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**HISTORIANS  
OF SIND**

Volume I

**ELLIOT & DOWSON**

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HISTORIONS OF SIND

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# THE HISTORY OF INDIA

*As Told By Its Own Historians*

## THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

**SIR H. M. ELLIOT**

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The articles published in this book are reprinted from the first volume of the original edition of the work.

The first article the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* is a short introduction to the history of Persia. In the *Futuhu-l Buldan*, Biladuri describes in one chapter the course of the Arab conquests of Sind. This is one of the earliest Arabic chronicles, and gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind.

"The *Chach-nama* deals more fully with the same subject, and the Arabic original of this work must have been written soon after the events it records, though the Persian version, which is alone known to us, is of later date. The Arab occupation of Sind was but temporary; it was the precursor, not the commencement, of Musulman rule in India. On the retreat of the Arabs the government of the country reverted to native princes, and notwithstanding the successes of Mahmud of Ghazni, the land remained practically independent until its absorption into the Empire during the reign of Akbar in 1592 A.D. Priority of date and of subject thus give the right of precedence to the Historians of Sind, while the isolation of the country and the individuality of its history require that all relating to it should be kept together."





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## MUJMALU-T TAWARIKH

[A PORTION of this most interesting unique work was published by M. Reinaud, in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inedits relatif a l' Inde*, from the MS. numbered 62 in the Bibliotheque du Roi at Paris. The MS. has been described in the *Journal Asiatique* at different times, by M. Quatremere and M. Mohl, and it had been previously drawn upon by Anquetil Duperron and Silvestre de Sacy.]

[The chapter published by M. Reinaud, with which we are here concerned, was not written by the author of the *Mujmal* himself, but was borrowed by him from an older work, of which he thus speaks,—“I have seen an ancient book of the Hindus which Abu Salih bin Shu'aib bin Jami' translated into Arabic from the Hindwani language (Sanskrit). This work was translated into Persian in 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) by Abu-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jili,<sup>1</sup> keeper of the library at Jurjan for a chief of the Dilamites. The book I saw was in the handwriting of the author, and bore the date above given. It is the custom of the Hindu writers on philosophy to put speeches into the mouths of beasts and birds, as in the book *Kalila wa Dimna*, and accordingly many such speeches are introduced into this book. I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the kings and a short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else—but God knows.”]

[The date of the original Arabic translation does not appear; it may or may not have been written before the work of Biladuri, but the “extracts” relate to an ancient period, and more especially to Sind, so that they come in most appropriately here at the beginning of the historical writings. The date of the Persian translation, and still

<sup>1</sup> [Reinaud's printed text had “al Jabalti,” but Quatremere, corrected it to “al Jili,” (*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851), that is native of Jilan or Gilam, S.W., of the Caspian. Jurjan is to the east of the same sea.]

more that of the *Mujmal*, would carry them onward to a later and less suitable position.]

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanskrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the Raja Tarangini, and probably to the Maha-bharata; and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade. If so, it would go far to show that the Maha-bharata is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the Iliad, a collection of older poems already current; for there are many passages in *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the Maha-bharata. Indeed, it might be said that the Maha-bharata was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers.

The learned Editor also thinks he has discovered in this extract indications of the Brahmanical influence being established over the Kshatriyas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pandavas and Kauravas. The inference, however, rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable, indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, "God only knows the truth!"

The author of the "*Mujmalu-t Tawarikh*," says that his father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmekides from their origin to their extinction. M. Quatremere and M. Mohl say that his name is unknown, and give his pedigree as grandson of Muhallib bin Muhammad bin Shadi. He was a traveller; for he tells us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126), during the reign of Sanjar, son of Malik Shah, Sultan of the Saljukis, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193.)

His work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Hijri. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his researches is the history of Persia, on which subject

he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The Persian translation, which he quotes from Abu-l Hasan, is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style; and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own composition, in the portions which are original.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabari, the Shah-nama, Garshasp-nama, Faramarz-nama, Bahman-nama, Kushpil-dandan, Abu-l Muayyid Balkhi, Hamza Isfahani, and some others. He says that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses; that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse; that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

"The transactions of the kings of Persia," he continues, "are the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zanj, Arabia, Greece, and Turkistan are not to be compared to Iran, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north, or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries."

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M.M. Saint Martin and J.

Mohl to publish the *Mujmal* with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rum, Arabs, Samanides, Buwaihides, Ghaznivides, Saljukians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindu kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammad, and the Khalifs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammadan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXTRACTS

HISTORY OF THE JATS AND MEDS.—As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it.

The Jats and Meds<sup>3</sup> are, it is said, descendants of Ham. They dwelt in Sind and (on the banks of) the river which is called Bahar. By the Arabs the Hindus are called Jats. The Meds held the ascendancy over the Jats, and put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they used to cross the river and make attacks on the Meds, who were owners of sheep. It so came to pass that the Jats enfeebled the Meds, killed many of them, and plundered their country. The Meds then became subject to the Jats.

One of the Jat chiefs (seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced) made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant; that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same with the Meds. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal Asiatique, trois.ser. Tom. VII. pp. 246-285. Tom. XI. pp. 136-178, 258-301, 320-361. Le Livre des Rois, Tom. I. pp. l.-lx. Anquetil du Perron, Zendavesta, Tom. II. pp. 352, et seq. Reinaud's Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 14. Quatremere, in Jour. des Savants, Jan. 1851.*

<sup>3</sup> [See note elsewhere on "the Meds."]

tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajushan [Duryodhana], son of Dahrat [Dhritarashtra], and beg of him to appoint a king, to whose authority both tribes might submit. The result of this was satisfactory, and his proposition was adopted. After some discussion they agreed to act upon it, and the emperor Dajushan nominated his sister Dassal [Duhsala], wife of king Jandrat [Jayadratha], a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work. But for all its greatness, and riches and dignity, there was no brahman or wise man in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 brahmans from all Hindustan, and sent them, with all their goods and dependents, to his sister. There are several discussions and stories about these brahmans in the original work.

A long time passed before Sind became flourishing. The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders, and mentions the foundation of cities. The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland.<sup>4</sup> A small portion of the country she made over to the Jats, and appointed one of them as their chief; his name was Judrat. Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds. This government continued for twenty and some<sup>5</sup> years, after which the Bharats lost possession of the country.

\* \* \* \* \*

ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE PANDAVAS AND HISTORY OF BRAHMIN.<sup>6</sup>—Injustice was the cause of the fall of the dynasty of the Pandavas. Fortune had grown indifferent

<sup>4</sup> *This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others. See note elsewhere.*

<sup>5</sup> ["bist wand sal". An and is a period of 15,000 years, or any number between three and ten.]

<sup>6</sup> [This history is explained by the legend of Parasurama, son of Jamadagni, called here Brahmin. Kuyahurat is Kartavirya; Fasaf, Kasyapa; Sunagh, the Muni Sunaka; and the cow, Kamadhenu. —Reinaud.]



towards them, and they ended by becoming tyrants. One day they carried off the cow of a brahman, and were about to kill him, when the brahman warned them, and said, "I have read in books that the prosperity of the Pandavas will fall when they shall kill a brahman for the sake of a cow—do not kill me." They did not heed him, but killed both him and the cow. That brahman had a son named Brahmin, a strong and tall man, who dwelt upon a mountain. When he heard of this nefarious business he arose, and said to himself, I will go and take away the sovereignty from the Pandavas, for they have killed a cow, (and) a brahman: the words of the sages cannot prove false, so the time of the fall of their dominion is come. Men laughed at him, but a party assembled round him. He took a city, and his power increased day by day, until he had a large army; and he went on capturing cities until at length he reached the city of Hatna,<sup>7</sup> which was the capital. Kuyahurat marched out to the battle, but was slain, and Brahmin assumed the sovereignty. Whichever he found any one of the race of the Pandavas he slew him. But a few escaped, who concealed their extraction, and employed themselves as butchers and bakers, or in similar crafts. Brahmin acquired the whole of Hindustan. They say that a daughter of Bol [Nakula], son of Pandu, went to him, and gave him such counsels as induced him to desist from slaying the Pandavas. But he put them all in prison until a large number was collected, when as a condition of their deliverance<sup>8</sup> he made them follow certain trades, so that no one would give their daughters to them, or take theirs, or associate with them. He proclaimed this throughout his dominions. Their position was lowered to such a degree, that they took to the occupation of musicians. It is said that the Hindu lute players belong to this family; but God knows.

HISTORY OF SUNAGH.—They say that Brahmin felt re-

<sup>7</sup>[Hastinapur.]

<sup>8</sup>[I have generally followed M. Quatremere in his ingenious and critical emendations of the version published by Reinaud, but it hardly seems necessary to change the verb *jastan* to *zistan*, as he proposed in this passage. His version is "*Il leur assigna, pour vivre, differents metiers.*"—*Jour. des Sav., Jan. 1851.*]

morse for the slaughter of so many persons, and said, I substitute worship on the summit of a mountain for the slaughter of men. One day a brahman named Fasaf [Kasyapa] came to him and admonished him. Brahmin said, it is even so; I myself repent, and I will now give this kingdom to thee. Fasaf said, It is no business of mine; but Brahmin replied, Do thou receive it from me, and appoint some one over it by thy own authority. There was a servant named Sunagh, and him Fasaf seated on the throne. Brahmin then returned to the scene of his devotions. Sunagh practised justice and equity, and pursued a worthy course. The sovereignty remained in his family until fifteen kings had sat upon the throne. Then they became tyrants, and the sovereignty departed from them. This was in the reign of Gustasf, king of Persia. It is said that in the life-time of this Gustasf, Bahman led an army to Hindustan and took a portion of it; as to the other parts every one (that could) seized a corner. No one of the family (of Sunagh) retained any power. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandabil, and in another place, which they call Budha, he founded a city which he called Bahman-abad. According to one account this is Mansura; but God knows. At this time he returned to Persia, when he received the news of the death of Gustasf, and assumed the crown. This account I found in this book, but I have not read it elsewhere. The mother of Bahman is said to have been of Turk extraction; but God knows.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KASHMIR AND HAL.—It is said that Hal was the descendant of Sanjwara, son of Jandrat and of the daughter of King Dahrat. He inherited in Hindustan the dominion which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal and their descendants. He became a very important personage, and built a fine capital and several cities. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there. The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Vigne's Kashmir, I. 134.*

It happened that the wife of the king of Kashmir bought some of that cloth, and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it. His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hal's foot.<sup>10</sup> On hearing this the king of Kashmir swore he would go and cut off the foot of king Hal. His Wazir observed,—“that place is the land of the brahmans, you will gain no victory there.” The king of Kashmir did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army. When Hal heard of the king of Kashmir's intentions, he was alarmed; he sent information to the brahmans and told them the king of Kashmir's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way. The brahmans offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle-field. Hal did so, and when the king of Kashmir's soldiers advanced under their commander-in-chief, flames burst from the elephant and burnt many of them.

The king of Kashmir was then compelled to sue for peace, (at the conclusion of which,) Hal sent many presents to him. And the king of Kashmir, in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by the river.<sup>11</sup> He was advised not to proceed by water on account of its turbulence. In compliance with this advice he travelled along the bank (sahil) until he reached a stage some parasangs distant from the country of Kash-

<sup>10</sup> This is the same legend as that of Mihirakula in the *Raja Tarangini* (II. 32); and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. See Sprenger's *Masudi*, p. 318. Edwarde's *Panjab*, I. 394. Reinaud's *Mem.* 62. *Ind. Alterth*, II. 853.

<sup>11</sup> *Todd*, II. 239, 264. *Irving's Successors of Mahomet*, 61. [The word translated “river” is *darya*, which Quatremere says ought to be read “sea.” It bears both meanings, and the latter view is supported by the use of the word *sahil*, coast; but it is difficult to conceive that the author supposed it possible to return to Kashmir by sea.]

mir, when the waters subsided.<sup>12</sup> In that place he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindi is called Savandar<sup>13</sup> (Samudra). Hence that place was called Savandi, and it exists to this day. He also built temples and superb cities in many places. At length, intelligence of an enemy came to him from Kashmir, he then returned to his country, and suppressed his foes. The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindus were obedient to them. In the country of Sind there were three kings, until at length the territory of the Hindus came under the authority of King Kafand, after he had by his valour subdued them. A brahman had blessed him and said that the whole sovereignty should devolve upon him.

HISTORY OF KING KAFAND.<sup>14</sup>—This Kafand was not a Hindu, but through his kindly disposition and equity all became obedient to him. He made fine speeches and praised the Hindus and their country. He raised their hopes by his virtues, and realised them by his deeds. He was contemporary<sup>15</sup> with Alexander the Greek. He had visions, of which he asked the interpretation from a brahman, and he sought peace from Alexander, to whom he sent his daughter, a skilful physician, a philosopher, and a glass vase.<sup>16</sup> In the Shah-nama he is called Kaid the Hindu. This story will also be related in the life of Alexander. When the information of the brahman reached the Hindus,<sup>17</sup> Kafand sent a person to Samid, his brother, directing him to go to Mansura with the brahman, and

<sup>12</sup> [Sir H. Elliot introduced some slight emendations into the text of this passage, which seem preferable to the words printed by Reinaud, and have been followed in the translation. The original words are "bar sahil biyamad harmanzili ab kamtar gasht chand farsang az arz wa mulk-i kashmir un jaigah imaratha kard wa dihha". Elliot reads "bar manzili kih ab kamtar gasht."]

<sup>13</sup> [This appears to be an allusion to the Sumundur, mentioned in the 'Ajaibu-l Makhluqat, fol. 197, v. Mihran. [See Biladuri and Chach-nama.]

<sup>14</sup> [See Thomas in Jour. R.A.S., 1865.]

<sup>15</sup> [Quatremere's emendation of baahd for bud is essential.]

<sup>16</sup> [See Mas'udi.]

<sup>17</sup> ["Chun Khabar brahman bihinduan rasid". Should not brahman be read Bahman? "When intelligence of (the conquests of) Bahman reached the Hindus."]

expel Mahra<sup>18</sup> the Persian from those places which Bahman had conquered, and to erect idol temples in place of fire-temples. Samid called (to his assistance) Hal, king of Hindustan, and they marched against Mahra the Persian, and warred with him until he fled into the city. For three years Mahra remained in the fortress, but when no prospect of success was left he ordered a tunnel to be dug, and they carried this (subterraneous passage) to a place called Kiyatasa. He then ordered posts to be fixed in the ground on the top of the fortress, and arms and helmets to be placed upon them, so that they looked like sentries. He then retired with the whole of his force through the tunnel, and marched towards the Turks, whose king gave him refuge. After some days crows perched upon the helmets, and the soldiers of Samid perceiving this the truth was made known. The gates were then opened, and the people of the city described the departure of Mahra the Persian. So after the lapse of some years Samid returned victorious to his own country. Alexander came to India after this transaction.

After Kafand had departed his son Ayand ascended the throne, and he divided the country of Sind into four parts. One king he established at 'Askalandusa.<sup>19</sup> Upon another he bestowed the country of Zor to which Anj [Uch?] is attached. Three other countries of the kingdom of Sanid [Samid] he bestowed upon another.<sup>20</sup> Fourthly, he assigned the countries of Hindustan, Nadama, and Lohana separately upon another. This was after the time of Hal.<sup>21</sup> When the life of Ayand reached its limit, his son Rasal became king. He reigned for some

<sup>18</sup> [According to the Shah-nama the name of the brahman, who interpreted Kaid's dream, was "Mahran."—Reinaud.]

<sup>19</sup> ["mulki ra baaskalandusah bini shanad." I have followed Reinaud in reading "Askalandusa," but the name is generally accepted as "Askaland," or "Askalandra," and the termination usa has not been found elsewhere. May not the passage be read, "He established one king at 'Askaland and Sah?" or may not even the last word signify "and three" (dependencies).]

<sup>20</sup> [The whole of this passage is ambiguous. The word "sadi-garwi layat," which is here rendered "three other countries," is rendered as "un troisieme principaute" by Reinaud.]

<sup>21</sup> [See the account of the division of Sind into four kingdoms as described in the first chapter of the Chach-nama.]

time, until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. Rasal (then) went southwards, and established himself there. He had two sons, one named Rawwal, and the younger Barkamaris.

HISTORY OF RAWWAL AND BARKAMARIS—When Rasal died his eldest son Rawwal assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of the four climes.<sup>22</sup> All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamaris, who was very handsome. When Barkamaris brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamaris said to himself "The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom." So he gave himself up to study, and associated with the learned and the brahmins, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

When the rebel who had expelled their father (Rasal) heard the story of the damsel, he said "Can they who do such things occupy such a position?" So he led an army and put Rawwal to flight. Rawwal with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwal then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers,—then I will withdraw." Rawwal was dejected, but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife, and riches? They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamaris came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into

<sup>22</sup> [The four quarters of the world.]

consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should stake my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwal was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwal's power increased.

*[The Wazir excites the king's suspicions against Barkamaris, who feigns madness.]*

One day in the hot season, Barkamaris was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hindrance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne sucking sugar cane. When Rawwal saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamaris, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and craftily watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprung upon him, and plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he seized his feet and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazir and the people, and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the

king, took back the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazir and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor is it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother." Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have now resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamaris told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the book, which is called "*Adabu-l Muluk*," "Instruction of Kings." I have<sup>23</sup> transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamaris and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamaris and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamaris. I have related all the facts just as I found them.

<sup>23</sup> [*Quatremere reasonably proposes to insert a negative here.*]



FUTU'HU-L BULDA'N  
OF  
AHMAD IBN YAHYA IBN JA'BIR  
AL BILA'DURI'

THIS work is in the Leyden University Library, and has been described by Hamaker, at pp. 7 and 239 of his "*Specimen Catalogi, Codd MSS. Orientalium.*" An abstract of it is given in an appendix contained in the third volume of Dr. Gustave Weil's *Gesehichte der Chalifen*, and the entire chapter on the conquest of Sind, has been edited by M. Reinaud in the *Journal Asiatique* for February 1845, reprinted with additional notes in his valuable "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inedits relatifs a l' Inde.*" [There is also a copy in the British Museum. The complete text has lately been admirably printed at Leyden, under the editorship of M. de Goeje.]

The author is Ahmad bin Yahya, bin Jabir, surnamed also Abu Ja'far and Abu-l Hasan, but more usually known as Biladuri, who lived towards the middle of the ninth century of our era, at the court of the Khalif Al Mutawakkal, where he was engaged as instructor to one of the princes of his family. He died A.H. 279, A.D. 892-3. This is according to Reinaud's statement—Pascual de Gayangos while he gives the same year of his death, on the authority of Abu-l Mahasin, says he lived at Baghdad in the Khalifat of Al-Mu'tamad. He left a large as well as a small edition of the Futuhu-l Buldan.

This work contains as its name implies, an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arabic chronicles; for Tabari, though he wrote at Baghdad, and did not compose his work till afterwards, was evidently not acquainted with this author, since he omits much that Biladuri has mentioned. It brings down the history of events to the close of the reign of Mu'tasim, A.H. 227, A.D. 842. Wakidi

who is quoted by Biladuri, also wrote a book of "Conquests," and amongst them a "Conquest of Sind," which Dr. Sprenger mentions that he has seen quoted by Nuwairi at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futuh* are very common; and much passes under his name which was never written by him, as in the instance of the work translated by Ockley; but his *Futuhu-s Sind* is rare. Nuwairi mentions also another author of Indian history, folio 795,—Al Husain bin Yazid us Sirafi. We find also other authors on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.

Biladuri does not himself appear to have visited Sind, but quotes the authors on whom he relied for information. Thus we have mention of Abu-l Hassan 'Ali bin Muhammad Al Madaini, with whom he had verbal communication. This author, who died A.H. 840 (1436 A.D.), at the advanced age of ninety-three, composed, amongst other works, *Al Mughazi wau-s Siyar*, "Wars and Marches," which contained a detailed account of the expeditions of the Musulmans in Khurasan and on the Indus. Mansur bin Hatim is also mentioned as an author on Sindian History, with whom, as well as with Al Madaini, Biladuri had held personal intercourse. Another author quoted by Biladuri is Ibnu-l Kalbi.

Besides the *Futuhu-l buldan*, our author wrote another work on cosmography, with a description of the inhabited earth entitled *Kitabu-l buldan*, the "Book of Countries," which is in the Library of the British Museum. (*Bibl. Rich.* No. 7496). He also wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes, the title of which is not known, and he translated several works from the Persian. He also has the credit of being a good poet. He is cited frequently by Ibn Haukal, Al-Mas'udi, and other ancient geographers, but his history is rarely quoted. Kudama, who wrote at Baghdad, towards the end of the ninth century, gives an extract from it, and Ibn Asir also quotes it under the years 89 and 95 H.

He was called Biladuri or Bilazuri, from his addiction to the use of an intoxicating electuary made from the Balazar, or Malacca bean, which, from its resemblance in

shape and colour to a heart, is called anacardium.<sup>1</sup> [The name is written optionally with either *dal* or *zal* Goeje transcribes the name as "Beladsori." The author, however, is better known as Biladuri or Beladori, and that form has therefore been retained. The Leyden MS., like other old MSS., prefers the *zal* to the *dal*, even when the latter is manifestly correct—thus it gives Brahmanabaz for Brahmanabad, and Ruzbar for Rudbar.<sup>2</sup>]

## EXTRACTS

*Conquests of Sind*

'Ali, son of Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-llah, son of Abu Saif, has related that the Khalif 'Umar, son of Al Khattab appointed 'Usman, son of Abu-l 'Asi of the tribe of Sakif to Bahrain and 'Uman in the year 15 H. (636 A.D.). 'Usman sent his brother Hakam to Bahrain, and he himself went to 'Uman, and despatched an army to Tana. When the army returned he wrote to the Khalif 'Umar to inform him of it. 'Umar wrote in reply—"O brother of Sakif, thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but I swear by God, that if our men had been killed I would have taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe." Hakam despatched a force to Barauz [Broach]; he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughira, who met and defeated the enemy.

When 'Usman, son of 'Akkan became Khalif, he appointed 'Abdullah son of 'Amar, son of Kuraiz, to (the government of) 'Irak, and wrote to him an order to send a person to the confines of Hind in order to acquire

<sup>1</sup> *F. R. Dietz, Analecta Medica, p. 101. Compare Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, Vol. III. Anhang, Vol I. p. i-x. Journal des Savants, April 1847. Journal Asiatique, IV Serie, Vol. VIII. Hamaker, Specimen Catalogi, pp. 7, 12, 239. A. Sprenger's Meadows of Gold, pp. 15, 16. Fraehn, Indications Bibliographiques, No. 39. Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, pp. xviii, xix. Memoire sur l' Inde, p. 16. Aboulfeda II. 57. Biographical Dict. L. U. K., "Ahmed al-Beladhori." Uycubrock Iracoe Persicoe Descriptio, p. 67.*

<sup>2</sup> *Morley's Catalogue, p. 20. Muller's Essai sur la Langue Pehlivi. Lumsden's Grammar. Borhan-i Kati, p. 4. Dubeux Tabari, XXX. Spiegel, Parsi Grammar.*

knowledge and bring back information. He accordingly deputed Hakim, son of Jaballa al 'Abdi. When this man returned he was sent on to the Khalif, who questioned him about the state of those regions. He replied that he knew them because he had examined them. The Khalif then told him to describe them. He said "Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent there they will be slain, if many, they will starve." 'Usman asked him whether he spoke accurately or hyperbolically [*Lit.* in rhyme]. He said that he spoke according to his knowledge. The Khalif abstained from sending any expedition there.

At the end of the year 38, or the beginning of the year 39 H. (659 A.D.) in the Khalifat of 'Ali son of Abu Salib, Haras the son of Marra-l 'Abdi went with the sanction of the Khalif to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He was victorious, got plunder, made captives, and distributed in one day a thousand heads. He and those who were with him, saving a few, were slain in the land of Kikan<sup>3</sup> in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.). Kikan is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurasan.

In the year 44 H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'awiya Muhallab son of Abu Saфра made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as Banna and Alahwar,<sup>4</sup> which lie between Multan and Kabul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers. In the land of Kikan, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turki horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses. They fought well but were all slain. Muhallab said, "How much more active than we those barbarians were." So he docked the tails of his horses, and was the first among the Musulmans who did so.

In the reign of Mu'awiya, son of Abu Sufain, the Amir 'Abdu-llah, son of 'Amir, or according to some, Mu'awiya himself sent 'Abdu-llah, son of Suar al 'Abdi, to the frontier of Hind. He fought in Kikan and captured booty. Then he came to Mu'awiya and presented to him some Kikan horses. He stayed near the Khalif some time

<sup>3</sup> ["qiqan."]

<sup>4</sup> ["Lahore."]

and then returned to Kikan, when the Turks called their forces together and slew him.

\* . \* \* \* \* \*

In the reign of the same Mu'awiya, the Chief Ziyad, son of Abu Sufian, appointed Sinan, son of Salama, son of al Muhabbik the Huzaili (to the command). He was a good and godly man, and was the first who made his troops take an oath of divorce. He proceeded to the frontier and having subdued Makran and its cities by force, he stayed there and established his power in the country. According to Ibn al Kalbi, it was Hakim bin Jabala al 'Abdi who conquered Makran.

Ziyad then appointed Rashid son of 'Umru-l Judaidi of the tribe of Azd, to the frontier. He proceeded to Makran and was victorious in warring against Kikan, but he was slain fighting against the Meds. Sinan, son of Salama, then succeeded to the command and was confirmed therein by Ziyad. He remained there two years.

'Abbad, son of Ziyad, then made war on the frontier of Hind by way of Sijistan. He went to Sanaruz, from whence he proceeded by way of Khaz to Ruzbar<sup>5</sup> in Sijistan on the banks of the Hindmand. Then he descended to Kish, and crossing the desert came to Kandahar.<sup>6</sup> He fought the inhabitants, routed them, put them to flight and subdued the country; but many Musulmans perished. 'Abbad observed the high caps of the people of that country, and had some made like them, which he called 'Abbadiya.

Ziyad next appointed Al Manzar, son of Al Jarud al 'Abdi, to the frontiers of India. He was known by the name of Abu-l Ash'as. He attacked and conquered Nukan<sup>7</sup> and Kikan. The Musulmans obtained great plunder, and their forces spread over all the country. He captured Kusdar and took prisoners there. Sinan had previously taken it, but its inhabitants had been guilty of defection. He died there (in Kuzdar).

The governor 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Ziyad, then appointed Ibn Harri al Bahali. God, by his hands, subdued these countries, for he waged fierce war in them and conquered

<sup>5</sup> [Rudbar on the Helmand.]      <sup>7</sup> ["Kunduhar" in the text.]

<sup>6</sup> [The original has simply "Nuqan".]

and plundered them. Some writers say that it was Sinan, son of Salama, who was appointed to the (chief) command by 'Ubaidu-llah and that Harri led the forces.

The people of Nukan are now Muhammadans. 'Amran, son of Musa, son of Yahya, son of Khalid the Barmakide, built a city there in the Khalifat of M'utasim bi-llah which he called Al-Baiza (the white). When al Hajjaj, son of Yusuf, son of al Hakim, son of Abu 'Akail al Sakifi, was governor of Irak, Sa'id, son of Aslam, son of Zura'a al Kalabi was appointed to Makran and its frontiers. He was opposed and slain there by Mu'awiya and Muhammad, sons of al Haras al 'Alafi. \* \* \* \* \* Hajjaj then appointed Mujja, son of S'ir al Tamimi to the frontier. He made war upon, plundered and defeated the tribes about Kanda-bil, and this conquest was subsequently completed by Muhammad, son of al Kasim. Mujja' died in Makran after being there a year.

After the death of Mujja, Hajjaj appointed in his place Muhammad, son of Harun, son of Zara' al Namari. Under the government of Muhammad, the king of the Isle of Rubies<sup>6</sup> sent as a present to Hajjaj, certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there. The king hoped by this measure to ingratiate himself with Hajjaj; but the ship in which he had embarked these girls was attacked and taken by some barks (*bawarij*) belonging to the Meds of Debal. One of the women of the tribe of Yarbu' exclaimed, "Oh Hajjaj!" When this news reached Hajjaj, he replied, "I am here."<sup>0</sup> He then sent an ambassador to Dahir to demand their release, but Dahir replied, "They are pirates who have captured these women, and over them I have no authority." Then Hajjaj sent 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Nabhan, against Debal. 'Ubaidu-llah

<sup>6</sup> [Ceylon.]

<sup>0</sup> *Mir Ma'sum differs from the Futuhu-l buldan and the Chachnama and Firishta. He says that the Khalif 'Abu-l malik sent some people to buy female slaves and other things of Hindustan, and were joined on the road by some Syrian merchants. Having completed their purchases, they were preparing to return by the sea route, when they were assailed by robbers at Debal, plundered, and slain, with the exception of a few who escaped to tell the Khalif of the outrage.* —Tarikh-i Sindh, p. 5.

being killed, Hajjaj wrote to Budail, son of Tahfa, of the tribe of Bajali, who was at 'Uman, directing him to proceed to Debal. When he arrived there his horse took fright (and threw him), and the enemy surrounded him and killed him. Some authors say he was killed by the Jats of Budha.

The Isle of Rubies is so denominated because of the beauty of the women.

Afterwards, Hajjaj, during the Khilafat of Walid, son of 'Abdu-l malik, appointed Muhammad, son of Kasim, son of Muhammad, son of Hakim, son of Abu 'Ukail to command on the Sindian frontier. Muhammad was in Fars when the order arrived, and had previously received instructions to go to Rai.<sup>10</sup> Abu-l Aswad Jahm, son of Zahru-l Ju'fi, was at the head of the advanced guard, and he was ordered to return to Muhammad, and he joined him on the borders of Sind. Hajjaj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needles. He had leave to remain at Shiraz until all the men who were to accompany him had assembled, and all the preparations had been duly made. Hajjaj had some dressed cotton saturated with strong vinegar, and then dried it in the shade, and said, "When you arrive in Sind, if you find the vinegar scarce, soak the cotton in water, and with the water you can cook your food and season your dishes as you wish." Some authors say, that when Muhammad arrived on the frontiers, he wrote to complain of the scarcity of vinegar, and this was the reason which induced Hajjaj to send cotton soaked in vinegar.

Then Muhammad, son of Kasim went to Makran, and remained there some time. He then went to Kannazbur and took it, and then to Armail, which he also took. Muhammad, son of Harun, son of Zara', went to meet him, and joined him, but he died near Armail at Kasim's side and was buried at Kambal.<sup>11</sup>

### *Conquest of Debal*

Muhammad, son of Kasim, left Armail, accompanied by

<sup>10</sup> [South of the Caspian sea.]

<sup>11</sup> [Kambali(?) 'qambal'.]

Jahm, the son of Zahru-l Ju'fi, and arrived at Debal on Friday, where ships brought to him a supply of men, arms, and warlike machines. He dug an entrenchment which he defended with spearmen, and unfurled his standards; each body of warriors was arrayed under its own banner, and he fixed the manjanik, which was called "the bride," and required five hundred men to work it. There was at Debal a lofty temple (*budd*) surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red flag, which when the breeze blew was unfurled over the city. The *budd* is a high steeple, below which the idol or idols are deposited, as in this instance. The Indians give in general the name of *budd* to anything connected with their worship or which forms the object of their veneration. So, an idol is called *budd*.

In the correspondence which ensued, Muhammad informed Hajjaj of what he had done, and solicited advice respecting the future. Letters were written every three days. One day a reply was received to this effect:—"Fix the manjanik and shorten its foot, and place it on the east; you will then call the manjanik-master, and tell him to aim at the flag-staff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flag-staff, and it was broken; at which the infidels were sore afflicted. The idolaters advanced to the combat, but were put to flight; ladders were then brought and the Musulmans escalated the wall. The first who gained the summit was a man of Kufa, of the tribe of Murad. The town was thus taken by assault, and the carnage endured for three days. The governor of the town, appointed by Dahir, fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Muhammad marked out a place for the Musulmans to dwell in, built a mosque, and left four thousand Musulmans to garrison the place.

Muhammad, son of Yahya, says that Mansur, the son of Hatim, the grammarian, a freeman of the family of Khalid, son of Assaid, relates that he had seen the pole broken into fragments which had been placed on the steeple of the temple. 'Ambissa, son of Ishak Az Zabbi, the governor of Sind, in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim billah, knocked down the upper part of the minaret of the temple and converted it into a prison. At the same time he began to repair the ruined town with the stones of the minaret; but before



he had completed his labours, he was deprived of his employment, and was succeeded by Harun, son of Abi Khalid-al Maruruzi, and he was slain there.

Muhammad, son of Kasim then went to Nirun,<sup>12</sup> the inhabitants of which place had already sent two Samanis, or priests, of their town to Hajjaj to treat for peace. They furnished Muhammad with supplies, and admitting him to enter the town they were allowed to capitulate. Muhammad conquered all the towns successively which he met on his route, until he had crossed a river which runs on this side of the Mihran [Indus]. He then saw approaching towards him Sarbidas, the Samani, who came to demand peace in the name of the inhabitants. Muhammad imposed tribute upon them, and then went towards Sahban, and took it. Then he went to the banks of the Mihran, and there remained. When this news reached Dahir, he prepared for battle. Muhammad, son of Kasim, had sent Muhammad, son of Mus'ab, son of 'Abdu-r Rahman as Sakifi, to Sadusan, with men mounted on horses and asses, at whose approach the inhabitants solicited quarter and peace, the terms of which were negotiated by the Samani. Muhammad granted them peace, but he imposed tribute on the place, and took pledges from them, and then returned to his master. He brought with him four thousand Jats, and left at Sadusan an officer in command.

Muhammad sought the means of crossing the Mihran, and effected the passage in a place which adjoined the dominions of Rasil, chief of Kassa, in Hind, upon a bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Dahir had neglected every precaution, not believing that the Musulmans would dare to advance so far. Muhammad and his Musulmans encountered Dahir mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by many of these animals, and his Takakaras [Thakurs] were near his person. A dreadful conflict ensued, such as had never been heard of. Dahir dismounted and fought valiantly, but he was killed towards the evening, when the idolaters fled, and the Musulmans glutted themselves with massacre. According to Al Madaini, the

<sup>12</sup> [Goeje's text has "Birun," but he says the MS. had 'nirun'.]

slayer of Dahir was a man of the tribe of Kalab, who composed some verses upon the occasion. \* \* \*

Various authors concur in saying that Muhammad took the village of Rawar<sup>13</sup> by assault, in which city there was a wife of Dahir, who, afraid of being captured, burned herself along with her handmaids and all that she possessed.

Then Muhammad, son of Kasim, went to old Brahmanabad, two parasangs from Mansura, which town indeed did not then exist, its site being a forest. The remnant of the army of Dahir rallied at Brahmanabad and resistance being made, Muhammad was obliged to resort to force, when eight, or as some say, twenty-six thousand men were put to the sword. He left a prefect there. The place is now in ruins.

Muhammad then marched towards Alrur<sup>14</sup> and Baghrur. The people of Sawandari came out to meet him and sued for peace, which was granted them, on the condition that they should entertain the Muhammadans and furnish guides. At this time they profess the Muhammadan creed. After that he went to Basmad, where the inhabitants obtained peace on the same terms as those accorded to the Sawandrians. At last he reached Alrur, one of the cities of Sind. It is situated on a hill. Muhammad besieged it for several months, and compelled it to surrender promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples (*budd*). "The temples," he said, "shall be unto us, like as the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians." He imposed, however, the tribute upon the inhabitants, and built a mosque in the city.

Muhammad advanced to Alsaka,<sup>15</sup> a town on this side of the Biyas, which was captured by him, and is now in ruins. He then crossed the Biyas, and went towards Multan, where, in the action which ensued, Zaida, the son of 'Umur, of the tribe of Tai, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Musulmans were reduced to eat

<sup>13</sup> [See Elphinstone, I. p. 506.]

<sup>14</sup> [Alrud in one MS. Alor is the place intended.]

<sup>15</sup> ['Alsaka' in Persian.]

asses. Then came there forward a man who sued for quarter, and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well, which they call *talah*.<sup>16</sup> Muhammad destroyed the water-course; upon which the inhabitants, oppressed with thirst, surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captive, as well as the ministers of the temple, to the number of six thousand. The Musulmans found there much gold in a chamber ten cubits long by eight broad, and there was an aperture above, through which the gold was poured into the chamber. Hence they call Multan "the Frontier of the House of Gold," for *farj* means "a frontier."<sup>17</sup> The temple (*budd*) of Multan received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job,—God's peace be on him!

We are told that Hajjaj caused a calculation to be made of the sums expended in fitting out this expedition of Muhammad Kasim, and the riches which resulted from it. He had spent sixty millions (of dirhams) and that which had been sent to him amounted to one hundred and twenty millions. He said:—"We have appeased our anger, and avenged our injuries, and we have gained sixty millions of dirhams, as well as the head of Dahir. Hajjaj then died."<sup>18</sup> Upon learning this, Muhammad left Multan and returned to Alrur and Baghrur, which had been previously captured. He made donations to his men, and sent an

<sup>16</sup> *M. Reinaud* observes that the pronoun does not indicate whether this native word applies to the canal or the reservoir. He conjectures, with some probability, that the word may be *nala*, "stream," but that word is not so pronounced at Multan. I prefer, therefore, *talab*, *talao*, "a tank, or reservoir." [In *Goeje's* edition the word is '*talah*.']

<sup>17</sup> When the Musulmans' arms extended to the mountains parallel with the course of the Indus, the kingdoms of Kabul and Sind were called *Farjan* "the two frontiers"—*Uylenbroek*, *Iracœ Persicœ Descriptio*, p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> [In the year 95 H., 714 A.D.]

army towards al-Bailaman, the inhabitants of which place surrendered without any resistance. He made peace with the inhabitants of Surast, with whom the men of Basea<sup>19</sup> are now at war. They are Meds, seafarers, and pirates. Then he went against the town of Kiraj. Duhar advanced to oppose him, but the enemy was put to flight. Duhar fled, but some say he was killed. The inhabitants surrendered. Muhammad slew (all those capable of bearing arms) and reduced the rest to slavery. \* \* \*

Meanwhile, Walid, son of 'Abdu-l malik, died, and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaiman, who appointed Salih, son of 'Abdu-r-Rahman, to collect the tribute of 'Irak. Yazid, son of Abu kabsha as-Saksaki, was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad, son of Kasim, was sent back a prisoner with Mu'awiya, son of Muhallab. The people of Hind wept for Muhammad, and preserved his likeness at Kiraj. He was imprisoned by Salih at Wasit. Salih put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abu 'Ukail, until they expired: for Hajjaj<sup>20</sup> (Muhammad's cousin) had put to death Adam, Salih's brother, who professed the creed of the Kharijis. Hamza, the son of Baiz Hanafi, says:

"Verily, courage, and generosity, and liberality,  
Belonged to Muhammad, son of Kasim, son of Muhammad.  
He led armies at the age of seventeen years,  
He seemed destined for command from the day of his birth."

Yazid, son of Abu Kabsha, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Sulaiman then appointed Habib, son of al Muhallab, to carry on the war in Sind, and he departed for that purpose. Meanwhile the princes of Hind had returned to their states, and Jaishiya,<sup>21</sup> son of Dahir, had

<sup>19</sup> [Budha.]

<sup>20</sup> *That sanguinary wretch is said to have slaughtered by his arbitrary mandates 120,000 persons, and after his death there were found in his different prisons, 30,000 men and 20,000 women. This is drawn from Persian sources. The Sunni writers represent him as just and impartial, notwithstanding his unflinching severity.—Pascal de Gayangos, Biographical Dictionary, Art. "Al Hajjaj."*

<sup>21</sup> [This reading is from Kudama, and is confirmed by the Chach-nama. Our text is doubtful 'jashiyah'. Reinaud gives "Hullisah" Mem. sur l'Inde. 191. The true name was Jai Sinha.—See Chach-nama.]

come back to Brahmanabad. Habib proceeded to the banks of the Mihran, where the people of Alrur made their submission ; but he warred against a certain tribe and reduced them.

When the Khalif Sulaiman, son of 'Abdu-l Malik, died, he was succeeded by 'Umar son of 'Abdu-l 'Aziz.<sup>22</sup> He wrote to the princes (of Hind) inviting them to become Musulmans and submit to his authority, upon which they would be treated like all other Musulmans. These princes had already heard of his promises, character, and creed, so Jaishiya and other princes turned Musulmans, and took Arab names. 'Amru, son of Muslim al Bahali was lieutenant of 'Umar on this frontier. He invaded several places in Hind and subdued them.

In the days of Yazid, son of 'Abdu-l Malik,<sup>23</sup> the sons of Al Muhallib fled to Sind, and Hilal, son of Ahwaz al Tamimi was sent after them. He fell in with them and killed Mudrak, son of Muhallab, at Kandabil. He also slew Mufazzal, 'Abdu-l Malik, Ziyad, Marun, and Mu'awiya, sons of Muhallab ; last of all he killed Mu'awiya, son of Yazid.

Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r-Rahman al Marri was appointed to the frontier of Sind under the authority of 'Umar, son of Hubaira al Fazari, and was confirmed in the government by (the Khalif) Hasham, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.<sup>24</sup> When Khalid, son of 'Abdu-llah Al Kasri was sent to 'Irak (as governor) Hasham wrote to Junaid directing him to keep up a correspondence with Khalid. Junaid went to Debal and from thence to the banks of the Mihran, but Jaishiya (son of Dahir) forbade him to cross, and sent to him, saying, "I have become a Musulman, and an excellent man confirmed me in my states, but I have no faith in thee." But (Junaid) gave him pledges and took pledges from him, together with the tribute due from his territories. They thus exchanged guarantees, but Jaishiya acted like an infidel and took up arms. But some say, on the contrary, that he did not begin the attack, but that Junaid dealt unjustly with him. Jaishiya assembled his troops, fitted out

<sup>22</sup> 717 A.D.

<sup>23</sup>[*Yazid II. reigned 720 to 724 A.D.*]

<sup>24</sup>[*Began to reign 724 A.D.*]

ships and prepared for war. Junaid proceeded against him in ships and they fought in the lake of Ash Sharki. Jaishiya's ship was destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner and slain. Sasa son of Dahir fled and proceeded towards Irak to complain of the treachery of Junaid, but the latter did not cease to conciliate him until they had shaken hands, and then he slew him. Junaid made war against Kiraj, the people of which had rebelled. He made use of battering-rams, and battered the walls of the town with them until they were breached, and then he stormed the place, slaying, plundering, and making captives. He then sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Dhanaj, and Barus [Broach]. Junaid used to say, "It is better to die with bravado than with resignation." He sent a force against Uzain<sup>25</sup> and he also sent Habid, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Mali ba.<sup>26</sup> They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad<sup>27</sup> and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailaman and Jurz,<sup>28</sup> and he received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.

The successor of Junaid was Tamim, son of Zaid al 'Utbi. He was feeble and imbecile, and died near Debal in a water called the "Buffalo-water." This water was so called because buffalos took refuge there from the bears which infested the banks of the Mihran. Tamim was one of the most generous of Arabs, he found in the treasury of Sind eighteen million Tatariya dirhams, which he soon spent. \* \* \* \* \* In the days of Tamim, the Musulmans retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions, nor have they up to the present time advanced so far as in days gone by.

Hakim, son of 'Awana al Kalbi, succeeded Tamim. The people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Kassa, and the Musulmans had no place of security in which they could take refuge, so he built a town on the other side of the lake facing India, and called it Al Mah-fuza, "The secure," and this he made a place of refuge and security for them, and their chief town. He asked the

<sup>25</sup> [Ujjain.]    <sup>26</sup> [Malwa or Malabar.]    <sup>27</sup> [Baharimad (Persian.)]  
<sup>28</sup> [Guzerat.]

elders of the tribe of Kalb, who were of Syrian descent, what name he should give the town. Some said Dimashk [Damascus], others, Hims [Emessa], and others Tadmur [Palmyra]. Hakim said (to the latter), "May Good destroy<sup>29</sup> you, O fool." He gave it the name of Al Mahfuza, and dwelt there.

'Amru, son of Muhammad son of Kasim was with Hakim, and the latter advised with him, trusted him with many important matters, and sent him out of Al Mahfuza on a warlike expedition. He was victorious in his commission, and was made an amir. He founded a city on this side of the lake, which he called Mansura, in which city the governors now dwell. Hakim recovered from the hands of the enemy those places which they had subjugated, and gave satisfaction to the people in his country. Khalid said, "It is very surprising,—I gave the charge of the country to the most generous of Arabs, that is, to Tamim, and they were disgusted. I gave it to the most niggardly of men and they were satisfied." Hakim was killed there.

The governors who succeeded continued to kill the enemy, taking whatever they could acquire and subduing the people who rebelled. When the fortunate dynasty (that of 'Abbasides) was established, Abu Muslim appointed 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Abu Muslim Mughallisa-l 'Abdi, to the frontier of Sind. 'Abdu-r Rahman went by way of Tukharistan, and proceeded against Mansur, son of Jamhur al Kalbi, who was in Sind. But he was met by Mansur and slain, and his forces were put to flight. When Muslim heard this he appointed Musa, son of Ka'bu-t Tamini, and sent him to Sind. When he arrived, the river Mihran lay between him and Mansur, son of Jamhur.<sup>30</sup> Still he came up with Mansur, put him and his forces to flight, and slew his brother Manzur. Mansur fled in wretched plight to the sands, where he died of thirst. Musa ruled in Sind, repaired the city of Mansura, and enlarged its mosque. He was victorious in his campaigns.

The Khalif al Mansur sent to Sind Hasham, son of

<sup>29</sup> [There is a pun here on the root of the word Tadmur.]

<sup>30</sup> [Coins of this Mansur and of other Sind rulers have been found in the ruins of a city supposed to be Brahmanabad.—Thomas' Prinsep, II., 119.]

'Amru al Taghlabi, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent 'Amru, son of Jamal, in boats to Narand.<sup>31</sup> He also sent (a force) to the territories of Hind, subdued Kashmir, and took many prisoners and slaves. Multan was reduced, and he overpowered a body of Arabs who were in Kandabil, and drove them out. He then went to Kandahar in boats, and conquered it. He destroyed the *budd* there, and built in its place a mosque. There was abundance in the country under his rule, and the people blessed him—he extended the frontier, and enforced his decrees.

'Umar, son of Hafs, son of 'Usman Hazarmard, was then appointed governor of Sind, and after him Daud, son of Yazid, son of Hatim. There was with him Abu-l Samma, who had been a slave of the tribe of Kanda, and who is now governor. The affairs of the frontier went on prosperously until Bashar, son of Daud, was appointed under the Khalifat of Mamun.<sup>32</sup> He rebelled, and set up in opposition. Ghassan, son of 'Abbad, who was a native of the neighbourhood of Kufa, was sent against him. Bashar proceeded to meet Ghassan under a safe conduct, and they both proceeded to the Muhammadan capital (Baghdad). Ghassan deputed Musa, son of Yahya, son of Khalid, son of Barmak, to the charge of the frontier. Musa killed Bala, king of Ash-sharki, although the latter had given him five hundred thousand dirhams to preserve his life. Bala was faithful to Ghassan, and wrote to him in the presence of his army, through the princes who were with him, but his request was rejected. Musa died in 221<sup>33</sup> A.H. (836 A.D.), leaving a high reputation, and he appointed his son 'Amran as his successor. The Khalif M'utasim bi-llah wrote to him confirming him in the government of the frontier. He marched to Kikan against the Jats, whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there, which he called Al Baiza, "the white,"<sup>34</sup> and he posted a military force there. Then he proceeded to Multan, and from thence to Kandabil, which city stands upon a hill. Muhammad, son of

<sup>31</sup> [Marand.]

<sup>32</sup> [Began to reign in 813 A.D.]

<sup>33</sup> [The text says 21, but this is a manifest error.]

<sup>34</sup> ['Ala nahrar Rur' lit. "On the river of Rur".]



Khalil, was reigning there, but 'Amran slew him, conquered the town, and carried away its inhabitants to Kusdar. Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band*, which is called "Sakru-l Med," *Band of the Meds*. He encamped on the river at Alrur.<sup>35</sup> There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed<sup>36</sup> their hands, took from them the *jizya* (capitation tax), and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him,—hence the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water became salt; and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them.

Dissensions then arose between the Nizarians<sup>37</sup> and Yamanians, and 'Amran joined with the latter. 'Umar, son of 'Abu-l Aziz al Habbari, consequently went to him and killed him unawares. The ancestor of this 'Umar had come into Sind with Hakim, son of 'Awana al Kalbi.<sup>38</sup>

Mansur, son of Hatim, related to me that Fazl, son of Mahan, formerly a slave of the sons of Sama, got into Sindan and subdued it. He then sent an elephant to the Khalif Mamun, and wrote to him and offered up prayers for him in the Jami' masjid, which he built there. When he died he was succeeded by Muhammad, son of Fazl, son of Mahan. He proceeded with seventy vessels against the Meds of Hind. He killed a great number of them, captured Kallari<sup>39</sup> (?) and then returned towards Sindan. But his brother, named Mahan, had made himself master of Sindan, and wrote to the Khalif Mu'tasim bi-llah, and had sent to him as a present the largest and longest *saj*,<sup>40</sup> that

<sup>35</sup> [See *supra*.]    <sup>36</sup> ['*Khatan aidiham*']

<sup>37</sup> [The Nizarians are the descendants of Nizar, an ancestor of Muhammad, and the Yamanians are the tribes of Yaman (Yemen). See note in Reinaud's *Fragments*, also his *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, p. 72, et seq.]

<sup>38</sup> [See a note upon the Amirs Musa and Amran, in Reinaud's *Fragments*, p. 215.]

<sup>39</sup> [The text has '*qali*']

<sup>40</sup> [*Saj*, a green or black sash rolled round the head and hanging down behind. It is also the name of the teak tree.]

had been seen. But the Indians were under the control of his brother whom they liked, so they slew Mahan and crucified him. The Indians afterwards made themselves masters of Sindan, but they spared the mosque, and the Muhammadans used to meet in it on Friday and pray for the Khalif.

Abu Bakr, who had been a slave of the Karizis, related to me that the country called Al 'Usaifan between Kashmir and Multan and Kabul, was governed by a wise king. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the ministers of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned and said, "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in pieces the idol, and slew its ministers. He afterwards invited a party of Muhammadan traders who made known to him the unity of God. Hereupon he believed in the unity and became a Musulman. This happened in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim bi-llah,—may God have mercy on him!

## CHACH-NA'MA,

OR

### TARI'KH-I HIND WA SIND

CHACH-NAMA is the name now universally given to the work which details the usurpation of the Brahman Chach and the Arab conquest of Sind; but the history itself gives us no authority for this name, on the contrary it is spoken of in the preface and conclusion merely as Fath-nama, "a despatch announcing victory." It is sometimes styled, as by Elphinstone, Tarikh-i Hind o Sind. It is quoted by Nuru-l Hakk in the Zubdatu-t Tawarikh, and by Nizamu-d-din Ahmad in the Tabakat-i Akbari, as the Minhaju-l Masalik, which the latter tells us is more commonly known as the Chach-nama.

This work was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad 'Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr Kufi, in the time of Nasiru-d din Kabacha, who is styled, amongst many other titles, Amiru-l Muminin Abu-l Fath Kabachau-s Salatin,<sup>1</sup> "the tents of whose glory were pitched with ropes of his authority, and with the mallet of the strictness of his commands." He is said to adorn the throne lately occupied by the blessed martyr Abu-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sam Nasir Amiru-l Muminin.

The translator informs us that, after having spent much of his life in the enjoyment of great comfort and happiness, he was reduced to distress, and compelled by the vicissitudes of the time to leave his native land and take up his abode in Uch. He says that in the 58th year of his age, and the 613th of the Hijri (1216 A.D.), he with-

<sup>1</sup> This is a new mode of using the term in combination, and would show that some meaning must be ascribed to Kabacha. The dictionaries translate it only as a "small tunic." [It is frequently written "Kabaja," but the Nagari legends on the coins make it "Kubachaha." See Thomas' Prinsep., I. 305. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, Plate XX., No. 19.]

drew his hand from all the concerns which had previously occupied his mind, and made a few delightful books his sole companions. He considered within himself that learned persons of every age had, by the assistance of their masters and patrons, compiled histories and books, and established a reputation for themselves by their literary attainments; that, for instance, the conquests of Khurasan, 'Irak, Persia, Rum, and Sham had been celebrated at large in poetry and prose by authors of past ages; and that a victory had been achieved, and the country of Hindustan conquered, by Muhammad Kasim and other nobles of Arabia and Syria, and mosques and pulpits had been raised throughout the country, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Kashmir and Kanauj, and Rai Dahir, son of Chach, the king of Alor, had been slain by the great noble, the best man of the State and Religion, Muhammad bin Kasim bin 'Akil Sakifi, may God's mercy be on him! and the Rai's territory with all its dependencies had been taken possession of by that conqueror. The translator, therefore, wished to be acquainted with an account of the country and its inhabitants, and also with the history of Dahir's defeat and death, in order that he might be able to compile a book upon that interesting subject.

In the endeavour to obtain this information, he left the sacred city of Uch, and went to Alor and Bhakar, the Imams of which places were the descendants of the Arab conquerors. On his arrival there, he met with the Maulana Kazi, Isma'il bin 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Musa bin Tai bin Ya'kub bin Tai bin Musa bin Muhammad bin Shaiban bin 'Usman Sakifi. He was a mine of learning and the soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety, and eloquence. On being consulted on the subject of the Arabian conquest, he informed the translator that an account of it was written by one of his ancestors, in a book composed in the Arabic language, which had descended from one generation to the other, till it reached his hands by course of inheritance. But as it was dressed in the language of Hijaz, it had obtained no currency among the people, to whom that language was foreign.

When the translator read the book, he found it adorned with jewels of wisdom and pearls of precepts. It

related various feats of chivalry and heroism on the part of the Arabs and Syrians. It treated of the capture of those forts which had never before been taken, and showed the morning of the night of infidelity and barbarism. It recounted what places in those days were honoured by the arrival of the Muhammadans, and having been conquered by them, were adorned by religious edifices, and exalted by being the residence of devotees and saints. Up to this day, the translator continues, the country is improving in Islam faith and knowledge, and at all periods since the conquest the throne of royalty has been occupied by one of the slaves of the house of Muhammad, who removed the rust of Paganism from the face of Islam.

He proceeds to tell us that he dedicates his translation to the minister of Nasiru-d din Kabacha, whom he designates among other titles, the Defender of the State and Religion, the greatest of all Wazirs, the master of the sword and pen, Sadr-i Jahan Dasturi Sahib-Kiran 'Ainu-l Husain bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'ri.

He states as his reason for the dedication, that not only might he advance his own interests by the minister's favour and influence, but that the selection was peculiarly appropriate in consequence of the minister's ancestors, Abu Musa al Asha'ri, having obtained many victories in Khurasan and 'Ajam. To him therefore might be most fitly dedicated an account of the early conquest of Sind.

At the close of the work, he again says that as the work was written in the Hijazi (Arabic) language, and was not clothed in a Pehlvi garb, it was little known to the inhabitants of 'Ajam (foreign countries or Persia), and repeats the name of the person to whom it was dedicated, as 'Ainu-l Mulk.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that this is the same minister to whom Muhammad Aufi has dedicated his Lubbu-l Lubab, respecting whose identity some doubt has been entertained, in consequence of the title 'Ainu-l Mulk not being commonly ascribed to any minister of that period. The repetition of the name by the translator of the Chachnama leaves no doubt that Husain bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'ri is the person indicated.

As this translation was made at so early a period of

the Muhammadan dominion in India, it is greatly to be regretted that the translator did not attempt to identify the many unknown places of which mention is made in the course of the narrative. As he had himself visited Uch, Alor, and Bhakar, and probably other places lower down the Indus, he might have cleared up the many doubts which our ignorance of the localities entails upon us.

It is difficult to fix the precise period of the composition of the original Arabic. It is not said to have been *composed* by an ancestor of the person from whom the translator obtained it at Bhakar, but merely to have been written in the handwriting (*khat*) of one of his ancestors. This may be applied either to composition or transcription but the use of the term renders the precise meaning doubtful—most probably composition is referred to. In either case, we have a guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative, in the fact that the ancestor of Isma'il, the possessor of the manuscript, was himself a participator in the scenes and the advantages of the conquest; for we find it distinctly mentioned, that the Kazi appointed by Muhammad Kasim, after the conquest of Alor, was Musa bin Ya'kub bin Tai bin Muhammad bin Shaiban bin 'Usman. Now if we look at the name of the person from whom the translator obtained the Arabic original, we shall find it mentioned as Isma'il bin 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Musa bin Tai bin Ya'kub bin Tai bin Musa bin Muhammad bin Shaiban bin 'Usman. In both instances 'Usman is mentioned as Sakifi, that is, of the same tribe as the conqueror himself.<sup>2</sup> The genealogies do not tally in every respect, and it is evident that in the later one some intermediate generations, as is frequently the case, are omitted; but still there is quite sufficient similarity to show descent from the same ancestor. The titles also of ancestor and descendant resemble each other most closely. The first Kazi appointed to Alor is called Sadr al Imamia al Ajall al 'Alim Burhanu-l Millat wau-d din. The contemporary of the translation is called Maulana Kazi al Imam al Ajall al 'Alim al Bari' Kamalu-l Millat wau-d din.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sakif tribes (Thakif) were of great importance. They had their head quarters at Tayif, and were the guardians of the upper road to Yemen.—Sprenger's Life of Muhammad, p. 7.*

It is very strange that the translator takes no notice of this identity of pedigree, by which the value and authenticity of the work are so much increased; but it is probable that it did not occur to him, or such a circumstance could scarcely have escaped mention.

Notwithstanding that Elphinstone uses the expression "professes to be a translation," which would imply a suspicion of the fact, there is no reason to doubt that the work is a translation of a genuine Arab history, written not very long after the conquest. There appears in it very little modern interpolation, and it is probable that those passages which contain anachronisms were the work of the original writer, and not of the translator. The placing a sentence of the Kuran in Ladi's mouth—the Bismillah at the beginning of the letters of Sindian princes, the praises of Islam ascribed to Hindus, the use of the foreign names of Brahmanabad, which is explained to be a version of the native Bamanwah, are all evidently the work of the original author.

It is to be regretted that there is no hope of recovering the Arabic work; for although the very meagre accounts of this important conquest by Abul-l Fida, Abu-l Faraj, Ibn Kutaiba, and Almakin lead us to expect little information from Arabic authorities; yet it might possibly contain other interesting matter respecting the communication between Arabia and Sind, which the translator did not think worthy of special notice.

An air of truth pervades the whole, and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject, than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author. The two stories which appear the most fictitious, are the accusation of Jaisiya by the sister of Darohar, and the revenge of the two daughters of Dahir upon Muhammad Kasim. The former is evidently manufactured on the model of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a story familiar throughout the East; but the latter is novel, and not beyond the bounds of probability, when we consider the blind obedience which at that time was paid to the mandates of the Prophet's successor, of which, at a later period, we have so many instances in the history of the Assassins,

all inspired by the same feeling, and executed in the same hope.

The narrative is unambitious, and tropes and figures are rarely indulged in, except in describing the approach of night and morning; [but the construction is often involved, and the language is occasionally ungrammatical. Besides these defects, the events recorded do not always appear to follow in their proper chronological sequence.]

The antiquity of the original Arabic work is manifest, not only from the internal evidence of the narrative, but from some omissions which are remarkable, such as the name of Mansura, which must have been mentioned had it been in existence at that time. Now Mansura was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalif Al Mansur, who succeeded in 136 A.H. (A.D. 753). It is evident that the work must have been written before that time. Then, again, we have nowhere any mention of Maswahi, Manjabari, Annari, or Al-Baiza, all important towns noticed by Biladuri and Ibn Haukal, and other early writers on Sind, and the work must therefore have been composed before their time. Again, it is plain that the mass of the people were Buddhists, which no author, especially a foreign one, would have described them as being, had he lived after the extinction of that religion in India. We read of Samanis, monks, and a royal white elephant, which are no longer heard of at the later invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. Again, some portions of the history are derived from oral testimony received at second, third, or fourth hand, from those who were participators in the transactions recorded, just in the same way as Tabari, who wrote in the third century of the Hijri, probably later than our author, traces all his traditions to eye or ear-witnesses.

Elphinstone's estimate of the work is that, "though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principle actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindu reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanskrit names, so as to remove



the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist." He states that he did not see this work until his narrative of Kasim's military transactions had been completed.

The Chach-nama is the original from which Nizamuddin Ahmad, Nuru-l Hakk, Firishta, Mir Ma'sum, and others, have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind. They have, however, left much interesting matter unnoticed, and even the later professed translations by Lieutenant Postans, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. LXXIV., 1838, and No. CXL., 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is moreover unfortunately disfigured by many misprints.

The headings of the sections throughout the work have been translated, in order to show the connection of the whole; those only being omitted which are inappropriate or evidently misplaced: and nearly every passage has been translated which can be useful for the illustration of the geography, religion, and manners of the time. The Chach-nama is common in India. There is a copy in the E. I. Library, and the Bibliothéque Imperiale has two.

#### EXTRACTS

[The MS. referred to as *A.* is Sir H. M. Elliot's copy. *B.* is that belonging to the East India Library, which has been referred to in obscure passages and for doubtful names.]

*Commencement of the book upon the history of Rai Dahir, son of Chach, son of Silaj, and of his death at the hands of Muhammad Kasim Sakifi.*

Chroniclers and historians have related that the city of Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a large city adorned with all kinds of palaces and villas, gardens and groves, reservoirs and streams, parterres and flowers. It was situated on the banks of the Sihun, which they call Mihran. This delightful city had a king, whose name was Siharas, son of Sahasi Rai Shahi.<sup>3</sup> He possessed great wealth and treasures. His justice was diffused over the earth, and his generosity was renowned in the world. The

<sup>3</sup> [This is an error—Sahasi was son of Siharas—his father was called Diwaij.]

boundaries of his dominions extended on the east to Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kardan (or "Karwan") and to Kaikanan.<sup>4</sup> He had established four maliks, or governors, in his territories. The first at Brahmanabad and the forts of Nirun, Debal, Lohana, Lakha, and Samma, down to the sea (darya), were placed in his charge. The second at the town of Siwistan: under him were placed Budhpur,<sup>5</sup> Jankan, and the skirts of the hills of Rujhan to the borders of Makran.<sup>6</sup> The third at the fort of Askalanda and Pabiya,<sup>7</sup> which are called Talwara and Chachpur; under him were placed their dependencies to the frontier of Budhpur. The fourth at the great city of Multan and Sikka, and Brahmapur<sup>8</sup> and Karur, and Ashahar and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmir, were under his government. He (the king) himself dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kardan,<sup>9</sup> and Kaikanan and Banarhas.<sup>10</sup> He enjoined upon every one of his princes the necessity of being prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms, and horses ready. He also ordered them to attend to the security of the country, the conciliation of the subjects, and the reparation of the buildings, so that they might keep their districts and dependencies safe. Throughout his dominions there was no disaffected person who could make any pretensions against the specification of his frontiers. Suddenly, by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nimroz marched from Fars to Makran.<sup>11</sup> When Siharas heard this he went forth from the fort of Alor,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> [*Wa az shimali ta kuh-i-kardan wa az kaikanan wa dar mamalik-i-khud chahar mulkra, etc., etc.*]

<sup>5</sup> [*This is the reading of MS. A., but B. generally has "Budhiya": two different forms of the same name.*]

<sup>6</sup> [*This is a doubtful passage, MS. A. says Budhpur wa jankan wa kuh-i-paych ru jhan. B. has Budhiyah jankal wa kuh-i-beyeh dunjan ta hidde Makran.*]

<sup>7</sup> [*Mayibar in A and Babiya in B. This name is written Paya and Baya, Babiya and Pabiya; the last seems the preferable form.*]

<sup>8</sup> [*So in MS. B, but Budhpur in A.*]

<sup>9</sup> [*Or Karwan.*]

<sup>10</sup> [*Or Barhas.*]

<sup>11</sup> [*The Text adds 'birasam talawat-i-tasi' in Arab fashion?*]

<sup>12</sup> [*MS. B. says "Rawar."*]

haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and when many brave men and tried warriors, on both sides, had been slain, the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty, made an assault, and broke and put to flight the army of Rai Siharas. He himself stood firm, fighting for his name and honour, until he was killed. The king of Fars then returned to Nimroz, and Rai Sahasi, son of Siharas, sat upon the throne of his father. He established his authority in the country, and the four princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Rai Sahasi; and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule. He had a chamberlain named Ram, son of Abi (?), a man of science and wisdom.<sup>13</sup> This man had full and general authority over all parts of the dominions of Rai Sahasi; no person could enter or leave the king's service but through him. The duties of chief secretary were entrusted to him, and Rai Sahasi had faith in his eloquent pen, and never doubted his rectitude.

*Chach, son of Silaij, goes to the Chamberlain Ram.*

*The office of Chamberlain is conferred on Chach, son of Silaij.*

*The Rani falls in love with Chach, and Chach refuses compliance.*

*Sahasi Rai dies and goes to hell.*

*Chach ascends the throne of Malik Sahasi Rai.*

*Chach fights with Mahrat (Chief of Jaipur<sup>14</sup>) and kills him by stratagem.*

*Chach marries Rani Subhan Deo.*

*Chach sends for his brother Chandar and establishes him in Alor.*

<sup>13</sup> [Some words including the name are omitted in MS. A.]

<sup>14</sup> [Both MSS. here agree in reading Jitur, but the explanation elsewhere shows that the name must be Jaipur. Mir Ma'sum couples it with Jodhpur and writes the name "Chitur," or "Japur." The Tuhfatul Kiram has "Chitur."]

*Chach issues orders appointing Chandar his deputy.*

*Chach asks Budhiman, the minister, questions concerning the government.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Budhiman, the minister, bowed his head to the ground, and said, "May Rai Chach live for ever, and may it be known to him, that this government was under the dominion of a sole king, and his chiefs were always obedient to him. When the country was ruled by Siharas, son of Diwaij, and when he was conquered by the army of Fars, Sahasi succeeded to the empire. He similarly appointed all the four rulers to their territories, expecting them to exert themselves in the collection of the revenue and the protection of the country.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Chach proceeds to visit and mark the boundaries of Alor.*

When Chach heard these words from Budhiman, the minister, they made an impression upon him. He was very happy. He praised the minister very much, and took it as a good omen. He sent farmans to the authorities in all parts of the kingdom and called (for aid from) the governors of the different divisions. He then prepared an army declaring that he would go to the boundary of Hindustan which adjoined the (kingdom of the) Turk. The astrologers fixed an auspicious time, at which he had gone many marches he reached the fort of Pabiya, on the southern bank of the Bias. The Chief of the place gave battle, but after great fighting and bloodshed, the king of Pabiya fled and entered the fort. Rai Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass, and wood, and fuel, were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of night. He fled towards the fort of Askalanda and encamped in the vicinity of that city. This fort was stronger than the first, and when he reached the fields of this city he sent his spies to obtain information, and when they came back they reported

that Chach had entered the fort of Pabiya, and was staying there.

*Chach proceeds to the fort of Askalanda*<sup>15</sup>

When Chach was informed that the enemy had gone to Askalanda, he placed one of his officers in charge of the fort (of Pabiya) and proceeded to that city. He pitched his tents in its vicinity. There was a great and brave man in the fort of Askalanda, who was in the interest of Chach, and had influence over the people in the fort. All the chief inhabitants always took his advice and never acted contrary to his opinion. Chach sent a man to him and promised to make him governor of that fort. He also ordered a farman to be prepared, granting him the governorship of the fort, on the condition that he would kill Chatera,<sup>16</sup> the chief (malik) of Pabiya, or take him prisoner. Pabiya was also to be made over to him. He agreed to these terms and conditions. He sent his son to Chach, and by occasionally visiting Chatera, gained his confidence, so that he was never prevented from going into his Court either by day or by night. When he found an opportunity, he suddenly killed Chatera and sent his head to Chach. Rai Chach showed him great favour and honour, granted him a reward in token of his pleasure, and made him the independent chief of that fort. The great and noble men of the city attended on him, and made him presents. He treated them all with honour and respect, and kept them faithful to their allegiance. Chach gave him some prohibitions and admonitions, so that he continued faithful in obedience and never disobeyed his orders.

*Chach marches towards Sikka and Multan*

Having completed the expedition to Askalanda, Chach proceeded towards Sikka and Multan. In Multan there was a chief (malik) whose name was Bhjhra. He was a

<sup>15</sup> [MS. B. writes the name "Asal-Kanda."]

<sup>16</sup> [This name is written thus, and also as "Chatar," in MS. A. M.S. B. makes it "Jatra."]

relation of Sashasi. When he received the news of the arrival of Chach, he came to the banks of the Ravi. He had large dominions and possessed great abilities. Suhewal, his nephew, governed the fort of Sikka opposite Multan, towards the east, and along with Ajin, the cousin of Bajhra came with a large force to meet him<sup>17</sup> (Chach), and he<sup>17</sup> (Chach) encamped at a ford on the Bias<sup>18</sup> for three months. When the water decreased, they selected a place at a village a little above the encampment, where the water did not prevent a passage, and he (Chach) crossed over. He came to Sikka, and fought a battle with Suhewal. He besieged the fort for some days, and the enemy was much pressed. Some men were slain on Chach's side, and on the side of the infidels many were despatched to hell. Suhewal then fled, and went to the fort of Multan. They entered the fort, and stood on the banks of the Ravi<sup>10</sup> prepared with all the implements of war. Chach then took possession of the fort of Sikka, and killed five thousand soldiers, and made the inhabitants slaves and prisoners of war. Chach placed Amir 'Aliu-d Daula in the fort of Sikka, and himself passed over to Multan. Both armies confronted each other. Malik Bajhra, with a formidable army, fighting elephants, and men of war, came out and opposed Chach. Sharp encounters ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. Bajhra took refuge in the fort, and wrote letters to the ruler of Kashmir stating that Chach, son of Silaij, a Brahman, had become chief of Alor, the capital. He had come with a numerous army, and had conquered all the strongholds, great and small, and fortified them. That he (Bajhra) was not able to cope with him, and no chief was victorious over him in battle. He had reached Multan, and it was expedient that the Chief

<sup>17</sup> [The text is ambiguous ; and the appropriation of the personal pronoun is a matter of inference.]

<sup>18</sup> [bar guezar biyas binsheet "Bias" may possibly here be the name of the ford, but the old bed of the Bias is still traceable between Multan and the Ghara to where it joined the Chinab thirty miles S.W. of Multan.]

<sup>10</sup> ["The Ravi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multan, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rain the waters flow to Multan. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress."—Cunningham.]

of Kashmir should assist him (Bajhra) and send reinforcements.

*The unseccessful return of the messenger from Kashmir*

Before the messenger reached Kashmir, the Rai of that place had died, and his son, who was only a boy, had succeeded him. The ministers, counsellors, attendants, and guards, as well as the nobles and chief men of the state, consulted with each other and answered the letter in a proper manner. They stated that the Rai of Kashmir had departed to the next world, and his son was a mere boy of tender age. The different divisions of the army had raised their heads in rebellion and revolt. It was necessary that the affairs of these parts should be set straight, and therefore it was not at this time in their power to provide the means of assistance, and that Bajhra must rely upon his own resources. When the messengers came back and communicated this, Bajhra, despairing of assistance from the king of Kashmir, sued Rai Chach for peace, and made promises and assurances. He said he would leave the fort if assured of his safety, in writing, and that nobody should molest him until he reached a place of security with all his followers and dependants. Chach agreed to these terms, and promised him protection. He came out of the fort, and, with his people, went towards the mountains of Kashmir. Chach entered the fort, and the province was brought under his dominion.

*Chach leaves his deputy in the fort of Multan and proceeds onward*

When he took the fort of Multan he appointed there a thakur as his deputy. He went into the temple, prostrated himself before the idols, and offered sacrifices. He then prepared to march forward. The rulers of Brahmapur, Karur and Ashahar, acknowledged submission to him. From these places he proceeded to the boundaries of Kumba<sup>20</sup> and Kashmir. No king offered any resistance.

<sup>20</sup> [In page 139, both MSS. write this name Kumba. In this place, MS. A. has Makir or Maksir, and a few lines farther on, Kina or Kaniya. MS. B. has Kisa here, and Kumba afterwards.]

"When the Almighty makes a man great he renders all his enterprises easy and gives him all his desires."

Every place to which he went fell into his possession. At last he reached the fort of Shakalha, an elevated place which is called Kumba<sup>21</sup> on the borders of Kashmir, and stopped there for one month. He punished some of the chiefs of the surrounding places, and collected an army under his command. Then he made firm treaties with the chiefs and rulers of that part of the country, and securely established his dominion. He sent for two trees, one of which was a *maisir*, that is white poplar, and the other a *deodar*, that is a fir.<sup>22</sup> He planted them both on the boundary of Kashmir, upon the banks of a stream, which is called the five waters,<sup>23</sup> and near the Kashmir from which numerous fountains flow. He stayed there till the branches of each of the trees ran into those of the other. Then he marked them, and said it was the boundary mark between him and the Rai of Kashmir, and beyond it he would not go.

#### *Return of Chach after fixing his boundary with Kashmir*

The narrator of this conquest has thus said, that when the boundary towards Kashmir was defined, Chach returned to the capital city Alor. He stopped there a year to take rest from the fatigues of the journey; and his chiefs got ready the provisions and materials of war. He then said, "O minister ! I have no fear from the east, now I must take care of the west and the south." The minister replied, "Indeed, it is most praiseworthy for kings to be acquainted with the affairs of their countries. It is also to be apprehended that from your absence in the upper provinces the nobles and the governors of the different

<sup>21</sup> [*Wa an mauzu balatar kinah (Kumbah) goyand.*]

<sup>22</sup> [*This implies considerable altitude.*]

<sup>23</sup> *The word in the original is Arabic (panj mahiyat) not the Persian Panjab. The upper course of the Jailam, just after it debouches into the plains, seems to be alluded to here. A curious coincidence of expression is used by a late traveller with reference to the same locality. "We passed five branches of this beautiful river Jelam which at this place forms a little Panjab of its own." Serjeant-Major Brixham's Raid to the Khyber. p. 43.*



parts may have presumed that since Rai Sahasi there is nobody to demand from them the revenue of the country. Truly mismanagement and disorder have taken place." On this, Chach, in an auspicious hour, marched towards the forts of Budapur<sup>24</sup> and Siwistan. There was a chief in Siwistan, called Matta, and Chach crossed the Mihran at a village called Dihayat, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor. From this place he proceeded to Budhiya, the chief of which was the son of Kotal bin Bhandargu Bhagu. His capital was Nanaraj,<sup>25</sup> and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawis. Chach attacked and took the fort of Sawis. Kaba, son of Kaka, came forth to ask quarter for the prince and his followers. They laid upon themselves a tribute to pay him, and made their submission.

*The army marches to Siwistan.*

From that place he went to Siwistan, and when he approached it, Matta, its chief, came forth with great alarm and a large retinue to meet him. A battle was fought, Chach was victorious, and Matta, with his army, fled and took refuge in the fort. Chach besieged it, and after a week the garrison was obliged to sue for peace. The terms being agreed to, they came out of the fort, and surrendered the keys to the officers of Chach, who gave them protection and showed them much kindness. He gave the chiefship of the place to Matta, and also placed one of his confidential officers there. He stopped there for a few days, during which time the affairs of the territory and the city were put in order.

*Chach sends a messenger to Akham Lohana, chief of Brahmanabad*

When the invasion of Siwistan was over, Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohana, the governor of Brahmanabad, who was Chief also of Lakha, Samma and Sihta, and called

<sup>24</sup> [Budhiya in MS. B. No doubt the Budhpur or Budhiyi of p. 160, where it is also connected with Siwistan.]

<sup>25</sup> ["Kakaraj" in MS. B.]

upon him to acknowledge submission. When he was a few days' journey from Makran, the footmen whom he had placed on the roads, caught a person with letters from Akham, which he had written to Matta, the governor of Siwistan, to the following effect. "I have always behaved towards you with great cordiality and friendship, and have never shown you opposition or quarrelled with you. The letter which you sent by way of friendship was received, and I was much exalted by it. Our friendship shall remain confirmed for ever, and no animosity shall arise. I will comply with all your orders. You are a king, and the son of a king. Unity exists between you and me. Circumstances like this have occurred to many persons, and have obliged them to seek protection. You are at liberty to reside at any place you like within the territory of Brahmanabad, that is to say, up to the sea of Debal. If you have resolved to go in any other direction, there is nobody to prevent or molest you. Wherever you like to go I will assist you. I possess such power and influence that I can render you aid." Matta found it expedient to repair to the country of Hind, to Malik Ramal, who was also called Bhatti.

*Chach sends a letter to Akham Lohana.*

Rai Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohana, saying, "You from your power, and pomp, and family descent, consider yourself the ruler of the time. Although this kingdom and sovereignty, wealth, riches, dignity, and power have not descended to me by inheritance, yet these distinguished favours and this exalted position have been given to me by God. It was not by my army that I gained them; but God, the single, the incomparable, the creator of the world, in favour to Silaij, has given me this dominion, and this most glorious position. In all circumstances I obtain assistance from him, and I have no hope of aid from any other. He enables me to accomplish all my undertakings, and assists me in all my acts. He has given me victory in all battles, and over all my enemies. He has bestowed on me the blessings of both worlds. Although you think you have possessed yourself of all this power and circum-

stance by your courage and audacity, promptitude, and glory, you shall surely lose it, and to take your life is lawful."

*Chach arrives at Brahmanabad, and fights with  
Akham Lohana*

Chach then marched against Akham Lohana, who had gone from Brahmanabad into the interior of the country. When he received the intelligence of the arrival of Chach, he came to the capital, and made preparation for war. When Rai Chach arrived at the city of Brahmanabad, Akham stood ready to oppose him. After a great slaughter of warriors on both sides, the army of Akham took to flight, and he entered his fort. Chach laid siege to it, and the siege lasted for the period of one year.

In those days the king of Hindustan, that is, Kanauj, was Satban,<sup>26</sup> son of Rasal, and Akham sent letters to him asking for assistance. But Akham died before the answer was returned, and his son succeeded him. Akham had a friend, an infidel Samani, named Buddh-raku,<sup>27</sup> i.e., "Protected by the idol." He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihar,<sup>28</sup> and the idol Dilha (?).<sup>29</sup> He was a devotee thereof, and famous for his piety, and all the people of the surrounding places were obedient to him. Akham was his disciple, and he regarded the Samani as his polestar. When Akham had taken refuge in the fort, the Samani assisted him; he did not fight, but he read his books in his chamber of worship. When Akham died, and his son<sup>30</sup> succeeded him in the government, the Samani was disaffected and troubled, for he did not think it right that the kingdoms and the property and estates should depart from his hands. In his perplexity he looked about,

<sup>26</sup> ["Siyar" in M.S. B.]

<sup>27</sup> ["Buddhugui" in M.S. A.: raku or rakhu means "protected," from the Sanskrit rakshita. Gui probably represents the Sanskrit gupta, which also signifies "protected."]

<sup>28</sup> [See note elsewhere.]

<sup>29</sup> [Ura non-vihar goftand E. I. Lib. Wa but-i-Dilha (dikhad) ham bud.]

<sup>30</sup> [M.S. A. leaves out the word "son," and so makes the passage unintelligible.]

and he arrived at the conclusion that the country must fall to Chach, whether he would be friendly to him or not. Then the (late king's) son being sore pressed, his army and his forces gave up fighting, and the fort was surrendered to Chach, who firmly established his power in it. When Chach heard of the Samani, and knew that he had made a compact with Akham and his son, and that the war had lasted for one year through his enchantments and magical power, he swore that if he ever captured the fort, he would seize him and flay him, and order drums to be covered with his skin, and have his body torn to pieces. This oath was reported to the Samani, who laughed and said, "Chach will not have the power to kill me." When after a time, the people of the fort, after much fighting and great slaughter, gave up the contest, and solicited protection, by the intervention of nobles and chiefs, a treaty was made between both parties, and the fort was surrendered. Chach entered it, and told them that if they liked they might go away; there was no one to interfere with them, and if they wished to remain they might. The son and the dependants of Akham seeing him kindly disposed towards them, chose to remain. Chach stayed for a time in that city, and made himself acquainted with their disposition.

*Chach takes the wife of Akham to himself, and gives the daughter of his nephew to Akham's son Sarband*

Chach sent a man to the mother of Sarband and requested her hand. The son brought her. Chach gave Dharsiya, the daughter of his nephew to the son, and decked him in apparel of many colours. He stopped there for a year, and appointed officers on his part to collect the revenues. He subjugated the other surrounding chiefs. At last, he enquired where the enchanter Samani was, that he might see him. He was told that he was a great devotee, and that he would be found with the devotees, and that he was one of the philosophers of Hind. He was the keeper of the temple of Kan-vihar,<sup>31</sup> and amongst the other devotees he was the greatest, and had reached to perfection.

<sup>31</sup>[*Kan-Vihar in both copies.*]

He was so skilled in magic and enchantments, that he had made a world obedient and submissive to him. He had provided himself with all the requisites by means of his talismans, and for some time he had become friendly to Sarband because he had been friendly with his father. Through his power and protection the army of Brahmanabad had protracted the war for so long time.

*Chach visits the Samani, and enquires about his circumstances*

Chach ordered his body guards and soldiers to mount their horses, and went towards the temples of Budh and Kan-vihar<sup>32</sup> with the intention of killing the Samani. He called his armed men and instructed them that when during the interview he should stand up and look towards them, they should draw their swords and sever the Samani's head from his body. When he reached the temple, he saw the Samani sitting on a chair, engaged in worship, and having some clay in his hand<sup>33</sup> with which he was making idols, he had something like a stamp with which the figure of the Buddha was made on the clay, and when it was finished he placed it on one side.<sup>34</sup> Chach stood by him, but received no attention from him. After a short time, when he had finished his idols, he raised his head and said, "Is the son of the monk Silaij come?" Chach replied, "Yes, O devotee." The Samani said, "For what

<sup>32</sup>[*Buddh wa Kan-Vihar A. Budh wa Kinhar B.*] This seems to be called indistinctly Nuhar, and Kanuhar, and Kinhar. The copulative conjunction in the text is incomprehensible. It occurs again a little below. [These names may be, as Sir H. Elliot conceived, mere varieties in spelling of the same name,—or they may be two different names of the same establishment or collection of buildings. There can be no doubt that the last word of the compound represents vihar. Nau, or in Sanskrit Nava, signifies "New", and Kan may be the Hindi Kanh, from the Sanskrit Krishna, a word which is found in the names Kanhpur and Kanhari. These names would therefore signify "New monastery," and "Black monastery."] ]

<sup>33</sup> [About a page of matter is here omitted from B.]

<sup>34</sup> [This process of stamping the clay figures of Buddha is still practised. General Cunningham possesses several old Indian as well as recent Indian and Burmese specimens.]

purpose have you come?" Chach answered that he wished to see him, and therefore he had come. The devotee bid him to sit down. Chach sat. The devotee spread a fine cloth, and made him sit on it. He asked, "O Chach! what do you want?" Chach replied, "I wish you would become my friend and return to Brahmanabad, that I might turn your thoughts to secular pursuits, and entrust you with great offices. You may live with Sarband, and give him advice and assistance." The devotee said, "I have nothing to do with your country, and have no wish to engage in public business. I do not like wordly concerns." Chach asked him, "Why did you side with the people of the fort of Brahmanabad?" He replied, "When Akham Lohana died, and his son was grieved, I admonished him to cease lamenting for the departure of his father, and prayed the Almighty God to cause peace and friendship between the contending parties. It is better for me to serve Buddha, and seek salvation in the next world, than all the offices and greatness of this. But as thou art the king of this country, at thy supreme command I will go with my family to the neighbourhood of the fort, although I fear that the people of the fort will do despite to the cultivation of Buddha. You are to-day a fortunate and a great man." Chach said, "The worship of Buddha is most righteous, and ever to hold it in honour is most proper. But if you are in want of anything, tell me, for I shall consider it a privilege and a duty to provide for it." The devotee answered, "I do not want anything of this world from you. May God incline you to the affairs of the next." Chach said, "I also wish that my salvation may be the result. Direct me so that I may see where assistance is required, and I will help you." He exclaimed, "As you seem to be desirous of performing charitable and virtuous deeds, there is an old temple (called) Budh and Nau-vihar (at) Sawandasi<sup>35</sup> which has suffered much injury from the hand of time—it requires repair. You should spend some money in renewing its foundation, and I shall be thus benefited by you." Chach said, "By all means; I thank you, farewell."

<sup>35</sup>[A. says *Baddah wa navihar sawaddh taabuddgah qadim ast*  
B. says *Buddh nau-vihar Sawandasi taabudh gah.*]

*Chach returns to Brahmanabad*

Chach rode back from that place. The minister asked him, "O king, I have seen a wonder." "What is it?" said Chach. He remarked, "When you started you had resolved that I should order the soldiers to kill the devotee; but when you went before him you showed every wish to please him, and accepted all his prayers." Chach said, "Very true; I saw something which was no magic or charm, for when I looked at him, something came before my vision, and as I sat before him, I beheld a dreadful and horrible phantom standing at his head. Its eyes blazed like fire, and were full of anger, and its lips were long and thick, and its teeth resembled pikes. He had a spear in his hand, which shone like diamonds, and it appeared as if he was going to strike some one with it. When I saw him I was much afraid, and could not utter a word to him which you might hear. I wished to save my own life, so I observed him carefully and departed."

*Chach stays at Brahmanabad, and determines the amount of the revenue*

Chach stopped in the fort of Brahmanabad till all ministerial affairs were settled, taxes were fixed, and the subjects re-assured. He humiliated the Jats and the Lohanas, and punished their chiefs. He took a hostage from these chiefs, and kept him in the fort of Brahmanabad. He obliged them to agree to the following terms: That they should never wear any swords but sham ones: That they should never wear under-garments of shawl, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer-garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour: That they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered: That when they went out they should take their dogs with them: That they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanabad. They were to furnish guides and spies, and were to be faithful when employed in such offices. They were to live in amity with Sarband, son of Akham, and if any enemy came to invade the territory, or fight with Sarband, they were to consider it incumbent

on them to assist him, and steadily adhere to his cause. He thus finished his labours, and established his rule. If any person showed rebellion or hostility, he took a hostage and exacted penalties until he should amend his conduct.

*Chach marches to Kirman and defines the boundary of Makran*

When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirman, which was adjacent to the possessions of the chief of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hijra of the Prophet of God,—may peace be to him! After the death of Kisra bin Hurmaz bin Fars, and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirman with a considerable force. At an auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armabel, and when he arrived there the chief of the place came to receive him. He was a Buddhist priest, and had descended from the representatives of Rai Siharas, king of Hind, whom the Rai had raised up with great kindness and favour. From change of time he had become refractory, and had revolted from his allegiance. He came forth to meet Chach, when a treaty was made, and cordiality and friendship was established between them. Chach proceeded from thence to Makran. Every chief that was met offered his submission. When he had crossed the province of Makran and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanarpur.<sup>30</sup> He ordered it to be rebuilt; and according to the Hindu custom a *naubat* of five musical instruments, was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the people of the surrounding villages, and completed the building. He marched from this place towards Kirman; and halted on the banks of a river which runs between that country and Makran. There he fixed the eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makran and Kirman, and planted

<sup>30</sup> [A. Kanarpur. B. Kinarpur. Kannazbur; see Note published in another volume.]



numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream, and he set up a mark, saying, "this was the boundary of Hind in the time of Chach bin Silaij bin Basabas."<sup>37</sup> Now that boundary has come into our possession.

*Chach proceeds to Armabel<sup>38</sup> and fixes the revenue*

From that place he returned to Armabel, and having passed through the country of Turan, he came out in the desert. No body arose to fight with him. He arrived in the country of Kandhabel, that is, Kandahar;<sup>39</sup> and having traversed that desert also, he advanced to the fort. The people took refuge in it. When he arrived at the banks of the Sini,<sup>40</sup> he pitched his tents there. The people of the place being much pressed agreed to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dirams, and one hundred hill horses. A treaty was made, and Chach returned to his capital Alor, and remained there till he died and went to hell. He reigned forty years.

*Chandar, son of Silaij succeeds to the Government of Alor*

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar,<sup>41</sup> son of Silaij, sat upon the the throne of Alor. He patronized the religion of the nasiks (Buddhists) and monks and promulgated their doctrines. He brought many people together with the sword, and made them return to his religion. He received several letters from the Chiefs of Hind.

*Journey of Matta, Chief of Siwistan*

When Matta, chief of Siwistan, went to the king of Kanauj, the country of Hindustan was in a flourishing

<sup>37</sup> ["Sabas" in B.]

<sup>38</sup> [Armayil B. Armabil A.]

<sup>39</sup> [This explanation is not in MS. B.]

<sup>40</sup> [Sini B. Sapsi A.]

<sup>41</sup> [Mir. Ma'sum takes no notice of Chandar, but the Tuhfatul Kiram says that he succeeded as Kaim-makam and occupied the throne eight years. According to the former, Chach left two sons, Dahir and Dhar-sen, and a daughter Bai Rani. The Tuhfatul Kiram agrees in writing the name "Dhar-sen," but both MSS. of the Chach-nama have "Dharsiya."]

condition. Kanauj was under the rule of Siharas, son of Rasal.<sup>42</sup> Matta went to him and represented thus: "Chach, son of Silaij, is dead, and his brother Chandar, a monk (*rahib*), has succeeded him. He is a devotee (*nasik*), and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury."

*The answer of Siharas*

Siharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his sway. As he is dead, I will bring his possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their divisions." Siharas then sent his brother Barhas, son of Kasais. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmir and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hasi,<sup>43</sup> where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Kahuya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection.

*Chandar refuses, strengthens himself in the fort, and prepares to fight.*

*Siharas sends an embassy to Dahir, son of Chach.*

<sup>42</sup> [There are no names corresponding with these in the Genealogical tables of the Kanauj dynasty (Thomas' Prinsep II. 258.) General Cunningham is of opinion "that Siharas is probably the same as the Bhim Sen mentioned by the Chinese as Ti-mo-si-no, King of Central India, in A.D. 692, and that the two names Siharas and Bhim Sen might easily be confounded when written in Persian letters." This, however, is very hypothetical. It is not unlikely that the prince of some other and nearer place than the great Kanauj is really intended, especially as his army is represented as joining those of Kashmir and Ramal.]

<sup>43</sup> ["Hasbi" in B.]

*Chandar sits on the throne of Chach*

Chandar succeeded to the government, and his subjects enjoyed comfort, and the country was governed firmly during his reign, which lasted for seven years. He died in the eighth year, and Dahir sat on the throne of Alor. Raj, son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanabad, but did not maintain his government for more than one year. After that, Dharsiya, son of Chach, took possession of Brahmanabad and his sister Bai<sup>44</sup> was friendly and obedient to him. Dharsiya asked the daughter of Akham in marriage. He remained at Brahmanabad five years, and issued his orders to the neighbouring chiefs, who acknowledged his authority. Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Rawar,<sup>45</sup> of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed. When Dharsiya had finished the works, and collected inhabitants for the town from the places in the neighbourhood, and when it was well populated, he called it Rawar, and returned to Brahmanabad, and firmly established himself in the Government.

*Bai (Main) is sent to Alor for the purpose of being given in marriage to the king of Batia*

When Dharsiya was reflecting one day that his sister had arrived at a marriageable age, messengers arrived from Suban,<sup>46</sup> king of Batia, in the country of Ramal, to demand her in marriage. Dharsiya although he<sup>47</sup> was the elder brother, gave her a princely dowry, and sent her with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot to Dahir, recommending him by letter to marry her to the king of Bhatia,<sup>48</sup> who had stipulated that he should receive a fort as her marriage portion. The messengers went to Alor, and remained there one month. (*Here follows an account of Dahir marrying his sister because it was prognosticated*

<sup>44</sup> [Main in MS. A., Bai signifies "lady," and is much used as a respectful term instead of the name. "Main" is probably an error for "Bai," but it may possibly have been the real name of the princess.]

<sup>45</sup> [Alor in A., but Rawar in B.]

<sup>46</sup> [Surin in B.]

<sup>47</sup> [Dahir?]

<sup>48</sup> So written here, but elsewhere Batia.

*that her husband would be king of Hind and Sind, and the contests between the brothers in consequence.)*

Rai Dahir receives information.

Rai Dahir goes to an astrologer to ascertain the fate of the sister.

The predictions of the astrologers.

Consultation of Budhiman, the minister, with Rai Dahir.

Ingenuity of Budhiman, the minister.

Dahir sends a letter to Dharsiya.

Dharsiya receives the letter.

Dahir sends another letter to Dharsiya.

Dharsiya marches to Alor to seize Dahir.

Endeavours of Dharsiya to take Dahir prisoner.

Dahir asks advice from his minister.

Dharsiya enters the fort of Alor on an elephant.

Dahir is informed of the death of Dharsiya.

The burning of Dharsiya's body.

### *Dahir goes to Brahmanabad*

Dahir remained one year in Brahmanabad, in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharsiya, and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwistan, and thence to the fort Rawar,<sup>40</sup> of which his father Chach had laid the foundations, but the works were not completed when he died. He remained there for some time, and ordered that the fort should be finished. He remained there during the four hot months, for it is a pleasant place and has an agreeable climate, and he used to remain during the four cold and dark months at Brahmanabad. He passed his time in this manner for eight years, during which time he became confirmed and generally recognized in his dominions in Sind and Hind. The chiefs of Ramal became aware of his wealth both in treasure and elephants.

<sup>40</sup> [Here, again, it is doubtful if Alor or Rawar be meant, nor does it appear how Dharsiya and Dahir could both at different times be said to have completed the fort. [A. says Alor, but B. has Rawar.]

*The chiefs of Ramal come to fight with Rai Dahir*

The chiefs advanced with a large and powerful army of horse and foot and war-elephants. They came, by way of Budhiya, to the town (*rosta*) of Rawar, and conquered it, and passed on from thence to Alor.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Muhammad 'Allafi*<sup>50</sup> (*an Arab mercenary,*) *goes against the chiefs of Ramal*

Muhammad 'Allafi, an Arab of the Bani Asamat, who had killed 'Abdu-r Rahman son of Ash'ab, for having run away from battle, came to join Dahir with five hundred Arabs.

\* \* \* \* \*

The 'Allafi made a night attack on the Ramal troops with his five hundred Arabs and warriors of Hind, and fell upon them on all four sides with a great shout, and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and fifty elephants, besides horses and arms innumerable fell into their hands.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dahir then told his good and judicious minister to ask a favour. The minister replied: "I have no son who will carry down my name to posterity. I request, therefore, that orders may be given to have my name stamped on the silver coin of the realm, so that my name being on one face, and the king's on the other, it will not then be forgotten in Hind and Sind." Dahir ordered that the minister's wish should be complied with.

*Chronology : History of First Four Khalifas*

The history of the four first Khalifas. Mu'awia bin Abu Sufian. Sannan bin Salma bin Ghuru-l Hindi. Rashid bin 'Umaru-l Khizri. Sannan bin Salma recovers the Government. Munzir bin Harud bin Bashar. Hak-kam bin Munzir. 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwan. The 'Allafis, etc. Muja'a bin Safar bin Yazid bin Huzaika. Walid bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwan. Account of the

<sup>50</sup> [This is the spelling of B. M.S. A. always has "'Allani'".]

presents sent to the Khalifa from Sarandip. Hajjaj sends a messenger to Dahir, the Infidel. Hajjaj obtains permission to leave the Capital. Budail suffers martyrdom. 'Imadu-d din Muhammad Kasim bin Abi 'Akil Sakifi. Hajjaj writes letters to the Capital and Syria. Hajjaj reads the Khutba on Friday. Departure of Muhammad Kasim. The army arrives at Shiraz. Muhammad Kasim arrives at Makran. Harun proceeds with Muhammad Kasim. The army marches from Armabel. The orders of Hajjaj reach Muhammad Kasim. The Arab army makes preparations, and Hajjaj's orders arrive. The flag-staff of the temple of Debal is knocked down by a mangonel. Budhiman comes to Muhammad Kasim, and receives a promise of protection. A fifth portion of the booty in slaves and coins is set aside. The capture of Debal is reported to Rai Dahir. The letter of Rai Dahir. The reply of Muhammad Kasim to Rai Dahir.

*Muhammad Kasim proceeds to Nirun after the conquest of Debal*

Historians have related, upon the authority of Banana bin Hanzala Kalabi, that after the conquest of Debal, where great plunder was taken, Muhammad Kasim ordered the mangonels to be placed on boats, and went towards the fort of Nirun. The boats went up the stream which they call Sindh Sagar;<sup>51</sup> but he himself took the road of Sisam, and when he arrived there, he received Hajjaj's answer to the announcement of the victory.

*The answer of Hajjaj to Muhammad Kasim.*

*An account of the inhabitants of Nirun obtaining a passport from Hajjaj.*

Historians relate that Abu Lais Tamimi says, on the authority of Ja'uba bin 'Akaba Salami, who accompanied Muhammad Kasim, that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad Kasim proceeded to the fort of Nirun, the inhabitants of which had provided themselves with an order of security from Hajjaj at the time that the army of the Arabs had been defeated, and Budail had been killed, and they

<sup>51</sup> [So in B. MS. A. has "Wahind sagara."]

had agreed to pay a tribute. He arrived at Nirun, which is twenty-five parasangs from Debal, in six days. On the seventh day he encamped on a meadow near Nirun, which is called Balhar,<sup>52</sup> on the land of Baruzi and the waters of the Sihun<sup>53</sup> Mihran had not yet reached it. The army was parched with thirst, and Muhammad prayed to heaven for rain, and it fell, and filled all the streams and lakes near the city.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Muham̄mad Kasim sends confidential messengers to Nirun*

*The Samani, the Governor of Nirun, comes to pay his respects to Muhammad Kasim, and brings present*

\* \* \* \* \*

Muhammad Kasim built at Nirun a mosque on the site of the temple of Budh, and ordered prayers to be proclaimed in the Muhammadan fashion, and appointed an Imam. After remaining there some days, he prepared to go to Siwistan, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Mihran. He determined to conquer the whole country, and after the capture of Siwistan, to recross the river, and proceed against Dahir. God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled!

### *The expedition to Siwistan*

After Muhammad Kasim had settled affairs at Nirun, he equipped his army, and under the guidance of the Samani took it towards Siwistan. He arrived by regular stages at a place called Bahraj,<sup>54</sup> thirty parasangs from Nirun. There also was a Samani, who was chief of the rest of the inhabitants. In the fort the nephew of Dahir was governor; his name was Bajhra, the son of Chandar. All the Samanis assembled and sent a message to Bajhra, saying, we are *nasih* devotees. Our religion is one of peace

<sup>52</sup> [Balahar" in B.]

<sup>53</sup> [Sihun from the root sih, to flow is the proper name of the Jaxartes. It is used here and elsewhere as a common noun for river. The early Muhammadan writers frequently apply the term to the Indus, the river being to them the river of India.]

<sup>54</sup> [So in A., but MS. B. has Maju manj.]

and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood. You are secure in a lofty place, while we are open to the invasions of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects. We know that Muhammad Kasim holds a farman from Hajjaj, to grant protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful, and keep their agreements. Bajhra refused to listen to them. Muhammad Kasim sent spies to ascertain whether the citizens were unanimous or inimical. They reported that some armed men were outside the fort, and prepared to fight. Muhammad Kasim encamped opposite the gate leading to the sandy desert, because there was no opportunity to attack him there, as the inundation had risen on account of the rains, and the river Sindhu Rawal<sup>55</sup> flowed to the north of the selected ground.

#### *Battle fought at Siwistan*

Muhammad Kasim ordered the mangonels to be prepared, and the fight was commenced. The Samanis prevented their chief from fighting, and told him that the Muhammadan army was not to be overcome by him, and he would not be able to oppose it. He would be merely placing his life and property in danger. When he would not listen to the advice of his subjects, the Samanis sent this message to Muhammad Kasim:—"All the subjects, farmers, and tradesmen, merchants, and the lower classes hate Bajhra, and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you, or give battle." The Muhammadan army were inspired with great courage on receiving the message, and fought day and night on the side of Muhammad Kasim. About a week after, the besieged stopped fighting, and when Bajhra knew that the fort was about to fall, he came out from the northern gate, at the time when the world was veiled in darkness, crossed the river, and fled. He continued his flight till he reached the boundary of Budhiya. In those

<sup>55</sup> [A. says *juyi Sindh wa Rawal rawan shud*. B. *jui sindh dar arwal*.]



days the ruler of the Budhiya territory was Kaka, son of Kotal, a Samani. His stronghold was Sisam, on the banks of the Kumbh. The people of Budhiya and the chiefs of the surrounding places came to receive Bajhra, and allowed him to encamp under the fort.

*Siwistan is taken and Bajhra flies*

When Bajhra went away, and the Samanis made submission, Muhammad Kasim entered the fort of Siwistan and gave quarter. He appointed his functionaries to discharge the civil duties of the territory, and brought the neighbouring places under his rule. He took the gold and silver wherever he found it, and appropriated all the silver, jewels, and cash. But he did not take anything from the Samanis, who had made terms with him. He gave the army their due, and having deducted a fifth part of the whole, delivered it to the treasurer of Hajjaj, and wrote a report of the victory to Hajjaj. He appointed Rawats there. He also sent the plunder and the slaves to him, and he himself stopped at Siwistan. Two or three days after he had separated the fifth part, and distributed to the army their shares, he proceeded to the fort of Sisam, and the people of Budhiya and the chief of Siwistan rose up to fight. Muhammad Kasim marched with all his force, except the garrison, which was placed under the officer left in Siwistan, and alighted at a place called Nilhan,<sup>56</sup> on the banks of the Kumbh. The inhabitants of the vicinity were all infidels, who assembled together as soon as they saw the Muhammadan army, and determined to make a night attack on it, and disperse it.

*The interview of the chiefs with Kaka*

The chiefs of Budh went to Kaka Kotal. The ranas of Budhiya are descended from Au. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called Aundhar.<sup>57</sup> They consulted with him, and said that they had determined to make a night attack on the army.

<sup>56</sup> ["Nidhan" in MS. B.

<sup>57</sup> Possibly Audhia on the Ghagra may be alluded to. [A. says kih audandhar goyand B. has kih audadhar goyand. The She au is probably the pronoun, and the name Dandhar or Danadahar, is possibly Dand-vihar. General Cunningham suggests that "Daundiakera or

*The reply of Kaka*

Kaka said—"If you can accomplish it, well and good; but the bahliks and monks have told me, according to their astrological books, that this country will be conquered by the Muhammadan army." He placed a chief, whose name was Pahan, at their head, and made gifts to the soldiers. There were one thousand brave fighting men under the command of this chief. They were all armed with swords, shields, javelins, spears, and daggers. When the army of the day fled for fear of the black legions of the night, they marched with the intention of making their night attack. As they approached the army of the Arabs, they missed the road, and were wandering about perplexed all the night from evening till daybreak. They were divided into four bodies, the one most advanced did not keep up a communication with that which was in the rear, nor did the left wing come in sight of the right, but they kept roving about in the desert. When they lifted up their heads they found themselves round the fort of Sisam.<sup>58</sup> When the darkness of night was expelled by the light of the king of the stars, they entered the fort, and told the whole to Kaka Kotal, saying that this their treacherous plan had not proved successful. Kaka said, "You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage. I have achieved many enterprises at your head, but in the books of the Budhs it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindustan shall be taken by the Muhammadans, and I also believe that this will come to pass."

*Kaka Kotal goes to Muhammad Kasim with Banana, son of Hanzala, and submits to him*

Kaka with his followers and friends went to the army of the Arabs. When he had gone a little distance, Banana,

*Daundhara may perhaps be the place intended. It is on the Ganges, and was the capital of the Bais Rajputs. Trilok Chand was the founder of this branch of the family, and the fourth in descent from him is Audhara Chand, who may be the Au mentioned in the text. See also Thomas' Prinsep, Table xxxii.]*

<sup>58</sup> [Probably the village now called "Seisan" on Lake Manchar, May not the latter be the "Kumb"? The word signifies "a waterpot," but its analogue Kund means "a lake."]

son of Hanzala, whom Muhammad Kasim had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, met him and took him to Muhammad Kasim. When he obtained the honour of coming before Muhammad Kasim, this general expressed his satisfaction, and gave him some good counsel. Kaka told him all about the Jats coming against him with the intention of making a night attack, and of their treacherous schemes. He also said that the Almighty God misled them in their way, so that they were wandering about the whole night in darkness and chagrin; and that the astrologers and credible persons of his country had found out by their calculations of the stars that this country would be taken by the Muhammadan army. He had already seen this miracle, and he was sure that it was the will of God, and that no device or fraud would enable them to withstand the Muhammadans. "Be firm under all circumstances," said he, "and set your mind at ease. You will overcome them. I make my submission to you, and I will be your counsellor, and assist you to the extent of my power. I will be your guide in overpowering and subduing your enemies." When Muhammad Kasim had heard all he had to say, he praised the great God, and in giving thanks placed his head upon the earth. He comforted Kaka and his dependants and followers, and promised him protection. He then asked him, "O chief of Hind, what is your mode of bestowing honour?" Kaka said, "Granting a seat, and investing with a garment of silk, and tying a turban round the head. It is the custom of our ancestors, and of the Jat Samanis." When Kaka had invested him with the dress, all the chiefs and head men of the surrounding places wised to submit to him. He dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance, and brought those to submission who were inimically disposed. 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Kaisu-d Dammani,<sup>59</sup> was appointed his lieutenant to punish all enemies and revolvers. Kaka plundered a people who were wealthy, and took much booty in cash, cloths, cattle, slaves, and grain, so that cow's flesh was plentiful in the camp. Muhammad Kasim, having marched from that place, came to the fort of Sisam. There he fought for two days, and

<sup>59</sup> [This name is doubtful in A., and quite unintelligible in B.]

God granted him victory. The infidels fled, and Bajhra bin Chandar, uncle of Dahir,<sup>60</sup> and many of the officers and nobles who were under his command, lost their precious lives. Of the rest some ran away far beyond the territory of Budhiya, and some to the fort of Bahitlur, between Saluj and Kandhabel, and from that place solicited a written promise of protection. Those chiefs were enemies of Dahir, and some of them had been slain—hence they revolted from him, and sent ambassadors, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirams weight of silver, and also sent hostages to Siwistan.

*Orders are received from Hajjaj, son of Yusuf, to cross the Mihran, and a battle is fought with Dahir*

When Muhammad Kasim had fixed the several tributes of those chiefs, he gave them fresh written agreements for their satisfaction. He appointed there Hamid, son of Wida'u-n Najdi and 'Abdu-l Kais, of the family of Jarud, and as they were confidential persons he entrusted to them all the business of that place.

When he had settled the affairs of Sisam, he received orders from Hajjaj to proceed to some other place; to return to Nirun, take measures to cross the Mihran, and fight with Dahir. He was directed to ask Almighty God for assistance in obtaining success and conquest; and after having obtained the objects of his expedition, he was to strengthen all the forts and places throughout the country, and leave none in an unprovided state. When Muhammad Kasim read the farman, and understood its contents, he came to Nirun and transmitted his despatches.

*Arrival of the Army of the Arabs at Nirun.*

After travelling over many stages, he halted at a fort which stands on the hill of Nirun. In the vicinity of it there is a reservoir, the water of which is purer than the eyes of lovers, and the meadows of it are more delightful than the gardens of Iram. He alighted there, and wrote a letter to Hajjaj, son of Yusuf.

*Muhammad Kasim's letter to Hajjaj, son of Yusuf, stating particulars*

In the name of the most merciful God, to the most exalted court of the noblest of the world, the crown of

religion, and protector of 'Ajam and Hind, Hajjaj, son of Yusuf—from the humble servant Muhammad Kasim greeting. After compliments, he represents that this friend, with all his officers, equipage, servants, and divisions of the Musulman army, is quite well, affairs are going on well, and a continuance of happiness is attained. Be it known to your bright wisdom that, after traversing deserts and making dangerous marches, I arrived in the territory of Sind, on the banks of the Sihun, which is called Mihran. That part of the territory which is around Budhiya, and is opposite the fort of Baghrur (Nirun), on the Mihran, is taken. This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dahir Rai. Some of the people who resisted have been taken prisoners, and the rest through fear have fled away. As the imperative orders of Amir Hajjaj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nirun, which is very near to the capital. It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken, and our treasuries replenished. The forts of Siwistan and Sisam have been already taken. The nephew of Dahir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islam or destroyed. Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Khutba is read, the call to prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The takbir and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.

\* \* \* \* \*

The reply of Hajjaj is received by Muhammad Kasim. Muhammad Kasim hears that Dahir Rai had proceeded to Nirun

Muhammad Kasim does honour to the Nirun Samani.

Muhammad Kasim fights on the banks of the Mihran.

Moka bin Bisaya enters into terms with Muhammad Kasim.

*Banana bin Hanzala is sent to Moka bin Bisaya, and  
seizes him and his attendants*

<sup>ω</sup> [A. says "Chandar bin Dahir." B. has "son of the uncle of Dahir."]

Then Banana bin Hanzala went with his tribe and an interpreter to the place indicated, and seized Moka bin Bisaya,<sup>61</sup> together with his family and twenty well-known Takars.<sup>62</sup> When Banana brought him before Muhammad Kasim, he was treated with kindness and respect, and the country of Bait was made over to him, and a grant was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand dirams were given to him as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair, and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takars were favoured with robes and saddled horses. Historians relate that the first umbrella of *Ranagi*, or chiefship, which he gave, was this to Moka. At Moka's request, he gave the land and all the towns, fields, and dependencies within the borders of Bait, to him and his descendants; and having entered into a firm treaty with him, directed him to collect boats.

*Muhammad Kasim sends a Syrian Ambassador and Maulana Islami to Dahir.*

*The ambassadors reach Dahir*

When they came to Dahir, Maulana Islami, of Debal, did not bow his head, or make any signs of reverence. Dahir recognized him, and asked him why he failed in the usual respectful salutation, and enquired if any one had thrown obstacles in his way. The Maulana of Debal replied, "When I was your subject it was right of me to observe the rules of obedience; but now that I am converted, and am subject to the king of Islam, it cannot be expected that I should bow my head to an infidel." Dahir said, "If you were not an ambassador, I would punish you with death." The Maulana replied, "If you kill me it will be no great loss to the Arabs; but they will avenge my death, and exact the penalty from you."

<sup>61</sup> [Chief of a large district, from the Sanskrit Vishaya. The term is still used in Orissa and Nagpur.]

<sup>62</sup> [I am doubtful if this is meant for Thakurs, or for takra, a word used in the West for a strong man. A little above, where Dharsiya sends his sister to Alor, the word is used apparently as a foot soldier, in opposition to a horseman. In other places it is used in conjunction with governors and nobles [and so corresponds exactly with thakur.]

The Syrian declares the object of his mission.

Dahir consults with Sisakar,<sup>63</sup> the minister.

'Allafi offers advice to Dahir.

The ambassadors return to Muhammad Kasim with the answer of Dahir Rai.

Muhammad Kasim receives an order from Hajjaj.

Muhammad Kasim informs his friends of Hajjaj's orders.

Rai Dahir arrives at the banks of the Mihran.

A Syrian is slain.

Mus'ab goes to Siwistan.

Jaisiya, son of Dahir, arrives at the fort of Bait.

Rai Dahir the infidel sends a message to Muhammad Sankifi.

Tiyar returns to Hajjaj from Muhammad Kasim.

Hajjaj sends two thousands horses to Muhammad Kasim.

Muhammad Kasim reads the orders of Hajjaj.

Hajjaj sends some vinegar to Muhammad Kasim.

The orders of Hajjaj reach Muhammad Kasim on the western bank of the Mihran.

Rai Dahir confers with the Samani, his minister, on Muhammad Kasim's preparations for crossing the river.

Muhammad Kasim prepares to cross to the eastern bank with his army.

Muhammad Kasim had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rai Dahir might come to the banks of the Mihran with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaiman bin Tihan Kuraishi to advance boldly with his troops against the fort, in order that Fufi,<sup>65</sup> son of Dahir, should not be able to join his father. Sulaiman accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the

<sup>63</sup> [Sihakar, or Siyakar in B.]

<sup>64</sup> [M.S. A. is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror,"—*Farmud kih tura ba lashkar-i-khud bighurur dar maqabil hisar-arur bayist.*

B.'s version is *tuba lashkar-i-khud bighurur ru wa dar muqabil hisar-i-rud bayist.*

<sup>65</sup> [M.S. A. writes the name "Kufi." but B. has "Fufi," and so has the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*. In this, as generally in other variants, each MS. maintains its own spelling throughout. See *Mcm. sur l'Inde*, 191.]

son of 'Atiya Tifi to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance, in order to cover Gandava<sup>06</sup> and he ordered the Samani, who was chief of Nirun, to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r rahman was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. He placed Namama<sup>07</sup> bin Hanzala Kalabi in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwan bin 'Ulwan al Bikri with 1500 men to attend on Moka Bisaya, chief of Bisaya, chief of Bait; and the Bheti Thakurs and the Jats of Ghazni, who had made submission and entered the Arab service, were told to remain at Sagara and the island of Bait.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Muhammad Kasim examines the fords.*

*Dahir hears that Moka Bisaya had collected boats.*

*Dahir gives the government of Bait to Rasil.*

\* \* \* \* \*

When Muhammad Kasim had collected his boats and began to join them together, Rasil with his officers and chiefs came to the opposite bank and prevented the completion of the bridge and the passage of the river. Muhammad Kasim thereupon ordered that the boats should all be brought to the western bank, and be there joined together, to a distance equal to the estimated breadth of the Mihran. He then placed his warriors fully armed upon the boats and let the head of the bridge, which was full of archers, float down to the eastern bank. The archers drove off the infidels who were posted to guard the passage. So the Arabs passed over to the other side, and driving pegs into the earth, made the bridge fast. The horse and foot then crossed and, giving battle, put the infidels to flight, and pursued them as far as the gates of Jham.

*Dahir awakes and kills his chamberlain for bringing him news of the flight of the infidels and the victory of Islam.*

*The Arab army advances*

The Arab army marched on till it reached the fort of Bait, and all the horseman were clad in iron armour. Pickets were posted in all directions, and orders were given



to dig an entrenchment round the camp, and to deposit the baggage there. Muhammad Kasim then advanced from the fort of Bait towards Rawar, till he arrived at a place called Jewar<sup>68</sup> (Jaipur). Between Rawar and Jewar (Jaipur) there was a lake,<sup>69</sup> on which Dahir had stationed a select body of troops to reconnoitre.

Dahir makes a request of Muhammad 'Allafi.<sup>70</sup>

The answer of 'Allafi, and his dismissal by Dahir.

Muhammad Kasim grants 'Allafi a safe passage.

Dahir confers with 'Allafi.

Letters pass between Muhammad Kasim and Hajjaj.

Dahir sends Jaisiya to reconnoitre.

First fight with the accursed Dahir.

#### *Treaty of Rasil with Muhammad Kasim.*

Rasil, after showing marks of respect and offering promises of fidelity, said, "No one can oppose the will of the Almighty God. As you have bound me by your obligations, I shall after this be at your service, and will never contravene your wishes. I shall obey whatever may be your orders." After a short time Rasil lost his position, and the management of the country devolved upon Moka. Rasil and Moka agreed in opinion, and advised Muhammad Kasim to march. He accordingly set out from that place and reached a village which is called Narani, Dahir was at Kajijat.<sup>71</sup> They saw that between them and Dahir's camp there was a large lake, which was very difficult to cross. Rasil said, "May the most just and religious noble live long. It is necessary to cross this lake." Rasil obtained a boat, and sent three men across at a time, till the whole army crossed over, and took post on a bay. Rasil said, "If you will advance one stage more, you will arrive at Jewar (Jaipur), on the banks of the Wadhawah.<sup>72</sup> This is a village suitable for your encampment and is the

<sup>68</sup> [Gandadhmah in A. Gandarha in B.]

<sup>69</sup> [So in both MSS.]

<sup>68</sup> [In MS. A. this is written *jewar* in the first instance, and in the second *chitur Chitur*. B. has *jewar* in both cases. See page 169.]

<sup>69</sup> [Khuluj." It is subsequently called an "ab-gir."]

<sup>70</sup> [This name is always written "Allafi" in MS. A.]

<sup>71</sup> [B. "Kajijak."]

<sup>72</sup> ["Dadhawah" B.]

same distance from the camp of Dahir as it is from here. There you may attack him both in front and rear, and successfully enter into his position and occupy it." Muhammad Kasim approved of the advice, and reached Jewar (Jaipur) and the Wadhawah.

*Arrival of Muhammad Kasim at Jewar (Jaipur)*

Intelligence was brought to Rai Dahir that Muhammad Kasim with the Arab army had reached Jewar (Jaipur), and when his minister Sisakar<sup>73</sup> heard of it, he said, "Alas! we are lost. That place is called Jaipur,<sup>74</sup> or the town of victory, and as the army has reached that place, it will be successful and victorious." Dahir Rai took offence at these words. The fire of indignation blazed out in his mind, and he said with anger, "He has arrived at Hindbari,<sup>75</sup> for it is a place where his bones shall lie." Dahir left the place, and with precipitation went into the fort of Rawar. He placed his dependants and baggage in the fort, and himself went out to a place which was a parasang's distance from the Arabs. Dahir then said to an astrologer, "I must fight to-day; tell me in what part of the heavens the planet Venus is, and calculate which of the two armies shall be successful, and what will be the result."

*Prediction of the Astrologer*

After the computation, the astrologer replied,—“According to the calculation, the victory shall be to the Arab army, because Venus is behind him and in front of you.” Rai Dahir was angry on hearing this. The astrologer then said, “Be not angered, but order an image of Venus to be prepared of gold.” It was made, and fastened to his saddle-straps, in order that Venus might be behind him, and he be victorious. Muhammad Kasim drew nearer, and the interval between both armies was only half a parasang.

<sup>73</sup> [“Siyakar” B.]

<sup>74</sup> It is generally Jewar; [but here we have chitur Chitur in A.] This explanation shows it must be Jaipur.

<sup>75</sup> [Hadbari from haddi, a bone? MS. B. leaves a blank for the first syllable.]

Fight of the second day.  
 Dahir fights the third day with the Arab army.  
 Fight of the fourth day.  
 Fight of the fifth day.  
 The array of the army of Islam.  
 Muhammad Kasim Sakifi reads the Khutba.  
 Muhammad Kasim exhorts his soldiers.  
 The Arab army charges the Infidels.  
 Shuja' Habshi becomes a martyr.  
 Muhammad Kasim charges in the name of God.

*The accursed Dahir is slain*

Historians have related that Dahir was slain at the fort of Rawar at sunset, on Thursday, the 10th of Ramadan, in the year 93 (June, 712 A.D.). Abu-l Hasan relates upon the authority Abu-l Lais Hindi, who heard it from his father, that when the army of Islam made the attack, and most of the infidels were slain, a noise arose upon the left, and Dahir thought it came from his own forces. He cried out, "Come hither; I am here." The women then raised their voices, and said, "O king, we are your women, who have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, and are captives." Dahir said, "I live as yet, who captured you?"<sup>70</sup> So saying, he urged his elephant against the Musulman army. Muhammad Kasim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man, in obedience to this direction, shot his naphtha arrow into Dahir's howda, and set it on fire. Dahir ordered his elephant driver to turn back, for the elephant was thirsty, and the howda was on fire. The elephant heeded not his driver, but dashed into the water, and in spite of all the efforts of the man, refused to turn back. Dahir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves. Some of the infidels went into the water with them, and some stood upon the banks, but when the Arab horsemen came up, they fled. After the elephant had drunk water, he wanted to return to the fort. The Muhammadan archers plied their weapons, and a rain of arrows fell around. A skilful bowman aimed an arrow, which struck Dahir in the breast

<sup>70</sup> [Such is the reading of B. *Shumara ki girift* A. says, *bishuma ki bigirift.*]

(*bar dil*), and he fell down in the howda upon his face. The elephant then came out of the water and charged. Some of the infidels who remained were trampled under foot, and the others were dispersed. Dahir got off his elephant, and confronted an Arab; but this brave fellow struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head, and cleft it to his neck. The Muhammadans and infidels closed and maintained a deadly fight, until they reached the fort of Rawar. When the Brahmans who had gone into the water found the place of Dahir's fall deserted, they came out and hid the body of Dahir under the bank. The white elephant turned towards the army of the infidels, and no trace was left.

Proclamation issued by Muhammad Kasim.

How Ladi the wife of Dahir was taken.

Muhammad Kasim writes an account of the death of Dahir to Hajjaj.

The head of Dahir is sent to 'Irak.

Hajjaj gives his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Kasim.

Hajjaj reads the Khutba in the Masjid Jami' of Kufa.

Hajjaj sends an answer to Muhammad Kasim's account of his victory.

The relatives of Dahir Rai who were carried away captives.

*Jaisiya enters the fort of Rawar and prepares to fight*

The historians concur in the narration that when Dahir was killed, his son and Rani Bai<sup>77</sup> (who was Dahir's sister, but whom he had made his wife,) went into the fort of Rawar with his army, relations, and nobles, and took refuge in it. Jaisiya, who was proud of his courage, power, and dignity, prepared to fight. Muhammad 'Allafi was also with him. When the news of the death of Dahir arrived, and that the white elephant was hamstrung, Jaisiya son of Dahir said that he would go to oppose the enemy, and strike a blow to save his honour and name, for it would be no loss if he were to be slain. Sisakar, the minister, observed that the resolve of the prince was not good, the king had been killed, the army defeated

<sup>77</sup> [MS. A. still reads Main.]

and dispersed, and their hearts were averse to battle through fear of the enemy's sword. How could he go to fight with the Arabs? His dominions still existed, and the strongest forts were garrisoned with brave warriors and subjects. It was, therefore, advisable that they should go to the fort of Brahmanabad, which was the inheritance of his father and ancestors. It was the chief residence of Dahir. The treasuries and stores were full, and the inhabitants of the place were friends and well wishers of the family of Chach, and would all assist in fighting against the enemy. Then the 'Allafi was also asked what he considered proper. He replied that he concurred in this opinion. So Jaisiya assented, and with all their dependants and trusty servants, they went to Brahmanabad. Bai (Main), the wife of Dahir, together with some of the generals, prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort, and fifteen thousand warriors were counted. They had all resolved to die. Next morning, when it was learnt that Dahir had been killed between the Mihran and the stream called Wadhawah,<sup>78</sup> all the chiefs (Rawats) and officers who were attached to the Rani entered the fort. Muhammad Kasim, on receiving the intelligence, marched in that direction, and encamped under the walls. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions, and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins.

*The fort is taken and Bai (Main), the sister of Dahir,  
burns herself*

Muhammad Kasim disposed his army, and ordered the miners to dig and undermine the walls. He divided his army into two divisions; one was to fight during the day with mangonels, arrows, and javelins, and the other to throw naphtha, fardaj (?), and stones during the night. Thus the bastions were thrown down. Bai (Main), the sister of Dahir, assembled all her women, and said, "Jaisiya is separated from us, and Muhammad Kasim is come. God forbid that we should owe liberty to these outcast cow-eaters! Our honour would be lost! Our respite is at an end,<sup>79</sup> and there is nowhere any hope of escape; let

<sup>78</sup> [Dadhawah? B.]

<sup>79</sup> [This passage is taken from B. MS. A. is unintelligible.]

us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire, and burnt themselves. Muhammad took the fort, and stayed there for two or three days. He put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword, and shot some with arrows. The other dependants and servants were taken prisoners, with their wives and children.

*Detail of the slaves, cash, and stuffs, which were taken*

It is said that when the fort was captured, all the treasures, property, and arms, except those which were taken away by Jaisiya, fell into the hands of the victors, and, they were all brought before Muhammad Kasim. When the number of the prisoners was calculated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs, and one of them was Rai Dahir's sister's daughter, whose name was Jaisiya.<sup>80</sup> They were sent to Hajjaj. The head of Dahir and the fifth part of the prisoners were forwarded in charge of K'ab, son of Maharak. When the head of Dahir, the women, and the property all reached Hajjaj, he prostrated himself before God, offered thanksgivings and praises, for, he said, he had in reality obtained all the wealth and treasures and dominions of the world.

*Hajjaj sends the head of Dahir, and some of his standards, to the Capital*

Hajjaj then forwarded the head, the umbrellas, and wealth, and the prisoners to Walid the Khalifa. When the Khalifa of the time had read the letter, he praised Almighty God. He sold some of those daughters of the chiefs, and some he granted as rewards. When he saw the daughter of Rai Dahir's sister, he was much struck with her beauty and charms, and began to bite his finger with astonishment. 'Abdu-llah bin 'Abbas desired to take her, but the Khalifa said, "O my nephew! I exceedingly admire this girl, and am so enamoured of her, that I wish to keep her for myself. Nevertheless, it is better that you should

<sup>80</sup>[M.S. B. has "Hasna."]

take her to be the mother of your children." By his permission, therefore, 'Abdu-llah took her. She lived a long time with him, but no child was born from her. Afterwards, another letter was received about the capture of the fort of Rawar. It is said that after the conquest was effected, and the affairs of the country were settled and the report of the conquest had reached Hajjaj, he sent a reply to the following effect. "O my cousin; I received your life-inspiring letter. I was much pleased and overjoyed when it reached me. The events were recounted in an excellent and beautiful style, and I learnt that the ways and rules you follow are conformable to the Law. Except that you give protection to all, great and small alike, and make no difference between enemy and friend. God says,—Give no quarter to Infidels, but cut their throats." "Then know that this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it will prolong your work. After this, give no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank. This is a worthy resolve, and want of dignity will not be imputed to you.<sup>81</sup> Peace be with you!"—Written at Nafa', A.H. 73.

*Jaisiya sends letters from Brahmanabad to Alor,<sup>82</sup> Batiya, and other places*

Some historians from amongst the religious Brahmans have narrated respecting the death of Dahir and adventures of Muhammad Kasim, that when the accursed Rai Dahir went to hell, Jaisiya took refuge in the fort of Brahmanabad, and Rawar was taken, Jaisiya made preparations for war and sent letters in all directions; viz.: One to his brother Fufi,<sup>83</sup> son of Dahir, who was in the fort of the capital of Aror; the other to his nephew Chach, son of Dhar-siya, in the fort of Batiya; and the third to his cousin, Dhawal, son of Chandar, who was in the direction of Budhiya and Kaikanan. He informed them of Dahir's

<sup>81</sup>[*hich dushman ra amman madeh illa hamangaura bazurg ast rayi wa fitur shaukat hammal kunand. A negative seems to be required*]

<sup>82</sup>[*Arur.*]

<sup>83</sup>[*"Kufi" always in A.*]

death and consoled them. He himself was in Brahmanabad with his warriors ready to fight.

### *Battle of Bahrur and Dhalila*

Muhammad Kasim now determined to march to Brahmanabad. Between Dawar and that city there were two fortresses called Bahrur and Dhalila which contained about sixteen thousand fighting men. When Muhammad Kasim reached Bahrur he besieged it for two months. After the war had been protracted so long, Muhammad Kasim ordered that part of his army should fight by day and part by night. They threw naphtha and plied their mangonels so that all the warriors of the adverse party were slain, and the walls of the fort thrown down. Many slaves and great plunder were taken. They put the fifth part of it into the public treasury. When the news of the capture of Rawar and Bahrur reached Dhalila, the inhabitants knew that Muhammad Kasim possessed great perseverance, and that they should be on their guard against him. The merchants fled to Hind, and the men of war prepared to defend their country. At last, Muhammad Kasim came to Dhalila, and encamped there for two months, more or less. When the besieged were much distressed, and they knew that from no quarter could they receive reinforcements, they put on the garments of death, and anointed themselves with perfumes. They sent out their families into the fort which faces the bridge, and they crossed over the stream of the Naljak,<sup>84</sup> without the Musulmans being aware of it.

### *The flight of the chief of Dhalila*

When the day dawned through the veil of darkness Muhammad Kasim learnt that they had fled, so he sent some men of his army after them, who overtook part of them as they were passing over the river and put them to the edge of the sword. Those who had crossed previously fled to Hindustan through the country of Ramal and the sandy desert to the country (*bilad*) of Sir, the chief of which country was named Deoraj. He was the son of the uncle of Dahir Rai.

<sup>84</sup> ["*Manjhal*" in B.]



*Dhalila conquered, and a fifth part of its booty sent to the capital of the Khalifa*

When Muhammad Kasim had fought the battle of Dhalila and conquered, the fifth part of the plunder was deposited in the treasury to be sent to the capital, and he sent a report of the conquest of Bahrur and Dhalila to Hajjaj, with all the particulars.

*Arrival of Sisakar, the minister, to seek protection*

Muhammad Kasim sent letters to the chiefs of the different parts of Hind, and invited them to make submission, and embrace Islam. When Sisakar, minister of Dahir, heard of this, he sent some confidential servants, and sued for protection. He brought the Muhammadan women who were in his possession, and said that they were those women who cried out for help to Hajjaj.

*Sisakar appointed Minister*

Muhammad Kasim showed him much respect, and sent his chief officers to receive him. He paid him great honour, and treated him with much kindness, and conferred upon him the office of Wazir. Sisakar now became the counsellor of the Muhammadans. Muhammad Kasim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him on all the civil affairs of the government, his political measures, and the means of prolonging his success. He used to say to Muhammad Kasim that the regulations and ordinances which the just Amir had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind. They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies; for he comforts all the subjects and malguzars, takes the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burdens any one with new and additional exactions, and instructs all his functionaries and officers.

*The government of Dhalila conferred on Nuba, son of Dhavan son of Dhalila.<sup>85</sup>*

It is said by some people that when Dhalia was conquered, Muhammad Kasim called Nuba, son of Dhavan,

<sup>85</sup> [This last name is not in MS. A.]

and having made a compact with him, invested him with honours, and conferred on him the entire governorship of the fort, and its dependencies from the eastern to the western boundaries. From that place to Brahmanabad there was distance of one parasang. Jaisiya, son of Dahir, received intelligence that the Muhammadan army was coming.

*The Arab army arrives at the banks of the lake of Jalwali, and an ambassador is sent to invite the people to embrace Islam*

Muhammad Kasim marched from Dhalia, and encamped on the banks of the stream of the Jalwali<sup>86</sup> to the east of Brahmanabad. He sent some confidential messengers to Brahmanabad to invite its people to submission and to the Muhammadan faith, to preach to them Islam, to demand the Jizya, or poll-tax, and also to inform them that if they would not submit, they must prepare to fight. Jaisya, son of Dahir, before the arrival of the messengers, had gone to Chanir.<sup>87</sup> He had chosen sixteen men from among the chiefs of that city, and had placed four of these men as wardens at each of the four gates of the city, with a part of his army. One of these gates was called Jawetari, and four men were stationed at it. One of them was Bharand, the other Satiya, the third Maliya,<sup>88</sup> and the fourth Salha.

*Muhammad Kasim arrives there in the beginning of the month of Rajab*

When Muhammad Kasim reached there, he ordered entrenchments to be dug. The battle commenced on Saturday, the first of Rajab. The infidels came out every day, and engaged and beat their drums. There were about forty thousand fighting men. From the dawn of day till sunset the battle was fought with great fury on both sides. When the king of the stars disappeared they also returned.

<sup>86</sup> [The "Falaili" ?]

<sup>87</sup> ["Janir" in B.] *He appears ubiquitous, and his proceedings do not appear to be related in chronological order. This place may be also read Chansir, and it seems to be the same as the Chanesar which follows elsewhere.]*

<sup>88</sup> ["Manura" in B.]

The Muhammadans entered their entrenchments, and the infidels went into their fort. Six months passed in this manner. Kasim despaired of taking the fort, and became very pensive. On Sunday, in the end of the Zi-l Hijja, A.H. 93 (October, 712 A.D.), Jaisiya, who had fled to the country of Ramal, which is called Batiya, came back from that place, infested the roads, and distressed the Muhammadan army.

*A messenger sent to Moka*

Muhammad Kasim despatched one of his confidential servants to Moka Bisaya, and informed him that he was perpetually harassed by Jaisiya, who prevented the supply of fodder, and put him to great trouble. He enquired the remedy. Moka said that as Jaisiya was very near, there was no alternative but that he should be made to depart. So he sent from his own force a large body of trusty men to drive him off.

*Jaisiya goes to Jaipur.<sup>89</sup>*

Banana, son of Hanzala Kalabi, 'Atiya Sa'ibi, Saram son of Abu Saram Hamadani, and 'Abdu-l Malik Madanni, with their horsemen, and Moka Bisaya at their head, and also Jazim, son of 'Umar Waladihi were sent with an army and supplies of provisions. Jaisiya was informed of the march of the Arab army. He therefore left his place with all his property and family, and went by way of the sandy desert to the places called Jankan, 'Awara, and Kaya, in the territory of Jaipur. The 'Allafi deserted him. He thence proceeded to the territory of Takiya, and went away and determined to do homage to the king of Kashmir, which is towards Rosta on the boundary of Royam. This territory is all waste and desert. From that place he wrote to the Rai, whose capital lay amidst the hills. He stated that of his own free will, and with a sincere heart, he had come to wait upon him.

*Jaisiya son of Dahir goes to the Rana*

The letter was read before the Rai of Kashmir, who

<sup>89</sup> [Both MSS. here have "Jatrur." A few lines further on A. has "Chitor," but B. keeps to "Jatrur." See note elsewhere.]

issued orders that, from among the dependencies of Kashmir, a place called Shakalha<sup>90</sup> should be assigned to Jaisiya.

*The Rai of Kashmir gives presents to Jaisiya son of Dahir*

The day on which they met, the Rai of Kashmir gave fifty horses with saddles, and two hundred valuable suits of apparel to his officers. Hamim, son of Sama the Syrian, was sent to the fief of Shakalha. When he went a second time to see the Rai of Kashmir, he was again received with great respect and honour, and an umbrella, a chair, and other presents were given to him. These are honours which are bestowed upon great kings. With great respect and ostentation he was re-conducted to his tenure in the plains. After staying there some time he expired in Shakalha, and was succeeded by Hamim, son of Sama, whose descendants remain there to this day. He founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmir. When Jaisiya<sup>91</sup> went to Jaipur, and stayed there, he wrote letters to Fufi, son of Dahir, at Alor. He informed him of the cause of his leaving the country, and advised him to hold out in that part. Fufi, son Dahir, received much encouragement on reading the letter, and on learning that he had gone away to Jaipur.

When Muhammad Kasim had fought for six months at Brahmanabad, and war was protracted for a long time, and the news of Jaisiya was received from Chanesar,<sup>92</sup> four of the chief merchants of the city consulted together at the gate of the fort, which is called Jawetari.<sup>93</sup> They said the Arabs have conquered the whole territory, Dahir has been killed, Jaisiya is king, and the fort has been besieged for a space of six months; we have neither power nor wealth to enable us to fight with the enemy, nor can we make peace with him. If he stay a few days more, he will at

<sup>90</sup> [Gen. Cunningham thinks that this may possibly be "Kuller-Kahar," in the Salt range which at this time belonged to Kashmir.]

<sup>91</sup> [It is difficult to say who is meant in the preceding passages. Jaisiya is mentioned by name in the heading of the chapter, but his name does not occur again until this place. This passage begins—*[pas jaisiyah basilad-i chiturr (jatrur) raft wa maqam kard.*

<sup>92</sup> [Chanesar A. janesar B.]

<sup>93</sup> ["Jaretari" B.]

last be victorious, and we have no ground on which to ask protection from him. We are not able to stand any more before that army; we should, therefore, now join together, and sallying out attack Kasim, or be slain in the attempt; for if peace be made, all those found in arms will be slain, but all the rest of the people, the merchants, the handicraftsmen, and the cultivators, will find protection. And if they could get any assurance, it was better, they said, to make terms and surrender the fort to him. He would take them under his protection, and they would find him their supporter if they would follow rules of allegiance. To this opinion they all agreed. They sent their messengers, and craved for themselves and their families exemption from death and captivity.

*Protection granted to them on their faithful promises of allegiance*

Muhammad Kasim granted them protection on their faithful promises, but put the soldiers to death, and took all their followers and dependants prisoners. All the captives, up to about thirty years of age, who were able to work, he made slaves, and put a price upon them.<sup>94</sup> Muhammad Kasim called all the chief officers of Hajjaj together, and related the message to them, saying that ambassadors had come from Brahmanabad, and it should be heard what they had to say, and a proper answer should be carefully prepared and given to them.

*Opinion of Moka Bisaya*

Moka Bisaya said, "O noble man! this fort is the chief of all the cities of Hind. It is the seat of the sovereign. If this be taken, the whole of Sind will come into your possession. The strongest forts will fall, and the dread of our power will increase. The people will sever themselves from the descendants of Dahir, some will run away, and others submit to your rule."

*Muhammad Kasim's communication to Hajjaj*

Muhammad Kasim informed Hajjaj of all the cir-

<sup>94</sup> [wa har burdeh ki az sapīyyat ta qarab si sal dar qaid wa aghlal kashand wa mal bar bar ishan main kardand.]

cumstances, and furnished those people with his written orders. He fixed the time with them, and they said that on the day named he should come to the Jawetari<sup>95</sup> gate, from which they would sally out to fight; but when they should come near him, and the Arab army should attack them, they would fly away in the midst of the battle, go into the fort, and leave the gate open. After an answer was received from Hajjaj, to the effect that Kasim should give them protection, and faithfully execute the compact made with them, the people of the fort fought for a short time, and when the Arabs attacked them, and engaged, they fled and entered the fort, leaving the gate open.<sup>96</sup> The Arabs thus got possession of it, and the whole army followed and mounted the walls. The Muhammadans then loudly shouted "Allah Akbar," and the people of the fort, seeing the Musulmans victorious, opened the eastern gate, and fled with precipitation. The Muhammadans thus gained the victory, but Muhammad Kasim ordered them to kill none but those who showed fight. They seized all who had arms, and brought them prisoners before Muhammad Kasim, with all their arms and property, dependants, and families. Everyone who bowed down his head and sued for protection was released, and allowed to occupy his own house.

*Resistance made by Jaisiya<sup>97</sup> and the wife of Dahir*

It is said, on the authority of the old men of Brahmanabad, that when the fort of Brahmanabad was taken, Ladi, the wife of Dahir Rai, who since Dahir's death had stayed in the fort with his son,<sup>98</sup> rose up and said, "How can I leave this strong fort and my family. It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, and preserve our homes and dwellings. If the army of the Arabs should be successful, I must pursue some other course. She then brought out all her wealth and treasures, and distributing them among the warriors of the army, she thus encouraged her brave soldiers while the fight was

<sup>95</sup> ["Jaretari," B.]

<sup>96</sup> [This is not clear, but it appears that the citizens betrayed the garrison.]

<sup>97</sup> [Sic in both MSS.]

<sup>98</sup> [ba hisar rai "son of the Rai."]

carried on at one of the gates. She had determined that if the fort should be lost, she would burn herself alive with all her relations and children. Suddenly the fort was taken, and the nobles came to the gate of Dahir's palace and brought out his dependants. Ladi was taken prisoner.

*Ladi, the wife of Dahir is taken, with his two maiden daughters*

When the plunder and the prisoners of war were brought before Kasim, and enquiries were made about every captive, it was found that Ladi, the wife of Dahir, was in the fort with two daughters of his by his other wives. Veils were put on their faces, and they were delivered to a servant to keep them apart. One-fifth of all the prisoners were chosen and set aside; they were counted as amounting to twenty thousand in number, and the rest were given to the soldiers.

*Protection is given to the artificers*

Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants, and the common people, and those who had been seized from those classes were all liberated. But he (Kasim) sat on the seat of cruelty, and put all those who had fought to the sword. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to some, sixteen thousand were killed, and the rest were pardoned.

*The relations of Dahir are betrayed by the Brahmans*

It is related that when none of the relations of Dahir were found among the prisoners, the inhabitants of the city were questioned respecting them, but no one gave any information or hint about them. But the next day nearly one thousand Brahmans, with shaven heads and beards, were brought before Kasim.

*The Brahmans come to Muhammad Kasim*

When Muhammad Kasim saw them, he asked to what army they belonged, and why they had come in that manner. They replied, "O faithful noble! our king was a Brahman. You have killed him, and have taken his country; but some of us have faithfully adhered to his

cause, and have laid down our lives for him ; and the rest, mourning for him, have dressed themselves in yellow clothes, and have shaved their heads and beards. As now the Almighty God has given this county into your possession, we have come submissively to you just Lord, to know what may be your orders for us." Muhammad Kasim began to think, and said, "By my soul and head, they are good, faithful people. I give them protection, but on this condition, that they bring hither the dependents of Dahir, wherever they may be." Thereupon they brought out Ladi. Muhammad Kasim fixed a tax upon all the subjects, according to the laws of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax;<sup>99</sup> and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades. The first grade was of great men, and each of these was to pay silver, equal to forty-eight dirams in weight, the second grade twenty-four dirams, and the lowest grade twelve dirams. It was ordered that all who should become Musulmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and poll-tax. Some showed an inclination to abide by their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held by the faith of their forefathers,<sup>100</sup> but their lands and property were not taken from them.

*Brahmanabad is given into the charge of the prefects of the country*

Muhammad Kasim then allotted to each of the prefects an amount of revenue suited to his ability and claims. He stationed a force at each of the four gates of the fort, and gave the charge of them (to the prefects). He also gave them as tokens of his satisfaction saddled horses, and ornaments for their hands and feet, according to the custom of the kings of Hind. And he assigned to each of them a seat in the great public assemblies.

<sup>99</sup> ["Bandagi wa mal wa gazid," or "gazand," as A. has it.]

<sup>100</sup> [Bazi az ishan bar aqamat maudat namudand wa bazi dil bar guzid nihadand wa bar kish miraftand. The word mu'dwadat is found only in B.]



*Division of the people into three classes—artizans,  
merchants, and agriculturists*

All people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately into their respective classes, and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted. Muhammad Kasim then ordered twelve diram's weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered. He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and villages, that there might be a feeling of strength and protection. When the Brahmans saw this, they represented their case, and the nobles and principal inhabitants of the city gave evidence as to the superiority of the Brahmans. Muhammad Kasim maintained their dignity, and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Kasim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Rai Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmans to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dahir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice, that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants, and would never be resumed or transferred.

*The Brahmans go with great confidence into the villages*

Then the Brahmans and the government officers went into the districts, and said, "Oh chiefs and leaders of the people, you know for certain that Dahir is slain, and that the power of infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is firmly established, and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals, both in town and country. The great Sultan has shown favour to us humble individuals, and ye must know that he has sent us to you, to hold out great induce-

ments. If we do not obey the Arabs we shall neither have property nor means of living. But we have made our submission in hope that the favour and kindness of our masters may be increased to us. At present we are not driven from our homes; but if you cannot endure this tribute which is fixed on you, nor submit to the heavy burden, then let us retire at a suitable opportunity to some other place of Hind or Sind, with all your families and children, where you may find your lives secure. Life is the greatest of all blessings. But if we can escape from this dreadful whirlpool, and can save our lives from the power of this army, our property and children will be safe.

*Taxes are fixed upon the inhabitants of the city*

Then all the inhabitants of the city attended and agreed to pay the taxes. They ascertained the amount from Muhammad Kasim. And in respect of the Brahmans whom he had appointed revenue managers over them, he said, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan, and if distribution is required make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves, and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."

*Muhammad Kasim admonishes the people*

Muhammad Kasim admonished every man separately, and said, "Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown you. And whatever may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied."

*Muhammad Kasim gives an order in favour of the people of Brahmanabad*

The Brahmans did not receive the alms which were given to them according to the old custom, by the merchants, the infidels, and thakurs, who took delight in worshipping the idols. The attendants of the temples were likewise in distress. For fear of the army, the alms

and bread were not regularly given to them, and therefore they were reduced to poverty. They came to the gate of his palace, and lifted up their hands in prayer. They said, "May you live long, oh just lord! We people obtain our livelihood and maintenance by keeping the temple of Budh. You showed mercy upon the merchants and the infidels, confirmed them in their property, and made them zimmi (tolerated subjects). Hence we, your slaves, relying upon your bounty, hope permission may be given for them to worship their gods, and repair the temple of Budh." Muhammad Kasim replied, "The seat of government is Alor, and all these other places are dependencies of it." The Hindus said, "The edifice (temple) of this city is under the Brahmans. They are our sages and physicians, and our nuptial and funeral ceremonies are performed by them. We have agreed to pay the taxes in the expectation that every one would be left to follow his own persuasion. This our temple of Budh is ruined, and we cannot worship our idols. If our just lord will permit us, we will repair it, and worship our gods. Our Brahmans will then receive the means of living from us."

*Muhammad Kasim writes to Hajjaj, and receives an answer*

Muhammad Kasim wrote to Hajjaj, and after some days received a reply to the following effect. The letter of my dear nephew Muhammad Kasim has been received, and the facts understood. It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup>[*ta bi khandhiye khud barayi khud sindagani kanand.*]

*Arrival of Hajjaj's orders*

When the orders of Hajjaj reached Muhammad Kasim, he had left the city, and had gone a march. He directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants, and the Brahmans to build their temple, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear, and strive to better themselves. He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmans with kindness and consideration, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors, and give oblations and alms to the Brahmans, according to former practice. They were to allot three dirams out of every hundred dirams capital, and to give them as much of this as should be necessary—the remainder was to be paid into the treasury and accounted for; it would be safe in the keeping of Government.<sup>102</sup> They were also to settle allowances upon the officers and the nobles. They all fully agreed to these conditions before Tamim bin Zaidu-l Kaisi and Hukm bin 'Awana Kalbi. It was ordained that the Brahmans should, like beggars, take a copper basin in their hands, go to the doors of the houses, and take whatever grain or other thing that might be offered to them, so that they might not remain unprovided for. This practice has got a peculiar name among the infidels.

*Muhammad Kasim grants the request of the people of Brahmanabad*

Muhammad Kasim granted the request which the people of Brahmanabad had made to him, and permitted them to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians,<sup>103</sup> and fire worshippers of 'Irak and Sham. He then dismissed them, and gave to their head men the appellation of Rana.<sup>104</sup>

*Muhammad Kasim calls for Sisakar, the Minister*

He then called the minister Sisakar and Moka Bisaya, and asked them what was the position of the Jats of

<sup>102</sup> [wa az sad diram seh diram bar a sal mal bi nagarand chand wajib bashad badishan rasanand baqi dar wajah khazana dar qalm-i-ashab wa hazur-i-sanab dar hiz mibashad.]

<sup>103</sup> [qaim budan chunanta juhud wa tarsi wa nasrani wa majus.]

<sup>104</sup> [M.S. B.]

Lohana<sup>105</sup> in the time of Chach and Dahir, and how were they dealt with? Sisakar, the minister, replied in the presence of Moka Bisaya that in the reign of Rai Chach, the Lohanas, viz. Lakha and Samma, were not allowed to wear soft clothes, or cover their heads with velvet; but they used to wear a black blanket beneath, and throw a sheet of coarse cloth over their shoulders. They kept their heads and feet naked. Whenever they put on soft clothes they were fined. They used to take their dogs with them when they went out of doors, so that they might by this means be recognized. No chief was permitted to ride on a horse. Wherever guides were required by the kings they had to perform the duty, and it was their business to supply escort and conduct parties from one tribe to another. If any of their chiefs or ranas rode upon a horse, he had no saddle or bridle, but threw a blanket on its back, and then mounted. If an injury befel a person on the road, these tribes had to answer for it; and if any person of their tribe committed a theft, it was the duty of their head men to burn him and his family and children. The caravans used to travel day and night under their guidance. There is no distinction among them of great and small. They have the disposition of savages, and always rebelled against their sovereign. They plunder on the roads, and within the territory of Debal all join with them in their highway robberies. It is their duty to send fire-wood for the kitchen of the kings, and to serve them as menials and guards." On hearing this, Muhammad Kasim said, "What disgusting people they are. They are just like the savages of Persia and the mountains."\* Muhammad Kasim maintained the same rules regarding them. As the Commander of the faithful, 'Umar, son of Khitab, had ordered respecting the people of Sham, so did Muhammad Kasim also make a rule that every guest should be entertained for one day and night, but if he fell sick then for three days and nights.

*Muhammad Kasim sends a letter to Hajjaj bin Yusuf*

When Muhammad Kasim had settled the affairs of

<sup>105</sup>[*Kar jatan Lohana.*]

\* *ham chunan bilad-i faras wa kuh-i Bayah [Kuh Bals'ima] mardman doshti bashad.*

Brahmanabad and the Lohana territory, and had fixed the tribute of the Jats, he sent a report of all these particulars to Hajjaj. It was written at a place on the river Jalwali,<sup>106</sup> above Brahmanabad. The account of taking the territory of Sind was communicated and stated in full detail.

#### *Reply of Hajjaj*

Hajjaj wrote in reply, "My nephew Muhammad Kasim, you deserve praise and commendation for your military conduct, and for the pains you have taken in protecting the people, ameliorating their condition, and managing the affairs of the Government. The fixing of the revenue upon each village, and the encouragement you have given to all classes of people to observe the laws, and their agreements, have brought much vigour to the Government, and have tended to the good administration of the country. Now you should not stay any longer in this city. The pillars of the countries of Hind and Sind are Alor and Multan. They are the capitals and royal residences. There must be great riches and treasures of kings hidden in these two places. If you stop anywhere, you should choose the most delightful place, so that your authority may be confirmed in the whole country of Hind and Sind. If any one refuses to submit to Muhammadan power slay him. May you be victorious under the decree of the Almighty God, so that you may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. Amir Kutaiba, son of Muslimu-l Kuraishi is sent; you should make over all the hostages to him, and an army is also placed under him. You should act in such a manner, O son of your uncle, and son of the mother of Jaisiya,<sup>107</sup> that the name of Kasim may become celebrated through you, and your enemies be humbled and confounded. May it please God."

#### *The arrival of the letter of Hajjaj*

When the letter of Hajjaj reached Muhammad Kasim, he read it. It was also written in it, "You, O Muhammad, consult me in your letters, for it is prudent. The

<sup>106</sup>[A. has Jalwani. See *supra*.]

<sup>107</sup>[Alluding probably to her being destined for Hajjaj. A few pages before we find Ladi was taken by Muhammad Kasim.]

excessive distance is an obstacle. But show kindness that your enemies may desire to be submissive ; comfort them."

*Appointment of four of the chief men of the city as officers for the management of the dountry*

Muhammad Kasim then called Wida', son of Hamidu-n Najdi, for the management of the city of Brahmanabad, that is, Bain-wah,<sup>108</sup> and appointed overseers and assistants. He entrusted four persons from among the merchants of the city with all matters concerning property. He strictly ordered that they should inform him fully and particularly of all matters, and that nothing should be decided without consulting him. He placed Nuba, son of Daras, in the fort of Rawar, and directed him to hold the place fast, and keep the boats ready. If any boat coming up or down the stream was loaded with men or arms of war, he was to take them and bring them to the fort of Rawar. He placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of the son of Ziyadu-l 'Abdi, and appointed Handil, son of Sulaimanu-l Azdi, to the districts which belonged to the territory of Kiraj,<sup>109</sup> Hanzala, son of Akhi Banana Kalbi, was made governor of Dahlila, and they were all ordered to inquire into and investigate the affairs of the surrounding places, and report to him thereon every month. He also directed them to assist each other so that they might be secured from attacks of the enemy's forces, and from the opposition of rebellious subjects, and they were to punish disturbers of the peace. He stationed two thousand foot soldiers with Kais bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Kaisu-d Damani and Khalid Ansari in Siwistan, and sent Mas'ud Tamimi, son of Shitaba Jadidi, Firasati 'Atki, Sabir Lashkari, and 'Abdu-l Malik son of 'Abdullah, Al Khaza'i, Mahram son of 'Akka, and Alufa son of 'Abdu-r Rahman, to Debal and Nirun, in order to maintain possession of those places. Amongst the companions of his exploits there was a man named Malik, who was a Maula ; him he appointed

<sup>108</sup> [This is the spelling of MS. A. The name is not given in B. The real name was Bahmanu or Bahmanwa. See ante. Biruni's *Kanun* quoted in Thomas' *Prinsep*, Vol. II. p. 120 ; Reinaud's *Fragments*, pp. 41, 113.]

<sup>109</sup> [So in MS. A. MS. B. has "Kuraj." See ante.]

ruler of Karwail. 'Alwan Bakkari and Kais, son of S'aliba, with three hundred men, also remained in that place, and there they had their wives and families. Thus the whole territory of the Jats was kept under subjection.

*Muhammad Kasim proceeds to Sawandi Samma*

It is related that when Muhammad Kasim had attended to the affairs of the district of Brahmanabad, and of the eastern and western parts of the territory, he marched from that place on Thursday, the third of Muharram A.H. 94 (9 Oct., 712 A.D.). He stopped at a village called Manhal,<sup>110</sup> in the vicinity of Sawandi.<sup>111</sup> There was a beautiful lake and a delightful meadow there, which were called Danda and Karbaha. He pitched his tents on the banks of the Danda. The inhabitants of the country were Samanis. The chiefs and merchants all came and made submission to Muhammad Kasim, and he gave them protection, according to the orders of Hajjaj. He said that that they might live in their country with comfort and content, and pay the revenue at the proper season. He fixed revenue upon them and appointed a person from each tribe as the head of his tribe. One was a Samani, whose name was Bawadu, and the other, Budehi Bamman Dhawal. The agriculturists in this part of the country were Jats, and they made their submission and were granted protection. When all these circumstances were communicated to Hajjaj, he sent an emphatic answer, ordering that those who showed fight should be destroyed, or that their sons and daughters should be taken as hostages and kept. Those who chose to submit, and in whose throats the water of sincerity flowed, were to be treated with mercy, and their property secured to them. The artizans and merchants were not to be heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported. From those who espoused the dignity of Islam, only a tenth part of their wealth and the produce of the land was to be required; but those who followed their own religion were to pay from the produce of their manual industry, or from the land, the

<sup>110</sup> [*Mathal* in MS. B.]

<sup>111</sup> See ante.



usual sums, according to the established custom of the country, and bring it to the Government collectors. Muhammad Kasim then marched from that place and arrived at Bahrawar. There he called Sulaiman, son of Pathan and Aba Fazzatu-l Kasha'ri and made them swear by the Omnipotent. He gave them strict orders, and sent them with a body of men belonging to Haidar, son of 'Amru and Bani Tamim towards the territory of the people of Bahraj.<sup>112</sup> They took up their residence there; and 'Umar, son of Hajjazu-l Akbari Hanafi was appointed their chief, and a body of famous warriors were placed under him.

*The Sammas come to receive him*

Muhammad Kasim then moved towards the tribes of the Samma. When he came near, they advanced to receive him, ringing bells, and beating drums and dancing. Muhammad Kasim said, "What noise is this?" The people told him that it was with them a customary ceremony, that when a new king comes among them they rejoice and receive him with frolics and merriment. Then Kharim, son of 'Umar, came to Muhammad Kasim and said, "It is proper for us to adore and praise the Almighty God, because He has made these people submissive and obedient to us, and our injunctions and inhibitions are obeyed in this country. Kharim was an intelligent and ingenious man, faithful and honest. Muhammad Kasim laughed at his words, and said, "You shall be made their chief," and he ordered them to dance and play before him. Kharim rewarded them with twenty dinars of African gold, and said—It is a regal privilege that joyful demonstrations should be made by them on the arrival of their prince, and gratitude thus be shown to the Almighty—may this blessing be long preserved to them!

<sup>112</sup> These passages are doubtful and have no meaning as they stand. [The following is the text:—*wa anja niz Sulayman bin Pathan wa Aba Fazzatul Kashari maula Kunad ura bakhand wa ishan ra Sangandhha dad bi Khudayi azzwa jall wa boulad kunad bar talud wa ishan ra wa an juna at ra az Hayder bin Amru wa Bani Tamim dad wa ba nidd-i ahl biharj firastad. MS. B. omits the second eshanra.*]

*Muhammad Kasim marches towards Lohana and Sihta*

The historians say, upon the authority of 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Abdu-r Rahman bin 'Abdu-llah us Saliti, that when Muhammad Kasim had settled the affairs of Lohana, he came to Sihta. The chiefs and peasants advanced bare-headed and bare-footed to receive him, and sued for mercy. He granted them all protection, fixed the revenue they were to pay, and took hostages. He asked them to guide him through the various stages to Alor. Their guides were sent forward to Alor, which was the capital of Hind and the greatest city in all Sind. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, artisans, and agriculturists. The governor of its fort was Fufi, son of Rai Dahir, and before him nobody dared say that Dahir was slain. He maintained that Rai Dahir was yet alive, and had gone to bring an army from Hind, that with its support and assistance he might fight with the Arabs. Muhammad Kasim encamped for one month before the fort, at the distance of one mile. He built there a mosque, in which he read the Khutba every Friday.

*Battle with the people of Alor*

War was then waged with the people of Alor, who believed that Dahir was bringing men to their aid. They cried aloud from the ramparts to the besiegers, "You must abandon all hope of life, for Dahir, with a formidable army of numberless elephants, horse and foot, is advancing in your rear, and we shall sally out from the fort and defeat your army. Abandon your wealth and baggage, take care of your lives, and run away, that you may not be killed. Hear this advice."

*Muhammad Kasim purchases Ladi, the wife of Dahir,  
from a woman* <sup>113</sup>

When Muhammad Kasim saw their resolution and perseverance in maintaining hostilities, and found that they persisted in denying that Dahir was slain, he put Ladi, the wife of Dahir, whom he had purchased from a woman

<sup>113</sup> [Such are the words of the text. See *supra*.]

and made his wife, on the black camel on which the wife of Dahir used to ride, and sent her with trusty persons to the fort. She cried out, "O people of the fort, I have some matters of importance to tell you; come near that I may speak." A body of the principal men ascended the ramparts. Ladi then uncovered her face, and said, "I am Ladi, the wife of Dahir. Our king is killed, and his head has been sent to 'Irak; the royal flags and umbrella have also been forwarded to the capital of the Khalifa. Do not you destroy yourselves. God says (in the Kuran) 'Seek not destruction by your own hands,'" She then shrieked out, wept bitterly, and sang a funeral song. They replied from the fort,<sup>114</sup> "You are false; you have joined these *Chandals* and Cow-eaters, and have become one of them. Our king is alive, and is coming with a mighty army and war elephants to repel the enemy. Thou hast polluted thyself with these Arabs, and prefer their government to our kings." Thus and still more did they abuse her. When Muhammad Kasim heard this, he called Ladi back, and said, "Fortune has turned away her face from the family of Silajj."

*A sorceress tries to ascertain the death of Dahir*

It is related by the historians that in the fort of Alor there was a sorceress, which in Hindi is called Jogini. Fufi, son of Dahir, and the nobles of the city, went to her and said, "It is expected that you will tell us by your science where Dahir is." She replied that she would give them information, after making experiments, if they would allow her one day for the purpose. She then went to her house, and after three watches of the day she brought a branch of the pepper and the nutmeg tree from Sarandip (Ceylon), with their blossoms and berries all green and perfect in her hand, and said, "I have traversed the whole world from Kaf to Kaf, but have found no trace of him anywhere in Hind or Sind, nor have I heard anything of him. Now settle your plans, for if he were alive he could not remain hidden and concealed from me. To verify my words, I have brought these green branches from Sarandip

<sup>114</sup> [ishan ra az bala mi goftand. This is an instance of the frequent misuse of it in MS. A. The other MS. B. omits it].

that you may have no delusions. I am sure that your king is not alive on the face of the earth."

### *Capitulation of the fort of Alor*

When this became known, the people of the city, great and small, said they had heard of the honesty, prudence, justice, equity, and generosity of Muhammad Kasim, and his faithful observance of his words and promises, and they had witnessed the same. They would send him a message by some trustworthy person, pray for mercy, and surrender the fort. When Fufi was assured of Dahir's death, and of the wavering of the people, he came out of the fort with all his relations and dependants, at the time when the king of the stars had passed behind the black curtain of night, and went towards Chitor (Jaipur).<sup>115</sup> His brother Jaisiya and other sons of Dahir were there, and had taken up their residence at a village called Nuzul-Sandal.<sup>116</sup> There was a man of the tribe of 'Allafi in Alor, who had made friendship with Fufi; he wrote information of Fufi's retirement and flight, and having fastened the paper to an arrow shot it (into the camp, informing the Arabs) that Fufi, son of Dahir, had abdicated the chiefship of Alor, and had departed. Muhammad Kasim then sent his brave warriors to fight, and they ascended the ramparts of the fort and made the assault.

### *The citizens crave protection*

All the merchants, artizans, and tradesmen, sent a message saying, "We have cast off our allegiance to the Brahmans. We have lost Rai Dahir, our chief, and his son Fufi has deserted us. We were not satisfied until today; but as it was destined by God that all this should happen, no creature can oppose His will and power, nor can anything be done against him by force or fraud. The dominion of this world is no one's property. When the army of God's destiny comes forth from behind the veil of secrecy, it deprives some kings of their thrones and crowns,

<sup>115</sup> ["*Jatrur*," in B.]

<sup>116</sup> [*Wa Jai siya dugiya (wa wagiya) anba Dahir ham unja budand wa mauzai ast ki un ra nazul-sandal (wa aliyah kaud) goy and unja sakin shudch budand.*]

and drives others to despair and fight, by change of circumstances and the occurrence of calamities. No dependance can be placed upon either old sovereignty or new authority, which are fleeting possessions. We now come submissively to you confiding in your just equity, we put ourselves under your yoke. We surrender the fort to the officers of the just Amir. Grant us protection and remove the fear of your army from our minds. This ancient dominion and extensive territory were entrusted to us by Rai Dahir, and as long as he was alive we observed our allegiance to him. But as he is slain, and his son Fufi has run away, it is now better for us to obey you." Muhammad Kasim replied, "I sent you no message, nor ambassador; of your own accord you sue for peace, and make promises and engagements. If you are truly inclined to obey me, stop fighting, and with sincerity and confidence come down; if not, I will hear no excuses after this, nor make any promises. I will not spare you, nor can you be saved from my army."

#### *The Garrison capitulates*

Then they came down from the ramparts and agreed with each other that on these terms they would open the gate and stand at it till Muhammad Kasim should come. They said that if he would act according to his promise, and would treat them generously, they would submit to him and serve him, without any excuse. Then they took the keys of the fort in their hands and stood before the gate, and the officers of Hajjaj, who had been selected, came forward; the garrison opened the gate and made their submission.

#### *Muhammad Kasim enters the fort*

Muhammad Kasim then entered the gate. All the citizens had come to the temple of Nau-vihar,<sup>117</sup> and were prostrating themselves and worshipping the idol. Muhammad Kasim asked what house it was, that all the great men and the nobles were kneeling before it, and making prostrations. He was told that it was a temple called Nau-

<sup>117</sup> [The title would appear to have been a common one, for there was a temple of the same name at Brahmanabad, see *supra*.]

vihar. Muhammad Kasim ordered the door of the temple to be opened, and he saw an image mounted on a horse. He went in with his officers, and found that it was made of hard stone, and that golden bracelets, ornamented with rubies and other precious stones, were on its hands. Muhammad Kasim stretched out his hand and took off one of the bracelets. He then called the keeper of the temple of Budh Nau-vihar, and said, "Is that your idol?" He replied, "Yes; but it had two bracelets, and now it has only one." Muhammad Kasim said, "Does not your god know who has got his bracelet?" The keeper hung down his head. Muhammad Kasim laughed, and gave back the bracelet to him, and they replaced it on the hand of the idol.

*Muhammad Kasim orders the soldiers to be killed*<sup>118</sup>

Muhammad Kasim ordered that if the military bowed their heads in submission they should not be killed. Ladi said "the people of this country are chiefly workmen, but some are merchants. The city is inhabited and its land cultivated by them, and the amount of the taxes will be realized from their earnings and tillage if the tribute is fixed on each person." Muhammad Kasim said, "Rani Ladi has ordered this," and he gave protection to all.

*A person comes forward and craves mercy*

It is related by the historians, that from amongst the people who were given up to the executioners to be put to death, a person came forward and said, "I have a wonderful thing to show." The executioner said, "Let me see it." He said, "No, I will not show it to you, but to the commander." This was reported to Muhammad Kasim, and he ordered him to be brought before him. When he came, he asked him what wonder he had to show. The man said it was a thing which nobody had yet seen. Muhammad Kasim said, "Bring it." The Brahman replied, "If you grant my life, and that of all and every of my relations, family, and children." Muhammad Kasim said,

<sup>118</sup> [The contents of the chapter do not agree with the heading, nor with the execution which appear to have been ordered in the next chapter.

"I grant it." He then asked him for a written and express promise under his gracious signature. Muhammad Kasim thought that he would produce some precious gem or ornament. When a strict promise was made, and the written order was in his hand, he pulled his beard and whiskers, and spread out the hairs; then he placed his toes at the back of his head and began to dance, repeating this saying, "Nobody has seen this wonder of mine. The hairs of my beard serve me for curls." Muhammad Kasim was surprised at this. The people who were present said, "What wonder is this for which he wishes to be pardoned? He has deceived us." Muhammad Kasim replied, "A word is a word, and a promise is a promise." 'To belie oneself is not the act of a great man.' 'Know that he who retracts is a treacherous man.' 'See how a (true) man observes his promise.' 'If a person fulfil his words, he is more exalted than you can conceive.' We must not kill him, but we will send him to prison, and report the case to Hajjaj for his decision." Accordingly the execution of that man and of twenty-two of his relations and dependants was postponed, and a report of the case was written to Hajjaj, who asked the learned men of Kufa and Basra to pronounce their opinions. A report was also sent to 'Abdu-l Malik, the Khalifa of the time. The answer which came from the Khalifa and the learned men was, that such a case had already occurred among the friends of the Prophet—may peace be to him! God says, "He is a true man who fulfils his promise in God's name." When the answer to this effect came, the man was liberated with all his dependants and relations.

*Jaisiya goes to Kuraj*

It is related by the great and principal men, that when Jaisiya, with seven hundred men, foot and horse, reached the fort of Kuraj,<sup>119</sup> the chief of that place came forth to receive him. He showed him much attention, and inspired his hopes by great promises. He told him that he would assist him against the Muhammadans. It was customary with Darohar<sup>120</sup> Rai to take one day's holiday in

<sup>119</sup> [See *Supra.*]

<sup>120</sup> [The "*Duhar*" of "*Biladuri*, p. 124.]

every six months, drink wine with women, hear songs, and see dancing. No stranger was admitted to be one of the company. It happened that on the day Jaisiya arrived Darohar Rai was celebrating this festival. He sent a person to Jaisiya to say that on that day he was in privacy, and no stranger could come to his chamber; but as he (Jaisiya) was a very dear guest, and was regarded by him as his son, he might attend. Jaisiya bent down his head, and drawing lines on the earth did not look at the women. Darohar told him that they might be regarded as his (Jaisiya's) mother and sisters; he might lift up his head and look. Jaisiya said, "I am originally a monk, and I do not look at any woman who is a stranger. Darohar then excused him from looking, and praised his self-restraint and modesty. It is narrated, that when the women came round him, there was among them the sister of Darohar, whose name was Janki, that is, beautiful, and she was lovely. She was a woman of royal descent, and possessed of great charms. She was elegant in stature as the juniper tree, generous in disposition, her words were like a string of pearls, her eyes handsome, and her cheeks like tulips or rubies. When she saw him, love for Jaisiya took hold of her heart. She looked at him every moment, and made love to him by her gestures. When Jaisiya went away, Janki, the sister of Darohar, arose and went to her house. She had a litter prepared, in which she seated herself, and ordering her maid-servants to carry it, she proceeded to Jaisiya's dwelling. There she alighted from the litter and went in. Jaisiya had gone to sleep, but when the smell of wine, which proceeded from Janki, penetrated his brain, he awoke, and saw Janki sitting beside him. He rose up and said, "Princess what has brought you here? What time is this for you to come here?" She replied, "Foolish fellow, there is no necessity to ask me about this. Would a young and beautiful woman come in the very dark of the night to visit a prince like you? Would she rouse him from sweet slumber, and wish to sleep with him, but for one purpose, particularly a beauty like me, who has seduced a world with her blandishments and coquetry, and made princes mad with desire? You must know well and fully my object, for how can it remain concealed from you? Take advantage of this success till morning." Jaisiya said,



"Princess, I cannot consort with any other woman than my own lawful and wedded wife; nor ought such a thing to be done by me, because I am a Brahman, a monk, and a continent person, and this act is not worthy of great, learned, and pious men. Beware lest you defile me with so great a crime." Although she importuned him much, he would not accede to her wishes, and struck the hand of denial on the tablet of her breast.

*Janki is disappointed by Jaisiya*

When Janki was disappointed, she said, "Jaisiya, you have deprived me of the delights and raptures I anticipated. Now have I determined to destroy you, and to make myself the food of fire." She then retired to her house, and covered herself with her clothes. Having closed the door, she tossed about on her bed till day-break, and was uttering these couplets:—"Your love and your charms have burnt my heart." "The light of your beauty has illumined my soul." "Give me justice or I will weep." "I will burn myself, you, and the city together." The next day, although the king of the stars had raised his head from the bastions of the heavens, and tore up the coverlid of darkness, Janki was still asleep. The fumes of wine and the effects of separation mingled together, and she remained lying till late, with her head covered with her bedclothes. King Darohar would take no breakfast, and drink no wine, till his sister Janki showed her face. He always paid her much honour and respect. So he rose and went to his sister's apartments, and found her overwhelmed with care and melancholy. He said, "O, sister! O princess, what has come over thee, that thy tulip-coloured face is changed and turned pale?" Janki replied, "Prince, what stronger reason can there be than this?—That fool of Sind surely saw me in the gay assembly. Last night he came to my house, and called me to him. He wanted to stain the skirt of my continence and purity, which has never been polluted with the dirt of vice, and to contaminate my pious mind and pure person with the foulness of his debauchery, and so bring my virgin modesty to shame. The king must exact justice for me from him, so that no rockless fellow may hereafter attempt such perfidy and violence." The fire of anger blazed out in Darohar, but he told his sister

that Jaisiya was their guest, and moreover a monk and a Brahman, who was connected with them. He had come to ask assistance; and was accompanied by one thousand warriors. He could not be killed. He was not to be destroyed by force; "but," said he, "I will contrive some plot to slay him. Arise and take your morning meal. As no crime has been committed no open threats can be made."

*Darohar contemplates treacherous measures against Jaisiya*

Darohar came to his palace, called two armed blacks, one of whom was named Kabir Bhadr,<sup>121</sup> and the other Bhaiu, and thus addressed them, "I will invite Jaisiya to-day after breakfast, and entertain him; after dinner, I will drink wine in a private apartment, and play chess with him. You must both be ready with your arms. When I say *shah mat* (check-mate), do you draw your swords and kill him." A man of Sind, who had been one of the servants of Dahir and was on terms of friendship with an attendant of Darohar, became acquainted with this scheme, and informed Jaisiya of it. When at the time of dinner, an officer of Darohar came to call Jaisiya, he said to his thakurs who were in command of his soldiers, "Oh Gursia<sup>122</sup> and Sursia, I am going to dine with King Darohar. So you prepare your arms and go in with me. When I am playing chess with Darohar do you stand close behind him, and be careful that no eye may fall on me, or any treacherous act be done or contrived.

*Jaisiya comes with his two armed men*

According by they went to the court, and as Darohar had omitted to order that no other person except Jaisiya should be allowed to come in, both the attendants went in and stood behind Darohar without his observing them. When they had finished the game of chess, Darohar raised his head, in order to make the signal to his men, but he saw that two armed men were standing ready near him. He was disappointed, and said, "It is not checkmate, that sheep must not be slain." Jaisiya knew that this was the signal, so he arose and went to his house and ordered his horses to be prepared. He bathed, put on his arms, got

<sup>121</sup> ["Sahal" in B.]

<sup>122</sup> ["Tursiya," MS. B.]

his troops ready, and ordered them to mount. Darohar sent an officer to see what Jaisiya was doing. He returned, and said, "May God's blessing be upon that man! His nature is adorned with the ornaments of temperance. He is of noble extraction, and his works are not evil. He always strives to preserve his purity and holiness in the fear of God." It is narrated that when Jaisiya had bathed, taken food, and put on his arms, he loaded the baggage on camels, and passing under the palace of Darohar, left him without paying him a visit and saying farewell; but he sent to inform him of his departure, and marched away with all his relations and dependants. He travelled till he reached the land of Kassa,<sup>123</sup> on the borders of Jalandhar. The Chief of it was named Balhara, and the women of the country called him Astan Shah.<sup>124</sup> He remained there till the succession of the Khilafat developed upon 'Umar 'Abdu-l Aziz, when 'Amru, son of Musallam, by the orders of the government, went to that country and subjugated it.

*An account of the courage of Jaisiya, and the reason why he was so called*

It was related by some Brahmans of Alor that Jaisiya, son of Dahir, was unequalled in bravery and wisdom. The story of his birth runs, that one day Dahir Rai went hunting with all the animals and all the equipments of the chase. When the dogs and leopards and lynxes were set free to chase the deer, and the falcons and hawks were flying in the air, a roaring lion (*sher*) came forth, and terror and alarm broke out among the people and the hunters. Dahir alighted from his horse, and went on foot to oppose the lion, which also prepared for fight. Dahir wrapped a sheet round his hand which he put into the beast's mouth, then raised his sword, and cut off two of his legs. He then drew out his hand and thrust his sword into the belly and ripped up the animal so that it fell down. Those men who had fled for fear came home, and told the Rani that Dahir Rai was fighting with a lion. The wife of

<sup>123</sup> [So in MS. A. "Kasar" in B. See Biladuri, *supra*.]

<sup>124</sup> [MS. A. says, *wa an malik ra Bilhar nam bud An Nisa Kassa astan shah goftand.*

MS. B. says, *wa an malik ra Bilhara nam Asa Kahan (?) Sha goftandi.*]

Dahir was big with child when she heard this news, and from the great love she bore her husband she fell and swooned away. Before Dahir had returned, the soul of his wife had departed from her body through fright. Dahir came and found her dead, but the child was moving in the womb, so he ordered her to be cut open, and the child was taken out alive, and given over to the charge of a nurse. The child was therefore called Jaisiya, that is, "*al muzaffar bi-l asad*," or in Persian, *sher-firoz*, "lion-conqueror."<sup>125</sup>

*Appointment of Rawah, son of Asad, who was the issue of the daughter of Ahnak, son of Kais*

The dressers of this bride, and the embellishers of this garden have thus heard from 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Salma bin Muharib and 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of 'Abdarius Saliti, that when Muhammad Kasim had subjugated the proud people of Alor, the seat of government, and all the people had submitted to him and obeyed his rule, he appointed Rawah, son of Asad, who on his mother's side was one of the grandsons of Ahnak, son of Kais, to the chiefship of Alor and entrusted the matters connected with the law and religion to Sadru-l Imam al Ajall al 'Alim Burhanu-l Millat wau-d Din Saifu-s Sunnat wa Najmu-sh Shari'at, that is, to Musa bin Ya'kub bin Tai bin Muhammad bin Shaiban bin 'Usman Sakifi. He ordered them to comfort the subjects, and leave not the words "Inculcate good works and prohibit bad ones," to become a dead letter. He gave them both advice as to their treatment of the people, and leaving them entire power, he then marched from that place and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yabiba,<sup>126</sup> on the south bank of the Bias. It was an old fort, and the chief of it was Kaksa.

*Kaksa is vanquished and comes to Muhammad Kasim*<sup>127</sup>

Kaksa, son of Chandar, son of Silaij, was cousin of

<sup>125</sup> [The real name therefore would seem to be Jai Sing.

<sup>126</sup> [MS. A. has "basa" B. has "ya bibah".]

<sup>127</sup> [This heading is not given in MS. B. The full reading of MS. A. is "Subjugation of Kaksa and the coming of Silaij to M. Kasim." The genealogy which follows is taken from MS. B. The other MS. begins "Silaij, cousin of Dahir," which is an evident blunder, the heading and the text having probably been jumbled together.]

Dahir, son of Chach, and was present in the battle which Dahir fought; but having fled he had come to this fort in wretched plight, and had taken up his abode in it. When the Muhammadan army arrived, a contribution and hostages were sent, and the chiefs and nobles went forth and made submission. Muhammad Kasim showed them kindness, and granted them suitable rich khil'ats, and asked them whether Kaksā belonged to the family (*ahl*) of Alor, "for they are all wise, learned, trustworthy, and honest. They are famous for their integrity and honesty." He added, "Protection is given him, so that he may come with hearty confidence and hopes of future favour: for he shall be made counsellor in all affairs, and I will entrust him with the duties of the Wazarat." The minister Kaksā was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad Kasim used to make him sit before the throne and then consulted him, and Kaksā took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country, and the treasure was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad Kasim in all his undertakings, and was called by the title of Mubarak Mushir, "prosperous counsellor."

*Conquest of Sikka Multan*<sup>128</sup> by Muhammad Kasim

When he had settled affairs with Kaksā, he left the fort, crossed the Bias, and reached the stronghold of Askalanda,<sup>129</sup> the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. Rawa,<sup>130</sup> son of 'Amiratu-t Tafi, and Kaksā headed the advanced army and commenced battle. Very obstinate engagements ensued, so that on both sides streams of blood flowed. The Arabs at the time of their prayers repeated "Glorious God" with a loud voice, and renewed the attack. The idolaters were defeated, and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for seven days, and the nephew of the chief of Multan, who was in the fort of that city, made

<sup>128</sup> [It is here invariably called *sikkah-i-multan* in both MSS. The *Alsaka* of Biluduri, *Supra.*]

<sup>129</sup> [*Aksalanda* A. *Ala Kandah* B.]

<sup>130</sup> [*Randa* in B.]

such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions; but at last the chief of Askalanda<sup>131</sup> came out in the night time, and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Ravi. When their chief had gone away, all the people, the artizans, and merchants sent a message to say that they were subjects, and now that their chief had fled, they solicited protection from Muhammad Kasim. He granted this request of the merchants, artizans, and agriculturists; but he went into the fort, killed four thousand fighting men with his bloody sword, and sent their families into slavery. He appointed as governor of the fort 'Atba, son of Salma Tamimi, and himself with the army proceeded towards Sikka Multan. It was a fort on the south bank of the Ravi, and Bajhra Taki, grandson of Bajhra (daughter's son), was in it.<sup>132</sup> When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day, when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for seventeen days they maintained a fierce conflict. From among the most distinguished officers (of Muhammad Kasim) twenty-five were killed, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors of Islam were slain. Bajhra passed over the Ravi and went into Multan. In consequence of the death of his friends, Muhammad Kasim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage<sup>133</sup> the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multan, at the ferry below the city,<sup>134</sup> and Bajhra came out to take the field.

*Muhammad Kasim fights with the ferry-men*

That day the battle raged from morning till sun-set, and when the world, like a day labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, all retired to their tents. The next day, when the morning dawned from the horizon, and the earth was illumined, fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides; but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of

<sup>131</sup> [Askalanda A. Aad Kandah B.]

<sup>132</sup> [Bajhra nam nawasa Keh Bajhra taki dar un hisar bud.]

<sup>133</sup> [Kharab Kardand.]

<sup>134</sup> [Guzari Multan yani zir Multan.]

two months mangonels and ghazraks<sup>135</sup> were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the walls of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price even of an ass's head was raised to five hundred dirams. When the chief Gursiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dahir, saw that the Arabs were noway disheartened, but on the contrary were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmir. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort, and the fight commenced, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort, and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kasim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river.<sup>136</sup> A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down, and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependants were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artizans, and the agriculturists. Muhammad Kasim said the booty ought to be sent to the treasury of the Khalifa; but as the soldiers have taken so much pains, have suffered so many hardships, have hazarded their lives, and have been so long a time employed in digging the mine and carrying on the war, and as the fort is now taken, it is proper that the booty should be divided, and their dues given to the soldiers.

### *Division of Plunder*

Then all the great and principal inhabitants of the city assembled together, and silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight. After this, Muhammad Kasim said that some plan should be devised for realizing the money to be sent to the Khalifa. He was pondering upon this, and was discoursing on the subject, when suddenly a Brahman came and said, "Heathenism is now at an end, the temples are thrown down, the world has received the light of Islam, and mosques are built in-

<sup>135</sup> [Translated "a breastplate," "warlike instrument," in Richardson's Dictionary. The *Haft Kulzum* says it also bears the meaning of offensive weapons, as "javelins," "daggers."

<sup>136</sup> ["*ab ju*". This can hardly mean the main river.]

stead of idol temples. I have heard from the elders of Multan that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jibawin,<sup>137</sup> and who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multan, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he concealed forty copper jars each of which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir." It is related by historians, on the authority of 'Ali bin Muhammad who had heard it from Abu Muhammad Hindui that Muhammad Kasim arose and with his counsellors, guards and attendants, went to the temple. He saw there an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies.

#### *Reflection of Muhammad Kasim*

Muhammad Kasim thought it might perhaps be a man, so he drew his sword to strike it; but the Brahman said, "O just commander, this is the image which was made by Jibawin,<sup>138</sup> king of Multan, who concealed the treasure here and departed. Muhammad Kasim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained, and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand and two hundred *mans* weight of gold was taken out. This gold and the image were brought to the treasury together with the gems and pearls and treasure which were obtained from the plunder of the city of Multan.

It is said by Abu-l Hasan Hamadani, who had heard it from Kharim son of 'Umar, that the same day on which the temple was dug up and the treasure taken out, a letter came from Hajjaj Yusuf to this effect:—"My nephew, I had agreed and pledged myself, at the time you marched with

<sup>137</sup> ["*jur*" in MS. A. and "*jabwin*" in MS. B. The second letter may be *s*, making the name *Jasur* or *Jaswin*.]

<sup>138</sup> ["*Jibuin*" in MS. A. "*Jalbur*" in MS. B.]



the army, to repay the whole expense incurred by the public treasury in fitting out the expedition, to the Khalifa Walid bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwan, and it is incumbent on me to do so. Now the accounts of the money due have been examined and checked, and it is found that sixty thousand dirams in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Kasim, and up to this date there has been received in cash, goods, and stuffs, altogether one hundred and twenty thousand dirams weight.<sup>130</sup> Wherever there is an ancient place or famous town or city, mosques and pulpits should be erected there; and the khutba should be read, and the coin struck in the name of this government. And as you have accomplished so much with this army by your good fortune, and by seizing fitting opportunities, so be assured that to whatever place of the infidels you proceed it shall be conquered."

*Muhammad Kasim makes terms with the people of Multan*

When Muhammad Kasim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of the city of Multan he erected a Jama' masjid and minarets, and he appointed Amir Daud Nasr, son of Walid Ummani its governor. He left Kharim, son of 'Abdu-l Malik Tamin in the fort of Bramhapur, on the banks of the Jhailam, which was called Sobur (Sore?).<sup>140</sup> Akrama, son of Rihan Shami, was appointed governor of the territory around Multan, and Ahmad, son of Harima, son of 'Atba Madani was appointed governor of the forts of Ajtahad and Karur.<sup>141</sup> He despatched the treasure in boats to be carried to Debal<sup>142</sup> and paid into the treasury of the capital. He himself stayed in Multan, and about fifty thousand horsemen, with munitions of war, were under his command.

*Abu Hakim is sent at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj*

He then sent Abu Hakim Shaibani at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj, to convey a letter from

<sup>130</sup> [This passage is not clear in the original, nor do the MSS. quite agree, but see *Supra*.]

<sup>140</sup> [M.S. A has "subur" B has "surbadar"]

<sup>141</sup> [Karur in B.]

<sup>142</sup> [as rah kashiti rawan kard ta az dibal dar buzi (Buri) nihand wa bi khazanah dar-ul Khilafat rasanand.]

the Khalifa, and with instructions to invite the Chief to embrace Muhammadanism, to send tribute, and make his submission. He himself went with the army to the boundary of Kashmir, which was called the five rivers,<sup>143</sup> where Chach, son of Silaj, the father of Dahir, had planted the fir and the poplar trees, and had marked the boundary. When he arrived there he renewed the mark of the boundary.

*The army and Abu Hakim arrive at Udhafar*<sup>144</sup>

At this time the chief of Kanauj was the son of Jahtal Rai. When the army reached as far as Udhafar, Abu Hakim Shaibani ordered Zaid, son of 'Amru Kallabi, to be brought before him. He said, "Zaid, you must go on a mission to Rai Har Chandar, son of Jahtal, and deliver the mandate for his submission to Islam, and say that from the ocean to the boundary of Kashmir all kings and chiefs have acknowledged the power and authority of the Muhammadans, and have made their submission to Amir 'Imadu-d Din, general of the Arab army, and persecutor of the infidels. That some have embraced Islam, and others have agreed to send tribute to the treasury of the Khalifa."

*Answer of Rai Har Chandar of Kanauj*

Rai Har Chandar replied, "This country for about one thousand six hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary, nor has any one ventured to oppose us, or to lay hands upon our territory. What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind. It is not proper to send an envoy to prison, otherwise, for this speech and for this impossible claim you would deserve such treatment. Other enemies and princes may listen to you, but not I.<sup>145</sup> Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight against each other in order that

<sup>143</sup> [See *Supra*.]

<sup>144</sup> ["udhafar" in A. "urdhabar" in B.]

<sup>145</sup> [Such is Sir H. Elliot's own rendering of what seems to be an important sentence in the original.]

our strength and might may be tried, and that either I may conquer or be conquered by you. When the superiority of one side or the other in warfare and courage shall be seen, then peace or war shall be determined on." When the message and letter of Rai Har Chandar was delivered to Muhammad Kasim, he took the advice of all the chiefs, nobles, commanders, and warriors, and said, "Up to this time, by the favour of God, and the assistance of the heavens, the Rais of Hind have been defeated and frustrated, and victory has declared in favour of Islam. To-day we have come to encounter this cused infidel who is puffed up with his army and elephants. With the power and assistance of God, it behoves you to exert yourselves that we may subdue him, and be victorious and successful over him." All were ready to fight against Rai Har Chandar,<sup>140</sup> and united together, and urged Muhammad Kasim to declare war.

*Orders from the Capital to Muhammad Kasim*

The next day, when the king of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night, a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of government arrived. Muhammad, son of 'Ali Abu-l Hasan Hamadani says, that when Rai Dahir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kasim had sent them to Baghdad under the care of his negro slaves. The Khalifa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalifa, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walid 'Abdu-l Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, "My name is Suryadeo," and the youngest replied, "my name is Parmaldeo." He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face the Khalifa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured

<sup>140</sup> [See *Ayin Akbari II*, 219. *Abu-l Fazl* gives the same name.]

of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryadeo and drew her towards him. But Suryadeo stood up, and said, "Long live the king! I am not worthy of the king's bed, because the just Commander 'Imadu-d-Din Muhammad Kasim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you ; but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings." The Khalifa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinize the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad Kasim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

*Muhammad Kasim reaches Udhafar, and receives the order from Khalifa's capital*

When Muhammad Kasim received the letter at Udhafar, he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kasim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalifa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walid 'Abdu-I-Malik, son of Marwan, that Muhammad Kasim Sakifi had been brought to the capital. The Khalifa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, "May the Khalifa's life, prosperity, and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Udhapur,<sup>147</sup> Muhammad Kasim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khutba continues to be read in

<sup>147</sup> [This is the reading of MS. A. in this passage ; the other MS. still keeps to its reading "Udhabar." Mir M'asum says "Udhapur" and the Tuhfatul Kiram writes it with points "Udaipur." There is a place of this name in the desert north of Bikanir.]

the name of the Khalifa, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy."

*The Khalifa opens the chest*

The Khalifa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj, he sacrificed his precious life at my command."

*The address of Janki,<sup>148</sup> daughter of Dahir, to Khalifa 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Marwan.*

Then the virtuous Janki put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muhammad Kasim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery. Therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalifa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalifa not passed such peremptory orders, had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected

<sup>148</sup> This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked.

himself to this repentance and reproach ; and had Muhammad Kasim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have put himself into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The Khalifa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

*Janki again addresses the Khalifa*

Janki again opened her lips and looked at the Khalifa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins ; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muhammad Kasim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person." The Khalifa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islam have been more and more exalted every day, and are still advancing.

## TARIKHU-S SIND

BY

MIR MUHAMMAD M'ASUM, OF BHAKKAR

THIS is the most copious history of Sind which we possess, inasmuch, as besides containing an account of the Arabian conquest, it brings the annals of this country down to the time of its incorporation into the Moghul empire in the time of Akbar.

The work, which is sometimes called *Tarikh-i M'asumi*, is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter contains an account of the events which led to the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and closes with the death of Raja Dahir, though it professes to carry the history down to the Khalifa Harun.

The second chapter, after omitting all notice of the two centuries which elapsed between Harun and Mahmud of Ghazni, gives an account of Sind under the Emperors of Dehli, and of the Sumra and Samma dynasties, after the invasion of Timur. The author mentions at the close of the chapter that he was induced to give an account of the Sumras and Sammas in detail, because it was to be found nowhere else. But his own is much confused from his inattention to dates.

The third chapter is devoted to the history of the Arghunia dynasty, including an account of Siwi, Kandahar, &c.; of some celebrated holy men, judges, and Saiyids, and of the kings of Multan. It also contains an account, in more than usual detail, of the Emperor Humayun's operations in Sind and the desert, after his flight from Agra.

The fourth chapter contains a tedious relation of the mode in which Sind fell under the power of Akbar upon the capitulation of Mirza Jani Beg of Thatta, A.D. 1592. We have also occasional notices of the interference of the Firingis in the affairs of Thatta. As the author was contemporary with this event, he enters into very minute particulars, which are, however, for the most part, uninterest-

ing. Amongst his own personal experiences, he describes an interview he had with the Emperor Akbar, who bestowed on him three villages in Jagir, in the district of Bhakkar.

Muhammad M'asum, who gave himself the poetical title of Nami, was born at Bhakkar, in Sind, and was the son of Safayi Husaini, an inhabitant of Kirman. [He was a man of considerable attainments, and he rose to some distinction in the service of Akbar and Jahangir. His knowledge of history was highly esteemed in his own day. He was also a poet of some repute, and an excellent calligraphist.<sup>1</sup>] His history of Sind was written in A.D. 1600, for the instruction and improvement of his son, named Mir Buzurg, in order that, "by reading it he might learn what good men of old did; that he might discriminate between right and wrong; between that which is useful and the reverse, and might learn to follow the paths of virtuous men."

The only work quoted by him as an authority is the Chachnama, which he abridges in his first chapter, relating to the Arab conquest of Sind. He is credulous and delights in recounting miracles of saints, but he gives no legendary lore like the Tuhfatu-l Kiram. Mir M'asum and his work have been noticed by several writers: by Badauni (under article "Nami") by Haider Razi, the Ma-asiru-l Umrâ, the Tuhfatu-l Kiram, Bagh-Mani and Mirati Daulat 'Abbasi.<sup>2</sup>

Copies of this history are common.<sup>3</sup> There are two in the British Museum, one of which was transcribed from a copy made from the author's own autograph. There is another in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has been fully described by Morley in his Catalogue; a fourth in the Library of the East India Office, and there is a copy in Sir H. Elliot's Library which was written for him in 1852. This copy and that of the R. As. Soc. have

history of Sind in "three distinct chapters." It is written

<sup>1</sup> *Journal As. Soc. Beng. Feb. 1838, Sprenger's Bibliog. p. 37. De Tassy's Bibl. I. 356. Morley's Catalogue p. 72.*

<sup>2</sup> *See also Bird's Guzerat.*

<sup>3</sup> [Wilson refers to the work in his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (II. p. 129), and Capt. Mac Murdo in his Paper on Sind (Journal R. A. S., Vol. I. p. 223.)]



been used for the following translations, and are referred to as MSS. *A.* and *B.*

At the end of Sir H. Elliot's copy, there is a brief history of Sind in "three distinct chapters." It is written in the same hand and bears the same date as the rest of the MS. Though occupying only nineteen pages, it gives a summary of the history of Sind, to the end of the last century—from Rai Siharas, down to Ahmad Shah Durani. The author's name is not given, but the contents are generally in accordance with the history of M'asum.

This work has been translated by Capt. G. Malet, late British Resident at Khairpur, but so literally, as not to be fit for publication in its present shape. This translation has been published as No. XII New Series, Selections of Records of the Government of Bombay, 1855. [There is a copy of this translation in Sir H. Elliot's library, which, on examination, is found to contain matter that is entirely absent from all the five MSS. above specified. One long passage quoted hereafter, relates to the Sumra dynasty, the history of which is involved in considerable obscurity. The additional names it supplies, receives some support from the "Tuhfatu-l Kiram," but nothing corroborative has been found in the other Sindian histories. There is some apparent similarity between the general style of the history and that of the additional matter. Like Mir M'asum, the writer always employs some figurative expression for the death of a prince, but this is a practice very common among historians, and the style may have been designedly imitated, so that the resemblance affords no evidence of authenticity. The general concurrence of the MSS. and the authority of the British Museum MS. is sufficient to stamp the passage as an interpolation—though there appears to be some authority for its statements. Morely, in his Catalogue, notices an interpolation in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, which comes in abruptly within a few lines of the end of the history. He says, "After this, in the present MS. there is an account of Duda, who was ruler of Thattha in the time of Nasiru-d din Mahmud, King of Delhi, occupying six pages. In the East India House MS. (No. 43) this is omitted; the history ending immediately after the capitulation of Jani Beg, and stating in four lines

that he died in A.H. 1011 (A.D. 1602), and was succeeded in his government by his son Mirza 'Asi. The MS. in the British Museum (Addit. No. 16,700), agrees with that of the East India House in this respect," and with Sir H. Elliot's. Duda is the name of one the princes given in Malet's additional passage, but the matter of these pages differs from his.]

Sir H. Elliot's copy contains 290 folios of fourteen lines each, and of these about forty-five have been translated.

## BOOK II

### *Account of the Samma dynasty*

It has been already related how Sultan Mahmud came from Ghazni, and after capturing the fort of Multan, brought the country of Sind under his authority, and sent his officers to govern it. After the death of Mahmud, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the government (of Sind) devolved upon 'Abdu-r Rashid Sultan Ma'ud. This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and heeded not the duties of government; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and throw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Sumra assembled in the vicinity of Thari<sup>4</sup> and raised a man named Sumra<sup>5</sup> to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Sumra, and he cleared the country of disaffection. This man formed a connection with Sad, a powerful Zamindar in those parts, and married his daughter. She bore him a son named Bhungar, who on the death of his father succeeded to the hereditary states, and died after an active reign.

His son named Duda then inherited the throne, and reigned for some years. He extended his authority to Nasrpur, but died in the flower of his age. He left an

<sup>4</sup>[The "Little Desert" separating Sind from Kachh.]

<sup>5</sup>[Malet's translation adds "son of Chandar," but this is in neither of our MSS.]

infant son name Singhar and a daughter named Tari, who for a time carried on the government and kept the people under her control. When Singhar came of age he himself assumed the government, and looked after the affairs of the revenue and the State, punishing all men who were disaffected and rebellious. He directed his efforts against the country of Kachh and extended his sway as far as Manik Bai.<sup>6</sup> Some years after this he died, leaving no son; but his wife, named Hamun, carried on the government in the fort of Dahak, and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Tur and Thari. A short time after this the brethren of Duda, who were hidden in that neighbourhood came forth and opposed the brethren of Hamun. One of them, named Pithu,<sup>7</sup> a descendant of Duda, was supported by a body of followers. He overthrew all those who set up pretensions to the throne, and established himself in the sovereignty. After reigning some years, he died, when a man named Khaira carried on the business of the State, and made himself remarkable for his virtues. He reigned for some years to the time of his death.

[Malet's MS. translation proceeds as follows for seven pages, interpolating matter not to be found in any of the five MSS. examined, as previously stated in page 118.]

"With the occurrence of the Amirs, Khafif succeeded him, and sat on the throne of the kingdom. Having made good arrangements for the country in his hands, he with heart at ease went and remained at Thatta. During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace; all were happy and contented. By chance it one day came into his mind that it was not proper for him to be always merely sitting on the throne, that it was better to spend some time in the *shikargahs*, the jungles, and plains, which had become green from rain, and where the animals were grazing happily. After this, having collected many men, he marched against the Buluchis, the Sodhas, and the Jharejas. On reaching their borders, Ran Mal Sodha,

<sup>6</sup>[So in MS. B. The other MS. omits the name. Malet calls it "Manik Nai." Manjábári?]  
<sup>7</sup>["Pitthun" in MS. A.]

Ram Rai Jhareja, and Mihran Buluch, being introduced by the Amirs and other men of weight, came and made great offerings. Khafif, presenting them with handsome presents in return, made them very happy. He then gave them their dismissal.

"He proposed returning to Thatta the following morning, but at that time a Buluch came complaining that the thieves of the tribe of Samma had plundered his tribe, taking everything they possessed. On hearing this Khafif was much astonished, and at the instant mounting with those who were with him he started and quickly came against this tribe. He took all the property which had been robbed from the Buluchis, and those men who had disobeyed orders and acted in this manner he punished with severity. His arrangements were such in all the country under him, from Kachh to Nasrpur, that in the whole of that space no one during his reign disobeyed his orders; if they did so, he gave them to the sword. When he found that there were none to give trouble, he was at ease and came to Thatta. In his time all the people, the soldiers, the Amirs, the ryots, etc., were very happy. He lived a long while at Thatta, till from this world he journeyed to the next world.

"After the death of Khafif, the people, the men of weight under government, and those out of employ, agreeing that it was proper, raised Duda, the son of Umar, and grandson of Pitthu, to the throne of the saltanat in his place. When all the affairs of the State were firm in his hands, Singhar, a zamindar, came to pay his yearly taxes. He became acquainted with Duda. This had lasted some time, when one day he spoke of Kachh in the following terms, in his presence, saying that he had heard that the Samma tribe had determined to come to Thatta to take it, and that he should be prepared for this. On hearing this, Duda, collecting forces out of number, marched to Kachh, and he severely twisted the ears of those people. Then a man of the Samma tribe named Lakha came as ambassador, bringing presents, and a Kachhi horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Duda, with great kindness, gave him presents in money, a horse, and a khil'at allowing him then to depart. From thence,

with heart at rest, he came to Thari, where he spent a long time.

All the people and ryots were so completely under his hands, that without orders from him they did nothing. When at Thari, Ran Mal Sodha came, and making his salam, urged as a petition, that in the time of Khafif the Jat Buluchis paid tribute, but that now it seemed that they, through ignorance, had taken their heads from out of the noose of submission. He added, that having heard of this he made him (Duda) acquainted with it, and that it seemed advisable that a force should be put under him, which he would take against them and thus, making them pay up their arrears of tribute from the days of Khafif to the present time, he would bring it to him. The reason of his speaking in this way was, that formerly a feud existed between him (Ran Mal) and the Jharejas, when a fight had taken place between the parties, in which great numbers of Ran Mal's men had been killed and wounded, so he told as above to Duda to enable him to have his revenge upon them. Duda being of a good heart, gave him encouragement, keeping him near him. He also sent to call the men of Jhareja. When his messengers got there, and told what Ran Mall had said, they came before them with their swords suspended from round their necks, making their salam, and declaring that they and all their families were the slaves of Duda, and if he ordered them all to be confined they would not ask the reason why. Then taking presents for Duda they came to him in one week.

The messengers who accompanied them having received good treatment at their hands, spoke in their favour. Duda said to Ran Mal, 'These men having great confidence, have sent only two of their tribe, and these have come to make their salam; you told me another story.' Duda for some time detained Ran Mal on the plea of its being the rainy season; but in Ran Mal's breast that thorn pricked him, so one day with great earnestness he insisted upon being allowed to depart, when Duda gave him leave, and he went to his tribe. On getting there he became rebellious. Seeing this, Ram Rai Jhareja and Mihran Buluch, quickly going to Duda, told him of this circum-

tance. It came into Duda's mind that probably these men were doing what Ran Mal had done; therefore he determined in the first place to send two men to Ran Mal, who ascertaining all the facts, might come and tell him. He despatched two men, at the time of whose arrival at the tribe Ran Mal was absent, he having gone to the jungle, to collect troops. His brethern did not pay the messengers any attention, speaking improperly before them. Ran hearing of the arrival of these, came and sat down with them in a friendly manner, but he shortly after spoke in an unbecoming way, that he had better cease collecting men, and go to Duda, when if he had anything to complain of he might do so to him. But however much they advised, it had no effect upon him; so Duda's people rising, left him, and returning told all the circumstances to Duda. He, hearing of this, collected many troops, and went against this people. Ran Mal, having also got together a large force, came out into the plain. The two parties met and fought for six hours, at which time the men of both sides stood resolute. Many had fallen in that time of either party.

Being exhausted, and night coming on, all the men sat down where they stood, spending the time in planning operations for the morrow. In the morning the two forces recommenced fighting, when by chance an arrow struck Ran Mal in the throat, and his life went to hell. Great fear then took possession of his troops, because an army without a *sardar* is like a man without a head; so they turned their faces in the direction of flight, when Duda's men, pursuing them, slew great numbers, and plundered extensively. The force being put to flight, Rai Sing and Jag Mal came as ambassadors, bringing presents to Duda, and they obtained forgiveness of their faults.

"Duda after this went to Nasrpur, the *Zamindars*, chiefmen and *kazis* of which place brought him presents, and Duda, accepting these, remained there some time, during which period Sahiba, the son of Ran Sodha, brought two fine Kachhi horses as an offering and paid his respects to him. He declared that his brethern had induced Ran Mal to turn his heart from and become rebellious against him (Duda), so much so that these men were even now

disobedient, and that if a force went from the *Sarkar* and punished them they would not do so again, but would always bring presents. Duda upon this left Nasrpur and by forced marches came there, but after doing so he discovered that the brethern of Ran Mal and others would not agree to have Sahiba as their *sardar*, so he understood that it was on this account that he had brought him there. Duda then summoned all the tribe, telling them to agree to have Sahiba as their chief with all their hearts. By this order they agreed to do so when Sahiba presented Rs. 20,000 as *nazrana*. Duda marching thence came to Thatta, remaining there. From thence he travelled to that other world.

“On the death of Duda his son Umar<sup>s</sup> with the aid of the nobles and other men of courage sat on the throne. When his father’s country came into his hands he took to drinking wine, paying no attention to the country. On hearing this the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and Buluchis left off obeying his orders, becoming rebellious. When Mulla Hamid heard of this he told Umar of it, who collecting a large force went towards Kachh. On his approach the Sammas having collected many men, went out into the plain to meet him. There was fighting in which the men of Samma were the strongest. Seeing this, and that his affairs would be ruined, Mulla Hamid called the *sardars*, to whom he gave presents, saying, “Thatta is far distant, money is scarce, if you fight well and defeat the enemy, much property will come into our possession, which will be enough to enable us to return to Thatta.” Hearing this the spirits of his force were raised, and making an attack on the enemy they defeated them, when much plunder of every kind came into their hands. After this the men of Samma bringing Raja Jagannath Sodha (who had quitted his brethern in anger and had come to Kachh), as their mediator, came to Umar, making their salam and bringing presents. Umar returning from thence quickly went against the Sodhas, Jats, and Buluchis; all of whom fearing the consequences, made their salam. He then with confidence in his heart went to Thari, where he died.

<sup>s</sup>[This name is always spelt with “m” in this extract.]

“At this time his son Duda was small; therefore the men of consequence put Chanar, the son of Umar's brother, in his place. Chanar went out to make his arrangements in his country. Having done this and placed the troublesome on the edge of the sword, his heart being at ease he sat down. At that time Duda attained puberty, so Chanar wished, by some stratagem, to get him into his hands and to confine him. But hearing of this Duda turned his face towards Ghazni, and crossing the river he came to a place Darycha Nari Sang, close under Fathpur, where he saw a man coming along with a bundle of sticks for *hukka* snakes, on his head. As this man drew near all his entrails became visible to Duda. At this he was much astonished; so calling the man to him, he lifted the bundle of pipes off his head, when nothing of the kind was to be seen. So being greatly amazed he put the bundle on the man's head again, when he beheld as before. He then knew that there must be some device in these sticks, and he purchased them, giving the man some money for them. Then sitting down at the river's edge, he put the sticks one by one into the water. All went down with the stream; but one from amongst them went upwards against it. So taking this one, he divided it at all the knots; he then put each knot into the water. All of them went down the stream, except one, in which the device was, and this one went up against the current. So taking this one he kept it, and went to Ghazni.

At that time the king of that place, Sultan Maudud Shah, was ill from severe sickness, which was without cure. So on his arrival there, Duda gave out that he was a doctor. Historians write that Sultan Maudud's sickness was caused in this manner. One day he went to see a *shikargah* under some hills, when by chance an animal started from before him. It was then the custom that whoever an animal started in front of he alone pursued it. So in accordance with this custom, the Sultan rode after this animal alone for a long distance, but did not kill it. From this exertion great thirst and hunger came upon him; so searching about he found a stream of water near the foot of the hills. Having no cup or basin with him, being helpless, he put his mouth into the water and



drank, when in doing so he swallowed two small young snakes, which went down into and remained in his stomach. In two years these had grown large, and began causing him much pain. All doctors of the country had physicked him, but none of them could make him well. The Sultan was approaching to death, when at that time Duda arrived, saying, he was a doctor, and that he had come from Sind to cure the king with his physic. The royal physicians hearing this, laughed, saying, 'What wisdom has this Sindian, that he should say he was able to give medicine to the king?' One of the attendants told the king of the arrival of this Sindian, and how the royal doctors laughed at him.

The Sultan hearing of this, called and received him with distinction, saying, he had suffered from this sickness for a long time, that many doctors had given him medicine, but all without effect: but now that he (the Sindian) had come, he was in hopes that he might get well by his physic. Then Duda, stripping the Sultan, placed that stick on his head, when he saw that two snakes were in his stomach. Then removing the stick, he told the Sultan he understood what was the matter with him, and that it was a very bad disease. He added that if the Sultan would give him a written document to the effect that if he died while under his care no blame should attach to him, then he would give him medicine. The Sultan at once wrote such a document, and putting his seal to it, gave it to Duda. Then Duda did not give the Sultan anything to eat for two days. On the third day, tying up his eyes, he placed the stick on his head, and having got two small fine iron hooks he tied a silken line to them, and wrapping them up in bread, he gave one to the Sultan, who, having swallowed it, he (Duda) saw a snake take it. When he saw that it was well in the mouth of one of the snakes, he pulled it up and brought it out. Then again he did the same, and in like manner he took the other from out of the royal stomach. In about an hour the Sultan felt much relieved, so untying his eyes, Duda showed him the two snakes, when being very happy the Sultan said, 'Ask from me what you wish.' Then Duda said, 'I am a chief, but his superior strength Chanar has taken

away my father' country, and on this account I have come here. If the king will give me a force, I will take my revenge on him.'

On hearing this the Sultan gave orders to collect a force, and when it was ready he gave it to him. When this army approached Thatta, being unable to meet it, Chanar sat down in the fort, which being surrounded on all sides by the royal troops, they took into their hands the implements for breaking down forts, and fighting commenced. For twelve days they fought together in this manner, after which the wind of victory struck the standards of the royal troops, and Chanar and many of his men were given to the sword. Those who escaped the sword ran away and dispersed. By taking this fort much wealth and property fell into the hands of those people.

"When Duda, the son of Umar, sat on the throne of his father, this force returned to Ghazni. He reigned many years with strength and wisdom. Afterwards, by this order, 'Every life will drink the sherbet of death,' Duda drank the sherbet of mortality at the cup-bearer of Death. He took the apparatus of his life to the living world."

*[End of the interpolated passages]*

After him a person named Armil ascended the throne. He was a tyrant and an oppressor, and the people, disgusted with his violence resolved to dethrone and slay him. Some men of the tribe of Samma had previously come from Kachh and had settled in Sind, where they formed alliances with the people of the country. In this tribe there was a man named Unar distinguished for intelligence. The chief men of the country brought him secretly into the city, and in the morning a party of them entered the house of Armil, slew him, and placed his head over the gate of the city. The assembled people then placed Unar on the throne.

*Jam Unar,<sup>9</sup> son of Babiniya*

Jam Unar with the assent of the nobles thus became King, and the great body of the people supported him. He led

<sup>9</sup>[Morley has a note upon the varied spelling of this name, but Sir H. Elliot's MS. specifies how the name is pointed, making it "Unar," which is the spelling most generally accepted.]

an expedition against Siwistan, then governed by Malik, the representative of the Turk kings.<sup>10</sup> Reaching the vicinity of Siwistan he drew up his army in battle array; Malik Ratan also came out of the fort with his force, and the battle began. In the first contest Jam Unar was defeated, but his brothers came up to his assistance, and he renewed the fight. Malik Ratan, in galloping his horse, was thrown to the ground, and Jam Unar cut off his head. The fort of Siwistan then fell into Unar's power. Malik Firoz and 'Ali Shah Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakkar, and they wrote a letter to Jam Unar to the following effect. "This boldness is unbecoming, so now prepare to meet the royal army, and make a brave stand." These words took effect upon him, and he proceeded to Thari.<sup>11</sup> He then fell ill and died after reigning three years and six months. Some writers relate that after Jam Unar returned from the conquest of Siwistan, he was one night engaged drinking wine in a convivial party, when news was brought of a party of rebels having risen against him. He instantly sent against them Gahar, son of Tamachi, who was his *vakil*. Gahar was drunk when he encountered them and was made prisoner. The enemy held him captive, and Jam Unar kept up his carouse without heeding the captivity of his officer. This rankled in the breast of Gahar, and when he escaped, by a well-contrived stratagem, from the clutches of his captors, he turned away from Jam Unar and went to the fort of Bhakkar. There he had an interview with 'Ali Shah Turk, who in concert with Malik Firoz, raised a force and slew Jam Unar in the fort of Bahrapur. Malik Firoz was left in command of the fort, and 'Ali Shah returned home. Three days afterwards Jam Unar's followers managed by craft and stratagem to kill both Gahar, son of Tamachi and Malik Firoz.

#### *Jam Juna son of Babiniya*

After the death of Jam Unar, Juna, of the tribe of Samma, received the title of Jam. He conceived the design of subduing all Sind. Showing great kindness and attention to

<sup>10</sup>[*az amal-i salatin-i-Turk.*]

<sup>11</sup>[*Shahari in A. Sahari in B.*]

his brethren and other relatives, he appointed them to further his designs upon the country. These men crossed (the river) at the village of Talahiti, and began to kill the people and lay waste the villages and towns of Bhakkar. Two or three desperate fights ensued between the Sammas and the chiefs of Bhakkar, but as the Turks were unable to withstand the Sammas they withdrew from the fort of Bhakkar and retired to Uch. When Jam Juna heard of their retreat, he proceeded to Bhakkar, and for some years reigned supreme over Sind. But at length Sultan 'Alau-d din appointed his brother, Ulugh Khan to the district of Multan. Ulugh Khan then sent Taj Kafuri and Tatar Khan to oppose Jam Juna in Sind, but before their arrival the Jam died of quinsy. He had reigned thirteen years. The forces of 'Alau-d din took possession of Bhakkar and then directed their efforts against Siwistan.

*Jam Tamachi (and Jam Khairu-d din)*

This prince ascended his hereditary throne with the assent of the nobles. The army of 'Alau-d din after some fighting, took him prisoner, and carried him with his family prisoners to Delhi. There he had children.<sup>12</sup> But the Samma tribe brought them to Thari, and keeping them prisoners took the business of government into their own hands, and exerted themselves in carrying on the affairs of the State. After the lapse of some time and the death of Jam Tamachi, his son Malik Khairu-d din, who, in infancy, had gone to Delhi with his father, returned to Sind and assumed the government. Shortly afterwards, Sultan Muhammad Shah proceeded to Guzerat by way of Sind, and summoned Jam Khairu-d din to his presence. But the Jam had endured the hardships of prison, and resolutely refused to comply. Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Tughlik Shah, died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar. After his death, Sultan Firoz Shah succeeded under the will

<sup>12</sup>[*There appears to be some confusion here MS. A. says, wa ora dar unja farzandan shudend B. omits the word ora, but agrees in other respects. Malet's translation says, "where he remained in confinement." The copyists have perhaps confounded the words farzandan, children, and zindan, prison.*]

of the late king, and by hereditary right.<sup>13</sup> He departed from Sin, a dependency of Siwistan, for his capital, Dchli; and Jam Khairu-d din, after following him some stages from that place, turned back. The Sultan kept this fact in mind. After the departure of the Sultan, Khairu-d din exerted himself in administering justice and in improving the condition of the people.

The following story is told of one of the remarkable incidents in the life of this benevolent prince. One day he went out for exercise with a party of attendants and servants, and by chance discovered a quantity of human bones in a hole. He drew rein, and looking at those decaying relics, asked his followers if they knew what the bones told him. On their hanging their heads and keeping silence, he said, "These are the remains of injured men, and they cry for justice." He immediately directed his attention to an investigation of the facts. So he called to his presence an old man to whom the land belonged, and questioned him about the bones. The old man said, "Seven years ago, a caravan which had come from Guzerat, was plundered and the travellers killed by such and such a tribe, who still hold a good deal of the spoil." As soon as he heard this the Jam directed the property to be gathered together; and when this was done he sent it to the ruler of Guzerat requesting that it might be distributed among the heirs of the slain. He then inflicted punishment on the murderers. Some years after this he died.

#### *Jam Babaniya*

Jam Babaniya succeeded after the death of his father, and ascended the throne with the assent of the nobles and chiefs. At this time Sultan Firoz Shah having set his mind at rest about Hindustan and Guzerat, turned his attention to the conquest of Sind. Jam Babaniya drew up his forces to resist him, but when the Sultan had been in the country three months, inundation, adverse winds, and swarms of mosquitos, compelled him, at the beginning of the rains, to retire to Pattan in Guzerat. After the rains he returned

<sup>13</sup>['Rasat'. There is no mention of this in MS. B. nor in Malet's translation.]

to Sind with a numerous army. A battle ensued, in which Jam Babaniya was taken prisoner, and the whole country of Sind became subject to Sultan Firoz. The Jam was carried off in the retinue of the Sultan, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he became the object of the royal favour, a royal robe was given to him and he was reinstated in the government of Sind. There he reigned in peace for fifteen years and then departed this life.

*Jam Tamachi*

Succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother,<sup>14</sup> and carried on the government. He was fond of ease and enjoyment, and passed his days in indulgence and pleasure. After reigning thirteen years he died of plague.

*Jam Salahu-d din*

After the death of Jam Tamachi, Salahu-d din carried on the business of government. His first act was a rectification of the frontier, which had been encroached upon by refractory subjects. He accordingly sent a force to punish them, and after inflicting salutary chastisement, he marched against Kachh. Some obstinate fighting ensued, but in every encounter he was victorious, and he returned home in triumph with the spoils, to look after the affairs of his army and people. He died after reigning eleven years and some months.

*Jam Nizamu-d din*

Nizamu-d din succeeded his father Salahu-d din, with the concurrence of the nobles. He released his uncles<sup>15</sup> Malik Sikandar, Karan, Bahau-d din, and Amar, who were in confinement for reasons of State policy, and sent each one to his district. He then left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the officials, and gave himself up night and day to pleasure and enjoyment. This neglect of his duty induced his uncles to raise a force, and to enter the city with the intention of seizing him. But he received in-

<sup>14</sup>[MS. A. says, he "succeeded on the death of his father, with the consent of his brother."]

<sup>15</sup>[*Amkan*. MS. A. however, says, *Arkan*.]

formation of this design, and left the city at midnight with some troops, and went off towards Guzerat. In the morning, when the fact became known, the uncles started in pursuit; but at this juncture, the chief men of the city, seeing the strife and commotion, brought forth Jam 'Ali Sher from his concealment, and raised him to the throne. Jam Nizamu-d din died about this time, and his uncles turned back with shame and loss, and passed into the desert.

### *Jam 'Ali Sher*

Jam 'Ali Sher mounted the throne with the consent of the great men and nobles, and opened wide the gates of justice and kindness. He was wise and brave, and he immediately devoted himself to the duties of government. The country of Sind was brought into a due state of order, all the people passed their days in security and ease under his rule. After a time he devoted himself more to pleasure, and he used to roam about in moonlit nights. Sikandar, Karan, and Fath Khan, sons of Tamachi, who living in sorry plight in the desert, became acquainted with Jam 'Ali Sher's mode of recreation. So they set forth, and travelling by night and hiding themselves by day, they reached the outskirts of the city. Here they won over a party of the people of the city. On the night of Friday, the 13th day of the month, 'Ali Sher, according to his custom, went out with a party of companions and followers, and embarked in a boat for an excursion on the river. At midnight he was about to return into his house, when a party of men with drawn swords made an attack on him. The people who were with him strove without avail to divert them from their purpose, and the Jam was instantly despatched. The murderers then entered the palace, when a noise and outcry arose, and the fact became known. The people assembled, but they perceived that matters were beyond their control, and accordingly they submitted. Jam 'Ali Sher had reigned seven years.

### *Jam Karan*

After the murder of Jam 'Ali Sher, the brethren assented to the elevation of Jam Karan. He was displeased with

the nobles and great men of the city, and in his aversion to them he sought to take them prisoners, and then to slay some and confine the rest. On the very day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber when a party of men, who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him in pieces. Fath Khan, son of Sikandar, had been the prime mover in this murder, and so, with the assent of the soldiers and people, he ascended the throne.

### *Jam Fath Khan*

Jam Fath Khan, on his accession to the throne, confirmed all the rules and orders of government, and was very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State. At that time Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson of Sahib-kiran Amir Timur Gurgan, had been sent to Multan and had taken that town and the town of Uch also. He stayed there for awhile and many of his horses died. The Mirza's soldiers were thus dismounted and in distress. When Timur heard of this, he sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mirza. Being thus reinforced, he made an attack upon the people of Bhatti and Ahan,<sup>16</sup> who had rebelled, and gave them and their families to the winds of destruction. He then sent a person to Bhakkar and summoned all the chief men to his presence. The officers of the king of Dehli being unable to withstand him, fled by way of Jesalmir. One of the inhabitants of Bhakkar, Saiyid Abu-l L'ais by name, a man of piety and purity, hastened to meet the Mirza, and offering his devotions to the Chief of the prophets, he besought his intercession in his midnight prayers.

It is said that one night the Chief of the prophets appeared to Mirza Pir Muhammad in a dream and spoke to him of Saiyid Abu-l L'ais, saying, "This is my son, show him honour and respect, and abstain from molesting him." The Mirza awoke, and remained

<sup>16</sup>["*Aman*" in B.]



for eleven days in expectation of seeing the friend of his dream. The Sayid then arrived while the Mirza was seated in his court with the nobles around him. When his eye fell upon the Saiyid he recognized him, and arose to give him a proper reception. He embraced him and seated him by his side with great honour and reverence. The nobles then made enquiry about the Saiyid, and the Mirza related to them his dream. On that day he gave the Saiyid a horse and some presents, and allowed him to depart. He also conferred upon him the *pargana* of Alor in *in'am*. After Timur had captured Dehli, Mirza Pir Muhammad departed thither. In the days of the succeeding kings of Dehli, Multan came under the authority of the Langahs and the whole of Sind remained subject to its own kings. Jam Fath Khan was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He reigned for fifteen years and some months up to the time of his death.

*Jam Tughlik, son of Sikandar*

When Jam Fath Khan was on the bed of sickness, and saw his end approaching, three days before his decease he placed his brother Tughlik Shah upon the throne, delivering over to him the reins of government, and giving to him the title of Jam Tughlik. Soon afterwards Tughlik appointed his brothers governors of Siwistan and the fort of Bhakkar. He spent most of his time in hunting and exercise. When the Buluchis raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar, he led an army there and inflicted punishment on their chiefs. He reigned twenty-eight years.

*Jam Sikandar*

Jam Sikandar succeeded his father, but he was young in years; and the rulers of Siwistan and Bhakkar, attending only to their own interests, refused obedience to him, and quarrelled with each other. Jam Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar; but when he reached Nasrpur, a person named Mubarak, who had been chamberlain in the time of Jam Tughlik, suddenly came into Thatta, and calling himself Jam Mubarak, seized upon the throne. But the people did not support him, and his authority lasted only three days; for the nobles drove him out of the city, and sent for Sikandar. When the news reached Sikandar

he made terms with his opponents, and returned to Thatta. After a year and a-half he died.

### *Jam Rai Dan*<sup>17</sup>

On the sixth of Jumada-l awwal, in the year 858 A.H., (May 1454 A.D.), Jam Rai Dan came forth. During the reign of the Jam Tughlik he had lived in Kachh, and had formed connections with the people of that country. He had maintained a considerable body of tried men, to whom he paid great attention, and to whom he used to give fine horses and other suitable presents. These men looked upon him as a wise and superior man, and devoted themselves to him with great sincerity. When he heard of the death of Sikandar, he proceeded with his entire force to Thatta, and there assembling the people, he addressed them to the effect, that he had not come to take the kingdom, but that he wanted to secure the property of the Musulmans, and to accomplish their wishes. He did not consider himself worthy of the throne, but they should raise some fitting person to that dignity, when he would be the first to give him support.

As they could find no one among them who had ability for the high office, they unanimously chose him and raised him to the throne. In the course of one year and a-half he brought the whole of Sind under his rule from the sea to the village of Kajarki and Kandharak,<sup>18</sup> which are on the boundaries of Mathila and Ubawar. When he had reigned eight years and a half the idea of sovereignty entered the head of Jam Sanjar, one of his attendants. He induced other of the attendants and followers to join him in his plot; and one day when Jam Rai Dan was drinking wine in private, poison was put into the bottle which a servant handed to him. Three days after drinking thereof he died.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>[The name appears to be written optionally as raiyidan or raiyednah, in both MSS.]

<sup>18</sup>[So in MS. B. MS. A. gives the first name as "Kajar," and omits the second. Malet's translation reads "Kajur Mullce and Khoondee."]

<sup>19</sup>[Both our MSS. finish thus, but Malet's translation adds the following:—"It is also written by some that a man, a fakir, one of judgment, who was considered in those days as a saint at Thatta, was

*Jam Sanjar*

Jam Sanjar was a handsome young man, and many persons being fascinated by his beauty, served him without stipend. It is related that before he came to the throne he was on friendly terms with an excellent *darwesh*. One night Sanjar went to visit the *darwesh*, and after the usual greeting told him that he wished to become ruler of Thatta, even if it were for only eight days. The *darwesh* replied, "Thou shalt be king for eight years." When Jam Rai Dan died, the nobles agreed in raising Jam Sanjar to the throne, and in delivering over to him the reins of government. Through the prayers of the *darwesh* he thus became king without any strife or opposition, and the people on every side submitted to his authority with willing obedience. In his reign Sind rose to a greater pitch of prosperity and splendour than it had ever attained before, and the soldiers and the people lived in great comfort and satisfaction. He was a great patron of learned and pious men and of *darweshes*.

Every Friday he dispensed large sums in charity among the poor and needy, and settled pensions and stipends upon meritorious persons. It is related that before his time the rulers of Sind used to pay their judicial officers badly. When Sanjar became ruler, there was a *kazi* in Bhakkar, who had been appointed to the office by a former king, upon an insufficient salary. Finding himself underpaid, he used to exact something from the suitors in his

*in the habit of constantly coming to the Jám, who always treated him with great respect, seating him on his own seat, and whatever this fakir said the Jám agreed to it. One day, at an assembly, the wazirs and nobles said to the Jám, Ask that fakir to whom you give so much honour what God is like, and what is His description? When the Jám heard this, he placed it in his heart. Four days afterwards, when the darwesh came to the assembly, the Jám did not pay him the usual attention. The fakir understood that there was something in this? The Jám then asked him, What is God like, and what description does He bear? The fakir replied, 'The description of God is this, that three days hence He will destroy you by means of a horse, sixteen kos from this, and He will place Jám Sanjar on your seat.' The third day after this the Jám went to hunt, not bearing in mind what the fakir had said. By chance he galloped his horse, when he fell, and his foot remaining in the stirrup, at the distance of sixteen kos from Thatta, his life was given to God."]*

courts. When this reached the ears of Jam Sanjar he summoned the *kazi* to his presence, and told him that he had heard of his taking money by force, both from plaintiffs and defendants. He acknowledged it, and said he should like to get something from the witnesses also, but that they always went away before he had an opportunity. The Jam could not help smiling at this, so the *kazi* went on to say that he sat all day in his court while his children at home went without breakfast and supper. The Jam made the *kazi* some handsome presents, settled a suitable stipend upon him. He further directed that proper salaries should be appointed for all officers throughout the country, so that they might be able to maintain themselves in comfort. When he had reigned eight years he departed from this world of trouble.

*Jam Nizamu-d din, also called Jam Nanda*

Nizamu-d din succeeded Jam Sanjar on the 25th Rabi-ul-awwal, in the year 866 (December, 1461 A.D.). All men—the learned and the good, the soldiers and the peasants—agreed in his elevation, so that he raised firmly the standard of sovereignty. It is recorded that at the outset of his career he was a student, and spent much of his time in colleges and monasteries. He was modest and gentle, and had many excellent and pleasing qualities. His life was pure and religious to a high degree. It is impossible to enumerate all his virtues. In the early part of his reign, he proceeded with a force to Bhakkar and stayed there for a year engaged in suppressing the highway robbers. He stored the fort of Bhakkar with all kinds of provisions, and appointed as governor one of his dependants, Dilshad by name, who had served him while at college. The frontiers were so well secured that travellers could pass along the roads in perfect safety. Having satisfied himself in respect of Bhakkar, at the end of a year he returned to Thatta. There he reigned supreme for forty-eight years, and during this period, learned men and pious men and *fakirs* passed a happy time, and the soldiery and the peasantry were in easy circumstances.

Jam Nizamu-d din was contemporary with Sultan Husainn Langah, the ruler of Multan. They were on the

most friendly terms, and were in the constant habit of sending presents to each other. Jam Nizamu-d din used to visit his stables every week, and used to stroke the heads of his horses, and say to them, "My dear and happy steeds, I have no desire to ride you, for within my four boundaries all the rulers are Musulmans—do you also pray that I may not go out against any one without a lawful cause, and that no one may come up against me, lest the blood of innocent Musulmans should be spilled, and I should stand abashed in the presence of God." In his days Musulman discipline was widely spread. Large congregations used to assemble in the mosques, for small and great used to resort thither to say their prayers, and were not satisfied with saying them in private. If a person omitted to attend a service, he was very sorry for it afterwards, and would occupy himself two or three days in prayer for forgiveness. Towards the end of the reign of Jam Nizamu-d din, the army of Shah Beg came from Kandahar and attacked the villages of Lakri, Chanduka and Sindicha. The Jam sent a large force to repel this attack of the Mughals, and it advanced as far as Dara-karib, commonly known by the name of Jalugar. A battle ensued in which the brother of Shah Beg was slain, and his army defeated. The remnant fled towards Kandahar, and no further attack was made upon Sind during the life of Nizamu-d din.

The Jam spent much of his time in discoursing and arguing upon matters of science with the learned men of the day. Maulana Jalalu-d din Muhammad Diwani formed the project of leaving Shiraz and going to Sind; so he sent Shamshu-d din and Mir Mu'in, two of his disciples, to Thatta, in order to get permission for taking up his residence there. The Jam accordingly allotted some suitable houses, and provided the means for his maintenance; he further supplied the messengers with money to pay the expenses of the journey, but the Maulana died before they returned. Mir Shamshu-d din and Mir Mu'in were so well satisfied with the attention they had received, that they came back to Thatta and settled there. Some time after this Jam Nizamu-d din died, and after his death all the affairs of Sind fell into disorder.

*Jam Firoz*

Upon the death of Nizamu-d din, his son Jam Firoz was of tender age. So Jam Salahu-d din, one of the late Jam's relatives and the son of Jam Sanjar's daughter, advanced pretensions to the crown; but Darya Khan and Sarang Khan, the confidential slaves of Nizamu-d din who were high in dignity and power, refused to support him, and with the consent of the nobles and head men of Thatta they placed Jam Firoz on the throne in succession to his father. Salahu-d din finding that he could only succeed by fighting, lost heart, and went to Guzerat to lay his case before Sultan Muzaffar. The Sultan had married a daughter of Salahu-d din's uncle, and was consequently well inclined towards him. Jam Firoz gave way to the impulses of youth, and devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He spent most of his time in the harem, but went out from time to time accompanied by slaves and jesters, who practised all sorts of tricks and buffoonery. The people of the Samma tribe, and the associates of the Khan treated the people of the city with violence, and when Darya Khan forbade them they treated him with scorn. The Khan, therefore, retired to his *jagir* in the village of Kahan.

In those days Makhdum 'Abdu-l 'Aziz Abhari and his two sons, Maulana Asilu-d din and Maulana Muhammad, all of them learned men, came to that village of Kahan and spent some years there teaching and diffusing knowledge. The cause of their coming from Hirat was the rebellion of Shah Isma'il in the year 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.). The above-named Maulana was well read in all the sciences, and he had excellent books upon every branch of learning. He compiled a commentary on the *Mishkat* (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masud<sup>20</sup> and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books. He died in this village of Kahan, and his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Jam Firoz continued to give himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the nobles being on the verge of ruin, a messenger was sent to Jam Salahu-d din to

<sup>20</sup>['masud' in Persian also.]

inform him how matters stood; that Firoz was generally drunk; that Darya Khan, the great supporter of the government, had retired to Kahan, and that the moment was opportune for his returning immediately. Salahu-d din showed the letter of the men of Thatta to Sultan Muzaffar, and he sent him off with an army to that place. Making forced marches he soon arrived there, and crossing the river entered the city. Jam Firoz's followers were dismayed, and led him out of the city on the other side. Salahu-d din then ascended the throne. He fined and punished the associates of Jam Firoz, and demanded their wealth. The mother of Jam Firoz<sup>21</sup> took him to Darya Khan, at Kahan, where he asked forgiveness for his errors; and the Khan remembering only old obligations, began to collect forces, and when the armies of Bhakkar and Siwistan were assembled, they met under the banners of Jam Firoz. The Buluchis and other tribes also mustered. Darya Khan placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched against Salahu-d din.

This prince wished to go out himself to the sanguinary meeting, but his *wazir* Haji deemed it advisable that the Jam should stay in the city while he led the war-elephants against the enemy; so the Jam stayed at home and the *wazir* went to the fray. When the armies met, the fire of battle raged furiously, and many were slain on both sides, but at length the troops of Darya Khan were defeated and put to flight. Haji *wazir* then sat down to write a despatch to Salahu-d din informing him that victory had favoured his colours, and that he might deem himself secure. Night came on and the *wazir* was unable to pursue the routed army, so it happened that his messenger fell into the hands of some of Darya Khan's men. As soon as Darya Khan had read the letter he destroyed it, and substituted another in the name of Haji *wazir*, to this effect:—"Your army has been defeated, and the enemy is overpowering; you must leave Thatta with your family, and make no delay,—we will meet again in the village of Chachgan." As soon as this letter arrived, on the night

<sup>21</sup>[M.S. B. and Malet's translation agree that the Jam was taken by his mother. M.S. A. however, says that he took his mother to Daryá Khán.]

of the 9th Ramzan, Salah-u-din departed without breaking his fast, and crossed the river. Defeat had indeed reached him. He had reigned eight months. When he met his *wazir*, the latter reproached him for running away, and asked him why he had come there. The false despatch was then produced, upon which the Haji exclaimed that he had not written it. At length they discovered that it was the crafty work of Darya Khan, and were sorely annoyed,—but when a matter is completed repentance is useless. Darya Khan pursued them some stages. He then brought back Jam Firoz and entered Thatta on the day of the *'Idu-l fitr* (at the close of the Ramzan) and going to the *'idgah* they offered up their prayers. After this, Jam Firoz reigned securely for some years, until the end of the year 916<sup>22</sup> A.H. (1511 A.D.), when Shah Beg Arghun invaded Sind.

The battles which followed are described in their proper places. I have never met with any written account of the history of the Sumras and Sammas, so I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this.

### BOOK III

#### *The Wonders of Siwi*

\* \* \* \*

The fort of Siwi, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood.

In Kor-zamin and Chhatur, which are districts of Siwi, cotton plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton plant there are one or two hundred snakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the holes. If any one is bitten

<sup>22</sup>[So in both MSS., but Malet's translation has "926" (1520 a.d.), which is correct.]



by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and suck out the poison, otherwise death would supervene.

The little river which runs by Siwi rises apparently from a sulphureous source, and any one who drinks the water of it falls sick. Many men have died from that cause, but it does not affect the inhabitants who are accustomed to it. Notwithstanding that the garrison was changed every year by Sultan Mahmud, most of the soldiers died from its bad effects, and only a few escaped. In the time of Akbar, a flood came and purged the sources of the river from the sulphur, since which time the sickness has been less. This river runs fifty *kos* beyond Siwi, collecting at Sarwah, where it is used in irrigation, and the water which is not expended for that purpose flows into the lake of Manchhur, which is near Siwistan.

On that lake also there are many snakes,<sup>23</sup> very long and thin, the bites of which few survive. The men in that neighbourhood wear long drawers to protect themselves against their bites. I myself, when I was there looking at the men irrigating their fields, saw several at every step my horse took. As it was hot, I wished to dismount on the shore of the lake, but for fear of the snakes, I was compelled to do so at a distance on the plain beyond.

In the plain of Siwi there were formerly many forts and much cultivation, but all is now waste; the hot wind (*simoom*) blows there. Between Siwi, Dehra, and Kasmur,<sup>24</sup> there is a tract of land called Bargan, which breeds horses not inferior to those of Irak. The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills.

At Chhatur there is a tribe called Kahari, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted, and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse.

Near Ganjava, which is a district of Siwi, water springs from a hill, and covers a large extent of ground. Fishes

<sup>23</sup>["Már." *The description seems perhaps more applicable to leeches.*]

<sup>24</sup>[*This name is so written by Malet. One MS. writes it "Mastúr," the other is illegible.*]

are found in it. Amongst the hills of Ganjava there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed, but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars, and the earth recedes.

The hills of Situr and the river Abkashida run in a sort of semicircle from Siwi to Ganjava.<sup>25</sup> Between these places there is a waste, through which the road to Kandahar runs. Its length from the river to Siwi is a hundred kos, and its breadth sixty. In summer the hot wind blows over this track for four months.

### *The Wonders of Kandahar*

\*                     \*                     \*                     \*

At the hill called Sibuda<sup>26</sup> the rock was scarped, and a lofty arched recess called Peshtak was cut by order of the Emperor Babar. Eighty stone-masons were employed nine years in its completion. It is indeed a very pleasant place, overlooking the waters of the Arghand, gardens and cultivated fields. In spring many people resort there, but it is difficult to reach on account of its steep ascent. Within this recess are inscribed the names of Babar Badshah, and of his trusty adherents, Mirza Kamran, Mirza 'Askari, and Mirza Hindal. As his majesty Humayun had never visited the spot, his name was not included in the inscription. Of all his dominions Kandahar was the only place mentioned.<sup>27</sup> When I visited the spot it came into my head that I would inscribe his name there, as well as that of his august son (Akbar) with their thousands of tributary cities and kingdoms, like Kandahar and Kabul. I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakkar, and had the names of these kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengal to Bandar Lahari, from Kabul and Ghazni to the Dekhin, without any omis-

<sup>25</sup>[The MSS. differ here and the meaning is somewhat doubtful.]

<sup>26</sup>[So in MS. A. The other MS. has "Sarmir," and Malet "Sipiza."]

<sup>27</sup>[A negative seems to be required here. If supplied, the sentence will read, "Kandahar was not even mentioned as forming part of his dominions."]

sion. It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration. Below the hills there is a cavern not far off. It was from the other extremity of this, that Baba Hasan Abdal brought out the golden brick. The distance between these two ends is seven or eight kos.

On the same hill near Kandahar, *mukhlisa* is found, which is an antidote against snake bites and other poisons, and it is found nowhere else in that country. On that hill also there is a fire temple of a very ancient date. It is built of unburnt bricks, each two yards long and broad, and one span thick. The temple exists to this day, and has sustained no injury:

In Kandahar there used to be plague<sup>28</sup> and sickness every year, till Shah Tahmasp directed Sultan Husain Mirza, governor of that province, to plant canes on the stream which flows near the town, and the water of which the people use for drinking. Since that, the sickness has abated, but even now in some seasons plague and disease break out with great intensity; blood being passed from the belly, nostrils, ears, and mouth. When I went there, in the reign of his late majesty, Akbar, to render assistance, it was at its height, and in the year 1007 H. (1598 A.D.) nearly two hundred soldiers died of this disease.

With the Hazara tribes near Kandahar, it is not the practice to wear coloured clothes such as white, red and black, \* \* \* \* nor is there any trade in clothes and shoes of this kind. Among the saints buried near Kandahar may be mentioned \* \*

\* \* \* Baba Hasan Abdal, a descendant of the Saiyids of Sabzawar. After a pilgrimage to the holy cities, he accompanied Mirza Shah Rukh, son of Sahib-Kiran (Timur) to Hindustan. On his return he spent some years in Langar Kandahar, and died there. His tomb is on an elevated spot surrounded by villages, and overlooking the Arghandab, and to it, as to a place of pilgrimage, men and women, little and big, low and high-born, resort on Fridays in great crowds, so that the city is sometimes empty. It is certainly a charming retreat, and travellers say they have seen few spots to compare with it.

<sup>28</sup>["Wabá"; also used to designate Cholera.]

## BOOK IV

*Account of the country of Sind passing into the hands of the officers of the Emperor Akbar after the death of Sultan Mahmud Khan*

I have before related how Kisu Khan came to Bhakkar on the 12th Jumada-l awwal 982 Hijri (August 1574) bringing with him an imperial farman, in which he was directed to divide Bhakkar equally between Muhib 'Ali Khan and Mujahid Khan, and then to proceed to Thatta and make Muhammad Kaki Tarkhan prisoner.

At that time Mujahid Khan was in the country of Ganjava, but when he heard of Kisu Khan's arrival at Bhakkar, he hastened to meet him there. But before he arrived Kisu Khan sought to clear out the fort of Sakhar.<sup>29</sup> Mujahid Khan's men procrastinated, but Kisu Khan disapproving of this, sent off a force to Sakhar. Wakil Khan who was the representative of Mujahid Khan, fought upon the wall which Mujahid Khan had built round Sakhar, and several persons on both sides were killed, and more wounded. Three days after the fight, Mujahid Khan arrived and took away his men to Lohari. Sakhar then reverted entirely into the power of Kisu Khan, but towards Lohari the *pargana* of Bhakkar was in the possession of Muhib 'Ali Khan and Mujahid Khan.<sup>30</sup> The men who had assembled (to support them) were broken-hearted. At this juncture, some of the Arghun people deserted them and came to Bhakkar, where Kisu Khan had them put to death upon the malevolent suggestion of Shah Baba, son of Jan Baba Turkhan. Kisu Khan was a severe harsh-tempered man, and one day Barji Tawaji having been guilty of some fault, he had irons placed upon his feet in the presence of his court.

Two months afterwards, Mujahid Khan went up against Thatta, leaving Muhib 'Ali Khan in charge of their families. He halted for a few days at the town of Ranipur

<sup>29</sup>[MS. B. says "Bhakkar."]

<sup>30</sup>[So according to MS. A.; a whole line is omitted from B. by mistake of the copyist. Malet says "Muhib' Ali and Mujahid Khan held Rori and Tiggur."]

in order to outfit his force. Kisu Khan, at the instigation of the men of Bhakkar, sent an army against Lohari. On Friday, the 2nd of Ramzan 982 A.H. (December 1574), having divided his army into two parts he crossed over the river. One division he directed by way of the gardens of the city towards Lohari, and the other he embarked in *ghrabs* and boats and sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khwaja Khizr. Muhib 'Ali Khan's men mounted and went towards the *'id-gah*. Kisu Khan's followers arrived in their *ghrabs* and set fire to Mujahid Khan's boats, and when the flames rose high, the horsemen fell back and went towards their homes. At this time Kisu Khan's horsemen came up and threw rockets<sup>31</sup> into the city and set it on fire in several places. Muhib 'Ali Khan then mounted his horse and fled. The men of Bhakkar now entered the city and pillaged until evening capturing the standard and kettle drum of Muhib 'Ali Khan which they bore off with them to the fort. When the intelligence reached Mujahid 'Ali Khan he returned by forced marches to Lohari, but he was greatly dispirited, and in consideration of the royal power he refrained from molesting Kisu Khan.<sup>32</sup> The latter established himself in the fort of Bhakkar and practised great injustice. When the Emperor Akbar became acquainted with these facts he placed the country under the charge of Tarsun Khan, and in the beginning of Muharram 983 A.H. (April 1575) Muhammad Tahir Khan, son of Shah Muhammad Saifu-l-Mulk, and Muhammad Kasim Khan and Mirza Muhammad Sultan arrived at the town of Lohari, and sent to Kisu Khan a copy of the *farman* conferring the *jagir* of Bhakkar (on Tarsun Khan).

Kisu Khan was at first inclined to resist and to set these men at defiance, but when the matter came to be talked over, he went to the chief of the *saiyids*, who sent some priests and a party of men to the three *sardars* to give them counsel. The *sardars* detained them all, and desired them to write a true statement of affairs and send it to the Emperor. The priests begged to

<sup>31</sup>[Hukkahāe ātish.]

<sup>32</sup>[The MSS. differ slightly here, and the text is not clear, but the meaning appears to be as rendered.]

be excused, but said they would write if both parties were present. The *sardars* replied that Kisu Khan's agents were present, and that if the priests would write the truth in their presence, no further trouble would be given them. The priests then entered upon the business. As soon as Kisu Khan heard this he was alarmed, for he saw that matters were going wrong, and that the forthcoming memorial would be ruinous to him. He therefore sent to say that he would give up the fort, and that they need not write. The Khans sent word back that the memorial was written, and that they would keep it ready. If he did not surrender the fort the letter should be sent to the Emperor—so Kisu Khan having no other remedy, conducted the Khans into the fort.

An order had been issued by the Emperor that Kisu Khan, in concert with the brethren of Tarsun Muhammad Khan, the *saiyids*, and the chief men, should make enquiry about the treasure, houses, and effects of Sultan Mahmud Khan, and send a detailed account thereof to the Court. In obedience to the Royal orders, the people of Sultan Mahmud's harem were sent to the presence, and his chief wife, sister of Jahan Khan, was sent to Lahore. At the same time, Khwaja Sarai, Singh Darbari, and Banwali Das Navisinda arrived for the purpose of settling the affairs of the treasure and of the people of the harem of Sultan Mahmud. Having afterwards looked into the matter of the treasure at Lohari, they proposed to return by way of Nagor in the beginning of Rajab of the year above-named.

When Tarsun Muhammad Khan received permission to depart from the Court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l Mulk on the borders of the country, so he was appointed governor of Agra and a change was made in respect of Bhakkar, for Banwali Das was sent there to take charge of the revenues and general affairs. Afterwards, for better security, Mir Saiyid Muhammad was dignified with the office of *Mir-i 'adl* (Chief Justice), with a *mansab* of 1000, and appointed governor of Bhakkar.

On the 11th of Ramzan of the year above-mentioned, he arrived at Bhakkar, and the ministers of religion

and the chief men waited upon him to show due honour and respect. He then gave 50,000 *bighas* of land to the *saiyids*, learned men and others in portions suited to the position of each one. The ministers of religion enjoyed a happy time during his administration. In the early part of his rule he sent a force against the Mankinjas of the district of Gagri who were rebellious, and had opposed his officers. He acted oppressively towards the ryots in revenue matters, for he fixed by measurement a payment of five *mans* per *bigha* upon all lands alike, and the revenue officers, whom he appointed, dealt harshly with the cultivators. The troops of the *Mir-i 'adl* arrived at a small fort between Gambaz and Bajran. The Mankinjas showing no respect, shot arrows at them, and several of the soldiers were killed. There was a well in the fort into which the graceless wretches threw the bodies both of Musulmans and infields, and filled it up with earth. The *Mir-i 'adl* was enraged at this, and sent for reinforcements from Siwi, to take vengeance. After a short opposition, the Mankinjas left their home and took to flight. Saiyid Abu-l Fazl, the *Mir-i 'adl's* son, who commanded the troops, pursued them for some distance, and then returned to Bhakkar. Some time after this the *Mir-i 'adl* fell ill, he lost much blood and his weakness increased till he died on the 8th of Sh'aban, 984 A.H. (October 1576).

After his death, the Emperor appointed his son, Abu-l Fazl, to succeed him in the government of Bhakkar. In the following year Abu-l Fazl seized and confined the head men of Gagri, and afterwards caused two or three of them to be trampled to death by elephants. On the 9th of Zi'l hijja 985 A.H. (Feb. 1578) I'timad Khan, an eunuch, and one of the emperor's trusty servants, came as governor to Bhakkar. He was a man of passionate temper and did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants, or nobles. Some of the ministers of religion were troubled by his conduct, and resolved to carry their complaints to the Emperor. The governor thereupon sent a person to them with excuses, but they would not be satisfied, and resolutely determined to proceed. When they reached the royal presence they stated their grievances against that cruel man. The Emperor replied that if he had oppressed the people in the

way represented, he would be killed. And it turned out exactly as the royal tongue predicted, after this manner. He was an habitual jester and scoffer, and would utter vile and filthy expressions before good men; he also dealt nggardly with the troops; so on the 10th Rabi'u-l awwal 986 A.H. (May, 1578) a party of soldiers conspired and slew him in his hall of audience.

After the death of I'timad Khan the Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in *jagir* to Fath Khan Bahadur, Raja Parmanand and Raja Todar Mal.<sup>33</sup> In the month of Rajab of the same year, the Khan and the other two grantees came to Bhakkar and took possession of their respective portions. Two years afterwards Parmanand proceeded to the Court in obedience to orders. The Darijas afterwards quarrelled with his brother Madhu Das, and assembled in the town of Alor with hostile intent. Two or three fights followed, and men were slain on both sides. At length some turbulent fellows joined in the attack, so Fath Khan sent his own men to put them down. The insurgents were then beaten and dispersed. Fath Khan then went to Court, where he was received with great favour. His *mansab* was increased, and the *jagir* of Parmanand was assigned to him.

Fath Khan was a simple-minded man, fond of money, who paid his thanks with his tongue, but he dealt kindly with the people and provided for their subsistence. He had a *wakil* named Shahab Khan, a *zamindar* of Samana, an inexperienced man, who knew nothing of business. At the instigation of one Farid he attacked the people of Khan Nahar, and led a force against the fort of Kin-kot, which was in the hands of Ibrahim Nahar. A great battle followed, in which Fath Khan's fine men were slain. Shahib Khan also fell with all his brothers. When intelligence of this reached the Emperor, he instantly resumed Fath Khan's *jagir* and assigned it to Nawwab Muhammad Sadik Khan together with the duty of capturing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday the 12th Rabi'u-l awwal 994 A.H. (Feb. 1586). The priests and others went out to meet him, and he received them all

<sup>33</sup>[MS. B. makes no mention of the last, and speaks of "the two" grantees.]



with honour and respect. For some time he stayed in Bhakkar setting its affairs in order, but in Zi-l hijja of the same year, he marched against Siwistan. Before going on this expedition he fought with the men of Mirza Jani Beg, many of whom were killed. The breeze of victory thus began to blow on the banners Muhammad Sadik. He then proceeded on his expedition. Meanwhile Subhan 'Ali Arghun, who was in command of the enemy, had constructed a fort on the banks of the river, and had furnished it with munitions of war. He had also collected many *ghrabs* and boats there.

When Muhammad Sadik advanced, the Arghun came out in his *ghrabs* and gave battle; but he was defeated and taken prisoner alive, and many of his men were killed and wounded. Twelve *ghrabs* also fell into the hands of the victors. Greatly elated with these victories he laid siege to Siwistan. His operations occupied some time, but he at length sunk a large mine which carried away the gate in front of the fort. Instructions had been given that no man was to enter the fort without orders, so when the smoke and dust cleared off, the besieged set to work, closing up the breach, and maintaining a fire from their cannons and guns (*top o tufang*). The party on the top of the gateway which had been blown into the air fell to the ground uninjured. Mirza Jani Beg had now advanced with a force as far as Mihran, which is six kos from Siwan. In consequence of this, Muhammad Sadik raised the siege and went to oppose his progress. When he came opposite the Lakki hills, the *ghrabs* of Mirza Jani opened fire upon him. They continued fighting for several days, till an imperial *farman* arrived stating that Mirza Jani Beg had sent suitable tribute to the Court, and had made humble and dutiful submission. Muhammad Sadik therefore returned to Bhakkar, and after a short interval he repaired to Court. One year afterward his *jagir* was taken from him. In the two *kharif* harvests that passed while Muhammad Sadik held Bhakkar, locusts attacked the crops and famine ensued. Many men emigrated in various directions. The Samijas and Buluchis plundered both sides of the river and left nothing standing.

At the end of Rabi'u-s sani, 996 A.H. (Feb. 1588), the

*jagir* of Bhakkar was granted to Isma'il Khan, and his son Rahman Kuli Beg came to the place. This young nobleman was wise, and treated the people with great kindness and consideration, so that through his gentle management they betook themselves once more to cultivation, and by their efforts the wasted land again became fruitful.

When Isma'il Kuli Khan left Multan and went to the Court, the *jagir* was taken from him and granted to Shiroya Sultan. In the beginning of Muharram 997 A.H. (Nov. 1588), he came to Bhakkar. He was addicted to wine, and left the management of his affairs in the hands of his purchased slaves. Night and day he was engaged in riot and debauchery, and but seldom sat in public court, or allowed any one to have access to him. The pensions and allowances to the fakirs were stopped. At one period Shaikh Sangi received charge of the revenue and State business, and for a time he visited the shops and took possession of their money and business.<sup>34</sup> He sent his son Muhammad Husain Beg to subdue Siwi, but the Afghans assembled and fiercely opposed him. His advanced guard was composed of Bulchis<sup>35</sup> who fled at the first attack. The main body was then assaulted. Many were slain and many taken prisoners. The rest were broken and put to flight, but the weather was hot, and large numbers died of thirst in the mirage. Those who escaped alive were a long time before they recovered. The wails occasioned by the violence and tyranny of Shiroya at length ascended to heaven, from whence the glad tidings of his removal came to the people of Bhakkar. They escaped from his malignity and once more lived in peace, for Muhammad Sadik Khan again received the *jagir*.

On the second of Rabi'u-l awwal 998 A.H. (December, 1589) Mirza Muhammad Zahid, son of Muhammad Sadik, came to Bhakkar. He treated the people with kindness and poured the balm of justice upon hearts wounded by tyranny. He was good-looking and good-natured, and he associated with learned and excellent men. He restored the pensions and allowances in accordance with the grants made by his father, and put a stop to oppression. Khwaja

<sup>34</sup>[A doubtful passage. The two MSS. do not agree.]

<sup>35</sup>[Baluch yaldi budand.]

Muhammad Ma'sum was Muhammad Sadik's *vakil*. He was a man of excellent qualities, and competent in all business. The people were re-assured and went about their cultivation and building. But a heavenly visitation fell upon the spring crop of that year; notwithstanding the care of the government, evil days ensued, and it was impossible to collect the taxes. A scarcity of food again occurred.

About this time His Majesty the Emperor had to make a public example. When the Royal Court was removed to Lahore, Mirza Jani Beg, in imitation of Mirza Shah Husain, renounced his obedience, and pretended to independence. The Khan-i Khanan was accordingly sent to take Thatta and bring the Buluchis under control. He reached the place in the month of Shawwal of the year aforesaid, between the autumnal and vernal harvests, and proceeded to set all things in order. At that time, I, the author of this history, proceeded from Ahmadabad in Guzerat to the Imperial Court. By good fortune my mother had sent some little curiosities, which I presented to his Majesty. Thereupon he enquired with great condescension how many years I had been absent from my mother. I replied that it was twenty years. He was graciously pleased to direct that I should go to visit my mother, and afterwards return to my duty. He further ordered the grant of a *jagir* to me. Thereupon, Muhammad Sadik came to my aid, and said that as I was going to Bhakkar, it would be very pleasant to have my *jagir* there. His Majesty said that Bhakkar had been granted in *jagir* to the Nawwab Khan-i Khanan. The latter was present at the time and said that if His Majesty pleased to make me a grant in Bhakkar he would assign it over to me, but if so he hoped to receive an equivalent elsewhere. The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakkar, and the officials assigned to me the *parganas* of Durbela, Gagri and Chanduka. After this was arranged, His Majesty in his great kindness and consideration gave me a boat and one of his own fur coats, and as he dismissed me he quoted the line—

“Sit not down, but travel, for it is very sweet.”

On the 14th<sup>30</sup> Safar, 999 A.H. (Nov. 1590), I reached Bhakkar, where the Khan-i Khanan had arrived before me. The weather was hot and the river high, so he stayed some days there; but when the star Canopus appeared he dismissed me with Bahadur Khan, Mulla Mahmudi, and some others. We went to Sihwan, and the Khan-i Khanan followed and overtook us there. The people of Sihwan closed the gates of their fort. The Khan-i Khanan then consulted with his nobles as to whether it was better to march against Mirza Jani Beg in Thatta at once, or to stop and take Sihwan before proceeding. They all agreed that as Sihwan was in the direct road, and their men and boats must pass that way, it was desirable to secure it before going further. Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (*morcha*) were raised, and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river.<sup>37</sup> But intelligence came that Nawwab Jani Beg had left Thatta with a powerful force and was advancing against us. So the siege was raised and our forces turned to oppose him. Jani Beg then threw up a sort of fort<sup>38</sup> on the bank of the river at the village of Lohari above Nasrpur, and there strengthened his position.

When the Khan-i Khanan came within about six kos from this fortified post Jani Beg sent 120 armed *ghrabs* and many boats under the command of Khusru Khan and other officers, and also two armies, one on each bank of the river, to make a simultaneous attack on the camp of the Khan-i Khanan. To meet them our forces advanced a little on the bank of the river, where we raised some sand-works covering five or six *jaribs* of ground. Muhammad Mukim Khan Bakhshi, 'Ali Mardan Khan, Murid Khan Sarmadi, and the writer of this history, with several other noblemen, were appointed to that humble fortification.<sup>39</sup> Our instructions were, that when the *ghrabs* came up they must necessarily pass in front of our fortified position, because just in front of it there was a large sand-bank from which they must cross over to reach

<sup>30</sup>[12th in MS. A.]

<sup>31</sup>[The text says 'dar maqan sakhtan payab shudand'. The word 'pay-áb commonly means "a ford."]

<sup>32</sup>['tarah qala andalchteh.]

<sup>33</sup>[qilachch.]

our camp,<sup>40</sup> In fact, when Muhammad Mukim was sent there he was told that his business was to prevent any danger to the camp on that side. In the afternoon the *ghrabs* came up, when they perceived that on one side there was water with a sandbank, and on the other side water with a fort, so they arrested their progress, and guns from both sides announced the opening of the fight. In the course of the night the Khan-i Khanan sent a party over to the opposite side.

The force which Jani Beg had appointed for the purpose assaulted our gate, but it had been well secured, and their efforts were vain. In the morning, the *gharbs* came up in front of the camp. The guns in our fortification were appointed too high, so that the balls passed over the *ghrabs* and fell among our friends on the other side, killing several of them. The muzzles of the guns were then depressed, so that the balls passed through the *ghrabs* on our side of the river, and then touching the water rose again and crushed eight or nine boats (*kishti*) killing a number of men.<sup>41</sup> But they were prepared for this—for in each *ghrab* there were carpenters who quickly repaired the damages. The fight was carried on and the firing continued in this way for that day. On one side was the fort and army of the Khan-i Khanan, on the other the sandbank, and the *ghrabs* must pass between them against a strong current. The battle continued till after mid-day, and the enemy had many men killed by the guns. They then saw that they could not pass the fort, and that they were losing many men, so they were compelled to retreat. The Khan-i Khanan's boats followed in pursuit and the army harassed them from the shore. Khusru Khan acted judiciously: keeping his own *ghrabs* in the rear he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingi fighting men on board fell into his hands. The royal *ghrab* had accompanied the *ghrab* of Khusri Khan and unfortunately some fire from the latter reached the magazine of the royal vessel, and all it contained was burnt. Some of the crew escaped into other vessels which happened

<sup>40</sup>[*'Nachar bayasti az chihala abur namudeh bardu rasid.'*]

<sup>41</sup>[*The MSS. differ, and the whole passage is not very intelligible.*]

to be near, but a large proportion was killed. Still a great victory was won.

Next day we marched against the fort of Jani Beg in which he had fortified himself. There were some little sand-hills (*chihla*<sup>42</sup>) around, and the place seemed difficult to take. When we tried to invest the place, the Khan-i Khanan and his officers found the work impracticable. One night we made a general assault upon the place on every side, but it was too strong and we gained nothing. It was then determined by the Khan-i Khanan that he would proceed with a force to Sihwan and take possession of the country of Thatta,—that another force should go to Badin and Fath-bagh, and that Shah Beg Khan should march to beseige Shah-garh, a place that had been built by Shah Kasim Arghun. The Khan-i Khanan accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badin, Fath Khan and Jun, and Shah Beg besieged Shah-garh. Saiyid Bahau-d din, the author, and several other attendants of the Khan-i Khanan, went to Siwan, where many of the defenders were killed.

When the garrison found that matters were going hard with them they wrote to Jani Beg that unless he came to their aid, the place must be lost. Upon learning this the Mirza marched with great alacrity to Siwan. When he had reached a point about twenty kos from us, we received intelligence of his advance. We held a council, and determined to fight him; so we raised the siege and marched to oppose his advance. When the Khan-i Khanan heard this he sent Muhammad Khan Niyazi and some other of his officers with reinforcements for us. We were near the Lakki hills when they joined us, and our united force then amounted to 1200 horse. Jani Beg was advancing through the hills with 10,000 horse, together with a numerous body of infantry and archers, and he had *ghrabs* and cannon coming up the river. When he was six or seven kos distant, our leaders perceived that if we remained where we were, we might be attacked on every side. Jani Beg might attack us from the hills, the

<sup>42</sup>[This is the same word, variously written, 'chihla,' 'chihila,' and 'jahala'. In a previous passage it has been rendered "sand-bank." It is perhaps allied to the Hindústáni *chihlá*, "mud."]

*ghrabs* from the river, and the men of Sihwan from the rear, so that we should be in a critical position. We therefore resolved to march on and meet him, and our forces were accordingly set in motion. Jani Beg received intelligence of our movement through his spies, but could not credit it, for he asked what our numbers could be, and what must be our presumption to venture on such a step. But the dust of our march then became visible to him, and he instantly proceeded to set his army in array. It was noon when the contending forces met. When our vanguard became engaged, some of the men took flight and fled. The enemy pursued, and coming up with our main body the battle became general. Three or four fierce charges were made, but at length the enemy were defeated. Jani Beg stood his ground and fought desperately, but seeing that all was over, he also fled. The enemy lost many men in killed and prisoners. Jani Beg retreated to Unarpur,<sup>43</sup> twenty kos from the battle-field, where he raised a small fort and strengthened his position. We besieged the place, and after some days the Khan-i Khanan arrived in person.

The batteries were pushed forward, and fighting went on every day, in which many on both sides were killed. Digging approaches to the fort, we reached the edge of the ditch, and raised there a mound of earth. Jani Beg was then reduced to despair, and offered terms. His proposal was to give over to us thirty *ghrabs* and the fort of Sihwan. He himself would return to Thatta but would meet us again afterwards. The Khan-i Khanan consulted with his officers, and they all agreed that Jani Beg was reduced to extremities, and that no terms should be made with him—it was a mere question of a day or two—and if he were allowed to return to Thatta he would probably change his mind. The Khan-i Khanan observed that if we assailed the fort, many men on both sides would be slain, and that the wives and families of the garrison would fall into our hands and might be treated with indignity, for these reasons he would accept the terms, and would further obtain a *mansab* of 5000 from the Emperor for Jani Beg. No doubt his decision was sound. The representatives of

<sup>43</sup>["Amarpur" in MS. B.]

Jani Beg then came into our lines, the terms were settled, the *ghrabs* were given up, a person was sent to Sihwan to secure the surrender of the fort, and Jani Beg himself set out for Thatta. The Khan-i Khanan stayed in the village of Sann during the inundations, but in the winter he departed for Thatta.

When we approached Fath-bagh Jani Beg came forward to meet us, and there was an interview and friendly intercourse between the two chiefs. Leaving Jani Beg at this place the Khan-i Khanan proceeded to Thatta, and there he distributed among his officers and soldiers all the effects (*basat*) he had with him. He next went to Lahori-bandar, where gazed upon the sea (*daryae shor*). When he departed from this place he left Daulat Khan and Khwaja Mukim in charge. A royal mandate had arrived directing him to bring Jani Beg to Court,—in consequence of this he started off, taking Jani Beg with him, and hastened by forced marches to the Imperial presence. Every kindness and consideration was bestowed upon Jani Beg through the friendly statements of the Khan-i Khanan. The country of Thatta was graciously restored to him, and he was received into the royal service with a *mansab* of 5000. Still further favour was shown him, and Khusri Khan was named to be his son-in-law.

When His Majesty set out for the Dekhin,<sup>44</sup> intent upon the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Kasim, on the 25th Rajab Mirza Jani Beg died of brain fever, and upon the solicitation of Nawwab Allani, the country of Thatta was granted to Mirza Ghazi Beg, son of the deceased Mirza.

THE END

<sup>44</sup>[It is at this point in MS. B. that there comes in abruptly the passage relating to Dúda, upon which some remarks have been made elsewhere.]