl Kòt, 290.
Shams al-Dìn, 115.
Shamshìr Bèg, 240.
Shamshìr Khàn, 109, 154, 157, 160, 169, 170, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 218, 224, 229, 235, 242, 243, 273.
shamshìr-i-khàṣṣah, 80.

Marfat.com

Shàhzàdah, 42.
Shar, 144.
sharì'ah, 163, 290.
sharì'at-i bayḍà', 163.
Sharîf al-Mulk, Nawwàb, 111, 304, 305, 310,
shatranjì, 152, 247.
Shauq, Nawàz 'Alì, 261.
Shaykhs, 167, 170, 171.
Shaykh Aḥmad, 120.
Shaykh al-Islàm, 59.
Shaykh Bòl, 152.
Shaykh Farìd Bhakkarì, 96, 101, 104, 106, 107, 110.
Shaykh Farìd, Nawwàb Murtaḍà Khàn, 132, 276, 280.
Shaykh Fatḥ, 212.
Shaykh Ḥabib, 212.
Shaykh Ma'rùf, 101, 107.
Shaykh Muṣṭafà, 206.
Shaykh Sa'dì, 177.
Shaykhù, 214.
Shaykhzàdah Suhrawardì, 120.
Shaw, 279.
Shèr Shàh and His Times, 35.
Shiburghàn, 13.
Shìbànì Khàn, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 92.
Shiblì Nu'mànì, 126.
shìh, 237.
Shìhànì, 237.
Shì'ì faith, 22, 208.
Shì'ì Imàm, 92.
Shì'ite, 20.
Shì'ì/s, 115, 131.
Shikarpore, 3.
shiqqdàr, 146, 152, 155, 178, 184, 185, 194, 212, 214, 251.
Shi'r al-'Ajam, 126.
Shìr Afkan, 305.
Shìram Zakkah, 10.
Shìr Bèg, 246, 301.
Shìr Khàn, 35, 39, 279.
Shìr Khàn Afghàn, 156.
Shìr Khwàjah, 86, 174, 203, 204, 229, 303, 304, 309, 310.
Shìr Shàh, 34, 35, 36, 41.
Shìrùyah Sulṭàn, 100.
Shiva, 283.
Shiwràtr, 164
Shiwràtrì, 283.
shuhadà', 165, 285.
shuhùd, 285.
Shuhùd, Mìr Abù al-Makàrim, 115, 117.
Shujà', 272.
Shujà' Bèg, 160.
Shujà'at Rà'è, 157.
Shukr Nisà', 76.
Shunb-i Ghàzàn, 16.
Shùrah, 60, 109, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 221, 244, 261.
shuturàn-i rangìn, 175.
Sibi, 8.
Ṣiddìq, 251.
Siddiqi, M.H., 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 30, 65, 77, 103.
ṣiddìqìn, 185.
Sìdì 'Alì Reïs, 46.
ṣifat, 147.
Sihwàn, 8, 63, 64, 69, 71, 73, 89, 90, 91, 92, 103, 105, 109, 112, 139, 141, 144, 149, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 221, 224, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 344, 245, 247, 248, 249, 282, 285, 288, 290, 307, 309.
Sijistàn, 101.
Sìjqàn'ìl, 203, 303.
Silsilah-i Khwàjigàn, 303.
Silsilah-i Naqshbandiyyah, 303.
simoom, 151.
Sind, 3, 4, 5, 16, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 57, 62, 63, 67, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 87, 89, 91, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 108, 113, 117, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 139, 147, 166, 176, 211, 219, 220, 230, 235, 245, 249, 260, 261, 265, 273, 282, 285, 287, 288, 289, 291, 294, 298, 302, 307, 314, 316.
Sind: A General Introduction, 266.
Sind Gazette, 262.
Sindhì, 32, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 87, 115, 117, 127, 130, 149, 165, 166, 168, 176, 237, 242, 257, 259, 261, 262, 267, 288, 289, 314.
Sindhì Adabì Board, 130.
Sindhì Bègum, 51.
Sindh mein Urdù Shà'irì, 117.
Sind Sagar Doab, 94.

Marfat.com

Sipàhi, 34.
Sipihr Shukùh, 113.
sir, 223.
Sirhind, 271, 302.
Sirònj, 276.
Sìstàn, 13, 16, 20, 61, 270.
sitam shariki, 181.
Sìtàrjah, 79.
Sìtàsar, 259.
Sìtàsur, 140.
Sìtpùr Nàhiràn, 137, 150, 164.
Siva, 242, 313.
Sìwì, 8, 18, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 42, 84, 100, 102, 103, 108, 111, 130, 141, 145, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 182, 186, 187, 229, 233, 245, 247, 248, 251, 264, 278, 290.
Sìwistàn, 3, 8, 37, 40, 46, 57, 59, 60, 63, 72, 73, 76, 100, 108, 110, 111, 113, 114, 130, 131, 273, 277, 282, 285, 288, 290, 292, 312.
Siyàsat Nàmah, 133, 135.
Smith, Vincent A., 80, 85, 93, 94, 96, 97.
Sòdhàs, 313.
Sòdhrah, 294.
Sondah, 314.
Sorley, H.T., 3, 287, 288.
South Asian Subcontinent, 3.
Spanish, 286.
Spera Afghàn, 201.
Springfield, 286.
Spuler, P., 5.
Srivastava, Ashirbadi Lal, 102, 134.
Steingass, 302, 303, 308, 310.
Stevenson, Burton, 89.
Stocks, J.E., 289.
Storey, C.A., 127.
Strange, Guy le, 266, 316.
Studies in Iranian History, 134.
Studies in Medieval Indian History, 281.
ṣùbah, 259.
ṣùbahdàr, 110, 156, 161, 163, 175, 191, 207, 211, 213, 219, 220, 230, 232, 248, 277.
ṣùbahdàri, 187, 211.
ṣùbahdàrship, 312.
Subcontinent, 109, 118, 126, 135, 258, 262, 265, 270, 271, 277, 278, 287.
Ṣubḥ al-A'shà, 314.
Subḥàn Qulì Arghùn, 59.
Ṣubùḥì, Maulànà, 7, 8, 261.
Ṣuffah-i Ṣafà, 105, 115, 137, 258.
Ṣuffah-i Wafà, 164.
Sùfi, 215.
Ṣùfi masters, 254.
Suhrawardì, Shaykh Shihàb al-Dìn, 284.
sujùd, 20.
sukpàl, 279.
Sukhra, 308.
Sukkur, 54, 116, 248, 257, 258, 259.
Sulaymàn Karàràni, 95.
Sulṭàn, 48.
Sultàn, Abù Sa'id Mìrzà, 5, 6, 10.
Sulṭàn, Aḥmad Bèg, 79, 84, 85.
Sulṭàn, Aḥmad Khàn, 131.
Sulṭàn Aḥmad Mìrzà, 6.
Sultanate of Delhi, 314.
Sulṭàn Bahàdur, 32, 74, 77.
Sulṭàn Blyazid, 98.
Sulṭàn Bàyazid II, 92.
Sulṭàn Ḥusayn (Mìrzà) Bàyqarà, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 20, 46, 92, 134, 269, 279.
Sulṭàn Ḥusayn Mìrzà Qandahàri, 49, 54.
Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Bhakkari, 32, 36, 37, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 110, 141, 142, 149, 150, 152, 259, 260, 263.
Sulṭàn Maḥmùd Ghaznawì, 58.
Sulṭàn Mas'ùd, 58.
Sulṭàn Muḥammad Shàh b. Tughluq, 219, 314.
Sulṭàn Muràd Bakhsh, 125.
Sulṭàn Muẓaffar Bèqaṛah, 29.
Sulṭàn Muẓaffar Gujaràtì, 94, 95
Sulṭàn Parwìz, 267.
Sulṭàn Pìr Walì Barlàs, 21.
Sulṭàn, Qàsim Ḥusayn, 39.
Sulṭàn Quraysh, 98.
Sulṭàn Salìm, 16
Sulṭàn, Shàh Muqìm, 127, 128.
Sulṭàns of Delhi, 262.
Sulṭàn Yàdigàr Muḥammad, 6.
Sutlaj, 257.
Suturdari, 257.
Sùmrah, 60, 129, 294.
Sunahrì, 183.
Sunnì, 93, 115.
Sùr Afghàns, 47.
Sùrat, 80, 111.
Sùrs, 43.
surùd, 215.
suyùrghàl, 169.
Swàt, 98, 99.

T

T.A., 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68,

Marfat.com

69, 70, 72, 73, 76, 96, 263, 290.
Tabak, 236.
Ṭabaqàt-i Akbarì, 96, 127.
Taba' tàbi'ìn, 281.
Tabrìz, 16.
Tabṣirat al-Nàẓirìn, 4, 116, 285.
Tadhkirah-i Mashà'ikh-i Sìwistàn, 282.
Tadhkirah-i Humàyùn wa Akbar, 43.
Ṭadhkirat al-Auliyà', 281.
Tadhkirat al-Shu'arà', 5.
Tafḍilah, 195, 302.
Ṭaghì, 314.
Taghràbàd, 45, 153, 267.
tahajjud, 202, 301.
Ṭàhir Muḥammad, 128, 251.
Ṭàhir Nisyànì, 45.
Taimùr, 19.
Tàj al-Dìn Maḥmùd, 25.
Tàj Khàn, 109, 151, 158, 191, 265, 266, 273.
Taka, 248.
Takar, 145, 148, 166, 251.
T.A. Kh., 92, 102, 112, 115, 116, 117, 124, 131, 282.
Takhàfù-il, 214.
Takhàqù-il, 303.
tal, 168.
Talhatì, 171.
Ṭàlib, 189.
Ta'lìqàt-i Ḥadìqat al-Ḥaqìqah, 313.
ṭalism, 149.
Tamarrud, 144.
tamàshàgàh, 141.
Tamassukàt-i-shar'iyyah, 155.
Tamìm, 282.
ṭanàb, 203.
tanàbkashàn, 146.
tanbàkù, 223.
al-Tanbìh wa'l Ishràf, 308.
Tandò Allahyàr, 301.
Tandò Muḥammad Khàn, 46.
Tankahs, 16, 51, 67, 315.
Tankhwàh, 186, 206, 305.
tankhwàh jàgìr, 103, 109, 188, 191, 194, 247, 248, 300, 307.
Tankùz'-il, 303.
Talpùrs, 116.
tappahs, 172, 185, 192, 194.
taqallubì, 227.
Taqsìm al-anàm 'alà arba'at al-aqsàm, 132.
Tara Chand, 125, 261.
ṭaraf, 174, 175, 178, 215.
taràmah, 215.
tarawìh, 216.
tarbùzah, 221, 223.
Tardì Bèg, 301.
Tá'rìkh-i Adabiyyàt-i Fàrsì, 134
Tà'rìkh-i Akbarì, 284.
Tà'rìkh-i Alfì, 126, 127.
Tà'rìkh-i Baldah-i Thattah, 128.
Tà'rìkh-i Bayhaqì, 58, 301.
Tà'rìkh-i Fakhrì, 133, 317.
Tà'rìkh-i Fìrùz Shàhì, 315.
Tà'rìkh-i Guzìdah, 19.
Tà'rìkh-i Iràdat Khàn, 122.
Tà'rìkh-i Khànjahànì wa Makhzan-i Afghànì, 284.
Tà'rikh-i Ma'sùmì, 315
Tà'rìkh-i Maẓhar-i Shàhjahànì, 130.
Tà'rìkh-i Naẓm-o Nathr dar Ìràn-o dar Zabàn-i Fàrsì, 134.
Tà'rìkh-i Nàdir Shàhì, 4.
Tà'rìkh-i Nigàristàn, 19.
Tà'rìkh-i Shèr Shàhì, 36.
Tà'rìkh-i Sind, 27, 126, 127, 130, 141, 152, 285.
Tà'rìkh-i Tàhirì, 83, 128, 129.
Tàrìkìs, 296.
Tarìn, Shèr Khàn, 111, 276, 277, 278, 279, 307.
Tarjumah-i Nahj al-Balàghah, 268.
Tarjumah-i Risàlah-i Qushayriyyah, 258.
Tarkhàn, 'Abd al-'Alì, 9, 87.
Tarkhàn Nàmah, 51, 67, 87.
Tarkhàn, Mìrzà Ghàzì Bèg, 4, 78.
Tarkhàn, Mìrzà 'Ìsà, 49, 74, 501.
Tarkhàn, Mìrzà Jàn Bàbà, 50
Tarkhàn, Mìrzà Jànì Bèg, 74, 77, 100, 103.
Tarkhàn II, Mìrzà'Ìsà, 86, 88.
Tarkhàn/s, 3, 4, 5, 7, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 70, 74, 76, 84, 86, 87, 88, 100, 127, 128, 129, 130, 153, 154, 156, 162, 166, 175, 176, 229, 238, 248, 268, 290, 291, 294.
tarò, 168.
Tarsùn Muḥammad, 56.
taṣadduq, 120.
Tàsh Bèg Kàbulì, 106.
Tàsh Bèg Qùrchìn, 265.
Tàshqand, 92.
Tatabadra, 258.
Tatì, 113.
Tauer, Felix, 5, 133, 134.
taujìh, 147, 162, 227.
taujìhàt, 146.
taujihàt-i bàṭilah, 162.
taujìh-i pìshkash-i asb, 163.

Marfat.com

taujih-i ziyàdah talabi, 147.
taujih kardan, 155.
tarkàri, 222.
ṭawi, 180.
Tawishqàn-li, 303.
Tarnuk, 18.
Ṭayyib, 185, 193, 195.
Tehran, 4, 7, 15, 19, 22, 48, 75, 93, 125, 133, 134, 258, 260, 261, 272, 281, 287, 303, 308, 313, 316, 317.
Tehran University, 5.
Texts of the White Yajurveda, the, 257.
T.F., 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30, 63, 64, 71.
T.F.S.M., 308, 309.
thànahdàr, 89, 155, 166, 176, 186, 187, 189, 246.
thànah/s, 105, 148, 156, 161, 166, 170, 175, 185, 189, 199, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 304.
thànèdàri, 89.
Thànèsar, 103.
Thaqafi, 307.
Thattah, 28, 29, 31, 33, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 99, 103, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 130, 139, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 173, 174, 175, 180, 182, 183, 186, 191, 194, 195, 204, 207, 211, 213, 218, 219, 220, 224, 230, 232, 242, 243, 246, 248, 266, 268, 271, 273, 275, 276, 277, 290, 293, 294, 296, 300, 304, 305, 309, 310, 314, 315.
Thattì, 155, 241, 243.
Thattì Walì Muḥammad, 169, 170, 241.
Thomas, R. Hughes, 289.
Thornton, Edward, 259, 303.
Tibah, 166, 173, 232.
Tibetan yaks, 46.
Tihnì, 198.
Tika, 64.
Tilangànah, 119.
Tìmùr, 3, 4, 5, 17.
Timur Bèg, 183, 184.
Tìmùrid/s, 4, 11, 14, 16, 43, 47, 93.
Tìmùr Tàsh, 17.
Tìpa, 11.
tir, 143.
Tìrah, 98, 99, 186, 299.
Tìrah-tù, 19.
tirath, 315, 316.
Tìrì, 186, 199, 238.
tirho, 289.
Tirmizi, S.A.I.,
T.K., 28, 47, 48, 57, 69, 80, 87, 117, 270, 282, 291, 297, 305, 316.
T.K., tr., 92, 93, 99, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 128, 288, 305, 316.
T.N., 4, 5, 6, 9, 21, 50, 51, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 268, 290, 297.
Tòrki, 67.
Tòyah/s, 203, 221, 224.
T.R., 4, 5, 10, 12, 17, 33, 34, 35, 260.
Transoxiana, 6, 15, 21, 126.
Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sìdì 'Alì Reìs, & c., the, 44, 45, 46.
Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique 1627-1643, 308.
Travels of Ibn Battùtah (A.D. 1325-1354), the, 282, 314.
Tripathi, R.P., 97.
T.S., 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 75, 77, 94, 100, 127, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 285, 288, 315.
T.T., 3, 28, 29, 40, 44, 45, 47, 50, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 113, 128, 267, 269, 282, 284, 291, 292, 294, 297, 299, 301, 315, 316.
T.T., tr., 282.
Tughluqàbàd, 69, 75.
Tughluq dynasty, 314.
Tuḥfat al-Kiràm, 112, 115, 178.
Tukaroi, 95.
tukhmzadah, 143, 221.
Tùkhtah Bèg Khàn, 81, 87, 300.
Tukra, 95.
Tùlak, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14.
ṭùmar, 211.
Tumontòq, 46.
Tuqtmish, 4.
Tùrah, 213.
Tùraj, 251.
Tùràmian, 131.
ṭurb, 222.

Marfat.com

Turkey, 126.
Turkish, 233.
Turkish admiral, 46.
Turkish Twelve Year Cycle, 302.
Turkistàn, 302.
Turkmàn, 264, 270.
Turk/s, 28, 141, 171, 291.
Ṭùs, 6.
Ṭùṭà, 179.
tuyùl, 99.
tuyùldàr, 100.
Tùzuk, 58, 64, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 103, 104, 105, 106, 110, 265, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 274, 280, 281, 296, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306.
Tùzuk-i Jahàngìrì, 87.
Tùzuk (R&B), 64, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 107, 133, 265, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 274, 276, 283, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 305, 306.
Tùzuk, tr., 84, 87.
Typha elephantine (Rox), 289.

U

Ubàwrah, 52, 108, 144, 151, 191, 266.
'Ubayd Allàh, 18.
Uchh, 33, 36, 41, 48, 100, 134.
Udaipùr, 296.
Uderòlàl, 64, 291.
Udìl, 303.
Ùghlì Amàn, 15.
Uḥud, 281.
'ulamà', 153.
Ulfatì, 310.
Ulugh Bèg Mìrzà, 10.
'Umar, 281, 313.
'Umarkòt, 4, 41, 64, 69, 292.
'Umar Shàh, 40, 128.
Umayyid Caliphs, 307.
ummàl, 191.
Umm hubain, 282.
Ùnah, 111.
Unar, 173, 292, 294.
Unarpùr, 71, 72, 73, 77, 179.
The Unhappy Valley, 287.
University of Karachi, 18.
University of the Punjab, 218.
University Studies, 18.
U.P., 262.
Urdù, 87, 259, 261, 284.
urhaṭ, 286.
'urs, 215.
Ùtah, 173.
Ùthal, 236.
Uways-i Qaranì, Ḥaḍrat Khwàjah, 161, 243, 281.
ùymàq-i bùrì, 82.
Uzbek, 'Abd Allàh Khàn, 102.
Uzbek, Abù al-Bì, 86, 266.
Uzbek, Arsalàn Bì, 272.
Uzbek, Bahàdur Khàn, 160, 200, 273, 280.
Uzbek, Bèg Muḥammad Qurq, 200.
Ùzbek/s, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 33, 49, 61, 93, 157, 191, 199, 200, 201, 202, 270, 279.
Uzbek, Shamshìr Bèg, 90, 108, 112, 154, 158, 166, 169, 171, 172, 191, 221, 224, 229, 233, 234, 235, 239, 241.
Uzbek, Shìbànì Khàn, 5, 92.
Uzbek, 'Ubayd Allàh Khàn, 19, 26.

V

Vaidyanath temple, 283.
Vamberry, A., 44.
Varanasi, 285.
Verma, H.C., 82.
Vipas, 257.
Vishnu, 283.
Vitasta, 257.
Voyage en Arabic, 288.

W

Wàḍiḥ, Mubàrak Allàh, 122.
Wafà, 122.
wahabì, 252.
Wahed Husain, 133.
Waheed Qureshi, 122.
Wahono, R.I., 288.
Wakìl, 57, 90, 216, 292, 295.
Wàkinkhèṛah, 120.
Walìd, 307.
Walì Qulì Dìwàn, 19.
Wankàr, 156.
wàqi'ah nawìs, 130, 187, 212, 213, 218, 220, 226, 273, 275, 276.
waqt-i zawàl, 191.
waqt yàftah, 145.
Wàrid Tihrànì, Muḥammad Shafì', 4.
Wàṣifì, Zayn al-Dìn Maḥmùd, 7, 8.
waṭan-i ikhtiyàrì, 89.
wazìr-i a'là, 124.
Wazìr Khàn, 312.
Wazìr Khàn Shàh Jahànì, 120.
wazìr/s, 29, 58, 132, 352.

Marfat.com

Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, 286.
Weidmann, 257.
West Pakistan. 287.
wilàyat, 77, 142, 164.
wilàyati, 137, 237.
Williams, Edwin B., 286.
Williams, Sims, 268.
Wilson, H.H., 283, 286, 287, 288.
Winjar, 143.
Winjarah, 109, 111, 155, 174, 178, 183, 185, 189, 193, 194, 196, 232, 243.
Winkàr, 165.
Wirsi clan, 291.
Wirsi sòdhahs, 291.
The Wonder that was India, 257, 285.
wujùh-i sabzbari, 181.

Y

Yàdigàr, 6, 38, 39, 40.
Yàdigar Bèg, 312.
Yàdigàr Mirzà, Sulṭàn, 6.
Yàdigàr Miskìn, 51.
Yàdigàr Muḥammad, Mirzà, 5, 6, 17.
Yàdigàr Nàsir, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Yajur Veda, 257.
Yak chashm, 305.
Yakkah-Tàz, 312.
Yak Tanbì, 164, 282.
Yalqur Àqàch-i Khabùshàn, 6.
Yamànlìk, 280.
Ya'qùb Bàg, 296.
Yàqùt Musta'simì, Shaykh Jalàl al-Dìn, 120.
Yar 'Alì, Maulànà, 20.
Yàr Muḥammad Kùkah, 204, 309.
yasàwal, 18.
Yazah-tù fort, 6.
Yazd, 260.
Yìlàn-ìl, 303.
Yògìs, 283.
Youssef Khayat, 286.
yoyì-ìl, 303.
Yueh Chien Pien, 287.
Yunt-ìl, 303.
Yùsuf-i Ḥajjàj, 207.
Yùsuf Mirak, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 101, 103, 104, 106, 108, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 289, 309.
Yùsuf Muḥammad Khàn Tàshkandì, 312.
Yùsuf Samèjah, 155.
Yùsuf Shàh Mashhadì, Maulànà, 120.
Yùsufì, Ghulàm Ḥusayn, 316.
Yùsufza'ìs, 97, 98, 99, 304.

Z

Zabardast Khàn, 312.
zabùn, 151.
Zafar al-Wàlih bi-Muẓaffar wa Àlih, 29, 32.
Ẓafar Khàn, Nawwàb, 113.
Ẓafar Nàmah, 94.
Ẓafar Nàmah-i Timùri, 50.
Zahrì, 266.
Zahrì horse, 152.
zakàt, 224.
Zamànìyah, 95.
Zamìndar/s, 63, 100, 131, 142, 181, 195, 196, 197, 212, 213, 218, 221, 227, 230, 294.
Zamìndàwar, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 22, 246, 260, 311, 316.
zamìn-i uftàdah, 146.
Zanbìl Bèg, 274.
zardak, 222.
zard chùbah, 282.
Ẓarìf Khàtùn, Bìbì, 22.
Zarrìn Qalam, Maulànà Mubàrak, 120.
zauraq-i chaukì, 176.
Zaynak Tarkhàn, 21.
Zayn al-'Àbidìn Sulṭàn, 52.
Zayn Khàn, *see Kùkah*, Zayn Khan, Ziken, 93.
Zimmer, Heinrich, 257.
Zindigànì-i Shàh Abbàs, 75.
zìrah, 223.
zuhr, 301.
Zu'n-nùn, *see* Dhù al-Nùn.

Marfat.com

Published by
National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research,
Islamabad
and Department of Culture, Government of Sind,
Karachi

M. Saleem Akhtar

Sind under the Mughuls

Very few provinces of the Mughul Empire can rival Sind in its huge corpus of historical writings produced over the centuries, and still much smaller number of them have been able to preserve and publish this heritage as has been done here. But as far as the emergence of scholarly monographs about this region, or for that matter, about other areas now comprising Pakistan, is concerned, to which one could refer for an authentic appraisal of the socio-economic conditions of the people during the medieval times, or the political and administrative institutions under which they lived and toiled, the record is appallingly unsatisfactory. Dr. M. Saleem Akhtar's book marks a bold stride towards the bridging of this serious gap.

'a sound piece of work' - C.E. Bosworth, *University of Manchester*

'a solid and on the whole well-balanced (work)'- L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *University of Edinburgh*

'a substantial contribution to learning .... The author shows a remarkable knowledge both of the Persian language ... and of the general history of Sind under the Arghuns and the Tarkhans and under Mughul rule' - A. Bausani, *University of Rome*

'well-researched, well-documented and well-presented ... a standard reference work which will be of abiding interest and use to scholars working on the history of Sind as well as that of other parts of Medieval India' - N.A. Baloch, *University of Sind*

Marfat.com