HISTORY OF SIND SERIES VOL-III

SIND

ARAB PERIOD

DR. MUMTAZ HUSAIN PATHAN



SIND
ARAB PERIOD

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This book is published in the History of Sind Series planned by the Sindhi Adabi Board, which was established in 1951 by the Sind Provincial Government to foster the language and literature of Sind. The aim was to produce a definitive history of the country from prehistoric times till the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The original plan, for eight volumes, was subsequently amended by dividing the fourth of these into two. Thus the complete history will now be published in nine volumes, in three languages, Sindhi, Urdu, and English, in the following order :-

Volume I.

A general introduction, giving a full description of the geographical and climatic features of the country, and tracing their influence on its history throughout the period. The behaviour of the river Indus is examined, with the effects of the changes of its course; and also accounts of the seats of culture, the composition of the population, and the local languages, recorded by observers at different times.

Volume II.

The Indus Civilization. Persian occupation, Alexander the Great's invasion. The Scythians and their successors. The Buddhist period. The Brahman dynasty and its fall.

Volume III.

The Arab Period, preceded by a brief account of the advent of Islam.

Volume IV.

The Ghaznavis, Ghoris, and their successors. The Sumras.

Volume V.

The Sammas.

Volume VI.

The Arghuns, Tarkhans and Moghals.

Volume VII.

The Kalhoras and the Daudpotas.

Volume VIII.

The Talpurs.

Volume IX.

The British period, the Separation of Sind, and the birth of Pakistan.

The work of writing these nine volumes was assigned to different scholars, the first two to Dr. H. T. Lambrick, the well-known author of 'Sir Charles Napier and Sind' and 'John Jacob of Jacobabad'. Volume I appeared in 1964 and volume II in 1973. This volume III by Dr. Mumtaz Husain Pathan stands published. Of the remaining volumes IV, V and VI are under preparation. Volume VII written by Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mihr in Urdu was published in 1958 and its Sindhi translation appeared in 1963. The English translation is under progress. Volumes VIII and IX are yet to be written.

The Publishers acknowledge with thanks the co-operation and help extended by Mr. Aijaz Mohammed Siddiqui, Manager, Sind University Press, Hyderabad Sind in bringing out this volume.

PREFACE

In almost all contemporary works on Indo-Pakistan history the period of Arab rule in Sind is generally neglected, as having little cultural value. Some historians have further asserted that the Arabs came to Sind, as marauding looters and after having their desire fulfilled, they returned back to Arabia and scattered into insignificance like the sands of their desert home. This estimate is, however, based on prejudice and ignorance. The Arabs were in possession of the major portion of the Valley of Indus for a period of 313 years and this number coincides with that of the Sahābā (companions) who fought on the side of the Prophet of Islam, in the battle of Badr. The historical evidence further reveals that the Arabs were the virtual masters of Balūchistān, Cutch, parts of Gujrāt and Kāthiāwad. Their forces frequently ravaged the regions of Malwā, Rājasthān and Eastern Punjab, while their fleets threatened the entire Malabār coast right up to Ceylon. The political supremacy of the Arabs in Sind resulted in the commercial and cultural intercourse between Sind and the Arab world. A new civilization was born as a result of this contact, the medieval civilization, of which the Arabs and the Arabic speaking people were the main torch-bearers.

The Province of Sind was greatly influenced by the dominant culture of the age, the impact of which is still dominant on the people of Sind. A majority of the inhabitants of Sind claim their origin to the Arabs and consider it as an honour to belong to the Semitic race. This is chiefly due to the system of clientage موالي introduced by the Arabs in Sind, in which the subject people converted to Islam were kept in abject submission and of lower status. The Arabs on

the other hand called themselves اشراف (noble) on the basis of their birth and belonging to the race of the conquerors. In his dress, mode of eating, food, marriage and death ceremonies, daily routine, behaviour and psychological trait, a Sindhi resembles an Arab. The Arabs have imposed their culture on the Sindhi masses in a very lucid and dignified manner, unfamiliar to the succeeding nations, such as Turks, Afghāns, Mongols and others, who had very little to contribute to the culture of the land.

In this work an attempt has been made to show that the Arabs retained political control of the Valley of Indus for a considerable period and their conquest of Sind was not a mere episode as is held by some non-Muslim writers. The Umayyad caliphs and after them the Abbāsids exercised unlimited and uninterrupted control over the affairs of Sind till the death of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, when two independent and sovereign Arab states were founded in the Valley of Indus. The Kingdom of Multān which extended over a greater portion of southern Punjab was held by an Arab chief of Banū Asad tribe, with its capital at Multan, while Sind proper, from Al-Ror to the Sea comprised of the territories of the Kingdom of al-Mansūrah, ruled by an Arab chief belonging to the family of Banū Habbār, an offshoot of the clan of Banū Asad, and a branch of the tribe of Quraysh. The Arab government continued to subsist in Sind region till the rise of the Ghaznavids, who incorporated the Valley of Indus in their rising empire, under Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Sind had its own share to contribute to the development of the Arab medieval culture. It was chiefly under the influence of the works brought from Sind that scientific study of various branches of knowledge was begun at Baghdād and other centres of the Muslim learning. The superiority of the Sindhian

works and the contribution made by the Sindhī scholars to the development of learning in the Arab world is acknowledged by the Arab scholars themselves. They have paid glowing tribute to the wisdom and knowledge of the people of Indus Valley and the contribution they have made to the development and progress of human culture and world civilization.

Humble though it is, the present work intends to fill in the gap of three hundred years in the history of Sind and also of Indo-Pakistan, and will supply the reader with first hand information about the general conditions of Sind and the development of its culture during the Medieval age.

Dr. Mumtaz Pathan
Hyderabad.

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SOURCES ON THE ARAB PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF SIND

The sources on the history of Sind (Arab period) may be divided into four distinct categories:-

1. Contemporary authorities.
2. Geographical sources and travel records.
3. Later works and anthologies.
4. Archaeological finds.

CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

Futuh al-Buldan

Among the contemporary authorities may be mentioned the famous work of al-Balādhurī, known as Futūḥ al-Buldān, which contains a descriptive account of the conquest of various countries by the Arabs after the rise of Islam. Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir was the original name of the historian but he is known by the epithet al-Balādhurī, from Balādhūr, a drug which ultimately caused his death.[1] Al-Balādhurī flourished during the reigns of al-Mutawakkil, al-Musta'īn and al-Mu'tazz and was an expert in history, geography, literature, narration, genealogy and other sciences. He was a resident of Baghdād and was fully conversant with the Persian language through which he translated many books in Arabic language. His two works are, however, outstanding: Futūḥ al-Buldān and Kitāb al-Ansāb al-Ashrāf, of which the former is the principal and authentic source of our knowledge on the conquest of Sind. It also deals with the accounts of the preliminary attacks on Sind, its final conquest under Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī in the year 711/12 A. D. This work also deals in brief with the

history of Sind from its conquest up to the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the tenth ruler of the Abbasid dynasty.

Futūḥ al-Buldān was printed and published at Cairo in A.H. 1319 (A.C. 1901).

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi

The historical work of al-Ya'qūbī[2] is another great authority on the history of the Arabs in Sind. Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far al-Ya'qūbī was an Abbasid by descent and as such he held an important post in the department of literature at Baghdād. He was a great traveller and he made extensive tours of the Muslim lands including Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. He has written important works on history, geography and other arts, with a tinge of Shī'iṭe convictions in close harmony to the policy of the Abbasid rulers. His geographical work "Kitāb al-Buldān" contains topographical and economical details of the various countries of the world, with special reference to the then Muslim empire. The history of al-Ya'qūbī, however, is more valuable than his other works as it is a universal history of mankind from the creation up to the reign of Caliph al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh المعتمد على الله. The work is divided into three parts of which the third part is of prime importance dealing with the history of Sind, during the later Abbasid period. The first part of this history deals with the cultural and historical details of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and gives an account of the various sciences which developed in this part of the world. It also contains valuable accounts of the social structure of the people of Indo-Pakistan, their customs and manners, their religions and above all the transmission of various sciences from India to the western Arab world. Al-Ya'qūbī's history also gives extracts from the Old Testament about the early history of the Arab race and their connection with the Jews. The history of al-Ya'qūbī was first published at Leyden in two volumes in A.C. 1883 and was also reprinted at Dār al-'Irāq, Beirut in A.H. 1375 (A.C. 1955). The Beirut edition is divided into three parts; the first deals with the

general history of the world up to the advent of Prophet Muḥammad; the second deals with Muslim history from the times of the Prophet up to the reign of Marwān I and the third part ends with the reign of Caliph al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh.

The distinctive feature of al-Ya'qūbī's history is that it contains the names of almost all the governors who succeeded each other in Sind during the Abbasid period. This valuable information in consecutive order is not found in any other contemporary or later source. At the same time al-Ya'qūbī, although a Shī'ite to the core, has refrained from giving wrong or prejudiced information of the events connected with Islamic History.

Tarikh al-Tabari

The history of al-Ṭabarī is the greatest work of medieval times with regard to its authenticity and style. The said work is known by the title "Tārīkh al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk" and it is an elaborate account of the history of the world from the earliest known times. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (838-923 AC) was born and brought up at Amul in the province of Ṭabāristān in Persia. He studied Qurān and Hadīth at very young age and then made extensive tours of the Muslim lands in search of knowledge. He remained at Baghdād for a considerable period and died at his native place Amul in the year A.H. 310 (923 A.C.). The history of al-Ṭabarī begins from the creation of Adam and goes down to A.H. 302 (915 A.C.) with the usual arrangement of the events chronologically tabulated under the successive years of the Hijrah. Al-Ṭabarī's method of presenting the narrative is annalistic and he traces it back to Isnād (i.e. the religious traditions). He procured the data for his history from oral traditions collected during his travels and from lectures of the scholarly persons under whom he studied at Baghdād and other educational centres of the Arab world.

History of al-Ṭabarī contains detailed accounts of the

Arab attacks on Sind, the period during which Sind remained under the Arab governors and a brief account of the kingdoms that flourished in the Indus valley during the later Abbasid period. The first volume also gives a detailed information about the Arabs in the pre-Islamic times, their divisions and a history of their culture, before the advent of the Prophet of Islam.

Tārīkh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk was edited and published at Leyden in A.C. 1861 in twelve and a half volumes. The original edition of this work is said to have been ten times bigger than the surviving edition.

Athar al-Bilad

Athār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād, as is the full name of the work, is a collection of accounts of the cities and the port towns of the world. It was written and compiled by a Persian traveller Zakariyyā of Qazvīn and hence he was known with the title of "Qazvīnī (A.H 600-A.H.683). He has recorded certain very important notes about the towns of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, the condition of their people, their culture, religion and other aspects of life. The most important towns of Indus valley which have been dealt with by the traveller are al-Mansūrah, Multān and al-Daybul which are reported to have been flourishing centres of trade and markets of merchandise in those times.

Athār al-Bilād was edited and published by Wustenfeld in A.C. 1848. This edition too is rare.

Akhbar al-Tiwal

Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, written by Abū Ḥanīfah Ahmad ibn Dā'ūd al-Dīnawarī, an Arab scholar of third century Hijrah is a work of great literary excellence. The trend of writing in this work is Shī'ite and purely from the Iranian point of view, giving little importance to the history of Islam. He has given great value to personalities and important events like Anau-shīrwān Qādisiyyah, Siffīn, Nahrawān, Karbalā and others. These narratives are regarded as the finest products of the Arab.

historiography. Al-Dīnawarī has also compiled two other works on Indian arithmetic and Algebra, known as Kitāb al-Bahith fi Hisāb al-Hindī and Kitāb al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābilah.

Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl was edited and published at Leyden in 1912 A.C.

Silsilat al-Tārikh

This is a collection of the narratives and the travel impressions of various travellers and merchants who had made extensive tours of the ports and coastal regions of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It contains accounts of travellers like Abū Zayd of Sīrāf, Tājir Sulaymān and others who may be regarded as contemporary to the events.

The Arabic text of this booklet was published at Dār-al-Ṭabāʿah al-Sulṭāniyyah at Paris in 1811 A.C.

Sirat al-Nabaviyyah

Sīrah, the famous biography of Prophet Muḥammad written by Ibn Hishām, is the first work of its kind in the history of the Muslims. Ibn Hishām whose full name was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām belonged to the south-Arabian stock of Himyar, who had migrated to the north after the rise of Islām. Ibn Hishām died at Fustāt in A.H. 213 (829 A.C.) but the date of his birth is not known. His work which is a recension of Ibn Ishāq's work "Kitāb Sīrat al-Rasūl" contains informative notes about the tribe of Banū Asad, and its members who opposed or fought for the cause of Islam. It also contains information about the foundation of the Kingdom of al-Mansūrah and its extinction at the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Sīrat al-Nabaviyyah also gives an account of Habbār ibn al-Aswad, his family and descendants who took part in the administration of the Muslim empire during the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods.

The Sīrah was printed and published at Cairo in four volumes in A.H. 1355 (1936/37 A.C.).

'Aja'ib al-Hind Barruhu wa Babruhu

'Ajā'ib al-Hind (i.e. the wonders of India) is a collection of events recorded and compiled by a Persian traveller and ship captain of Rām Hurmuz, Buzurk ibn Shahriyār. Buzurk flourished in the fourth century Hijrah and his accounts are chiefly concerned with the countries of Indian Ocean. One of these narratives refers to the first translation of the Qurān in the local language of Sind, a fact which is of prime historical value and is not found in any other source. Since the traveller was contemporary to events, he has given the name of the then ruler of al-Mansūrah in Sind, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, the son and successor of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī, the founder of the dynasty of al-Mansūrah. Some coins of this ruler have been found from the ruins of Bhiro near Shahdādpur town but his name has not been mentioned in any historical or geographical source excepting this work. Its authenticity is, therefore, confirmed by the coins of the ruler who would have otherwise been the subject matter of controversy. The work also deals with the condition of the coastal region of the subcontinent, its principal ports and the commercial activities of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean. The language used in the work shows some middle Arabic traits, yet it is valuable as regards the information it contains.

The Arabic text of 'Ajā'ib al-Hind was edited and published at Cairo in 1908 and is now rare. Only one copy of it is available in whole of Sind and this is found with Professor 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī of Karachi University. The French translation of the work is given in his memorial by J. Sauvagut published at Damascus in 1954 and the Russian translation by Mr. R.I. Ehlrich at Moscow in 1959.

Tabaqat al-Kabir

The famous work of Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd, is divided into twelve volumes arranged in "Ṭabaqāt" or classes, which deal with the biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad, his compa-

nions and followers arranged in order of precedence, down to his own times. Ibn Sa'd, the author of this work was a resident of Baghdād, where he died in A.C. 845. He was secretary to al-Wāqidī, the author of Kitāb al-Maghāzī, which contains descriptive accounts of the wars and the campaigns of the Prophet of Islam. Ibn Sa'd who was associated with al-Wāqidī, has derived much of his information from Kitāb al-Maghāzī, but the arrangement made by him is different. In this work the author has given a detailed account of the tribe of Banū Asad, its distinguished members and also the relationship of the Prophet with the said tribe.

Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr was edited by Professor Sachau and was printed and published at Leyden in A. H. 1322 (1904-05 A.C.).

Kitab al-Bayan wa al-Tabiyyin

Kitāb al-Bayān regarded as an inventory of the Arabic humanities, is designed to stress the oriental and poetical ability of the Arabic speaking people. Its author Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāhiz, al-Fukhaymī al-Basrī, was a famous prose writer of the medieval times. Al-Jāhiz was born at Basrah in A.H. 160 (A.C. 776) in an obscure family of the Mawālī of the Abyssinian origin. He attended lectures on philology, lexicography and poetry and made himself attached to the Mu'tazilah school of thought. There are nearly two hundred works of al-Jāhiz of which only thirty have been preserved. Of these works Kitāb al-Bayān and Kitāb al-Haywān have gained considerable importance in the Arabic literature. Kitāb al-Bayān contains valuable references about the works of Indus valley origin, their authors and also the achievements of Sindhī scholars, who visited the court of Baghdād at the invitation of the Abbasid caliphs.

Kitāb al-Bayān was printed and published at Cairo in four volumes in A.H. 1367/1948 A.C.

Jamharah Ansab al-'Arab

The Jamharah is a contemporary work written by the Spanish Arab writer Abū Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, well known as Ibn Ḥazm.[4] This work contains references about Ḥabbār ibn-al-Aswad, his opposition to the Prophet, his conversion and the details regarding his descendants, who founded the Kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind. The work also gives an account of the extinction of the Arab rule at the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

The Jamharah was printed and published at Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo in 1948 A.C.

Al-Fihrist

Al-Fihrist is one of the most informative medieval works which deal with the lives, career and achievements of the important literary figures of the Arab world. Ibn Nadim was a librarian who flourished at Baghdād in the middle of fourth century after Hijrah. His full name was Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Abī Ya'qūb but he was well known by the title of Ibn Nadīm, and also Abū al-Fateh and Abū al-Faraj. Al-Fihrist contains valuable material on the religion, literature, language, and scripts of the various countries of the world. It also deals with the various sciences, their origin and development and other aspects of the cultural life of various people.

Al-Fihrist's importance lies in the fact that it contains informative account of the transmission of Indian thought and learning to Baghdād through Sind. A full detail appears about the scholars who went to Baghdād at the invitation of the Abbasids, the works of Indian origin which found translation at their hands at Baghdād and the development of the Arab sciences under the influence of these works. Specifically important is the portion of the work which deals with the script of Sind, of which the author has also given a specimen, which appears to be a combination of Arabic and Nāgrī scripts. The numerals are also shown, which were borrowed by the Arabs from India (possibly from Sind) in which the use of zero is somewhat

different from that in use today. Instead of placing the zero in front of the figure it was given underneath as would appear from the following:

١, ٢, ٣, ٤, ٥, ٦

Ibnu'l-Nadīm died at Baghdād in the year A.H. 375 (995 A.C.).

Al-Fihrist was edited and published at Cairo in A.H. 1348 (1930/31 A.C.).

Tarikh Baghdad

It is the renowned work of Ḥāfiz Abī Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit ibn Aḥmad ibn Mahdī ibn Thābit, well-known as al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī. Al-Khatīb was a native of Baghdād and was regarded as an authority on Qurān, Theology and History. He was born on 3rd Jumādi al-Thānī A.H. 392 (1002 A.C.) and died in the month of Dhi al-Hijjah, A.H. 463 (September 1071 A.C.).

Tārikh Baghdād contains valuable material on the life and works of the Muslim scholars of Sind's origin, who earned a great reputation in the Arab world for their exquisite knowledge and learning.

Tārīkh Baghdād was edited and published at Cairo in A.H. 1359 (1931 A.C.).

'Alaq al-Nafisah.

'Alāq al-Nafīsah is the famous work of Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Rustah, a writer of third century Hijrah. Ibn Rustah was a contemporary of Ibn Faqīh Hamdānī and he wrote his work in A.H. 290 (904 A.C.). It contains an account of the country of Sind and its important places of worship. A detailed narrative appears about the temple of Multān to which people flocked from all parts of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

'Alāq al-Nafīsah was printed and published at Brill, Leyden in 1891 A.C.

Kitab al-Warqah

Al-Warqah is a collection of the biographies of poets and scholars of the Arabic literature who have made distinguished contribution to the advancement of the Arabic language. In this work are given some of the poems of Abū Dila' al-Sindī, who originally belonged to Sind but had settled at Baghdād. He had travelled extensively in the Indian Ocean and had visited the land of his birth, about which he composed a long poem which appears in Zakariyyā Qazvīnī's famous work, "Athār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād". The full name of the author of this work is Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Da'ūd well-known by the title, Ibn Jarrāh.

Al-Warqah was printed and published at Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo. (The year of the print is not shown).

GEOGRAPHICAL SOURCES AND TRAVEL RECORDS

Apart from the historical sources discussed above, there are certain contemporary geographical works, which may also be listed as authorities on the history and culture of the Arab period of Sind. These works were written and compiled by geographers and travellers of high repute, who visited Sind during the period of Arab rule and have recorded their observations about its history, culture, geographical conditions and various other aspects of life, society and the people. The most important geographers who visited Sind were al-Mas'ūdī, al-Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and al-Bashshārī al-Maqdīsī. The other geographers who did not come personally to Sind have also contributed greatly by giving a complete record of the narratives and reports, which they collected from reliable persons, who went to Sind and brought correct and first hand reports from Indus valley.

Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawahar

Murūj al-Dhahab occupies a prominent place in the contemporary authorities on Sind. It was written and compiled by Abū al-Hasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, well-known by the title

"Herodotus of the Arabs". Al-Mas'ūdī visited Sind in the first years of the fourth century Hijrah, after having visited Multān and its environments.[5] He was received with great honour at the court of al-Mansūrah, the capital of Sind, by its ruler 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī. Al-Mas'ūdī has given a descriptive account of the country of Sind, its towns, social, cultural and court life and above all the military might of the Arab rulers of Sind. The geographer, it would seem, has also tackled the problem of the source of Indus, scientifically as against the rumoured version, recorded by men like al-Jāhiz. It was believed that both Nile and Indus had a common source and this theory was based on the presence of crocodiles in both these rivers. The accounts of al-Mas'ūdī are authentic and carry great historical and geographical value for the later writers on history. Al-Mas'ūdī also deals with various theories about the foundation of al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind, which he might have heard from the people during his visit to Indus valley. He is the only geographer who has given the names of the rulers of Multān as well as al-Mansūrah, which have unfortunately been omitted by his successors al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bashshārī and other geographers. Al-Mas'ūdī died at Fustāt in 956 A.C.

Murūj al-Dhahab was edited and published at Dār al-Rija', Baghdād in A.H. 1238 (1823/24 A.C.).

Al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik

The geographical work of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī[6] is a store-house of knowledge on the world of Islam during the first half of the fourth century Hijrah. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, as the name indicates was a resident of al-Iṣṭakhr, the ancient Persepolis, the fabulous capital of ancient Iran. He undertook the tours of the Muslim lands and came to Sind soon after the departure of al-Mas'ūdī. He was a little anterior in time to Ibn Ḥauqal who followed him in the tour of eastern lands. His work al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik contains a descriptive account of various towns of Sind and

also the general conditions of the country during the dynastic rule of the Arab family of Banū Habbār. From the account of al-Iṣṭakhrī it appears that the region now known as West Pakistan was divided into five principalities independent of each other. These were Multān comprising of south-east Punjab, al-Mansūrah comprising of modern Sind; Budha which included in it Murrī Bugtī country; Kuzdār which comprised of Kalāt regions and Makrān, each ruled by an independent chief. With the exception of Budha, which was held by a non-Muslim chief, the other four principalities were governed by Arab chiefs who owed nominal allegiance to the Abbāsid caliphs.

Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik was edited and published at Brill, Leyden in 1927 A.C.

Kitab Surat al-Ard

Sūrat al-Ard is written on the lines of al-Iṣṭakhrī and contains historio-geographical accounts of the countries of the Muslim empire in medieval times. It is also a contemporary source written by a Persian named Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim al-Nasībī well-known as Ibn Hauqal who flourished between 934-977 A.C. Whether Ibn Hauqal visited Sind personally is a matter of questionable doubt, but he has given authentic and correct reports as regards the conditions of Sind during his time. The account of Ibn Hauqal as it would seem is a mere repetition of al-Iṣṭakhrī's narratives with no further addition excepting an account of the savage tribes of Zutt (Jatt) and Med who inhabited the regions of Balūchistān and the eastern desert. Ibn Hauqal is the first great geographer who acquaints the reader with the valley of Indus and the adjoining countries by giving a map of Sind, first of its kind in the history of the Muslims. The map although primitive in its inception, gives a clue to the situation of various medieval towns of Sind and also throws some light on the probable course of river Indus in those times.

Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard was edited and published at Brill, Leyden in 1938 A.C.

Aḥsan al-Taqasim fi Marifat al-Aqalim

Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm was written and compiled by the famous Arab geographer al-Bashshārī al-Maqdīsī who flourished in the middle of fourth century Hijrī. The work was completed soon after A.H. 375, as is evident from the accounts of the geographer himself. Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Shāmī well-known as al-Bashshārī al-Maqdīsī was a resident of Bayt al-Muqaddas. He travelled extensively in the Muslim lands and came to Sind probably by A.H. 350/961 A.C. The style of al-Bashshārī's writing is totally different from that of his predecessors, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hauqal. His narratives reveal that the Shī'ite influence was gaining momentum in Sind, under the influence of the Ismā'īlīs of Multān. He reports that the Friday Khutbah was read in the name of 'Aḍd al-Dawlah, the Daylamite ruler of Shīrāz, in the mosques of al-Mansūrah. Al-Bashshārī has also neglected to mention the name of the rulers of the Arab kingdoms of Indus valley, which is a great scholarly blunder on his part.

The Arabic text of Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm was edited and published at Brill, Leyden in 1906 A.C.

Al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik

Al-Masālīk wa'l-Mamālik is a geographical work written and compiled by Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh, a resident of Baghdād. He traced his origin from Khurāsān from where his grandfather Khardāzbeh, was brought by the Barmakides and converted to Islam. Ibn Khardāzbeh was in charge of the post and intelligence department of the Abbasids, during the reign of caliph al-Mu'tamid.[7] Al-Masālīk is the first work of its kind which gives an authentic account of the country of Sind, its towns, its products and religious and cultural condition of the people.

The Arabic text of Ibn Khardāzbeh's work has been edited and published at Brill, Leyden in 1889 A.C.

LATER WORKS AND ANTHOLOGIES

Among the later works on history which deal with Sind, may be mentioned the names of al-Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, Kitāb al-'Ibar of Ibn Khaldūn, Chachnāmah of Ibn Hamīd, Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khalikān and many others.

Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh

The famous work of Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Karam, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shaybānī, well known as Ibn al-Athīr, is a voluminous chronicle of events up to the year A.H. 626/1230 A.C. According to Ibn Khalikān, the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, is one of the best productions of its kind. Ibn al-Athīr's accounts of Sind, which are given yearwise are authentic and trustworthy and they corroborate the accounts of al-Balādhūrī, al-Ṭabarī and other sources. The work gives an account of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and the governors who ruled over Sind, yearwise in consecutive order. Specifically important is the portion of information given by him as regards the extinction of the dynasty of Banū Habbār of al-Mansūrah, which is not found in any contemporary source.

Tārīkh al-Kāmil was edited and published at Cairo in A.H. 1301/1884 A.C. In volume VII of the work appears an important news about the destruction of al-Daybul, the seaport of Sind, which was rocked by an earthquake.

Kitab al-'Ibar wa Diwan al-Mubtada wa'l-Khabar fi Ayam al-Arab wa'l-'Ajam wa'l-Berber

The great work of Ibn Khaldūn is of secondary importance as regards the historical material on Sind. It is a mere repetition of Ibn al-Athīr's accounts in a brief form. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis and belonged to the famous Arab tribe of Kindah. He held high offices at Fas (Fez) and then repaired to Granada in Spain where he was appointed to lead a diplomatic mission to the king of Castile. He then repaired to Egypt where he was appointed as chief Malkite Qādī of Cairo under the Mamluke Sultān al-Zāhir

Barqūq. In 1401, he accompanied al-Nāsir to Damascus and was received by Tamurlane as an honoured guest. His comprehensive work on history is known by a lengthy title Kitāb al-'Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtadā wa'l-Khabar fī Ayām al-'Arab wa'l-'Ajam wa'l-Berber. The most important part of the work is volume II, which deals with the details of the origin and history of the family of Banū Habbār whose descendants, during the later period of Arab rule in Sind, founded an independent kingdom at al-Mansūrah in Sind.

Kitāb al-'Ibar was edited and published at Cairo in A.H. 1284/1867 A.C.

Chachnamah

It is a Persian work, and is the most commonly used source on the history of Sind, specially as regards the pre-conquest period of the Brahman dynasty. The original name of the work is said to have been "Fateh Nāmah" (Arabic) written and compiled by 'Alī ibn Hāmid ibn Abī Bakr al-Kufī, who flourished in A.H. 613/1217 A.C. Chachnāmah contains an authentic and first hand account of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs. It also deals with the details of the Brahman dynasty and its rulers, specially Chach ibn Sailā'ij, after whose name the work is known as Chachnāmah. Some parts of Chachnāmah, however, comprise of exaggerated and false stories, not supported by any other source. Notable among these fabrications are the stories of Rājā Dāhir's marriage with his sister and the dismissal and death of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, for ravaging the daughters of Rāi Dāhir. With the exception of these drawbacks, the book otherwise contains authentic material about the preliminary attacks of the Arabs, the conquest of Sind by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, and also an account of the various regions and tribes of Sind region. Chachnāmah also gives an account of the Buddhist dynasty of Sind known as "Ra'i Dynasty" and full details of the usurpation of power by Hindus, under the leadership of Chach, the minister.

Chachnāmah was edited by Dr. U.M. Da'udpota and was printed and published at Delhi in 1939 A.C. It has been translated by Mīrzā Qalīch Beg into English and by Makhdūm Amīr Aḥmad in Sindhi.

Wafayat al-A'yan

It is the famous biographical work of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalikān, a descendant of Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī, and the tutor of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ibn Khalikān was born at Arbela in 1211 A.C. and was educated at Aleppo (Halab)[1] and Dámascus. He was appointed as chief judge of Syria in 1261 A.C. which position he held (with a brief interval of seven years) up to his death in 1282 A.C. Wafayāt al-A'yān is an accurate and elegant collection of 865 biographies of the most distinguished men of Muslim history. The author took pains to establish the correct spelling of the names, fixed dates, traced genealogies and verified other facts, by using the Arab trait of Isnād. The significant events of history are sketched and illustrated in this work by the use of poems and anecdotes, which make it one of the most interested works of medieval times. Wafayāt al-A'yān has been adjudged by some scholars as the best general biography ever written.

Wafayāt al-A'yān was printed and published at Cairo in A.H. 1299. The English translation of the work made by de-Slanc in four volumes was printed and published at Paris in 1842 A.C.

Kitab al-Dhakha'ir wa'l-Tuhf

This important work was written by Qādi Rashīd ibn Zuhayr, who is regarded as one of the greatest scholars of his time. He was connected with the Buwayhid ruler Abū Kālijar, after whose death he migrated to Egypt and died there shortly after. A.H. 462/1070 A.C. His work as the name indicates is a collection of various anecdotes connected with the exchange of letters and gifts by the Abbasid caliphs to the rulers of various countries of the world including those of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The most important of these anecdotes refers to

the gifts sent to Caliph al-Mu'tamid, by Mūsā ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī, the ruler of al-Mansūrah in Sind. This indeed is one of the most important pieces of information as regards the rulers of al-Mansūrah, which is not found in any other source. It shows that it was Mūsā and not 'Abdullāh who succeeded his father 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz to the throne of al-Mansūrah. It seems that this ruler (i.e. Mūsā) died without an issue and was thereafter followed by his brother 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Habbārī, during whose reign the Holy Book was translated into a local language of Sind.

Kitāb al-Dhakha'ir was edited by Dr. Hamīdullāh and was printed and published at Kuwait in 1959 A.C.

Kitab al-Hind

The famous work was written and compiled by the world-famed mathematician and Sanskrit scholar al-Berūnī, who flourished during the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī. Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Berūnī (as was his full name) was greatly interested in the learning and sciences of Indo-Pakistan origin, on which he wrote this work which is named Kitāb al-Hind or Book of India. He has written many other works too, of which "Athār al-Bāqiqiyyah un Qurūn al-Khāliyyah" is also interesting. Kitāb al-Hind gives an account of the various regions of Sind, the languages spoken, the scripts and the distances between various towns of the Indus valley.

The Arabic text of the work was edited by E. Sachau and published at Leipzig in 1925 A.C.

Tabaqat al-Umam

The Spanish work of the famous Arab scholar of Cordova ibn Sā'id al-Andalusi, was written by A.H. 450/1058 A.C. and it deals with the history of the various people of the world and their learnings. It gives a descriptive account of the various sciences, their origin and development and their transmission into Arabic language. Ibn Sa'īd has dedicated one full chapter to the sciences of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and gives the names of the Sindhi scholars who repaired to the court of Baghdād during the Abbasid caliphate. Abu al-Qāsim Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn

'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd was born and brought up at Cordova, the Umayyad capital of Spain and died there in A.H. 462/1070 A.C.

Tabaqāt al-Umam has seen many editions, the last i.e. the Beirut edition of 1913, is referred to in these pages.

Mu'jam al-Buldan

Among the later geographical works Mu'jam al-Buldān occupies prominent position as the most informative work on the various countries of the world in medieval times. It is a geographical encylopaedia, written by Yāqūt al-Hamavī who flourished during the later Abbasid period. Al-Shaykh al-Imām Shihāb al-Dīn, Abī 'Abdillāh Ya'qūb ibn 'Abdullāh, well-known as Yāqūt al-Hamavī, was originally a resident of Asia Minor and was brought to Hamah by an Arab merchant hence his title al-Hamavī. Al-Hamavī was given proper education at Baghdād and employed as a travelling clerk till the period of his enfranchisement, whence, he settled at Baghdād. His restless nature allowed him no rest at one place, and as such he roamed about in various towns of the Muslim empire, copying and selling manuscripts. In 1219/20 A.C. he had to flee before the Tartar invasion of Khwārizm as naked as he shall be when raised from the dust of the grave on the day of judgement. Mu'jam al-Buldān is a storehouse of knowledge on the cities and towns of the Muslim empire, their situation, history, trade, culture, institutions, currency and other material information. Yāqūt died at Baghdād in the year A.H. 626/1229 A.C.

Mu'jam al-Buldān was printed and published at Cairo in A.H. 1324/1906 A.C. and contains important and contemporary material on Sind in volumes IV, VIII and IX.

Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq

The great geographical work written and compiled by al-Idrīsī, the most distinguished geographer and cartographer of middle ages, is a valuable source on the social, political and cultural life of Indus valley in the fifth century Hijrāh. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī was born in Ceuta in North Africa (1100 A.C.) of the Spanish-Arab

parents. He flourished at Palermo in the court of the famous Norman king Roger, under whose patronage he wrote his treatise "Kitāb al-Rujar" entitled Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtarāq al-Afāq (A recreation for him who yearns to traverse lands). The work is remarkable for breadth of views and grasp of facts. Al-Idrīsī also constructed for his Norman patron a celestial sphere and a disk shape map of the world, both in pure silver.

Nuzhat al-Mushtāq was printed and published at Leyden, Madrid, Rome, Bonn and other places and also at Aligarh in 1954 A.C.

Tarikh al-Khulafa'

The history of the Caliphs written by Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūtī, is a brief history of Islam. Abū al-Fadl 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn, al-Khūdayri al-Shafi'ī (as was the full name of the author), the most prolific Egyptian writer of the Mamlūke period belonged to a Persian family, which at least nine generations before him had settled at al-Suyūt in lower Egypt. He was born on 1st Rajab, 849 A.H. (Oct. 3, 1445 A.C.) in Cairo. His father was a teacher of Fiqh in the Madrassah Shaykhūniyyah and Suyuti was adopted by a Sūfī friend of his father. The achievements of al-Suyūtī can be well-imagined from the number of works which came out of his pen, numbering to 561 in all. He was appointed as a Professor at Shaykhūniyyah in 872 A.H. after having completed studies at Cairo, Damascus and the holy cities of Mecca and Madīnah. His chief interest lay in the religious studies and history on which he has written many treatises. His main historical works are two: Tārīkh al-Khulafā, which is the general history of Islam and al-Ḥusn al-Ma'aḍara fī Akhbār al-Misr wa'l-Qāhirah, the history of Egypt.

The only important and authoritative portion of Tārīkh al-Khulafā' deals with the earthquake of al-Daybul, the port town of Sind in which he gives details of the people who were killed in the catastrophe.

The Arabic edition of the work was printed and published at Lahore in A.H. 1309/1892 A.C.

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz

The monumental work of Hāfiẓ Shams al-Dīn ibn 'Abdillāh, well-known as al-Dhahabī, gives valuable information about the life, career and achievements of the learned men of Sind, who acquired fame for their learning and knowledge on religion and the allied subjects. Al-Dhahabī was a resident of Baghdād where he died in A.H. 748/1352 A.C.

Tadhkirat al-Huffāz was printed and published at Hyderabad Deccan in A.H. 1333/1915 A.C.

Anthologies

Kitab al-Aghani

Kitāb al-Aghānī (i.e. the book of songs) is one of the greatest literary works of the medieval times. Composed and edited in twenty volumes, this work deals with the life, career and achievements of the poets of the Arabic language from the pre-Islamic period to the middle of fourth century Hijrī. Abū al-Faraj, 'Alī ibn Husayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Quraishī, the author of this book was born in A.H. 284 (897 A.C.) at Isfahān in Persia and hence he was known by his Kuniyya al-Isfahānī. He claimed his descent from the royal house of the Umayyads (Marwanid branch) but was a Shī'ite and attached to the court of Hamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah. He received his education at Baghdād and remained there for the greater portion of his life till he died there on 14th Dhu al-Hijjah 356 A.H. (November 20, 967 A.C.).

Al-Aghānī is a masterpiece on Arabic literature and contains valuable material on the social, cultural, literary life of the Arabs during the different periods of their history. Volume XVI of al-Aghānī is specially important on account of the details it contains about the life and achievements of the Sindhi poet Abū 'Atā al-Sindī.

Al-Aghānī was printed and published in 20 volumes at Buluk to which may be added 21st volume of R-Brunnow, printed at Leyden in 1888. The superior edition of this work was edited and published at Cairo in 1927 A.C.

Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'ara'

This work is a collection of poems of the best known poets of the Arabic literature, along with their biographical notes. Written and compiled by Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah al-Dinawarī, this work gives an account of the poetical excellence of the famous Sindhi poet, Abū 'Atā al-Sindī. Ibn Qutaybah died at Baghdād in 889 A.C.

Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā' was printed and published at Cairo in A.H. 1364/1945 A.C. A new edition of the work has been printed and published at Dar al-Shaqafat, Beirut, Lebanon in 1964 A. C.

Diwan al-Hamasah

Dīwān al-Hamāsah was collected and compiled by Habīb ibn Aws al-Tā'ī and it contains the gems of the Arabic poetry. Abū Tamām Habīb Aws was born in A.H. 180/797 A.C. at Jasim, a village near Damascus in the direction of Tiberias. His father was originally a christian named Thedus (Theodosius) but he substituted the Arabic name of Aws after conversion to Islam. Abū Tamām was a poet and anthologist and claimed his pedigree from the tribe of Tayy, of south Arabian origin. He started his career at Damascus as weaver's assistant, but later he migrated to Hims and thence to Egypt, where he earned his living by selling water in the great mosque of Cairo. During this period of his life he found time to study literature specially poetry, He travelled frequently between Egypt and Syria and enjoyed the favours of the caliph al-Mu'tasim billah, his son Aḥmad and grandson al-Wāthiq billāh. He also conducted tours of al-Irāq, Irān and other lands and enjoyed patronage of the provincial governors of his time. Abū Tamām has composed six anthologies on Arabic literature of which only Dīwān al-Hamāsah is extant. In this work are given the verses of the famous Sindhi poet Abū 'Ata' al-Sindī who had made his name in the Arab world for his excellence in Arabic poetry.

Dīwān al-Hamāsah was printed and published at Deoband, India in 1353 A. H./1934 A. C.

Diwan-e-Farrukhi

The poetic collection of Farrukhī of Sīstān, who flourished in the court of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, is an important source with regard to the extinction of the Arab rule at the hands of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni. The poet as it would appear has eulogised the Sultān for having punished the heretic ruler of al-Mansūrah who, unable to withstand the onslaught of the forces of Islam, ran away to the forests inundated by the waters of Indus. The account of Farrukhī corroborates the narratives of Ibn al-Athīr about the punitive expedition of Sultan Mahmūd against the ruler of al-Mansūrah.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

Sind has very little of the archaeological interest to offer, specially with regard to the Arab period. The sites over which stood rich and prosperous towns are no more and have been washed away by the ravages of the time. Time in fact plays a prominent role in the history of the human civilization and the very existence of human life. The importance of time appears in a very precise and simple Ayah تلك الايام نداولها بين الناس in Qurān, which carries a very deep and wide meaning. The seaport of al-Daybul is unidentifiable although it has been connected with as many as seven sites in the delta region. Nerun-Kot has too vanished from the site, leaving only the echo of the name, which is associated with the present town of Hyderabad. The site of al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind, identified with the 'Dalor-jo-Bhiro' near Shahdādpur is a mere heap of bricks. It has not yet been able to stir the imagination of the Archaeological Department of Pakistan which has shown almost no interest in the said ruins. Their main interest centres on Bhambhor, near Karachi which is believed by them to be the site of al-Daybul. In spite of heavy excavations and special interest shown nothing substantial has come to light, which can connect it with the medieval seaport of Sind. The site of 'Dalor-jo-Bhiro' is yet to be excavated, although preliminary efforts by Mr. Bellasis have exhibited results of unestimable importance. Alor (or Aror) which for generations

had remained the capital of Sind, has nothing in particular to yield to the student of history. Its fort, the rampart, the bastions are now conspicuous by their absence, not even a sign appears on the site. The name is however perpetuated in the diminutive form in the shape of Rohri situated on the left bank of the river Indus. Sīwistān (or modern Sehwan) has survived the ravages up to the present day, but all the vestiges of the Arab period have been wiped out of existence. The old fort which is situated to the north of the town is nothing but a heap of rubbish. It is believed that the town of Sehwan was destroyed by the convulsion of nature in the form of earthquake, due to the sins of its Raja Charbat. Some writers have entered into fake disussions about the fort being built by Alexandar of Macedon. It is a matter of time only and as soon as the excavations of the various sites in Sind are undertaken, there is no doubt a greater portion of the hidden chapter in the history of Sind will come to light. It may also be pointed out that the Arabs who entered the sub-continent as the first iconoclasts, in their fury against idolatry, destroyed every thing that came in their way. The earliest accounts show that the temple of al-Daybul was the first to suffer destruction at the hands of the Arabs. Rawar and Brahmanābād were next to follow; but the temple of Sun at Multan which brought thousands of the pilgrims from all over India was spared -probably for its immense income.

Immense archaeological material is available for researches in the ancient Arab history of which a chapter is being given in this book. The Arabs who belonged to the great Semitic race were the legatee of the civilizations of Babylon and Egypt and they inherited the essentials of these cultures from the earliest period of their existence. Among the finds which have astonished the world and which throw immense light on the history of the ancient Arabs are the Archives of Mari, of which 20,000 tablets have been un-earthed from a site near Mar'at al-Nu'man. The ruins of Nineveh on the other hand have emitted enormous material on the Assyrian history, of which the Library of Ashur-bani-apal is of special interest. The Sumerian myth of creation and the deluge, the epic of Gilgamesh,

the omen tablets of Sargon, the Stele of Naram-Sin, the laws of Ishnuna, the code of Hammurabi, the inscription of Dog river, the obelisk of Shalmanessar, the Rosetta stone and thousands of other inscriptions excavated at Ur, Babylon, Erech, Assur, and other sites of the Arab world, supply enormous reading material for research to an enquirer in the ancient history of the Arab people.

As regards Arabia proper, various pre-historic sites do exist in Hijāz, North Arabia, Yaman, Hadramaut and the eastern regions of Oman and Kuwait, but these have not yet been excavated. The province of Yaman, which was the seat of the earliest known civilization in the peninsula has exhibited ruins of huge fortifications, buildings, dams and other structures, which have received considerable importance in the circle of oriental research scholars. Thanks to their labour, which have unveiled to a greater extent the mysteries of the ancient Semitic civilization of west Asia. The ruins of Naqb al-Hajar in Yaman together with the castle of Ghumdan and the Marib dam; the ruins of Palmyra and those of Petra in north Arabia and the ruins of a number of habitations along the coastline of Hadramaut attest to the existence of higher human culture and this is attested to by Ibn Qutaybah واما سام بن نوح فسكن وسط الارض الحرم وما حوله واليمن الى حضر موت الى عمان الى البحرين و الهند . Rub' al-Khālī, which now lies west of Yaman and north of Hadramaut for over four hundred miles is believed to contain numerous sites of historical value, but these are buried under the sands. The region now a destitute wilderness is believed to have been a fertile and prosperous region in the most ancient times and watered by a number of rivers or streams. The traditions assert that Shaddād, a ruler of this region who belonged to the tribe of 'Ad, had fashioned a paradise of his own, which incurred for him the displeasure of God. While entering the door of that 'abode of bliss' he was overtaken by the angel of death, who scratched out the spirit from his body, under divine orders not to see his fantastic creation.

Notes and References

1. Balādhūr is an intoxicating drug, which may be conveniently compared with the Dhātūra drug found in West Pakistan. It is different from Bhang (or the hemp) which in Arab world is known as Hashīsh. The Hashīsh had acquired historical prominence in medieval times due to the rise of Ismaīlī Assassins on whose activities in Sind a chapter has been added in this book. Balādhūri died in the year A.C. 892. Descriptive account about al-Bālādhurī appears in Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 611.
2. Died in the year 905 A.C. Vide Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. I, p. 1.
3. Al-Dinawarī flourished at Isbahān and Dinawar and died at Dinawar in the year 889 A.C. History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 389.
4. Ibn Hazm flourished about 968 to 995 A.C. According to Hitti between 994 to 1064 A. C. Vide History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 558.
5. وكان دخولى الى بلاد المولتان بعد ثلثمائة
Vide Mūrūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
6. Al-Istakhrī flourished about 950 A. C.
7. Ibn Khardāzbeh held the post of postmaster under the Abbasids and was a great traveller.

SIND - ITS GEOGRAPHICAL PARTICULARS

Sind country; Boundaries and Situation; Topography and Physical Features; Lakes and Rivers; Climate and Soil, Flora; Fauna; Minerals; Places of Archaeological Interest; Rann of Cutch; Population of Sind; Language. and Script.

The Sind Country

The country of Sind, which now forms an integral part of West Pakistan, received its name from Sindhū, (i.e. Indus) which flows through it. Sindhū literally means an ocean or a vast collection of water.[1] The name was given to it by the Aryans due to the great sheet of water which the Indus carries after meeting with Kabul river, and the great noise which it creates while rushing through the mountainous gorges near modern Attock. In medieval times the whole valley of Indus up to the confines of Kashmir was known as Sind or Sindh as against Hind or India, which was separated from it by the desert barrier of Thar region. The Arab historians have given a different theory about the name Sind given to the valley of Indus. They believe that after the great deluge, the descendants of Ham inhabited the country now known as Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. Sind and Hind according to them were brothers being the sons of Tuqīr ibn Yaqtan ibn Hām ibn Noah[2] and their descendants were grouped together as a branch of the black race. This is, however, far from truth both in relation to historic, ethnic, liguistic, racial and other considerations. Whatever be the true version, there is no doubt about the importance of the river Indus to this region, which would otherwise, have been a continuous desert from Rajasthan to the province of Fars in the very heart of Iran.

Boundaries and Situation

Sind proper now lies between 23rd and 28th parallel of the north latitude and between 66th and 71st meridian of east longitude. It is about 360 miles from north to south, with an average breadth of 170 miles from east to west, covering an area of 59166 square miles. Before the integration of all provinces and states into one unit in 1955, the province of Sind was bounded on the north by the Punjab province, and on the north east by Bahawalpur and Jaisalmir states. The state of Kalat shared common boundary with it to the west and the north west, whilst on the south west corner it was separated from Las-Bela state by half-perennial stream, the Hab river. On the east Sind was bounded by the Rajasthan states of Jaisalmir and Jodhpur, and to the south lies the great marshy tract of the Rann and the Arabian Sea. The linguistic boundaries of Sind, however extend farther beyond the political demarcation to Cutch and Kathiawad in the south, Jaisalmir and Jodhpur in the east, Bahawalpur and Multan in the north, Kuchi-Bugti country in the north west and to Las-Bela and Makran regions in the south west. Sindhi speaking people may be met with in almost every corner of the Indian sub-continent and smaller communities flourish in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Hong-Kong, Oman, Hijaz and East Africa. According to the Arab Muslim writers, Sind was a far-flung sub-continent extending over a greater portion of the Indus Valley to the exclusion of Kashmir and also the regions of Cutch, Gujrat & Kathiawad.[3] The present boundaries of Sind were fixed by the British after the conquest of the 'unhappy valley' in 1843, which was first added to the Bombay Presidency for administrative reasons, but later it was separated under the Government of India Act 1935, and constituted a separate governor's province. At present Sind is divided into two divisions, Khairpur and Hyderabad. The Khairpur division includes the districts of Khairpur, Sukkur, Jacobabad and Larkana and the districts of Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Sanghar, Dadu and Thatta, form part of Hyderabad division.

Topography and Physical features

Sind is a low and flat country with the exception of the hilly tract on the west, which separates it from Kalat region

of Baluchistan. There are few hills in the interior but these are of little significance and are mainly of limestone. Of these Ganja hill is about fourteen miles long with an average height of 50 ft above sea level. Its highest peak is 'Gaho' which is about 250 ft but carries no importance of geological value. It is on this range that the town of Hyderabad is situated. The term 'Ganja' in Sindhi language means bald and this is a reference to the barrenness of the hill, which is completely devoid of trees. The other range is that of Maklī in Thatta district, which is of some historical value and is visited by foreign as well as local excursionists. On this hill are situated the tombs of the ex-rulers of Sind, an illustration of which appears on the back of ten-rupee note of the Pakistan currency. The name Maklī it seems has been taken from the woman of the same name who came to occupy this region. Another tradition asserts that the name was given to it by a living darvesh, who intended to perform Hajj to Mecca. When he reached the place in his journey towards the 'Ka'bah' he was wonder struck by the multitude of graves of the saints buried on the hill, the spirit of one of whom, however, desired him to stay and build a Khānqāh. He thereafter changed the idea of going to Mecca saying هنڌا مکه" لسي[4] (this is Mecca for me) and as such the name Makkah-li became Makalī or Maklī in due course of time. The third hill which intercepts the Sind plains is a low range over which the towns of Sukkur and Rohri are built. Its elevation ranges from 300 to 500 ft above sea level and it is of nummulitic limestone with little importance excepting the ruins of al-Ror (or Alor) which are situated on the eastern portion of these hills.

Sind may be divided into three natural regions, running parallel to each other. Kohistān or the hilly tract is on the west; Thar or Rēgistān lies on the east and the alluvial tract of the land on both sides of the river, in the middle.[5] The mountainous tract which lies on the west, is a great barrier dividing Sind from Kalāt, Kuzdār, and Las-Bela regions of Baluchistan and forms a natural line of demarcation between the two regions of Pakistan. The mountain is generally known

as Khīrthar but it is also termed as Hālār mountain by the Baluchi tribes. This mountain is an extension of the great Sulaymān range which separates Pakistan from Afghanistan. It touches the Sind frontier at 28th parallel and then merges into Pubb hills near 26th parallel, stretching up to the Arabian Sea. The elevation of Khīrthar is considerable; some of its peaks rise to the extent of over 7000 ft above sea-level. The highest peak of Khīrthar in Sind, is named 'Kutē-jī-Kabar, which rises to majestic height of 8678 ft.[6] To the north of it is the famous plateau 'Daryaro' with a general elevation of 6000 ft above sea-level. The distinguishable features of Khīrthar are that it is divided into three ridges running parallel to each other. The first i.e. the most eastern has its sides steep and more vertical towards the west; the second is a tableland with flat tops and rounded sides and the third is formed of a vast plateau of limestone. The ridges are locally distinguished by different names. For example the first line of the hills is spoken of as Kakrio or Kukrio (i.e. broken), the next as Kāro (i.e. black), the third one as Pinaro (saffron coloured) and so on.

The offshoots of the Khīrthar penetrate into Sind from the region of Kohistan, which occupies nearly half of Dadu district, and the north western portion of the Thatta district. The most important of these ranges are the Lakī, Bhit and Badhra all in Dadu district. The Lakī range is about 80 miles long with an average elevation of 1500 ft above sea-level.[7] The largest of three is Badhra range but the highest of them is the Bhit range which rises to the elevation of over 3000 ft above sea level. The two other hills through which 'Nai Bāran' cuts through its passage are 'Sūrjāno' and 'Sambok' and to the north of these are Ehri, Narero and Hotiano hills. Some mountainous ranges of Baluchistan viz. Khude, Chapar, Hamalig, Pubb, Mor and Lakhan ranges too form junction in Sind, just above 25th parallel. It is at this point that the Khīrthar range carries a general appellation as 'Pubb' mountain till it reaches the Arabian Sea. The most significant hill in the eastern part of Sind is in the Pārkar region

known as Kārūnjhar, which is 12 miles long with an elevation of 1000 ft above sea-level. The Pubb mountains are much less lofty and their elevation does not in any case exceed 2000 ft above sea-level.

Next to Kohistan is the region of Thar which is also known as Rēgistān or Wāriyāsō. This region as the name indicates is covered with sand dunes known as 'Bhits' and extends from north to south with an average breadth of fifty miles. The Thar mainly depends on rainfall but portions of it have been brought under cultivation by the opening of Nārā canal. The region now devoid of vegetation was once the most fertile. Branches of river Indus and those of Hākrō or Wahinda flowed through this region in the bygone ages. A number of abandoned beds of the river are found in this arid zone of which Purān still exists and is distinguishable throughout the western part of Thar Pārkar district.[8]

The third tract of Sind is an extensive alluvial region extending from Kashmor to the Arabian Sea. The average breadth of this zone extends from 10 to 25 miles on both sides of the river Indus. The soil of this region is very fertile and is capable of producing two crops a year without application of manure and additional labour. Presently, however, the yield of this tract has increased due to modern methods of cultivation and the use of manure known as Engro-Euria etc. The alluvial region is further sub-divided into three distinct parts known as Siro, Vichōlō and Lār, of which the soil of Lār is Kalarish but it produces abundant of rice.

Lakes

The natural lakes are rare in Sind, except the Manchar, which is the largest sheet of water in the province. It receives its water supply from the hill torrents, and the Aral, a branch of river Indus. The Manchar has the shape of a long oval, pointing north west and south east. During the inundation season it covers an area of nearly 180 sq. miles, being more than 20 miles in length at many places. Its depth varies from shallow waters to 16 ft in good years. The other lakes are

Sonahri, Haleji and Jhoi and also the historic Kinjhar in the Thatta district. Kinjhar is now known by the common appellation of 'KALRI' and is the most favourite spot for excursions. Hadro lake in Larkana district and Makhi in Sanghar district are also of some importance, Makhi being the haunt of the Hurs, the former outlaws of Sind. Makhi lake is 10 to 12 miles in circumference and is fed by the eastern Nara canal. The other smaller lakes are Ganero, near Mehar, Phati Bilawal in Larkana Taluka, Changro, Arton, Drigh, Haso Lahori and Lang, all in Kambar Taluka of Larkana District.

Rivers

The principal river of Sind and the chief source of its prosperity is the Sindhu (in Sanskrit), the Indus which was known as Sindhos in Greek and Sindus in the Latin languages. It rises in Tibet at 32 north latitude and 81 east longitude behind the great mountainous wall of the Himalayas, from the north side of the sacred Kaylās mountain (22000 ft above sea-level), the Elysium of the ancient Sanskrit literature. Issuing out from the ring of the lofty mountains about the lake Mansarowar whence also the Sutlej, the Brahmaputra and the Kauriyala spring, it flows to the north west for about 160 miles under the name 'Singh-kā-Bab' until it receives the Ghar river. The elevation of Indus at its source is supposed to be 17000 ft. and at the junction of the Ghar 13800 ft above sea-level. It flows through Leh at the height of 10500 ft but drops to 8000 ft in Baltistan where it receives the waters of the 'Shyok' river. Its chief tributary in Leh, is Zaskar river and it is crossed by the great trade route of the Karakoram Pass, also in Leh. Dr. Thompson who undertook a journey to Central Asia through this trade route has given a descriptive account of numerous springs, some of which having a temperature of 174 degrees and exhaling sulfurous gas.[9] After passing through Kashmir and Baltistan it reaches the Haramosh mountain (24300 ft) where it takes a turn at acute angle, and flowing beneath the Hattu Pir, it enters the Kohistan in Dir, Swat and Chitral regions of West Pakistan. The course of Indus through Kohistan is estimated to be 120 miles, after which it enters

the N. W. F. Province, at Darband at the western base of the Mahaban mountains. It receives the Kabul River almost opposite to Attock, which brings down the red waters of Kabul and blue waters of Kunar river of Afghanistan. By this time the river has flowed upward of 850 miles and its further course to the sea being about 950 miles.

At Attock, Indus is crossed by a Railway bridge opened in 1883 and also by the main trunk road to Peshawar. Twelve miles below Attock the Indus receives the waters of Haroh river which rises in Murree hills and after a course of 90 miles it falls in the Indus. Another river of some importance which joins it in this region is Sohan bringing the drainage of Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts. Indus here forms the boundary between the Punjab and Frontier and runs almost parallel to the Sulayman mountains. The five rivers of the Punjab, called the Jhelum, Rāvi, the Chenāb, the Beyās and the Sutlej, after uniting themselves in one stream called Punjnad, join the Indus near Mithan Kot, about 490 miles from the sea. The breadth of the river above the confluence is about 600 yards in the cold season, its velocity 5 miles an hour, its depth from 12 to 15 ft and its estimated discharge 10,000 to 25,000 Cubic feet per second. During the floods the breadth of Indus sometimes increases to five miles and the discharge from 10,00000 to 12,00000 cusecs. From Mithan Kot up to Kashmor the river forms boundary between Punjab and the former Bahawalpur state. It touches the Sind frontier 28 - 26 north latitude and 69-47 east longitude and after 450 miles of south-westerly course it falls in the Arabian Sea. The width of this river in Sind ranges from 600 to 1600 yards, its velocity increases to 8 miles per hour and the discharge varies from 19,000 to 10,00000 cubic feet per second.[10] The delta of the Indus covers an area of nearly 3,000 sq, miles and it extends along the coast from Cape Monze to the Rann of Cutch for 125 miles. The principal mouths through which Indus empties itself are Ochito and Mutni, the latter is also known as Hydri. In Sind river Indus is generally known as Daryah, but in the medieval

period it was named Mahrān,[10] and the same name has been repeated by Shah Abdul Latif in his *Risalo.* The delta of the Indus resembles that of the Nile but it is dissimilar to that of the Ganges. The climate of the delta is cool and bracing in the winter months and hot in summer, but during the floods it becomes most unhealthy. The marshy portions have good pasturage and the rice is also grown luxuriantly wherever cultivation is possible. Indus is almost useless for navigation on account of the fast current and also due to its shifting nature and shallowness. At the same time the course of the Indus is intercepted by rocks which cross the bed at two points one near Kotri and the other near Sukkur. The Indus Flotilla, which was broken up in 1862 placed its first steamer on the river in 1835. Another flotila was established in 1859 in connection with the Sind Railways but it was too abolished in 1882-83. The Oriental Inland Steam Co. which obtained yearly subsidy of Rs. 50,000 from Government, placed steamers in the river but the current proved too powerful for them, resulting in the stoppage of the traffic.[11]

The boats that ply on the Indus are dundo and zaurak, both cargo ships, the kauntal (ferry boat) and the dundi, which is used mainly for fishing. The fish also abounds in the Indus, the chief being Palla (the Hilsa of the Ganges) and the Dhambhro, but other varieties such as otters, turtles, porpoises, water-snakes and crocodiles of both blunt-nosed and sharp-nosed species abound greatly.

Hab River

The Hab rises in the Pubb mountains, flows south east for 25 miles, then due south for 50 miles and finally south west for 165 miles till it reaches the sea and falls in it near Cape Monze at 24 - 54 North latitude and 66 - 42 East longitude. Its principal tributaries are the Saruna, the Sarmoti and the Wira Hab and its passage lies through the deep valleys till it reaches the 'Phusi' Pass, whence it gradually widens. Water is always found in this river and for some fifty miles from its mouth its banks are bordered by fine pasture land.

With the exception of the Indus and the Hab, the other streams are known as Na'i i.e. hill torrents which bring rain water to the Sind plains. The foremost among these is Na'i Gāj which receives its water supply from two sources, the most important of which rises in the Jhalawan region near Kalat, the other comes from Khirthar. Gaj is also known as Kolāchi river and it falls in Manchar Lake in Dadu district. Next to Gāj is Bāran, which rises in Khīrthar and flows to Thano Būlā Khan, from where it turns to the east and finally falls into river Indus four miles below Kotri. The total length of the river is 90 miles. Malir is an another Na'i which drains the regions north east of Karachi for a distance of 60 miles and falls into the sea near Gisrī Bunder. Layārī, Mazrānī, Khenjī, Dilan, Salarī, Nālī, Naing, Sann, Bāndhī, etc. are also hill torrents of Sind rising in Kohistan regions of Dadu and Thatta districts.

Climate

The climate of Sind is one of the extremes; in hot season the thermometer frequently rises to 114 degrees and in winter it sometimes falls below freezing point. The hottest place in West Pakistan is Jacobabad, of which the highest temperature was recorded on 15th May 1912, being 126° Fahrenheit. Larkana, Sehwan, Sukkur and Dadu are also very hot places in Sind. Due to the sea breeze the climate of the lower Sind is much less harsh than the northern districts, Karachi for instance has tolerable and moderate climate but the mixture of moisture sometimes makes it intolerably humid. Sind has only two seasons, the hot one, which starts by the middle of February and ends by 15th October whence the winter commences.

Soil and Flora

Sind is an extra-tropical country where every crop under the sun could be grown with ease and efficiency. The soil is fertile due to the alluvium brought down by the Indus and this is used by the cultivators in many parts of Sind. The two principal crops of Sind are known as Rabī' (Vernal) and Kharīf

and a third one is also inserted where the water is sufficiently available. This is known as Adha'un. The Rabī' crop which is sown in autumn includes wheat, barley, oil seeds, mustard, saffron, garlic, onion, radish, canots, turnip, indigo, hemp and senna. The Kharif crop sown in summer months includes Bajrī, Ju'ār, rice, Urd, chaurā, mung, til, and cotton. The fruits are also plenty in Sind, the most common among them being dates, plantains, mango, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, figs, grapes, tamarinds, mulbarries, melons, nactarines and the peach. The wild trees which grow in Sind are, Babul, Kandī, Ak, Nim, Bahan, Tālhi, Khabar, Kirir, Thūhar, Ber and other varieties of shrubs, which are both important and useful for medical purposes.

Fauna

All kinds of animals, wild as well as domestic, are found in Sind, Among the wild beasts are the hyna, gurkhar, wolf, jackal, fox, wild hog, antelope, hare, pig and porcupine. The tamed domesticated animals include, one humped camel, buffalo, cow, goat, sheep, horse, mule, donkey and the dog. Among the birds may be inserted the names of vultures, falcon, fleming, pelican, stork, crane, tillur, quil, partridges, water foul, wild geeze, ducks, teals, carlew, snipe and the hen.[12]

Sind is also famous for the variety of its snakes. The most important of these species is the 'Kārīhar' i.e. cobra, which is said to possess human qualities. It is said that it takes its revenge under all circumstances and is so poisonous that there is little chance of survival from its bite. The other snakes are Gado (the mixed), Ghoriāl, Lundī, Pīyan, Khapur and the legendary Han-Khan. Pīyan flourishes in the desert of Tharparkar and is much dreaded to by the people, as it does not bite but pours its poison in the mouth of the victim. The Han-Khan is said to be very small not more than four inches, it bites by jumping and no one has yet survived its attack. The larger varieties are extinct excepting the Arar (python) which can swallow a goat and these are mainly found in the desert regions of Sind. Many other kinds of insects are also found in Sind.

Minerals

There are rich deposits of iron and coal at many places in Sind, but these have not yet been explored. The only mineral which is found in abundance in Sind is the 'gypsum' which is excavated near Mauripur and also in Kohistan region, on the banks of the river Gaj.[13] Limestone, salt, and fullers earth, if these are also termed as minerals, are found in such a great quantity that these are exported to different parts of India and Pakistan. Very recently successful experiments in many parts of Sind have given clue of the availability of oil, specially in that Lar (delta) region and the work is said to be in progress.

Places of Interest

Sind is region of great archaeological interest containing the sites from pre-historic to the modern times. The oldest is reported to be Kot Diji which is six centuries anterior in time to Mu'an-jo-Daro, the oldest pre-historic site in West Pakistan. Mu'an-jo-Daro which is wrongly called Mohan-jo-daro is the most renowned in the world of Archaeology and is a site of international repute, bringing more and more visitors from all over the world. The ruins of the Mu'an-jo-daro have many layers depicting the architecture of Sind in ancient pre-Aryan, Vedic and Buddhist period and afterwards. The major portion of the ruins has been washed away by the Indus and the condition of the remaining portion is also stated to be precarious. It has been officially stated that a Pakistani proposal for the preservation of 5000 years old ruins will come up for consideration at the next meeting of the executive Board of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) scheduled to be held in Paris on April 28 1969.[14] (Dawn 27.4.69, p.14). The ruins of Amri, near Sann in Dadu district have also drawn the attention of the Archaeologists and a team is presently working on it. It is believed that Amri ruins if not older are at least contemporary to the Mu'an-jo-Daro site. The ruins of al-Ror, the old capital of Sind near modern town of Rohri and those of Brahmanabad near Jhol have not yet been explored. Same is the case with the ruins of al-

Mansurah near Shahdadpur and various other sites which are found all along the old beds of the mighty Indus. The Archaeology department has shown very little interest in these important and famous ruins. The Buddhist stupa of Mirpur Khas, the Jain temples near Gori, Buddhist ruins near Jhirk, the ruins of Samu'i, Kalan Kot near Thatta, Sadaran-jo-Thul in Guni Taluka, the ruins of Dhaura-Hingora, near Tando Fazal, the site of Vijnot near Reti and Thul Rukan near Daulatpur are all valuable sites of Archaeological interest and if excavated properly can emit abundant material which would throw immense light on the history and culture of Sind. In the delta region almost every creek and mouth of the Indus contains important ruins, some of which have been submerged by sea water due to utter neglect. The ruins near Shahbander, Dharaja, Lahri, Dubo, Badin, Budesar, Kallari, Rahmki Bazar, Fateh-Bagh, and various other places are yet to be explored. The Sindhi Adabi Board and the Institute of Sindhology, it is hoped would take up the matter with the Government for the exploration and excavation of these sites, which would bring to light the hidden treasures, useful to the students of history and Archaeology.

Rann of Cutch

The Rann (Irina of Sanskrit) of Cutch which forms the boundary between Sind and Cutch and Sind and Gujrat, is a salt waste, lying between 22-55 and 24-43 north latitude and between 68-45 and 71-46 east longitude. It covers an area of about 9000 sq miles and varies in width from 25 to 35 miles on the north to 2 miles on the east. The authorities have not yet decided whether it is an arm of the sea from which the waters have receded or it is an inland lake of which seaward barrier has been swept away by some natural convulsion. It is, however, believed to be the bed of an arm of the sea, raised by natural convulsion above its original level and cut off from the ocean. During the invasion of Sind, by Alexander the Great, it was a navigable lake and a shallow lagoon at the time of Periplus (3rd century A.C.).[15] The local traditions assert that there were important ports on its borders and this

is attested to from various ruined sites which dot the coastal line from Rahmki Bazar to the regions of Gujrat and Kathiawad in India. Geologically the Rann is of recent formation and it is divided into two parts; the greater Rann and the smaller Rann. The former measures about 160 miles east to west and from north to south it is about 80 miles, covering an area of 7000 sq miles. The smaller one which is connected with the greater by means of a narrow channel is about 70 miles from east to west and covers an area of about 2000 sq. miles. The whole tract is inundated between March and October and when the flood water recedes it leaves a hard flat surface, covered with stone, shingle and salt. In the summer season when the heat increases the ground baked and blistered by the Sun, shines with dazzling whiteness. This is generally known as 'Runjja' in Sindhi language as it dims and distorts the distance by increasing mirage. Not only human beings but even the animals are tricked by this natural phenomenon; specially the deer which Sami calls 'Mirgh Trishna' who finally perishes in an attempt to quench its thirst. Due to vegetation on some Islands of the Rann, gurkhar (wild ass), antelope and some times a leopard is also seen in this region. A portion of Rann of Cutch has been given to Pakistan as a result of the award of International Commission under the auspices of U.N.O.

Population of Sind

Sind has a variety of population. People of many races and nationalities live in Sind. The Aryans, the Semitics, the Mongols, the Turks, the Tartars, the Kols and Bhils, the pre-historic people of Indus Valley who held kinship with the Sumerians of al-Iraq and even the negroes of Africa are represented by their descendants who speak Sindhi and have absorbed and assimilated the Sindhi culture for several generations. There can be very little distinction between the original Sindhi and the migrant, for the whole seed has been mixed up now. The exception, however, lies in the new migrants after the partition of India in 1947, when two independent states of Bharat and Pakistan came into being. The new comers who are known by the common appellation 'Muhajirs' have come to

Sind, in a huge wave and with a complete distinct and divergent language and culture. They have not yet reconciled with the general culture of this corrupt valley and as soon as they are absorbed they will lose their original character and in due course of time they will become part and parcel of the Sind inhabitants. The oldest known tribes of Sind are the Samma, the Sahita, the Lohanas, the Channahs and the Jatts, whose names appear in the historical works of medieval times. The Meds are found on the sea coast and on the banks of the river Indus, and sustain mainly on rice and fish. The Samma do not seem to have migrated into Sind, as they are shown to be a settled people in the Lar region from where they migrated to Cutch, Gujrat and Kathiawad. They founded a kingdom in Kathiawad with a dynasty named Chada-Samas, whose famous ruler Ra'i Dewaij (Ra'i Diyāch) is famed in Sindhi Literature as highly generous prince who gave his head to a Charan (Bijal) on the enchanting spell of music.[16] The Sahitas still carry a good name in the middle of Sind, but the Channas are found mainly on the right bank of the river Indus. The Lohanas who were converted to Islam are now known as Memons and Shaykhs, the remainder continued to profess either Buddhist or Hindu religion and formed part of the Hindu population of Sind, as Bhai-Bands before partition.

The historical Jatts are originally the Scyths of the ancient writers and they are probably the ancestors of the majority of tribes who call themselves 'Baluchis' or Barochs. They are reported to have been dominant in Sind, Thar desert and also in the mountainous regions of the western Sind, by Arab writers.[17] According to the same source they lived on herding camels and committing depredatory raids on the settled population of Sind. This is true of the Baluchis today; the camel and the ass are their favourite animals and so much associated with their life that a Baluch would be considered destitute without them. A Baluch still lives on theft and this he considers his qualification, for a renowned thief in Sind is not only respected (out of dread) but becomes a romantic personage liked and loved by a number of vagabond women. The Meds originally belong to Iran from where they may have

migrated to Sind. The common appellation with which they are known today is 'Muhano' i.e. the fisherman, and 'Mir-Bahr', possibly the Med al-Bahr of the medieval writers. It may have also been derived from Amir al-Bahr of the Arabs, but the former theory appears to be more cogent and is attested to by historical evidence. The writers of the Alexander's time have given the names of the two great tribes who inhabited the valley of Indus; these were the Sui or Shibi (Sibi) and Maloi, but these are extinct now. The towns such as Sibi, Sui, Siwistan, Shivi-kot (Shor-kot) in West Pakistan and Malwa in Central India, still perpetuate the names of these tribes which once dominated the whole sub-continent. The oldest living people of Sind are believed to be the Barahui speaking population of Sind and Baluchistan, who are said to be akin to the Sumerians of Iraq. Their language bears closer resemblance to the Dravidian languages of the southern Deccan but their culture has completely changed under the influence of the dominant culture of the invading Muslims. The Kols, who are now known as Kolhis may be the Kolos or Kohsarpas of the epic Sanskrit poetry. Their original home appears to have been the peninsular Deccan, considered by the geologists to be one of the relics of the old Gondwana continent, which connected India with Africa. The geologists believe that Deccan is one of the few blocks of ancient land which have not suffered any folding movements so marked in most lands which have never been depressed below the ocean.[18] With the exception of the coastal regions at levels, not a single marine fossil has been found in the whole Deccan. This shows that the Kols and Sonthals, must have held connections, both anthropological and linguistic, with the negro races of Africa and Australia. Kolis of Sind are of recent importation and are mainly agriculturists but some of them have taken up weaving as favourite profession.

The high class Muslim tribes comprise of the Sayads, the Pathans, the Baluchis and the descendants of the Arab tribes through intermarriages with the Sindhian women. The Sayads trace their descent from the Prophet through his

daughter Fatimah, but this is restricted to only a few. The majority of them are either the descendats of Ali through other wives, or are the sons of imposters, who while migrating into Sind, and finding it priest-ridden, dubbed themselves as Sayads with intention to command reverence among the illiterate masses. The Pathans are a few but they are greatly widespread. They appear to be the descendants of the warriors who settled down in Sind, during the Ghaznavid, the Ghorī, the Arghūn, the Tarkhāns and in the period of the later Mughals when the influence of Afghānistān became dominant in the political affairs of Sind. As many as 25 subtribes of the Pathan families have fixed their residence in Sind, of whom the Durranis, specially the Sado-Zai command universal respect not only in Sind but also in the frontier regions and also in Afghānistān.[19]

The Arabs are sub-divided into various castes such as Siddīqīs, Farūqīs, Ansarīs and others. The modern researches have proved that most of the Siddīqīs, who also call themselves as Qureshīs, are mainly weavers of the old Luhāna tribe. The Arab title is assumed as a result of inferiority complex, for the weavers, like other artisans do not command respect among the masses of Sind. The Farūqīs are rare but the Ansārīs are in good number in the districts of Hyderābād, Nawābshāh and Sukkur districts. There are as many as 160 sub-tribes of the Baluchīs, from the most inferior Jatts to the most superior the Talpurs who ruled Sind before the advent of the British in 1843. Very few Hindus now live in Sind, and they are mostly confined to Tharparkar district and the Upper Sind towns of Sukkur and Shikarpur. The Thar tribes are known by the names of the Sodha Rajput, the Bhils, the Kolhīs and the Dheds, who are also found in many parts of Sind. The Vanīs or Vinias may be the descendants of the old Luhāna tribes, of whom some are known as Kirārs in view of their money lending business.

Language and Script

The dominant language of Sind is Sindhī, which is spoken by all classes of the Sind population. The refugees who have

migrated into Sind, after the establishment of Pakistan speak Urdu and several other languages. Urdu has been given the status of National language of Pakistan. It is understood by all classes of people in this country irrespective of the diversity of their mother tongues. The Baluchi tribes and the immigrants from the north speak Sirā'iki (or Multani), a branch of Lahnda, spoken in the West Punjab. The Baluchi language is rarely spoken in Sind and very few Baluchi tribes can express themselves in that language. The language of the intelligentsia and that of the court is English, which is in the process of being replaced by Urdu, but with great difficulty. English still dominates the courts, the offices, the educational institutions, and our cultural life, specially in the educated circles every where in Pakistan.

The script of Sindhi is of Arabic character, principally Kufic, which may have originated as early as the Arab period of its history. Al-Berūnī writing in the eleventh century reports that three scripts were in use in Sind, and these were Ardnāgrī, Malwārī and the Sayndhava (or Sayndab).[20] This shows that the original scripts of the valley continued to subsist and were used by the non-Muslims who did nots how any enthusiasm for the Arabic one.

The present Arabic script was standardised during the British period, which may be regarded as the most benevolent period of the history of Sind, in relation to the development of its history, language and script. Sindhi Grammar, the first work of its kind was written and edited by George Stack and was printed and published at the American Mission Press Bombay in 1853. Another work on the Grammar came from the pen of Dr Earnest Trumpp which was printed and published at Leipzig in 1872. The Sindhi script itself was re-arranged and fixed as official script, thanks to the efforts of Sir Bartle Frere the then Commissioner of Sind. His two Assistants Mr. B.H. Ellis and Mr. Goldsmid contributed greatly to the development of Sindhi language and literature. Even the most renowned Risalo of the greatest poet of Sind Shah Abdul Latif was edited and published for the first time by a European

Dr. Earnest Trumpp in 1853. But the most important of these works was the most acclaimed 'Linguistic Survey of India' of which Vol. I, part I and Volume VIII part I, contain valuable information as regards the construction and the Grammar of Sindhi language. It also contains various scripts that were used in Sind before the British and the new script that was introduced by the British government. The various dialects of Sindhi are also discussed in details showing the connection of Sindhi with Lahnda, Rajasthani and other languages.

Notes and References

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, p. 289; David Ross, Land of five rivers and Sind, p. 37.
2. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IX, p. 151; Athār al-Bilād, p. 85.
3. Chachnāmah, p. 15.
4. Tuḥfat al-Kirām, Chapter XXXIII, p. 462; Makhī-Namah, p. 4.
5. The illustration appears in map of Sind showing Natural Divisions.
6. Another highest peak of Khīrthar in Baluchistan is near Kuzdar, in Kalat region, known as Zardak, which rises to the elevation of 7430 ft. above sea-level. Imperial Gazetteer of India (Bombay Presidency), Vol. I, p. 154.
7. Gazetteer of Sind (A. W. Hughes), p. 3.
8. Imperial Gazetteer of India (Bombay Presidency), Vol. I, p. 165.
9. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 167.
10. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 209; Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol, I, p. 82; Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
11. Imperial Gazetteer of India (Bombay Presidency), Vol. I, p. 171.
12. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, p. 393.
13. Gazetteer of Sind (Aitken), p. 81.
14. The News appeared in 'Dawn' dated 27.4.69. Mr. Qudratullah Shahab, the Pakistan's representative to the UNESCO, was to put forward the said proposal. DAWN, dated 27.4.69, p. 14.
15. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, p. 185.
16. Shāh-jo-Risālo (Ghulam Muhammad Patoli edition), Sur Sorath, Coup. 10.

ڏيڻي پرچيا پاڻ ۽ تڻ ڪنارو ڪنڊ
تنهن جهوڻي ناهه ڪي، جو تو چاڙ ڪيو پنڊ
اي شڪر الحمد، جڏن مٿو گهريوءَ مڱڻا

17. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, pp. 176, 180; Sūrat al-Arḍ, pp. 323, 326.

18. In Deccan an area of some 200,000 sq. miles, the older rocks are covered with great masses of ballastic lava, which is believed to have spread over the country in upper cretaceous times. The coal deposits that are found in small basins at lower levels, must have been formed by the great rivers of the old Gondwana continent in upper Palaeozoic and Mesozoic times; Imperial Gazetteer of India (Bombay Presidency), Vol. I, p. 198.

19. The present rulers of Afghanistan belong to the Sado-Zai family of the Afghans.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SIND (IN BRIEF)

The ancient History of Sind; Foreign Invasions; Kols and Sonthals; The Aryans; The Persians; The Greeks; The Scythians and The White Huns.

Ancient History of Sind

Sind or the Indus Valley proper is a land of great antiquity and claims a civilization anterior in time to that of Egypt and Babylon. Mu'an-jo-Daro, a ruined site near Dokri in Larkana district, is believed to be as old as 2500 B.C., a period during which probably the Akkadians ruled over al-Iraq. Egypt at this juncture was under the rule of the great Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, who were intermediary between the old kingdom and the dynastic rule of Egypt. The remoteness of Mu'an-jo-Daro to the Pyramid period of Egypt, claimed by certain scholars, is a sheer miscalculation. The Egyptians had attained all essentials of civilization fully developed as early as 3000 B.C. The period of Khufu who built the great pyramid of Giza has been fixed round about 2800 B.C. Even the later pyramid builders might have reached an advanced stage of civilization before the foundation of Mu'an-jo-Daro or Kot Diji, which is supposed to be of an early period, some five centuries hence. That the Sumerians who flourished in al-Iraq prior to 2500 B.C. might have been contemporary to the people of Mu'an-jo-Daro, as they are shown to be closely related to each other.[1]

The Sumerians who were the founders of the Babylonian civilization, might have been a branch of the great race which spread over Indus Valley, southern Baluchistan, Fars and western Iran (i.e. Khūzistān). The racial kinship of the Sumerians with the Dravidians of Deccan, Brauhis of Baluchistan and some communities in the regions of southern Persia (Fars) is shown by some scholars due to the close resemblance of their

languages. The study of the Sumeric tongue by Mr. Rawlinson and other orientalists attests to close affinity between the people of the two valleys, who held continuous intercourse with each other for countless centuries. These researches disclose that the people who inhabited Mu'an-jo-Daro, Kot Diji, Amri and various other sites in the Indus Valley might have been a branch of the Sumerians or vice-versa, whose cultural influence extended as far as the extreme tip of peninsular Deccan and probably up to Ceylon. It is not certain whether the original home of these people was Indus Valley or some other place. Mr. H.R. Hall is, however, of the opinion that the Sumeric race came to al-Iraq from Sind where they developed the cuneiform script from picture writings.[2] In the Babylonian inscriptions they are referred to as "Oannes", a monstrous nation which swam up the Persian Gulf and introduced the art of writing and other arts of civilization in the valley of Euphrates. Oannes is represented as half fish half man, which denotes that they came by land and sea route and sowed the seed of their superior culture among the ignorant masses of west Asia.[3] They first settled in Elam (modern Khūzistān) from which they finally invaded the land of two rivers and occupied it probably in the fourth millenium before Christ. The name Sumer, from which they are known as Sumerians is the term which they applied to the land of southern al-Iraq, bordering the Persian Gulf, and this region became the chief centre of their activities for a period of over one thousand years. It has been asserted that they introduced for the first time the plough and the wheel, which are the basis of human culture and civilization. This shows that agriculture itself was introduced by the Sumerians who possessed a complete technique of controlling the rivers. The first digging of canals must have started with the incoming Sumerians, who also applied salvage system, for keeping the canals clean and ready for use throughout the year.[4] The introduction of wheel may have facilitated the manufacture of earthen utensils and the invention of potter's oven. Chariot also began to play a prominent role in the political life of the people of al-Iraq. Towns and cities came into existence and in due course of time, city states grew up

into well-developed and highly organised empires. One of these empires which was founded by Ur-Nina engulfed in itself, not only Babylon and Assur but also some regions of Anatolia and Syria as well. The last ruler of this dynasty Lugal-Zaggizi, was defeated and killed by Sargon I of Akkad, who brought an end to the Sumerian hegemony in the fertile crescent. The power of the Sumerians was broken by the Semitics under Sargon, yet it was not extinguished and they founded principalities throughout the valley, till the rise of the Amorites in al-Iraq, in the middle of twenty fifth century before Christ. The gravity of their power then shifted to Elam, which became the last stronghold of the Sumerians in their opposition to the Semites. Elam continued to be a thorn in the side of the Semitic kingdoms of al-Iraq for centuries, till the final extinguishment of Semitic rule in the valley of Euphrates in the year 537 B.C.

The ancient history of Sind, if it is history, credits an Aryan dynasty in possession of the country as early as the period of Mahabharat, which has been placed between 1500 to 1000 B.C. Jaydratha, the king of Sind is reported to have represented his country in the great war as an ally of Kurus (or the Kurawas). He was consequently chastised by the Pandoos to the very borders of the Thar desert and killed. It is reported that the ruler of Sind had enticed Drupadi, the wife of the Pandoos, by deceitful means and had succeeded in abducting her to Sind, during the continuance of war.[5] Whatever may be the true version, the country of Sind undoubtedly played an important role in the politics of the sub-continent even in the ancient times. After this event there is a void in the history of Sind, up to the sixth century B.C., when the valley of Indus was invaded and attacked by the Achaemenians of Iran. Skylax, the Greek admiral of Kiranda, was deputed by Darius I (i.e. Dārā I) to explore the land and sea route to Sind and to undertake a survey of the lands east of Seīstān. Skylax entered the valley of Indus, through one of the passes of the frontier region and after subduing lower Punjab, passed his way through Sind, by a fleet of ships, receiving submission from various chieftains of the

lower part of the valley. This invasion resulted in the conquest of Sind, lower Punjab and Baluchistan by the Achaemenians and the river Indus became the natural boundary between India and Iran. The regions conquered were united and formed one satrapy (i.e. the 20th satrapy) and it was the richest and most populous province of the Achaemenian Empire. The revenue it yielded to the central treasury was enormous being equivalent to 360 Euboic talents of gold dust and constituted one-third of the total revenue derived from the Asian provinces.[6]

During this period the sub-continent was divided into various principalities ruled by various chiefs independent of each other. The powerful Ajathasatru, who once ruled Magadha was no more and his throne at Pataliputra was either occupied by Darsaka or Udaya, who being engaged in their own problems do not seem to have taken interest in the affairs of Sind. It may also be noted that the period during which Persian intrusion was effected, the conditions in the sub-continent were far from being satisfactory. The struggle between the two great religious factions the Buddhists and the Hindus, was in full swing resulting in chaos every where. There is no evidence about the subsequent events in the history of Sind from any source till the invasion of Alexander of Macedon. In the fourth century B.C., Macedon after fighting with the rival states of Hellas, became the leading state of the eastern Europe. Phillip, the ruler of Macedon was an ambitious prince but his career was cut short by the dagger of an assassin, perhaps at the instigation of Olympia, the mother of Alexander. Alexander who now wielded supreme authority in the Hellas, made astounding progress in Asia Minor, which was held by the Achaemenians. In the decisive battle of Issus fought in 333 B.C. the Persians suffered an ignominious defeat and they were forced to evacuate Asia Minor. The Greeks instead of pursuing the fallen enemy marched on Syria where all the towns submitted to the conqueror, except the cities of Tyre and Gaza. These Phoenician towns offered resistance, but were reduced in due course of time. Alexander then marched on Egypt where he was received by the populace with great accla-

mation. He was crowned as God-king at Memphis and his authority was established over both the upper and lower Nile Valley. Not satisfied with his acquisitions and rejecting the offer of Darius III,[7] he made an attack on Iran. The Achaemenians were again defeated at Arbela (fought in 331 B.C.) and this opened the way to Babylon, the fabulous capital of the east. After the conquest of the Persian provinces, Alexander crossed over to India, through Afghānistān. His advance was resisted by Porushia the king of western Punjab, but he was defeated and pardoned. The conqueror contemplated an attack in the interior of India but his troops mutinied and this obliged him to march against Sind. Sind proper at this juncture was divided into two kingdoms of Oskana and Patalene. The former with the capital of the same name was held by Mausikanos,[8] who failed to send an envoy to the invader. He submitted afterwards but again revolted probably on the advice of his Brahman councillors. Consequently he was chastised and captured by Peithon, the son of Agenor and executed along with the Brahman defectors. The ruler of Patalene whose capital has been identified with modern Hyderabad, hastened to offer his submission and was confirmed in his kingdom. The Greek writers have given one more name among the kings of Sind, called Sombos, whose capital Sindimana is now identified with Sehwan in Dadu district of Hyderabad division. Sombos fled to the hills but later offered his submission to the Greek war-lord and was allowed to retain his principality. Alexander killed 80,000 Sindhis and sold multitudes of them into slavery.[9]

At Patala Alexander made preparations for returning home. He divided his army into two divisions, one to march by land under his own command and the other to sail by ships under Admiral Nearchus. Both the armies advanced to Babylon through the regions of Makrān, Fārs and Khūzistān and reached Babylon in 326 B.C., where Alexander died of fever in 323 B.C. Alexander left no issue and hence the empire was divided among his generals, the ablest of them Seleucus retained the eastern provinces. Chandra Gupta Mauriya the scion of

the royal house of Magadha who met Alexander in the Punjab and instigated him to invade Magadha, took the best of the opportunity after the conqueror's death. Collecting a large force, he defeated the Greeks and expelled them out of the country. He also defeated the imperial Nandas and founded a dynasty of his own which was named after Mauriya his mother, who was a woman of Sudra origin. Before the invasion of Seleucus the power of Chandra Gupta was firmly established in the north and west of the sub-continent.[10]

Peithon, son of Agenor whom Alexander left in charge of Sind, was transferred to Arachosia. Eudemus who followed him retained possession of Sind, till 317 B.C., when the authority of the Macedonians was brought to an end. The local rajas, then assumed independence in the lower Indus valley, but their hold over the region also appears to have been uncertain and precarious. There is little evidence of any subsequent event in the history of Sind, till the rise of Asoka, the third ruler of the Mauriya dynasty. The first years of Asoka's reign were occupied by constant struggle in the extension and consolidation of the Mauriyan empire. The Kalingā war fought in 261 B.C. "smote the conscience of Asoka and awakened in his breast the feeling of remorse, profound sorrow and regret." He avowed not to lead armies any more and refrained from bloodshed in his future life and career. He got himself converted to Buddhism and became known with the high sounding titles of the "Lord of piety" and the "pious King", yet he did not take pity in inflicting severe punishments on the schemists, who happened to cause trouble within his empire. The conversion of Asoka to the religion of Buddha also seems to have been effected by Upa-Gupta, a perfumer missionary from Sind.[11] This shows that the country of Sind was incorporated within the Mauriyan empire either by Chandra Gupta or his son Bindusara and there was much of social, political and commercial intercourse between Pataliputra and the lower Indus valley.

The death of Asoka in 232 B.C. brought an abrupt fall of the Mauriya dynasty, but the petty chiefs of the

family continued to reign over the valley of Indus, for a pretty long time. In 185 B.C., Pushyamitra the commander-in-chief of the Mauriyan army having slain Brihadratha, ascended the vacant throne and founded the dynasty of the Sangas, which continued to hold sway over the north and west of the sub-continent up to 225 A.C. but there is no chronological record of the events to attest to this assertion. Asoka's demise proved a signal for foreign invasions, which resulted in the annexation of a greater portion of the Indus Valley to the new kingdom of Bactria. The Greeks who founded a principality in Bactria under Diodotus did not attain practical independence till the advent of Euthydemos (280 B.C.). There is no evidence to show that both these monarchs exercised political control over Punjab or Sind. It was Demetrius however who invaded the Indus Valley and annexed it to his empire by about 190 B.C. This is confirmed by Patanjali the famous grammarian who mentions the name of Datta-Mitra, (probably Demetrius) as ruler over Yavannas and Sauviras.[12] Further evidence may be had from the inscription No. 18 of the Nasik caves and the coins of Demetrius, showing trident, which signify the naval power of the Greek war-lord. Whether it implies river fleet or sea power is uncertain, but it is most probable that Demetrius must have used a fleet of war-ships for the conquest of Sind, a practice earlier adopted by Skylax and Alexander, the two great conquerors of the Indus Valley. He may have also explored the sea in an attempt to conquer Gujrat, Kathiawad and Baluchistan, which formed an integral part of his far-flung empire, together with the Punjab, parts of U.P. and Central India.[13] As a result of this invasion the Sanga dominions might have shrunk considerably around Magadha, but the real extent of their authority cannot be ascertained.

The distant conquests of Demetrius naturally weakened his position at home and the rebellion which was headed by an adventurer Eucratides, cost him his throne and his life in 175 B.C. Eucratides was more powerful than his predecessor and is said to have ruled over the Punjab and Sind, which automatically came under his influence after the death of Deme-

trius. But the glory of his conquests was short lived. While returning to Bactria, he was murdered by his son Apolodotus, who in turn suffered the same fate at the hands of his brother Heliokles "the just" a title, which he might have assumed by avenging the murder of his father.[14] As a result of these happenings, the Greek possessions in the sub-continent fell in chaos and were parcelled into small principalities, up to the time of the invasion of Menander, who stands out conspicuous in history as the ruler of Kabul. The records and coins reveal that Menander inherited Punjab and Sind from the successors of Heliokles and conquered Gujrat, Kathiawad and Maharashtra afresh. Menander is reported to have penetrated in the interior of India as far as Mathura in Ganges Valley but it is not sure whether he held these regions permanently. It is said that he was converted to Buddhist religion, and as such his name appears as Milinda in the notable works of Buddhist literature.

The Greek rule in the Indus Valley was brought to an end by the Parthians, who after suffering severe reverses from the Greeks and the Sakas, revived their power under Mithradates II. It was not until the reign of Gondophares that Punjab and Sind were incorporated in the Parthian empire. The capital of Sind at this juncture was Min-Nagar which lay in the interior and its chief port Barbarikon was situated on one of the branches of the Indus, in the delta region of Sind. The author of Periplus of the Erythraean Sea written in 70 A. C. reports that the country of Sind was known as Scythia[15] and this might have been due to the habitation of the Scyths in the lower Indus valley.

The extinction of the Indo-Parthian monarchy was brought about by the savage hordes of the Yueh-Chi, who migrated into Central Asia from the desert of Takla-Makan. They defeated the Wu-Sun and the Sakas and occupied the regions of Bactria and Sogdonia. The Sakas being unable to hold their possession moved to the Afghan hills and then to Punjab, through north-west frontier passes. They must have remained in the Punjab and frontier region for a considerable

period till the Yueh-Chi pressure from the north west brought about the complete extinction of their power in the valley. There is no recorded evidence as regards the struggle between the Yueh-Chi and the Sakas, but it is certain that Yueh-Chi might have taken a considerable period in subjugating the hardy and war-like people of Hindu Kush and the frontier regions. The first ruler of this tribe who claimed sovereignty over Punjab was Kadphises II, who is said to have conquered the whole valley including Sind. The extent of his kingdom is conjectured from the recovery of the coins, in the whole valley up to the region of Cutch and Kathiawad. It can, however, be said with certainty that Kanishka, the successor of Kadphises II exercised full political control over the whole valley and the interior of India as far as Ganges, and the Vindhyas in the south. Kanishka is also reported to have conquered Kashmir, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan and engaged in successful war against the Parthians. Purushpura or Peshawar became his capital where he built the famous thirteen-storey building 400 ft. high, surmounted by a mighty iron pinnacle, spoken of by Song-Yun, the Chinese pilgrim.[16] Kanishka is credited with having convened a council of the Buddhists of Mahayana sect to which delegates came from the regions as far as Tibet, Mongolia and China. The Hinyanas probably boycotted the said council as there is no mention of their participation in the Ceylonese sources.

It appears that the country of Sind was governed by the Kushans under the successors of Kanishka, who died in 123 A.C., till the rise of the Sassanids in Iran. Prince Vasishka predeceased his father and as such Kanishka was followed by Huvishka, who may have exercised some control over the lower part of the Indus Valley. Sind at this juncture was invaded and conquered by Bahrām-Gor, the Sassānid, but his hold too appears to have been temporary and precarious. It also seems probable that the new rulers of Iran might have held the western portion of the Indus Valley to the exclusion of Lar and middle Sind, which might have continued to be ruled by the Kushan governors for a considerable period. The

Scythian hegemony in Sind, appears to have been more durable and it is on account of this reason that it became known as Indo-Scythian.

With the extinction of the Kushans in the north-west and Andhra dynasty in the interior, the centre of gravity once more shifted to Pataliputra. A new and vigorous dynasty of the Guptas came into power. The advent of the Gupta house is characterised in the annals as the revival of Hinduism and the supremacy of the Aryans over the non-Aryans in the sub-continent. The foundation of the Gupta dynasty was laid by a prince named Chandra Gupta, who rose to power due to his marriage with Kumara-Devi, of the ancient Lichchavi clan, which had acquired undying fame in the annals of Buddhism. His father Ghotot-Kacha seems to have been a local raja in the neighbourhood of Pataliputra, but he could not rise to prominence in the politics of India, due to probably the extent and power of his small principality. Due to the matrimonial alliance with the Lichchavi family, the influence of Chandra Gupta increased considerably and he became the master of Magadha with its capital Pataliputra. By the year 319 A.C. the rule of Chandra Gupta was firmly established in the whole of the Gangetic plain, including Tirhut, Oudh and southern Bihar. This year also marks the important event of his coronation which brought in a new era (i.e. Gupta era) in force in the territories ruled by him. The period of Gupta hegemony in India is characterised as the period of revivalism of Sanskrit language, which as reported by Vincent Smith, was the highly artificial literary modification of Prakrit, the vernacular of the Punjab and Sind. One of the rulers of this dynasty Samadra Gupta, who was the greatest of all, is reported to have revived horse sacrifice "Ashu-Medh", the oldest mode of sacrifice by the Aryans. Hindu culture began to flourish exceedingly in the Gupta empire, which included researches on science and literature. These happenings, however, had a very small effect on the people of Sind, who appear to have remained steadfast in their adherence to Buddhism throughout the period of the reign

of the Imperial Guptas. It also appears probable that Sind might have remained under the influence of Iran as a Sassanid Satrap, till the rise of the local dynasty of the Buddhists, headed by Rā'i Dewāich. The establishment of the independent dynasty of the Buddhists may have also been actuated by the invasion of the White Huns, who poured into the Indus Valley from the north western passes by 455 A.C. The eruption of the fresh savages from Central Asia resulted once again in chaos and helped greatly in the foundation of the local dynasty in Sind. The Hun menace, it appears, had little to do with Sind, which continued to be ruled by a powerful dynasty of the local rājās, who exercised paramount influence over a large portion of the Indus Valley, from the the Sea to the regions as far as the Salt range in the north.[17]

The foundation of Rā'i dynasty was laid by a Buddhist named Dewāij (or Dewāji) who is reported to have been a kinsman of the ruler of Chitor. This shows that the eastern desert of Thar had played a prominent role in the politics of Sind and the intercourse between the two regions seems to have been intact even after the Arab conquest of Sind. How Ra'i Dewāich founded the Sindhian kingdom, no purposeful clue is available, yet it is sure that his successors inherited vast dominions which comprised of Sind, Lower Punjab, parts of N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. Due to the extensive territories held by the rulers of Sind, the kingdom was divided into various administrative units, with their head-quarters at Brahmanabad, Siwistan, Askalandah and Multan. The capital of the kingdom was however Al-Ror, a town renowned for its beauty and greatness. The city was defended by strong solid walls and contained within it palatial buildings, wide roads, extensive gardens and handsome orchards. Hiouen-Thsang who visited Sind probably during the reign of Rā'i Dewāich reports that the ruler of the Indus Valley was a Sudra, but he speaks of the general prosperity of the country. He further adds that the monks of Sind were greedy persons and given up to excesses. The pilgrim says that he made a pilgrimage journey to O'-fan-cha (Avanda) where he saw the ashes of Rishi Tatha-Gatha, which according to him emitted brilliant rays of light.[18]

Rā'i Dewa'ich was followed by a series of rulers, who held the kingdom up to the invasion of the Arabs, when the country was conquered and incorporated in the Arab-Islamic empire. In the reign of Rā'i Seharās, a successor of Rā'i Dewa'ich, Sind is reported to have been invaded and attacked from Nīmrūz, by the armies of Persia. Seharās opposed the invasion in person, but was defeated and killed. The contention of V. Smith that the Sindhian king was defeated and killed by the Arabs is far from historical truth. By this time the founder of the Arab power and religion was not yet born. The Prophet was born probably during the reign of Rā'i Sehāsi I, the son and the successor of Rā'i Seharās. Rā'i Sehāsi, the son and successor of Seharās, who followed him soon after repaired the loss by defeating the enemy forces, who were either killed or expelled from the country. Peace and order was restored and the power of the Rājā was re-established throughout the kingdom. Rā'i Sehāsi was a wise and just ruler and the people were happy and content during his reign. Rā'i Sehāsi I was succeeded by Rā'i Seharās II who in turn was followed by Rā'i Sehāsi II, the last ruler of the dynasty. Rā'i Sehāsi II died without an issue and was succeeded by his minister Chach, the son of Sailā'ij, who ascended the throne with the concurrence of queen Sūnha-Devī, the wife of the deceased rājā. Chach was a Hindu Brahman, and as such he became the founder of the Brahman dynasty. He is said to have achieved his object through immoral and deceitful means. While acting as a minister, Chach fell in love with the queen Sūnha-Devī, the young and beautiful wife of Rā'i Sehāsi II, with whom he finally conspired to bring the end of the old and impotent rājā.[19] It is not certain whether Sehāsi II was poisoned or strangulated, but it is sure that the news of his death were kept secret, till all the relations and the partisans of the deceased rājā were thrown in the dungeons. Rā'i Mahurat, the ruler of Chitor, a kinsman of Sehāsi, invaded Sind with a large force to punish the usurper but he was defeated and killed and his forces dispersed. The throne of Sind as would appear from the accounts did not prove to be

a bed of roses for the new rājā, who had to struggle hard against the warlike tribes and their chiefs in an attempt to assert his authority over them. The Jatt, the Lohāna, the Samā, Sahitā and the Channā tribes who were mainly Buddhists refused to acknowledge the overlordship of the Hindu Rājā. Chach had, therefore, to inflict exemplary punishments on them and a greater portion of these tribes was cut to pieces. Such was the power of the priestly class of the Buddhists that the king had to enter into negotiations with them on their own conditions. The Buddhist Shamani of Brahmanābād[20] may be cited as an example to this assertion which also attests to greater autonomy granted to the Buddhist tribes during the rule of the Rā'i dynasty. Those who submitted to his authority were rewarded and confirmed to the offices and positions held by them. By slow and gradual process Rājā Chach recovered the provinces of Multān, Brahmanābād, Qandābil, Makran and Arman Bela.

Chach seems to have been a wise ruler, who employed both power and diplomacy in dealing with his enemies. The priestly class of the Shamanis was favoured and patronised and appointed to responsible posts. This is confirmed from the accounts of the Arab writers who inform that most of the towns and their forts were held by the Buddhist Shamanis[21] at the time of the invasion of the Arabs. The Hindus were in minority and they belonged to the fighting class, the Khatris. The evidence of Chachnāmah shows that Rājā Chach reigned for forty years and was followed by his brother Chandur. The new rājā who had been a priest for a major portion of his life, also seems to have conducted the administration wisely, for there is not a single instance of any rising or other disturbance during his reign. Chandur ruled for seven years and was succeeded by his nephew Rā'i Dāhir, the son of his elder brother Chach. This may have occurred on account of the family arrangement, or in pursuance to, the will made by Raja Chach. Rā'i Dāhir appointed Rāj, the son of Chandur over Brahmanābād to appease the family of his uncle, but subsequently he was removed and superseded by Dahar-Sīn, a brother of Rājā Dāhir, who held the government of lower Sind, for a period of five

years. Rā'i Dāhir did not ādd any new territory to his kingdom, but he kept his realm in peace and order by his efficient administration. The author of Chachnāmah in order to justify the conquest of Sind by the Arabs has depicted the character of Rājā Dāhir in the garb of an incorrigible monster, who stooped so low as to marry his sister in an attempt to retain the throne of Sind.[22] The said author has dubbed Dāhir as a coward who could not face the people of Sind, specifically his brother after the commission of this immoral overture. Yet the same source describes of him as a brave and chivalrous prince who fought against the Arab intruders for honour and prestige and also for the independence of his country. It appears that the Chachnāmah which was written as late as the eleventh century might have invited additions from its new writers whose main object may have been to condemn the Hindū rājā for opposing the forces of Islam, under the Arab General. The Chachnāmah shows that Rā'i Dāhir had only one wife who committed herself to flames after the fall of Brahmanābād.[23] Lādi, a woman of doubtful character, who is also reported to have been the wife of the deceased king, may have been a concubine, who later gave herself up to the Arab conqueror. Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim was captivated by her charms and is said to have married this slave girl soon after the fall of Brahmanābād. This event also reveals that the rulers of Sind, practised polygamy and apart from legally wedded wife or wives they also kept a large harem of the concubines or purchased slaves. The same is true of Chach who also practised polygamy, probably on account of political grounds. Apart from his wife, the mother of his children, he married queen Sūnha-Devī, the wife of Rā'i Sehāsī II. He also begot a third wife from the powerful Jatt tribe, from whom was born Mayen (or Māhen) the alleged sister wife of Rā'i Dāhir.[24]

Rājā Dāhir the king of Sind, was a chivalrous prince and took active part in the politics of Sind, from the earliest period of his youth. In the reign of Chandur when Sind was attacked by Rājā Rāsil and Brāhās, at the instigation of Seharās, the king of Kanuj, it was Dāhir who played the leading role in vanquishing the enemy. He also exhibited a great strength of cha-

racter at the time of the attack against Sind from the eastern desert by the king of Ramal. His minister Budhiman suggested him two via medias to deal with the situation; but these were rejected and he prepared himself to meet the enemy in open field. The spirit of valour exhibited by him in the battle of Rāwar was unique with no parallel in the historical annals of Sind. It was unimaginable that the king who commands the army in the battle field should occupy a position wholly exposed to the attacks of the enemy. He was seated on a white elephant and also within striking distance, easily distinguishable to the invading forces. Yet he did not feel any kind of nervousness or harassment from the Arab archers who repeatedly attempted to hit him with their arrows. The scene of the battle depicted by the enemy sources shows that the elephant terrified by the naphtha fire rushed to the river, in the very rear of the Arab forces. This also shows that in the battle of Rāwar the king of Sind might have been attacked by the rear guard who was not yet engaged in actual fighting. The death of Dāhir it appears was due to the misfortune of war rather than the valour of the Arab soldiery who made joint efforts to kill Dāhir in the river by surrounding him from all directions.[26]

Foreign Invasions

Sind proper is made up of southern portion of the Indus plain and as such it has been the target of the attacks of the foreigners from all directions.

Kols and Santals

The first people in possession of the Indus basin are reported to have been the Kols and the Santals, who were finally exterminated and pushed to the south by the Aryan invaders from the north west. There is no evidence to show wherefrom the Kols and Santals came, but the ethnic and linguistic studies connect them with the people of Deccan and of Ceylon. The connection of these people with the great Australian race is evident from the construction and grammar of their languages. Evidently Deccan, Ceylon and Australia were connected by great land mass, which might have submerged under the sea in

the remote period of earth's geology.[27] The physical features, psychological traits, colour and construction of their hair all show closer resemblance of the ancient residents of Sind, with the aborigins of Australia. The dark complexioned and sturdy people now known as Kolis and the Bhils are still numerous in Sind, specially in Thar and Lar, and these may be considered to be the true representatives of the great race, which once dominated the whole world. The Kolis are also found in Deccan and Maharashtar regions side by side with the Dravidians who may also be regarded as an offshoot of the same race distinct from the Aryans of the north and north-west India. The Kolis and the Bhils claim their ancestry from Lord Krishna and as such they are Rajputs, but they have never been admitted to be the members of that proud race due to racial and linguistic differences. Whether the people who lived at Mu'an-jo-Daro and other ancient sites in Sind belonged to the same ethnic group, is yet to be ascertained, but it can be conjectured that they also flourished during the same period of Sind's history. According to some writers the people of Mu'an-jo-Daro were a branch of the great Turanian race who emigrated into Sind, in the pre-historic period, through the north west passes. The Babylonian inscriptions and the accounts of Berossus reveal that it was the Indus Valley through which civilization flowed to the near East and then to Egypt and the Aegean world.[28]

The Aryans

The Aryans whose migration into the sub-continent may be placed between 2000 to 1000 B.C. were a branch of great race of the white people, who spread over Iran, Afghānistān. Iraq, Syria and Anatolia. They also pushed on their march through the Steppes of Russia to the whole of Europe. The ethnic and linguistic relationship of the Aryans of Europe, Iran and India, has been established beyond doubt by modern researches, which show that the common ancestors of these people spoke one and the same language and occupied one and the same locale. The original home of the Aryans has not yet been fixed. It is, however, contended to be the highlands of Pamir, which the Arabs called "Umm al-Bilād". It was probably

from this mother country that the Aryans marched to the Punjab and then to Sind and other regions of the sub-continent. The Hindu scholars reject the theory of the Aryan migration into India and assert that "Bhārat" was the original home of the Aryans. The Afghāns and the Irānians on the other hand hold that it was their country which served as the cradle land of the Aryans and as such the early home of that race. Whatever may be the true version about the originality of the Aryans, they had dominated the whole civilized world in the second millenium before Christ.

The Aryans founded a powerful state into the fertile crescent by destroying power of the Babylonians. Shamsu-Ditana was killed in the encounter and the Kushites who ruled at Babylon controlled al-Irāq, Irān, Anātolia and Syriā. The name Syria is itself a corruption of Surya (i.e. the Sun) placed on the land of Ammūrū, now dominated by the incoming Aryans. One of the rulers of Babylon, Tushrattā[29] had a counterpart in India in the person of Dasrathā, the father of Rāmchandrā, the hero of Rāmayana. A branch of the Aryans known as Mittāni (or Mittaneans) ruled over Anātolia possibly over the regions of Armenia and northern Irāq. The connections of the Aryans who ruled over al-Irāq and those who occupied northern India and Sind appear to have been intact due to commercial and cultural intercourse between the two people. The Aryans of India are reported to have been a savage people, who learnt the art of civilization into the Indus Valley. This is evident from the religion of the Aryans which was originally based on nature worship consisting of the Sūrya, Varūna and Indra as the holy triad. Mitrā the bull, was added as the god of agriculture whom they adopted soon after their settlement in the Punjab. It was here that the Rig-Vedā was written and sung and it was in the land of five rivers that Aryans became conversant with the arts of the civilized life which made them the forerunners of the Vedic civilization of India. It is reported that the Aryans who occupied Sind, came from Irān and not from the Punjāb and these were known as Panchālās.[30] The Pushāchā Aryans also ruled over Sind, but their relationship with other Aryans of the sub-continent continued unabated throughout centuries.

The participation of Jaydratha in the great battle of Mahābharat attests to the unity of the Aryan race of the Indian sub-continent in ancient times. There is no evidence to show the chronological order in which the Aryan kings ruled over Sind due to the absence of written historical records, but it is certain that due to the cross influence of the Aryans and the aborigins of the sub-continent a new civilization was born. A new language also came into being, known as Prākrit and it was spoken in the whole region now known as West Pakistan.

The Persians

Since the coming of the Aryans into Sind, the first nation that violated its frontiers was its neighbour Persia, which rose to be one of the greatest powers of the ancient world in the sixth century B.C. Cyrus, the king of Anshān, united the Meds and the Persians under his sceptre and destroyed the power of the Chāldeans who then controlled the entire fertile crescent including Egypt and Anātolia. Nabū-Naidū, the last Chāldean king who was interested more in archaeology and religion, sent his son Bel-Shezzār to defend the empire, but he was defeated and killed. Cyrus the great styled as Dhu al-Qarnayn in the Semitic annals was a philanthropic monarch greatly liberal in his views. He shifted his capital to Babylon, the renowned city of the east, where Bel-Marduk was replaced by Ahura-Mazda, as the chief deity of the land, and the Persians became the dominant race of the new empire. His son and successor, Cambysus added Egypt and Nubia in the rising empire, which now engulfed all the countries of West Asia, with the exception of the Arabian desert. The Achaemenian empire attained dazzling heights of splendour and glory during the reign of Darius I, who it appears added Khurāsān, Afghānistān and India under his sway, so as to make him the ruler of the whole world. The Persian cuneiform inscription reads thus about the exploits of the great Darius, whose empire now included the entire civilized world from the Indus to the Nile and from Hellas to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean:-

"I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands peopled by all races, for long the king of this great

earth, the son of Vishtasp, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan descent."

Darius was the first to coin money which became known as Daric coin. It was made of gold and was equal to one shekel of that precious metal. The silver coin of his reign weighed about 86-1/2 grains and it was worth 1/20 of the Daric gold coin. Dārā was a man of administrative genius. He divided the empire into small administrative units called satrapies and inaugurated his reign with reforms concerning public utility, which endeared him to the masses. He appointed civil governors over the provinces, the defence of which was undertaken by another officer called the general, both being independent of each other and empowered to communicate with the sovereign directly. He was equally ambitious and not satisfied with the vast empire he had inherited from his predecessors. He sent an expedition against India, under the command of a Greek general Skylax, who entered the frontiers of Punjāb in 512 B.C. and without receiving opposition from any quarter conquered it for the Achaemenian empire. In Punjāb he built a fleet of warships, with the help of which he sailed down to Sind. In the absence of historical records it can be fairly concluded that the whole Indus Valley was annexed to the Persians and river Indus became the eastern most boundary of the Achaemenian empire. Sind, with parts of Punjāb and Baluchistān, was included in the twentieth satrapy and its revenues amounted to 360 talents of gold. This amount is equivalent to 187 H.W. of gold (one million Sterling) and it was one-fourth of the total revenue derived from the Asian provinces.[32]

Darius ruled for 36 years and was succeeded by a series of rulers, whence the dynasty came to an end in the reign of Darius III (336-330B.C.). The Persians were defeated in two successive battles of Issus (fought in 333B.C.) and Arbela (fought in 331 B.C.) and their power was completely broken. Darius III fled from the battle-field in utter confusion and received an unfortunate death at the hands of his own men at Hamadān. Alexander, who now became an heir to the Achaemenian emperors, inherited all the provinces of the east including Sind,

which the conqueror attacked in an attempt to pacify the empire.

The Greeks

The Greeks became world power as a result of continuous warfare with the Persians, who had invaded Ionia and incorporated it within the Achaemenian empire. The struggle continued unabated not only with the Persians but also within the Greek states, till the rise of Macedon under its energetic and ambitious king Phillips, the father of Alexander. After the unnatural death of his father, Alexander in spite of his tender age assumed full powers and after subduing the rival states in the Hellas, he crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 334 B.C. The army under his command has been calculated to be between 30,000 to 40,000, with the help of which he swept over Asia Minor, then a province of the Persian empire. The advance of Alexander was resisted by Darius III in person at Issus near the Cilician borders, which resulted in humiliating defeat for the Persians. Darius III fled from the field leaving his family behind, which was, however, treated well under the orders of the young conqueror. The conqueror instead of pursuing the fallen enemy, marched against Syria which lay almost undefended. In the summer of 332 B.C. Alexander led his mighty arms into Egypt, where he was received with jubilation as a deliverer and thus he was crowned as "Son of God", at Memphis.[33] From Egypt the conqueror dashed against Iran and once again defeated the Persians at Arbela. Persipolis was taken by storm and a greater portion of it set to flames. Darius III who was assassinated by his own men at Hamadān, received a royal burial under the orders of Alexander. The young conqueror then recovered all the provinces of the Persian empire and after successive and arduous campaigns succeeded in extending his sway to the regions as far as Bactria. After having made his position secure in the Afghan hills, he descended further east through the Kabul Valley, to the Western Punjab. In the spring of 326 B.C. he reached the vicinity of Taxila, the ruler of which hastened to offer submission and surrendered the fort to the Greeks. Here Alexander received provisions for his soldiers and was also re-inforced by contingents of Indian troops. Alexander then marched further east, but his advance

was checked by the proud and war-like ruler of Western Punjab, Poru or Porushia, a great champion of Indian independence. A force of 4000 horse, 30,000 foot, 500 chariots and some elephants, collected by Porushia, could not withstand the onslaught of the Greek cavalry. In spite of their numerical superiority the Indians suffered a heavy and ignominous defeat and they were completely annihilated. Poru himself wounded badly was taken captive, but he received a magnanimous treatment from the Greek conqueror and was restored to his ancestral kingdom, as his viceroy.[34] Alexander contemplated an attack on the interior of India (the Ganges Valley) but the mutiny in his army frustrated all designs for further expansion. He then marched in the south to Sind and received submission from the warlike tribes of southern Punjāb, on his way to Oskānā, the northern kingdom of Sind. The capital of Oskānā has been identified with Mahortā near Lārkānā and its ruler during Alexander's invasion bore the name "Mausikanos". The conquest of northern Sind opened the way to Patalene, whose ruler Moeris fled to the neighbouring forests and his capital Patala was occupied by the Greeks without any resistance. At Patala the conqueror received submission from the hill tribes and a chief named Sombos, whose capital Sindimana has been identified with modern Sehwan.[35] Here Alexander is reported to have built a fort which is cited on a raised ground to the north of the town of Sehwan. While at Patala Alexander made an excursion to the Rann of Cutch, probably through the eastern branch of river Indus. It is also probable that the channel explored might have been Hakro or Wahinda which emptied itself in the Rann, along with a branch of the river Indus known as Lohāno Daryā now known as Dhoro Purān.

In the year 324 B.C. Alexander returned to Patālā and made preparations for returning home. The Greek army was divided into two parts: one division under Nearchus took the sea route through the coastal regions of Makrān and Persia, whereas the other division under his personal command proceeded by land, through the present Lasbelā and Makrān states. The conqueror after much difficulty and privations in his homeward march reached Babylon, where due to excessive drinking

and fatigue, he breathed his last in the year 323 B.C.[36] His death proved a signal to the Indian princes, who rose in revolt everywhere and drove the Greeks out of the country. Chandrā Guptā, a scion of royal house of Magadhā took the best of the opportunity and carved out a kingdom for himself in the Punjāb. He then defeated the imperial Nandās and extended his rule over a greater portion of the north west India. Alexander left no issue and therefore his empire was divided among his generals. Seleucus Nicator who succeeded Alexander as king of the eastern empire marched against India with a considerable force to recover the lost possessions. He was, however, defeated by Chandrā Guptā on the banks of Jhelum and forced to retire. He not only relinquished the Indian territories occupied by him but gave his daughter in marriage to the victor. The matrimonial alliance between the Greek war-lord and Chandrā Guptā, brought Megāsthenese to Patāliputra. While living at the Indian capital, the Greek envoy Megasthenese wrote a detailed account of India, which later served as one of the sources for the writers of posterity.[37] Chandrā Gupta was a powerful monarch and so long he lived, no foreign intruder ever attempted to invade India. His son and successor Bindūsārā and his grandson Asoka followed suit and defended the sub-continent from foreign intrusion with great wisdom. But when the Mauriyans grew weak and enfeebled, a series of invasions from without brought the whole of north west India under alien influences. The first to take part in the drama were the Bactrian Greeks, who under Euthedemus, a usurper occupied the regions of Hindu-Kush and then descending further east overran the Punjāb and parts of Sind.[38] His son and successor Demetrius made further invasions against the sub-continent and made himself master of the Indus Valley including Sind.[39] Menander, another member of this family, penetrated in the interior of India and conducted successful expeditions against Rājpūtānā, Kāthiāwād and Mālwā regions. His main objective was to occupy Patāliputra, the imperial capital of India. On his way to that city he stormed Mathura in the Ganges Valley and put its garrison to swords. His advance was, however, checked by prince Pushyamitrā Sangā with great success and he was forced to retire.[40] In

spite of these reverses, Menander held a greater portion of Indus Valley, with Rājpūtānā and Kāthiāwād as dependencies. The Greek kingdom of Bāctria was not destined to survive for long and brought to an end by the Parthians who occupied their capital towards the close of the first century B.C. They had therefore to remain content with their petty possessions in the Afghān hills and the valley of the Indus.

The Scythians

While these events were taking place in Bāctria, the danger of fresh intrusion appeared from the eastern quarters. Bands of savages known as Yueh-Chi, who inhabited the region of Sinkiang and of Takla-Makan, were driven out of the Chinese territories by emperor Chin-Shih-Huang-Ti (247-210 B.C.) who was then pacifying the Chinese empire. But the real cause of the movement of the Yueh-Chi appears to have been the economic pressure, which forced them to quit their ancestral home. Within a short space of time the Yueh-Chi organised a very fine army of archers 100,000 strong, which they sent as an advance guard wherever they went. They soon occupied the regions of central Asia and the Greek kingdom of Bāctria which had already suffered at the hands of the Pārthians, succumbed to the onsalughts of the Yueh-Chi. A branch of this race called Scythians, having penetrated the regions of the Afghān hills attacked India and overran a greater portion of the Punjāb. Sind and other regions of the Indus Valley were to be incorporated soon afterwards. The first sovereign of this race who exercised his authority over the Punjab, was Kadphises I, who is supposed to have reigned for 30 years (15 to 45 A.C.). He was followed by his son bearing the same name (Kadphises) who in turn was succeeded by the most capable and energetic ruler Kanishka. It was during his benevolent rule that the Kushān empire extended from Bāctria to Benāras and from Kashmir to Kāthiāwād in the south.[41] Military expeditions were also sent against the Chinese empire, which achieved little success in view of the long distance and lack of provisions. But the hold of this great ruler appears to have been intact on the regions of Bāctria, Sinkiang, Khotan and probably over western Tibet.

Kanishka was a great patron of the Buddhist faith, which due to his missionary efforts was fast spreading in Sinkiang, Mongolia and parts of China. Kanishka ruled for 28 years and was followed by his son Hosshika, who founded the city of Hosshikapura in Kashmir. He adorned that town with beautiful palaces, temples and monasteries in such a manner that it became a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists coming from outside India. The supremacy of Buddhism in the sub-continent was brought to an end by Vāsdeva, the son and successor of Hosshika, who reverted to Hinduism. The coins of this ruler show the engraving of Shiva with his bull and this reveals unbounded influence of Hindu religion on King Vāsdeva.[42] The horse sacrifice was revived by this ruler, which practice was continued unabated till the rise of the imperial Guptās. In spite of the complete eclipse of the Kushāns in the north, their petty chiefs continued to rule over Sind, till the rise of Chandrā Guptā II, who annexed some portions of the lower Indus Valley to the Guptā empire. It appears that the western portion of the Indus Valley from the regions of Derahjat to the Sea, formed part of the Persian empire which was then gaining prominence under the powerful Sassanids.

The White Huns

The White Huns came to the sub-continent as a result of upheavals in Central Asia and this invasion contributed greatly to the downfall of the imperial Guptās. The Huns were all powerful in the north west regions for thirty years during which they carried devastating raids in the interior of India. Two kings of this race Tourmana (500-510 A.C.) and Mihirakula (510-540 A.C.) were mighty monarchs of whom the latter was a ferocious tyrant. Mihirakula was defeated by a confederacy of the native kings and allowed to retire to Kashmir, where he is reported to have founded a new kingdom. He was, however, not allowed to enjoy the fruits of his hard won enterprise and died in the year 540 A.C.[44] The death of Mihirakula brought an end to the Hun menace in the sub-continent and an independent local dynasty came into being in the lower part of the Indus Valley. Rā'i Dewāji, a kinsman of the royal house of Chitor, who is reported to have been a Buddhist, took the

best of the opportunity and founded a dynasty in Sind which continued to subsist for a pretty long time. All the ruling chiefs from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea acknowledged his suzerainty and his sway likewise extended to the regions as far as Makrān in the west. This shows that Ra'i Dewāji and his successors might have added the regions of Balūchistān and Makrān to their kingdom after continued struggle with the Sassanids of Iran. The last representative of this family of kings, Rā'i Sehāsī II, died without an heir and was therefore succeeded by his minister Chach, who became the founder of the Brahman dynasty in Sind.[45] The Hindu dynasty of the Brahmans was brought to an end during the reign of Rā'i Dāhir, the third ruler, who defended Sind against the Arab invasion, from Irān. He was, however, defeated and slain in the battle of Rāwar (fought in 711/12 A.C.) and this brought an end to the local dynasty of Sindhi rulers. The country was first governed from Damascus and then from Baghdād, till the beginning of the eleventh century when the Ghaznavids overran the valley. Since then the Muslim invaders became the masters of Sind.

Notes and References

1. Ancient History of Near East, pp. 174, 594.
2. Ancient Times, p. 111; C.A.H., Vol. III, p. 227; Ancient History of Near East, pp. 174, 597.
3. History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 62.
4. Ancient Times, pp. 128, 129.
5. Gazetteer of Sind, (Aitken), p. 85.
6. The exact extent of 20th satrapy cannot be determined. It might have included greater portion of the Indus Valley from Salt Range in the Punjāb to the Arabian Sea. Early History of India, (V. Smith), p. 368.
7. Darius III had suggested partition of the empire of which all lands west of Euphrates would go to Alexander, together with money and the hand of Roxana the daughter of Darius III. See History of Syria, (Hitti), p. 233.
8. Oskānā has been identified with both Aror in Sukkur district and Mahorta in the Larkana district. Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, p. 283. Vincent Smith has identified it with Alor, situated at 27-39 North latitude and 68-59 East longitude. Vide p. 105.
9. Early History of India, p. 106.
10. Ibid, p. 118.
11. Early History of India, pp. 167, 199.
12. Greeks in Bactria and India, (W.W. Tarn), p. 142.
13. Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 155.
14. Early History of India, p. 238.
15. Early History of India, p. 245.
16. Early History of India, p. 277.
17. Chachnāmah, (Persian Edition), p. 15.
18. Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, p. 270.
19. Chachnāmah, p. 23.
20. Chachnāmah, pp. 40, 41.
21. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442.
22. Chachnāmah, pp. 57, 58.
23. Chachnāmah, p. 186.

24. Chachnāmah, p. 44.
25. Chachnāmah, p. 70.
26. Chachnāmah, pp. 182, 183.
27. Imperial Gazetteer of India (Bombay Presidency), Vol. I, p. 198.
28. Ancient History of the Near East, p. 176.
29. Ancient History of the Near East, p. 272.
30. Early History of India, pp. 228, 390, 391.
31. Cuneiform script of Darius I. Vide History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 156.
32. Early History of India, p. 37.
33. History of Syria, (Hitti), p. 233.
34. Early History of India, p. 71.
35. Gazetteer of Sind, (Aitken), p. 86.
36. History of Syria, p. 235.
37. Early History of India, p. 121.
38. Wonder that was India, p. 58.
39. Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 142.
40. Early History of India, p. 225.
41. A History of India, (Moorland and Chatterji), p. 76.
42. Early History of India, p. 272.
43. Early History of India, p. 273.
44. Early History of India, p. 319.
45. Chachnāmah, p. 25

CONDITION OF SIND ON THE EVE OF ARAB CONQUEST

Political Condition; Law and Justice; Social Condition; Customs and Manners; Food; Economic Condition; Language and Literature; Religious Condition.

Political Condition

Sind proper is a low and flat country, made up of southern portion of the valley of Indus, from Kashmor to the Arabian Sea. With the exception of the Indian Ocean on the south, there is no other natural barrier of defence, to withstand the foreign invasion. The hilly tract on the west cannot keep the enemy at bay due to its irregularity and low height. The boundaries of Sind had, therefore, been violated by nations and people of diverse origin, from the earliest known times. Due to the fertility of its soil and the peaceful nature of its inhabitants, the country of Sind had served as a hunting ground for every adventurer and warlord, who happened to enter the sub-continent, through its traditional routes, from the north west. Apart from the two historical gateways of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Khyber and Bolan, a third passage was also frequented by various people, which runs to the west along the sea coast of the Arabian Sea, in the very heart of the fertile crescent. It was this route through which Alexander the great, marched back to Babylon, on his homeward march from Sind and it was the same passage through which the Arab armies marched on al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind.

At the time of the advent of the Arabs, Sind was ruled by a Hindūrājā, named Dāhir, with whom al-Hajjāj the Arab viceroy of al-Iraq, entered into a controversial dispute.[1] Rājā Dāhir was the third ruler of the Brahman dynasty of which his father Chach was the founder. He was preceded on the throne by his uncle Chandur, who it seems ascended the throne according

to the will of the deceased rājā. Chach, a Brahman by caste, and a scribe by profession rose to the position of a minister by sheer dint of merit and ultimately he became the founder of the first Hindu dynasty, in the history of Sind. The only source on the history of both the Rā'i dynasty and the Brahman dynasty, "Chachnāmah", is in itself unreliable. The historical chronology offered by this work is not corroborated by any other source, and as such the authenticity of this work is doubtful. It is however, certain that due to the weakness of the Imperial Guptas, Sind may have become independent under its local chiefs, who were mainly Buddhists. The attempt of the Guptas to revive Hinduism in the sub-continent, does not seem to have achieved much success in the Indus Valley. The people on the whole remained steadfast in their adherence to Buddhism, which was the dominant reigning ideology not only in the western part of the sub-continent but also in Afghanistan and central Asia. There is no evidence to show how and when the Buddhist dynasty of Sind was founded, but it is certain that six rulers of this family reigned over Sind, for an aggregate of 184 years.[2] Rā'i Dewājī (or Dewā'ij) who is reported to have been the founder of the dynasty, is spoken of by Huen-Tsang, to be of Sudra origin. The Chinese pilgrim further reports that the country supported ten thousand monks, whom he describes "idle fellows, given over to self indulgence and debauchery". The Indus delta to which the pilgrim has given the name of O-tien-po-chi-lo was a province of the kingdom of Sind and Pi-to-chi-lo was the principal town at the head of the delta. Huen-Tsang had travelled from Pi-to-chi-lo (Pat-Sila) to O-fan-cha (Avanda) for a distance of 51 miles. He saw the remains of Rishī Tatha-gathā at O-fan-cha which emitted brilliant rays of light.[3] The existence of a great Buddhist temple and stupa at Avanda (O-fan-cha) which has been identified with the ancient city of Brahmanābād, is also recorded in the Chachnāmah, whose Shamani (priest) seems to have been so powerful that even Chach repaired to him for negotiating peace terms. At this period the fort of Brahmanābād was held by Jatts and the Lohanas who were subjected to great humiliation for their opposition to Chach.

The kingdom of Sind with parts of Baluchistān and the Punjab (southern portions) as its dependencies seems to have been rich and powerful and far more fertile and populous than it is now. It was separated from India proper by Hākrō or Wahinda, the lost river and the sandy stretch of Thar desert. Huen-Tsang calls this river Sin-tū, the course of which is still found at various places in Thar and the eastern borders of Sind.

Rā'i Dewāji was succeeded by his son Rā'i Seharās I, who in turn was followed by Ra'i Sehāsī I. It was during the reign of Rā'i Seharās II, the fourth ruler, that an attack was made on Sind from Persia, by the ruler of Nīmrūz.[4] It appears that the expedition may have been sent by Yezdegird, the last Sassānid ruler of Irān, who after being defeated by the Arabs, had fled to Kirmān. His efforts to foment trouble in Irān against the Arab rule, failed due to lack of enthusiasm among the people, who were tired of the oppressive rule of the Sassānids. It is also possible that the said expedition may have been conducted by the Arab army, who had by that time invaded Kirmān and the eastern provinces of the Iranian empire. Rā'i Sehāras met the invaders in open, but he was defeated and killed. The forces from Iran content with the spoils of war did not follow up their success and returned back. Rā'i Sehāsī II who followed his father soon after, recaptured the conquered territories and pacified the kingdom by the restoration of peace and order.

Rā'i Sehāsī died without an issue and was succeeded by his minister Chach, who rose to power due to palace intrigues and with the support of the queen of the deceased rājā.[5] This event greatly reflects on the morals of the minister who betrayed his master and the populace for his personal ends and this has become an established custom with the posterity. Chach who later wielded regal authority over Sind for forty years, was introduced to Rā'i Sehāsi II, by Rām, the chamberlain. He held the post of court scribe, till the death of Rām, when he was elevated to the position of a minister to the state. The duties of his new post, brought him in close contact with the inmates of the palace, specially with the queen Sūnha-

Devī, who is reported to have fallen in love with the young minister. Whether the rājā died a natural death or he was poisoned by the queen, no definite clue is available. Chach had rejected the advances of the queen, but the secret relationship between the two continued unabated. This naturally resulted in hastening the death of the old rājā, who mighthave been shocked at the undesirable attitude of his immoral wife. The author of Chachnāmah reports that the death of Rā'i Sehāsī II was caused by a prolonged illness, possibly by slow poison, and as soon as he died, Chach became the lord paramount of the land. The relations and the supporters of the deceased rājā were either imprisoned or placed under house arrest, before the news of the death of the rājā were made public. The people of Sind, who are accustomed to power worship, submitted to the rule of the new rājā, who became the founder of the Brahman dynasty in Sind. The Chachnāmah also affirms that even the rulers of of the Rā'i dynasty were outsiders, being a branch of Rajpūts from Chitor. It is related that hearing the death of Rā'i Sehasī II, Rā'i Mahurat the ruler of Chitor who is reported to have been a brother of the deceased rājā, made an invasion of Sind.[6] He was, however, overpowered and killed by Chach, the minister, who now became the undisputed king of the land. These events suggest that either the rulers of the Rā'i dynasty were foreigners belonging to Rajputānā or that a portion of Rajasthān with the town of Chitor was held by the kings of Sind.

Rājā Chach reigned for forty years and recovered all the provinces of the kingdom of Sind. This is evident from the punitive expeditions which he conducted against the refractory chiefs of the various tribes, who do not seem to have approved his accession to the throne of Sind. He extended the boundaries of his authority up to the borders of Kashmir (i.e. northern Punjāb) in the north; and to Kizkānān (or Qaiqānān), Makrān and Koh-e-Pāyah in the west. The cities of Iskalandah, Multān, Sīwistān, Brahmanābād, Arma-bel, Qandābīl were reduced one after the other and the whole region was pacified with great acumen and skill. It was only at Brahmanābād that Chach received opposition from the Jatts and the Lohānās, who were

later put under great humiliation under the orders of the new rājā. Chach seems to have been the first ruler of Sind who established boundary between the kingdom of Sind and Kashmir.

Rājā Chach had nominated his brother Chandur, to succeed him after his death and he reigned for eight years. Chandur was a priest by profession and is said to have patronised the priestly class, who were mainly interested in religious and philosophical discourses. He is also reported to have appointed priests and learned men to the responsible posts within the kingdom, as a result of which the administration of the country went on smoothly. Chandur on his death was followed by his nephew Rājā Dāhir, the son of Chach, who continued to rule Sind up to the invasion of the Arabs under Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī.

Rājā Dāhir seems to have been an able and wise ruler, but the masses he was destined to rule were kept under constant duress. It is evident that the major portion of the Sindhian population was of Buddhist faith and the new rulers professed Hinduism of pure Brahmanical thought. Hence the conflict between the rulers and the ruled was inevitable. The Hindu rulers imposed humiliating regulations and restrictions on the low caste tribes of Sind and the Buddhists, which resulted in general discontentment. The Channā, Samā, Sahitā and the Lohānās, who formed the bulk of the population of Sind, groaned under the yoke of the Hindu tyranny. The throne of Sind, on the other hand did not pass systematically to the Hindu rājā, but was usurped through deceitful means. The people of Sind, therefore, did not recognize the Brahmans as their legitimate rulers and conspired against them even before the invasion of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. It is related that the Buddhist governors of al-Nīrūn and Sīwistān had entered into correspondence with al-Hajjāj against their sovereign, the king of Sind. Consequently as it would appear from the testimony of the Chachnāmah, they opened the gates of their forts with great enthusiasm to receive the Arab conquerors.

The story of Chachnāmah, that Rājā Dāhir in order to secure the throne of Sind for himself had married his sister

seems to be a fabrication and has not been supported by any other source. It appears that the author of Chachnāmah, in an attempt to justify the invasion of Arabs, had depicted the character of the Sindhian ruler to the lowest degree of demoralization. The historical evidence clearly suggests that Rājā Dāhir was a chivalrous prince, brave, sagacious, with a sense of honour and hospitality. Such was the sense of duty engraved in him that he refused to surrender the Arab refugees who had taken shelter in his kingdom, to al-Hajjāj, the viceroy of al-'Irāq. He was not unmindful of the consequences for his magnanimity in playing host to the Arab deserters of al-'Ilāfī family, which finally cost him his life and the kingdom. Muḥammad ibn Mu'āwiyah al-'Ilāfī had fled from Makrān due to the despotic regulations of al-Hajjāj and he had also murdered the governor of Makrān, who was a favourite of the viceroy of al-'Irāq. The Arab viceroy wrote to Rājā Dāhir either to extradite the deserters or expel them from his dominions, which the latter refused to comply with, on moral grounds. This resulted in punitive expeditions of the Arab against Sind, which was finally conquered under the leadership of Muḥammad ib al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī.

Sind was a vast country before the invasion of the Arabs and its political boundaries extended from lower Punjāb to the Arabian Sea and from Thar desert to Makrān and Qalāt (Qayqanān) regions. The author of Chachnāmah reports that the kingdom of Sind was divided into four regions. The first one which was situated to the east of river Indus had Brahmanābād, Nīrūn and Daybul as its chief towns. The second one comprised of western Sind, with Sīwistān, Budhia, Jankān, Koh-Pāyah and Rōjhān and other regions, up to the borders of Makrān. The third sector was spread over Iskalandah, Bhātiya, Katalwarah and Chachpur; whilst the fourth one comprised of Multān, al-Sakka, Brahampur, Karōr, Ashhar, Kambha, up to the frontiers of Kashmir.[7] Over each of these provinces was appointed a governor, who acting as viceroy exercised unlimited powers over the subject people. It also seems that the important cities of the Hindu kingdom had separate governors, who with nominal allegiance to the king, were totally independent of the centre. The failure of the centre to exercise authority over the governors

sometimes instigated them to rise in rebellion against their sovereign. Akham or Aghim Lōhānā, the governor of Brahmanābād, had revolted against Chach after the death of Rā'i Sehāsī II and it was with great difficulty that the rebellious chief was defeated and killed.[8] The appointment of separate governors for various towns is also attested to from the accounts of Chachnāmah and other sources. It is observed that the governors of the towns were Buddhist Shamanis who were men of high learning and piety.

Administration

The king occupied supreme position in the political set up of the country and his word was law and binding on the masses. He was assisted by a minister, a chamberlain and a secretariat of clerks and writers, in the administration of the state. The selection of the minister was made from the intelligentsia and generally a man of versatile genius was appointed to the post. Sharp intellect, erudite scholarship, political acumen and wide experience were the qualifications needed for the post of a minister. The chamberlain, who was also a man of high academic qualifications and experience acted as an intermediary between the people and the king. He was the head of the secretariat, and this post was much or less equivalent to that of a chief secretary of modern governments. He was responsible to keep the state files in custody and present them before the king in day to day correspondence with the governors and vice versa.

The king acted according to the advice of his minister and nothing was done without his counsel. It was with the advice of Budhimān the minister, that Rājā Dāhir succeeded in overpowering his brother Dahar-Sīn, who led siege to al-Ror, the capital of Sind.[9] Sometimes the king over-ruled the advice tendered by the minister and acted in his own way, according to his own judgement. The suggestion of Budhimān to Rājā Dāhir, to enter into negotiations with al-Hajjāj and come to terms with him, was rejected by the self-respected king, who preferred death to dishonour. Apart from being the head of the administration, the king also acted as commander-in-chief

of his armies. He conducted expeditions in person and led the armies against the foreign intruders. There is sufficient evidence to show that the king fought in person against the external enemies, when the boundaries of the kingdom were threatened.[10] Rā'i Seharās II was killed in one of these encounters against a large army from Nimrūz, which had invaded Sind. Chach, who had never been a man of war, too, had conducted expeditions in person against the refractory chiefs. In the dual which he had with Raja Mahūrat, Chach had recourse to deceit, by which he overpowered his enemy and killed him. His son Rājā Dāhir, likewise faced the Arab invasion in person, but he was defeated and killed in the action.[11] It is also stated in the accounts that the rulers of Sind maintained a well-disciplined and amply paid army in the capital to meet the emergency. Garrisons were maintained at the important frontier posts and also in the important and strategic towns. The port of al-Daybul which was exposed to constant attack from the Arab pirate ships, had a strong army to deal with the situation. Al-Daybul was also exposed to land attack from Makrān and as such it was strongly fortified and proper arrangements were made for its defence. The strongness of the garrison could be well discerned from the defeat of 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sullamī's army which had been successful all the way in their march against the sea port of al-Daybul. The second expedition which was headed by Budayl ibn Tahafatah also suffered the same fate near al-Daybul and its leader was killed.

The fighting class, which comprised of mainly Hindus, was in minority in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. The people being Buddhists, were either averse to bloodshed or they refused to fight under the Hindus on religious grounds. Rājā Dāhir according to them was the son of a usurper who had deprived the legitimate rulers of their sovereignty through deceitful means. The king of Sind was therefore unable to muster appropriate number of the forces to deal with the Arab invaders.

The forts of the pre-Arab period of Sind, seem to have been well built and strong. The Arabs brought superior

war-engines to destroy the Sindhian forts. But for the Manjanīq and Dabābah, the siege machines, the fort of Daybul would never have been captured. Even the use of these machines proved abortive and it was the superstition which worked heavily on the minds of the illiterate masses. They were greatly alarmed at the destruction of the standard of the Buddhist stupa of al-Daybul, which according to them was defended by a host of gods. The accounts further reveal that the siege of al-Ror and Multān continued for a pretty long time and that of Brahmanābād dragged on for more than six months.[12] This attests to the solidity of the forts of Sind, which proved impregnable to the heavy attacks of the Arab army, yet they fell prey and were easily reduced through treachery in the Sindhian camp.

Abū al-Faḍl, the court historian of Akbar, the great Mughal, has given a descriptive account of the fort of Brahmanābād, the summer capital of Sind. According to him the fort of Brahmanābād had 1400 turrets,[13] each situated at some distance from the other. This shows that the fort occupied a large area and was built according to well devised plan and insight. Some of these turrets although in ruins were found forty feet above the plinth, as late as the Kalhōrā period of Sind. In one of these towers, staircase was used as a watch tower by the thieves of the adjoining area and consequently demolished under the orders of Ghulām Shāh, the Kalhōrā ruler of Sind.[14]

The army according to the usage of the time comprised of both horse and foot soldiers. The archers were generally placed in the vanguard of the army; sometimes elephants were used to repel the sudden attack of the enemy. In the battle of Rāwar, Rā'i Dāhir started the attack by using elephants and he himself commanded the vanguard of the army.[15] The elephants are a great source of power, yet they have also proved to be the cause of crushing defeats. In the battle of Qādisiyyah, the Iranians employed a large number of elephants to overawe the enemy, but the Arabs are said to have counteracted tactical devices to frighten the giants. Apart from these tacts, the

suicide squad of the Arab army made a daring dash to cut the trunks of the elephants, which resulted in the retreat of the animals and the defeat of the opposing army. Since the elephants were placed in the forefront, they trampled their own army in the retreat resulting in the crushing defeat. The Arab writers report that the Arabs used cats and other tiny animals to frighten the elephants during the war. Their accounts about various incidents are curious and interesting. The famous Arab geographer al-Mas'ūdī relates that the emperors of Persia used to defend themselves against the attack of the elephants by releasing a large number of cats in the field. He asserts that this practice was common with the rulers of al-Hind and al-Sind. It has been stated in the accounts that one Hārūn ibn Mūsā, who held one of the forts in Sind, was attacked by a Hindū Rājā, whose army had a large number of elephants. When both the armies came closer to each other in battle array, Hārūn who had a cat concealed within his clothes, threw it in front of the elephants. The elephants seeing the cat ran back pell-mell crushing the army of the Hindū Rājā, who was defeated and slain by the forces of Hārūn. Al-Mas'ūdī also asserts that the elephants were terrified by the use of pigs,[16] but the Muslims refrained from rearing the hated animal.

Law and Justice

The administration of justice was on the same pattern as was in use in other parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It was based on sound and efficient legal institutions in which king acted as the supreme judge of the country. The king whose court was known as Sabhā, Dharamasthana and Dharmadhikaranā, was required to dispense justice with the advice of the Brahmans, elders and ministers well versed in the statecraft. He was also required to decide the litigations in the association of judges, ministers, Brahmans, Prohitas and the assessors.[17] Brihaspatī has given a detailed account of the complete apparatus of Sabhā, which according to him consisted of ten limbs; including the king, the chief judge, the assessors, the accountant, the scribe and the bailiff. The chief judge of the kingdom acted as the prosecutor, declared the law

and the king awarded the punishment. The duty of the assessors was to examine the dispute, the scribe wrote down the pleadings and judgement; the accountant estimated the wealth or the subject matter of the dispute and the bailiff summoned the defendant, witnesses and the assessors. The later Smiritis, imposed on the king and his court spiritual, moral and legal sanctions for the unbiased and pure administration of justice. Apart from the king's court three other categories of the courts are also mentioned in the accounts. These were Kulas, Srenis and the Ganas, which were all practically arbitration courts.[18]

The legal procedure adopted in pre-Islamic times in the Indian courts seems to have been highly developed and marks the apogee of Hindu jurisprudence. The transaction of the legal business according to Narada, had four stages. These were: receiving information from a person, finding out under what title of law the information falls; the consideration of the pleadings of the parties and evidence; and lastly the decision or judgement. According to Brihaspatī, these four stages are the plaint, the reply, adducing of evidence and the decision. Vyāsā mentions successive stages of the judicial trial and states that it consists of the plaint, the answer, the arrest before judgement, the evidence and finally the verdict of the court. It would be observed that Vyāsā has given five stages in deciding a matter in issue, in a litigation or trial.[19] Various rules of procedure were fixed for the business of the court. Naranda prescribes four stages for the transaction of the business. These were receiving information, the title of law in which it falls, the consideration of the pleadings of the parties and the decision. Brihaspatī on the other hand classifies these four stages into the plaint, the reply, the evidence and lastly the decision. Vyāsā too agrees with Brihaspatī, but he adds one stage more i.e. arrest before judgement as the third stage in the transaction of the legal business.

The rules of procedure were clearly defined. The burden of proof lay on the plaintiff in a reply of denial and on the defendant in the reply of special plea or of former judgement. The proof was of two kinds: human and divine. The former com-

prised of witnesses, documents and possession and the latter consisted of ordeals. The ordeals were resorted to only when human methods of proof were not available. The dictum of Katyāyana, that if the litigant fails by relying on weak grounds, he cannot raise the question again, comes closer to the modern rules of evidence.

The famous Arab traveller Sulaymān, who flourished in the third century A.H. reports curious methods of ordeals practised by the non-Muslims in the sub-continent. In case of capital offences the accused was required to hold a very hot piece of iron in his hand. The hand was then put in a leather bag and sealed with the king's seal. After three days, he was required to pick out the corn from a grain head of rice. If he succeeded in doing so he was regarded innocent and the complainant was fined to the tune of one maund of gold. Sometimes the accused was required to take out an iron ring from boiling water. The offences of theft and fornication were punished with death.[20] The punishments varied according to the nature and gravity of the offence and also according to the social status of the culprit. Highway robbery, sodomy and child lifting too were capital offences and punished with death. Death penalty was also imposed on persons guilty of cow slaughter.[21] The offences committed by a Brahman were dealt with leniently in comparison to a Sudrā, who received severe punishment even for minor offences. In case of a murder, if the accused was a Brahman and the victim a member of another caste, he was only bound to expiation consisting of fasting, prayer and almsgiving. Sometimes the capital offences such as murder, killing of a cow, drinking of wine were punished by confiscation of the property and the banishment of the culprit.[22] The offence of theft was punished according to the value of the stolen goods. Sometimes even Brahmans and the Kshatriyas were punished with blinding or mutilation, while the commoner thief was killed without any concession.

Social Condition

The non-Muslim society in Sind and elsewhere in the sub-continent, was made up of the four principal varnas; Brahmans,

Kshatriyas, Vaisyās and the Sudrās, who are said to have been created respectively from the head, breast (or arms), the thigh and the feet of the Creator.[23] According to the Arab writers the population of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was divided into seven castes of Chatriyās, Brahmans, Khatrīs, Shūdrās, Vaishyās, Chandāls and Dūms.[24] The Chatriyās did not bow before any one but required prostration to be made to them by the people. They were the most respected among the masses and it was from among them that the selection of the king was made. Next to Chatriyās stood the caste of the Brahmans, who did not touch wine, nor did they intermarry with the other castes except the Khatris; but to them too they refused to give their daughters. The Khatrīs drank up to three cups and considered it a great honour by giving over their daughters in marriage to Brahmans. The Shūdrās referred to the cultivators and Baysh or Vaishyās formed the artistic and business community of the sub-continent. The Chandāls and the Dūms were regarded to be of extreme low origin and they were engaged in dancing, singing and amusing the higher classes.

Family Life

The Indo-Pakistan society was based on patriarchal family system in which the absolute control was exercised by the parents over their children. This holds great resemblance to the Greek and Roman family life where the paterfamilias too exercised unbounded influence on the members of his family. The father could sell his children and even kill them without being questioned by the state. The example of the family discipline is illustrated in the case of Rājrasvā, who was deprived of his sight, as a punishment by his father.[25] Joint family life was universal among the non-Muslims and this has survived to the present day. As in other patriarchal systems, the oldest son took over the charge of the family after the death of his father. There is nothing to show that the woman occupied a position inferior to man in the social set-up of the pre-Islamic Indo-Pakistan people. A wedding hymn in Rig-Veda indicates that a newly wedded wife rules over her brothers in law and even over her husband's parents.[26] The

marriage was commonly settled by the parents and solemnised both before and after puberty. Although marriages within the same caste were preferred yet it was prohibited within certain degrees of relationship. Courtship and wooing were also not uncommon and both the parties were given a chance to select a partner of their choice. Polygamy was practised by the rulers and the commoners, specially those who were rich and could afford to maintain the plurality of the wives. Rājā Dāhir the ruler of Sind is reported to have had more than one wife including concubines, whom he kept by his side even in the battle - field. One of these concubines according to the version of Chachnāmah, was captured by the forces of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī.[27]

A woman suffered the misfortune of getting a co-wife if she was stupid or incontinent or barren or she repeatedly bore daughters or if the husband was a man of fickle temperament. The widows were required by the Smirti law to live a life of strict celibacy and self restraint; an alternative, however, has been suggested by Brihāspatī that she should burn herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. The widow is urged to sacrifice her life for her dead husband by Sankhā and Augīrās as well as by Harita. Brahman-widow was, however, an exception to the general rule (fixed by Paithināsi, Augirās, Vyaghrāpad and Usunās), but Veda-Vyāsā has recommended it as an alternative course to save herself from humiliation. Punarbhū or a widow, smitten with love and unable to control her passion, can unite herself with the man (of her choice) seeking pleasure and having excellent qualities. The public opinion permitted a widow to live with a man of her choice, but she never enjoyed the status of the married life.[28]

Ganika was an intermediary between the married woman and the widow. Resembling a purchased slave, she enjoyed a high social esteem due to her grace of form, manners and accomplishments. An institution allied to Ganika, known as Dev-Dāsi was existent in temples, of which Muhakālā temple of Ujjayn and the temples of the Sun-god in the Indus Valley were the most prominent. Huen-Tsang the famous Chinese pilgrim

who visited the sub-continent in the fourth century A.C. reports that girls were kept in Sun temples in Sind and Rajpūtānā. The Vihārās or the Buddhist temples of Sind also housed a number of Ganikas before the Arab conquest of Sind. Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim had captured seven hundred Ganikas alone from the Buddhist temple of al-Daybul,[29] the famous seaport of Sind.

Adultery ranked as a lesser sin during the period and it could be expiated by performance of appropriate penances. A number of occasions are mentioned in Kamasūtrā and Brihat-Samhitā, as offering opportunities for meeting between unchaste wives and their paramours. Only in serious cases, such as committing adultery with a Shūdrā or other low caste man, or having borne a child or attempting to kill the husband, a wife was abandoned altogether. This shows that woman occupied a higher social status in pre-Islamic India than any other country of the contemporary world.

The caste system which prevailed in Sind had its evil influences on the people. It appears that only two castes, that of Brāhmans and the Khatriyās were regarded as superior and the Vaishyās and the Shudrās were classified and included among the inferior and mean people. Chachnāmah speaks of many tribes in Sind, which were regarded by its rulers as Shūdrās and brought under the category of the low-caste people. These were Samās, Sahitās, Lohānās, Lākhās, Jats and Channās and a number of restrictions were imposed on them by their local rājās. They were not allowed to wear soft clothes or cover their heads with velvet, but they were permitted to wear a black blanket beneath and a sheet of coarse cloth on their shoulders. The chiefs of these tribes were not allowed to ride on horses except with the permission of the king and in that case they were not allowed to use saddle or the bridle, but to keep a piece of coarse cloth on the back of the animal.[30] It was further enjoined that whenever they desired to meet the king they were to take with them a dog, which was considered to be a sign of humiliation. The chiefs of the tribes were made answerable to the king for any mishap within their jurisdiction.

Customs and Manners

The Arab geographers have praised the people of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent for their cleanliness and good habits. Al-Jāhiz, the author of "Risalat Fakhr al-Sūdān 'ala Baydān" describes various qualities of the people of Sind and reports that they excel the Chinese in neatness and clean habits. They clean their mouths and wash their body every day and are well mannered in their behaviour. They comb and colour their hair and are famous for the use of perfumes. They are well built and endowed with beautiful face and limbs. Their women are too beautiful and charming and being intelligent they excel in the preparation of various types of food. The men are intelligent and honest and many of them have been appointed to look after money matters by the Arab traders. The Sindhīs according to the same version excelled in accountancy and book-keeping and as such they were appointed as treasurers by the Arab sarāfs and professionalists.[31]

The Sindhīs did not circumcise, but they wore long beards which according to one tradition grew to the length of three yards.[32] An instance of the long beard also appears in Chachnāmah at the time of the attack of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, on the regions of middle Sind. A man having tied the two extremities of his long beard with the two thumbs of his feet, made such a show of his art by dancing, that the Arab Commander was obliged to grant him amnesty even against his own will. The author of Silsilat al-Tārīkh reports that the Indians (including Sindhīs) shave their heads and their beards on the death of their relations. They refuse to give food for seven days continuously to a person who is either fined or is committed to prison. They would not touch the food unless they have thoroughly cleansed their mouth and they usually take bath before breakfast. Similarly they would not touch the women during the menstruation period and in some cases even expel them out of their houses.[33]

The people believed in the reincarnation (of soul) and suicide by fire was universally encouraged. When a member

of the family grew weak and enfeebled, his relations would demand of him either to drown or burn himself alive.[34] Curious and horrible modes of suicide were practised by the people of this sub-continent and these were not restricted to people of old age only. Some would throw themselves into the trenches of self kindled fire; others would tear open their bellies and cut their organs and limbs with their own hands; yet others would climb a high mountain and jump to the ground upside down. Still there were some who would kill themselves by sustaining continuous hunger and thirst. On the days of festivals the people would assemble on the banks of Ganges and voluntarily surrender their lives to the priests who would cut them into two and throw their bodies into the river.[35]

The famous traveller Abū Zayd of Sīrāf who flourished in the third century A.H. reports that the practice of committing suicide after the death of the king was rampant in many parts of the sub-continent. It is related that at the time of the accession of a king, a number of persons estimated to three or four hundred would assemble in the court and take a little from the ramnant of the food (rice) eaten by the Rājā. This ritual obliged them to commit suicide at the time of the death of the king.[36] Al-Bīrūnī relates that suicides were committed only by Vaisyas and the Sudrās, for, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyās were forbidden to burn themselves alive by a special law. These two groups of the Hindu caste regarded suicide as a measure of freedom of their soul to abandon the low status of their body and to acquire a better status (i.e. of Brahman or Kshatriyās) in the future life.[37]

The Hindus of Sind as elsewhere burnt their dead with fire and it is their belief that fire raises the soul of the man and unites it with God. This view is similar to that held by the Greeks and contained in the commentaries of Galenus, as reported by al-Bīrūnī. He further adds that the Shamanis or the followers of Buddha threw their dead into the rivers because the people relate that Lord Buddha had ordered them to do so.[38]

Food

From the accounts of the Arab writers it appears that the people of Sind used to take rice instead of wheat as their daily food. The Chinese took both wheat and rice but the people of this sub-continent preferred rice only. This shows that the Arab geographers were conversant with the coastal regions of the sub-continent, where rice is still used as daily food. The practice of taking rice as daily food both at lunch and dinner is universal in lower Sind up to the present day. In Lār region of Sind, the bread of rice is given preference to that of wheat as it tastes well with fish which abounds greatly on the sea coast and the deltaic regions of river Indus. The privileged class, however, prefers wheat to rice as a bread, but rice still occupies a prominent place as the most tasty dish on the table.

Economic Condition

It appears that Sind of the medieval age, as per given accounts, was far more fertile and prosperous than it is now. It was watered by the two great rivers Sindhū and Hākrō or Wahinda which flowed in its eastern part, now known as Thar and Pārkar. The absence of artificial means to control the waterways resulted in the overflow of these rivers, which inundated a large area on both sides of the banks. Consequently a large area came under plough and the land became green with cultivation. Huen-Tsang who visited the Indus Valley during the rule of the Rā'i dynasty relates that Sind was such a fertile and prosperous region that the whole country was covered with green fields and gardens. Nevertheless he dubs the people of Sind accustomed to robbery and theft and for their high-handedness to the travellers on highways. Robbery or theft is still a favourite pastime in Sind and a habitual thief commands enormous respect among the village folks. The women too adore these criminals in their heart and this if taken seriously may form the theme for some of the best romantic tales ever heard of in the literature of any other language of the world. A thief still dominates Sind, it matters little whether he is a commodious dacoit or a thief of literary belongings.

The abundance of the water supply to the fields could be well discerned from the enormous cultivation of sugar-cane and cereals all over Sind, as reported by the Arab historians and the geographers. The earliest Arab sources on Sind report that the fields of Sind yielded the best variety of sugar-cane and the gardens produced fruits in abundance. Mango and orange of Sind had acquired a great name in the Arab world and were exported to the west by the Arab traders. The Hindu rājās do not seem to have encouraged external trade, but in spite of that commercial activities flourished exceedingly. Al-Daybul, the seaport of Sind, served as an intermediary anchorage for the ships of the east and the west. Almost every commodity produced or manufactured in lands as far as China could be had in abundance at al-Daybul on cheap rates. The country of Sind was famous for the export of Costus, which was conveyed to it from Kashmir by means of the river Indus. Al-Daybul was also a great market for the perfumes, the chinaware, aromatics and the spices.[39] These articles were brought by ships from China and the Indies and were transmitted to Yaman. In Islamic times, however, the commercial centre shifted to southern al-Iraq and Ublah occupied a position of international importance. The voil cloth manufactured in Sind, because of its quality of thinness was in great demand in the Arab world. Pages of Torah are full in praise of the fine cloth of the Indus Valley which was exported in large quantities to Syria and Egypt.

Due to extensive cultivation and proportionately less export the country of Sind became land of abundance; it was rich and prosperous and the people on the whole were happy and content. The prosperity of Sind before the conquest of the Arabs is testified from the Iranian accounts of Darius I's time, a period of one thousand years hence. The country from Kalabagh to the sea on the right bank of the Indus, the twentieth satrapy, is recorded to have been the richest and the most populous province of the Achaemenian empire. This shows that only western portion of the Indus Valley up to the sea formed part of the Persian empire and the other half remained independent under the local chiefs. This satrapy yielded an enormous tribute of 360 Euboic talents of gold dust, equivalent to one million

sterling to the central treasury.[40] The tribute so paid constituted one - third of the whole revenue derived from all the Asian provinces of the Persian empire.

The intercourse of Sind with the Indian and the Arab ports is attested to by the ships and the sea pirates of Sind mentioned in the Chachnāmah, who are said to have looted the Muslim vessels off the sea coast of al-Daybul. The Arabic term Nākhuzā for a guide of boat or vessel is itself a derivation of Nākhudâ in Persian. Khuda or guide is a Persian suffix to 'Na', Hindi word for the boat. This greatly suggests the influence of Indo-Pakistan on the sea faring of the Persians and the Arabs in pre-Islamic times.

Language and Literature

Very little is known of the language which was spoken in Sind in the pre-conquest period. Yet from the accounts of the Arab geographers it appears that a language which was also known as Sindhi was spoken in the valley up to the regions of Multan. The modern researches reveal that the language was Apbharamsa and it was a corrupted form of Prakrit having the following characteristics:-

1. Retention of r.
2. Retention of r as second member of conjunct.
3. Retention of the intervocalic consonants in their original or softened form.
4. Nominative singular termination U and possessive Ssa.
5. Use of rhythmic metre.[41]

This language it is reported was introduced by Abhiras and has also been called Sandhya-Basha or the twilight language. Its correct name according to F. Edgerton is Sandhabhasha, which means symbolical or intentional speech. The Apbha, ramsa literally means corrupt, but the poets have never considered it such and they called it Desi i.e. belonging to the land.

Religious Condition

The people of Sind were divided into various religious groups and sects. Ibn Nadīm relates that Hindus, Buddhists,

animists, star worshippers all lived in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The first among these he adds were the Buddhists who adored the idol of Buddha. They were also divided into various groups of which some held Buddha as the incarnation of the deity and the others considered him as an apostle. The idol of Buddha was of human shape seated on a chair with a smiling face as if counting thirty two. The second group was that of Maha-Kaliya Hindus, who paid obeisance to a devil like idol of Maha-Kal. This idol was of blue colour with four hands, long teeth and nude stomach. It was covered on the back by the elephant skin from which drops of fresh blood continued dropping. Of its four hands one held a big snake, the other a staff, the third one a head of a man and the fourth raised above. A crown of skulls was placed on its head and a rosary of skulls adored its neck. Its followers believed that the idol possessed extraordinary strength and was of great help to them in times of adversity.[42]

The third religious group was that of Danakitiya (or Aditkiya) the sun worshippers. TheDanakitiya sat on a cart with four horses on its four corners and held an illuminating atom in his hand. The sun worshippers believed that the sun is the lord of ether and all the angels are subordinate to him. They worshipped the idol by circumambulating and beating drums and musical instruments. Chandra-Bhaktiya the fourth group worshipped the moon in the same manner and observed fasting which continued from full moon to the new moon. Anshina, Bikrantiya, Ganggayatra and Ahmariya were the other religious groups found in the sub-continent. Anshina refrained from eating and drinking, whilst a Bikrantiya used to tie himself with heavy chains. They did not wear any thing except a small underwear to cover their genitals and roamed about in lonely places. They refused to talk with the people, excepting those who belonged to their sect, and subsisted on alms. Gangayatra on the other hand believed that the sins could be expiated by pilgrimage to the river Ganges and a bath in it would wash off all the sins. The last sect that is Ahmariya, were king-worshippers and they considered it a great achievement to die for the king. They refused to enjoy the worldly pleasures and kept away from women.[43]

The famous Persian geographer Ibn Khurdāzbeh who flourished in the third century A.H., and made extensive tours of the Indo-Pakistan coastline reports that "the people of the sub-continent are divided into forty-two sects". Some of these believe in the unity of God and His prophets, whilst there are others who adore God, but reject the prophets. Yet there are some who do not have faith either in the existence of God or His prophets, but they believe in Mantras only. Manters (or the Mantras) are a kind of reading formula through which they believe that they will gain prosperity and avoid diseases and incidents of evil nature.[44]

The accounts of Ibn Khardāzbeh are corroborated by Mutahar ibn Tāhir al-Maqdisī, who flourished in the fourth century after Hijrah. The people of Indo-Pakistan according to him were divided into 900 sects of which he had the knowledge of only ninety-nine. These sects were formed out of 42 religions prevalent in the sub-continent as mentioned before, out of which the sects of the Brahmans and the Shamanis, seem to have been dominant. The Brahman sect was made up of Hindu priests and the Shamanis, refer to Buddhist priests who were inclined to totemism.[45] The Hindu Brahmans were sub-divided into three distinct groups of which some believed in the Unity of God, and His apostles; the others believed in the incarnation of the deity; and the third group did not recognise the apostles but believed in the theory of reward and punishment. Transmigration of soul was universally recognised both by the Hindus and the Buddhists. The Buddhist Shamanis too believed in the incarnation of soul, but they did not have faith in the apostles. Even the conception of God-head was confused among them, for they believed in the inner light which could be attained through expiation and penance. The Buddhists were sub-divided into two sects, one of which believed Buddha as the incarnation of God, while the others hold him to be a prophet.[46]

Various other sects and religious orders existed in the sub-continent along with the Brahmans and Shamanis known as Nashitiyas, Bhabhuziyas, Damaniyas, Mufsidahs, Jalhakiya and others. The Nashitiyas worshipped fire and refrained from wine and homicide. They also worshipped the cow

and did not cross the Ganges. Bhabhuziyas on the other hand were idol-worshippers and engaged in all sorts of worldly pleasures. A branch of this sect known as Kabalia adored Shiva in the form of idols fashioned in the shape of human sexual organs.[47] The only sect which believed in the unity of God and His apostles was Damaniya. The Rishiqiyas on the other hand spent much of their time in meditation and refrained from taking meat and things roasted in fire. Their main diet consisted of fruits and vegetables. The Mufsidahs used to tie up their bodies with iron chains in an attempt to prevent their bodies from being burst out, due to excessiveness of knowledge. An offshoot of this sect called Mahakaliya believed in Maha-Kali a curious deity which had the skin of an elephant on her back and a crown of human skulls on her head. Sacrifice of every kind including human sacrifice was common among them. The Jalhakiyas worshipped water which they considered to be the real source of all life. Aknahutariyas worshipped fire but they did not burn their dead.[48]

Self-annihilation by way of suicide was universally accepted as a medium of deliverance. The best method was to burn oneself by fire, for it was believed that by doing so the man would attain eternal life in the paradise. Suicide had different modes. Some would dig trenches and fill it with colour, oil and perfumes and when it became red with fire, they jumped into it. Some would collect the dung of the cow and having placed themselves in the middle, set it to fire. They used to stand un-moved till they were burnt and reduced to ashes. A number of people would place a big quantity of amber and gum on their heads and then set fire to it This resulted in the melting out of their brains and eyes which ultimately caused their death. Some people would place hot stones of heavy size on their stomachs in such a manner that the intestines oozed out from the mouth and the anus. "Yet there are others who would kindle fire on the bank of the river, they jumped sometimes in the fire and sometimes in the river, till they were wholly consumed. It was believed that if the man died in between the river and the fire, he could not reach the paradise".[49]

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44. Al-Fihrist, p. 490.
45. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, pp. 71, 72.
46. Kitāb al-Budd, Vol. IV, p. 10.
47. Kitāb al-Budd, Vol. IV, p. 19.
48. Kitāb al-Budd, Vol. IV, p. 14.
49. Kitab al-Budd, Vol. IV, p. 16.

THE PRE-ISLAMIC ARABS

(A Brief Note)

Arab al-Bā'idah; Arab al-'Āribah; Arab al-Must'aribah; The Tribe of Quraysh; Foreign influences on Arabia.

The Pre-Islamic Arabs

The term Pre-Islamic Arabs means and includes a conglomeration of tribes and clans who led settled existence in the Arabian peninsula and the lands of fertile crescent, from the earliest known times. Literally the term "Arab" means versatile and this title was adopted by these people as against the whole world, which they termed "Ajam" i.e. dumb.[1] The Arabs are Semites, that is to say, they belong to that group of humanity which spoke and now speak one of the Semitic languages. The Semitic tongue engulfs in itself a group of languages which were spoken in a large area from Zagros mountains to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. The ethnologists have included Akkādian, Assyrio-Babylonian, Chāldean, Aramaic, Hebrew, Can'ānite, Arabic and even Etheopaic to form one group, (i.e. the Semitic group) and its people as the Semites.[2] In fact the term Arab and Semite, are both synonymous and apply to all people who lived and now live in al-'Irāq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, North Africa and Arabia. The most indigenous theory based on the narratives of Old Testament suggests that the Semites or the Arabs are the descendants of Sam or Shem, the son of Noah who according to the same source is regarded to be the ancestor of all the nations of West Asia. The Jews and the Arabs claim their ancestry from Arphaxad, the youngest son of Sam[3] and they at present are the only two representatives of the great Semitic race, which once dominated the entire civilized world, in the first, second and third millenium before Christ.

The Semitic nations of the pre-Islamic period may be divided into two big groups of the "Eastern Semites" and the "Western Semites". The eastern group included Akkādians, Assyrians, Babylonians and the Chāldeans; whilst the western group comprised of the Can'ānites, Arāmaeans, Hyksos, Hebrews and the Arabs.[4] The eastern Semites flourished in the valley of Shinar and the plains of Euphrates and the western people inhabited the regions of Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The Arabs on the other hand, in spite of their continuous migrations led an unsettled existence in their sterile peninsula since times immemorial and are well known by the title of "the denizens of the desert".

Divisions of Arabs

The Arabs of the pre-Islamic times may be divided into three distinct groups of 'Arab al-Bā'idah, 'Arab al-'Āribah and 'Arab al-Must'aribah.[5] Of these three divisions, 'Arab al-Bā'idah are considered to be the oldest living people of the Arabian peninsula, but they had become completely extinct at the time of the advent of Prophet Muhammad. Very little is known about the history of these people who are reported to have held powerful kingdoms in Arabia and elsewhere. The Archaeological sites found at various places all over Arabia and the historical evidence available to us from the earliest sources, have little scope to throw much light on the fate of these people, who according to the Qurān, were a majestic race with enormous building activities at their credit. The Archaeological finds amalgamate or rather mix up the ancient Arabs with the Arabs of the historical times and as such no purposeful clue can be had about these people. The accounts of the Arab historians in this connection are a mere repetition of the accounts and the narratives of Torah and Qurān, both of which are valuable sources of our knowledge on the Arab antiquities.

Arab al-Ba'idah

Among the tribes of Bā'idah, 'Ād seems to have been the first known, who according to the version of Qurān was given the kingdom of the whole world, after the deluge.[6] The centre of their activities was, however, in Yaman, from where

they extended their political influence over East Africa, Egypt and the fertile crescent. · The evidence of Qurān and other sources indicates that the Adites were great builders,[7] but none of their structures has survived to manifest the archaeological designs introduced by these people. They are reported to have been destroyed on account of the divine wrath due to their disobedience[8] to a prophet named Hūd. The modern researches have proved that the ʿĀd referred to in the Arabic sources were originally the Mināeans of Yaman, Akkādians of Iraq and the Hyksos of Egypt, as they were too famous for their building activities.

Minaean

The Mināeans or the Maean, held Yaman between 1850 B.C. to 650 B.C. with their capital at Qarnaw and were then superseded by the Sabāeans who rose to power in Yaman, by the year 950 B.C. The term Mināean or Maean is derived from the Arabic ʿAyn, which means spring water[9] and as the name indicates the Mināean kindgom must have originally comprised of few oases in northern Yaman, where water could have been found in abundance. The existence of Maʿān near Petra and the appearance of similar names along the lower Euphrates valley in the seventh century B.C., testifies to the influence of the Mināeans in al-ʿIrāq and Syria. The inscriptions in the Mināean dialect found at Hadramaut and other regions of southern Arabia have unfolded a long list of the rulers of this period, of which twenty-six names[10] have been identified by Muller. The nameMaean has still survived by Maʿīn in southern al-Jawf to the north east of Sanʿā, the modern capital of Yaman.

Hyksos

During the very same period when Mināeans ruled Yaman, Hyksos, a people of Semitic origin invaded Egypt and laid the foundation of the first Semitic kingdom in the valley of the Nile. According to Manetho, the Egyptian priest and annalist, the rulers of the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasty were of Semitic origin and bore pure Arab names.[11] The names of Yaqub-El and Assis who ruled over Egypt bear close resemblance to Jecob and Aziz of the Jewish literature. It was in the reign of ʿAzīz, that Joseph was sold as a slave in Egypt and then rose to position in due course of time. Manetho is also of the opinion

that there was no resistance from the Egyptians to the onslaught of the Hyksos, who due to the superiority of their weapons and skill overran the valley with great swiftness. The Hyksos intrusion into the valley of the Nile was due to the displacement of the human element in Syria caused by the influx of the Aryans, who with their fresh hordes from Irān overran the lands of the fertile crescent and pushed the Semitic population of Syria due south to the confines of the Sināi desert. The only outlet for the displaced Semitic population was towards the west, to Egypt, through the barriers of Sināi. The intrusion of the Hyksos into Egypt was of great cultural importance to the Egyptians, for, they introduced into Egypt for the first time the horse and the chariot and also the weapons made of iron and steel.[12] The Hyksos were finally expelled from Egypt by a long war of liberation, which started with Sekenras and ended in the reign of Aahmes. The latter took Averis and Sherohan in lower Egypt and established the Theban rule firmly on the Egyptian soil. The Hyksos were either exterminated or deported from Egypt, but their zulums continued to haunt the memory of Egyptians for many generations. The name Hyk-sos in itself is a derivation of hate and scorn in which the Copts held these foreigners to be of low and mean origin.[13]

Akkadians

Akkādiāns on the other hand were an earlier people who were responsible for the foundation of the first Semitic kingdom in al-ʿIrāq. They were the result of the first known migration from the Arabian desert which took place round about 3000 B.C. Before their arrival in the valley of the Euphrates, al-ʿIrāq was dominated and ruled by a strange race, who were neither Aryans nor Semites. In the Babylonian inscriptions they are referred to as Oannes,[14] (half fish half man), a monstrous nation which issued out of the Persian gulf, and taught the use of writing and other arts to the savages of southern al-ʿIrāq. Modern researches reveal that they were a branch of a highly civilized race, the cultural influence of which may be traced into the Indus Valley, Deccan, Makrān, Khūzistān and the regions of the Caspian Sea. Their first settlement appears to have been in Elām (modern Khūzistān) bordering the Persian gulf, from

where they gradually shifted to southern Babylonia, which they named "Sumer". It is from their first home (i.e. Sumer) that they are known as Sumerians by the modern scholars. The Sumerians were the first people on earth, who founded city states and well organised governments. They were also responsible for the introduction of the plough and wheel[15] in the valley of the Euphrates, and also the arts of sowing and agriculture. This shows that the Semitic population which inhabited the valley of the two rivers before this immigration of Sumerians lived probably on hunting and raw fruits. The cuneiform script which the Sumerians introduced into al-'Irāq became the chief medium of expression for a period of two thousand years, till the alphabetical system of writing was invented by the Phoenicians. The seals found at Mu'an-jo-Daro in Sind and various sites in southern al-'Irāq bear close resemblance to each other.[16] It can be fairly concluded that the Sumerians must have held a vast empire, from Indus to the Euphrates, in the fourth and fifth millenium before Christ.

The Sumerian rule in al-'Irāq was brought to an end by the desert people who later became known as Akkādians in history. The Semitic revolt was headed by Sargon I, the (adopted) son of Akki, the water carrier, who defeated Lugal Zaggīzī, the last Sumerian emperor and became the founder of the first Semitic dynasty in Babylonia. Sargon built the city of Akkād after Akki, his patron who is reported to have picked him out of river, brought him up and made him known to the Semitic population of Babylonia as their Saviour. Sargon I was the hero of the heroes in the Semitic history, their deliverer, a masihah, who relieved them from the clutches of the foreign tyranny and led them to victory and honour. His sayings and doings were taken as an example of life by the future generations of West Asia and almost all the Semitic kings and emperors of the fertile crescent. If the omen was such and such when Sargon went forth to battle, under similar omens the kings of Babylonia and those of Assyria also marched to victory and greatness.[17]

The omen tablets of Sargon and the stele of Naram-Sin are the only finds of the Akkādian period, which show great

advancement in the art of engraving pictures on stone and other harder material. The Akkādian seals are similar to their counterparts found at Mu'an-jo-Daro and other sites in West Pakistan and this confirms to the regular intercourse between the two valleys in pre-historic times. The religion of Akkād, like all other ancient people, was based on nature-cum-ancestor worship in which Enlil occupied the foremost position as god of all lands. This shows that the Akkādians were an agricultural people and their prosperity depended mainly on the harvests. Offerings were, therefore, made to the god of earth in the shape of a jar of water and green leaves, which denotes that god in his mercy would send abundant of water to make the whole land green. The priests occupied the highest position in the social set up and it was the king who often exercised both regal and ecclesiastical functions. Since he was regarded as god's representative on earth, the subjects were obliged to pay their respects to him along with presents, which were offered in shape of money, grain, honey, fruits and fish. Trade and industry flourished on a very low scale and did not receive official encouragement. The greatest achievement of the Akkādian period was the dominance of their language over all other languages of west Asia. It became the lingua franca of the civilized world and this achievement was principally due to the cuneiform script through which it spread to the entire region now known as "Middle East". The cuneiform script was developed from picturegraph and it had 560 signs,[18] each of which represented a syllable or a word. These signs were written on clay tablets with the help of reed, which resulted in many cones and due to this reason it has been named "cuneiform script" by the modern scholars.

The Arab historians have included the Babylonians, Assyrians, Chāldeans, Can'ānites, the Hyksos and even Arāmaeans in the great race of 'Ād and have mixed up the historical with the pre-historic people of Arabia. Nevertheless, all these nations were the outcome of various migrations from the desert peninsula of Arabia, which emitted considerable volume of human element to the regions of fertile crescent after fixed intervals. These migrations were actuated by economic reasons, for the

peninsula of Arabia could support only a limited number of population within its boundaries and whenever the cup of Arabia became full, its people began to seek elbow room in the adjoining lands of the river valleys. The Babylonians were too the outcome of migration from the Arabian desert which took place by 2500 B.C., and they were the first people among the Semites to found a far-flung empire. Although Sargon of Akkād claimed that he had conquered all lands from the "rising of the sun unto its setting" and boastfully styles himself as the "king of the four zones of earth",[19] the Akkādian rule did not extend beyond the regions of Sumer and Akkād. So far as our information goes, there were in all six rulers of the Akkādian dynasty of which only two, Sargon and Naram-Sin were the most distinguished. The name of the fifth ruler of Akkād, Dūdū, bears close resemblance to Dodo a Sumerah ruler of Sind, who usurped the throne of his elder brother Chanesar and died as a hero fighting against the forces of Delhi Sultāns.

Babylonians

The Babylonians who followed Akkādians in the hegemony of Babylonia, were too, a desert people whose migration to the regions of the fertile crescent was slow and gradual. The Ammūrū, as they were originally known, were split up into two factions at the time of their migration from the Syrian desert round about 2500 B.C. One of these branches occupied Syria and founded the dynasty of Māri (modern Mar'at un-Na'mān) and the other invaded lower al-'Irāq and founded the Semitic dynasty of Babylonia. Samū-Abū, the first ruler of this house, built the city of Babel, and made it the administrative centre of the new kingdom. During the rule of the first five kings of Babylonia, the Semitic rule extended only to Sumer and Akkād. It was in the reign of Sin-Muballit that success was achieved in Assūr and Elām, but it was not until the reign of his son and successor Hammūrabī, that these regions were permanently incorporated in the Babylonian empire. Hammūrabī, after having conquered Mesopotamia, made successful incursions into Armenia, Anatolia and Syria. In Syria he destroyed Māri, and took its ruler Zimirī-Līm as captive to Babylonia. The

destruction of this renowned city was so horrible and complete that it remained in oblivion for a period of over four thousand years, till very recently when the site of Tell-ul-Hariri, was excavated by a French team headed by Andre-Parrot.[20] The site turned out to be the ancient Māri, which emitted abundant material, comprising of twenty thousand tablets, written in Akkādian language, the lingua franca of the age. These tablets represent the archives of Māri and comprise of the letters by the kings and the officials, business, administrative and economic documents and other valuable reports. Some of these letters reveal the use of horsedrawn chariots and the fire signals used for national defence or flashing news. The successes of Hammūrabī in Elām (south west Iran) however, appear to be doubtful in view of the superiority of the Elāmites under a very powerful ruler Chedrola 'Omar (or Kudur - Lagamar).

Code of Hammurabi

The fame of Hammūrabī rests mainly on his laws, which he gave to the Babylonian empire known as Code of Hammūrabī, the first written law of the world. The whole code is inscribed on a shaft of stone 8 ft. high, which has been unearthed at Susa in 1902 and is now preserved at Louvre, Paris.[21] Like the legislation of Moses, it was too a gift from heaven, the influence of which can be traced in the Mosaic laws and also the laws of the succeeding Semitic nations of west Asia. Above the writing there is a relief showing Hammūrabī in an attitude of prayer, receiving the code from Shamash the sun-god. The code contains in all 2300 lines with 283 provisions of law based on age-long traditions and customs of both the Sumerians and the Semites. Since these laws have come out from the pen of the aristocrat class, they are very much defective. The punishment varied according to the class of persons involved and not according to the seriousness of the offence. Some of the provisions appear to be very harsh and inhuman, but it seems that these edicts were suited to the people of those times. If a house for instance fell down and killed the son of the owner the guilty builder was obliged to forfeit the life of his son who was innocent. Similarly if a person died during the continuance of an opera-

tion, the fingers of the offending surgeon were to be cut off. A person committing the offence of sorcery was to be thrown in the river and if he came out of it alive, the property of the accusor was to be forfeited and half of it was given to the accused.[22]

Hammūrabī was a great builder too. He built temples and forts and a gigantic sanctuary for Marduk and his wife Ishtar with a massive granary to store wheat for gods and the priests. During his reign Babylon rose to the status of the world metropolis and the emporium of trade and commerce in west Asia. Its fame, however, increased considerably when Chāldeans took over al-Irāq and extended their rule over the entire fertile crescent. Hammūrabī was followed by five rulers in direct line but none of them possessed the qualities of their predecessor. The last ruler of this dynasty Shamsū-Ditānā was killed in an encounter with the Aryan hordes from Irān under Gāndish, which brought the end of the Semitic rule in Babylon in 1925 B.C. The new rulers who called themselves as Kushite Aryans, established their rule in the whole valley soon afterwards and continued to hold sway over the region for a period of three centuries. The Mitani (or the Mitaneans) who supplanted the Kushites were too Aryans from Irān and they invaded al-Irāq from the north after occupying Armenia, and parts of Anatolia in the seventeenth century before Christ. The names of the Mitani rulers were of Aryan origin and so were the names of their gods. Varuna, Indra and the Natsiya twins haunted the minds of Mitani who seem to have held blood kinship with the Aryans of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The Mitani used Sanskrit numerals and their institutions were almost similar to those of their kinsmen, the Aryans of India. One of the rulers of Mitani, Dushratta had a counterpart in India known as Dasrathi,[23] the father of Ramchandra, the hero of Ramayana. It appears that Mitani and the Kushite states co-existed side by side with the small Semitic kingdom of the Assyrians, which was finally destined to consume both.

Assyrians

Assyria like Rome sprang up from a very humble begin-

ning at the outset of its history. It consisted of a narrow strip of land on both sides of river Tigris (D'jlah) with the town of Assūr which became the chief centre of their activities. The town of Assūr from which the Assyrians derive their name, was founded by a small Sumerian community as early as 3000 B.C.[24] The Sumerian domination of the land ended by about 2500 B.C. when a new horde, which spoke a Semitic tongue invaded Assūr and laid the foundation of the Semitic dynasty in the region. It appears the Semitic invasion of Assyria was contemporary to the Amorite incursion of lower al-'Irāq and the foundation of the city of Babel (or Babylon). As the Semitic people later adopted Sumerian institutions, customs, manners and culture including religion, Assūr became the chief deity of the land and the whole region from the highlands of Armenia up to the confluence of the two rivers became known as Assyria, and its people, the Assyrians. The Assyrian kingdom with abruptive voids continued to hold sway over a greater portion of northern al-'Irāq, up to the reign of Assūr-Dān, which closes the first chapter of the Assyrian history. As early as 1355 B.C. the king of Assyria, Assūr Uballit, acted as king-maker of Babylonia, his contemporary on the Babylonian throne. Kuri-Galzu is reported to have been his grand-son. This shows that matrimonial alliance existed between the Semitic Assyrians and the Kushites who reigned over southern al-'Irāq. The attempt of the Assyrians to establish Semitic rule over the whole Euphrates valley failed thrice, when the iron hand of Shālmanessar I, Tiglath Pilesar I and Assūr-Nasīr-pāl was removed from the scene, by the beneficent angel of death. It was a custom with the Assyrians that after the capture of every town and fort it was burnt and sacked. Those who escaped the general massacre were mutilated and their bodies heaped together in such a manner as to receive torture from the heat of the sun, flies and suffocation.[25] After some days the whole heap was burnt to ashes, as a reprimand to those who dared to oppose the Assyrian might.

The revival of Assyria as world-power took place with the rise of Pūlū, who ascended the Assyrian throne with the title Tiglath Pilesar III (725-727 B.C.). The new ruler proved to

be worthy of the name he had assumed and made significant additions to the Assyrian kingdom in the west. In a series of swift campaigns, he reduced Damascus, Gilead, Galilee and the plains of Sharon. The kingdom of Babylonia was suffered to feel the might of Assyrian greatness and was reduced to the position of vassalage. Tiglath Pilesar is reported to have over-ran the whole of Syria up to the borders of Egypt, subdued Urartu and the regions of Armenia and conducted triumphant expeditions against the land of Aribi. His successor Shalmanessar V reigned only for five years and was followed by Sargon II who may be regarded as the real founder of the Assyrian empire. Sargon II continued the siege of Samaria, laid by his father and stormed it in 721 B.C.[26] Thus the kingdom of Israēl founded by a branch of Jews in upper regions of Palestine after the death of Soloman, was finally brought to an end. Sargon took away the cream of Israēl in captivity to Assyria, from where they were deported to Media and other eastern regions. Benjamin of Tudela seems to have shown better historical judgement by identifying the mountainous tribes of Nishāpūr, in eastern Irān, to be the descendants of the exiled Jews. Sargon II founded the new town of Dur-Sharugin in Assyria, which he embellished with palaces, temples and other buildings and made it the permanent headquarters of his army. His son and successor Sinnachrib (705-681) was the first to reduce the Phoenician cities on the sea coast of Syria to submission. The towns of Sidon, Acre, Jaffa, Lachish and Asqalān were captured one after the other. Only two cities held out against the Assyrian might, possibly on the promise of the Egyptian help. The kingdom of Judah also offered nominal submission. But the greatest desire of Sinnachrib was to conquer Egypt, the only land of the then civilized world, which was out of Assyrian influence. Although he made initial successes in lower Egypt, but a great portion of his army was destroyed by a pestilence in the deltaic region, which the Jews considered the revenge of god Jehovah,[27] who sent angels to exterminate the Assyrians. After his return to Assūr, Sinnachrib attacked Babylon to punish its ruler for sedition. The city of Babel was razed to the ground and the water of a canal

was allowed to run over it, to complete the work of destruction. In spite of continuous warfare, Sinnachrib found time to turn to the arts of peace. He enlarged and beautified the towns of Assūr and Dur-Sharugin and founded a new town which he named Nineveh, after goddess Ninā, the wife of god Assūr. Sinnachrib is also credited with having built an aqueduct, oldest in history for the water supply to the town of Niṇeveh, and connected it with streams by means of a canal. He also built the lofty fort eight miles in circumference surrounding the inner walls of the capital city on both the banks of Tigris, for which he employed forced labour.

Essarhaddon (Assūr-Akh-Idīna) who followed Sinnachrib in 681 B.C. reigned for twelve years and is regarded as the greatest of all the Assyrian rulers. He was a statesman rather than a war-monger. He started his reign with a policy of reconciliation and peace at home and determined to rebuild the city of Babel which was destroyed by his father. The Chāldean tribes of the desert who had invaded lower al-'Irāq were chastised and the kingdoms of Anatolia and Syria were obliged to enter into new peace treaties with the Assyrian emperor. All this was done with the sole purpose of teaching the Egyptians a lesson who according to him were "cowardly intriguers and the worshippers of cats and dogs". In the invasion of Egypt, Memphis was stormed and its people were given to swords. King Tirhakah fled to Thebes, but his queen and prince Utanjor were made prisoners. After receiving the submission of Egypt, Essarhaddon returned to Syria. No sooner had the Assyrian emperor left Egypt, Tirhakah returned from the south, massacred the Assyrian garrison and retook Memphis. In order to meet with the new situation, Essarhaddon marched on Egypt, but on the way, he was taken ill and died of fever in 669 B. C.[28]

The long desired project of the Assyrians to capture both lower and upper Egypt was accomplished during the reign of Assūrbaṇipāl, the last emperor of Nineveh, who ruled for 43 years (669-626 B. C.). Tirhakah fled to the land of blacks in the extreme south and as such a puppet king Psamātik was installed at Thebes, as the Assyrian viceroy. The reign of

Assūrbanipāl was, however, disturbed by family strife in which the brother of the emperor Shamash-shumukin rose in open rebellion. The Elāmites revolt on the other hand encouraged uprisings in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Chāldeans a new people from the Arabian desert seized power in southern Babylonia and continued to foment trouble. A confederacy of the Chāldeans, the Medians and the Scyths was formed (under their leaders Nabopolassar, Madyas and Kayaxeres) to attack Nineveh, which was destroyed after a bloody siege in 612 B.C.[29] The land was then partitioned and the lower valley fell to the lot of the Chāldeans who occupied Babylonia and laid the foundation of a short-lived dynasty, which was brought to an end by the Persians in 587 B.C.

Chaldeans

Although Nabopolassar was the founder of the Chāldean dynasty, yet it was his son Nabūchadrezzar who made it an imperial power in west Asia. In his bid to conquer Syria, which was an Assyrian province, he came in conflict with the Egyptians, who had overrun the country, during the period of lull which followed the death of Assūrbanipāl. The encounter which followed brought about a crushing defeat for the Egyptians and they were chastised to the very borders of Egypt. Nabūchadrezzar the crown prince who was conducting these operations could have overrun Egypt, had it not been for the death of his father, which obliged him to return to Babylon to ensure his succession to the throne. The greatest achievement of Nabūchadrezzar's reign was the conquest of Syria and the destruction of the kingdom of Jūdah, with its capital Jerūsalem which was completely razed to the ground. The echo of the atrocious crimes committed by the Chāldeans against the Jews is resounded in the Qurān[39] and in the Hebrew literature. When the ruler of Jūdah was produced before him in chains, emperor Nabūchadrezzar ordered him to be blinded, after witnessing the execution of his two sons, the last sight witnessed by his eyes. The people who survived the general holocaust were taken into captivity to Babylonia, to work as forced labour in the construction of temples

and palaces of Babylon. The reign of Nabūchadrezzar is also famous for the "hanging gardens of Babylon" which became one of the wonders of the ancient world. These gardens were specifically laid on the roof of the king's palace to please his young wife, a princess of Media, who was accustomed to the greenery and verdure of her native land.[31]

The Chāldean dynasty did not survive for long. The successors of Nabūchadrezzar were weak and enfeebled and could not control the situation which was caused by foreign incursions from the east. During this period the savage hordes of the Meds and the Persians were pushing on their march for the conquest of the Euphrates valley. Nabū Naidū the last ruler of Chāldea was a man of religious disposition and also a scholar of high calibre and as such he was least interested in the warfare. He busied himself in the collection of idols, inscriptions and other archaeological finds, and this too at a time when the enemy was knocking at the doors of his kingdom. Cyrus, the king of Anshān, after having brought about unity among the Persians and the Meds attacked Babylon in 587 B.C. The new invasion was resisted by Bel-Shezzār, the son of Nabū Naidū but he was defeated and killed. Emperor Nabū Naidū was taken captive from a temple in the state of prayer and finally done to death. The whole valley lay open to the conqueror, who overran it, to the very confines of the Anatolian highlands. The Semitic rule was brought to an end and replaced by Aryan hegemony which continued for a period of over a millenium, till the rise of Arabs under Caliph 'Umar in the seventh century A.C. when al-'Irāq was reconquered by the Semites.

Cyrus, the new king of Babylon was a man of tolerant views and as such he started his reign with a policy of reconciliation to the people of subject races. He liberated the Jews and their descendants rotting in the Babylonian dungeons and allowed them to return to Palestine. To the Jews he became known as the "Mas$\underline{s}$iḥah," the liberator, Qarnayn,[32] (the two horned) and also a just ruler, whose name has been preserved in the Hebrew and Arab records with a degree of sanctity and respect.

Can'anites

The Can'ānites known as Phoenicians and the Arāmaeans who settled in Syria after them, were contemporary to the Semitic nations of al-'Irāq. Due to their antiquity and remoteness these tribes have also been included in Arab Bā'idah and connected with the great race of 'Ād by the Arab historians. The Can'ānites were the result of the second great migration from the Arabian desert and their settlement on the sea coast of Syria may have taken place between 2500 B.C. to 1800 B.C. From Casius to Gaza on the coast line, they founded a chain of powerful city states, but they were never able to found a unified state in the region. The term Can'ān seems to have been derived from the Semitic root Kena or the Hebrew Can'ān which means purple land. To the Greeks they became known as Phoenicians from Phoenix[33] (i.e. purple red) an industry for which the sea coast of Syria was famous in ancient times. The archaeological excavations reveal that the Can'ānite cities of Jericho, Beth Shean and Meggido were founded even prior to 3000 B.C. This would make the Can'ānite migration contemporary to that of Akkādians in al-'Irāq. Akkā, Sidon, Gublā, Arkā and Symrā made their appearance by about 1500 B.C. and these were followed by Botyrūs, Babylus, Gāzā, Aradus, Ascalon, Gezer, Lachīsh, Hezer, Shechem and Jerūsalem. The situation of Can'ān made it a buffer state between Egypt and Babylon and also between Egypt and Anatolia. The Can'ānites were, therefore, compelled to involve themselves into international double dealing so as to ensure their existence on the sea coast of Syria. Throughout their long history, the Can'ānites proved to be a peace-loving people little interested in warfare or military exploitations. They busied themselves in trade and commerce, arts and industry literature and religion. The main occupation of the people in the interior towns seems to have been agriculture, traces of which have been found from the excavation of various sites in Syria. The isolation of the Phoenician city states made them an easy prey to the onslaught of the imperial powers which rose in the fertile crescent, and also those who invaded Syria from without. Common interests sometimes compelled voluntary union or

cooperation with the neighbouring states. One of the glaring examples of this attitude may be had from the battle of Qarqar,[34] which was fought against the Assyrians by a confederacy of the Syrian kings.

The Can'ānites were the first sea-faring nation of the world and are regarded to be the founders of the industry of ship building. They maintained efficient sea fleets with which they traded with almost every country of the globe. They were the first to discover Atlantic Ocean and they were also the first people to circum-navigate the African continent. In order to make the approach of their ships easier to the coast of Syria, they connected Red Sea with the Nile by means of a canal, an idea which came to fruition in the 19th century A.C. by De-Lessipis, the French Engineer in the form of Süez Canal. The Phoenicians traded in almost every commodity which included metallurgy, ivory goods, glassware and silken clothes of the finest quality. Lance heads, knives, battle axes, awls and tweezers have been found in great quantity from the ruins of Jericho. Bronze, gold-cum-silver bracelets, anklets, ear-rings, and brooches have also been recovered from the excavations of various Phoenician sites. Tel Abu-Hawran near Haifa has emitted small brass cambals of the fourteenth century B.C. Similarly bone and ivory articles and articles of limestone, quartzite and cornelian have also been unearthed, which show great advancement in industrial arts.

The sea trade brought the Can'ānites in contact with almost every land in and around the Mediterranean Sea. Wherever they went they built and founded colonies for the safe anchorage of the ships and the protection of their merchandise. Some of these colonies rose to be prosperous kindgdoms with large territories and like Cārthage they developed into big empires. The earliest settlements of the Can'ānites took place in Cyprus, Greece and the islands of the Aegean Sea. The islands of Crete, Samos and Malta[36] bear pure Semitic names of the Can'ānite origin. Crete which became the nucleus of the earliest European civilization was chiefly influenced by the culture of the Syrian mainland. The famous legend of Zeus and Europa,

attests to the importation into Greece, the ingredients of the superior culture of Phoenicia. Miṇos, the first legislator of Europe, was born in Crete, as a result of the incest committed on Europa, by god Zeus. It is from Europa who was the daughter of Agenor, the Phoenician king of Tyre, that the continent itself derived its name.[37] The Phoenicians built Athens, and the famous acropolis "Qadmia". The city also bore the name Attica, which in Semitic tongue means old or ancient city. Similarly Qadmia is derived from the Semitic name Qadmūs (i. e. the new comer) the brother of Europa, whom his father had sent in search for his sister. These new comers from Syria are also reported to have worked in the mines of Thrace, a region in northern Greece, which was famous for its gold mines. The name Illirius, Qadmūs's son is still borne by the region now known as Albania. The Phoenician colonies were not restricted to the European shores of the Mediterranean but extended over a large area of the Berbery coast in North Africa. The most important and powerful of these colonies was Cārthage (i.e.Qart Hadasht) which was founded by the Can'ānites after the decay of Utiqa, the old city. During the reign of two great rulers Hamilcār Barqa and his son Hennibal the power of Cārthage rose to the greatest degree of heights and splendour. Hennibal who had sworn eternal enmity with Rome invaded it through Spain and the Alps. He was however, recalled to Africa and defeated by the Romans in the battle of Zama fought in 202 B.C. He fled to Tyre and joined Antiṇchus the king of Syria, but he was defeated again in 183 B.C.[38] and this obliged him to commit suicide.

The advent of the Can'ānites or the Phoenicians in Syria was of prime importance to the world civilization. They are the first people to use iron and steel and the first to use the horse drawn chariots. The discovery of Atlantic Ocean and circum-navigation of Africa are also due to these people; but the most important and far-reaching influence of the Phoenicians on the world civilization was in the field of literature. The invention and dissemination of the alphabetic system is the greatest gift of these people to the human race, who are also responsible for inculcating the idea of Monṇotheism in the Middle

East. The alphabet of the Phoenicians was developed from the hieroglyphic sources of the Sināi and was based on the original signs of writing in Egypt. There were in all 22 signs in the original alphabet each of which bore one or the other Semitic name. Aleph was used for ox-head and Beth was the name given to the sign for house. In the same manner Mem was used for water, Resh for head, Yadh for hand and so on and so forth. This system, which superseded the cuneiform and pictograph scripts was adopted by almost all the nations and consequently used in all the languages of the world. It was transmitted to Europe through Greek and Latin sources and to the eastern languages through the medium of Arāmaic, the lingua franca of the later Phoenician age. The Phoenicians worshipped only one god Ba'al which may be an imitation of Bel (Marduk) of the Akkādian origin. Often termed as El, this god became the chief deity of the Hebrew and the Can'ānite world. El had a consort in the person of Ashtart (goddess Ishtar of Babylonia), who was finally transmitted to Greece, under the name Aphrodite and to Rome with a new name Venus, the goddess of fertility.[39] It was from Can'ān that the Jews conceived the idea of the unity of god-head and brought it into practice under a new name Jehovah.

Aramaeans

While the Can'ānites occupied the sea coast of Syria, its interior was dominated by the Amorites and after them by a new people who are known as Arāmāeans in Syrian history. The Arāmāean migration into Syria was contemporary to the influx of the Jews in the regions of river Jordan. The Arāmāean incursion into Syria (which took place by 1500 B.C.) is regarded by scholars as the third great migration from the Arabian desert.[40] The new people founded a centralized state with its headquarter first at Zobah and then at Damascus. With the exception of the battle of Qarqar, there is no other major incident of warfare in their history and hence it can be fairly concluded that the Arāmāeans were a peaceful people. In this battle Ben-Hadad, the king of Damascus had joined the confederacy of the Syrian rulers to thwart the attempt of the Assyrians under Shāl-

manessar, to conquer Syria. The contest was, however, undecisive as both the parties claimed victory on their side. Another political figure in the Arāmāean history was that of Hazāel, who due to the lull in the military operation of the Assyrians, gained considerable strength and extended his territories in all directions. But the Arāmāean hold over Syria continued to remain precarious throughout the centuries which involved them in continuous struggle against the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians and the Jews. The Arāmāean state was brought to an end by the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pillessar III in 732 B.C. when Damascus was stormed after a long siege. The ruler of Damascus was killed and its population deported.

More than political or military enterprirses, the Arāmāeans took interest in commerce and cultural developments. They controlled the internal trade of Syria and monopolised the external commerce of all the lands of the Middle East. The maritime trade however remained in the hands of the Phoenicians. The Arāmāeans traded in purple from Can'ān, embroideries, linen, jasper, copper, ebony and ivory from Africa and pearls from the Persian gulf. The Arāmāean merchants were responsible for spreading their language and script not only in Arab lands, but also in the East as far as Irān and Indus Valley. Such was the dominant influence of Arāmaic, that Darius I made it the official language of the Achaemenian empire and this stauts it held till the invasion of Alexander the great. Such a triumph on the part of a language not supported by political power, has no parallel in history. The universal triumph of Arāmaic tongue is manifest in all the languages of the world and this was effected through the alphabet which it gave to the lands of the east and the west. The Hebrew got its alphabet from the Arāmaic and same is the case with north Arabic in which Qurān is written, the revealed word of God. The characters of both Pahlavi and Sanskrit are of Arāmaic origin. The Sanskrit alphabet was transmitted to the lands of Far East by the Buddhist priests of India. Of the Arāmāean inscriptions, the most important is the newly discovered votive stele set for Milk-Qart by Ben-Haddad the ruler of Damascus. Next to it comes the inscription of Zakir the

king of Hāmah, to commemorate his victory against a terrible attack of seventeen kings of Syria.[41]

The Tribes of Thamud, Tasm, Jadis and Amaliqa

The tribes of Thamūd inhabited the regions of Hijāz Wādī al-Qurā, the lower reaches of Jordan and the desert peninsula of Sināi. According to the Qurān, Thamūd were the second people on earth, on whom was bestowed the kingdom of the world, after the great tribe of 'Ād.[42] To the Arabs they are still known as "Ashāb al-Hajar" after the name of Hajar, their capital which lay on the trade route connecting Egypt with Syria and Syria with Yaman. They are reported to have been destroyed on account of defective weights and measures, with which they cheated the people. A prophet named Sāleh made his appearance among them with clear signs from God, in the shape of a she camel. No counsel, however, prevailed on these wretched people who were consequently wiped out of existence for their unpardonable crime. The historical evidence, however indicates, that Thamūd is a reference to Nabātaean tribes of Petra and Palmyra, who held powerful kingdoms in Syria and the regions of North Arabia. Petra in Latin is synonymous with Arabic Hajar which means stone and this is evident from the town of Petra, which was carved out of solid rock, in the hills of the north Arabian desert. Bounded on all sides by steep and inaccessible hills, Petra had only one entrance and this situation protected it from the onslaught of the enemy for a considerable period of its history. After the fall of Petra its place was taken by Palmyra or Tadmur, the ruins of which are among the most magnificent and least studied remains of the Arabian antiquity. In its heyday Palmyra served as a buffer state between Pārthia and Rome and it was finally extinguished by the Romans in 272 B.C.[43]

The civilization of Petra and Palmyra attained a considerable stage of development, specially in stone carving and sculpture. The images of men, animals, birds, which are found in these ruins in abundance, have worked on the superstitious mind of the Arabs, a belief, that the whole habitation was turned into stone, by the wrath of God. Thamūd tribes are referred

to in the inscriptions of Sargon II the Assyrian emperor, who is said to have conducted punitive expeditions against them in the year 722 B.C. The classical writers gave the name Thamūdāi to these people who are also reported to have been recruited in the Roman army against their kinsmen, the Nabātaeans of southern Syria.

The two tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs are said to have occupied the regions of Yamāmah, Bahrein and Oman in the eastern parts of the Arab peninsula. The political leadership was however, exercised by Ṭasm, who committed acts of violence on the rival tribe of Jadīs. According to the Arab historians the tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs were a detached branch of the great tribe of 'Ād, which held the sovereignty of the world after the legendary deluge. Due to the revolt of Jadīs, 'Amlūq, the ruler of Ṭasm, implored help from Jushan, the Ṭaba' king of Yaman who sent some forces and occupied the whole country.[44] This shows that the tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs inhabited the eastern portion of the desert as nomads fighting continuously among themselves for the possession of the fertile Oases. Further the reference to the Ṭaba' rulers of Yaman indicates that these tribes lived in historical times. Ṭasm and Jadīs were obliterated from the face of earth in such a manner that not a single person was reported to be alive at the time of the advent of Prophet Muhammad.

'Arab Al-'Aribah

The term 'Āribah means pure and this title was held by the people of Yaman who considered themselves to be the original residents of Arabia, since the earliest known times. They claimed their descent from Qahtān (or Joktan of the Old Testament) who according to their belief, was the common ancestor of all the tribes of Yaman, Hadramaut and other regions of south Arabia. According to Torah and the Arab sources, Qahtān had thirteen sons of whom the progeny of Sabā (or Sheba) and Himyar, seem to have gained considerable influence in the legend and history of Yaman, where they held powerful kingdoms, before the rise of Islam. The names of the sons of Qahtān show great resemblance to the names of the regions of the

Arabian peninsula, which were inhabited by the tribes of almost the same names. This is further attested to by the narratives of the Greek geographer Pliny, who reports that the descendants of Sabā were the most famous among the south Arabians, and they held the country between the two seas.[45] The seas referred to by Pliny are the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea with which the Greeks were conversant on account of their commercial activities. Very little is known of the early history of Qahtānites, but it is certain that they had completely settled in Yaman, about a millenium before Christ. The Arab historians have placed the period of their settlement in Yaman round about 2500 B.C. which may be an exaggeration. The basis of this claim appears to be either the Torah or the narratives of 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah al-Jarhamī, both of which are unreliable so far as historical chronology is concerned. The inscriptions that have been unearthed are too meagre to throw light on the South Arabian antiquity, which is still shrouded in the mist of unrevealed mystery.

The descendants of Qahtān, however, founded powerful and prosperous kingdoms of which the accounts although scanty are available from authentic sources. These kingdoms are known as Mināeans, Sabāeans and the Himyarites, who continued to hold sway over Yaman and other regions of south Arabia for a considerable period till the advent of Prophet Muhammad.

Minaeans

The first to rise in Yaman was the dynasty of Maean or Mināean, who held the political hegemony of south Arabia round about 1800 B.C. Maean or Ma'ūn is derived from 'Ayn which means spring and this signifies abundance of springs in the region over which they ruled. It is also probable that their capital may have been situated on a hill site near the spring water and hence the name. The Arab historians have included the Maean in the great category of the Bā'idah Arabs who after the fabulous rule of the whole world, vanished from the face of the earth due to divine wrath. The historical evidence shows that the Mināean kingdom flourished in the regions of al-Jawf in Yaman,[46] but it also seems probable that their commercial

and possibly political influence extended in the north as far as 'Ulā and Tabūk, in Syria. The name of these people survives in the present day Ma'ān in the Petrā region, which might have been an important colony on the trade route to Syria. The Mināean capital Qarnaw is represented by modern Ma'īn situated at some distance from San'ā, the present capital of Yaman. Their religious centre was, however, Yāthil, the present Baraqish situated at some distance to the north west of Mārib. The language of the Mināeans it would seem was almost the same as used by the Sabāeans of the later period, with a Slight dialectical difference. The ruins of the temples and the inscriptions of the period reveal that wine jars, gazelles, and other sacrificial animals were kept in the temple to please the deities. The Mināean language in its alphabet had 29 letters, the characters of which were borrowed from the Siniatic, a connecting link between the Phoenician alphabet and the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. The inscriptions also show the existence of almāqāh (al-Mah-gāh), the moon temples, which testifies to the worship of stars in Yaman and other deities of south Arabian origin.

The excavations have revealed the names of 25 kings of the dynasty of Mināean, which indicate continuance of their rule for a considerable period in Yaman. Hamzah al-Isfahānī, the famous authority on the Arabian antiquity relates that the Mināean rule over Yaman extended to one thousand years;[47] but the German Orientalists, Glazer and Hommel have fixed the period of their rule to 600 years (1500-900 B.C.).[48]

The influence of Mināean culture has been observed on the later Lihyanites who held north Arabian regions after the fall of Petra. Daydān, the Lihyanite capital, was once the Mināean colony and a great market of merchandise for the commodities of Yaman, India and the lands of Mediterranean. Modern researches have connected the name Ma'ān, with Sargon I of Akkād, who had defeated its king Manium. The Patesi of Lagāsh relates in his inscription that he had conducted an expedition against Magān, from where he procured stone and wood

for his temple. The name Magān in these and other writings, is associated with Melukhā (probably 'Amāliqa) which was definitely an Arab name. The existence of an oasis Ma'ān in northern Hijāz and other regions possessing the vestiges of the Mināean civilization, attests to the authenticity of these references.

Sabaeans

The term Sabāeans is derived from Sabā' or Asbā, which means trade or commerce. It might have also been derived from Sābī, which means slave and refers to the institution of slavery or slave trade for which Yaman was famous in ancient times. The Sabāeans who followed Mināeans in the political hegemony of Yaman, held prosperous kingdoms in South Arabia, which included the regions of Yaman, Hadramaut, Asīr, Oman and even parts of Ethiopia in Africa. The Sabāean rule is divided into two distinct periods known as Makārib Sabā and Malik Sabā. During the first period of their history which extended from 1200 to 450 B.C. the rulers of Sabā exercised both spiritual and temporal suzerainty over their people. In the latter period, however, the Sabāean kings were shorn of the spiritual authority and remained only the titular heads of the south Arabian communities. Two of the Makārib kings Yāthi'-Amar and Karibā-El are mentioned in the Royal Assyrian annals of Sargon II and Sennachrib.[49] The capital of Makārib Sabā, Sirwah, the ruins which are now known as Karibā are situated at one day's journey from Mārib. Yada'-El, one of the Makāribs, is recorded in the inscriptions as the builder of its fort walls. The evidence of Torah and the Arab sources shows that the Sabāean state was contemporary to the Jewish state founded by David in the Jordanic regions. Commercial and cultural contacts did exist between the two kingdoms. During the reign of Solomon, the helm of affairs in Yaman was held by a woman named Bilqīs, celebrated in the annals as Queen Sheba. The royal house of Abyssinia claims its ancestry from the union of Solomon with Bilqīs,[50] which also resulted in the extension of Jewish commercial interests in Yaman. The Makāribs, however, did not extinguish the rule of Mināeans in Yaman, but reduced them to the status of vassalage.

The second period of Sabāean kingdom extended from 610 B.C. but the inscriptions show that Karība-El Watār (450 B.C.) was the first to assume the title of "Malik Sabā." During this period the capital of Yaman was shifted to Mārib situated at a distance of sixty miles from San'ā. The new capital was built on a hill at an elevation of 3900 ft. above sea-level; the citadels of which are referred to by al-Hamadānī in his Iklil.[51] The Sabāean rule is particularly famous for the Mārib dam (Sadd Mārib), which is regarded as one of the most remarkable feats of engineering in ancient times. The inscriptions show that the dam was built by Samhu'alay Yanūf and his son Yātha' amarā Bayyin, and its restoration and repairs were carried out by Sharalibi-El Yafūr and also by Abraha, the Abyssinian governor of Yaman.[52] The Arab historians, however, regard one Luqmān ibn 'Ād, a mythical figure, to be the real builder of the Mārib dam.

Side by side with the Mināeans and Sabāeans, there arose two other states in south Arabia, one at Hadramaut and the other at Qatabān region, which lay to the east of modern Aden. The Qatabān monarchy continued to subsist for a period of four centuries with its capital Tamna' (modern Kahlūn), which was adored with palatial buildings. The Hadramaut kingdom with its capital Shabwah lasted for a longer period from 450 B.C. to 100 A.C.[53] It appears that both these kingdoms held semi-independent status under the vassalage of the Sabāeans, who were the lords paramount of all the regions in south Arabia.

Sabāeans were the first among the south Arabians to step within the threshold of civilization. They resembled the Phoenicians in seafaring and were conversant with the routes, harbours and reefs of the southern seas. Having mastered the treacherous winds of the Indian Ocean, they monopolised its trade which continued to be in their hands for a period of over fifteen centuries. The Sabāeans had circum-navigated the Arabian peninsula which greatly helped them to serve as guides to the Greeks, Romans and other nations, in their navigation of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean as far as Ceylon and the

Indies. During this period Yaman controlled the spice trade of the east and as such it was a market of myrrh, frankincense, fragrant gums, resin, aromatics and other commodities.

South Arabia has yielded a number of inscriptions collected by Joseph Halevy and Eduard Glaser, some of which have been deciphered. The most important of these is the inscription of Naqab al-Hajar,[54] which has furnished to the literate world, with its first sight of the south Arabic writings. Further it reveals that the south Arabic script had 29 letters in its alphabet and these were derived from the Sinaitic and Phoenician origin. The modern researches have shown that at least half of the letters of the south Arabic alphabet have been borrowed from the Nāgrī script of Indo-Pākistan sub-continent.

Himyarites

The tribe of Himyar which held the political suzerainty of Yaman after the decline of Sabā was the last dynasty which ruled over South Arabia up to the advent of Islam. The Arab historians claim that Himyar or Hamīr was a son of Sabā, a descendant of Qahtān, the great ancestor of all the south Arabian tribes. The Himyarites are mentioned in the classical works and also in the Abyssinian inscriptions as the rulers of Yaman. They, however, selected Zafar for their capital, instead of Qamaw and Mārib, which had been the centres of Yamanite culture and administration before the rise of the Himyar. The rulers of Himyar adored themselves with the age long title of Sabā and also Dhū-Raydān. It appears that the Himyarites were a branch of the Sabāean tribe which held another kingdom in Yaman. The existence of the two kingdoms in Yaman is attested to by Hamzā Isfahānī, who is an authority on the history and culture of south Arabia. He asserts that the unity between the two kingdoms was brought by one Hārith al-Ra'sh,[55] who called himself as Tabā', a new title which was later assumed by the rulers of the Himyarite dynasty. The Arab historians have counted as many as fifteen rulers of the first Himyarite kingdom and nine of the later Himyarite dynasty. The inscriptions, however, reveal fifteen names of both the Sabāean and Himyarite rulers, which

bear great resemblance to the names of the rulers of Abyssinia. This shows that the political influence of the Himyarites extended to the regions of East Africa specially Somāliland and Abyssinia and vice versa. It appears that the Himyarites did not rule over Yaman continuously but their reign was occasionally interrupted and overshadowed by that of the Abyssinians, who are described as "Aksūmi rulers" by the Arab historians. The term "Taba' " itself is of Abyssinian origin and shows the influence of that language on the language of Yaman. The history of the Himyarites is mixed with unbelievable legends and myths in the accounts of the Arab writers, who assert that the Himyar kings held the suzerainty of whole Asia, as far as Samarqand in the north. Their empire according to the same sources included many lands in East Africa and also countries like India, China and Tibet.

The Himyarite reign is famed in the annals for the "Castle of Ghumdān"[56] built by Elī-Sharīha who ruled over Yaman in the first century A.C. This fortified palace which is said to have had twenty storeys, is the first known skyscraper of the world history. The Arab historians claim that each of the storeys of the castle was ten cubits in height and was built of granite, porphyry and marble. The roof of the upper most storey was covered by a single slab of stone, so transparent that the king while sitting in his court and looking skyward could well distinguish between a crow and a kite. Each of the four facets was built of stones of different colours and at each corner stood a brazen lion, which when the wind blew roared like the real beast. Al-Hamadānī has referred to this castle in one of his poems and praises it for having worn the turban of the clouds and the belt of marble.[57] Some of the storeys of this gigantic structure had survived up to the rise of Islām, which might have been destroyed afterwards by the iconoclasts from the north. The last Himyarite king Dhū-Nuwās being converted to Judaism, began to persecute the Christians of Najrān and this resulted in the invasion of Yaman from Abyssinia, under Abraha. Dhū-Nuwās was defeated and killed and the whole Yaman as far as Hijāz was occupied by the negroes.[58] The new rulers remained in possession of south Arabia for a period of nearly half century

when they were superseded by the Persians. The Yamanites hated the rule of the Aksumites and hence they entered into conspiracy with the rulers of Persia, through the Arab chief of al-Ḥīrah, for the freedom of their country. Their desire, however, did not come to fruition and the power was usurped by the Persians, who held the country up to A.H. 6 (629 A.C.) when the fifth satrap embraced Islam and the rule of the Hijāzī Arabs was firmly established over Yaman.

The Second Himyarite period is also famous for the breaking of the Mārib dam, caused by the great flood, the echoes of which are resounded in the Qurān.[59] The eruption of the dyke resulted in the migration of the south Arabian tribes of Ghassān, Tanūkh, Tayy, and others to the regions of north Arabia.

The Himyarite rulers introduced into Yaman gold, silver and copper coins, which have been recovered from various sites all over the country. These coins show the image of the ruler on one side and the figure of an owl or bull's head on the other. Bronze figures and other articles resembling those of the Greek and Persian workmanship have also been unearthed in Yaman. The Himyar society was made up of monarchy, feudal aristocracy, caste system and tribalism with both patriarchal and matriachal organisations. Their religious system was based on the family of triads in which the moon, regarded as masculine deity stood supreme as the head of the trinity. The moon known as "Wadd" i.e. Love, with the Mināeans, was called "Ilmuqah" by the Sabāeans, and "Amm" (uncle) by the Qatabāneans. Shamash, the sun-god acted as consort to the moon, of which Athtar was the holy offspring. The sun-goddess known as al-Lāt,[60] was also very popular to the Arabs of Hijāz before the rise of Prophet Muhammad. The mono-physitic religious systems side by side with paganism flourished in Yaman but claimed only a few converts.

Arab al-Musta'ribah

al-Musta'ribah or the naturalized Arabs were migrants from without, specially from the northern part of the Arabian desert. They are supposed to be the descendants of Ismā'il,

the son of patriarch Abrahām, through Hagar the Egyptian concubine and as such eliminated by the Jews to be inferior and of low origin. The narratives of the Torah indicate that the Ismā'īlī tribe, separated from the common stock, came to occupy Farān,[61] the region of northern Hijāz and hence they became known as Hijāzi Arabs, after the advent of Islām. A general survey of the tribes inhabiting the regions of Hijāz, Wādī al-Qurā, Sinai and Nefūd shows, that al-Musta'ribah were made up of various tribes of different racial and ethnic origins, namely Banū Ismā'īl, Banū Lot, Banū Hārān, Banū Essāu, Banū Madyan, Banū Edom, Banū Moab, Banū Ammān and various others. According to the version of Qurān and the evidence available in the Arab sources, the promogenitor of the Hijāzī Arabs, Ismā'īl was thrown into the desert of Farān by his father Abrahām, due to the jealousy of Sārah, Ismā'īl's step-mother. Sārah's wish was supported by divine commandment in the form of a vision, which finally resulted in the building of the Ka'bah, the first shrine built in Arabia for the worship of one God. The institution of Hajj recognised as one of the five pillars of the Muslim faith owes its origin to this incident when both Abrahām and his son Ismā'īl inaugurated the first ceremonies of the pilgrimage in the Ka'bah. These sources also indicate that patriarch Ismā'īl had twelve sons of whom the descendants of Nābit and Qaydār gained considerable prominence in the ancient history of northern Arabia. The Nabātaeans of Petrā and Palmyra, who are regarded as the descendants of Nābit founded and organised powerful kingdoms in north Arabia. The descendants of Qaydār known as Quraysh on the other hand were celebrated for their religious leadership of all the tribes of Arabia on account of their custodianship of the holy Ka'bah. The Quraysh had also formed an ephemeral political entity by founding the city state of Mecca, the administration of which was conducted by all the ten tribes of the Quraysh jointly. This city state was finally brought to an end by Prophet Muhammad, who substituted the Qurānic state of Madīna, under the new commonwealth of Islam.

The various factions comprising of different tribes of nomadic character lost their distinctive racial origin by merging

themselves into the great Ismā'īlī tribe, in due course of time. It appears that these tribes might have accepted the vassalage or the clientage of the most powerful tribe of the northern desert, in such a manner, that all these tribes became known by one unified name; the Mudarites. The Arabs of Hijāz claimed that Mudar exercised profound and unbounded influence on the tribes of the northern desert due to his religious leadership of the Arab community. This assertion is, however, not free from doubt, due to the fact that Mecca, the religious centre of all Arabia, did not all along remained in the hands of the Ismā'īlites. Even during the period of the great patriarch Abrahām and his son Ismā'īl, Mecca was held by the Jarhamites (i.e. Banū Jarham), a tribe of south Arab origin. The Jarham was superseded by Banū Khuzzā' and finally by the tribe of Quraysh under Qassā[62] who later became the founder of the city state of Mecca. The popularity of Mudar also appears to have been his connections with the patriarchs Abrahām and Ismā'īl, who were regarded as Prophets and reformers by the savages of Arabia. The relation of Mudar to the religion of Islam and its Prophet is attested to by historical evidence and the genealogy of Muhammad who claimed his ancestry from Mudar,[63] with great pride and satisfaction.

North Arabian States

Kingdom of Petra

Before the emergence of Islam as world power, north Arabia claimed the rise of three states in the Syrio-Arab region. Two of these states Petrā and Palmyrā, owe their origin to Nābit and hence they are known as Nabātaeans in history. The Ghassānids of Basrā, on the other hand, claimed their descent to Qahtān and were therefore of the Yamanite origin. Nabātaeans are reported to have been a combination of nomadic tribes of the northern desert not accustomed to the sedentary culture as early as the sixth century before Christ. They lived in tents, abhorred wine and showed little interest in agriculture. The first reference about these people appears in Diodorus's accounts when they not only resisted the attack of the Greeks under Antigonus, but repulsed them with heavy slaughter.[64] In these

references they are referred to as the "people of the rock" corresponding to the Arabic term "Ashāb al-Hajar," a name given to the aborigins of Thamūd, by the Arabs of Hijāz. The term Petrā in Greek language means stone and this is a reference to the metropolis of Nabātaeans, which was hewn out of live rock in the northern mountains of Arabia. This town was endowed with abundance of pure and sweet water, a bounty in the inhospitable regions of northern desert. Petrā was defended by inaccessible rock on three sides, and the only opening to the north was narrow and well defended. The city also lay on the trade route which connected Yaman and Hijāz with Syria and Egypt with Syria and al-'Irāq. It, therefore, became the chief halting station for the caravans which frequented the famous international routes to the port of Gāzā on the Mediterranean, Aylā on Red Sea and even important commercial centres on the Persian Gulf across the desert. Since the spring water was not sufficient to satisfy all their needs, they took up the work of tapping subterranean water for use in gardening and agriculture.[65] By this engineering feat they were able to convert a large area of the desert into green and smiling fields.

Nabātaean state, it appears had gained considerable prominence in the Seleucid period when a league was formed between the Nabātaeans and Maccābeans against the common foe i.e. the Greeks. But the real founder of the Nabātaean kingdom was Hārithāt (al-Hārith) who added a large portion of northern Arabia to his realm and even dared to raid the important towns of the Roman empire. Ubaydāth another ruler of this dynasty made further annexations by capturing the regions of Galilee, Hawran and Jabal al-Duruz. Ubaydāth was followed by his son and successor, Harithāt III, who is regarded as the greatest ruler of the Nabātaean family. He is reported to have defeated the armies of Jūdah and laid siege to Jerūsalem. In 85 B.C. he occupied Damascus and installed himself as the ruler of all Syria, Jordan and North Arabia. Such was the efficient military organisation of this ruler that even the Romans under Pompey were defeated with heavy losses and forced to withdraw.[66] But this glory was short lived as, after his death the Nabātaean state played the role of a vassal to Rome. It was

Ubaydāth who encouraged Allius Gallius the Roman prefect of Egypt to invade Hijāz. The purpose obviously was to control the spice trade of Yaman (through Hijāz) but the expedition proved a failure on account of the perfidy of the Nabātaean guides. Hārith IV, although a great ruler came to the scene in the period of decline and the dynasty was finally brought to an end in 106 A.C. The Romans then seized the country and Petrā gradually faded into insignificance and finally in ruins which still astound the casual visitors to that region.

The records show extensive commercial activities of Nabātaeans to far off lands in the then civilised world. Puteoli of Italy, Gurha on the Persian Gulf, Rhodes, Miletus and the delta of Nile were the chief centres where the trade of Nabātaeans flourished exceedingly. The business enterprises of these people are attested to from the Chinese records and writings.[67]

The Nabātaeans of Petrā exercised profound cultural influence on the regions of northern Arabia and Hijāz. In language, script, arts and even in the religious behaviour the Petrans had played a dominant role. Nabātaeans used Arāmaic as their official language and the script was also of Syrian origin; but later the Nabātaean characters began to show their influence on Arāmaic as well as on the languages of north Arabia and Hijāz. These characters occupy a prominent place in the first Arabic writings, specially that of the Qurān. Their religious system was also based on ancestor worship combined with agriculturalrites. The Nabātaean ruins of Khirbat al-Tannūr have exhibited a small box like shrine resembling to Ka'bah in shape with a four-cornered black stone.[68] Star worship was also common among the Nabātaeans of Petrā in which Sun occupied higher position than the Moon. Known as Dhul-Shara (Dushara) he was supposed to have a family, which comprised of Moon (al-Lāt) his wife, Hubal, his son and two daughters Manāt and al-'Uzzā of the Qurānic fame. Serpent worship was also common among the Petrans and is still practised by certain communities in Lebanon and the Jordanic regions.

Nabātaean society as a whole had been agriculturist, peaceful, orderly and democratic. Even the king was obliged to

render accounts to his people in the general assembly of popular representatives. But there are instances in which the king was considered divine and worshipped by the populace. Marriage with a sister also seems to have been common in this society, as would appear from the puteoli inscriptions, which also reveal certain Arabic names such as 'Alī, Habīb, Sa'īd, Qabr, Ghayr and others. It is now firmly established that Omri (or 'Umar) the founder of the kingdom of Isrā'īl was a Nabātaean Arab.[69] The coins of Petrā show great resemblance to the Greek and Roman coins. The Dirham of Ubaydāth shows the jugate busts of the king and the queen. The king wears long hair and is cleanshaven; the queen wears a stephane and a necklace. The reverse of the coin shows the effigy of an eagle standing left, as the sign of might and power.

The Nabātaean script borrowed from the Arāmaic is regarded as parent to the Arabic alphabet and script. Even the Greek and Latin languages were influenced by Nabātaean language and script. The excellence of the Nabātaeans in literature and arts has been attested to by references in the Bible. The wisemen from the east hitherto regarded as Magians from Persia were undoubtedly Arabs of the Nabātaean origin. Nabātaean influence on both Christianity and Islām is now recognised by modern researches to be of immense value. It had played dominant role on Judaism of the early days. The Ḥanīf, a people of semi-judaic monotheistic ideas were definitely of Arāmaic-Nabātaean origin.

In architecture, the vaulted type of chamber was the chief Nabātaean characteristic. A new type of architecture was introduced by these people by carving out temples, tombs, houses and other buildings out of the living rocks.[70] Nabātaean pottery has exhibited signs of excellent workmanship by its amazing thinness.

Kingdom of Palmyra

The decline of Petrā brought a new people, those of Palmyrā, in the forefront of history. The centre of the gravity then shifted further north, in the oasis of the Syrian desert. Palmyrā

which is also known as Tadmur, is recorded in the inscription of Tiglath Pillessar I,[71] who chastised them to their very dwellings in the desert. The etymology of Tadmur is uncertain although attempts have been made to connect it with Tāmar, a tree which was found in abundance in the region. As the name indicates Palmyrā is derived from Palm trees, which are found in great numbers in the region. The Arab historians impressed by the majesty of the Palmyrian ruins, came to the conclusion that the site was rehabilitated by Soloman who built the city with the help of the jinns.

The state of Palmyrā began to take active part in the international affairs in the first century A.C. In the second century, Palmyrā acted as a vassal to Rome, against Persia, which also rose to be world power in those days. The fate of Palmyrā seems to have been uncertain due to the pressure of Rome, but still it continued to have periods of its greatness and prosperity. Very few names of the Palmyrene kings have come to light but it is certain that those were purely Arabic with additions of titles from Rome. The last ruler of Palmyrā Udhaynāth, a vassal of Rome, defeated the Persians on the banks of Euphrates and persuaded them to the very walls of Persepolis. He, however, failed in his attempt to rescue the Roman emperor Valerian from the Persian hands, but was able to capture some of the wives of Shāpūr.[72] The loyalty of Udhaynāth was rewarded by the Romans in getting him murdered along with the crown prince at Ḥims. His widow Zenobia (Zaynab) then took up the reins of the government as queen regent for her minor son Wahb-Allāt. It is reported that Zenobia was a sports woman devoted to riding and hunting. She exhibited masculine energy in the administration of the realm as well as in her wars with Rome. An enlightened woman, she was herself a writer and spoke Greek, Arāmaic and Latin languages fluently. She even compiled the history of the east and her court was adored by philosophers like Longinus.[73]

Zenobia was an ambitious and capable ruler. Under her wise policy the kingdom of Palmyrā rose to be a formidable empire and included in it Syria, Jordanic plains, north Arabia

and parts of Asia Minor. Even Egypt was held for some time where the Nabātaean general Zabda, established the garrison and issued coins in the name of prince Wahb-Allāt. This was the highest point of power reached by the Palmyrene kingdom and this resulted in its ultimate fall. In 272 A.D. Aurelian defeated the Nabātaean forces in Asia Minor and proceeded to Syria. Palmyrā was besieged. The city surrendered to the conqueror, but it was not spared and was destroyed by the Romans.[74] Zenobia was taken captive to Rome, where she married a Roman soldier and settled permanently.

The ruins of Palmyrā in the north Arabian desert are not only impressive but superb. The colonnade and the triumphal arch still stand in majesty and attest to the supreme intellect of the Arabs of the northern desert. The temple of Bel, which had ever since survived, has now been converted into a museum. The Palmyrene tombs which they called "houses of eternity" have also survived, consisting of chambers in storeys and adorned with columns and portraits. Palmyrā had a blend of Greek, Syriac, Arab and Persian culture, as would appear from the writings of the period. In religion too there is admixture of gods and divinities. Bel or Ba'al, for instance a Babylonian deity, headed the pantheon as a cosmic god. Like Marduk of Babylonia, he dominated the celestial gods and controlled the destinies of men. The Sun-deity Shamash, Agli-bol the moon-god and Al-Lat the famous goddess of al-Hijāz were all worshipped and special temples were dedicated to them. Malak-Bel the messenger of God, who was analogous to Humes and Jabrāeal of the jewish and Quranic fame were also adored and worshipped. The inscriptions further reveal the names of Athar-Atheh (Atargatis), Arsū, Shayal-Qaum, Azizu and various others, who seem to have been importations from Greece, Rome, Syria, Egypt and Babylonia.[75]

The Ghassanid Kingdom of Busra

The decline of the Nabātaean power at Palmyrā signalised the advent of a new people, the Ghassānids on the northern flanks of the Arabian desert. Contrary to the Arabs of the Petra

and Palmyrā, the Ghassānids belonged to the Qahtānite stock of Yaman. Their incrusion in to the northern part of the Arabian desert was actuated by a civil war which resulted in the breaking of the Mārib dam.[76] The period of their settlement in the regions of al-Qurā and Hawrān may be placed between the second and third century of the Christian era. In the fourth century the Ghassānids were finally established in those regions and founded a monarchy under the tutelage of Rome. The founder of this dynasty is reported to have been Jafnah ibn 'Amr, a person of obscure origin, the period of whose reign has not yet been fixed with certainty. According to al-Isbahānī, a series of rulers numbering thirty two succeeded each other, till the final extinction of the dynasty. Al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Qutaybah on the other hand, have reduced the number of these rulers to eleven,[77] which appears to be more reasonable.

The most notable figures of the Ghassānid history were al-Hārith ibn Jabalah and his son, al-Mundhir who reigned for a period of little over half a century. This period marks the apogee of the Ghassānid rule in north Arabia, when this state rose to prominence in the international affairs. Hārith ibn Jabalah (529-569 A.C.) distinguished himself in his struggle with the Lakhmīds, also a south Arabian dynasty which had founded a kingdom in the eastern part of North Arabian desert under the tutelage of the Persians. His contemporary Lakhmīd ruler al-Mundhir III, after having captured one of the sons of Hārith sacrificed him to al-'Uzzā, one of the pre-Islamic deity adored and worshipped by the tribes of the Arabian desert. Al-Hārith, however, avenged the murder of his son, by slaying his adversary with his own hands in the battle of Halīmah, fought in the year 554 A.C. This battle takes its name from Halīmah, the daughter of al- Hārith, who is said to have anointed her father's warriors with perfumes before the engagement.[78] This shows that the big powers of the then civilized world played with the sentiments of the savages of the desert and engaged them in fighting each other. The purpose underlying these overtures was both political and economic. Both the empires, Persia and Rome desired to keep each other at bay by the maintenance of their respective boundaries, which

could not be accomplished without creating buffer states between al-'Irāq and Syria. Secondly, the Arabs of the desert were accustomed to depredatory raids against the settled and fertile areas of both Syria and al-'Irāq, resulting in the misery of the people. In order to divert the activities of the barbarians of the desert their energies were used into tribal feuds, which caused great economic upheaval, in the regions occupied by these savages. It is probable that these wars might have been caused with the collaboration of the big powers, desirous of extending their influence over Yaman and other strategic points in Arabia, with intent to control the spice trade of west Asia.

Al-Hārith visited the court of Justinian at Constantinople in 564 A.C. at the invitation of the emperor himself. In the court, he left imposing impressions of his physique and countenance on the Byzantine courtiers, which was so dreadful that whenever the chamberlain wanted to quiet down prince Justin, he would simply shout, "Hush, else we call al-Hārith".[79] Al-Hārith was a great champion of the monophysitic church and same was the case with his son al-Mundhir (569-582 A.C.) who was afterwards taken to task by emperor Justin for heretical views. In 580 A.C. al-Mundhir was honoured by emperor Tiberius II who placed a crown on his head with his own hands, and appointed him as his deputy in Syria. On receipt of these favours, al-Mundhir attacked the eastern kingdom of the Lakhmids and burnt its capital al-Hīrah. He was however, rewarded in a different fashion. In response to the invitation of the governor of Syria and while attending the dedication of a church at Harawin, he was taken captive and sent to Constantinople, along with his wife and three sons. His son and successor, al-Nu'mān continued to rule the realm for two years but he too was tricked and taken captive. The Ghassānid kingdom came to an abrupt end and it was followed by anarchy and chaos till the conquest of Syria by the Persians in the year 611 A.C.

It appears that the dynasty of the Ghassānids was revived by Heraclius, who drove the Persians out of Syria in 625 A.C. The last Ghassānid ruler Jabalah ibn Ayham fought against the

Muslim forces in the battle of Yarmūk[80] (fought in 636 A.C.) as an ally of the Byzantines. He, however, accepted Islam but renounced it again in protest to a decision of Caliph 'Umar, who ordered him to submit to the same blow from a Badawī, whom he had earlier slapped for stepping on his cloak.

Although the Ghassānids were depicted to be a barbarian race by the Byzantine chroniclers, yet a careful study of their rule would evince that they were a highly cultured people and the patrons of learning and literature. The Ghassānid court has produced some of the best poets of the pre-Islamic Arab poetry. Among these may be mentioned the name of the celebrated Nābighah al-Dhubyānī and Hassān ibn Thābit, the latter being the poet laureate of Prophet Muhammad. The story of the splendour of the Ghassānid court and their munificence have been preserved in the anthologies of the Arabic literature. When the last Ghassānid Jabalah ibn Ayham made his entry into Madīna after being converted to Islam, he wore his ancestral crown adored with two pearls having the size of an egg of a pigeon.[81] These reports greatly reflect on the economic condition of the Ghassānids who may have brought prosperity to their region by the utilization of rain and underground water. Further attestation may be had from the ruins of some three hundred towns and villages on the south-eastern slopes of mount Hawrān. It was through Ghassān that the Nabātaean script was transmitted to al-Hijāz and this greatly helped in the writing of the Qurān.

The Lakhmids of Hirah

The Lakhmīds, like their kinsmen the Ghassānids, belonged to the Qahtānite stock of Yaman and their incursion into the regions of south-west al-'Irāq, bordering the Euphrates, may have taken place in the beginning of the third century A.C. Originally named Tanūkh, these tribes established a permanent headquarters at al-Hīrah (from Syriac Herta meaning camp) which became the future capital of the Lakhmīd dynasty till the rise of Islam. Traditions assert that the foundation of the Lakhmīd dynasty was laid by one Malik ibn Fahm al-Azdī, who

is said to have been a contemporary to Ardashīr, the ruler of Persia. The real founder, however, appears to have been his grandson 'Amr ibn 'Adī ibn Naṣr ibn Rabī'ah ibn Lakhm, whose mother is said to have married a slave of Jazīmah, the son of Mālik ibn Fahm.[82] This shows that the slaves occupied a high stage of social status even before the advent of Prophet Muhammad, in certain tribes of Arabia. Twenty rulers have been counted in the history of the Lakhmīds, of whom Imru' al-Qays (328 A.C.) al-Nu'mān I, al-A'war (400-418 A.C.), al-Mundhir I (418-62 A.C.), al-Mundhir III (505-514 A.C.) and 'Amr ibn Hind were the most distinguished. Al-Nu'mān who is reported to have been a great builder, erected al-Khawarnaq, al-Sādir and other castles in the north Arabian desert. Al-Mundhir, on the other hand, fighting on behalf of the Persians attacked Syria and ravaged the whole country up to Antioch when he was defeated by the Ghassānids. His son and successor, 'Amr ibn Hind although a blood thirsty tyrant is said to have been a great patron of the learned. Of the seven reported authors of the Mu'allaqāt, three of them namely Tarafah ibn al-'Abd, al-Hārith ibn Hilizah and 'Amr ibn Kulthūm adored his court.[83] Al-Hīrah fell to the army of Khālid ibn Walīd in 633 A.C.

The Arabs of al-Hīrah do not seem to have attained a higher stage of civilization as compared to its sister kingdoms of Ghassān, Petrā and Palmyrā in the western part of al-Nefūd. The Hīrah people, although they spoke Arabic, their system of writing was Syriac. At the same time they were also affiliated to the Christian church of the Nestorian order (Eastern Syria) and as such the Arabs of Hīrah were influenced from Syria in reading, writing and also in religion. According to one tradition the region of Najrān situated in between al-Hijāz and Yaman was Christianised from al-Hīrah, the missionaries of which were active in all parts of the Arabian peninsula. Ibn Rustah reports that it was al-Hīrah from where the Quraysh acquired the art of writing and false belief;[84] which shows that the Persian cultural influence penetrated in Arabia through the Lakhmīd kingdom of al-Hīrah.

Banu Kindah of Hadramaut

The tribe of Banū Kindah, which also claimed its descent from the southArabian family of the Arabs, ruled at Hadramaut probably under the tutelage of Tubba' kingdom of Yaman. The Kindah chiefs were the only rulers of the peninsular Arabia to receive the title of Malik, but it would appear that the sphere of their authority was restricted to a very limited region. The rulers of Kindah came into prominence during the reign of the third ruler of the dynasty named Al-Hārith ibn 'Amr ibn Hujr who is said to have defeated the Lakhmīds and occupied al-Hīrah.[85] But unfortunately he was defeated and killed by al-Mundhir III, the Lakhmīd, who probably with the help of the Persians retook al-Hīrah in about 529 A.C. Some fifty members of the royal family of BānuKindah were executed under the orders of al-Mundhir III, who thereby avenged the insult to his kingdom. The historical sources indicate that the influence of Kindah rulers extended far beyond Hadramaut, central Arabia and the Nefūd. After this fatal blow the Kindah could not revive their lost prestige and power among the tribes of the Arabian desert and as such they were forced to retreat back to their desert settlements in the barren tracts of Hadramaut.

Al-Isfahānī, who may be treated as an authority on the pre-Islamic Arab poetry claims that the foundation of the ephemeral kingdom of Kindah was laid by Hujr, who was a descendant of Sabā, the son of Qahtān.[86] The last ruler of this dynasty was Wā'il ibn Hujr who was replaced by a Muslim governor in A.H. 10/A.C. 632/33. 'Alī ibn Abū Tālib, Ma'ādh ibn Jabal and Abū Mūsā Ash'arī were sent as missionaries, resulting in the conversion of all the tribes to the religion of Islam. Prophet Muhammad had earlier written an epistle to the chief of Kindah for accepting Islām but it failed to stir any enthusiasm in his mind for the new religion.

The tribe of Quraysh and its importance

The tribe of Quraysh, which began to play a leading role in the rise and propagation of Islām, was a branch of the Mudārite Arabs, settled in Mecca, since the earliest known times. The importance of Quraysh was principally due to their asso-

ciation with a cubic shaped temple, known as Ka'bah, in Mecca, which had been the centre of the religious life of the Arabs for countless generations. Due to its sanctity as the house of God, Ka'bah has served as a uniting factor in the religious, political, social and cultural life of the tribes of the desert. In this house of God, known as Baytullāh, a number of idols representing various tribes of the Arabian peninsula were adored and worshipped. According to the Arab writers, the original building of the Ka'bah was fashioned and built by Adam, the first man, but it was swept away in the legendary deluge of Noah. It was, however, rebuilt by Patriarch Abrahām on the same site, miraculously discovered by his infant son, Ismā'īl, who later became the ancestor of the Hijāzī tribes of Arabia. Ismā'īl, as the story goes was thrown into the desert of Fārān, by his father along with Hagar (or Hājirah) under the divine commandment.[87] At the instance of Sārah, Abrahām had taken Hagar, the Egyptian concubine, to be his wife and she gave birth to a male child i.e. Ismāīl'. Sārah, the half sister and wife of Abrahām, had been barren all along and failed to produce any issue. The birth of Ismā'īl, therefore, inspired jealousy in the heart of Sārah, which resulted in the banishment of Hagar and her son to the desert of Fārān. It is related that the woman had to run to and fro for water in the valley of Mecca, heedless of the child, who, it is said, discovered water by digging the sand, with his feet. This is the Zam-Zam, the famous well besides the Ka'bah, the waters of which have ever since received great importance and even more prominence after the advent of Islām. The pilgrims all over the world, take with themselves large quantities of the water of this well, which is distributed among relations and friends as a gift from the holy Ka'bah. The running of Hagar is now perpetuated in the institution of Hajj, by the running of the pilgrims between Saffā and Murwah. The other rites of the Hajj, such as the Tawwāf of the Ka'bah and the sacrifice of the animals etc. too have their origin to the Abrāmic tribes of Babylon, which had settled in the regions of Palestine and al-Hijāz.

The evidence of the Torah shows that Ismā'īl had twelve sons[88] and this is true of Jacob and Joseph, the great ancestors

of the Jewish tribes of Palestine. The names of the sons of Ismā'īl as given in the Torah are; Nābit or Nabāyut, Qaydār, Adbā'il, Mibshām, Mishma', Dūmā, Hadad, Tīma, Yatūr, Nāfish, Mishā and Qaydmah. These twelve brothers became the progenitors of all the Ismā'īlī Arabs, who inhabited Hijāz, North Arabia and the regions of Sina'i and Palestine. Patriarch Ismā'īl is also reported to have had a daughter named Basimah, who was married to Essau, a son of Ishāq, from Rebecah. It may be brought to notice that Abrahām had three wives, Sārah, Hagar and Qetūrah, and these gave birth to Ishāq, Ismā'īl and Midyān. Ishāq became the ancestor of the jews through his son Jacob, who was also known by the name Isrā'īl. It is due to this reason that the jews are known as Banī-Isrā'īl and it is with this name that they are often quoted in the passages of the Qurān. Midyān became the ancestor of the Arabs of Sinā'i, which, according to the version of the Qurān had produced Shu'ayb, the famous Prophet who tutored Moses during the period of his exile from Egypt. Moses is also said to have been influenced by the great sage of Sinā'i.[89] This shows that the desert of Sinā'i served as the repository of material and intellect for the people of Egypt and West Asia. It was the Sinā'i which prepared the Jews for the military and political leadership of the valley of Jordan, which they achieved by their sojourn in this region for more than forty years.

Origin of Quraysh

The origin of the tribe of Quraysh is traced from Fahr, who himself was a descendant of Muḍar ibn Nizār, a grandson of Qaydār, the son of Ismā'īl. The term Quraysh denotes, 'acquisition of profits' and this title was held by the descendants of Fahr, due to the lucrative nature of their profession which was mainly commerce. The commercial activities of the Quraysh were well-known and are attested to by the Qurānic revelation, which shows that the Quraysh were engaged in trade in both the seasons (الشتاء و الصيف) of the year.[90] The Quraysh may also be a reference to a "Sea monster" which was dreaded to by the Arabs of the desert, as a mighty beast. This signifies the power and authority and also the savageness of the people of Mecca, in their attitude to the other tribes of Arabia.

The Quraysh were divided into two main groups of the nomadic tribes, who were spread in al-Hijāz and other regions and the sedentary tribes who lived in the city of Mecca. The nomads included the tribes of *Muḥārib, Tim al-Adram,* Khazīmah, Sa'd, Jusham and Hārith, whilst Banū Qusāī and Banū Ka'b, formed the later group. The tribe of Quraysh came to prominence with the foundation of the city state of Mecca by Qusāī ibn Kilāb, the sixth descendant of Fahr ibn Mālik. Due to the commercial activities of the Quraysh with Syria and Yaman, the Quraysh became conversant with the political institutions of those countries. They, therefore, on the basis of the city states of Syria, instituted more or less a democratic government at Mecca, the administration of which was divided among the ten tribes of the Quraysh, who inhabited the city of Mecca. The administrative machinery of this tiny state centred around the Ka'bah, and it was divided into fourteen administrative departments. The following chart would evince that the Quraysh of the pre-Islamic Mecca were a democratic people and they shared the pros and cons of the new state on the basis of complete equality and liberalism.

Department	*Functions*	*Tribe and its representative*
1. Saqāyah	Lodging and Boarding of the pilgrims.	Banū Hāshim; 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭallib.
2. 'Imārah	Repairs of Ka'bah.	Banū Hāshim; - Do -
3. Rifāḍah	Trust property of the pilgrims.	Banū Naufil; Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir.
4. Sidānah	Guarding the Ka'bah and keeping its key.	Banū 'Abd al-Dār; 'Uthmān ibn Ṭalhah.
5. Aysār	Service of idols.	Banū Jamḥ; Sufwān ibn Amya.
6. Nadwah	Court and committee room.	Banū 'Abd al-Dār; 'Uthman ibn Ṭalhah.

7. Mashūrah	Consultations.	Banū Asad; Yazīd ibn Zam'ā.
8. Hakūmatah	Decisions.	Banū Sahm; Hārith ibn Qays.
9. Uqāb	Standard of the Quraysh.	Banū Umayyah; Abū Sufyān ibn Harb.
10. Qubbah	Army camp.	Banū Makhzūm; Khālid ibn Walīd.
11. Amwāle-Muhajarah	Looking after presents to idols.	Banū Sahm; Hārith ibn Qays.
12. A'inah	Leadership of the cavalry.	Banū Makhzūm; Khālid ibn Walīd.
13. Sifārah.	Embassy.	Banū 'Addī; 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.
14. Ishnaq.	Blood money—Fines.	Banū Tamīm; Abū Bakr ibn Abū Qahāfah.

The leadership of the city state of Mecca was held by Qusai, the founder, and it continued in his descendants till the birth and advent of the Prophet Muhammad. At the time of the birth of Muhammad, the Amir of Mecca, was his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭallib, who is said to have been a man of great influence and property and was revered all over Arabia for his association with the family of Ismā'īl as well as the custodianship of the Ka'bah. 'Abd al-Muṭallib had ten sons and according to another source twelve sons, of whom five sons acquired prominence for either supporting the cause of Islam, or became notorious for their opposition to the new religion. These were Abū Lahb, Abū Ṭālib, 'Abdullāh (the father of the Prophet), Hamzah and 'Abbās. Abū Lahb was a man of red complexion and hence the name. Abū Ṭālib died without being converted, but his son 'Ali compensated Islam by decapitating some of the chief opponents of the Prophet in the battle of Badr. Hamzah died without a male issue, but the descendants of 'Abbās ruled the Muslim world for over five centuries at Baghdād and two and half centuries at Cairo.

Of all the tribes of Quraysh, it appears, Banū Hāshim and Banū Umayyah were more numerous and economically sound and hence they became rivals. After the death of 'Abd al-Muṭallib, the son of Hāshim, there was noa bler person in the tribe, who could exercise unbounded influence on the Quraysh. The leadership of Mecca was therefore, usurped by Banū Umayyah, whose representatives, Harb ibn Umayyah and after him his son, Abū Sufyān ibn Harb, were in the fore-front in their opposition to the Prophet. Abū Sufyān was, however, defeated in A.H. 8/630 A.C. and converted to Islam; the same year, which is considered to be the year of triumph for Islam. The main reasons for the opposition of the Quraysh to Islam were actuated by political and economic causes. When the Prophet raised the voice of a new code of life for the Arabs, the Banū Umayyah rejected the same on the assumption that Muhammad wanted to recapture power and revive the leadership of Banū Hāshim. In their relationship to each other, both these clans were the offshoot of the same stock; their common ancestor being 'Abd Munāf, the son of Qusai, the founder of the city state of Mecca. 'Abd Munāf had two sons, Hāshim and 'Abdus Shams, the former became the ancestor of the tribe of the same name and the latter's son Umayyah, became the progenitor of the clan of Banū Umayyah within the Quraysh. The rivalry of the Hāshmites and the Umayyads continued unabated with a brief interregnum, till the rise of the Abbasids at Baghdād in the second quarter of the second century after Hijrah. After the extinction of the Umayyad rule in Damascus, the family managed to found a kingdom in Spain, in the south west corner of Europe, which became the rival of the Abbāsid caliphate for over three centuries. The Umayyad capital of Cordova in Spain, became the nucleus of the Arab-Islamic civilization in the western world and it was through it that the light of Muslim learning spread to the continental Europe.

Foreign religious influences on al-Hijaz

Qurān, the sacred word of God, speaks of only four religious ideologies in the world and these are Islām, Judaism, Christianity and the worshippers of the natural phenomenon

called Sābaīn.[91] According to some writers the Sābaīn included the star-worshippers and also those who adored idols as their deities. Idol worshipping was common among the Arabs who fashioned out human shapes of the various natural objects and stars according to their imaginations. Thus Shamash, the sun deity, Amm the moon-god and Ishtar the venus, were all stars and heavenly bodies, who according to the Arab thinking exercised profound influence on the destinies of men. Hubal, the chief god of Quraysh was the statue of Abrahām and this attests to the practice of ancestor worship among the Arabs of the pre-Islamic times. Even some attributes of human nature were given a particular shape and worshipped. Wadd for instance was the embodiment of love, Hawl of power, Nakurah of enmity, Amiyanis of protection, Yaghūth of help and Ya'ūq of intermediation. The Arabs of Yaman and of central Arabia worshipped stones and trees. The people of al-Hijāz adored al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and al-Manāt, who were known as the daughters of God. The common belief was that Allāh governed the universe with the assistance of these females and no action was initiated without their concurrence. Al-'Uzzā (the most mighty) was the name given to Venus, the morning star and she dominated the Nakhlah, where her sanctuary consisted of three trees. She was known by the epithet "Uzzay-an" the lady and her idol was kept in the house of Ka'bah as one of the deities of the Quraysh. Al-Lāt, perhaps the moon-goddess was the most venerated among the Arabs and al-Tā'if formed the nucleus of its worship. Precincts of this deity were revered to such an extent that no tree could be felled, no game hunted and no human blood shed within the enclosure. Manāt, the goddess of destiny, on the other hand was popular with the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. Her sanctuary consisted of a black stone which is still adored and worshipped in the form of Hajar al-Aswad in the holy Ka'bah.

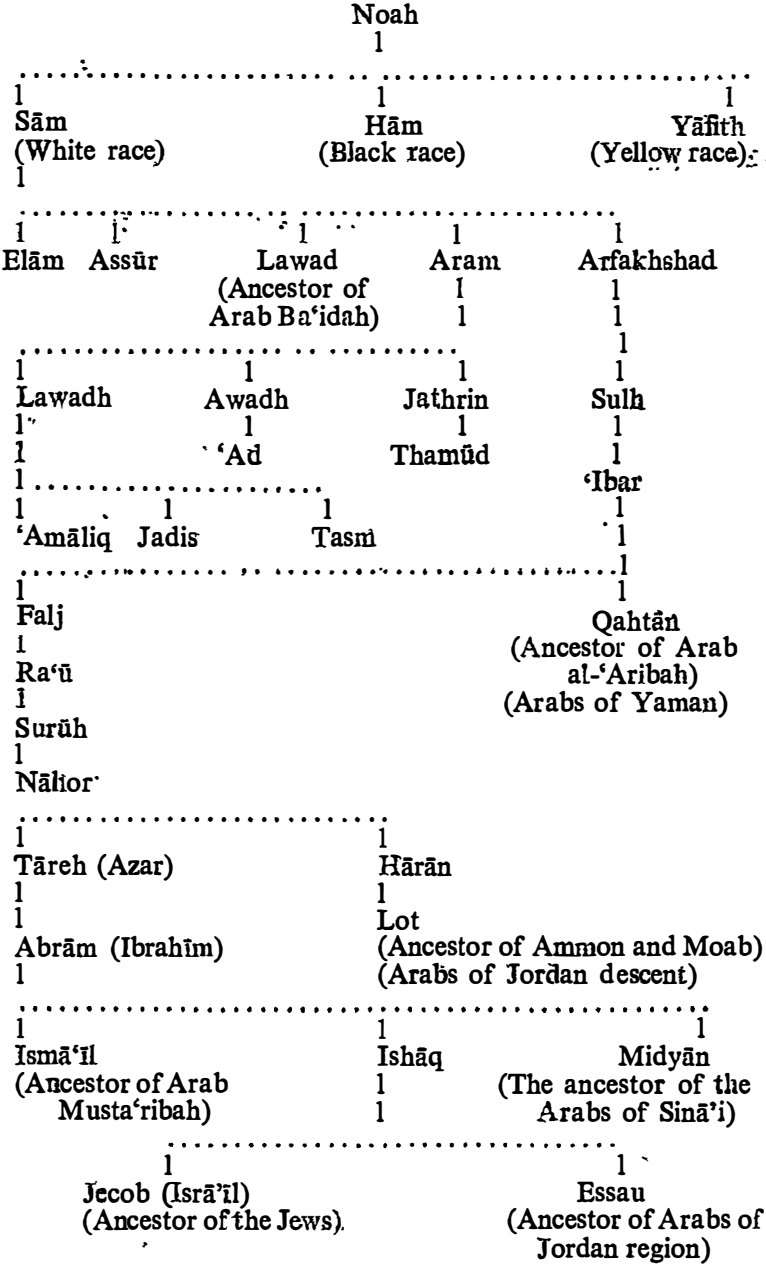
Side by side with idol-worship the beliefs of the world's great religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism were also rampant among the Arabs. Jewish communities had founded flourishing centres in al-Hijāz, al-Asir, Najrān and

Yaman. The Christian missionaries at the same time were also active in the propagation of their religion, which penetrated into Arabia through the Christian kingdoms of Ghassān and also of al-Hīrah. Due to its proximity to Abyssinia the Christian kingdom of Africa, bands of Christian missionaries crossed over the Bāb al-Mandeb. At the time of the birth of Muhammad invasions of the Christian armies were made against Yaman and al-Hijāz from Africa.[92] As a result of these penetrations, monotheistic tendencies developed among the Arabs and a class of unitarians, the Muwahhids called the Hanīfs came into prominence in al-Hijāz and other parts of Arabia. Waraqah ibn Naufil, 'Abdullāh ibn Jahsh, 'Uthmān ibn al-Huwayrath, Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nafīl are the few names who abhorred idolatry and professed a religious system based on the teachings of patriarch Abrahām.

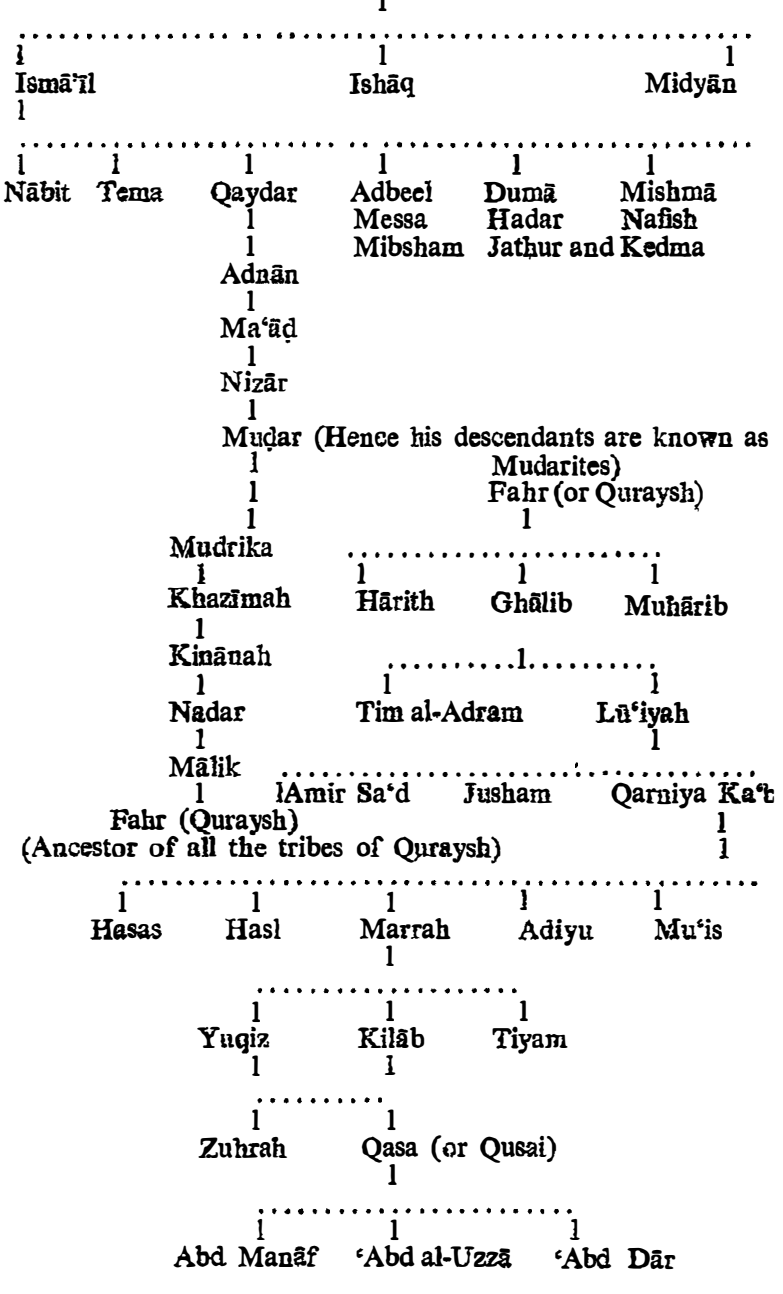
The Zoroastrians were probably few and they may have effected their passage into the Arabian peninsula in the later period of Sassanid rule in Persia, when the regions of the Lakhmīd kingdom of al-Hīrah became the training centres for the youthful princes of Irān. The rulers of Persia also extended the sphere of their influence to Yaman after the Iksūmite invasion, but their hold over the country appears to have been brief and precarious. Nevertheless the Zoroastrian ideas persisted among the Arabs and they still form the dominant dogmas of the religion of Islām. The conception of good and evil, Satan and Yazdān, of the all consuming fire and Jabr and Qadar still haunt the mind of the so-called pious Muslims throughout the world. The story of creation and that of flood, the races of mankind, of the Prophets and Masīhah, prayer rituals, the day of judgement and the idea of paradise and hell were all borrowed from the Jewish and Christian religions. Islām in fact is the last attempt of the Semitic mind to give to the world a way of life which could be adopted by all the people of the world. It was with Islām that the Semitic ideas have come to the perfection never attained before, and as such the Prophet of Islām is regarded as the last apostle in the series starting from Adam and closing with Muhammad, the seal of the Prophets.

Genealogical Tree of the Pre-Islamic Arabs

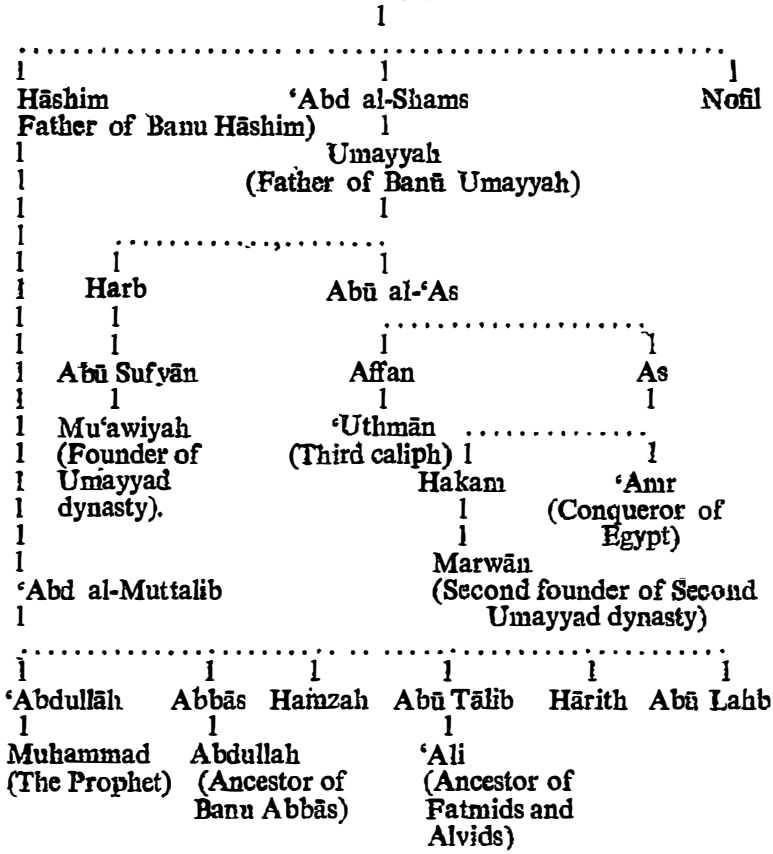
Arab Bā'idah, Arab al-'Āribāh, Arab al-Musta'ribah and the Jews.



Genealogical Tree of the Quraysh



Genealogy of the Quraysh



Notes and References

1. The original name appears to have been "عربه" which in due course of time became known as عرب. This is attested to from the poems of the Jāhiliyah period:-

Asad ibn Jāhil:- و عربة ارض جدّد في شرا هلها
كما جدّد في شرب النقاخ ظماء

Ibn Munfidh:- لنا اهل لم يطمث النذل بيتها
بعربة ماواها بقرن فا بطها
و لولان قومي طا و عتني سراتهم
امرتهم الامرالذى كان اريحا

Abū Sufyān:- ابونا رسول الله و ابن خليله ـ بعربه بوانا فنعم المركب

Abū Tālib ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib:-
و عربه داولا يحل حرامها ـ من الناس الاالنوذعى الجلاحل

2. History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 9.
3. Genesis: Chapter 11, Verse-12,13.
4. Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion, Vol. I, p. 373.
5. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. I, p. 67.
6. واذكروا اذ جعلكم خلفاء من بعد قوم نوح Quran: Surah-7 (A'rāf), V-69.
7. الم تركيف فعل ربك بعادارم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلهم في البلاد Quran: Surah-89 (Fajr), V-8.
8. والى عادٍ اخاهم هوداً Quran, Surah-26 (Shu'arā'), Verse-123-125.
9. History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 52.
10. Arḍ al-Qurān, p. 216. History of Arabs, p. 216.
11. Syria (Hitti), p. 146.
12. Ibid, p. 147.
13. Hyksos is a compound of Hyk (Shek) and Sos (Shepherd) depicting them as the Shepherd Kings. Ancient History of Near East (Hall), p. 212.
14. History of Persian (Sykes), Vol. I, p. 62; Ancient History of the Near East (Hall), pp. 174-597.
15. Ancient Times (Breasted), p. 108.

16. Ancient History of Near East (Hall), pp. 174, 594, 597.
17. Ibid, p. 186.
18. Ancient Times, p. 111.
19. History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 67; Ancient History of Near East, p. 189.
20. The site of Māri has yielded 20,000 tablets. Vide History of Syria, pp. 66, 67.
21. Ancient Near East (Pritchard), pp. 137-168.
22. Ibid, p. 139.
23. Tushratta ruled in al-'Irāq probably by 1375 B.C. and as such he was a contemporary to Amenhe-tep III and Amenhe-tep IV (i.e. (Akhne-ton). A daughter of Tushratta, named Gilukhipa was married to Amenhe-tep IV, but the chief queen was Nefertiti the sister wife of Akhneton. Ancient History of Near East, p. 262.
24. Ancient Times, p. 141.
25. Ancient History of Near East, p. 445.
26. History of Syria, pp. 196, 197.
27. 2. Kings. Chapter 19, Verse-35.
28. Ancient History of Near East, p. 499.
29. Ibid, p. 510.
30. Qurān: Surah-1 (Cow), Verse-259. او كالذي مرّ على قريه وهي خاويه على عروشها
31. Ancient Times, p. 166.
32. Qurān, Surah-18 (Kahf). Verse-82; Ezra, Chapter I, Verse-5.
33. Lubnon in History, p. 70.
34. A coalition of the Syrian kings comprising of Ben Hadad of Damascus, Ahāb of Isrā'īl and Irkhlūni of Hamāth faced the invasion of the Assyrians under the personal command of Shalmanesar III, at Qarqar in 854 B.C. The issue remained undecisive although both parties claimed victory to their side. Arabs (Hitti), p. 37; Syria (Hitti), p. 66; Ancient History of Near East, p. 440.

35. Syria (Hitti), p. 100.
36. Ibid, pp. 103, 104, 105.
37. Ibid, p. 105.
38. Ibid, p. 108.
39. Ancient Times, p. 134.
40. Syria (Hitti), p. 64.
41. Ibid, pp. 69, 70.
42. واذكروا اذ جعلكم خلفاء من بعد عاد Qurān, Surah-7 (A'rāf), Verse-74.
43. Arabs (Hitti), p. 76; Syria (Hitti), pp. 395, 396.
44. Arḍ al-Qurān, p. 201.
45. Arabs (Hitti), pp. 44, 45.
46. Ibid, p. 52.
47. Arḍ al-Qurān, p. 210.
48. Ibid, p. 217.
49. Arabs (Hitti), p. 38.
50. Syria (Hitti), p. 190.
51. Arabs (Hitti), p. 55.
52. Ibid, pp. 55, 56.
53. Arabs (Hitti), p. 55; Arḍ al-Qurān, pp. 228 to 232.
54. Arabs (Hitti), p. 57.
54. Arabs (Hitti), p. 57.
55. Ibid, p. 56.
56. Ibid, p. 57.
57. Ibid, p. 57.
58. Qurān: Surah-105 (al-Fīl), Verse-4. الم تر كيف فعل ربك باصحاب الفيل
59. فاعرضوا فارسلنا عليهم سيل العرم Quran, Surah-34, Verse-16.
60. Arabs (Hitti), p. 72.
61. Arḍ al-Qurān, p. 44.
62. Bud wa'l-Tārikh, p. 166.

63. The genealogy of the Prophet runs like this:

Muhammad ibn Abdullāh ibn Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hāshim ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Qusai ibn Kilāb ibn Marah ibn Kaʿb ibn Luʿiyah ibn Ghālib ibn Fahr ibn Mālik ibn Nadr ibn Kanānah ibn Mudrikah ibn Elias ibn Mudar ibn Nizār ibn Maʿd ibn Adnān ibn Qaydār ibn Ismāil ibn Ibrahim, the Patriarch. Arḍ al-Qurān, p. 97.

64. Arabs (Hitti), p. 68.

65. Syria (Hitti), p. 378.

66. Ibid, p. 382.

67. Ibid, p. 385.

68. 1. Kings. Chapter 16, Verse-24.

69. Arabs (Hitti), pp. 72, 73.

70. Syria (Hitti), p. 388; 1. Kings. Chapter 9, Verse-18; Ezra. Chapter 47, Verse-19 and Chapter 48, Verse-28.

71. Syria (Hitti), p. 392.

72. Ibid, p. 393.

73. History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 68.

74. Syria, p. 377.

75. History of Syria (Hitti), p. 378.

76. History of Arabs, pp. 64-65.

77. Ibid, p. 78.

78. Syria, p. 402.

79. Syria, p, 403.

80. Futuh al-Buldan, p. 438.

81. History of Syria, p. 405.

82. History of Arabs, p. 82.

83. Ibid, p. 83.

84. Aʿiliāq al - Nafīsah, p. 192.

85. History of Arabs, p. 85.
86. Arḍ al- Qurān, Vol. I, pp. 233, 234.
87. Genesis; Chapter 21, Verse-12, 19; 21.
88. Genesis: Chapter 25, Verse-16.
89. Exodus: Chapter 3, Verse-1.
90. Qurān, Surah 106, Verse-2.
91. Arḍ al-Quran (Nadvi), p. 97.
92. Quran, Surah 105, Verse-4.

SINDHU-ARAB CONTACTS

Preliminary attacks of the Arabs on Sind; Causes of attack on Sind.

The contacts of Arabs with Sind, which comprised of the whole Indus Valley, may be traced as early as the pre-historic times. The ancient dwellers of the Indus Valley, are said to have migrated to al-'Irāq and laid the foundation of the Sumerio-Semitic culture of Babylonia. The inscriptions reveal that a monstrous nation, half fish half man, swam up the Persian Gulf and introduced the art of writing and other arts of civilization in the valley of Euphrates. Plough and wheel which are regarded the very basis of civilization were first brought by these people in al-'Irāq who also gave the name "shinar" to the whole valley.[1] The scholars have given the name Sumerian to these people, from Sumer, a name which they themselves placed on the regions of southern al-'Irāq bordering the Persian Gulf. The Sumerians as we now call them have left the vestiges of their superior culture in Baluchistān, Makrān, and Fārs before their arrival in the land of two rivers. They are also responsible for the introduction of the cuneiform script in the valley, which was later adopted by all the nations of West Asia. It continued to be the sole medium of writing throughout ancient times, till the invention of alphabetical system by the Phoenicians by 1200 B.C.

The discovery of the seals and pottery both at Muān-jo-Daro in Sind and Telloh and other sites in al-'Irāq shows great resemblance with each other and reveals uninterrupted intercourse between the two valleys. Dūdū, one of the ancient rulers of southern al-'Irāq who headed the revolt against the Akkādian ruler Shargali-Shari, had a counterpart in Sind in the person of Dodo, the Sumerāh ruler.[2] This name is still borne by a number of people in Sind and Baluchistān regions, which attests to the popularity of the epithet, applied only to men of courage and chivalry. Tushrattā on the other hand is a prototype of

an Indo-Aryan name Dasratta[3] borne by the father of Srī Rāmchandra, the hero of Ramāyanā. Ṭushrattā ruled over al-'Irāq almost at the same period when Dasratta was all powerful in India. That the Indus Valley formed part of the Assyrian empire and the world famed Semirāmis ruled over Sind, is a matter of questionable doubt. But it is certain that there had been invasions from the west and since the Achaemenians had extended their influence over Indus Valley, it can be fairly concluded that the Assyrians and prior to them the other Semitic nations might have attempted to conquer Sind and incorporate it within their empires. Under Darius I, Admiral Skylax entered the frontiers of Sind and succeeded in exploring the land route to the Indus Valley. Skylax was a resident of Kiranda in the province of Karia (in Asia Minor) and he was commissioned to invade the Indus Valley and conquer it for the Achaemenians. This intrusion of the Iranians took place in 515 B. C. and resulted in the annexation of a major portion of the Indus Valley west of the river Indus by the new rulers of Persia. Indus Valley then became the twentieth satrapy of the great Achaemenian empire and its revenues to the central exchequer amounted to 360 talents of gold.[4] This greatly attests to the richness of Sind and the fertility of its soil in the remote period of its history.

Alexander the great, the ruler of Babylon too invaded Sind, through Persia and after conquering a greater portion of Indus Valley he returned to al-'Irāq through the coastal regions of Makrān and Fārs. The successors of Alexander who inherited his empire at Babylon acted upon the same policy and maintained close contacts with the valley of Indus. Seleucus Nicator, after having been defeated by Chandragupta Mauriya, established matrimonial alliance with the Indian ruler, by giving his daughter in marriage to the victor. This brought Megasthenese in the court of Pataliputra, whose accounts are of great value on the condition of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in those times. In the Sassānid period when Persia became the master of West Asia including al-'Irāq, the connections of Sind with the western world remained in tact. Although Sind

formed part of the Sassānid empire, yet the hold of the Iranians over it was precarious and doubtful. This is evident from the foundation of a powerful Buddhist dynasty in the Indus Valley, with its capital al-Ror, which held sway over a large portion of the region now called West Pakistan. In spite of the uncertainty of the political influence, the cultural dominance of Persia over Sind cannot be ignored.[5] The names of the towns al-Rūd, Bahmanābād, Siwistān, Nirūn etc., show dominant Persian influence over the country of Sind. The Sassānid ruler Chosros an-Naushirwān who ruled at Cteciphon in al-'Irāq, is said to have been greatly interested in the learnings of Indo-Pakistan origin, specially the science of medicine. He therefore deputed his personal physician Burzoyah to Sind to make researches in medicine and bring to al-'Irāq some of the medicinal herbs which possessed magical power of healing. Burzoyah after staying in Sind for some time returned to Cteciphon and took with him among other works, the famous Panchtantra of the Pandit Bedpa.[6] Translated into Persian this book was named as "Kalīlah wa Dimnah" and it was retranslated into Arabic language by Abdullāh ibn Muqaffah[7] in Bayt al-Hikmah, under the patronage of the Abbāsid rulers of Baghdād. The world famed game of chess was also introduced in Persia and the Arab world by physician Burzoyah during the same period. During this period of the Sassānid history, Ublah (in al-'Irāq) served as the chief port of the Persian empire and the Arabs controlled the whole sea trade of the east as well as of the west, through Yaman and Syria. Ublah was conquered by the Arabs in the reign of 'Umar, the second caliph, and this resulted in the decline of the port as a commercial centre. The centre of gravity then shifted to Omān, from where the first attack was made on Sind and the coastal regions of India. A little later new port of Basrah came into existence, which apart from being a Jundī (or Cantonment) rose to be the most important sea port of the Arab world in medieval times.

The Arabs due to their commercial activities in the Indian Ocean, founded colonies and anchorage centres on the entire sea coast of Malabār and Karomandal, down to Ceylon. There

is no evidence of the Arab settlement in Sind, possibly due to the hostile attitude of the rulers of Sind to the foreigners. That the Arabs had settled in the coastal towns of Cutch, Gujrāt and the Malabār coast is proved by the existence of mosques found on the whole Malabār coast and of Deccan.[8] Ceylon which is reported to be the first centre of Arab settlement had a pretty large number of Arab traders, who had intermarried with the native women of Ceylon. The Arab women and children involved in the attack of the Sindhi pirates on Arab vessels from Ceylon attests to the existence of a large Arab community in the island.[9] It is related that the people of Ceylon, when they came to know about the advent of Prophet Muhammad, deputed a man from amongst them to proceed to Mecca and to bring an authentic report about the new Prophet and his teachings. The man who was subjected to long voyages of sea due to bad weather, reached al-Madīnah during the caliphate of 'Umar, the second successor of the Prophet. He met with the caliph and after receiving the requisite information returned to Ceylon. On his journey homeward the man died in the vicinity of Makrān, but his Hindu slave managed to reach Ceylon safely, where he informed his countrymen all about Islām, its founder and also about the caliph, a godly person whom he had seen in simple patched garment.[10] It is due to this reason that the people of Ceylon harbour love for the Muslims and show affection to them. The attachment of the Arabs to Ceylon may have also been actuated by the beauty of its women, which has greatly been appreciated by them.[11]

The second great centre of the Arab settlement was the Maldeep Archipelago known to the Arabs as Jazīrat al-Mahl, which is the corruption of the Sanskrit term Māldev or Māldep. Ibn Batūtah the famous globe trotter, who visited these islands in or about A.H. 700 (1301 A.C.) reports that the island was ruled by a Bengāli woman named Khadījah and its inhabitants were all Muslims. He, however, adds that most of its people were either Arabs or the descendants of the Arab settlers, who made these islands their abode for many generations.[12]

The colonisation of the Malabār coast may have also

been made during the same period due to its rich products, the spices. Aloe and Sandal wood, camphor, coconut, ambergriss and various other products of Deccan and the west coast of India were also exported to the Arab world in large quantities. The Arabs were also acquainted with the Karomandal coast of Deccan, the chief port of which called Mandal by the Arabs, was famous for the most precious variety of aloe wood in the world. But the most important and much frequented centre of the Arab habitation was Gujrāt, the ruler of which place called "Balhārā" (Valabhrai) was reported to be greatly disposed towards the Arab Muslims.[13] Balhārā allowed the Arabs to establish colonies within his kingdom and also to build mosques for the free exercise of their religious rites. The people of the Balhārā country believed that it was due to the favours shown to the Arabs that their rulers lived a longer span of life. The tolerant attitude of the Valabhi rulers towards the Arabs is attested to by the accounts of the Arab travellers and tradesmen, who made extensive tours of these lands in the early period of Islamic History.

The non-Muslim rulers of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent seem to have been tolerant to the Muslim communities in the exercise of their religion, partly due to the commercial profession of the Arab settlers and partly due to the maraudering raids of the Arab fleets. The Arab naval units attacked the port towns of the coast carrying sword and fire and this resulted in great misery to the people. The settlement of the Arabs prevented further incursions and ensured safety of life and property of the inhabitants of the coastal towns. The Arab geographers who visited the Malabār coast and Gujrāt in the medieval period report that almost every town had a mosque and that the Arabs enjoyed complete freedom in the exercise of their religion.[14]

Preliminary attacks of the Arabs on Sind

The preliminary attacks on Sind took the form of maraudering raids on Makrān, Sind and the coastal regions of Malabār in the south west India. The first such attack was made from Omān, a province on the eastern sea coast of Arabia

in the year A.H. 15/637 A.C. This expedition was organised by 'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Ās al-Thaqafī, the governor of Omān, who sent his brother Mughīrah to pillage the coasts of "al-Sind and al-Hind". Mughīrah, first came to Bahrayn and organised a naval fleet for an attack on al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind. During this period Sind was ruled by Chach ibn Sayla'ij the founder of the Brahman dynasty who sent instructions to defend the port with all available forces. The governor of the town resisted the attack of the Arabs but he was defeated and the Arabs returned to the Arabian ports safely.[15] This is the version of the Chachnāmah which appears to be one-sided and little prejudiced. Al-Balādhurī on the other hand reports that 'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'As al-Thaqafī had sent two expeditions by sea against the coastal regions of India. Mughīrah was sent to al-Daybul and al-Hakam another brother of 'Uthmān was sent against Thānā. Mughīrah was, however, killed in an encounter with the Sindhi forces, but al-Hakam returned safely to Omān, laden with the spoils of war.[16] 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb, the second orthodox caliph, when apprised of the situation was greatly alarmed by the action of the governor and reprimanded him not to repeat the same in future. The author of Futūh al-Buldān has given a curious account of the injunction of 'Umar, which greatly reflects on the mind of the Arabs of Hijāz, who were not accustomed to sea-faring.[17] Again in the reign of 'Umar, the second caliph, Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī the governor of Basrah deputed Rabī' ibn Ziyād al-Hārithī to Kirmān and Makrān, to collect reports about the feasibility of an attack on the country of Sind. Rabī' however it would seem, did not recommend such an undertaking which would cost the life of the Muslims with no tangible results.[18] Attacks by land against the country of Sind were, therefore, prohibited under a caliphal decree, which also imposed restrictions on naval expeditions.

Soon after the death of 'Umar, the eastern provinces of Fārs, Khurāsan, Seistān and Kirmān rose in revolt against the Arab rule. The cause of sedition was Yazd-Jird the last Sassānid ruler of Irān, who was still alive. He continued fomenting trouble by instigating the people of Irān to rise against the hate-

ful rule of the Arabs. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Qurayẓ, who was appointed as the governor of al-'Irāq by 'Uthmān, the third caliph, was commissioned to deal with the situation. In A.H. 30/652 A.C. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir, marched on Khurāsān and sent Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd al-Sulamī to Kirmān. Mujāshi' took the towns of Bāmyand and Brokhroh and then laid siege to Shīrjān, the capital of Kirmān. The city was then taken by assault and its inhabitants were put to sword.[19] This appears to be the first instance in the history of Islām in which the civil population of an alien country was massacred indiscriminately without distinction of age and sex. The remnant of the population was either reduced to slavery or deported across the sea in the islands of the Persian Gulf. The fall of Shīrjān was followed by the conquest of Jayrfat, Hurmuzd and other towns, where the Arab tribes began to settle down permanently. These acts of vandalism on the part of the Arabs can only be compared with the deeds of their kinsmen the Assyrians who spread a wave of terror in West Asia by their acts of cruelty to the human race. The difference between the two, however, lies in the fact that the Arabs declared themselves to be the champions of the "Religion of peace" while the Assyrians styled themselves as the followers of Aššūr, the god of War.[20]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Qurayz under instructions from Caliph 'Uthmān sent a naval expedition against Sind under the leadership of Hakam ibn Jabalah al-'Abdī. It was probably a survey trip in which Hakam appears to have made a realistic approach to the problem of attack on the kingdom of Sind. When he returned to the governor after the completion of his mission he was despatched to the caliph to narrate what he had seen and observed. Hakam summed up his reply in one line:

ماءها وشل ثمرها دقل ولصها بطل. ان قل الجيش يهاجموا و ان كثر وجاعوا

"O Commander of the faithful, the water is scanty, fruits bad and thieves arrogant. If a small force is sent it will be destroyed (by the thieves) and if a big army is despatched it will too suffer the same fate (due to thirst)".[21]

On account of this unfavourable report no further incursion was made against the frontiers of the kingdom of Sind. In A.H. 23 (645 A.C.) Suhayl ibn 'Adiyyu attacked the country of Kirmān and overran it. The Marzbān of Kirmān resisted the attack but he was killed and the army advanced to Ṣeistān. The conquest of Seistān was followed by an attack on Makrān under the command of Hakam ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī. The ruler of Makrān was a vassal of the King of Sind who sent some forces to his rescue, but their combined forces were defeated on the banks of river Helmond and dispersed.[22] Immense booty fell in the hands of the victors who do not seem to have conquered these regions permanently but contended themselves with the spoils of war.

In the year A.H. 38/39 (661 A.C.) Hārith ibn Marrah al-'Abdī, after having obtained prior permission from caliph 'Alī, marched against the frontiers of Sind. He was victorious every where and obtained immense booty. The number of slaves captured in this expedition was so great that one thousand slaves were distributed in one day.[23] Hārith was however killed in one of his attacks against Sind near Qāyqanān in A.H. 42/664 A.C. Two years later the famous Arab general Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah proceeded as far as Qayqanān in modern Baluchistān, where a tough resistance was offered by the local inhabitants. It was during this expedition that an attack was made on Banū and Ahwāz, the towns situated in between Multān and Kābul.[24] These regions could not be conquered permanently on account of the refractory nature of the natives of Baluchistān, who rose in rebellion again and again.

Mu'āwiyah ibn Abi Sufyān who became the lord paramount of the Muslim world after the assassination of 'Alī, appointed 'Abdullāh ibn Sawār al-'Abdī as the warden of marches on the frontiers of Sind. 'Abdullāh made an attack on Qayqanān and sent some of the best horses of Baluchistān to Mu'āwiyah as a present. Among other valuable gifts sent by 'Abdullāh al-'Abdī was a mirror known as "world revealing mirror" through which the whole life of any man could be ascertained without any suspicion. The said mirror remained in the royal treasury

of the Umayyads and then passed on to the 'Abbāsids when they came to power in 750 A.C. 'Abdullāh was, however, killed in an action against the Turks near Qayqanān and was followed by Sinān ibn Salāmah ibn al-Muhabbāk al-Hādhlī. A poet had said about Ibn Sawār al-'Abdī:-

و ابن سوار علي عداته - موقد النار و قتال السغب[25]

(Ibn Sawār all the time kindling fire and slaying hunger). He is reported to have been a generous man and given to hospitality. He would not allow any other fire to be kindled in the camp excepting his own. One night he saw some other fire and said "what is this". They answered "A woman is in child birth and date-custard is being prepared for her". He thereupon ordered that all men in his camp be given such a custard three times. Chachnāmah on the other hand reports that it was the woman who in gratitude for permission to kindle fire, gave food to the whole camp for three days.[26]

The Chachnāmah also reports that 'Abdullāh ibn Sawār's advance was resisted by the people of Kirmān and the Arabs were defeated with heavy losses. 'Abdullāh was himself killed in the battle and the whole field was covered with the dead bodies. Hātim ibn Qutaybah al-Bāhili relates that he was in that army and he collected one hundred rings along with the seals from the dead bodies of the enemy forces, after the conclusion of the battle. The bravery and generosity of Ibn Sawār had acquired proverbial eminence and the following couplet was recited about him in the presence of Mu'āwiyah:-

من كابن سوار اذ جاشت مراجله - في الحرب لا اوقدت نار لها بعده
كانت مراجله للرزق ضامنة - فانهن بنات الحرب و الجوده[27]

After the death of Ibn Sawār, Ziyād ibn Abīhī, suggested two names to Mu'āwiyah for appointment as warden of marches on the frontiers of Sind. These were Ahnaf ibn Qays and Sinān ibn Salāmah ibn al-Muhabbāq al-Hadhlī. Mu'āwiyah rejected Ahnaf, probably for his pro-Alide leanings and appointed Sinān al-Hadhlī as the governor of the eastern frontiers. Sinān al-Hadhlī conquered the rest of Makrān region and established garrisons at important centres. He was an excellent

godly person and was the first to bind his troops by an oath to divorce their wives. He introduced efficient administration in Makrān and maintained peace and order in the country. A poet said concerning him:-

رايت هذيلا احدثت في يمينها - طلاق نساء ما يسوق لها مهرا
لهان علي حلقت ابن محبق - اذا رفعت اعنا قها حلقا صفرا[28]

(I saw Hudhayl solemnly swearing, to divorce their wives who had no dower. It were easy for me to take an oath as Ibn Muhabbak's, when they have taken the gold rings from their necks).

Sinān ibn Salāmah al-Hadhlī was dismissed by Ziyād ibn Abīhī, the viceroy of al-ʿIrāq who appointed Rāshid ibn ʿAmr al-Judaydī al-Azdī in his place. Rāshid ibn ʿAmr too made an attack on the regions of Qayqanān and recovered a large amount of booty from the inhabitants. He then proceeded to the mountains of Seistān where he was attacked by the native Meds and killed.[29] After the death of Rāshid, Sinān al-Hadhlī was reappointed as the warden of marches over Makrān and this post he held for a period of two years. Sinān was also killed by the native Zutts (Jatts) and Meds in an attack against Buddha.[30]

Sinān al-Hadlī on his death was followed by Mundhir ibn Jarūd ibn Bashshr, who was appointed to the post in the year A.H. 61 (683 A.C.). When he visited ʿUbaydullāh ibn Ziyād, his shirt having been entangled in a pointed wood, was torn. This the governor regarded as a bad omen, which ultimately came true. Mundhir died of an illness near Poralī river and was succeeded by his son Hakam who held the frontiers for a period of six months.[31] Al-Balādhurī who is more reliable reports that Mundhir had raided Buqān and Qayqanān, where the Arabs obtained much booty. He then conquered Quzdār and a poet says:-

حل بقصدار فاضحي بها - في قبر لم يغفل مع الغافلين
لاالله قصدار و اعنا بها - اي فتي دنيا اجنت و دين[32]

(He came to Kuzdār and there he found the grave. He rejoiced not with them, that rejoiced. To Allah belongs Kuz-

dār and its grapes. Alas what a hero of the world and of religion was buried there).

The period from A.H. 63 to 73, was one of the most turbulent in the history of Islam. The death of Yazīd I, created a great vacuum in the politics at the centre, as a result of which rival caliphate was established at Mecca. 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr, who controlled Hijāz and al-'Irāq had a strong party of supporters in Syria headed by Duhāq ibn Qays. The age-long struggle between the two factions of the Arabs, the Muḍarites and the Yamanites, flared up into open revolt during the same period. The Yamanites who remained steadfast in their loyalty to the ruling house took the side of the Umayyads. Muḍarites on the other hand rallied to the standard of Duhāq ibn Qays, a representative of 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr in Syria. In the decisive battle of Marj Rahat (fought in A.H. 65), the Muḍarites were defeated with heavy losses and their leader Duhāq lay dead on the battle field. Marwān I, who headed the confederacy of the Umayyads and the Yamanites emerged successful and was declared as Caliph. Marwān, however, was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory and died after a brief period of nine months. His son 'Abd al-Malik in order to consolidate his power in the Muslim world came into conflict with 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr who still held Hijāz with al-'Irāq as its dependency. Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, a school teacher of Tā'if was commissioned to deal with the rival caliph who finally fell fighting in the siege of Mecca in A.H. 73 (692 A.C.).[33]

The death of Ibn Zubayr brought an end to the civil war among the Arabs which taxed their energies and resources for a long period of ten years. In A.H. 74 (694 A.C.) al-Hajjāj was appointed as viceroy over al-Irāq with headquarters at al-Kūfah. Imperialist to the core, his warlike nature allowed him no rest. Immediately after his appointment he nominted Sa'īd ibn Aslam ibn Zara' al-Kilābī as governor over Makrān. Sa'īd was however killed by Mu'āwiyah and Muhammad the sons of one Hārith 'Ilāfī, who took over the control of the frontiers. It has been mentioned in the accounts that Sa'īd al-Kilābi after his arrival in Makrān called all the Arab chiefs to rally to his standard

along with their men. Sufhavī ibn Lām al-Hamāmī, a chief of Banū Azd, refused to enlist himself in the army of Sa'īd and as such he was killed under the orders of the new governor. The deceased chief was connected with the family of al-'Ilāfī, who avenged the murder of their kinsman by putting Sa'īd ibn Aslam to death in a night attack. Al-Hajjāj when apprised of the situation issued instructions for taking repressive measures against the state criminals and this resulted in the murder of some of the prominent members of al-'Ilāfī family. Muḥammad ibn Mu'āwiyah al-'Ilāfī, however, escaped to the east and took shelter with Rā'i Dāhir, the King of Sind.[34] In A.H. 85/705 A.D. al-Hajjāj appointed Mujjā'ah ibn Sa'r over Khurāsān and directed him to attack Qandābīl and al-Hind. Mujjā'ah did not survive for long and died a year after his arrival in Makrān, possibly due to health reasons. Al-Hajjāj then appointed Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Numrī as governor over Makrān, with instructions to search the 'Ilāfīs and take revenge from them for murdering Sa'id al-Kilābī. Muḥammad ibn Hārūn having taken over charge of his post sent for the 'Ilāfīs and having killed one of them, he sent his head to al-Hajjāj. These events greatly reflect on the psychology of the Arabs of the first century Hijrī who had killed three persons of al-'Ilāfī family for one Sa'id al-Kilābī, were not yet satisfied and intended to wipe off the whole trible of al-'Ilāfīs. This also reflects on the blood thirstiness of al-Hajjāj who throughout the period of his viceroyalty had acted as a savage beast having no consideration for human lives. The accounts also reveal that this tyrant had killed as many as 1,20,000 men during the tenure of his office and put many more to disgrace. Even Anas ibn Mālik the famous traditionist and companion of the Prophet, was not spared and was branded on the neck (like horse) with the seal of the viceroy, for showing sympathy to the opposition.[35]

During this period the ruler of Sarandīp, it is related sent some gifts to al-Hajjāj, along with some Muslim women who were desirous of performing Hajj at Mecca.[36] Another version of the same story shows that these women belonged to the families of the deceased Arab traders who had settled

down in those islands.[37] When the ships reached in the vicinity of al-Daybul, the Sindhīs attacked them and made those women prisoners. The gifts and presents which were sent by the ruler of Sarandīp were also looted and appropriated by the native thieves. A woman of Banū 'Azīz tribe cried out in anguish "Come to our help O' Hajjāj, come to our help" and when this incident was communicated to the viceroy he hastened to reply "Here am I"[38] and he despatched an army against Sind. According to al-Balādhurī, the said woman belonged to the tribe of Banū Yarbū' whose ancestors had settled in Ceylon.[39]

The author of Chachnāmah reports that al-Hajjāj had despatched an envoy to the king of Sind for the release of the Arab women and the restoration of the presents sent by the ruler of Mahl-Dīp. Rā'ī Dāhir's reply appears to be convincing and reasonable for the simple reason that the ships were attacked and looted by the pirates on the high seas, over whom the kings of Sind did not exercise any control.[40] The viceroy was enraged by the evasive reply of the ruler of Sind and decided to punish him. After having sought prior permission from caliph Wālīd I, he despatched an army to Sind, under the command of 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sulamī. 'Abdullāh advanced as far as al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind, but he was defeated and killed.[41] After the death of 'Abdullāh, Budayl ibn Ṭahāfatah al-Bajalī was commissioned to deal with the situation. Budayl after having reached al-Daybul, laid siege to it and the port was about to be stormed when timely reinforcements saved it from capitulation. Prince Jaysia, the son of Rā'ī Dāhir, hastened to meet the invaders, with four thousand men and four elephants. In the battle that followed Budayl fought desperately but he was defeated with heavy losses and killed. According to Chachnāmah the number of men who fought under the command of Budayl were three thousand three hundred horse-men.[42] Al-Balādhurī on the other hand reports that Budayl ibn Tahāfatah was killed by the Jatts of Budha country, on his way to Sind.[43] According to another narrative Budayl ibn Ṭahāfatah al-Bajalī and 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sulamī were sent simultaneously against al-Daybul and al-Nīrūn and both of them failed to achieve any success.

The defeat of Budayl kindled the wrath of al-Hajjāj to the extreme. He made a wise decision after deep thinking and keeping in view the reports of the informers. It is reported that 'Āmir ibn 'Abdullāh, made a formal request to al-Hajjāj for appointment over Sind, but it was rejected in preference to 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, a cousin of the viceroy himself.[44] The appointment of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim was actuated by two considerations; firstly Muḥammad was a kinsman of al-Hajjāj and secondly he was a brave and reckless warrior. The purpose of viceroy to favour his cousin, was combined with the sense of superiority and respect in which the tribe of al-Thaqīf was held among the Arabs, on account of the high posts held by al-Hajjāj and his partisans in the east; secondly Muḥammad was entrusted with this difficult task due to the extraordinary valour and resoluteness, which he displayed in his campaigns against the highland Kurds and the rebellious chiefs of Irān. His selection was therefore made out of curiosity and a desire to test the strength of the young conqueror. If he became successful it would add a new crown of glory to the family of Banū Thaqīf and if he failed it would be easy to put forward a sound argument.

Causes of attack on Sind

The traditional and often quoted main cause of attacks on Sind is reported to have been a piratical raid made on the Arab vessels by the pirates of Sind while passing through, off the coast of al-Daybul. The author of Chachnāmah reports that the ruler of Ceylon in order to cement closer friendship with the caliph of Damascus, sent some precious gifts to al-'Irāq in cargo ships plying on Indian Ocean. The said ruler had also sent to the caliph, the wives and children of the Arab traders who had died in the island. These ships were attacked by the Sindhi thieves Nakāmarah, who looted the presents and reduced those women to slavery. One of these women who belonged to the tribe of Banū Yarbū yelled in agony and cried out for help to al-Hajjāj. As a result of this incident al-Hajjāj despatched an army to Sind which was finally conquered by the Arabs and incorporated in the Umayyad empire. This story, it seems, is a fabrication

on the part of the Muslim writers with the sole purpose of justifying the attacks of Arabs on Sind. That the Arab prisoners were recovered from al-Daybul after its conquest by the Arabs is another fabrication, not supported by historical evidence and contrary to the facts recorded in contemporary sources.

The real cause of attack on Sind was two-fold. Firstly the failure of the ruler of Sind to extradite Muḥammad ibn Mu'āwiyah al-'Ilāfī who had taken shelter with him and secondly due to the imperialistic policy of al-Hajjāj ibn Yusūf al-Thaqafī, the viceroy of al-'Irāq. During the viceroyalty of al-Hajjāj the Arab dominions had reached the farthest limits of their expansion. His generals had conquered the regions of Seistān, Afghānistān and central Asia and as such conflict with the kingdom of Sind was but a natural process and inevitable. Already in the days of caliph 'Uthmān the province of Makrān was conquered by the Arabs, but due to the unstable government at the centre and the civil war among the Arabs, this province went out of their hands. Al-Hajjāj in order to consolidate the power of the Arabs in Makrān appointed Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Numrī as the warden of the marches over Makrān, of which some of the important towns like Panjgoor and Armā'īl were still held by the kings of Sind. The Khārjite menace was in full swing in the east and the administration of the eastern provinces imposed a heavy drain on the resources of the Umayyads. In order to meet the financial deficiency al-Hajjāj ventured on new designs of lucrative nature, to fill in the coffers of the state. The main purpose of these attacks may also have been actuated by political reasons, with the sole intention of diverting the energies of the Arabs to new enterprises rather than fighting among themselves. An army was immediately despatched to Kābul under 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash'at known as, "the army of the peacocks" to recover the arrears of the tribute.[45] Another army under Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī, proceeded beyond river Oxus and conquered the regions of Shāsh, Sughd, Balkh and Khokand. Qutaybah even penetrated in the Chinese territories and encoun-

tered an army sent by the Khākān near Kāshgar, where peace was patched up with the native Chinese.[46] The conquest of Sind was too included in the pre-planned programme of al-Hajjāj for which some flimsy grounds were needed. Al-Hajjāj had appointed Sa'īd ibn Aslam al-Kilābi over Makrān frontier, but he was killed by the 'Ilāfī brothers, who fearing the probable consequences escaped to Sind and took shelter with Rājā Dāhir, the King of Sind. Al-Farzdak the famous Arab poet composed the following couplet for Sa'īd:-

سقي الله قبر من سعيد فاصبحت - نواحيه ارهي عليک ترابها
لقد ضمنت ارض بمكران سيدا - كريماً جواد لايوا كف سحا بها

Whether al-Hajjāj actually wrote to Rājā Dāhir for the extradition of the 'Ilāfī brothers is not certain, although Chachnāmah claims a long range of correspondence between the two parties. No such mention appears in the works of either al-Balādhurī or al-Ya'qūbī, which are more reliable and contemporary to the events. Yet it is certain that armies were sent against the ruler of Sind, one after the other, to punish him for affording shelter to the state criminals. The purpose of despatching these armies probably was to gain experience about the condition of the country, its physical features and also for ascertaining the military might of the Kingdom of Sind. The 'Ilāfīs who had taken shelter in Sind as fugitives, too seem to have acted as secret agents for the Arab viceroy. Although they posed to be the enemies of al-Hajjāj, yet they communicated news of strategic importance to the Arabs and instigated them to make an attack on Sind. When the Arab armies entered Sind after the fall of al-Daybul, the 'Ilāfīs held secret communion with their brethren and informed them about the developments and daily Phappenings at the court and the defensive arrangements made by the Sindhis. It is said that Rājā Dāhir even consulted them on the tactics of Arab warfare, before the actual conflict took place between the contending armies.[48] The decisive battle of Rāwar, which sealed the fate of Sind, was lost due to the wrong and hypocritical counsel of the fugitive 'Ilāfīs. The dramatic appearance of al-'Ilāfīs on the first day

of the battle against the Arab forces was a mere show, devoid of sincere feelings, as a compensation for the favours and hospitality shown to them by Rājā Dāhir, the King of Sind.

One of the main causes of the Arab attack on Sind seems to have been the infidelity of the Sindhis themselves, which was based on political and religious prejudices. The population of Sind was predominantly Buddhist and the rulers professed Hinduism of extreme Brahmanical proclivities. It was the age of the revival of Hindu religion in the sub-continent, which had gained enormous strength from the imperial Guptās few centuries hence. Due to the religious antagonism, the Buddhist tribes of Sind were kept in abject submission and treated as slaves. The Hindu rulers imposed ignominous restrictions on Samā, Sahitā, Lohanā, Chanā and various other tribes and reduced them to serfdom. Heavy indemnities were exacted from them for minor offences including the confiscation of both movable and immovable property. The Buddhist Shamanīs who exercised unbounded influence on the masses although placed in higher positions, proved faithless to their benefactors and entered into secret correspondence with the Arabs. Chachnāmah reports that the Shamanīs of al-Nirūn and that of Sehwan, maintained secret relations with al-Hajjāj and had sent the amount of tribute to him long before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs.[49] The Shamanīs therefore played a leading role as traitors to their rulers and their country, which greatly facilitated the work of conquest by the Arabs. These priests were appointed to responsible administrative posts on account of their pretended piety and also due to the peaceful nature of their profession.

Politically too the people of Sind were disaffected against their rulers. Sind was ruled by a long line of Buddhist dynasty, which was brought to an end by a Hindu minister Chach who ascended the vacant throne with the assistance of Queen Sunha-Devī, the widow of Rai Sehāsi II, the last ruler of Rā'i dynasty. The masses who were mainly Buddhist did not reconcile themselves with the new rulers whom they considered as usurpers. The illegitimate occupation of the throne by a Hindu Brahman

combined with immoral connections with the wife of the deceased Rājā. whom he married later, created a sense of hate and indignation against the new ruler and his family. But Chach was a strong ruler and reigned with iron hand. Sedition was put down firmly and the refractory tribes were brought under control by exemplary punishments. Reign of terror prevailed in Sind throughout the period of the rule of Chach and his successors, Chandur and Dāhir, the last of whom was finally defeated and killed by the Arabs. This attitude of the Hindu rulers resulted in the general discontentment among the people who were only waiting for an opportune hour to rise against their masters. The peoples ovation to the new conquerors of the land and the jubilation in which they received the Arab invaders, reflects greatly on the oppressive rule of the Hindu (Brahmans) rājās. The betrayal and treachery on the part of Buddhists did not result in the betterment of their lot, for the Arabs too imposed similar restrictions and disabilities on them. These restrictions included among others, prohibition on riding horses, and wearing clothes made of silk. They were also not allowed to cover their heads with turbans and were obliged to walk barefooted when they visited Arab habitations.[50] Further an ordinance was passed for the Buddhist tribe to receive Arab travellers with every mark of respect and to feed them for three days without remuneration. This rule was not restricted only to the Arab traders but was extended to Arab soldiers, messengers, adventurers and men of all occupations. Three davs was the minimum period of stay fixed by law and it is probable that the Arabs may have stayed for longer periods always to the disadvantage of the natives. In many cases the Arab guests succeeded in eloping the wives and the daughters of the hosts, with no practical redress from the Arab government of Sind.

Al-'Ilāfīs who were the real cause of the conflict did not tarry in Sind after its conquest and repaired to Kashmīr. This action of theirs was in continuation of the espionage mission which they had undertaken for the occupation of Indus Valley and Kashmīr bv the Arab imperialists. The conquest of Kashmir which was adjacent to the Chinese territories was already schemed

by al-Hajjāj and there is no doubt that an attack would have been organised against it if time was vouchsafed to the ever-greedy viceroy. He died unexpectedly earlier and the work of conquest came to a standstill.

Tārīkh al-Ma'sūmī, a local Persian work written in A.H. 1009 (1601/2 A.C.) affirms that the real cause of the attack of the Arabs on Sind was the piratical raid on the Arab vessels near al-Daybul, but the story appears to be quite different. Quoting "Tarīkh al-Sind" probably the manuscript of the time, he relates that "caliph 'Abd al-Malik had sent some of his agents to Sind and India for the purchase of the slaves. The Syrian merchants after having purchased the slaves set their sails for home by the traditional sea route, when they were attacked by the Sindhi pirates near the port of al-Daybul. A number of Arab merchants were killed and the rest were imprisoned, but a few however managed to escape. When the matter was brought to the notice of the caliph, he was determined to punish the culprits and organised an army for an attack on Sind; but before he could bring his designs into operation he himself was overtaken by the angel of death. His wish was given a practical shape by his son Walīd, who despatched an army to avenge the murder of the peaceful merchants killed and imprisoned in Sind."[51] The author of this work is clear when he says that Rājā Dāhir, the King of Sind not only gave a plausible reply to the letters of the Arab viceroy al-Hajjāj, but he even repatriated the remaining merchants and slaves, under personal superintendence of reliable persons. It appears that the explanation of the King of Sind was not accepted to be genuine and moreover preparations were already made for the conquest of Sind. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was therefore deputed to undertake the mission under the special orders of the caliph. This shows that the attack on Sind was already schemed and the piratical raid on the Arab ships put forward as the reason by the Muslim writers, was only to justify their aggressive designs.

Notes and References

1. Genesis: XI. 2,
2. Tārīkh al-Sind (al-Ma'sūmī), p. 61.
3. Tushratta (or Dasratta) was contemporary to Amenhetep III and Amenhetep IV, the Egyptian Pharaohs, with whom he held friendly relations. Ancient History of the Near East, p. 262.
4. The Early History of India (V. Smith), p. 37.
5. Al-Rur or al-Rud, the town of the river, Sīwistān, the abode of Siwis, and Bahmanabād, the town founded by Bahman, are all original Persian names but later these were converted into Hindu names after Ror or Rora (i.e. stone), Sivistan the town of (shiv-god) and Brahmanabād (the town of Brahmans) respectively when they became the rulers of Sind.
6. Islamic Culture, Vol. XI, p. 22.
7. Wafiyāt al-A'yān (Ibn Khalikān), Vol. I, pp. 266, 269.
8. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
9. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
10. 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, p. 117.
11. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
12. 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār (Ibn Batūtah), Vol. II, p. 126.
13. Silsilat al-Tārīkh, Book II, p. 25.
14. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
15. Chachnāmah, pp. 72, 73.
16. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
17. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
18. Chachnāmah, p. 73.
19. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 398.
20. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 278; Assūr was one of the sons of Patriarch Sām (or Shem), the son of Noah, vide Genesis: X. 22.
21. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438; Chachnāmah, p. 75.
22. Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh, Vol. III, p. 22.

23. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
24. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
25. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 439.
26. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 439.
27. Chachnāmah, p. 80.
28. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 439.
29. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 439.
30. Chachnāmah, p. 83.
31. Chachnāmah, p. 85.
32. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 440.
33. Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh, Vol. IV, p. 193.
34. Chachnāmah, p. 88.
35. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. II, pp. 854, 855.
36. Chachnāmah, p. 89.
37. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
38. Chachnāmah, p. 90.
39. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
40. Chachnāmah, p. 92.
41. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
42. Chachnāmah, p. 92.
43. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
44. Chachnāmah, p. 94.
45. Tārīkh al-'Ibar' (Ibn Khaldūn), Vol. III, p. 67.
46. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. III, p. 193.
47. Chachnāmah, p. 86.
48. Chachnāmah, p. 162.
49. Chachnāmah, p. 93.
50. Tārīkh al-Ma'sūmī, p. 6.
51. Tārīkh al-Ma'sūmī, p. 7.

CONQUEST OF SIND BY MUHAMMAD IBN AL-QASIM AL-THAQAFI

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim - his origin and early life - his career - Attack on Sind - Siege of al-Daybul - Battle of Rāwar- Conquest of Brahmanābād - Fall of al-Ror-Multān reduced-Dismissal and death of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim-Causes of his swift success-Character and achievements of Muhammad.

His origin and early life

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi belonged to the clan of Banū Thaqīf, a branch of Qays 'Aylān,[1] a tribe of north Arabian origin. The evidence of Torah indicates, that the north Arabian tribes were a combination of various factions having separate and distinct origin. Common interests rather than common ancestry united them under one name "Muḍarites", by which appellation they were known in ancient as well as in medieval times. The north Arabians according to the same tradition included a host of tribes such as Banū Harān, Banū Essāu, Banū Nahor, Banū Ketūrah and various other factions of Semitic origin who led unsettled existence on the northern frontiers of the desert peninsula of Arabia. The name Muḍarite is derived from Muḍar, a descendant of partiarch Ismā'īl who gained prominence in pre-Islamic Arabian antiquity due to his leadership of the north Arabian tribes. The north Arabians are therefore known as Ismā'īlīs and also as 'Adnānī Arabs on account of their parentage to patriarch Ismā'īl and his grandson 'Adnān, the son of Qaydār. The family of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was also known as Āl-e-Abī 'Aqīl after the name of 'Abī 'Aqīl, the grandfather of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī. According to one tradition Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was the son of al-Hajjāj's uncle's son as would appear from the genealogy of the Thaqafite family.[2]

The Thaqafī tribe as the name indicates was named after Thaqīf ibn Munabbah, the eleventh descendant of 'Adnān ibn Qaydār. They led settled existence at Tā'if which was famous

for its green oases and verdure; but the offshoots of this tribe were also found in almost every part of Arabia. Two clans of the Thaqīf tribe, Banū Jusham and Banū 'Awf, had played leading role in the politics of the Rāshidah and Umayyad periods. Even in the propagation of the religion of Islam the tribe of Thaqīf was in the forefront. It is said that the Prophet had deputed one Muṭallib of Banū 'Awf clan to the Thaqafites to convert them to the new religion. He was, however, killed by his polytheist kinsmen and the mission remained incomplete. The clan of Banū 'Aqīl which has produced the famous general Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was a branch of the great tribe of Banū 'Awf. The subtribe of Banū Jusham has also produced some of the leading figures of the early centuries of Islam. 'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Ās al-Thaqafī and his brothers Mughīrah and al-Hakam had distinguished themselves in the early Arab expeditions against Sind. Another member of this family named 'Abd al-Rahmān held the post of the governor of al-Kūfah under Mu'āwiyah and a fifth one Mus'ab ibn Muhammad accompanied Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim to Sind, and was placed in charge of a section of the invading army.[3]

The family of Abī 'Aqīl came to prominence in the world history with the rise of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī who was appointed as viceroy over all the eastern provinces, with headquarters at al-Kūfah. Prior to this he was commissioned to deal with 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr who had established himself in al-Hijāz, soon after the death of Yazīd. The rise of al-Hajjāj to power was sudden, for, before his appointment as the commander of the Umayyad forces, he lived a life of obscurity as a school teacher at Ṭā'if.[4] He, however, proved equal as a man of sword by defeating the rival caliph, who consequently fell fighting in the siege of Mecca. The father of Muhammad, al-Qāsim did not figure prominently in the political life of the Arabs, nor could he distinguish himself in the literary pursuits. Nevertheless he held the post of the governor of Basrah for some time, when Muhammad was born. Thereafter he might have retired to private life as the head of the family careless of the everyday happenings of the turbulent reign of the Umayyads. Muhammad's mother Habībat al-'Aẓmah, as the name indicates

was a distinguished lady of the tribe.[5] Being the son of a governor Muhammad received proper education at Basrah and also seems to have received sufficient training in politics and warfare. This fact is further attested to by the command of a large army entrusted to him and also from his political and diplomatic dealings with the people of Fārs and Sind. It was perhaps the higher education, which had imbibed in him the spirit of tolerance and reconciliation he adopted against the conquered people of the Indus Valley.

His career

Muhammad started his career under al-Hajjāj, the viceroy of al-'Irāq during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the second ruler of the Hakamite branch of the Umayyads. He received his first assignment in A.H. 90 (709/10) when he was commissioned to deal with the riotous tribes of the province of Fārs in Irān. The Aryan tribes specifically the Kurds were in a state of chronic revolt against the despotic rule of the Arabs. The punitive expeditions conducted by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim resulted in great success and the power of the Kurds was crushed with unusual severity. It seems that the massacre of these unfortunate tribes was so exuberant and complete that for generations thereafter they could not raise their head against the oppressive rule of the aliens. The Arabs on account of their deep-rooted hate for the Irānians acted upon the policy of complete annihilation in which all tactics of a greedy colonial and imperial power were adopted to the highest degree of inhuman barbarism. Apart from the general massacre of men of arms, the cities were burnt and destroyed and the population was uprooted and banished to far off lands.[6] These acts of vandalism could only be compared with the cruel deeds of the Assyrians who were the first in history to undertake these measures to overawe the enemy. It is related in the accounts that Muhammad founded the town of Shīrāz and made it the headquarter of his army and the administration. The famous medieval geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī opines that it was after the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, that Shīrāz was selected as the headquarter of the Arab army.[7] This view holds good with Ibn Hauqal and after

him al-Qalqashandī, who also corroborate the version of al-Iṣṭakhrī, about the foundation of Shīrāz.[8] The author of Fārs-nāmah on the other hand asserts that the new town of Shīrāz was founded by Muhammad ibn Yūsūf al-Thaqafī, the brother of al-Hajjāj, who acted as governor of the province prior to Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī.[9] Both these versions however appear to be incorrect in view of the modern researches which reveal that Shīrāz owes its origin to the ancient past. It is said to have been founded by a person of the same name who according to a myth was a son of Ṭahmurth, the legendry king of Persia.[10] A booklet published by the Iranian government on Shīrāz shows that the said town claims a remote antiquity and was in existence long before the building of Persepolis. The clay tablets unearthed from Persepolis by Professor Cameroon of the Chicago University show the name of Shirāz-it-ish, a prominent place, which supplied craftsmen for the building of Persepolis. These artisans according to the inscription, were paid in silver which was the medium of exchange of the civilized world in ancient times. The booklet further reveals that the town of Shirāz was founded by one of the three mythical figures of Irān, Ṭahmurth, Hooshang or Jamshed. During the Achaemenian era, Shirāz occupied a garrison post outside Iṣṭakhr or Persepolis. The Sassānid emperor Ardashīr Khurreh held his court at Shirāz,[11] but the rise of Iṣṭakhra as the religious centre of Persia pushed Shirāz in the background and thence into insignificance. Nevertheless the existence of Shirāz as an important site with handsome settlement has been proved in the later period of its history, long before the arrival of Arabs in Irān. The claim of the Arab historians about the foundation of Shirāz by the Arab generals is a fabrication, and reflects greatly on the morale of the Arab writers to aggrandise the exploits of their heroes. The Iranians on the other hand claim that the Arabs destroyed whatever they found good in Irān, specifically at Iṣṭakhra,[12] the homeland of Zoroastrianism. It is probable that the small settlement or possibly the fortress of Shirāz might have been transformed into a Jundi or a military cantonment by the Arabs for successive military operations against the natives of Fārs.

After the destruction of the Kurds, Muhammad was entrusted with the task of pacifying the riotous environments of al-Rayy.[13] This assignment was however, to be cancelled in view of the two successive and disastrous defeats sustained by the Arab armies in Sind. Al-Hajjāj's two generals 'Abdullāh ibn Nabhān and Budayl ibn Ṭahafatah al-Bajalī were killed in their attempt to conquer Sind and as such a strong army was to be despatched against the infidels of the Indus Valley. The choice of al-Hajjāj this time fell on Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, a cousin and a kinsman of the viceroy himself. The selection of Muhammad for the conquest of Sind was actuated by two main considerations. Firstly Muhammad was a near relative of al-Hajjāj and as such the conquest of the new province would add a degree of prestige and power to the family. In the second place Muhammad had gained considerable insight in the warfare and political administration in Persia, and as such he was the best suited for the new assignment. The historical evidence proves beyond doubt the bravery and heroism of the Irānians to defend their land from the Arab invaders. They were the only people on the globe who fought desperately for the defence of their motherland and are famous in the annals for their fierce resistance to the Arabs. The people of the Indus Valley on the other hand were far more peaceful and passive than the Irānians. Their religious beliefs too discouraged armed conflict and as such they were averse to bloodshed. Al-Hajjāj was sure of the success of the new army which he intended to despatch to Sind and it was his wish to get this task accomplished by a member of the family of Abī 'Aqīl. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was the only youth among his kinsmen, full of promise and fully capable to undertake the task and hence he was summoned to take up his new assignment in preference to the punitive expedition against the people of al-Rayy.

Attack on Sind and the siege of al-Daybul

The preparation for an attack on Sind was made at Shirāz where a large army was assembled for the final blow. Al-Balādhurī states that the army of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim included six thousand horsemen from Syria and a large number of selected

soldiers from other contingents.[14] This shows that the Arab army could not have been less than 20,000 horsemen apart from foot soldiers and the camels. The army was so well-equipped that arrangements were made even for the needle and the thread.[15] The Arabs also sent Manjanīq and Dabābāh, the siege machines which were conveyed by sea to al-Daybul, the chief port of Sind. Muhammad himself marched to Sind by land through the same route adopted earlier by Alexander the great in his homeward march to Babylon. In Makrān Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was joined by the governor of the place Muhammad ibn Hārūn al-Numrī with all available forces. On his way to Sind, the young conqueror reduced the towns of Qanzbūr and Armanbelā[16] in the eastern Makrān. These towns were part and parcel of the Sindhian kingdom and their conquest paved the way for an immediate attack on al-Daybul. Muhammad ibn Hārūn ibn Dharā' al-Numrī, the governor of Makrān who was suffering from a fatal ailment died at Armā'il (Armanblelā) and was buried there. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim then marched on al-Daybul and arrived near its fort on Friday, Ramadān A.H. 93 (712 A.C.).[17] He had already organised his army in the time honoured tactics of medieval warfare at Armanbelā, by placing Sāhib ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān on the vanguard, 'Attiyah ibn Sa'd al-Kūfi and Mūsā ibn Sinān al-Hadhlī on the right and left wings respectively. The centre he commanded himself, whilst the rear-guard was placed in charge of Jahm ibn Zahr al-Ja'fī, a man of great experience and valour. The advance to al-Daybul seems to have been well planned, slow and cautious, in accordance with the instructions of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, the viceroy of al-'Irāq. The siege machines and the catapults arrived at al-Daybul, unexpectedly in time and were fixed at proper places. Al-Hajjāj had instructed the young conqueror to dig trenches for the safety of the army and bombard the fort with Manjanīqs. The said machines were so heavy that each one of these required five hundred persons to pull its strings for the purpose of throwing stones at the fort wall.[18]

Siege of al-Daybul

Al-Daybul was a large town on the seashore and was surroun-

ded by a strong and well built fort. In the middle of the town stood a stupa, on the dome of which furled a red flag, believed to be defended by a host of gods. Chachnāmah reports that the height of the temple and the dome put together amounted to 120 yards which was surmounted by so large a flag that when the wind blew, it furled over the whole town and touched the turrets of the fort.[19] The siege of al-Daybul continued for seven days. On the eighth, a priest came out of the fort and after receiving amnesty instructed the Arabs to pull down the sacred flag. A prize of ten thousand dirhams was then offered by Muḥammad to Ja'ūbah al-Sulamī, an engineer of the army to destroy the standard. On the ninth day at last the first series of stones hurled at the temple destroyed the stupa along with the flag, which brought the whole population to its knees. Eventually the fort wall was levelled to the ground and the army entered the town from all directions.[20] This is the version of Chachanāmah. Al-Balādhurī on the other hand relates that the army entered the fort by scaling the walls and the first man who effected his entry into al-Daybul was a man from Banū Murād of al-Kūfah.[21]

The fort of al-Daybul was then stormed and its population given to swords. In spite of repeated requests, no quarter was given and the massacre continued for three days. Even the religious medicants and priests un-accustomed to warfare were not spared and wiped out mercilessly. The temple of al-Daybul yielded a large amount of cash, apart from gold ornaments and precious stones. It was from this temple that Muhammad recovered seven hundred beautiful Dev-Dāsīs.[22] Muhammad built a mosque and rehabilitated four thousand Muslims, mostly new converts in the town. Hāmid ibn Wadā' al-Najdī was appointed as governor of al-Daybul, and the financial administration of the town was entrusted to a converted priest.[23]

After the conquest of al-Daybul, Muhammad proceeded towards Brahmanābād, the summer capital of Sind. On his way to that city he received the submission of the people of al-Nirūn and Siwistān. The inhabitants of al-Nirūn came out

of the fort on the approach of the Arab army and brought the conqueror in the fort. Al-Balâdhurī relates that the Shamanī of al-Nirūn had made peace with al-Hajjāj after the defeat of Budayl's army and a deputation of priests waited on him.[24] At al-Nirūn Muhammad received the provisions and the amount of the tribute agreed upon according to the terms and conditions of the treaty between the parties. Muhammad took rest at this town and sent one of his lieutenants Muhammad ibn Mus'ab ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān against the fortress of Sehwan. The residents of Sehwan too surrendered to the Arab army even without a show of resistance and agreed to pay the tribute. Here too the priests intermeddled on behalf of the populace, who were mainly Buddhists and averse to bloodshed. Rā'ī Bajahrā, the governor of the town escaped from the fort by the northern gate and was so frightened that instead of going to Brahmanābād, he fled to the country of Buddha. Muhammad ibn Mus'ab granted peace to the inhabitants of Sehwan but imposed a heavy tribute on them. He then returned to al-Nirūn and brought with him four thousand Jatts, as reinforcement to the Arab army.[25]

Muhammad is also reported to have conquered the fort of Sīsam before an encounter with the forces of Rājā Dāhir, who was commanding the main body of the Sindhian army in person. Meanwhile Muhammad had been in active correspondence with al-Hajjāj by such an efficient system of swift horses that the post was transmitted to him every three days. Al-Hajjāj on his part was so anxious for the conquest of Sind that he maintained regular every day correspondence with Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the young conqueror of Sind. From Sīsam Muhammad made his advance to Rāwar and encamped his army on the right bank of river Mahrān.

Rājā Dāhir, the king of Sind, who was well-informed about the movement of the Arab army desired to have a personal view of their encampments. He after having made orders for the preparation of his elephant, rode on it and proceeded to the river and came exactly opposite to the site where the Arab forces had assembled. A Syrian horseman who excelled in

the art of archery pushed his horse into the river in an attempt to attack the Sindhi king. Beholding this, Rā'ī Dāhir sent for his bow and arrow and keeping an aim on his head, made a very efficient shot across the river. The arrow hit the head of the Syrian so precisely that his head being removed from the body was thrown into the dust,[26] and he was instantaneously killed. This shows that Rājā Dāhir was a highly skilled soldier and did not miss his aim even from a considerable distance, across the river. After making defensive arrangements on the banks of the river Indus, Dāhir returned to Rāwar possibly for consultation with his principal advisers.

An epidemic which then broke out in the Arab camp swept away a number of horses, but the deficiency was made good by the despatch of two thousand horses by al-Hajjāj from al-'Irāq. Large quantities of ginger were also sent by the viceroy for the army which was suffering greatly due to the change of climate and irregular diet. In the meantime emissaries were sent to Dāhir and correspondence was also maintained with him to gain time. A bridge of boats was then put across river Indus and a crossing was effected further south in the region of Sākro. Chachnāmah relates that Muhammad under instructions from al-Hajjāj broke up his camp and retreated towards al-Daybul and with help of Mokāh son of Wasāyā, ruler of Jahm, he crossed the river at a considerable distance south of Rāwar. The crossing was effected during night and all efforts of Rājā Rāsil to check their advance failed miserably. The intelligence of the new events raised Dāhir from the slumber and he immediately summoned a council to suggest ways and means to deal with the situation. Muhammad ibn Mu'āwiyah al-'Ilāfī, the main reason of the conflict refused to fight with the Arabs and requested leave at this perilous hour. The chief minister Bhandarko who was famous for his intelligence and political acumen suggested guerilla warfare with the Arabs. The proud Rājā however rejected all proposals for any deceitful move and decided to prepare himself for a pitched battle against the Arab invaders. He then took immediate measures and sent his son Jaysia as the commander of the advance-guard to watch the movements of the Arab army.[27]

Battle of Rawar

After crossing Indus, Muhammad marched with his army against Rāwar, which seems to have been situated in the immediate vicinity of the river Indus. Modern researches reveal that the fort of Rāwar might have occupied a site in Lār region at a considerable distance from al-Daybul and Brahmanābād. It also appears from the accounts that it was nearer to al-Nirūn than the two towns mentioned earlier and might have occupied a site in the Lār region of Hyderābād district. Major General Haig is of the opinion that the site of Rāwar may be looked at or near Fateh-Bagh[28] a small township in Gūni Talukā, but it is yet to be ascertained. Like the battle of Qādisiyah fought in Irān, the Arabs had to fight a determinate battle with the Sindhi Rājā, which raged for four days. On the fifth day the issue was finally settled. The description of the skirmishes on the first four days of the conflict and general fighting on the fifth day, gives a general view of the valour and heroism of the Hindū rājā and his compatriots to defend the country against the foreign intruders.

The first day (Ramadān 6, A.H. 93/712 A.C.)

The first day saw the skirmish of the army with Rājā Rāsil's forces who held the fort of Bet and the country around it as a vassal of King Dāhir. The resistance offered by Rāsil was not only nominal but deceptive too, resulting in the destruction of the whole garrison. The author of Chachnāmah reports that Rā'i Rāsil eventually joined hands with the Arabs against his King and helped the Arab forces to cross the Indus. The most heinous act committed by this traitor was to apprise the invaders of the total strength and strategy of the Sindhian army. It was under his counsel that the Arab army marched to Jaiyūr,[29] a tactic which sandwitched the Hindū forces and left only one alternative for them, to fight unto death. Superstition worked greatly on this day and the king under the advice of the astronomers refrained from indulging in the battle. In spite of these drawbacks individual combatants from both the camps made a desperate show of their valour by fighting unto death.

The second day (Ramadān 7, A.H. 93/712 A.C.)

The seconddaybrought about a general fighting between the contending armies in which Dāhir's secretary who is described as half blind made an advance against the enemy and attacked the Arab forces with great fury. The fight continued from dawn to dusk and the issue remained undecisive.[30]

The third day (Ramadān 8, A.H. 93/712 A.C.)

The hero of the third day's fighting Jahin, was celebrated for his bravery and art of swordsmanship. He made a desperate stand to fight the enemy with utmost force, but was killed by the Arabs and his army was dispersed.[31]

The fourth day (Ramadān 9, A.H. 93/712 A.C.)

On the fourth day Rājā Dāhir took the field in person clad in full armour and seated on a white elephant. Besides him on the pālikī were seated two damsels, one to give him an arrow as soon as he could shoot and the other to refresh him with a beetle nut.[32] The statistics given by Chachnāmah show that the forces of Rājā Dāhir numbered five thousand horses, sixty elephants and a host of 20,000 foot soldiers. Although this is an exaggerated account yet it shows that Rā'ī Dāhir was not able to muster appropriate army from among his subjects and the number of his forces was much less than that of the invading army. Moreover the Sindhian army was also infested with disaffection, disunity and intrigues which ultimately proved disastrous to the Sindhis and resulted in their discomfiture.

Muhammad on his part reorganised his army in the battle array and sent two generals Mubriz ibn Thābit and Aways ibn Qays with six thousand horsemen each as advance guards. An equal number of cavalry was despatched under 'Atā ibn Malik al-Qaysī and Dhakwān ibn 'Alwān al-Bakrī as reinforcements to the advance guards. The rest of the army he organised in five divisions and placed himself in the centre along with Muhariz ibn Thābit. Rājā Dāhir too arranged his army in three divisions, the right wing was placed in command of Abhī son of Arjun, Wado Kanwar and Jaybin a cousin of king Dāhir. On the left he appointed Bashar ibn Dhol, Gih ibn Bashar, Daharsīn, Bīl, Nāilo, Jhūno and Mashbad, and the rest of the army

he commanded himself. Rājā Dāhir led the attack in person which was resisted by Muhariz ibn Thābit from the Arab army. The charge was so terrible that a great portion of Muhariz's army was destroyed. Muhariz himself was killed towards the close of the day and it was only the darkness of the night which brought about separation between the two armies. The loss of the Arab forces on this day was mainly due to the elephants[33] who carried death and destruction in the ranks of the enemy. Another general by name Hasan ibn Muhbat lost one of his thumbs while engaged in fighting.

The fifth and final day

On the fifth and final day a terrible conflict ensued between the contending armies. Muhammad under instructions from al-Hajjāj placed nine hundred naphtha archers in the vanguard of his army to harass the elephants.[34] The Arabs had by that time developed a new tactic in medieval warfare by the use of naphtha and other fire works to frighten the large sized beasts in the enemy forces. In the battle of Qādisiyah the Arabs used red-cloth covers and other tactics to intimidate the war elephants of the Irānians. The use of naphtha, Manjanīq, Dabābah and other strange and useful weapons were borrowed by the Arabs from the Byzantines in Syria.

The battle of Rāwar started with skirmishes between the vanguards of both the armies in which the Hindūs were defeated with heavy slaughter and dispersed. Rājā Dāhir then himself advanced to the battle-ground to recoup the disaster and raise the morale of the Sindhian army. Treachery within, however, retarded all efforts, as a large body of the mercenary troops being disaffected joined with the invading army, and attacked Sindhī forces from the rear. Undeterred by these drawbacks, Dāhir continued to fight valiantly in the thick of the battle. The author of Chachnāmah relates that Rājā Dāhir had a chakra in his hand, made of tied swords, which he threw on the foot soldier and the rider alike, with such a skill that it cut off head of the victim instantaneously. No man therefore dared to advance towards him. Meanwhile four hundred of his choicest warriors made such a terrible charge on the Arab army that they had to give way and a large body of enemy

took to heels. At this juncture a Negro by name Shujā' who was famous for the art of swordsmanship, advanced in haste to have a dual with the king of Sind. When he reached at the striking distance of Dāhir's elephant, the king candidly without any panic, took up his bow and having kept the aim, shot an arrow with such skill that it hit the neck of Shujā', throwing off his head in the dust. The body remained on the horse back. The severity of this attack can be well-imagined from the fact that Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim got panicky and lost all his wits, shouting اطعمني الماء (give me water to eat).[35]

Rājā Dāhir on this day fought with unusual bravery, destroying every thing that came in his way. Unable to face the charge, the Arab army had recourse to stratagem by throwing naphtha arrows towards the elephants, as a result of which the animals got panicky and rushed to the river. The white elephant on which the Rājā was seated also received burns and the howdah itself caught fire. The Arab soldiery did not lose the chance and surrounded the elephant in the river, shooting arrows incessantly. Rā'ī Dāhir was hit in the chest near the heart, but he continued fighting valiantly thoughtless of the catastrophe. Beholding this a company of Arab riders made a joint attack on him and in the confusion that followed the head of the king was cut off and thrown in the mud. It was however recognised afterwards for its fragrance and produced before the Arab conqueror, by a Brahman. When the Hindus heard about the death of their sovereign, they fled pell-mell in utter confusion and a considerable number of them was massacred. All the captives were too decapitated after the conclusion of the battle in clear disregard of the international convention of amnesty to the war prisoners in medieval times. A few were, however, spared and reduced to bondage. The battle of Rāwar was one of the most decisive battles in the history of Islām and resulted in overwhelming victory for the faithful. The whole Indus Valley now lay under the feet of the new people almost undefended. Immense booty fell in the hands of the victors, of which one-fifth was despatched to al-Kūfah, under the command of Ka'b ibn Mukhārik al-Rāsī. The head of Rājā Dāhir, the king of Sind, was also sent to al-Hajjāj, through Sāram ibn Abī Sāram, along with the heads

of other rājās and chiefs who fought valiantly against the Arab intruders.[36]

Jaysia, the son of Dāhir, fled to the fort of Rāwar and then to Brahmanābād, waiting for the Arabs to arrive. The queen Māyain, who is reported by Chachnāmah to be the sister of Dāhir, made a desperate effort to save the fort of Rāwár from the "cow-eater chandāls," but failed to defend it for long. Reduced to dire extremities, the garrison fought unto death and the queen along with her attendants and women of royal family, committed to flames in the self-kindled fire.[37] The fort walls of Rāwar were mined and completely destroyed by means of bombardment and throwing of naphtha fardaj, under the order of Muhammad, the conqueror. One of the concubines of Rājā Dāhir fell in the hands of the Arabs and being manumitted was admitted to the seraglio of Muhammad. It is also reported that when the fort of Rāwar was captured, all the treasures, property and arms fell into the hands of the victors. Of the thirty thousand slaves made captive at Rāwar, thirty girls were the daughters of the prominent rājās. In the lot of these slaves was a nephew of Dāhir by name Husnah, celebrated for her beauty and wits. When the slaves were produced before the caliph, he was greatly struck by her beauty and charms and began to bite his finger in astonishment and frustration.[38]

When, "accursed Dāhir was killed and conveyed to hell" his son took refuge in the fort of Brahmanābād, and made preparations for war with the Arabs. He wrote letters to various rulers of Sind and al-Hind to come to his help to drive out the invaders from his fatherland. One of these letters he wrote to prince Gopī his brother at Aror, the other one to his cousin Chach the son of Dahar-Sīn, in the fort of Bhātiya and a third to his cousin Dhāwal son of Chandur who held Budhiya and Qayqanān. Meanwhile he took all steps and precautions to meet the enemy, single-handed for no response was shown to his repeated requests for reinforcements.

Conquest of Brahmanabad

After settling the affairs of Rāwar, Muhammad marched on Brahmanābād, the summer capital of Sind. This fort was

now held by prince Jaysia, the eldest son of Dāhir, who made a valiant bid to collect forces from the neighbouring regions, but the condition of the sub-continent and the rivalries of the Hindū princes at that interval, left little chance for united front. Meanwhile Muhammad conquered the two forts of Dahlīlah and Bahror, on his way to Brahmanābād. The handful of soldiers at Bahror offered such an obstinate resistance to the Arab army that it took two months to capture that town. Muhammad thereby demolished the fort of Bahror and put the inhabitants to swords. The fort of Dahlīlah also engaged the Arab army for two months before it was razed to the ground by the conquering army. Large amounts of booty were recovered from these forts of which the khums (one-fifth) was sent to the central treasury.

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, after having crossed Jalwālī encamped near Brahmanābād on the first of Rajab A.H. 93/ 712-13 A.C. A trench was dug in between the fort and the invading army and the fort was bombarded with stones from without through the catapults. The Hindū army came out of the fort daily and after fighting for the whole day returned back to the fort in the evening. This practice continued for six months which tactic might have been adopted by Jaysia to keep the Arab army engaged till reinforcements could be obtained from various quarters. It is said that the prince had secretly vacated the fort of Brahmanābād and had brought some forces from the regions of Bhātiyā. Having infested the roads all round he caused great distress and misery to the Arabs by preventing the regular supply of fodder and other provisions to the invaders. In the meantime conspiracy was ripe within the fort walls and one Mokah son of Wasāyo, made secret negotiations with the Arab army. The fort was then occupied by treachery and the garrison was put to swords.[39] The Brahmans and the artisans were granted amnesty, but they were obliged to pay the poll tax. According to another version it was queen Lādī, probably a concubine of Dāhir, who engaged in correspondence with Muhammad and surrendered the fort to Arabs in the absence of Jaysia.[40] The city of Brahmanābād was then given to flames and utterly destroyed. Prince Jaysia who lay encamped

in the neighbourhood escaped to Chitor by way of desert, probably in the hope of getting reinforcements from the Kingdoms of Ajmer and Qanauj.

According to the terms of agreement between the inhabitants of Brahmanābād and the Arab conqueror, Muhammad granted protection to them and they were permitted to retain their position as Dhimmīs, like the jews, the christians and the fireworshippers of Syria, al-'Irāq and Irān. Muhammad then fixed the tax on all classes of the subjects strictly in accordance with the law of the Prophet, but those who were converted to the "true faith" were made exempt from the payment of Jizyah. A census of the commoners which included merchants, artisans and agriculturists was taken, and in all ten thousand men were counted. Each man was then required to pay twelve dirhams of silver to the conqueror and in the event of non-payment they were reduced to slavery. He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes so that there may be a feeling of strength and protection. The Brahmans were restored to their former dignity but with less powers and privileges and were entrusted the task of collecting taxes. This was done principally to compensate them for their treachery and betrayal of their old masters. The author of Chachnāmah relates that these offices were made hereditary to the priests and were neither resumed nor allowed to be transferred. According to an ordinance of al-Ḥajjāj, the Brahmans who were appointed to collect taxes were allowed a remuneration of three dirhams per hundred. They were also authorised to settle allowances upon the nobles engaged in conspiracy against Rājā Dāhir and also those officers who were appointed in the administration of the towns and villages. Restrictions were however imposed on the Jatts and the tribes of Samā, Lakhā and Lohanā, who lived in the vicinity of Brahmanābād.[41]

Muhammad appointed Wadā' ibn Hāmid al-Najdī as governor over Brahmanābād and also appointed overseers and assistants to work under him. The financial administration of the town was however entrusted to four local businessmen, who received the sanads of their appointment from the conqueror. The fort of Rāwar was placed in charge of Nūbah

ibn Daris and Dahlīlah was given to Hanzalah ibn Akhī Nabātah al-Kilābī. Al-Balādhurī however reports that the fort of Brahmanābād was taken by assault and the garrison put to swords.[42]

After making administrative arrangements at Brahmanābād Muhammad proceeded to Sāwandī and halted at a village named Manhal. There was a beautiful lake and delightful meadows called Vakar - Vihār, where the conqueror pitched his tents, possibly to give rest to his fatigued army. The country was inhabited by Jatts and the Samās, who were mainly agriculturists. When they heard the approach of the Arab army, they hastened to receive them by the ringing of the bells, beating of the drums and by dancing. These joyful demonstrations were rewarded amply by Kharim ibn 'Amr, one of the lieutenants of Muhammad, who was consequently appointed governor over these people. In his advance to al-Ror, Muhammad passed through the regions of Lohānā and Sahitā tribes who paid homage to the conqueror, bare-footed and bare-headed and sued for mercy.[43] Protection was granted to them by the Arab conqueror on payment of tribute and hostages. Muhammad also procured guides from these tribes for his advance against al-Ror, the capital of Sind.

Fall of al-Ror

The city of al-Ror, the metropolis of Sind, was a beautiful and prosperous town, situated on a hill, on the banks of eternal Mahrān. It was defended by Gopī, one of the sons of Rājā Dāhir who made a desperate stand to fight the invaders, but had to give way due to treachery within. One of the members of al-'Ilāfī family who was in the fort of al-Ror, informed the Arab army about the whole situation by sending a letter, fastened to an arrow and shot in the Arab camp.[44] The fort was captured by negotiations with the principal inhabitants of the town and the amount of tribute was fixed on them. Prince Gopī was out of the fort for collecting provisions at a place named Nāzwālā-sandal, when he heard the news of the surrender of the fort to the Arabs. He therefore thought it expedient to escape to Chitor along with his family and dependants. Muhammad appointed Rawāh ibn Asad as the governor of

the town, the judicial administration of which was entrusted to Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī.[45]

The next target of the attack was Bhātiya, a town situated on river Biyās in the lower Punjāb. This fort was held by Kaksah son of Chandur and a nephew of Rājā Dāhir, who had earlier fought against the Arabs in the battle of Rāwar. He however submitted to the Arabs and agreed to pay the tribute. Muhammad then advanced to Multān by way of Askalandah and al-Sikkah Kaksah also joined the Arab forces and was of great help to them in their further march in Punjāb. The governor of Askalandah offered resistance for seven days but he was finally defeated and the fort was stormed. The people of al-Sikkah also fought valiantly to maintain independence. In the seventeen-day siege of this fort, Muhammad lost some of his best soldiers and companions. He, therefore, vowed to destroy the whole town after its conquest. Consequently the town of al-Sikkah was reduced to shambles and its population massacred to a man.[46] Rā'ī Bajahrā having been worsted fled to Multān and incited its ruler to fight against the Arab invaders.

Multan reduced

The ruler of Multān, Rājā Kandā prepared to give battle to the Arabs but afterward he had to shut himself up in his fort by collecting necessary provisions. During the two-month siege the Arabs bombarded the fort with catapults, naphtha and a warlike instrument called stain gass. The provisions of the Arab army being consumed they were reduced to dire extremities. Such was the scarcity of food that asses were killed and used as food. According to Chachnāmah the cost of the head of an ass reached the maximum price of five hundred dirhams each.[47] Under these circumstances a man came out of the fort and revealed the passage through which water was supplied to the fort. The passage was forthwith closed under the orders of the conqueror which obliged the inhabitants to surrender. This is the version of al-Balādhurī. Chachnāmah on the other hand records that a mine was laid beneath the fort wall, adjoining the bank of the river and the town was captured by force. The garrison numbering six thousand men was decapitated and their relations and dependants reduced to bondage.

Protection was, however, given to merchants, artisans and peasants as usual on payment of Jizyah. Due to the extreme hardship suffered by the army, the whole booty was divided among the soldiers and every horseman received 400 dirham weight of silver, apart from other materials and the slaves. It was at Multān that large quantities of gold were recovered by the Arabs from its temple, also known as Multān. The secret was revealed by a Shamanī who told Muhammad that forty jars full of the precious metal lay beneath the reservoir, under the idol of Multān. Muhammad ordered immediate removal of the idol and the reservoir yielded thirteen thousand and two hundred maunds of gold. The whole expedition cost the central treasury an amount of sixty thousand dirhams, while the share of the plunder sent to al-Hajjāj amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand dirhams. On account of enormous quantity of gold recovered at Multān the town became known as Farj Bayt al-Dhahab[48] and this name was retained by it down to the eleventh century A.C.

Muhammad settled the terms of agreement with the principal inhabitants of Multān and ordered the erection of a mosque in that city. He also caused the Khutbah to be read in the name of the Umayyad caliph and stuck coins in the name of al-Walīd. He appointed Dā'ūd ibn Naṣr al-'Omānī as governor over Multān, whilst the surrounding areas were placed under the command of Akramah ibn Rayhān al-Shāmī.[49]

From Multān Muhammad despatched an army of 10,000 soldiers to Udhaypur under Abū Hakīm Shaybānī as an advance guard.[50] He himself marched to the north and reached at a place called Panj-Mahyāt where the boundaries between Sind and Kashmīr were re-established. Muhammad contemplated an attack on the interior of India and prepared an army for a systematic war against the Kingdom of Kanauj. It is related that an army of fifty thousand soldiers had gathered under his flag but the untimely death of al-Hajjāj at this juncture retarded all efforts in that direction. Nevertheless Muhammad continued the work of conquest to the eastern and southern frontiers of Sind, by attacking Sursuit and Nilmā, which were conquered to the Muslim arms. These regions were inhabited

by Jatts and the Meds who committed acts of highway robbery and also made depredatory raids on the settled areas of Sind. While these events were taking place in Sind, Caliph Walid died (in A.H. 93/713 A.C.) at Damascus and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The new caliph dismissed Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and appointed Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah al-Saksakī in his place with instructions to arrest his predecessor and send him to al-'Irāq.[51]

Dismissal and death of Muhammad

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, after his dismissal from the post of the governorship of Sind, was tied with his own turban by the new governor Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah and conveyed to al-Kūfah. He was thrown in the dungeon of Wāsit, by Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, the 'Āmil of al-Kūfah, under whose orders he was later tortured to death. This was done by Sālih to avenge the murder of his brother Adam, who was killed under the orders of al-Hajjāj, on charges of being a Khārjite.[52]

The story of Chachnāmah that Muhammad was murdered at the instance of Rājā Dāhir's daughters is a mere fabrication by its author to justify the inhuman death of the young conqueror. It has been stated in the accounts that after the conquest of Brahmanābād, a batch of slaves arrived in the presence of the caliph, and he was captivated by the bewitching charms of one of the daughters of Rājā Dāhir. The caliph was so much enamoured of her that he desired to have her admitted in his seraglio. The girl having played upon the wits of the old caliph, cautiously hesitated to accept the offer, for the simple reason that she has already been kept as a concubine by Muhammad and she was not worthy of the royal bed. The caliph on hearing this was overwhelmed with grief and wrath and after having asked for ink and the paper, wrote an order in his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad might have reached, he should suffer himself to be sewn in the raw hide and sent to the capital. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim thus delivered his soul to the ghost after two days from the date of being despatched in the cow's skin.[53]

The real cause of Muhammad's fall was however his relationship with al-Hajjāj and the family of Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī.

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik who succeeded Walīd I at Damascus was hostile to al-Hajjāj on account of political and personal reasons. Al-Hajjāj being the chief adviser of Walīd had opposed the succession of Sulaymān and had advised the deceased caliph to nominate his son 'Abbās to the throne. If al-Hajjāj would have been vouchsafed a longer life, he would have certainly succeeded in setting aside the claim of Sulaymān in preference to 'Abbās, who was popular with the army.[54] Secondly al-Hajjāj was a sworn enemy of the family of Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah whose sons Yazīd, Mu'āwiyāh and Habīb were dismissed by al-Hajjāj from their respective posts on charges of misappropriation of public funds. They were thrown in the prison and their properties were confiscated, but they managed to escape and took shelter with Sulaymān the crown prince. Al-Hajjāj protested strongly to the caliph about the behaviour of the prince, for granting asylum to the state prisoners. Sulaymān on the other hand refused to hand over the prisoners and kept them in his palace. On more than one occasion it is stated, al-Hajjāj insulted the crown prince and threatened that he will recover the culprits from his custody. The controversy however dragged on till the death of al-Hajjāj and Sulaymān vowed to avenge the insult from the arrogant viceroy and his family. When Sulaymān became Caliph, he began to wreck his vengeance on the family and partisans of the deceased viceroy. The grave of al-Hajjāj was dug and his bones having been taken out were burnt into public. Muhammad was dismissed and recalled from Sind and handed over to Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. Another general Qutaybah ibn Muslim was murdered in Balkh under instructions from the new caliph and in this manner the adherents and the partisans of al-Hajjāj were wiped out of existence. The remainder of the family of Abī 'Aqīl was banished to Yaman and the governor of that province was instructed to keep an eye on their activities. The family which held sway over all the provinces of the east, during the reign of caliph 'Abd al-Malik and his son Walīd, was thus brought to an ignominious end.

Mu'āwiyah ibn Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah, the brother of Yazīd, was specifically deputed to Sind to arrest

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī,[55] and to take him to al-'Irāq as prisoner. He was imprisoned at Wāsit together with other members of Abī 'Aqīl's family and persecuted to the extreme. Hamzah ibn Bā'iz Hanafī records this unfortunate incident in the following words:-[56]

ان المروة و السماحة" والندى - لمحمد بن القاسم بن محمد
ساس الجيوش لسبع عشرة حجة" - و لداته عن ذاك في اشغال

(Verily courage, generosity and tolerance—belonged to Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim (al-Thaqafī) ibn Muhammad—He led armies at the age of seventeen years—He seemed destined to command, from the days of his birth).

Muhammad has himself lamented his tragic end by declaring:- اضاعوني و اي" فتي اضاعوا - ليوم كريهة و سداد ثغر .

(They have lost me and what a hero they have lost—I would have been an asset to them in a tough battle and in the defence at the front).

Causes of Muhammad's swift success

Various causes are ascribed to the swift and astounding successes of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī in his conquest of the Indus Valley. The first and the foremost reason of such an easy conquest seems to have been the religious beliefs of the populace of Sind, who being Buddhists to the core were averse to fighting and blood-shed. On account of the dominant influence of the doctrine of Ahinsā (or non-violence) the people on the whole were peaceful and took little interest in warfare. Secondly the rulers of Sind were Hindū Brahmans of alien faith and were usurpers too. The founder of this dynasty Chach, who was a minister to the ex-Buddhist rulers of Sind, had occupied the throne by deceitful means.[57] Moreover many tribes of Sind were kept in abject submission by the Hindū rājās, merely because they professed a religion different to that practised by the royal family. From the evidence of Chachnāmah it becomes quite clear that the Shamanīs and the principal inhabitants of al-Nirūn had entered into peace terms with al-Hajjāj long before the attack of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. After the battle of Rāwar, the people of Sind on the whole submitted to the conqueror without opposition and agreed to

pay the tribute. The resistance was offered by only a small minority of Hindūs who were mainly soldiers. The Arabs on their part granted no quarter to the Hindūs who were exterminated in large numbers, as would appear from the narratives of Chachnāmah, al-Balādhurī and other sources.[58] Their families having been reduced to bondage were sold as slaves in the Arab lands.

The 'Ilāfī Arabs who had taken shelter with the ruler of Sind and were entertained by Sindhian hospitality, were a constant source of betrayal to their hosts. They held communion with the Arab viceroy of al-'Irāq and subsequently with the Arab forces in Sind. They had informed their Arab brethren about the real strength of the Hindū army, their movements and finally the points of strategic importance, which helped them greatly in fighting the forces of Sind. The majority of the people of Indus Valley, it would seem, belonged to the tribes of Samā, Sahitā, Chanā, Lohānā, Med and Jatt who were regarded as low caste people by the rājās of Sind. They were not only held in low esteem but treated harshly by the rulers. The members of these tribes were not allowed to cover their head and feet or to use silken stuff for their apparels. They were also prohibited from riding on horseback and the use of utensils made of copper and other superior metal. In short they were reduced to serfdom and heavy indemnities were imposed on them for minor offences. These low caste tribes in the hope of gaining freedom and privileges, joined hands with the invaders, but to their disappointment, they were subjected to the same treatment[59] by the new rulers of the country. Even conversion to Islām brought little relief to them, as they were too given the subordinate position of Mawālīs.

One of the greatest reasons for the success of Arabs in Sind was the continuous flow of provisions and reinforcements from the west and the determination of the invaders to conquer the country. The Hindū forces did not fight in the open possibly on account of the shortage of soldiers and lack of interest among the masses. It would be observed that all the towns of the Indus Valley were captured after a siege and almost due to the shortage of provisions. Efforts of prince Jaysia to col-

lect forces in Sind and reinforcements elsewhere failed miserably for want of enthusiasm. The prince had to go to Chitor in Rajpūtāna and other places as far as Kashmīr, but received little response from the ruling princes of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. He, therefore, remained in exile till the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and when he returned back to Sind he was received by the people with open hands.[60] With the help of the new forces, he was able to recover a greater portion of his father's territories, but the glory was short-lived and he was soon afterwards defeated and killed. Sind was a small country as compared to the imperial power of Islām, which now embraced a large part of Asia and Africa, extending from Central Asia to Spain and Atlantic Ocean. The Arabs being fresh from the desert were superior to the Hindūs in strength and the art of fighting. Their weapons were too more powerful and modern. They by their contact with the Greeks and the Byzantines had learnt the art of using catapults and the naphtha. These tactics helped them greatly in their fight against the natives of Sind, who used the age-old weapons, much inferior to those brought by the invaders. Treachery and faithlessness added to the misfortune, resulting in the complete surrender of the forts and the towns, without any show of resistance. The absence of a wise and capable leader among the Sindhīs too had its evil effects. The death of Rājā Dāhir was a heavy blow to the unity of the people of Sind, who as usual were divided and used against each other at will by the foreign intruders. Jaysia, no doubt was a brave prince, but he does not seem to have possessed the qualities of his father, which could only be found in a born leader.

Character and achievements of Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-Thaqafi

Muhammad was a man of high character and extraordinary abilities. Sense of justice, tolerance and other qualities as a conqueror were engraved in his essence. He was quite capable as a military leader and was endowed with an instinct of wise administration. He was also endowed with the qualities of self-confidence, manliness, generosity and forbearance, which not only helped him in the conquest of an inhospitable

foreign land, but infused in him an insight of organising the administration of the conquered lands. The accounts of the battles and the campaigns reveal that Muhammad planned the attack and distributed the assignments to various generals according to his own judgement. He was a true and sincere friend and very keen to keep up his word. The narratives of Chachnāmah show that Muhammad kept up his promises even to his own disadvantage. It was principally due to this great quality that he was able to conquer many forts in Sind without opposition. His opponents were well-aware that the word of Muhammad could be relied upon. He was, therefore, able to repose confidence in his soldiers as well as among his enemies. Tolerance seems to have been the guiding principle of the conqueror and in spite of remonstrances from al-Hajjāj, Muhammad adopted a policy of leniency and reconciliation to the natives of Sind.[61] He avoided bloodshed and was ready to give peace terms to the enemy according to the law of Islām. His tolerance could be measured from his actions, by sparing the idols and the temples of the non-Muslims from being demolished or destroyed.

According to the law of war in Islām, idolatry is not to be tolerated and the same law enjoins the believers to exterminate the idolaters. Yet Muhammad allowed them similar concessions and privileges, which were extended to the jews and christians recognised by Qurān as the people of the Book. He even went a step further in not only recognising the superiority of the Brahmans (i.e. Shamanīs) but even allowed them extra privileges, which they enjoyed under their local chiefs. Some of these priests were appointed to responsible posts in the new administration and the collection of the taxes was mainly entrusted to them. The non-Muslims on the other hand were allowed to conduct their internal administration according to their own laws and by their own panchāyats, so as to ensure proper justice to all.

Muhammad was a brave and chivalrous general. His bravery and dash of heroism could be well-conjectured from the tender age in which he took command of the Arab forces and brought under control the rebellious tribes of Shīrāz. Still

young in age he was despatched to the Indus Valley, a task in which two experienced generals 'Abdullāh ibn Nabhān and Budayl ibn Tahāfatah, did not achieve success and were killed in succession. Muhammad was, therefore, a man of unmatchable valour and also of unsurpassed military calibre and skill. It was mainly due to his own guts, that he was able to conquer a large country from the shores of Arabian Sea to Multān, parts of Rajpūtānā and the region of Cutch, within a brief period of less than three years.

One of the greatest features in Muhammad's character lay in his determination to achieve and this greatly helped in overcoming irrevocable odds, which he had to face in the conquest of Sind. The infidels of this country fortified their places, collected enormous quantities of provisions and shut themselves up in their forts for months together. They also cut off and interrupted the supply of provisions and reinforcements of the Arab army, carried on night attacks against them in the hope that they would raise the siege and will withdraw. But Muhammad was never deterred in his attempt and he did not yield to these threatening overtures. In the siege of Multān, for instance, the provisions were wholly consumed and the Arabs were compelled to eat the flesh of the ass, which was too very costly. There was no change in the policy of the Arab army and this was chiefly due to the determination of Muhammad who was wholly and solely intent upon the conquest of this land.

The description appearing in the Chachnāmah shows that Muhammad displayed a high degree of moral decency and good behaviour, throughout the period of his conquest of Sind. A true disciple of the faith of Islām, he was very strict in the observance of the rules of morality and taboos imposed on the Muslims by the law of Qurān. Drinking auguries, rape, illegal exactions and murders, which are the natural consequences of war, were unknown to him. Even in the selection of a wife from amongst the slaves, his choice fell on the widow of the late ruler, who was purchased by him after the conclusion of the battle of Rāwar.[62] As the commander-in-chief of the Arab army he was free to select as many slaves as he

could for himself, a practice adopted by the other generals elsewhere. The high moral standard, self-discipline, and strict adherence to the religious dogmas, obliged him to refrain from licentiousness and other immoral activities. The greatness of Muhammad can be measured from the popularity which he had gained among his soldiers and also among his enemies. He had endeared himself to the people of Sind to such an extent that they fashioned an effigy of him after his departure in the town of Kīraj, to commemorate the good deeds of the conqueror.[63]

Notes and References

1. Islāmic Culture, Vol. XXVII, p. 243.
2. See the genealogy of the Thaqafite family.
3. Chachnāmah, pp. 155, 174, 180.
4. Jamharah fi al-Lughat (Ibn Durayd), Vol. II, p. 187.
5. Islāmic Culture, Vol. XXVII, p. 187.
6. Futūh al-Buldān, pp. 398, 399; Kāmil, Vol. III, pp. 21, 22.
7. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 124.
8. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 196; Subh al-A'shā, Vol. IV, p. 344.
9. Fursnāmah, p. 170.
10. Shīrāz (Azīz Hatamī), January 1965 (Irānian Embassy), p. 18.
11. Ibid, p. 19.
12. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 440.
13. Ibid, p. 441.
14. Ibid, p. 441.
    The Chachnāmah reports that Muhammad at his personal command had 6000 horsemen, 6000 camel riders and 3000 Bukhāti camels for conveying of his camp to Sind. The army sent by ships also appears to have been a large force mainly of foot soldiers, who brought Manjanīqs and other war machines vide Chachnāmah, p. 99.
15. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 257.
16. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442; Chachnāmah, p. 104; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 257; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 60.
17. Chachnāmah, p. 102.
18. Ibid, p. 101.
19. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442; Chachnāmah, p. 104; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 258.
20. Chachnāmah, p. 105.
21. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 258.
22. Chachnāmah, p. 108.
23. Ibid, p. 109.
24. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 443.
25. Ibid, p. 443.
26. Chachnāmah, p. 145.
27. Chachnāmah, pp. 154, 163.

28. History of India (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. II, plate C.
29. Chchanāmah, p. 160. In the Persian edition by Dr. U. M. Da'ūdpotā it has been mentioned as Jaipur.
30. Ibid, p. 168.
31. Ibid, p. 169.
32. Ibid, p. 173.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, p. 174.
35. Ibid, p. 180.
36. Ibid, p. 184.
37. Ibid, pp. 194, 195.
38. Ibid, p. 196.
39. Al-Balādhurī reports that 8000 men were massacred in the fort of Brahmanābād. He reaffirms that according to another source the number of the people killed at Brahmanābād swelled to 16,000 men. See Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
40. Chachnāmah, pp. 204, 205, 206.
41. Ibid, p. 215.
42. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
43. Chachnāmah, pp. 219, 220, 221.
44. Ibid, p. 224.
45. Ibid, p. 235.
46. Ibid, p. 237.
47. Ibid, p. 238.
48. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 245; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 258; al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 321; Al-Fihrist, p. 486.
49. Chachnāmah, p. 241.
50. Ibid, p. 242.
51. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446.
52. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 282.
53. Chachnāmah, pp. 244, 245.
54. Islāmic Culture, Vol. XVII, p. 258.
55. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446.
56. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 282.
57. The queen probably poisoned the old rājā, as he was not seen for a pretty long time before the news of his death were made public. Vide Chachnāmah, p. 22.

58. Chachnāmah, pp. 140, 160, 161, 162.
59. Chachnāmah, p. 215.
60. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 282.
61. This is apparent from the behaviour of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim who seems to have been more inclined to peace than to war. Moreover he had been instructed by al-Hajjāj to practice diplomacy and peaceful methods in an attempt to win the hearts of the Buddhists who hated the rule of Brahman usurpers in Sind.
62. Chachnāmah, p. 222.
63. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 282.

SIND UNDER THE ARAB GOVERNORS

Umayyad governors

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim - Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah - Habīb ibn Muhallab - 'Amr ibn Muslim - Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān - Tamīm ibn Zayd - Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī - 'Amr ibn Muhammad - Yazīd ibn 'Arār - Mansūr ibn Jamhūr.

'Abbasid governors

Mughlis al-'Abdī - Mūsā ibn Ka'b - Hishām ibn 'Amr - 'Amr ibn Hafṣ - Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd - Bashr ibn Dā'ūd - Mūsā ibn Yahyā - 'Imrān ibn Mūsā - 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Umayyad governors

Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, the viceroy of al-'Irāq had directed the two generals Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī and Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī to conquer China, through Khurāsān and India respectively. He promised the governorship of China to him, who would first set his foot on the Chinese soil. The scheme it would seem, was that Qutaybah would reach China through Bactria and Shāsh and Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim through the regions of Sind and Kashmīr. When both the armies would be united on the frontiers of China, it would be easy for the Arabs to effect the conquest of that big country. But the vision of the conquest of China vanished with the death of al-Hajjāj and with him ended the idea of further expansion of the Arab dominions.

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, on his part made swift advancements and conquered the whole valley, up to the very confines of Kashmīr. The conquest of Kashmīr was too schemed by the Arab conqueror as would appear from the narratives of Chachnāmah. The 'Ilāfī brothers, who were the cause of the downfall of the rulers of Sind, are reported to have escaped to Kashmīr[1] possibly in advance, to give a full report about the conditions of that country. These infiltrators had hardly

reached Kashmīr, when al-Hajjāj died and Muhammad's designs to conquer China through Kashmīr, failed. It is said that Muhammad also contemplated an attack on the kingdom of Qanauj, which was famous for its temples and riches. An army of ten thousand soldiers was despatched to the east under the command of Abū Hakīm Shaybānī which advanced as far as Udhaypur[2] in modern Rajasthān, but the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim to al-'Irāq, hampered all progress. The death of Caliph Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik at this juncture brought about an end to all designs of imperialistic expansions and the conqueror himself had to face an ordeal which brought an abrupt end to his life and career.

The star of the Thaqafīte family had already begun to set with the death of al-Hajjāj which occurred in the year A.H. 95/715 A. C. It however continued to twinkle for a little while, till the death of Walīd, who was the chief patron of the Thaqafīte family. His (brother) successor Sulaymān who ascended the throne at Damascus, was hostile to the family of al-Hajjāj and friendly to the sons of Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah. Consequently he appointed Yazīd ibn Muhallab as viceroy over al-'Irāq, a post earlier held by Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī and he inaugurated a policy of taking revenge from the partisans of al-Hajjāj. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī was dismissed from his post and recalled to al-'Irāq, where he was handed over to Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, the 'Amil of al-'Irāq, who had old accounts to settle with the family of al-Hajjāj. The conqueror was thrown in the dungeon at Wāsit and tortured to death.[3] The rest of the family of Abī 'Aqīl was sent into exile to Yaman and in this manner the glory of the Thaqafīte family was brought to an ignominious end.

Yazid ibn Abi Kabshah as-Saksaki

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was succeeded by Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah as-Saksakī as governor over Sind, but he did not survive for long and died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind.[4] The only accomplishment of this governor was to disgrace the conqueror before the army and send him in chains to al-'Irāq.

Habib ibn Muhallab ibn Abi Sufrah

Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah as-Saksakī on his death was fol-

lowed by Habīb ibn Muhallab, a brother of Yazīd ibn Muhallab, the new viceroy of al-'Irāq. Habīb was the son of the famous Arab general Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah, celebrated in the annals for his successful military operations against the unruly Khārjites. Muhallab's name is also associated with the early attacks on Sind, in which he is said to have advanced as far as Qayqanān in the interior of Balūchistān and captured the towns of Banū and Ahwāz[5] in the frontier regions. It appears that the country of Sind was in a state of chaos and the whole conquest was undone by the unwise policy of the new caliph. Rājā Dāhir's son Jaysia who had fled to Chitor after the conquest of Brahmanābād returned back to Sind and reconquered a large portion of his father's territories including the town of Brahmanābād. This shows that the whole of eastern Sind on the left bank of Indus, came under the political influence of the local chiefs, who now transferred their loyalties to Jaysia instead of the Arabs.

Habīb ibn Muhallab, the new governor of Sind, did not interfere with the authority of Jaysia and made an attack on al-Ror, which capitulated on agreeable terms. After the conquest of the capital city Habīb took measures to reconquer other towns of the Indus Valley one by one probably in the western region of Sind. In the meantime caliph Sulaymān died at Damascus and was succeeded by his so-called virtuous cousin 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who inaugurated his reign with the policy of reconciliation towards the rulers of al-Sind and al-Hind, by inviting them to accept the religion of Islām. Prince Jaysia the son of Dāhir is also reported to have accepted the true faith and was therefore confirmed in the territories conquered by him.[6] The new caliph's hostility to the family of Abī Sufrah brought an end of Yazīd ibn Muhallab and with him, of his brother Habīb, who was the governor of Sind, during the reign of Sulaymān.

'Amr ibn Muslim al-Bahili

Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz dismissed Habīb ibn Muhallab and appointed 'Amr ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī as governor over Sind. When 'Amr ibn Muslim came to Sind, he found the country of Sind divided into two parts, the eastern and the

western, being bifurcated by the river Indus, which flowed in the middle of these regions. Immediately after taking over charge of his new appointment 'Amr ibn Muslim made an attack on northern regions probably lower Punjab. The heathens were defeated with heavy slaughter and the lost territories were reconquered for the Umayyads. The new governor it appears did not interfere with the authority of prince Jaysia the son of Dāhir, who held eastern Sind, as a Muslim. Al-Balādhurī reports that the prince had accepted Islām and had adopted an Arab name of Jalīsah,[7] in an attempt to live in peace with the Arab governors of Sind. The regions which he held as an ally of the Arabs, roughly comprised of eastern portion of Nawābshāh district, and the whole of Sānghar and Tharpārkar districts. The major portion of Sānghar and Tharpārkar districts which is a desert now, was very fertile in medieval times and this is attested to from the vestiges of the towns found all along the abandoned beds of the river Indus in those regions. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz died after a short reign of less than one and a half years and was followed by Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik well-known as Yazīd II.

Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mari

Yazīd II appointed Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marī as governor over Sind, which post he also held during the reign of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik the successor of Yazīd II. Junayd after his arrival at al-Daybul made an advance in the interior of Sind and encamped on the western bank of the river Indus. He then sent a message to Jaysia, requiring him to pay the tribute which the prince refused to comply with, on contention that he had accepted Islām and had been confirmed in his post by caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Umavī. On the insistence of Junayd, Jaysia abjured the Muslim faith and made preparations to give battle to the new invader. He organised a fleet of war - ships and manned them with soldiers and equipments of all kinds. Similar arrangements were made by Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān to combat the new and strange show of resistance by the Hindū prince. A naval battle took place on river Indus, first of its kind in the history of Sind.

Jaysia was defeated and taken prisoner and when he was produced in the Arab camp, he was beheaded under the orders of the new governor of Sind. Chach a brother of Jaysia proceeded to al-'Irāq for reporting the breach of faith on the part of Junayd, but he was also captured through deceitful means and put to death.[8]

Junayd was a great soldier as would appear from the expeditions he conducted against the refractory natives of Sind. The new governor also organised an invasion against Gujrāt and the regions of Nīlma, which are said to have been conquered by the Arabs under the personal command of Junayd. It is asserted that Junayd even made an attack on Ujjayn and Malwā in central India and his armies returned successfully laden with the spoils of war. The amount of booty obtained from these attacks was so great that although spent lavishly by the governor, he was able to save 4000 million dirhams for the central treasury.[9] Al-Ya'qūbī the famous medieval historian has given the figure of 8000 million dirhams which were sent by Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān to Damascus as the share of the caliph.[10]

Quoting Madā'inī, Qādī Rashīd ibn Zuhayr reports that one of the rulers of al-Hind, in order to maintain good relations with Junayd, sent to him a she-camel made of ebony as a present. It was stud with gems and her breasts were made of pearls. The camel's neck was covered with diamonds and rubies of excellent red colour. It was kept in a cart of silver and when placed on earth it began to move like a living animal.[11] Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān sent this precious gift to Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, which was greatly appreciated by the caliph and his courtiers. It was, however, deposited in the royal treasury of the Umayyads and was received as a legacy by the 'Abbāsid caliphs, when they succeeded the Umayyads in the hegemony of the Muslim world.

Tamim ibn Zayd al-'Utbi

Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān was succeeded by Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī, who had a reputation of being the most generous among the Arabs. Although he possessed excellent quali-

ties as a ruler, yet he was a man of humane disposition and of weak temperament. He died of an illness near al-Daybul,[12] and was followed by Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī to the government of Sind.

Hakam ibn 'Auwanah al-Kalbi

The new governor was a man of great vigour and is said to have reconquered the whole of Sind for the third time. Due to the leniency of Tamīm ibn Zayd, the country of Sind was reconquered by the natives and the Arabs were expelled from their colonies and settlements. Hakam, when he came to Sind did not find a single place of safety for the Arab Muslims where they could defend themselves against the attacks of the rebellious natives. In order to bring all the Arab tribes together at one place he founded the township of al-Maḥfūẓah on the eastern bank of the river Indus. This fort not only became a place of refuge for the Arabs but the principal headquarter of the governor for conducting punitive expeditions against the refractory natives of Sind. 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, one of the chief advisers of al-Hakam, founded another town opposite to al-Maḥfūẓah on the western bank of the river and named it al-Manṣūrah.[13] Al-Manṣūrah in due course of time became the chief centre of the Arab activities and finally the capital of the kingdom of the same name in the lower Indus valley. With this Hakam ibn 'Auwānah, came to Sind, one Mundhir ibn Zubayr al-Habbārī,[14] whose grandson 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri founded the kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind, during the later period of the 'Abbāsid caliphate.

'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-Thaqafi

Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī was killed in an action against the "infidels of Sind" and was succeeded by 'Amr, the son of Muḥammad al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind. 'Amr was involved in the civil war which broke out between the two factions of the Arabs, the Muḍarites and the Yamanites. Consequently he was besieged in his capital by the insurgents and reduced to dire extremities. Timely help from Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, the governor of al-'Irāq saved the life of

'Amr,[15] but he was dismissed soon afterwards by Walīd II, who appointed Yazīd ibn 'Arār, as governor over Sind.

Yazid ibn 'Arar

Yazīd ibn 'Arār, who seems to have been well-versed in the art of administration took immediate steps and restored law and order in the valley. He was, however, not destined to carry on with his schemes further and fell prey to the conspiracy of an ever ambitious man Manṣūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, who came to Sind from Syria. Manṣur, it may be observed, was a rebellious chief of the declining Umayyad state and had an active hand in the murder of Walīd II, the son of Yazīd II.[16] He also took active part in the two uprisings headed by 'Abbās ibn Hishām (ibn 'Abd al-Malik) and 'Abdullāh ibn Mu'āwiyah the princes of the royal family of the Umayyads, but having failed in his designs to gain power, he fled to Sind. Yazīd ibn 'Arār who held the government of Sind being well-aware of the activities of the defective chief, refused permission for his entry in the territories of al-Manṣūrah. Manṣūr who was joined by many disaffected adventurers or possibly the disaffected Yamanites, made an attack on the fort of Sehwan and captured it by force. He then gave orders for the construction of a bridge over Indus and having crossed the river attacked the forces of Yazīd by surprise. Yazīd was defeated and forced to flee to the fort of al-Manṣūrah, where he was besieged by the forces of Manṣūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī. Negotiations continued between the parties and the fort was surrendered to Mansūr on condition that no harm would be done to the governor. The usurper did not keep up his promise and Yazīd was put to death in the most horrible manner,[17] unsurpassed in the annals.

Mansur ibn Jambur al-Kalbi

Manṣūr al-Kalbī, who now became the ruler of al-Manṣūrah divided the country of Sind in two administrative units. Western Sind, with the towns of Siwistān, Qandābīl and al-Daybul he placed in charge of his brother Manẓūr and all the lands east of the river, he controlled himself directly with headquarters at al-Manṣūrah.[18] He pacified the whole country

by conducting tough military campaigns and re-established peace and order in the valley.

While these events were taking place in Sind, the Arab world was witnessing a civil war, which finally brought a new and vigorous dynasty of the caliphs at Baghdād. Yazīd ibn Walīd who followed his father in A.H. 126, after an inglorious reign of six months was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm ibn Walīd. Ibrāhīm was defeated and deposed by Marwān II another prince of the royal family, who was himself dragged in the patricidal war with the other Umayyad princes. Unfortunately for him, the strife between the Arab tribes of Muḍar and Himyar, revived again and took a serious turn of dangerous menace to the ruling house. Marwān II being a pro-Muḍarite in his leanings, soon became unpopular in Syria which was pre-dominantly a Yamanite region. He was, therefore, destined to fight the enemies at home as well as abroad in the regions of northern al-'Irāq, where the Khārjites had raised the standard of revolt. The She'ite also continued to foment trouble during the same period in the southern cities of al-Kūfah and Basrah.

Marwān took immediate steps to curb down sedition in Syria and after settling the affairs at home, he marched on al-Jazīrah to deal with the Khārjites. The Khārjites although defeated in successive battles rose again and again with dramatic freshness, which greatly taxed the resources of the Umayyad caliphate. In the meantime a coalition was formed in Khurāsān between the 'Abbāsids, the She'ites and the natives of Khurāsān. Abū Muslim, an adventurer of an obscure origin unfurled the black standard of the 'Abbāsids and took the cause of Banū Azd i.e. the Yamanites. Naṣr ibn Sayyār, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, who was a Muḍarite, repeatedly requested for help from the centre to deal with the new situation, but Marwān II who was preoccupied in al-Jazīrah could not come to his rescue. Naṣr was, therefore, defeated by Abū Muslim, who occupied Merv, the capital of Khurāsān and laid the foundation of a new dynasty in the body politic of Islām. At this juncture Marwān II committed a blunder of not only transferring his residence but also the state bureaux to Hārān in northern al-Irāq.[19] By

doing so he alienated the sympathies of the Syrians who formed the backbone of the ruling house of the Umayyads.

Abū Muslim after gaining control over Khurāsān, made an attack on Irān, where the way for conquest lay open due to the feuds of Azd and Muḍar, supported by the pro-'Alide She'ites, who under the cover of the new doctrine, were anxious to revive Irānianism in Persia. The 'Abbāsid forces after capturing the towns of al-Rayy, Isfahān, Nahāvand, and Hulwān, made an attack on al-Kūfah. Yazīd ibn Hubayrah the governor of the place resisted the advance of the Khurāsānians under Qahtabah ibn Shabīb, but he was defeated. Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qasrī, a Yamanite chief who was deadly against the ruling house of the Umayyads and Banū Muḍar, due to the murder of his father, joined hands with the invaders. When he heard the news of the defeat of Yazīd ibn Hubayrah, he collected his men and having defeated Ziyād ibn Sāleh, the governor's representative at al-Kūfah, expelled him out of the city. Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī and his brother Abū Ja'far 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī, were both underground at al-Kūfah residing in the house of Abū Salmah al-Khalāl. After the occupation of al-Kūfah by Muhammad ibn Khālid al-Qasrī, the 'Abbāsid du'āts made obeisance to Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī al-Abbāsī and he was declared as caliph of the Muslim world. He made his first speech in the grand mosque of al-Kūfah and took the oath of fealty from the masses. This incident occurred on 12th Rabī' al-Awwal, A.H. 132 corresponding to October 30, 749 A.C., when the first 'Abbāsid caliph was enthroned and homage was paid to him.

Marwān II who had gathered his forces in al-Jazīrah was defeated by another column of the 'Abbāsid forces under the command of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, the uncle of the new caliph. The final and decisive battle took place on the banks of the river Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, in which the Umayyads sustained a crushing defeat. Marwān fled from the battle-field first to Hārān and then to Syria, where the main cities closed their gates against the fallen monarch. Consequently he escaped to Egypt with the remnant of his forces and fell fighting

against an 'Abbāsid detachment near Busir.[20] His head along with the insignia of the caliphate was sent to al-Kūfah to the new caliph Abu al-'Abbās, well-known as as-Saffāh.

The 'Abbasid governors

The 'Abbāsid dynasty was firmly established in al-'Irāq after the death of Marwān II, who was caught and killed by a detachment of the 'Abbāsid forces, under the command of Abū 'Awn a brother of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī. Abū Muslim Khurāsāni ('Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muslim) who wielded unbounded authority during the reign of as-Saffāh, appointed al-'Abdī as governor over Sind, on behalf of the 'Abbāsids.

Mughlis al-'Abdi

Mughlis al-'Abdī came to Sind from Takhāristān side but his advance was resisted by the forces of Manzūr, the brother of Manṣūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the self-styled ruler of Sind. Manzūr was however killed in the encounter with the forces of the new governor, who flushed with success marched to the interior of Sind. Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, alarmed at the success of the new invasion, collected his forces and fell upon the army of Mughlis. It appears that Manṣūr might have organised a night attack by which he was able to defeat his adversary, who was killed in the action and his forces were dispersed.[21] When the news of this disaster reached Abū Muslim, he entrusted the affairs of Sind to Mūsā ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī who was sent against the usurper Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī.

Musa ibn Ka'b al-Tamimi

Mūsā ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī after his arrival in Sind encamped on the right bank of the river Mahrān, which shows that Mansūr, cautious of the impending danger, had abandoned his possessions west of the Indus. Mūsā, therefore, had to cross the river before an encounter with the army of Mansūr who was subsequently defeated and his forces dispersed. Mansūr fled to the east and is said to have died of thirst[22] in the sands of the Thar desert. Al-Balādhurī reports that it was in the battle with Mūsā al-Tamīmī that Manzūr was killed and Mansūr fled to the Thar desert.[23] Whatever may be the true version,

the defeat of Mansur brought the whole of Sind under the 'Abbāsid sway, who now sent their own men to fleece the populace. Mūsā governed the country of Sind wisely and conducted successful campaigns against the neighbouring territories. He also restored the city of al-Mansūrah and enlarged its principal mosque.

Caliph as-Saffāh died after a reign of less than four years and was followed by his brother Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, who appointed Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī as governor over Sind.

Hisham ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabi

Hishām al-Taghlabī, who took up his appointment in Sind during the reign of the second 'Abbāsid caliph was a great warrior. He conquered what was left unsubdued and sent a naval expedition against Nārind, under the command of 'Amr ibn Jamāl, who seems to have been the admiral of the Arab army. It appears that by this time the Arabs were able to build up a strong navy for their attacks on regions separated from Sind either by large rivers or possibly by the gulfs of the Arabian Sea. He also made an attack on al-Hind and conquered Kashmīr which may be a misconception of Kashmor, in northern Sind. It is also probable that Kashmīr of the Arabs was meant by upper Punjāb, comprising of Lāhore and Rāwalpindī divisions. Multān which had become a refractory province was too conquered during the period of his governorship. He then sent a punitive expedition against the Arab settlers of Qandābīl who had withdrawn their allegiance to the Arab governors of Sind. The conquests of Hishām it would appear overshadowed the accomplishments of all the Arab generals who preceded him in the government of Sind. He even contemplated an attack on Qandhār and after having destroyed its temple, he built a mosque at the place.[24] He was an efficient administrator and under him the country of Sind prospered exceedingly. His name is uttered in praiseworthy tone by the Arab writers for defending the frontiers of Sind and keeping its affairs in order.

'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazarmard al-Muhallabi

Mūsā ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī was followed by 'Amr son of Hafṣ al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī as the governor of Sind.

During his governorship Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh al-'Alavī came to Sind in disguise as trader in horses. He was received by the governor with every mark of respect, who not only offered appropriate shelter to him but provided him with all possible help. 'Amr was, therefore, taken to task for showing favours to the state enemy and was transferred to the government of north Africa. His place was taken by Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī, who killed Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh al-'Alavī and sent his head to Baghdād.[25] It appears that there is a grave mistake in the names given by various writers in chronological order. Al-Balādhurī reports that 'Amr ibn Hafs was succeeded by Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd ibn Hātim and then by Bashr ibn Dā'ūd, who ruled over Sind during the reign of caliph al-Māmūn.[26] Al-Ya'qūbī, who is more correct on the other hand, relates that it was 'Amr ibn Hafs who was appointed over Sind during the reign of caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr. He was followed by Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī, Mu'bad ibn Khalīl, Rūḥ ibn Hātim, Nasr ibn Muhammad, Zubayr ibn 'Abbās and Misba' ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī in quick succession during the caliphate of al-Mahdī[27] the third 'Abbāsid caliph.

Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, the fifth 'Abbasid caliph appointed Salīm al-Yūnisī, Ṭayfūr ibn 'Abdullāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hāshimī and Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī, one after the other, to the government of Sind. None of these governors seems to have taken interest in the affairs of Sind and they discharged their duties as mere tax collectors. They, however, carried on their intrigues by creating rift between the Arabs and the locals and also in between the Arabs themselves, who were divided into two main divisions of the Muḍar and Himyar.

Da'ud ibn Yazid al-Muhallabi

Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd, the last of the governors of Harūn's reign was a Yamanite and as such he was hostile to Muḍar faction of the Arabs. He began to persecute the Muḍarites to such an extent that they rose in open rebellion and made an attack on al-Mansūrah, the capital of Sind. Dā'ūd having been defeated obtained the aid of the local chiefs, specially the Jatts, and

with their aid he was able to reconquer al-Mansūrah.[28] This is reported to have been one of the most bloody affairs in the history of Sind in which the power of the Nizāri Arabs was completely annihilated.

Bashr ibn Da'ud al-Muhallabi

Caliph Māmūn al-Rashīd, who succeeded Hārūn, after a bloody struggle with his brother al-Amīn, appointed Bashr ibn Dā'ūd as governor over Sind. Bashr relying on the fidelity of the Arab chiefs of the Himyar rose in revolt against the central government and refused to send the yearly tribute. This action of the governor may have also been actuated on account of the heavy expenses incurred by his father in putting down the revolt of the Muḍarites. Consequently he was dismissed from his post and was followed by Ghassān ibn 'Ibād, a native of Sawād near al-Kūfah. Bashr, however, refused to relinquish the charge of his office, but he was defeated and taken prisoner. According to one tradition he gave himself up voluntarily to the new governor on promise of safe conduct and finally taken to Madīnat al-Salām. Ghassān ibn 'Ibād did not tarry in Sind and left Mūsā ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, to rule over Sind as his lieutenant.[29]

Musa ibn Yahya al-Barmaki

Mūsā al-Barmakī who ruled over the province of Sind as a vice-governor on behalf of Ghassān ibn 'Ibād was a man of talent and he ruled the country with great administrative insight and wisdom. He also made incursions against the neighbouring regions of Gujrāt and Cutch. The ruler of Gujrāt called Bhala-rai (correctly Valabh-ra'i) resisted the advance of the Sindhian forces, but he was defeated and killed. It is related in the accounts that the same Bhala-rai had offered six lac dirhams to Mūsā in an attempt to avoid armed conflict.[30] Mūsā it would seem returned to Sind laden with the spoils of war, which might have been of greater value than the amount of the tribute offered by the deceased rājā.

Mūsā lived an upright life and died in an advanced age in A.H. 221 and was followed by his son 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī.

'Imran ibn Musa al-Barmaki

When 'Imrān ibn Mūsā succeeded his father, the caliph at the centre had also changed. Caliph al-Mamūn was dead and his place was taken by his brother al-Mu'tasim-billāh, who confirmed 'Imrān on his own request as governor over Sind. In order to show his worth, he conducted expeditions against the refractory tribes of Jatts in the regions of Qayqanān and defeated them in successive battles. The Jatts of Balūchistān it would seem carried depredatory raids on the sedentary population of Sind which caused great misery to the people. A second expedition he conducted against Qandābīl (Gandāva), where an Arab chief by name Muhammad ibn Khalīl had made himself independent of the governors of Sind. This shows that the hegemony of the governors of al-Mansūrah in Sind not only extended to the regions of southern Punjāb and Multān, but also over a large territory now known as Balūchistān. The rebel was defeated and taken captive to Kuzdār, which was one of the flourishing towns of Balūchistān during the Arab period.

'Imrān was also a great builder. He founded the town of Bayḍā' and its fort which was garrisoned with a strong detachment of the Arab army. He is also credited with having built the famous highway to Balūchistān and the Cantonment named معسكر الميد [31], with the sole objective of keeping the refractory tribes of Med under control. He repaired the fort of al-Ror and made it the head-quarters of his army for conducting punitive expeditions against the Jatts and Meds of Balūchistān. It was at al-Ror that he summoned the chiefs of the Jatt tribes to come to that fort and pay homage to him. He then sealed their hands by branding, which indicated that they were slaves of the Arabs and exacted from them a heavy tribute.[32] He was the first Arab governor to revive the practices of the Brahman rule in Sind, by issuing orders that every local chief who came to visit the governor or his lieutenant should bring a dog with him as a sign of humiliation. These stringent disabilities were originally imposed on the tribes of Jatt and Med (who now call themselves by newly invented castes of Baluchīs), by Chach, the first ruler of the Brahman dynasty.

In spite of these qualities, 'Imrān proved unable to bring unity among the Arabs, who due to their distinct racial divisions, continued to fight among themselves for power. 'Imrān took the side of the Himyarites and thereby he alienated the sympathies of the Muḍar, who appear to have been more numerous than their counterpart, the Yamanites. This strife among the Arab tribes soon developed into fierce battles, in almost every part of Sind. 'Imrān ibn Mūsā took repressive measures against the Muḍarites who had now selected a capable leader in the person of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al- 'Azīz al-Habbārī. 'Umar al-Habbāri defeated 'Imrān in an open battle, who after having been caught was beheaded[33] under the orders of the new and self-styled governor of Sind. Immediately after this incident 'Umar wrote to the contemporary caliph at Baghdād to confirm him in place of 'Imrān earlier killed in the action.

The famous historian al-Ya'qūbī. on the other hand, affirms that 'Imrān ibn Mūsā was succeeded by Harūn ibn Abī Khālid as governor of Sind and he continued to hold the post till his death in A.H. 240/855 A.C.[34] It was after the death of Harūn ibn Abī Khālid that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri was appointed over Sind, on his own request by the then 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil. During the caliphate of al-Mamūn al-Rashid, it may be recalled, a freed man of Banū Samah named Faḍl ibn Māhān had conquered Sindān, in the province of Cutch. He sent to al-Mamūn an elephant as a gift and read the Khutbah in his name at the cathedral mosque, which he had erected in that town. After the death of Faḍl, he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, who is reported to have conducted a naval expedition against the Meds, with a fleet of seventy ships. This shows that the southern coast of Sind and the coastal regions of Kāthiāwād were inhabited by the tribes of Meds, who committed acts of piracy on high seas and caused harassment to the Arab commercial fleets plying on the Indian Ocean. Al-Balādhurī reports that in the absence of Muḥammad ibn Faḍl, his brother Māhān occupied Sindān and made himself the master of the city. He sent a turban to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'tasim-billāh, the like of which had never been seen before, specially in size and length.[35] Māhān however did not survive for

long and was killed by the natives of Cutch who rose in revolt against the Arabs. Muḥammad too suffered the same fate and the regions of Cutch went out of the Muslim hands for want of external help and reinforcements.

A general survey of the events

The period of the Arab governors in Sind extended over a century and a half, in which greater portion of the lower Indus valley, including Balūchistān was held by them. The position of the governor it would seem was that of a tax collector, who had to defray his own expenses and the cost of administration, during the tenure of his office. He was also obliged to remit to the central treasury an amount of yearly revenues, agreed upon between him and his master, the ruling caliph, who was to dismiss him at will. The amount of revenues depended mainly on the ability and acumen of the governor and his treatment of the natives. The unruly and harsh governors fleeced the local population which was reduced to serfdom. In spite of conversion to the religion of Islam, the Umayyads exacted Jizyah from the people of the conquered territories. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Umavī, the fifth caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads, granted remission of Jizyah to the new Muslims, but he was destined to rule for a brief period of less than two years. The governors on their part refused to abide by the established rules of the Muslim administration and the edicts of the caliph. The recovery of Jizyah from the new Muslims continued even during the reign of 'Umar II, who due to the lack of communication and long distance from the seat of caliphate, could not control the high-handedness of his lieutenants.

The 'Abbāsid caliphs who succeeded the Umayyads, too did not feel any sympathy for the subject people in the far-flung provinces of the vast empire. Their ministers who belonged to the family of fire worshippers of Khurāsān and were of non-Arab origin, took steps for reconciliation, but the general trend remained the same. The situation was further aggravated by the colonisation of Sind by the Arab tribes, who were greatly enamoured of its productivity and riches. The Arabs, as is

usual with the ruling class, occupied supreme position in the social and political structure of the land. They occupied the fertile lands as fiefs, controlled the land and sea trade, and held high offices in the administration of the province. The landed property and lucrative trade brought enormous riches to them, but the age-long tribal jealousies among the various factions of the Arabs, retarded all progress of cultural development. The Muḍar and the Himyar, the principal divisions of the Arabs due to racial and other considerations, did not reconcile themselves with each other, since the pre-Islamic period of their existence. The Prophet for the time being, by the magnanimity of his character, put a ban on their ever rebellious behaviour, but the spirit of revenge revived among them immediately after his death. This tendency of the Arab tribes continued unabated throughout the ninety-year reign of the Umayyads and contributed greatly to their fall. During the 'Abbāside period, the same trouble continued to haunt the minds of the people and resulted in horrible consequences not only for the Arabs but for the local population of the Indus Valley. Their petty tribal jealousies flared up into armed conflicts with such a dramatic speed that the whole of Muslim world got involved into it. The Arabs resumed fighting everywhere by collecting their supporters and the mawālīs. It was the local mawāli, who suffered the torments of the tribal war and was also to bear the brunt of its consequential results. The clients i.e. the new Muslims from among the subject people were forcibly dragged in these conflicts and were also made to make good the loss which its mawlā tribe had incurred during the patricidal wars.

The non-Muslim subjects of Sind, who were mainly Buddhists, no doubt remained immune from the actual warfare, yet they were taxed heavily to fill in the coffers of the state treasury. During the continuance of the tribal wars, the non-Muslims were often dragged by one or the other tribe for active help with the result that they incurred the displeasure of the other. The cessation of hostilities between the Arab tribes had serious repercussions on the non-Muslims, who had to pay heavily for taking sides against their will, in the struggle for power. Even the governors were powerless to do something for the down-trodden

masses, who continued to groan under the colonial yoke of the foreigners for a period of over three centuries.

The Arab accounts of Sind reveal that the governors who were appointed over Sind had a dual duty to perform; firstly to look after the welfare and well-being of the Arab settlers and secondly to conduct unprovoked attacks on the non-Muslim communities both within and without. This was done principally to acquire booty and the prisoners of war. In order to make their position secure, the Arab governors had to send to the reigning caliphs, Khums and other valuables as presents, apart from the fixed revenues. Slaves both men and women were sent to Arab world to be sold in open markets. The male Sindhī slave was of great value to his master due to his auspiciousness and intelligence. Many of them could read and write and were therefore of great use to the Arab professionals and tradesmen. The 'Arab writers report that almost every businessman in Baghdād had a Sindhī slave, who used to keep his accounts and looked after his affairs in his absence.[36] The honesty and integrity of a Sindhī slave was proverbial in the Arab world, but the Sindhī females do not seem to have enamoured the Arabs. It is stated in the accounts that a Sindhī female can be a good house wife, but there is no reliance on her beauty and charms which wither away after the first child birth.[37] The Sindhī slaves had acquired prominence in the Arab world for their intelligence and learning. Men like Abū 'Atā al-Sindī, Abu Dila' al-Sindī, Kushājam ibn Shāhak al-Sindī, Imām al-Awzā'ī', Khalf ibn Sālīm al-Sindī were all either slaves or sons of the slaves.

During the 'Abbāsid period, special interest was shown by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mamūn in the learnings of Sind. 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī, the then governor of Sind sent a deputation of Sindhī scholars to the 'Abbāsid court at Baghdād. These scholars were men of repute and authors of a number of works which they took with them to al-'Irāq. Some of these men were appointed to responsible posts in the court as well as in the Bayt al-Hikmah to assist in the translation of the works of Indo-Pakistan origin. The names of these scholars which have survived through the pen of the Arab writers give an accurate data

of their belonging to the country of Sind. These were Mankā (or Mānik), Bahlā (Bhalā), Ibn Dhan (Dhano), Kankā (Gangā), Bajhar (Vyaghra), Sanjhal and others.[38] The name. Kankā may be related to Kankayana, an authority on medicine and Dhano or Dhanvātarī is the name of the mystical physician of gods, mentioned in Manū's law book and epos.

The first work of Sindhian origin which found its translation into Arabic was the world-famous work on philosophy named Ka'īlah wa Dimnah, which was translated by 'Abdullāh ibn Muqaffah. Kalīlah wa Dimnah was the Persian version of the original Panchtantra, which was earlier brought from Sind to Irān by Burzoyah,[39] the personal physician of Chosros An-Nawshīrwān, the Sassānid ruler of Persia. This book inspired great interest in the intellectual circles at Baghdād for its anecdotes and other useful stories.

Notes and References

1. Chachnāmah, p. 203.
2. Ibid, p. 242.
3. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446.
4. Ibid, p. 446.
5. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438; Kāmil, Vol. III, pp. 221, 225.
6. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 283.
7. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447.
8. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447; Kāmil, X, p. 64.
9. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448; Kāmil, IV, p. 283.
10. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 50.
11. Dhakhā'ir wa'I-Tuḥf, pp. 14, 15.
12. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448.
13. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448; Kāmil, p. 238.
14. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
15. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 56.
16. Kāmil, Vol. V, p. 135.
17. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
18. Ibid, p. 66.
19. Ṭārikh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. II, pp. 1943, 49.
20. Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 49, 50.
21. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
22. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
23. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
24. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 91.
25. Kāmil, Vol. V, pp. 281, 283; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, pp. 198, 199.
26. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
27. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 109.
28. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 152.
29. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 153.

30. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
31. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
32. Chachnāmah, pp. 215, 216.
33. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
34. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 177.
35. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 451.
36. Fakhr al-Sudān, p. 81.
37. Renaissance of Islām, p. 161. Sindhi women were noted for their slim waist and long hair.
38. 'Uyūn al-Anba, Vol. II, pp. 32, 35.
39. Tabāqat al-Umam, p. 14.

THE HABBARID DYNASTY OF AL-MANSURAH

The foundation of the dynasty - origin and ancestry - 'Umar ibn 'Abd al - 'Azīz - 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar - 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh - Muhammad ibn 'Umar - Ahmad ibn 'Umar - Khafif - End of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah.

Foundation of the dynasty

Al-Mutawakkil was the last great ruler of the house of 'Abbās and his death at the hands of the Turkish guards signalised the decline of the 'Abbāsid empire. The Turkish guards who were originally recruited as mercenaries by Caliph al-Mu'tasim to act as palace guards became more and more arbitrary and outrageous in their behaviour towards their suzerain. Their indulgence in the political affairs of the empire resulted in the ruination and decay of the caliphate which consequently ceased to exercise any effective control beyond the capital city of Baghdād. The ruling sovereigns of the vast empire were subjected to inhuman and disgraceful conduct and removed from the throne at will. After their deposition they were insulted and thrown in the dungeons and blinded by these ruffians who now controlled the whole power in the administration of the State and also in the imperial army. The three 'Abbāsid caliphs, al-Qāhir, al-Muttaqī and al-Mustakfī suffered the ignominious fate of being blinded after their forcible deposition from the throne. Women, and even eunuchs occupied the judgment seats and extended patronage, while corruption and venality prevailed openly in the court life and in the administration. The servile war, "Zanj rebellion", which raged for fourteen years, ravaged the whole country of al-'Irāq and its beautiful cities Basrah, Wāsiṭ and al-Ahwāz lay desolate. The estimated number of people who perished in this catastrophic war exceeded five hundred thousand souls. During the very same period Qarmathians, a branch of the Ismā'īlī heretics attacked and plundered at pleasure al-Kūfah, Basrah, Sāmārah and other towns of al-'Irāq, which lay almost undefended due to the weakness of the central government. These heterodox

of the extreme Shi'ite views are said to have attacked even Mecca and took away the black stone, the universal object of veneration by all Muslims. The stone remained with the Qarmathians for a period of over twenty years and was returned to the holy Ka'bah at the intercession of al-Mansūr, the Fātmid caliph of Egypt.[1] Whether the stone was original or an imitation, which was returned to the Ka'bah, is still a matter of questionable doubt.

Under these circumstances, the distant provinces of the 'Abbāsid empire partook in the decline and assumed independence under their respective chiefs. The first to throw off the 'Abbāsid yoke was Egypt which became independent under its Turkish governor Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn. Khurāsān, Persia and Sind followed suit and new dynasties rose in those regions on the decaying corpse of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. The Tāhirids, the Saffārids and the Sāmānids rose one after the other carving extensive empires for themselves out of the territories previously held by the 'Abbāsids. The Daylamites too made their debut in Irān and al-'Irāq and established an ultra-Shi'ite dynasty in the heart of the 'Abbāsid caliphate with its capital at Shīrāz. The Amīr al-Umarā' as the Buwayhids were later named, usurped all powers of the state, rendering the caliph totally impotent, confined within his harem. The seed of disaffection among the ruling class (i.e. the Arabs) sown in the reign of al-Māmūn came to fruition during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil who in spite of his qualities as a ruler could not arrest the degeneracy and decline of the 'Abbāsid dynasty. In his efforts to restore the prestige of the caliph, he was murdered in cold blood by the Turkish guards under the instigation of his own son al-Muntasir.[2]

The virtual renunciation of the political control of Sind province by the 'Abbāsids may be dated from the year A.H. 257/871 A.C, when caliph al-Mu'tamid, hard pressed by the hostile designs of Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Saffār, conferred upon him the government of Balkh, Tabāristān and Sind, in addition to Sijistān and Kirmān with which he had already been invested. Ya'qūb ibn Layth was reluctant to accept the offer of the caliph and rejected

it by attacking al-'Irāq. He captured the towns of Wāsiṭ and pushed on his march to Baghdād. He was, however, defeated and forced to flee from the battle-field and his forces were dispersed. He then retired to Sijistān where he continued to reinforce himself, but was taken by sudden illness and died of colic in the year A.H. 265/879 A.C.[3] His brother 'Amr ibn Layth made peace with the 'Abbāsid caliph and was confirmed as governor over Khurāsān. Outmanoeuvred by the duplicity of al-Mu'tamid, who had old accounts to settle with the Ṣaffārids, 'Amr was captured alive and hanged at Baghdād[4] in the year A.H. 287/900 A.C.

Sind at this juncture was divided into two principalities of al-Mansūrah and Multān, and was held by local chiefs of the Arab origin. The kingdom of Multān was held by a Qurayshite belonging to the tribe of Banū Asad, and al-Mansūrah on the other hand was ruled by the descendants of Habbār ibn al-Aswad. It appears that both these states which were semi-independent in the Indus Valleys ince the reign of al-Mutawakkil, might have acknowledged the overlordship of Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Saffārī, in consequence of the edict of the caliph. But there is no evidence to show that Ibn Layth ever exercised direct control over the affairs of the Sind province. The Ṣaffārid warlord on account of his preoccupations in Irān and al-'Irāq, does not seem to have taken interest in the administration of so remote a province as Sind, a namewhich was applied to the whole valley up to the regions of Kashmīr. The two principalities unmindful of the events in West Asia, continued to be under the undisturbed rule of the Arab rulers who to all intents and purposes were totally independent within their principalities. Nominal allegiance was, however, made to the caliph by the occasional despatch of a gift or rarity from the kingdoms which they had usurped. The caliph was also flattered by a word of request and the sending of envoys with presents, to confer the instrument of investiture on them. The gifts included, "an elephant, a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings or some pounds of musk and amber"[5] with intention to please the puppet caliph at Baghdād.

The frontiers of the kingdom of Multān extended from Kashmīr to Aror and those of al-Mansūrah, from Aror to the shores of Arabian Sea. This shows that the kingdom of Multān extended over a greater portion of south-east Punjab excluding Lahore, which has been mentioned by the Arab geographers to be out of the jurisdiction of the northern kingdom. The territories of al-Mansūrah it would seem comprised of present Sind with additions from Cutch and parts of Gujrāt. The descendants of Habbār ibn al-Aswad who held the southern kingdom are reported to have been converted to Ismā'ilism and hence Sind was attacked by the Ghaznavids,[6] which finally brought the extinction of the Arab dynasties in the Indus Valley. It appears that the rulers of al-Mansūrah might have been influenced by the Qarmathian missionaries of Multān where the influence of the heretics is reported to be as early as A.H. 375/987 A.C. Ibn al-Haytham and Jalam (or Halam) ibn Sha'bān who imposed the Qarmathian rule in Multān might have sent their missionaries to Sind resulting in the conversion of its ruler to the Shi'ite cause, which was gaining momentum in Sind since the early years of the 'Abbāsid rule. 'Abdullāh ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ashtar, a descendant of Caliph 'Alī had migrated to Sind in A.H. 150/767-68 A.C. in disguise as trader in horses. He was received with every mark of respect by the then governor of Sind, 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī and offered adequate shelter. The 'Abbāsid caliph alarmed at the pro-Shi'ite tendencies of the governor of Sind took a serious view of him and transferred him to the government of north Africa. 'Amr ibn Hafs was replaced by Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī, who killed 'Abdullāh al-Ashtar and sent his head to Baghdād along with the family of the deceased Shi'ite leader.[7]

Origin and ancestry

The dynasty of Banu Habbār takes its name from Habbār ibn al-Aswad, a member of the clan of Banū Asad, who was notorious for his opposition to Islam and imputing slanders against the Prophet. Habbār is reported to have reviled Prophet Muhammad in public by satire and scandalous remarks in the poems which he used to compose himself.[8] He used to interrupt the Prophet in his sermons and speeches, by reciting calum-

nious poems against him and thus diverting the attention of the Quraysh, by calling them to rally around him. In Tā'if too the same tactic was adopted by him to counteract the efforts of the Prophet to convert heathens to Islam. A brother of Habbār, Zama'ah ibn al-Aswad was one of the confederates and the head of his clan, who fought against the Muslims in the battle of Badr. He was, however, slain in the battle along with his two other brothers and this incident kindled the wrath of Habbār who ventured to avenge the death of his brothers by composing elegies and crying for vengeance. He, however, satisfied his passion for revenge soon afterwards by causing the death of the Prophet's daughter on her way to Madīna. Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet while migrating to Yathrib in A.H. 2, was pursued and chased by Habbār, who struck her with a lance. She fell from the camel and was hurt grievously. It is reported that she was pregnant and as such she succumbed to the injuries caused by the miscarriage.[9]

The Habbārid family was a branch of Banū Asad, which in itself was an offshoot of the great tribe of Quraysh. This family was closely related to the Prophet through his wife Khadījah, who also belonged to the tribe of Banū Asad. 'Abdullāh ibn Zama'ah, a nephew of Habbār was married to Zaynab the daughter of Umma-Salmah, a wife of the holy Prophet. Khadījah herself was the daughter of Khuwaylad ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā[10] and as such in her relationship she was a paternal cousin to Habbār ibn al-Aswad. The tribe of Banū Asad was one of the important tribes of the Quraysh and enjoyed greater position and higher privileges in the city state of Mecca, at the time of the advent of the Prophet. Its representative Yazīd ibn Rabī'ah held the department of Mashūrah and it was with his consultation that important decisions were taken by the Quraysh. Aswad ibn Muṭallib, the father of Habbār was one of the outstanding figures among the most influential personalities of Mecca. Habbār was a poet, but his brothers Zama'ah ibn al-Aswad and 'Aqīl ibn al-Aswad were great warriors and fell fighting in the battle of Badr on the side of the Quraysh. Another member of this family killed at Badr was Hārith ibn Zama'ah, who too perished with his father on that fatal field.

The two sons of Zama'ah, Yazīd and 'Abdullāh, accepted Islam and are included among the companions of the Prophet. Yazīd ibn Zama'ah died a martyr's death on the day of Tā'if', and 'Abdullāh on the other hand married Zaynab the daughter of Abū Salmah as mentioned before. Yazīd ibn 'Abdullāh who was born of this union was killed on the day of Harrah, fighting for the defence of al-Madīna,[11] against the forces of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. Another member of this illustrious family Zubayr ibn al-'Auwām was one of the nearest and most trustworthy companions of the Prophet and belonged to the celebrated group of al-Ashrat al-Mubashshirah. This group of ten companions as the tradition runs, received the tidings of paradise during their lifetime. Zubayr later fought against 'Alī in the battle of Jamal and died of the grievous wounds received in the fighting. In this battle, he had taken the side of his sister-in-law, 'Ā'isha, the wife of the Prophet, who was the chief antagonist against 'Alī. The sons of Zubayr, 'Abdullāh and Mus'ab distinguished themselves in their fight against the Umayyads and lived sixty years after the Hijrah.[12] Abdullāh ibn Zubayr the eldest, held the position and title of the caliph of the Muslims for ten years by virtue of his possession of the holy cities and was a rival to Marwān ibn al-Hakam and his son 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the first and second rulers of the Hakamite branch of the Umayyads. He was ultimately defeated and killed in the siege of Mecca by the famous Thaqafite statesman Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī in the month of Jumādi II, A. H. 73/692 A. C.

Habbār ibn al-Aswad like other members of the tribe of Quraysh, received magnanimous treatment from the Prophet after the conquest of Mecca and as such he accepted Islam. His descendants took active part in the administrative machinery of the Muslim empire during both Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid period and held responsible posts. Mundhir ibn Zubayr, one of the descendants of Habbār ibn al-Aswad held an important position at Circasia during the reign of al-Saffāh,[13] the first 'Abbāsid caliph, as reported by al-Ṭabarī. Al-Balādhurī on the other hand reports that the same Mundhir ibn Zubayr came to Sind during the Umayyad period in the company of Hakam

ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī. The family then settled in Sind and acquired great influence in the political affairs of the country.

In the reign of Caliph al-Mu'tasim, civil war of great magnitude broke out in Sind among the Arab tribes, which overwhelmed the whole valley. The age-long jealousies of the Muḍar and Nizār, burst forth with irresistible might and caused much bloodshed. The governor of Sind, 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī took the side of Yamanites, who committed acts of vandalism on their adversaries. During this period of general chaos, the Mudarites under the wise leadership of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī attacked the governor in his residence and killed him.[14] The death of the governor and the defeat of his partisans brought the whole of the lower valley under the control of the Habbārids who now became the dominant faction in Sind. In order to legalise his power and position in Sind, the leader of the Hijāzī tribes 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī, made a formal request to Caliph al-Mutawakkil to confirm him in the government of Sind. The caliph it would seem accepted the offer and appointed him as governor over Sind in place of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī. The famous historian al-Ya'qūbī has given A.H. 240/855 A.C. as the year of the appointment of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī as the governor of Sind. An appointee of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, 'Umar later became independent and laid the foundation of the Habbārid dynasty and the kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz al-Habbari

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz al-Habbārī was not only the founder of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah but at the same time he founded a dynasty which held sway over the entire Sind for a period of one and three quarters of a century. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was the fifth descendant of Habbār ibn al-Aswad,[15] a distinguished member of the tribe of Banū Asad, a principal branch of the Quraysh. He assumed the political leadership of the Nizārī tribes of Sind in the turmoil which started in the valley during the governorship of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī. In consequence of the fighting which ensued as a result of the conflict between the contending parties, the governor

('Imrān) was murdered and the political power in the land was usurped by the Mudarites. 'Umar thereafter became the lord paramount of the land by extending his influence over the whole of the southern valley, slowly and gradually. He was well aware that without the recognition of the caliph he was not destined to survive long in his possession and power. He, therefore, submitted a petition to the caliph al-Mutawakkil to confirm him in the government of Sind as he was the only person suited to hold the province for the 'Abbāsids. The reign of al-Mutawakkil as a whole was one of the most turbulent in the annals and disorders of great magnitude had broken out every where. During the very same period the Muslim world was visited by earthquakes and other natural calamities of all kinds, which made the reign of al-Mutawakkil unauspicious. 'Umar's request seems to have been a sign of relief for the perturbed caliph, who forthwith sent him the investiture of appointment and confirmed him in the government of Sind.[16] Although an appointee of the 'Abbāsid caliph, 'Umar took the best of the opportunity from the decaying power of the caliphs and his long awaited desire to found a dynasty was soon after fulfilled. Caliph al-Mutawakkil was assassinated in his palace by his Turkish guards in the year A.H. 246/861 A.C. and this event served as a turning point in the history and the politics of the valley of Indus. 'Umar declared himself an independent ruler with nominal allegiance to the caliphs by reciting their name in Friday surmons and by despatch of yearly tribute to the central treasury.

Early life and career

Very little is known of the early life and career of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, but it is certain that he was born and brought up in the country of Sind. It appears that he was brought up at Bāniyah, a small township to the south of al-Mansūrah, to which he showed great attachment in his youth and in the old age. This is further confirmed from his conduct that when he became the ruler of an independent dynasty with a big city like al-Mansūrah as its capital, yet he transferred his official residence to Bāniyah.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz, it would seem started his lifefrom nothing but it cannot be said that he did not wield any influence in the political affairs of the Arabs in Sind. He was a prominent member of the tribe of the Quraysh which wielded considerable influence and prestige among the north Arabian tribes, known as Mudarites. Even among the Yamanite tribes the Quraysh were held in high esteem due to their pre-Islamic religious importance as the custodians of the Ka'bah and also due to their relationship with Muhammad the Prophet of Islām. It appears that by sheer dint of merit and personal ability 'Umar succeeded in bringing unity among the Mudarites in one of the most critical periods of their existence in Sind. Due to the pro-Yamanite policy of the 'Abbāsid governors, the Himyarites were the real power in the valley and as such they began to persecute the Nizāri tribes. The persecution reached its culminating point during the governorship of 'Imrānibn Mūsā al-Barmakī, who even instigated and encouraged the Yamanites to commit atrocious acts of vandalism against the Mudarites. At this juncture an able leader was sought for, who could unite them against the common foe and bring them out successfully as the most powerful political power in the country. These qualities they found in the person of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī who nevertheless proved equal to the hour of crisis and emerged successfully as the hero of the Hijāzi tribes. He defeated the governor 'Imrān[17] who was killed in one of the actions of the civil war and this brought an end to the rule of Arab governors in Sind. 'Umar it would appear not only over-powered the rival group of the Arabs but at the same time maintained peace and order in the region by instituting wise and benevolent administration. After making his position secure, he submitted a petition to al-Mutawakkil, the 'Abbāsid caliph to appoint him as governor of Sind in place of 'Imrān al-Barmakī, possibly on the conditions of paying yearly tribute and to recite the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph in Friday prayers.[18]

'Umar as a King .

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was well-versed in the administration of the country and proved worthy of the high office

of the ruler of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. In spite of being an independent ruler of the vast kingdom which extended from Aror to the Arabian Sea, 'Umar did not severe his relations with the central government and continued to recite the name of the 'Abbāsid caliphs in the Friday khutbās throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom. The famous historian Ibn Khaldūn relates that caliph al-Mu'tamid in order to divert the attention of Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Saffār conferred on him the government of Sind in addition to various other provinces of the east. Ya'qūb, however, rejected this offer by making an attack on Baghdād, which proved a failure. He was defeated and forced to flee to Sijistān,[19] where he died soon afterwards. This shows that Ya'qūb, due to his pre-occupations in Fars and other provinces of the west, had little time to divert his attention to Sind. The province of Sind continued to be governed by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and his descendants under the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbāsids, throughout the period of the Saffārid struggle against the central government. It also seems probable that 'Umar ibn 'Abd-al-Azīz might have entered into correspondence with the Saffārid war-lord and reconciled with him by submitting to his authority. There is no evidence of such relationship in any of the contemporary or later sources. It can, therefore, be fairly concluded that 'Umar al-Habbāri remained in the uninterrupted possession of the country of Sind till his death, the date of which unfortunately is not available. The cancellation of the authority of the Saffārid hero at the hands of the 'Abbāsid caliphs is attested to from the new investiture of appointment issued in the name of al-Muwaffiq in the year A.H. 261/875 A.C. In this document caliph al-Mu'tamid conferred on his brother the authority to rule over all the eastern provinces including Sind.[20]

There is no evidence to show how long 'Umar remained in power, but it is certain that he ruled over Sind for a considerable period. From the account of the famous Persian traveller Buzurk ibn Shahriyār it transpires that in A.H. 270/888 A.C., 'Abdullāh the son of 'Umar was the ruler of al-Mansūrah.[21] The author of Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuhf, on the other

hand relates that in A.H. 271, Musā ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Habbāri, the ruler of Sind, sent some presents to al-Mu'tamid the Abbāsid caliph at Baghdād. These included among others, some handsome elephants, three idols of silver, musk ambergris, silken clothes, the deers which were as big as cows, and a throne of aloe-wood.[22] This shows that 'Umar al-Habbārī and his son 'Abdullāh both reigned for thirty years in aggregate.

'Umar al-Habbārī made al-Mansūrah as his capital, but he transferred his residence to Bāniyah,[23] a small town situated at a distance of one day's journey from the capital. It appears that the transfer of the residence might have been actuated by climatic and defensive reasons and also to avoid the hustle bustle and busy life of al-Mansūrah. It may have been a place for recreation as would appear from the accounts of the Arab writers. Bāniyah abounded with gardens and fruits of all varieties could be had in large quantities and on cheap rates.[24]

The reign of 'Umar on the whole seems to have been peaceful and prosperous and the people, probably the Arabs, were happy and content. 'Umar also exercised profound influence on the neighbouring non-Muslim rulers, who due to their own difficulties or possibly good neighbourly relations did not venture to attack Sind. This might have also been accomplished by the maintenance of strong and well-paid efficient army which kept the enemy at bay, in the hour of crisis.

'Abdullah ibn 'Umar al-Habbari

Due to the absence of historical chronology, very little is known about the period of the rule for each ruler of the dynasty of Banū Habbār. It is, however, certain that 'Umar was followed by his son 'Abdullāh as the ruler of al-Mansūrah of whom the coins have been found from the site of Bhiro.[25] The reign of 'Abdullāh is famous in the annals for the first translation of Qurān in the local language of Sind.

First translation of Quran

The author of 'Ajā'ib al-Hind reports that a non-Muslim Rājā of lower Kashmīr, whose name appears as Mahrūq ibn Rā'iq made a request to the ruler of al-Mansūrah to depute a scholar to his court. The purpose it seems, was to explain to

him the teachings of Islām and to translate the holy Book into the local language of Sind. 'Abdullāh al-Habbārī sent to him a fresh arrival from al-'Irāq who was well-versed in many Indian languages. It is reported that he used to explain the verses of the Qurān to the non-Muslim Rājā in open court and remained there for a period of three years. It has been further stated that during the course of translation when the Muslim scholar reached Sūrah Yāsīn and explained to him the verse (قال من يحي العظام و هي رميم), the rājā alighted from his throne and threw himself on the ground. He remained in long prostration weeping bitterly in such a manner that his face was covered with dust. He then raised his head and addressed the court, "Verily Allah is the sole God, the nourishing benefactor of the whole world." The said scholar when he returned to the court of al-Mansūrah reported to 'Abdullāh al-Habbāri that he had received large quantity of gold for writing a panegyric for the said rājā. He asserted that the non-Muslim rājā had accepted Islam but kept his intentions secret for loss of throne.[26]

Coins of 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar al-Habbari

Three coins of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Habbārī have come to light; one of these is of silver and two are copper coins. These coins were unearthed from the ruined site of Bhiro, near Shahdādpur in the year 1882 A.C.[27] The coins reveal that the rulers of al-Mansūrah were totally independent of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, as no mention of the caliph is made in any part of these coins. The establishment of the local mint is also proved from these coins and shows that these were struck at al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind.

'Abdullāh al-Habbāri seems to have ruled over Sind up to A.H. 270, as would appear from the Arab accounts. In the next year i.e. A.H. 271 the ruler of al-Mansūrah is reported to have been Mūsā ibn 'Umar al-Habbāri. The famous historian al-Balādhurī reports that a serious uprising in Sind brought an abrupt end of al-Mansūrah kingdom in Sind. The rebellion was headed by Samh ibn Abū Samh, a freed slave of Banū Kindah,[28] who captured the town of al-Mansūrah and ruled over it for

some time. The insurgents were, however, overpowered and the capital was relieved from the rebels, the very same year. It is probable that'Abdullāh ibn'Umar might have lost his life in this insurrection and was succeeded by his brother Mūsā ibn 'Umar al-Habbāri. In order to please the reigning caliph and to secure his authority in Sind, Mūsā sent to the caliph some rarities as present.

Musa ibn 'Umar al-Habbari

Mūsā ibn 'Umar al-Habbāri who followed his brother 'Abdullāh, seems to have reigned for a longer period but very little is known of his achievements. From the accounts of the Arab geographer al-Mas'ūdī it appears that the ruler of al-Mansūrah was 'Umar ibn 'Abdullah al-Habbāri in the year A. H. 300.[29] This shows that Mūsā ibn 'Umar died without an issue and was followed by his nephew 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh possibly in conformity with the instrument of succession left by 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, the second ruler of the Habbārid dynasty. It also seems probable that after the recovery of al-Mansūrah from the rebels a civil war might have broken out between the uncle and the nephew, resulting in the success of the latter. In the absence of the historical chronology, it would be proper to assume that Mūsā ibn 'Umar ruled over Sind up to A.H. 300 or shortly before the visit of al-Mas'ūdī, the Arab globe-trotter. If this be correct then the following events took place during the reign of Mūsā ibn 'Umar al-Habbāri.

Destruction of al-Daybul

In the year A.H. 280/ 894 A.C. a severe earthquake shook the port of al-Daybul in Sind. The tremor was accompanied with an avalanche or hurricane and heavy rainfall. The seriousness of the quake may be discerned from complete destruction of the city and the death of its inhabitants. Al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-Athīr both assert that more than one lac fifty thousand corpses were taken out of the debris.[30] In spite of heavy losses to life and property, the city revived from the shock and was restored and rebuilt within a short space of time. In A.H. 375/988 A.C. when Sind was visited by Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, al-Daybul was at the zenith of its greatness and prosperity and was a populous town.

Death of Muhammad ibn Abi Shorab, the Qadi of al-Mansurah

During the reign of Mūsā ibn 'Umar, occurred the death of Muhammad ibn Abī Shorāb, the chief judge of al-Mansūrah. He was renowned for his knowledge and scholarship in al-'Irāq and the Arab world. He held the post of the chief justice of Sind for a period of six months,[31] yet during this brief period he acquired undying fame throughout the Arab kingdom of Sind. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that there existed a kind of relationship between the rulers of al-Mansūrah and the family of Qādī Abī Shorāb,[32] which indicates that favouritism with relations and nepotism of criminal tendencies existed in Sind, throughout the period of Arab rule in the Indus Valley.

The coins of Mūsā ibn 'Umar al-Habbāri have not been found from any site in the Indus Valley, yet on the authority of the newly published work al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuhf, it can be fairly concluded that Mūsā did rule over Sind as an independent ruler of al-Mansūrah.

'Umar ibn 'Abdullah al-Habbari

'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh, the fourth ruler of the Habbārid dynasty was the greatest of all the rulers of al-Mansūrah. He maintained his court like a true oriental despot and was assisted in the administration by a number of ministers. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that al-Rayāh was the chief minister of the al-Mansūrah kingdom and that the court of the king was adored by a circuit of scholars, grandees and prominent men. During his visit to Sind the Arab geographer reports that he has seen an Arab chief by name Hamzah, in the court of al-Mansūrah, who held considerable influence on various tribes within the kingdom. He further relates that he had seen some descendants of Caliph 'Alī, through his sons Muhammad and 'Umar, whom persecution had brought in such a far off country. Al-Mas'ūdi was received at al-Mansūrah by the ruler himself whom he calls by the title Abū al-Mundhar, 'Umaribn 'Abdullāh al-Habbārī.[33] This is further attested to from the coins of Abū al-Mundhar 'Umar which have been found from the ruined site of Bhiro, identified with al-Mansūrah. The full description of the coins is as under:

Silver coin of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullah

Five specimen of the silver coin of 'Umar 'Abū al-Mundhar have been found and these were identified by Mr. Bellasis with the ruler of the same name, The coin's size is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch and its weight is nine grains:

Obverse: legend arranged in five lines.
Marginal lines, plain or dotted complete the piece.
Reverse : Kufic legends in three lines.

Copper coin of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullah

The size of one of the copper coins is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its weight is 21 grains:-

Obverse: Blank
Reverse:
Centre: بنو.....عمر ويه منذر
Margin: س بالمنصوره سنه اربع

The other copper coin's size is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its weight is 36 grains.

Obverse: Central device, four lines, crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a specie of star of eight points; four of these are however rounded off by dots

Legend arranged as a square: محمد رسول الله
with single dots at the corner angles and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside each word.

Margin:- Two plain circular lines with an outer circle of dots.

Reverse:- Central legend in three lines with triple circle composed of dots, circles and an inner plain line بالله بنو عمريه منذر

The accounts of al-Mas'ūdī further reveal that the judgeship of al-Mansūrah was hereditary in the family of Abī Shorāb, the famous Qādī of al-'Irāq.[34] 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh seems to have been a very powerful prince and maintained a well-disciplined and efficient army. There were eighty war elephants in the army of al-Mansūrah and each elephant required a troupe of five hundred infantry.[35] This would bring the number of the foot soldiers alone to forty thousand men, which might be an exaggeration. Nevertheless it shows the military might of the rulers of al-Mansūrah, who had to defend the frontiers of the

kingdom from foreign intrusion and also to maintain peace and order in the valley.

Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Habbari

'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh al-Habbāri on his death was followed by his son Muhammad, about whom al-Mas'ūdī had given some accounts in the court of al-Mansūrah. The other geographers who followed al-Mas'ūdī in their tours of Indus Valley have neglected to mention the name of the ruler of al-Mansūrah. They have all given a simple account of the ruler in one brief line:-

وملكهم من قريش يقال انه من ولد هبار بن الاسود تغلب عليها هو و اجداده

without mentioning the name of the king.[36] A copper coin of this ruler has been found by Mr. Bellasis from the ruins of Bhiro,[37] which contains the following details:-

Size: 3 inches.

Obverse: Absolutely blank.

Reverse: بالله محمد

The site of Bhiro has yielded the coins of one more ruler by name Ahmad, who seems to have ruled Sind during the later period of the Arab rule in Sind. Since the Habbārid remained in power during the visit of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal, and Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, it can be fairly concluded that Ahmad might have been the ruler of al-Mansūrah during the period of the tours of these geographers. His coin is of the following description[38]:-

Obverse: لااله الاالله وحده لاشريكله

Reverse: محمد رسول الله الامير احمد

The geographers have transmitted very defective information about the rulers of al-Mansūrah during their visit possibly due to the carelessness shown to them by the reigning house.

The end of the kingdom of al-Mansurah

Ibn Hazm and Ibn Khaldūn both assert that the end of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah was brought by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī[39] but they have failed to mention the real cause of the extinguishment of the Arab rule in Sind. Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand relates that the ruler of al-Mansūrah had

become a heretic and the Sulṭān directed a punitive expedition against him in person. The ruler abandoned his capital and fled to the neighbouring woods along with his army. He was, however, chastised and attacked by the forces of Sulṭān. In the encounter that followed the ruler of al-Mansūrah was defeated and killed and his forces dispersed. Ibn al-Athīr further adds that a large portion of al-Mansūrah army was drowned in the river in the thick of fighting and the victorious Sulṭān returned to Ghaznī by way of Bhātiyah.[40]

The author of Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī, a local source of later period, relates that Sulṭān Mahmūd after having captured Multān and Uchch, established his headquarters at Multān. From there he sent his minister 'Abd al-Razzāk, who entered Sind in A.H.417/1026 A.C. and effected the conquest of the country by subduing Bakhar, Siwistān and Thattā. A great number of the Arabs were expelled out the country and the remaining were treated kindly and granted pensions.[41] The version of al-Ma'sūmī appears to be a concoction disproved by historical evidence. Sultān Mahmūd had no minister by name 'Abd al-Razzāk, but his minister Khwāja Ahmad Hasan Maymandī, had a son by the same name. 'Abd al-Razzāk was appointed as governor of Seistān long afterwards during the reign of Maudūd, a grandson of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Sultān Mahmūd had made an attack on Somnāth in A.H. 416/1025 A.C. He took the route through Jaysalmīr state and plunged himself into an inhospitable desert till he reached Anhilwārā. After having pillaged the fort and idol of Somnāth, Mahmūd returned to Ghaznī through Sind. It appears highly probable that the attack was made on the kingdom of al-Mansurāh by the Sultān on his journey back home. His army having been exhausted in the expedition of Somnāth, he avoided the conflict with Rājā Pramdeva of Abū, who had advanced with his forces to block the passage of Sultān. There is no historical evidence of the details of the attack on al-Mansūrah by the Ghaznavid warlord. The ruler of Sind had been a heretic as reported by Ibn al-Athīr and the Sultān wanted to punish him for defection. The

great historians of Mahmūd such as 'Utbī, Behaqī and Gardīzī are silent about this expedition of Mahmūd, which brought the whole of Sind under the suzerainty of a new people. Diwān Farrukhī is the only source from which the authenticity of the attack on al-Mansūrah is testified. Farrukhī eulogises the Sultān for taking action against the heretics and depicts the cowardice of the ruler of al-Mansūrah, who fled to the neighbouring jungles.[42] The presence of elephants in the army of al-Mansūrah clearly indicates that the ruler was a powerful prince and may have belonged to the same Arab dynasty which had fifty elephants in its army at the time of the visit of al-Mas'ūdī.

وزان حصار بمنصوره روی کرد و براند۔ بران ستاره کجا راند حیدر از خیبر
خفیف راسپه و پیل و مال چندان بود ۔دوان گزشتو بجوی اندراوفتادوبحر
باآب شور و بیابان ہر گزند افتاد ۔ بماندش خانه ویران زطارم و طور
خفیف راسپه و پیل ومال چندان بود۔ کهبیش از آن نبود در هوا هماناازر
انداشت طاقت سلطان زپیش او بگریخت۔ چنانکه زوبگریزند صد هزار دگر

It seems that the problem of religious difference had no value before Mahmūd, whose main objective was to fleece the people irrespective of religious dogmas and heretical ideologies. The question of orthodoxy was raised simply to gain support from the religious divines and the masses to march against the non-Muslims and Muslims alike. In the siege of Multān he exacted from its ruler an indemnity of two hundred million dirhams and killed thousands of people without discrimination. It is stated in the accounts that the Sultān put so many Qarmathians to sword that a stream of blood flowed from the Lohārī gate and that the hand of Sultān stuck fast to the hilt of sword on account of the congealed blood.[43]

Notes and References

1. Kāmil, Vol, VIII, pp. 153, 154.
2. Tārikh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. III, pp. 1452-65; Kāmil, Vol. VII, pp. 60, 64.
3. Wafiyāt al-A'yān, Vol. II, pp. 316, 317; Kāmil, Vol. VII, p. 96.
4. Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 318.
5. History of India as told by its historians (Elliot & Dowson), Vol. I, p. 453.
6. Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. II, p. 327.
7. Kāmil, Vol. V, pp. 281, 283; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, pp. 198, 199.
8. Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arab, (Ibn Hazm), p. 110; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. II, p. 327.
9. Sīrāt-un-Nabavīyah, Vol. II, p. 309; Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arab, p. 110; Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. 1 (3), p. 1349.
10. Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. II, p. 327.
11. Sīrat-un-Nabavīyah, Vol. II, pp. 297; 300, 302; Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arab, p. 110.
12. Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arab, p. 110; Tārikh al-'Ibar. Vol. II, p. 327.
13. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. III (4), pp. 2355, 2356.
14. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
15. Ibn Hazm has given the genealogical tree of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, like this:- 'Umar 'ibn 'Abd al-Azīz ibn Mundhir ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Habbār ibn al-Aswad. Vide Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arāb, p. 110. Also refer Ibn Khaldūn, Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. II, p. 327.
16. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 177.
17. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
18. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 177.
19. Wafiyat al-A'yān, Vol. II, p. 320.
20. Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 312.
21. 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, p. 3.
22. Dhakhā'ir wa'I-Tuhf, pp. 24, 25.
23. Sūrat al-Ard, p. 323.
24. Al-Masālik wa'I-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175.

25. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 92.
26. 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, pp. 3, 4.
27. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 93.
28. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 450.
29. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
30. Kāmil, Vol. VII, p. 185; Tārikh al-Khulafā', p. 254.
31. Kāmil, Vol. VII, p. 191.
32. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p, 142.
33. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 142.
34. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, pp. 92, 93.
35. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
36. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Ard, p. 320; Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 485.
37. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 92.
38. Ibid, p. 93.
39. Jamharah Ansāb al-'Arab, p. 109; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. II, p. 326.
40. Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 33.
41. Tārikh-i- Ma'sūmī, pp. 32, 33.
42. Diwān Farrukhī Sīstānī, pp. 74, 75.
43. Tārikh-i-Yamīnī, p. 211.

AL-MANSURAH

The Foundation of al-Mansūrah and its situation - Al-Mansūrah in the period of its glory.

Foundation of al-Mansurah

The term al-Mansūrah is derived from Naṣr, which means help with consequential victory and it is highly probable that the foundation of al-Mansūrah signified a great victory won by the Arabs against the natives of Sind.

The renowned Muslim geographer al-Mas'ūdī relates that the city of al-Mansūrah owes its name to Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī,[1] the last Umayyad governor of Sind, who defended the province of Sind against the domination of the 'Abbāsids. It is related that immediately after the establishment of the 'Abbāsid rule in al-'Irāq Abū Muslim Khurāsānī sent one Mughlis al-'Abdī with investitures as the governor of Sind. He entered the frontiers of Sind from Takhāristan side, but he was defeated by the forces of Mansūr al-Kalbī and killed.[2] He was then followed by Mūsā ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī, who came to Sind with a stronger force. The entry of Mūsa ibn Ka'b into Sind was likewise resisted by Mansūr, but unfortunately for him, his brother Manẓūr was killed in an action, and he himself after being defeated by the newcomer, had to flee to the desert of Rajputānā, where he is reported to have perished in the sands.[3]

Zakariyyah Qazvīnī who followed al-Mas'ūdī in his tours of eastern lands as far as China and who is known by the title "Pliny of the east" contradicts al-Mas'ūdī's views by stating that al-Mansūrah was so called after the name of the second 'Abbāsid caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr and was also styled Mansūriyah Thanī i.e. the second Mansūrah. He further says that "it is very hot and is encircled by a branch of river Mahrān. It has many flees, but its water is sweet and it is a place of considerable importance".[4] Zakariyyah's views are corroborated by Ibn al-Wardī al-Qarshī, who is also of the opinion that the foundation of al-Mansūrah was laid during the reign of al-Mansūr

the second 'Abbāsid ruler who according to him was the real founder of al-Mansūrah.[5]

Yāqūt al-Hamavī, the great Arab geographer and encyclopaedist who flourished in the 13th century A.C. gives three different theories about the foundation of al-Mansūrah. Quoting Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Mūhallabī he states that the town of al-Mansūrah was founded during the reign of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, the second 'Abbāsid caliph and named after him. The founder of the town was however 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī,[6] who was the governor of Sind at that time. The other two theories in which he mentions the name of al-Mas'ūdī and Hishām respectively, as his chief informants, make Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the real founder of al-Mansūrah.[7] Before Yāqūt gave his views, al-Idrīsī had already admitted the authenticity of this fact by stating that four new cities were founded during the reign of al-Mansūr, the second 'Abbāsid caliph. These were Baghdād in al-'Irāq, al-Mansūrah in Sind, al-Masīsah on the Mediterranean and al-Rafīqah in the land of Jazīrah (i.e. Mesopotamia).[8]

Al-Balādhurī, the oldest historian on the contrary states that al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī.[9] He gives a very lucid account of its foundation and says that during the reign of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Mālik, the seventh Umayyad ruler of the Hakamite branch, Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī was made governor of Sind. Due to his weak policy, perhaps leniency, the country of Sind was reconquered by the native Sindhīs and the Arab families who had settled in the province were expelled from their colonies and settlements. Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī was succeeded by Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī, who when he came to Sind, found no place of safety for the Arab Muslims. In order to bring all the Arab tribes together at one place he founded a new town on the eastern bank of the 'Bahīrah' (lake or estuary) facing Hind (i.e. India) and named it al-Mahfūẓah.[10] This new town not only became a place of refuge for the Arab Muslims but it also served as a headquarter of the governor

and his army for conducting regular military operations against the refractory natives. These steps resulted in the complete pacification of the country and the land was once again reconquered by the Arabs. Among the chief councillors who accompanied Hakam there was one 'Amr, the son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, who as our informant relates, was entrusted with a task of great (military) importance, in which he became successful. To commemorate his victory 'Amr ibn Muhammad founded another town on the other side of the river (i.e. western side) which he named al-Mansūrah.[11]

This statement of al-Balādhurī about the foundation of al-Mansūrah is supported by the two great historians Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn, who almost repeat the same version in their great works on Muslim history. They also assert that al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī.[12]

Al-Ya'qūbī who like al-Balādhurī may be regarded contemporary to the events, says that Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī who succeeded Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī as governor of Sind, on his arrival in Sind attacked Cutch which he conquered. He then founded the town of al-Mahfūẓah for the Muslims and brought the whole country under subjugation. During his governorship 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, who accompanied him to Sind, founded another town on the other side of the river and named it al-Mansūrah.[13]

AbūRayhān al-Berūnī writing in the eleventh century A.C. gives a different theory about the foundation of al-Mansūrah. He says that Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim entered Sind from Sijistan side and after having conquered the whole country, gave the name al-Mansūrah to Brahmanābād and al-Ma'mūriyah to Multān.[14] Abū al-Fadl, the court historian of Akbar, on the contrary says that Bakhar a small town in the middle of the river Indus in upper Sind was al-Mansūrah, on the assumdtion that after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs they changed the name of its capital Aror to al-Mansūrah, signifying their victory over the rulers of Sind.[15]

The question now arises who was the real founder of al-Mansūrah.

Al-Mas'ūdī is the only person among those mentioned above who had actually visited Sind, but his account about the foundation of al-Mansūrah is far from historical truth. His view that al-Mansūrah was founded by Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī is totally unfounded. It was in existence long before the arrival of Ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī in Sind, who is later reported to have laid siege to it.[16] It is related that due to the intriguing nature of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī he was not permitted to enter the territories of al-Mansūrah by its governor Yazīd ibn 'Arār, the successor of 'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. Mansūr had, therefore, recourse to stratagem by which he was able to obtain possession of the fort of Sehwan, where he made preparations for his attack on al-Mansūrah.[17] If, however, al-Mansūrah was founded by him, then there was no necessity of making preparations for its conquest. Likewise the expression that al-Mansūrah was founded by Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, the second 'Abbāsid caliph is also unbelievable. Al-Mansūrah was the headquarter of the Umayyad governors, long before the advent of the 'Abbāsids.[18] It is no doubt certain that it was recovered from the usurper Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī immediately after the establishment of the 'Abbasid rule in al-'Irāq. It seems that 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī, who was the governor of Sind during the reign of al-Mansūr, might have named it after his sovereign in order to glorify his name and it was from that time onwards that the city became known after the second 'Abbāsid caliph. The succeeding governors who were the paid employees of the 'Abbāsids might have given wide publicity to the fact of al-Mansūrah's being founded by Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr. Al-Mas'ūdī, the Arab geographer who visited Sind soon after A.H. 300, might have carried the same impressions with him about which he heard from the people.

It is also incorrect to assume that the foundation of al-Mansūrah was laid by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind, as stated by al-Berūnī.[19] Al-Ma'mūriyah was another name of al-Masīsah,[20] a township

founded by caliph al-Manṣūr in the year A.H. 140,[21] and not of Multān as has been asserted by al-Berūnī. There is no mention of such an incident in the contemporary or later sources, and moreover the route through which Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim made an attack on Sind, is itself an exclusive theory put forward by al-Berūnī It appears to be a personal hypothesis of al-Berūnī and he might have acted on the assumption that the only great victory of the Arabs against Sind was won by Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, hence the name al-Mansūrah was placed by the conqueror on Brahmanābād, which bore both these names during his time.[22] Another misunderstanding of the same type has been created by Abū al-Fadl, the court flatterer of Akbar, by describing Bakhar as al-Mansūrah,[23] the Arab capital of Sind. In this, he seems to have followed the accounts of the Arab geographers who have described al-Mansūrah to be situated on an island between the two branches of the river Indus.[24] He had thereby misunderstood the site of the Arab capital by fabricating his own views, perhaps on the conjecture that al-Mansūrah might have been founded near al-Ror, the ancient capital of Sind.[25]

The earliest accounts indicate that al-Mansūrah was founded near Brahmanābād, at a distance of two farsakhs (6 miles) from that city and exactly opposite to al-Mahfūẓah, which was the first settlement of the Arabs in Sind, after its conquest by Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī. It is also clear from the accounts that its founder was 'Amr son of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, who came to Sind with Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī and later succeeded him to the governorship of Sind.[26] The absence of historical data, however, makes it very difficult to determine the period during which al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad al-Thaqafī. It is described that Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī with whom 'Amr came to Sind, was an appointee of Khālid ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qasrī,[27] the famous viceroy of al-'Irāq. He was in power for fifteen years from A.H. 105 to A.H. 120 and Hakam was the second governor posted to Sind during his viceroyalty. It is, therefore, probable that the period of Hakam's governorship in Sind commenced in A.H. 110. It would be, therefore, more

accourate to place the period of al-Mansūrah's foundation between A.H. 110 and 120, the period during which Hakam remained as the governor of Sind. Since Hakam ibn 'Auwānah took up the work of conquest immediately after his arrival in Sind, it is probable that al-Mansūrah was built round about A.H. 115/A.C. 734, shortly after the foundation of al-Maḥfūẓah, which was earlier built by the governor himself.[28]

Henry Cousens in his treatise on the Antiquities of Sind is of the opinion that al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī and in this connection he relies mostly on the accounts of al-Balādhurī, the oldest historian. But M.J. Raverty who seems to agree with the accounts of al-Balādhurī, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Idrīsī, who have given three different theories about the foundation of al-Mansūrah sums up his conclusion in the following words:-

"If all the three writers be correct, then Mansūrah was founded during Hakam's time, furnished in the time of Mansūr son of Jamhur and the name merely continued by Abū Ja'far Mansūr."[29]

Situation of al-Mansurah

The situation of al-Mansūrah, like its foundation is a matter of great controversy among various scholars, but most of them agree that it was founded on the ancient site of Brahmanābād or at least near it. Al-Balādhurī is the first to observe that al-Mansūrah was founded on the western side of the lake (or estuary) facing al-Hind, exactly opposite to al-Maḥfūẓah, a township built by Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī. Al-Mansūrah according to him was built at a distance of two farsakhs from ancient Brahmanābād, which he adds was in ruins[30] when he was writing his famous work on the conquest of the countries.

Quoting Hamzah, Yaqūt al-Hamavī says that al-Mansūrah was the second name of Valhmanābād (Brahmanābād) and was situated at 93 degrees north east by 22 degrees south east. He adds that an estuary from the river Mahrān (i.e. Indus) encircles it rendering the land on which it stood, as an island in shape.[31]

Abū Ishāq al-Iṣṭakhrī who made extensive tours of the eastern lands and who completed his geographical work by the middle of the tenth century A.C., states that the name of al-Mansūrah in Sindhi language is Brahmanābād". It is about a mile long and a mile broad and is surrounded by a branch of the river Mahrān". Al-Mansūrah according to him was situated on the western bank of the principal river (i.e. eastern branch) and its climate was exceedingly hot.[32] Another geographer Ibn Hauqal who followed him soon afterwards repeats the same version and states almost same facts about the situation of al-Mansūrah.[33] The map of Ibn Hauqal is a very important document and gives somewhat authentic position of the various towns of Sind. He places the township of al-Mansūrah between the two branches of the river Indus just below Kallari, which was the juncture at which the river divided itself into two streams. The eastern branch which was considered to be the principal river by al-Istakhrī takes a round about way in the map and then is joined by another branch of the river to the south of al-Mansūrah.[34] Ibn Hauqal however contradicts the version of his predecessor by stating that al-Mansūrah was situated on the eastern bank of the principal river (i.e. western branch) as the people coming from al-Daybul to al-Mansūrah had to cross the river near al-Nerūn.[35]

Al-Idrīsī who flourished in the sixth century A.H. gives the following account about the situation of al-Mansūrah:-

"The river Mahrān divides itself into two branches at Kallarī, which is a pretty well fortified and busy trading place. The larger of the two runs to the north west, then to the north and then towards the west; both again unite and make one single stream at a distance of twelve miles, below (to the south of) al-Mansūrah.[36] Al-Mansūrah as he asserts was surrounded by the river on all sides and it was situated on the western bank of the principal river,[37] which according to him, was the eastern branch of the stream.

Abū Rayhān al-Berūnī writing in the eleventh century affirms the verdict of his predecessors and gives the following account of al-Mansūrah's situation:-

"Aror" he says, "is situated between the two branches of the river Indus and is situated at a distance of 15 farsakhs from Bhāti (or Bhātiyā) a township on the river Biyās, in India". Al-Mansūrah which he calls Bamanvā (or Bahmanvā) was about five farsakhs from Al-Ror and Lohranī, identified by Haig with al-Daybul at the mouth of the river Indus, was fifteen farsakhs from al-Ror and thirty farsakhs from Bhātī.[38]

From these accounts it appears that either Brahmanābād and al-Mansūrah occupied one and the same site or were situated so close to each other that in due course of time both the towns became known by one name.[39] The question now arises, where was Brahmanābād situated. There is a ruined site in Taluka Sinjhoro of the Sānghar district at a distance of about eight miles to the east of the modern town of Shahdādpur, which has been identified with the site of both Brahmanābād and al-Mansūrah. The site is about a mile long and a mile broad and is situated in close proximity of the Jamrā'ū canal, near 44/3 crossing. A visit to the ruins reveals that the city which stood on the site was well planned and built on the western bank of eternal Mahrān, which once flowed in that direction. The bed of the river is distinguishable and extends for miles in open country. The site is known as Dalor-jo-Bhiro and by others as Bhambrā-jo-Thul. There is no other site west of the ruins, but to the east and south there are small ruins which are given the names of Dufānī, Matahlo etc. At a distance of about six miles from the ruins there are other ruins of a comparatively large town, to the south of the present town of Jhol which with some interruptions, extend almost to the ruins of Dalor which have already been specified. This site is known as Depar Ghānghro[40] and it is also bifurcated by an old bed of the river Mahrān. It appears that before the construction of Lloyd Barrage Canal System the whole region was a continuous ruin extending over a large area of nearly eight miles. But the situation has now completely changed. A greater portion of the waste land has been brought under cultivation and the region now abounds in flourishing fields.

A study of the two great sites Dalor-jo-Bhiro and Depar Ghānghro would evince that the town of al-Mansūrah must have occupied one of these sites. Both the sites are bifurcated by the abandoned beds of the river Indus and as the Arab writers state, al-Mansūrah was situated immediately opposite al-Mahfūẓah.[41] If we take the site of Depar Ghānghro to be that of al-Mansūrah and al-Mahfūẓah, then the great site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro might have been the site of the town of Brahmanābād. But an inspection of the site reveals different facts. The site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro shows that the town is principally a Muslim town as would appear from the bricks used in the construction of the buildings. The bricks are small and thin, which are of regular Muhammadan type[42] and were never used by the Sindhians before the advent of the Arabs in Sind. The site has also yielded a number of coins with Arabic legends bearing the names of the Arab governors of Sind and also of the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah.[43] The curiosities found in these ruins contain no Hindī or Sanskrit inscription, but even the smallest object bears Arabic and chiefly Kūfic inscription, as would appear from the accounts of Mr. Bellasis who was the only European to carry out observational excavations of the ruins of al-Mansūrah. He observes: "Among the curiosities found at Brahmanābād", as he calls the site, "showing an advanced state of art are some beautiful engravings on cornellian and agate. Many of them are perfect gems of art and like the intaglios of Rome are polished on the inside of the device, an art, I believe now lost. Some that were found had upon them a bull and others a lion; some merely a name in Arabic and some in character resembling Devnāgrī or Sanskrit. The most curious relic I found was a hexagonal cylinder, of what I imagined to be wood or perhaps ivory, with an inscription in Arabic in Kūfic characters on each side. It was three inches in length and two and three quarters in circumference. It was probably a talisman or charm which when wrapped up in silk or leather, was worn round the neck or arm. It was unfortunately fractured soon after it was discovered and has been put together with glue by Mr. Richardson. The Arabic inscriptions as far as they were legible are:- 'Allah is merciful etc'."[44]

Apart from these facts, it is also interesting to note that the site has not yielded a single image which is so much loved by the Hindūs or the Buddhists, who formed the bulk of the population of the country. Henry Cousens also says that greater part of the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro belongs to a Muhammadan city and adds that "the lime plaster on the upper part of the houses and the pottery found from the site looks more Muhammadan than Hindū, specially the pots and the spouts.[45] At the same time the site has yielded the ruins of three mosques within a very small area which could never have been built in a town built and inhabited by either the Hindūs or the Buddhists. Furthermore the extent of the site about one mile long and a mile broad agrees with the accounts of the Arab geographers who had visited al-Mansūrah during its flourishing days.[46] The last and the most important fact which comes to light after the visit of the site shows that the site on which the ruins stand, was surrounded by the river Indus on all sides rendering it an island in shape. The principal stream of the river seems to have been on the north east of al-Mansūrah as mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī and after him by al-Idrīsī and others.[47]

Mr. Bellasis has identified the site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro with Brahmanābād, but he also assumes that al-Mansūrah was also built on the same site. He again contradicts his own views and states that, "from the observation of the various articles found from the site, I think that Brahmanābād could never have been occupied by the Muhammadans."[48]

Cunningham identifies Dalor-jo-Bhiro with al-Mansūrah, but states that, "al-Mansūrah must have been founded on the site of Brahmanābād".[49] Henry Cousens also seems to corroborate the views of Mr. Cunningham in the identification of the site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro with both al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād. He further states that the ruins of Dalor may have also been the site of al-Mahfūẓah, which was the first settlement of the Arabs in Sind.[50]

Mr. M.R.Ḥaig, who appears to be more correct, identifies the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro with al-Mansūrah and the site of

Depar Ghānghro to be of Brahmanābād.[51] It is clear from the accounts of al-Balādhurī that al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād were situated apart and there was a distance of six miles between them. He further says that Brahmanābād was in ruins and al-Mansūrah had taken its place as the headquarter of the Arabs in Sind.[52] It is, therefore, clear beyond doubt that al-Mansūrah was never built on the ancient site of Brahmanābād and therefore both these towns could have never occupied one and the same site. It is probable that the Arabs might have derived much of their construction material from Brahmanābād, as would appear from the thick bricks found on the eastern portion of the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro. The availability of these bricks in that part of the ruins might have convinced Bellasis, Cunningham and Henry Cousens to believe that the eastern portion of the ruins had been a part of a Hindu town, which they believed to be the town of Brahmanābād.

Raverty who seems to corroborate M.R. Haig, also identifies the site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro with that of al-Mansūrah and the ruins of Depar Ghānghro with those of Brahmanābād.[53]

If we take the ruins of Bhiro to be those of al-Mansūrah, then the site of Brahmanābād may be traced nearby within a radius of six miles, the distance given by al-Balādhurī.[54] As already specified, there is no other ruin west of Dalor-jo-Bhiro, but to the north east there are extensive ruins which continue for miles up to the present town of Jhol. These ruins are known as Depar Ghānghro and these can be identified with Brahmanābād, the summer capital of ancient Sind. These ruins satisfy all available accounts about the situation of an ancient town of Sind, existing before the arrival of Arabs in Sind.

M.R. Haig in the identification of this site might have followed the advance of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, the Arab conqueror of Sind, which was from south-west to the north-east and not from north to south as supposed by al-Berūnī.[55] It is reported that after settling the affairs of Sehwan, Muhammad marched on Brahmanābād. The last town captured by him was Dahlīlah,[56] before he reached in the vicinity of Brahmanābād. He then established his camp near Jalwālī (or Jarwārī) which

might have been either an old course of river Indus or a branch of Hākro, which due to the inundation looked like a lake full with fresh water. From here he directed his attack against the town of Brahmanābād. If we take Jalwālī to be the Baḥīrah of al-Balādhuri, then it would take al-Mansūrah further north and al-Mahfūzah, probably near the ruins of Depar Ghānghro. But this is not correct. Jalwālī of the Chachnāmah[57] is still a place of importance near the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro and is known as Jarārī.[57] The Baḥīrah of al-Balādhurī might have been an eastern branch of river Indus and it was on the eastern bank of this estuary that the fortress of al-Mahfūẓah was first built by Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī. It is clear from the accounts specially those of al-Iṣṭakhrī, that al-Mansūrah was built on the western bank of the principal river.[58] The map of Ibn Hauqal also places al-Mansūrah to the west of the eastern branch of the river Mahrān (Indus). It seems that the Bahīrah of al-Balādhurī was a flood channel which separated itself from the main river ten miles east of Sakrand, near a small town called Kallarī, which is still a place of some importance in the shape of a village bearing the same name. As already indicated it might have also been an abandoned channel of the river Indus, which might have contained flood water, but the second theory does not appear to be plausible. The fort of al-Mansūrah might have been built on the west of the river Indus, due to the importance of river as a defensive boundary against the attacks of the Jatts and the Meds, who committed depredatory raids on the settled population of Sind from the eastern desert. This branch of river Indus passed by the east of al-Mansūrah and joined the principal river ten miles to the south of that town, which was known as Lohāna Daryā. The old beds of these branches of river Indus are still in existence and can be seen in a greater portion of Nawābshāh, Sānghar and Thar Parkar districts of Hyderābād division. These facts merely corroborate the accounts of the Arab geographers who mention the fact of the separation of river Indus near Kallarī and its reunification to the south of al-Manṣūrah.[59]

The sketch of M.R. Haig, who has made extensive survey of the area throws much light on the situation of al-Mansūrah.

Jalwāli according to him was the old bed of river Indus which passed on the east of Brahmanābād (i.e. Dalor-jo-Bhiro) taking south-westerly direction, by which it met the Lohāno channel of the Indus, at a distance of about ten miles south of al-Mansūrah. It was on the eastern bank of this branch of river Indus that Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim established his camp and sent for Nūbah ibn Dhāran.[60] The small village by name Jarārī to the north of Dalor-jo-Bhiro and west of the ruins of Depar Ghānghro, according to M.R. Haig perpetuates the old name of the channel,[61] the green banks of which served as a resting place for the Arab army and its tired horses.

It is also stated in the accounts that after the capture of Brahmanābād, Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim proceeded to al-Ror, the capital of Sind, by way of a place known as Mutahal, where he is reported to have encamped[62] for the purpose of giving rest to his army which was obviously fatigued due to the prolong siege and fierce battle at Brahmanābād. Mutahalo is still a place of some importance in the region near the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro. All these facts throw light on the probable situation of the towns of al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād. It is related that al-Mansūrah was 15 farsakhs (or 45 miles) from al-Nerūn and this fact has been verified by direct march in straight line which comes to nearly 44 miles.[63] Brahmanābād according to this calculation would be, therefore, 50 or 51 miles from al-Nerūn (modern Hyderābād) and hence it will be clear from the measurements that the site of Depar Ghānghro might have occupied the site of ancient Brahmanābād. It is further stated by McMurdo that a little before the advent of the Britishers in Sind, the site of Depar Ghānghro was named Debal Kāngrah,[64] and if this be true then the ruins are definitely those of Brahmanābād.

The ruins of Depar Ghānghro have exhibited signs of great antiquity and this is evident from the fact that it existed long before the revival of Hinduism in Sind. We are told that the foundation of the town of Brahmanābād was laid by the Sassānid emperor Bahman Artuxerxes Longimanus and the place was named Bahmanābād. The name is definitely of

Irānian origin and this is evident from the suffix 'Ābād', but when the Brahmans got an upper hand, they changed the name Bahmanābād to Brahmanābād, without any difficulty. At the time of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, Brahmanābād like other towns of Sind was principally a Buddhist town and inhabited chiefly by the Buddhists. The few Hindūs that lived there were in all probability either traders or soldiers who were kept there to look after the defences of the fort. The site is full with Buddhist stupas and it has also yielded numerous relics of lord Buddha, but as yet no Muslim coin or any other article has been found from the site.

M.R. Haig has given three important references in support of his identification of the site of al-Manṣūrah, which are reproduced below.

1. Gen, Cunningham considers the O-fan-Cha of the Hiouen-Thsang to be Brahmanābād and Pi-ta-si-lo to be Nerūn. According to the pilgrim the distance between the two places was 300 li or 50 miles, O-fan-cha being north-east. The Brahmanābād of this article is 49 miles in direct line north-east of Hyderābād.

2. Abū al-Fidā says Mansūrah was 15 farsakhs from Nerūn and Mansūrah of this article is little under 44 miles in direct line from Hyderābād.

3. Al-Idrisi says, Mansūrah was rather more than three days journey from Nerūn, but he puts the distance between Nerūn and Debal at three days. But Ibn Hauqal who seems to be more accurate, observes that Nerūn was nearer to Mansūrah than Debal.[65] At the present day by the most direct route via Nasarpur the English officials do the distance in three days journey averaging 16 to 17 miles. Thus as regards the distances between the given points, the identifications are quite consistent with the data supplied.

M.R.Haig has, therefore, left no room for further argument and hence it can be fairly concluded that the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro are the ruins of al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind, and the ruins of Depar Ghānghro are those of Brahmanābād, the pre-Arab summer capital of Sind.

The identification of the site of al-Mahfūẓah to the south-east of al-Mansūrah by Henry Cousens[66] also appears to be incorrect. Al-Mahfūẓah as stated by the Arab historians, may be traced on the other side of the river bed towards the north-east. M.R. Haig is correct in assuming the possibility of al-Mahfūẓah having occupied a position opposite to the northern face of al-Mansūrah.[67] This fact is borne out by an actual visit to the ruins of al-Mansūrah (i.e. Dalor-jo-Bhiro). From the western bank of the river bed to the north-east, site of a comparatively small town is visible. Large part of the ruins is submerged (now) under the sands, but the pieces of pottery and other articles found at the site show that the town which once stood on the site was principally inhabited by the Arabs and does not show any sign of its being a Hindū town. The bricks are also of the same type as found at the site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro, being thin and small. Perūn Fakīr[68] said that this site had also yielded coins identical to those found at Dalor-jo-Bhiro and they were taken away by some educated persons belonging to the locality on nominal price.

Henry Cousens who has identified the south-eastern portion of the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro to be that of al-Mahfūẓah, might have based his belief on the version of al-Balādhurī, who says that the town of al-Mahfūẓah was situated on the other side of the Bahīrah (i.e. lake or estuary of Indus) which may be identified with a fairly large plain dividing the great site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro. But it is curious to note that the bed of mighty Mahrān runs to the north-east of both these ruins, and hence it can be fairly concluded that the south-eastern portion of the ruins might have been the site of a satellite town, built in the neighbourhood of al-Mansūrah. This new town which might have been an addition to the city of al-Mansūrah was probably built in the period of al-Mansūrah's glory, when the land on the island on which al-Mansūrah stood was fully occupied. It is also probable that this portion of the town might have been reserved for the occupation of the Hindus or other non-Muslims, who had migrated to al-Mansūrah due to the destruction and depopulation of Brahmanābād. It is clear from the accounts that the town of Brahmanābād was destroyed by the

Arab soldiery and its population put to swords. The natural consequences of such an onslaught, which might have also resulted in a great conflagration, brought ruination of the town. Its inhabitants might have continued to rehabilitate the town butwhen a new town was being built in the neighbourhood, they might have migrated to the same. This fact is evident from the actual visit of the site in which the building material is principally of non-Muslim origin. Moreover, al-Mansūrah was built on the western bank of river Indus[69] and not on the eastern bank which was exposed to the attacks of the barbarians from the desert, known as Jatts and the Meds,[70] now renamed as Balūch tribes of Balūchistān and Sind.

Al-Balādhurī states that al-Mahfūẓah was built on the eastern bank of river Mahrān facing India[71] for the purpose of resisting any possible attack from the eastern desert. It is, therefore, probable that the site on the other side of the river bed, which is now mostly buried under the sand, is that of al-Mahfuẓah, the first settlement of the Arabs founded during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī.

Al-Mansnrah in its glory

The city of al-Mansūrah was a large town situated on an island, inside river Mahrān. It was one mile long and a mile broad and surrounded by the river on all sides. It was defended by a strong fort having four gates through which the trade of al-Mansūrah was conducted with other countries. These were known as Bāb al-Bahr (i.e of the Sea) to the south-west, Bāb Sandān[72] to the south, Bāb Multān to the north and Bāb Tūrān to the west. The city was built on the model of Damascus and its buildings were chiefly made of mud and straw. The mosque of al-Mansūrah was an exception to this, as it was built of stone and plaster. The climate of the town was exceedingly hot, which resulted in heavy rains even in cold season. The city produced two varieties of fruit known as Ambaj (i.e. Amb or mango) and Laymūn (or Lemon) but the grapes did not grow there. The country around al-Mansūrah produced dates and sugar-cane in abundance.

The famous geographer al-Idrīsī who flourished in the eleventh century A.C. relates that the town of al-Mansūrah was a big commercial city, with enormous foreign trade. The buildings were constructed of bricks, tiles and plaster. The bazārs were filled with the people and well-stocked with goods of all varieties. The lower class wore the Persian costume, but the princes wore tunic and allowed their hair to grow long, like the non-Muslim rulers of India. The fish was plentiful, the meat was cheap and the foreign and native fruit was found in abundance. The money in use was of silver and copper. The weight of Dīnār was five times that of the ordinary dirham. Al-Manṣūrah was built in the beginning of the reign of al-Manṣūr of the 'Abbāsid family. The prince gave his name (victorious) to four different cities as a good augury that they might survive for ever. The first was Baghdād in al-'Iraq; the second at al-Mansūrah in Sind; the third al-Maṣīṣah on the Mediterranean; and the fourth was al-Rafiqah in Mesopotamia.[73] Al-Idrīsī was not an eye-witness to these accounts, he mentioned what he heard by heresy. Al-Mansūrah was visited by four great geographers of the medieval age and their accounts are reproduced below, which attest to the greatness and glory of the city of al-Mansūrah and the fame it had earned in the Arab world. The first to visit the city was al-Mas'ūdī who came to Sind in the beginning of fourth century after Hijrah (Hijri). He says:-

"I entered the country of al-Mansūrah during this period, its ruler is Abū al-Mundhir 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh. I saw there his minister Ziyād and his two sons Muhammad and 'Alī. I also saw an Arab chief by name Hamzah and a number of people who called themselves the descendants of Caliph 'Alī, through his two sons 'Umar ibn 'Alī and Muhammad ibn 'Alī. The judge of al-Mansūrah Abī Shorāb was related to the rulers of al-Mansūrah, who are the descendants of Habbār ibn al-Aswad, and are known as Banū 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Mansūrah has its name from Manṣur ibn Jamhūr the Umayyad governor. The king of al-Mansūrah has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in the battle as

we have already remarked; and these elephants oppose thousands of horses."[74]

Al-Mas'ūdī was followed by al-Iṣṭakhrī in his tours of Sind and he observes:-

"Al-Mansūrah is about a mile long and a mile broad and is surrounded by a branch of river Mahrān rendering it an island in shape. The inhabitants are Muslims and the ruler is from Quraysh, a descendant of Habbār ibn al-Aswad who hold the country since the time of their forefathers. The Khutbah is read for the Caliph (i.e. the 'Abbāsids). The city is hot and produces dates and sugar-cane but the apple, the melon and the wall-nut are wanting. The land produces a fruit of the size of apple which is called Laymaūn, and is very sour. A fruit much like the peach is also produced and is known as Ambaj (mango). The prices are low and they are plentiful. The cash in use is the Qāhirī coin (Qāhiriyyāt) which is equal to five ordinary dirhams. The coins known as Dināīr. (i.e. Dīnār) are also called the Ṭāṭirīyyu and are widely used, being 1½ of the dirham. The dress of the people is the same as worn in al-'Irāq except the dress of the rulers, which resembles the dress of the rulers of India, specially in respect of hair and tunic".[75]

Al-Iṣṭakhrī's successor Ibn Hauqal Nasībī, records the following facts about the city of al-Mansūrah which was the capital of the Habbārid kingdom of Sind. He says:-

"Al-Mansūrah is about a mile long and a mile broad and is situated on an island between the two branches of river Mahrān. The inhabitants are Muslims and the ruler is from Quraysh, a descendant of Habbār ibn al-Aswad. He and his ancestors ruled over the country, but Khutbah is read in the name of the 'Abbāsids (the caliphs). The city's climate is exceedingly hot, but the dates are grown there. The grapes, apple, the ripe date and the wall-nut are not found at the place. The land produces sugar-cane in abundance from which finest quality of sugar is extracted. Laymūn, a fruit equal to the size of an apple, is grown but it is exceedingly sour. Another variety of fruit called Ambaj is also produced which is similar to peach

in size and taste. The prices are low and the food is in abundance. The cash known as Qandhāriyāt is in use, which is equal to five dirhams and the Ṭāṭirīyyu currency is also used. This is known as Dīnānir (Dinār) and is equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the home coin. The dress of the people is the same as worn in al-'Iraq, except the dress of the rulers which is similar to that worn by the non-Muslim rulers of India in respect of the trousers and tunic."[76]

The last Arab traveller who visited Sind, during the Arab rule (probably by A.H. 375) has given the impressions of his tour in the following words:-

"Al-Mansūrah, the city of Sind, is the metropolis of the region. Its buildings are made of mud and straw, but the mosque is built of stone and plaster on the model of the principal mosque of Omān. It has four gates: Bāb al-Bahr, Bāb Sindān, Bāb Multān and Bāb Tūrān. The people are hospitable, educated and attached to religion (Islam). They are of clean habits, generous and greatly accommodative. The rain falls heavily and the city has the finest specimen of buffaloes. The Jāmi' (i.e. the principal mosque) is situated in the centre of the town where all roads meet together. The customs are the same as found in al-'Iraq but the town is very hot and it has many flees. The Kāfirs are dominant in the country around, which has been laid desolate and the Ashrāfs (i.e. Arabs) have decreased in number."[77]

Yāqūt al-Hamavī who died in A.H. 626/1230 A.C. reports that, "al-Mansūrah is a big town in the country of Sind. It is prosperous and thickly populated and has a large mosque. It is surrounded by a branch of river Mahrān. Hamzah says that it is Brahmanābād, which is now named as al-Mansūrah. Al-Mas'ūdī on the other hand says that it was named after Mansūr ibn Jamhūr, the Umayyad governor. It is in the third province (Wilāyah) and is situated to the west at 83 degrees (longitude) and towards the south at 22 degrees latitude. Hishām says that it was founded by Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, who was ousted for opposing Hārūn (al-Rashīd). Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Muhallabī contends that the city was founded by 'Amr ibn

Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī during the reign of al-Mansūr of Banū 'Abbās. A branch of river Mahrān encircles it and renders it an island in shape. The people are hospitable, religious and well-behaved. The business community abounds in the city, but it is very hot and has many flees. Between al-Mansūrah and al-Daybul the distance is six stages and to Multān and Tūrān, the distance is twelve and fifteen stages respectively. The boundary of al-Mansūrah kingdom touching that of Buddhā kingdom is five stages from al-Mansūrah. The inhabitants are Muslims, and the ruler is from Quraysh, a descendant of Habbār ibn al-Aswad, whose ancestors held the country, but the Khutbah is read for the 'Abbāsid caliph. Fruits like grapes, apple, melon and wall-nut are not to be found (at al-Mansūrah) but there are extensive fields of sugar-cane. There is a fruit of the size of apple known as al-Laymūnah, which is extremely sour. Another variety of the fruit called Ambaj is equal in size and taste to the peach and it is plentiful. The prices are low. The coins known as Qāhiriyyāt and the Ṭāṭirīyyu are the legal currency. The Ṭāṭirīyyu coin weighs $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the dirham."[78]

From the accounts of the Arab geographers it appears that the city of al-Mansūrah, the capital town of Sind, was situated at a distance of six marches from al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind. Its distance from Multān was twelve marches and from Tūrān (i.e. Jhalawān country) fifteen marches. Al-Ror the ancient capital of Sind was situated at a distance of seven marches from al-Mansūrah. Al-Nerūn on the other hand was situated at a distance of two days journey from al-Mansūrah, being situated on the road which connected al-Daybul with al-Mansūrah. Al-Mansūrah was a congested city with dense population and the buildings were all pacca, made of burnt bricks. The mud and straw spoken of by the Arab writers refer to a kind of strange construction known as 'Tikkā' which has survived to the present day in the big towns of Sind.

Notes and References

1. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
2. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
3. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449; Kāmil, Vol. V, p. 216.
4. Athār al-Bilād, p. 83.
5. Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib, p. 62.
6. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
7. Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
8. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 31.
9. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448.
10. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448.
11. Ibid, p. 448.
12. Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 83; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 67.
13. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 55.
14. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 11.
15. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, p. 550.
16. Tarīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
17. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 66, Islamic Culture, Vol. XVI, p. 36.
18. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 283; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 67.
19. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 11.
20. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 100.
21. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 31.
22. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 11.
23. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, p. 555.
24. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320; Athār al-Bilād, p. 38; Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 30; Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
25. The township of Bakhar is situated inside the river on an island between the modern towns of Rohrī and Sukkur.
26. Tārīkh al-Yā'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 62.
27. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 50.
28. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448; Tārīkh al-Yā'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 50; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 283; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 67.
29. Antiquities of Sind, p. 63.
30. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
31. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177.

32. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī) pp. 171, 173.
33. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
34. Map of Ibn Hauqal has been appended to this work and may be found in last pages.
35. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 328.
36. Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, pp. 33, 38.
37. Ibid, p. 30.
38. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 100.
39. Gazetteer of Sind (Hughes), p. 126.
40. The ruins are also known as Depar Chāngro. See Chachnāmah, Sindhī edition, p. 400.
41. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 62.
42. Antiquities of Sind, p. 67.
43. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, pp. 89-93.
44. Gazetteer of Sind (Hughes), pp. 132-133.
45. Antiquities of Sind, p. 67.
46. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 174; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320; Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, p. 30.
47. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320; Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, p. 30; Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177; Athār al-Bilad, p. 83.
48. Antiquities of Sind, p. 65.
49. Ibid, p. 66.
50. Ibid, p. 70.
51. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 284.
52. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
53. Mahrān (Quarterly), p. 230.
54. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
55. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 100.
56. Chachnāmah, p. 199.
57. Chachnāmah (Sindhi Edition), pp. 496-97.
58. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 176.
59. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320; Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, p. 30.
60. Chachāmah, p. 202.
61. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 135.
62. Chachnāmah, p. 218.

63. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 285.
64. Ibid, p. 285.
65. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 323.
66. Antiquities of Sind, p. 65.
67. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 29.
68. Perūn Fakīr is the chowkidar of the ruins and receives a nominal salary from the Archaeological Department of Pakistan.
69. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 448.
70. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
71. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
72. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
73. Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, p. 31.
74. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
75. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 176.
76. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 324.
77. Ahsan al-Taqāsim, pp. 479-480.
78. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177.

THE PRESENT RUINS OF AL-MANSURAH, THE ARAB CAPITAL OF SIND

The present ruins of al-Mansurah

The present ruins of al-Mansūrah[1] are situated in Deh 42-J, Taluka Sinjhoro, District Sānghar of Hyderabad Division at a distance of eight miles to the south-east of Shahdādpur town. It occupies an extensive plain about a mile long and a mile broad, along the old bed of the river Indus, in the immediate vicinity of the Jamrā'ū canal. There are other ruins also in that region known as Dalor, Dufānī, Mutahlo and Depar Ghānghro, the last of which are supposed to be the ruins of ancient Brahmanābād,[2] the summer capital of Sind. The site is accessible on all sides but the most direct route runs through its centre, starting at 44/3 crossing (bridge) over the Jamrā'ū canal. The first conspicuous place a visitor would come across is its fort wall which though in ruins is about 20 to 25 feet high and is spacious enough to permit vehicular traffic over it. The general view of site from the wall greatly impresses a visitor, who becomes wonder-struck at the complete destruction of the town which, for a considerable period of time, was the centre of trade and culture apart from being the metropolis of the Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind. Nothing now remains to throw light on the fate of this renowned city, excepting a half damaged huge tower which is presumed to be the minaret of the principal mosque of the Arab capital. Besides this tower which is situated on a raised platform, there is a deep well which has now completely dried up. Few paces away to the north-east is the old and abandoned bed of mighty Mahrān, which washed the fort walls of al-Mansūrah.

From the raised ground on the western bank of the river bed, on the other side, can be seen the ruins of another town, which is mostly buried under the sands. Although the roads are jeepable, yet for a proper observation of the site it is advisable

for a visitor to be seated on a horse whence he would be able to see every part of the ruins. From the minaret to its northern corner the length of the site is more than half a mile. In between the two places mentioned above there is a raised ground having an underground tunnel supposed to have contained treasures which were dug and taken away by the Pir of Luwārī (Badīn Taluka of Hyderābād district). The foundation of the fort wall is distinguishable and testifies to the genius of those who built it. Besides, it is also worth mention that this wall runs almost to the edge of the river bed, which also seems to have flowed on all sides of the ruins and surrounded the fort.[3] Inspection of the site further reveals that the city was well planned and built of pucca bricks, but the roofs may have been covered with timber beams, straw and mud[4] as no sign of the roof is now in existence. Between the debris there are open spaces broad enough to permit modern vehicular traffic, and these can be very well identified with roads and public crossings. In the southern part of the ruins, there is a graveyard and a worn out tomb which is reported to be of later times. To the east of this graveyard there is an extensive plain which seems to have been the bed of a large tank used probably either for the supply of water to the town or a place of anchorage for the vessels plying on river Indus. Among the heaps nothing can be seen excepting the bone[s] which are found in abundance at many places. On both sides of the open spaces there are foundations of small rooms, which were either barracks for the troops or possibly public baths, which were found in great number in almost all the Muslim towns of the medieval times.[5]

The construction of the building and the plan of the city indicates that like other towns of the medieval age, al-Mansūrah was a congested city and thickly peopled. The buildings seem to have been constructed substantially as would appear from the foundations of the walls which vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth. It would be observed further that the buildings were situated on the raised ground above the general level of the site and that their height varies from three to five feet. Mr. Bellasis is correct when he remarks "There is not at present

a city in Sind which if overthrown by an earthquake tomorrow would make such a show of ruins as al-Mansūrah."[6]

It is generally assumed that the detached block of ruins to the south-east of al-Mansūrah proper is that of al-Mahfūẓah. A minute observation of the site would, however, indicate that the ruins on the other side of the river bed, opposite to the north-east corner of al-Mansūrah ruins, might have been the site of the Arab town of al-Mahfūẓāh. This fact is further borne out from the accounts of al-Balādhurī and other writers, who report that the town of al-Mahfūẓāh was situated exactly opposite to al-Mansūrah, on the left bank of the river Mahrān.[7]

The view that al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād occupied one and the same site is not corroborated by authoritative sources, although Elliot and other European writers believe that some parts of the ancient Brahmanābād were included in the township of al-Mansūrah.[8] Brahmanābād as reported by al-Baladhurī was situated at a distance of two farsakhs (i.e. six miles) from the new township of al-Mansūrah.[9] But it appears partly from the accounts of Abū al-Faḍl[10] and partly by inspection of the entire region, which is now covered with extensive ruins, that Brahmanābād might have occupied a very large area in between the ruins of Bhiro (i.e. al-Mansūrah) and the town of Jhol. It can be fairly concluded that the ruins on the south-east of Bhiro might have formed part of the great city of Brahmanābād and this might have been the official residence of its rulers.[11]

Abū al-Faḍl states that the fort of Brahmanābād had 1400 bastions, each of which was situated at some distance from the other. Some of these bastions, however, existed during his time in tolerable condition and this testifies to the greatness of the town and the area it might have occupied. The map of Henry Cousens shows the site of Depar Ghānghro to the north-east of the site of al-Mansūrah, and this can be very well identified with the ancient town of Brahmanābād. Al-Balādhurī relates that the town of Brahmanābād was totally deserted and was in ruins[12] when he was writing his famous work on the "Conquest of the Countries". It is, therefore, highly

probable that building material for al-Mansūrah was derived by the Arabs from the old town of Brahmanābād. There is no evidence whatsoever about the depopulation of Brahmanābād, but it is probable that the desolation was caused by the change of the government and the massacre of the inhabitants of the town by the Arabs. It is clear from historical evidence that the town of Brahmanābād was taken by assault and a greater portion of its population was put to death.[13] It, however, revived for some time after the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, but it could not acquire its former greatness and prosperity. Soon after when two great towns were built in its neighbourhood, this town lost whatever little importance it had. Thereafter it continued to dwindle into insignificance and decay. The people began to shift to the new towns more particularly to al-Mansūrah, which became the seat of the Arab government for over two centuries and a half. The natives of Sind could not forget the name of their old and prosperous city and it seems probable that they began to call al-Mansūrah as Brahmanābād in commemoration of the old Hindu capital of Sind. When al-Iṣṭakhrī came to Sind al-Mansūrah was called by the name Brahmanābād[14] by the local people and the town retained both these names down to the eleventh century A.C. as would appear from the accounts of al-Berūnī.[15]

The question now arises, how and when al-Mansūrah was destroyed. The popular version among the masses indicates that it was destroyed by the convulsion of nature in the form of an earthquake, due to the sins of its ruler Dalū-rāi, by which name the whole mass of the ruins is still known. According to one theory a change in the course of the river and according to another theory an invasion from without was the cause of the depopulation of al-Mansūrah and its destruction.

The site of al-Mansūrah has been visited by many foreign scholars as well as by local historians and writers. Of the foreign scholars, Henry Cousens and Bellasis seem to have been greatly interested in the site and both of them have written valuable treatises on the ruins of al-Mansūrah. Bellasis speaks of these ruins as "Pompeii of Sind"[16] and he was the only

European to carry out observational excavations of the site. Although the excavations were on a small scale yet they throw much light on the fate of this great town, which was once a flourishing centre of Arab administration and culture. Among other visitors to and writers on these ruins, may be mentioned the names of Richardson, Cunningham, Raverty, Burnes, Mc-Murdo, Elliot and M.R. Haig, all of whom have left their observations about the foundation, development and the destruction of the town of al-Mansūrah.

M.R. Haig is of the opinion that the destruction of al-Mansūrah was caused by the change of the course of the Indus river.[17] He states that "Mansūrah, as we have seen, probably soon after the middle of the eighth century, had comparatively a short life. It is spoken of by Yāqūt in his great geographical work (in the second decade of the thirteenth century) as still flourishing, but Abu al-Fidā writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, says that the city with three others of the same name in the different parts of the east, was in ruins. If both the writers are correct, it is probable that a great change in the course of the Indus river took place at some time between the middle of thirteenth century and the early years of fourteenth century and this caused the ruins of al-Mansūrah".[18]

M.R.Haig it seems has based his theory on the stories current in Sind about a merchant Sayf al-Malūk and Chutto 'Amrānī who are reported to have changed the course of the Indus by artificial and miraculous means.[19] This fact is further inferred from the vestiges of the ancient towns found along the old bed of this mad river which due to its changing nature rendered these habitations desolate and finally caused their ruin. In the present age too this river is uncontrollable and in spite of modern scientific measures, it plays havocs during the inundation season.

Henry Cousens, on the other hand, assumes that the destruction of al-Mansūrah was due to foreign invasion mostly from the Thar desert and Rajputānā, which resulted in a ruthless massacre of its population and complete sack of the town.[20] It appears that Cousens based his view on the accounts of the

Arab writers who had been speaking of the maraudering attacks of the Jatts, Meds and other savage tribes from the desert[21] which caused great misery to the settled population of Sind. This fact is further corroborated by the sudden disappearance of al-Mansūrah and the advent of a new people, the Sūmerahs, who are reported to be of Rājpūt origin.[22] Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah does not seem to have destroyed the city of al-Mansūrah. He only chastised its ruler who had become a heretic (Qarmathian) and appointed the Arabs to undertake the administration of the country. It may, therefore, be gathered from the view of Henry Cousens that the Sūmerahs made an attack on Sind during the weak rule of the Ghaznavid Sultān Mas'ūd and over-ran a great portion of the lower Indus Valley.[23] The Sūmerahs according to him were responsible for the destruction of the city of al-Mansūrah.

Richardson, Bellasis, Cunningham and Raverty all agree[24] that the city of al-Mansūrah was destroyed by an earthquake and this view appears to be more plausible for the following reasons:-

If the depopulation of al-Mansūrah had been caused by a change in the course of the river Indus, its destruction would hardly have been so complete. The process of its desolation would have been slow and gradual and the people would have carried every thing with them inclusive of coined money and valuables. Many valuable articles made of gold and silver and hundreds of coins have been unearthed from the ruins of al-Mansūrah.[25] Some buildings might have also survived for a considerable period in a tolerable condition, because the buildings in the town were substantially built and constructed on raised platforms. Moreover the change of the river course could not have exercised such an unusual influence on the destinies of a capital town which received its water supply from the wells. That the subsoil water did not fail, is evident from the presence of wells on the site and the water is tolerably drinkable.[26] The observation of the site further shows the foundation of numerous wells, probably more than two hundred in number. A change in the course of the river would have at the most decreased to a

certain degree, the commercial importance of the town, the inland trade of which was conducted through the boats plying on river Indus. The excavations made by Bellasis have yielded variety of pottery superior to that found in Sind nowadays, including vessels made of china. Pieces of glass and crystal were also found with fragments of cups, bottles and plates. Moreover, pretty stones and coins of silver and copper with ornaments were unearthed by Mr. Bellasis[27] from the ruins. If the town was regularly deserted, these things would never have been found. Besides, the inhabitants of the town would not have allowed the cattle to remain behind, the bones of which were found in abundance in the three houses excavated by Mr. Bellasis.[28] It was and is still a custom in Sind that the cattle are generally kept within the house or in the courtyard. This shows that the cattle were not removed from the houses when the catastrophe befell the town.

The view that the town of al-Mansūrah was destroyed by an invading army hostile to the Arabs also appears to be untenable. On this Richardson's remark seems to be sound. He says, "Had twenty barrels of powder been placed under each individual building, the ruins would have hardly been so perfect. Besides whatever mischief the soldiery of the conquering army may have committed on the buildings and other property, they would surely have carried away coins and other valuables which are found in infinite numbers on the surface of the site.[29] The enemy would not have left a single head of cattle in their loot, if they intended to destroy the city. There would have been a general conflagration and at least half of the city would have been burnt. Observation of the site shows little sign of violence by fire and the charcoal discovered was not in any quantity, but as much as may be expected to be used by the occupants of the houses for cooking purposes."[30] If there had been fire, it would have certainly consumed woman's bangles, bracelets and delicate articles made of glass, ivory and copper, found on the surface of the ruins in the rainy season. Even harder metal like iron would have melted away and would have been completely decomposed. The enemy at the same time would have at the most destroyed half of the town

and the remnant of the population would have survived and rehabilitated it.

Bellasis says, "we selected for excavation a heap of ruins standing on the verge of the principal bazār or square. We had not commenced many minutes before we came upon the edge of the wall; clearing it up we soon came upon a cross and then upon another, until a house with variety of rooms began first to take shape and disclose its proportions. We had not dug two feet before we came to quantities of bones and at that and greater depths skeletons were so numerous that it was hardly possible to dig a paurā full of earth without bringing up particles of bones. As far as I could judge many were undeniably human bones and others those of cattle and of horses. The human bones were found chiefly in doorways as if the people were attempting to escape and others in the corners of the rooms. Many of the skeletons were in a sufficiently perfect state to show the position the body had assumed; some were upright, some recumbent with their faces down and some crouched in sitting position. One in particular I remember, was found in a doorway; the man had been evidently rushing out of his house when a mass of brick-work had in its fall crushed him to the ground and there his bones are lying extended full length and the face downward. Of the bones found many were unquestionably human, others the bones of the camels, horses, oxen, sheep, dogs and fowls."[31]

The description of the excavation of Mr. Bellasis indicates the probable fate of the town and corroborates greatly the popular version of its being destroyed by an earthquake. The wretched inhabitants were sleeping in their houses when the catastrophe befell the town. Some had risen from their sleep but before they came to their senses, the roofs and the walls of the buildings fell down, burying them under the debris. Further, the human bones on the doorways show the attempt of the people to save themselves by rushing out of the houses. They, however, did not succeed in the attempt due to the serious nature of the tremor, in which everything crumbled down. The bones of the bullocks, camels, horses and other animals and birds

show that these creatures were not removed from the houses when the earthquake overtook the town. Since the cattle are sent out to pastures during day time, it becomes certain that the said calamity befell the town during the odd hours of the night.[32]

Richardson remarks: "that the remains of the bones were in a very decomposed state, so soft as to be crushed to dust in the fingers. It is not probable that the bodies were regularly buried in the places we found them; had they been so the remains in all probability would have been found in recombent position and not all crushed in a heap as they now appear."[33]

It may be questioned that the tower of which mention has been made before and which ought to have come down first was not affected by the earthquake. On this Bellasis's view is fully acceptable when he says that it was the solidity and the superior size of the tower, which enabled it to survive for a longer period, but it is evidently a small portion of the original edifice.[34] In the reign of Kalhorās so much remained that Ghulām Shāh ordered the demolition of the steps leading to the top, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the robbers who used the tower as "watch tower" i.e. preliminary to plundering. A large portion of the tower without steps was standing till 1819 when it fell down and has since remained in much the same state as it is now, a mere fragment.[35]

The period of the destruction of al-Mansūrah is almost uncertain due to the absence of historical evidence. It was in existence when al-Iṣṭakhrī came to Sind and was a prosperous and flourishing town during al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī's visit to the lower Indus Valley.[36] It is also spoken of by al-Berūnī as "Mansūrah Bahmanvā"[37] during the eleventh century A. C. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah who is said to have brought an end to the Arab rule in the Indus Valley did not destroy the capital al-Mansūrah. All he did was only to appoint his own men to conduct the administration of the country. The ruler of al-Mansūrah who was a Qarmathian heretic took to jungles on the banks of the river Indus and he was chastised by the Afghān army. Consequently he was drowned and a greater

portion of his army was destroyed, whence the Sultān returned to Ghaznī.[38] The author of Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī states that when he was at Uchcha in A.H. 623/1226 A.C. al-Mansūrah was occupied by a branch of Khalj tribe, who fleeing from the onslaught of the Mongols, took shelter in it.[39] Al-Mansūrah during that period is reported to have been situated in the territories of Nāsir al-Din Kubācha and was one of the towns of the Siwistān district. From these accounts it appears that al-Mansūrah which was the cultural and administrative centre of the Arabs in Sind for centuries, had lost its importance and was replaced by Siwistān or modern Sehwan.[40] Major Raverty is of the opinion that at the time of the advent of the Khalj tribe in al-Mansūrah, the town was deserted and its inhabitants were very few in number.[41] It is also probable that the Khalj may have occupied the ruined buildings of the deserted town as a protection from probable attack of the Mongols, who used to roam about in small bands for the purpose of human slaughter and plundering.

Yāqūt al-Hamavī who wrote his great work in the first half of the thirteenth century speaks about it as a flourishing town[42] and Abu al-Fidā writing in the first half of the fourteenth century states that the said town with three others of the same name was in ruins.[43] If the version of both these writers be correct then the destruction of al-Mansūrah was more probably wrought in the early years of the fourteenth century. Major Raverty who accepts the theory of al-Mansūrah's destruction by earthquake says: "It can scarcely be supposed that the earthquake which destroyed Brahmanābād and its inhabitants, would not have affected al-Mansūrah, because it was only about six miles in distance from it."[44]

From the evidence of the earlier sources such as al-Balādhurī it is clear that Brahmanābād was in ruins as early as ninth century A.C.[45] It would, therefore, be incorrect to assume that it was destroyed at such a late period. It was al-Mansūrah which was destroyed by an earthquake and not Brahmanābād which was not in existence at that time. But al-Mansūrah was also known as Brahmanābād by the local

people and as such the reference to Brahmanābād may be inferred to have been used for al-Mansūrah which had taken its place since the early years of the Arab rule in Sind. The earthquake theory is not an idle fable, as assumed by Henry Cousens, although the story supporting it might have been fabricated and highly exaggerated to show the spiritual power of a converted saint.

The historical evidence bears out the local version about the occurrence of earthquakes in Sind. One such serious tremor shook the port of al-Daybul in A.H. 280/893 A.C. i.e. as early as the reign of caliph al-Mutawakkil. This earthquake destroyed half of the town of al-Daybul with a death toll of one hundred and fifty thousand men.[46] Al-Daybul being a seaport could revive from the said shock and restored to its former prosperity, due to its situation and strategic position as the principal port of the Indus Valley. The fate of al-Mansūrah was decreed otherwise. It was situated on the banks of the river Indus and in the heart of the desert. Therefore, it could not withstand the onslaught of the two calamities at one time, the earthquake and the change of the course of the river Indus, which was the natural outcome of such a tremor. It could have revived and could have been rehabilitated if the river remained faithful, because the trade of al-Mansūrah was conducted through the Indus. It seems that the remnant of the population of al-Mansūrah occupied the town for some time, but since its commercial and metropolitan importance was lost, the people began to abandon it in due course of time and this process brought about the complete desolation and destruction of al-Mansūrah.

Notes and References

1. The excavations of these ruins are in progress as reported by *Dawn* (dated 6-6-1967). The Archaeology Department claims that many coins of gold and silver have been unearthed.
2. Henry Cousens, Antiquities, p. 66.
3. According to the report of Arab geographers al-Mansūrah was situated on an island surrounded by the two branches of the river Indus. See al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, Sūrat al Arḍ, p. 320; al-Idrīsī, Nuẓhat al-Mushtāq, p.30.
4. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
5. The city of Cordova in Spain alone had 10,000 public baths and same was the case with Baghdād, Cairo, Damascus and other towns.
6. Hughes, Gazetteer of Sind, p. 138.
7. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449.
8. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 323.
9. Al-Balādhūrī, p. 449.
10. Abū al-Faḍl, A'īn-i-Akbarī, p. 555.
11. Henry Cousens, Antiquities, p. 66.
12. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
13. Henry Cousens, Antiquities, p. 71.
14. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 173.
15. Al-Berūnī, Kitāb al-Hind, p. 11.
16. Hughes, Sind Gazetteer: p. 138.
17. M.R. Haig. Indus Delta Country, p. 73.
18. Ibid, p. 73.
19. Tuhfat al-Kirām (Persian Edition), Vol. III, p. 137.
20. Henry Cousens, p. 71.
21. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
22. M.R. Haig, Indus Delta Country, p. 73.
23. Tārīkh al-Ma'sūmī (Persian Edition), p. 60.
24. Raverty, Mehran, p. 199; Huges, Sind Gazetteer, p. 135.
25. *Dawn*, dated 6th June, 1967; *Morning News*, dated 6th June, 1967, p. 3.

26. Henry Cousens, Antiquities, p. 70.
27. Hughes, Sind Gazetteer, p. 131.
28. Ibid, p. 136.
29. Ibid, p. 135.
30. Hughes, Sind Gazetteer, p. 133.
31. Ibid, p. 133.
32. It seems that the earthquake was similar to that of Quetta (1935) in which thousands of people were killed in few seconds.
33. Hughes, Sind Gazetteer, p. 137.
34. Ibid, p. 136.
35. Ibid, p. 137.
36. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
37. Al-Berūnī, Kitāb al-Hind, p. 100.
38. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, Vol. IX, p. 143.
39. Minhāj al-Dīn Sirāj, Ṭabaqāt al-Nāsirī, p. 143.
40. Siwistān or Sehwan (Siw-Wāhan) both carry the same meaning and it is the oldest extant town in West Pakistān. It was the residence of the SIWI tribe with which are associated Sībī, Siwī, Shor-Kot and various other towns. It was in existence at the time of Alexander's invasion and has also been mentioned in the accounts of the classical writers. It is believed to be older than Multān, Taxila, Peshāwar and Hyderābād (Sind). The Hindūs who came to power in later times connected it with one of their deities, Shiva and hence Shiv-Wāhan or Siv-Wāhan, i.e. the resting place of Lord Shiva. The existence of a big temple dedicated to Shiva where Lingham and Bhag worship was common is reported by the later historians.
41. Raverty, Māhrān, p. 199.
42. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
43. Cousens, Antiquities, p. 65.
44. Al-Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
45. Ibid, p. 444.
46. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, Vol. VII, p. 185; Al-Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā, p. 234.

ARAB ADMINISTRATION IN SIND

Military organisation; The elephants of al-Mansūrah; Defensive and war tactics; Revenue Administration; Zakāt and Sadqah; Jizyah or Poll tax; Ghanīmah and Khums; 'Ushūr; Judicial Administration; Treatment of non-Muslims; Economic development: Agricultural Reforms; Commercial goods; Foreign exchange; The Arab coins in Sind.

The Arabs did not interfere with the internal administration of Sind, which was chiefly in the hands of the natives. This was principally due to the lack of the knowledge of the country, its local conditions and the age-long institutions prevailing therein. Moreover, the first Arab invaders were mere soldiers unaccustomed to the arts of the administration. At the same time the country of Sind was teeming with the 'infidels' who could neither be converted to the true faith nor they could be exterminated and wiped out of existence. In the beginning, however, there was burning of the towns, desecration of the temples and indiscriminate slaughter of the natives. But it had to be stopped and the Arabs adopted a policy of reconciliation to the non-Muslims of Sind. The administration of Sind was a sort of self government in which the native panchayats were allowed to deal with the local problems according to their own laws, customs and usages. The Arabs granted greater measure of tolerance to the non-Muslims of Sind, not because they felt sympathy for them, but out of sheer necessity and on condition of the payment of poll tax.[1]

The Shamanis (the Buddhist priests) and the Brahmans, received privileged treatment as before and were even entrusted with important affairs of the state.[2] The conquerors reposed full confidence in their integrity and they were allowed to

hold high offices of the state. This was partly due to their learning and partly due to their treachery in which they betrayed their old masters. They had wilfully conspired against their rulers and had surrendered the forts to the Arab invaders. This phase of reconciliation was temporary and the traitors were soon eliminated from the administration in due course of time.

In towns the Arabs appointed their own men to conduct the administration of the urban areas and also the cantonments 'Jundīs' which were established for the protection of the forts. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was the first to appoint governors for the towns, whose duties were chiefly administrative; the judicial functions were to be discharged by another officer. After the conquest of al-Ror he appointed Rawāh ibn Asad as the military governor of the town, the administration of justice of which was entrusted to Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī.[3] In the same manner he appointed his own men at al-Daybul, al-Nirūn, Multān and other towns. These towns were garrisoned with the Arab troops with the dual purpose of quelling possible insurrections as well as for the maintenance of peace and order within the fort. The functions of police were at first discharged by the soldiers, but later a separate department was set up under the name "Shurtah".

The head of the provincial administration was "Wālī" who was appointed by the special order of the caliph. Sometimes viceroys like al-Hajjāj, who exercised de facto authority on the caliph's territories, nominated governors, in lieu of the caliph's sanction. In the beginning one governor was appointed over the entire 'Sind region' which included a large area of the Indus Valley, in addition to Las-Belā, Khārān and Kalāt regions. But later the regions of Khārān, Las-Belā and Makrān were constituted into a separate province (or Wilāyah)[4] and separate governor appointed over it. The governors of the province had the authority to appoint lesser governors for the towns and mufassil administrative units, in which the Wilāyah was divided. The Arab geographers who visited Sind during the later 'Abbāsid period speak of five Wilāyahs in which the country

of Sind was divided and these were Multān, al-Mansūrah (the present Sind), Tūran, Kuzdār and Makrān, each of which had its own ruler.[5]

The Wālī, who was appointed by the special order of the caliph, received from him a Khil'at, along with two swords, two bracelets, a parcham, a tauq and the coronet of the Wilāyah.[6] The governor in his capacity as such, was the commander of the army, the collector of the revenues, and the treasury officer in the province. He had the authority to declare war, make peace and conclude treaties on behalf of the caliph. He could at the same time increase and reduce the land revenue according to the condition of the crop and even granted general remission in cases of the failure of crop. The responsibilities of the governor included among others, the defence of the province, garrisoning its forts, protection of the citizens and their property and remitting to the central treasury regular and fixed amount of the tribute.

Military organisation

The Arabs like their ancient kinsmen the Assyrians, depended chiefly on the strength and efficiency of their armed forces. They, therefore, made special laws for the soldiers and their families. Apart from the regular salary, every soldier was entitled to receive his share of Ghanīmah 'the loot' which included all kinds of property derived as spoils of war. In case of death or disability, the state was responsible for the maintenance of the family and dependants of the soldier. Regular pensions were paid to the dependants of the soldiers on the front in active military service. In case of victory the services of the soldier were amply rewarded and apart from the share in the booty, he was granted jagirs known as 'Kharāj lands'. In the beginning the acquisition of lands by a soldier was discouraged but later the rules were relaxed in cases of the soldiers who desired to settle in the conquered territories. The soldiers who thus acquired lands were made exempt from the payment of all the taxes, but the superior officers who received heavy emoluments were obliged to pay Zakāt and Sadqah.[7]

At the time of actual warfare, the Arab army was divided into five main divisions of Maqdamat al-Jaysh, Maymanah, Maysarah, Qalb and the Sāqah. The very same tactic was adopted by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī in the battle fought against Rājā Dāhir at Rāwar.[8] Cavalry formed a very important factor in the Arab army and therefore required strong and swift horses. Special stables were provided for the horses near the army barracks, and every care was taken to look after the health and the breed of the horses. Large meadows were reserved for grazing and the proper breeding of the horses, of which the finest specimen were imported from India and Arabia. The infantry was mainly composed of archers, whose attack was followed by that of the cavalry. The Arabs introduced siege machines and catapulets (Manjanīq and Dubābah) in Sind, with the help of which they either set fire in enemy camp or destroyed the fort walls by bombardment of stones. According to al-Balādhurī, five hundred men were required to pull the Manjanīqs,[9] which shows that a large number of soldiers were brought by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim for the conquest of Sind.

The Arabs also maintained camel corps for the transport of machines, the provisions and the baggage of the army. Sometimes the camel corps substituted for the cavalry in the battle-field and proved very useful for the purpose of war-tactics. In the battle of Qādisiya, the Arabs by covering the camels with strange dresses made a display of them on the field, to overawe the enemy. In the later period of the Arab rule in Sind, the Arabs kept elephants in the army, after the fashion of the Indian princes. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that the ruler of al-Mansūrah had eighty war elephants,[10] which was regarded a sign of power, might and grandeur. According to the same source every elephant was supported by an infantry of 500 men and this shows that the ruler al-Mansūrah had a huge army for the defence of his kingdom.

Elephants, it is said, formed a very important factor in the decision of the battle. Swords were tied with the tusks and the trunks of the elephants, before sending them in the

battle-field and they made an immediate attack, causing confusion in the enemy ranks. This tactic facilitated greatly the task of the cavalry in routing the enemy pell-mell. The army was kept in the state of alert to repel external aggression, which was made from the regions of Rajasthān and Cutch, by the savage tribes known as 'Zutt' and 'Med' against the settled population of Sind. The Arabs too in order to have fresh loots, continued their maraudering raids on the regions of Mālwā, Nilmā and Sursuit. Even the distant Ujjayn,[11] was plundered by the Arab forces without opposition, due to possibly the weakness of its rulers. The Arab rulers of Sind were held in such a dread by the non-Muslim rulers of India that they were obliged to grant trade and other concessions to the Arabs within their territories. The ruler of Gujrāt, it is said, allowed the Arabs to settle in his country and granted them permission to build mosques[12] in the important towns within his dominions.

The Arab army was kept under regular training and was not allowed to while away its time in fake idleness. In peace time they were engaged in sports and other manly pastimes, such as wrestling, swimming, horse racing, hunting and other enterprises. At the time of the conquest of Sind, almost all the towns of Sind were garrisoned with the Arab troops, but later separate cantonments were founded for the army. These cantonments or the military colonies, in due course of time rose to be flourishing centres of culture and learning in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The first such cantonment was founded by Sind's governor Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī and following his example another governor of Sind, 'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, founded another of these cantonments, and named it al-Mansūrah.[13] Al-Mansūrah henceforth became the seat of the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid administration in Sind and finally the capital of the independent Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind.

The Elephants of al-Mansurah

Interesting stories have come down to us about the two elephants of al-Mansūrah. They were known by the name

Mun'arfals and Hydrah and they were famous for their intelligence and other qualities. It is reported that the trainer of one of these elephants died of an illness, which grieved the elephant so much that he stopped taking food for three days continuously. He was seen weeping like human being by raising painful cries and shedding tears.[14] In another incident, a woman screamed and fell unconscious, before the horde of the elephants led by Mun'arfals and Hydrah, in a public street in the town of al-Mansūrah. She lay completely nude in the state of unconsciousness and exposed to public gaze. In order to protect the woman from being seen by the people Mun'arfals stood in the middle of the road and did not allow any one to pass. He also covered the body of the woman with the aid of his trunk and did not move from that place till she recovered her consciousness and left the place.[15]

Defensive war tactics

The Arabs employed the same war tactics as the non-Muslim rulers of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The desert system of warfare 'Karr-wa-Farr' was too employed to overawe the desert tribes of Zutt (Jatt) and Med, who committed depredatory raids on the settled regions of Sind. The Arab geographers have reported their habitation on the flanks of Thar desert but they were also numerous in Makrān, Ṭūrān and the land of Buddha.[16] These tribes are now represented by the Balūchi tribes in Thar and Baluchistān regions and it is probable to believe that these tribes are mostly descended from the Jatt and Med people who dominated the land in medieval times. It is stated in the accounts that these savages not only attacked the towns of Sind but the traces of their invasions were found in the regions of Khurāsān and al-'Irāq. A band of Jatts 30,000 strong had earlier invaded al-'Irāq where they are reported to have defeated the forces of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'tasim billāh. Mr. Justice Amir 'Alī has given their number as 17,000 as they appeared on the banks of the Tigris with the dramatic suddenness. They were, however, defeated by the imperial forces and brought to Baghdād in boats at the instance of the caliph who desired to see the costume of their women.

The caliph then ordered their rehabilitation on the frontiers of Cilicia, where they were attacked by the Greeks. A number of them were exterminated and the remnant taken captive, were dispersed in Thrace. The "Bohemians, the Zingaries and the gypsies of Europe are the descendants of these poor captives, the remnants of the Zutt".[17]

The ruler of Multān resorted to a different tactic to save his capital from being overrun by the non-Muslims. It is related that whenever an attack was made by the non-Muslims from India, the rulers of Multān caused the idol to be taken out of the temple. It was then exhibited to the invaders on the fort walls and the Muslims then threatened to break the idol if the non-Muslims did not raise the siege. This trick worked on the mind of the Hindūs who immediately withdrew their forces and returned to their respective kingdoms.[18]

The Arabs also employed the tactic of threatening the elephants used by the enemy in their attacks on Sind. One of the governors of Sind Hārūn bin Mūsā who held a fort in Sind under the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah was attacked by a Hindū rājā. Since the army under his command was insufficient to face the invasion, he made another arrangement to save the fort. On the day of the battle when the armies stood face to face, the soldiers of the vanguard of his army threw a number of cats before the elephants who stood in the front of the battle array. The elephants being frightened, took to flight and killed a number of their own soldiers and this resulted in the defeat of the Hindū army.[19] The device of covering the camels with red-cloth was continued to be practised by the Arab rulers of Sind in their wars both with the Hindū rājās and the barbarious tribes of Baluchistān.

Revenue Administration

The revenue administration of Sind was based on the same system which was introduced by the Arabs for all the conquered lands. Both Arabs and the non-Arabs were required to pay taxes to the state and the chief sources of revenue were; Kharāj, Zakāt, Ṣadqah, Jizyah, Khums and 'Ushr. Fay also formed

an important and direct source of revenue to the central treasury in some provinces.

Kharaj and 'Ushr

The Kharāj or the 'tributum Soli' was the land tax collected from the non-Muslims at the rate of 2/5th of the produce if the land was watered by the public canals. In case of lift or other artificial means 3/5th was recovered and if un-irrigated 1/4th of the probable produce was collected. If an arable land was left fallow, a fine equivalent to 1/4th of the probable produce was imposed for the purpose of discouraging them to sit idle. Garden produce and the fruits were charged at 1/3rd and same was the rate with regard to the wines, fish and pearls etc.[20]

The Arab land holders had to pay the land tax at the concessionary rate of 1/10th of the produce and it was known as " 'Ushr ". It was levied on all those lands which had irrigation facilities, but in case of lands watered by lift, a nominal tax at the rate of 1/20th was recovered. This concession was not extended to the non-Muslims who were converted to Islam after the Arab occupation of Sind. As a matter of general policy the land tax was collected on the total cultivable area of the village irrespective of the area under 'actual cultivation'.[21] This naturally resulted in great hardship to the land holders, who had to sell their lands for the payment of Kharāj, in the unproductive or lean years. The system of the revenue was such that the cultivator was reduced to serfdom and poverty and forced to live in sub-human condition never to raise his head against the ever oppressive feudalism and tyranny.

Zakat and Sadqah

Zakāt was recovered from the Arab Muslims exclusively on the definite forms of property. The uniform scale for collecting Zakāt was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total income, but in some cases $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or 1/8th of the income was realized. Zakāt was recovered only from those Muslims who were major and in full possession of their faculties. In cases of fruit, grain, dates or cultivated produce, Zakāt was levied immediately after the harvest. But in cases of domestic quadrupeds, pre-

cious metals or cash and also in case of merchandise, full one year's 'uninterrupted possession' was pre-requisite to the payment of Zakāt. A certain limit known as 'Nisab' was prescribed for properties of all kinds. In case of precious metal the nisab was 200 dirhams and the property in that kind of lesser value was not liable for Zakāt. In case of quadrupeds the nisab for camels was 5, for cattle 30, for goats 40, and for land produce it was five 'wasqs' or ass loads of grain. If the land was watered by public canals the rate of Zakāt was 1/10th of the produce but in cases of unirrigated lands 1/20th of the produce was levied. In case of animals different scales were prescribed. In case of camels one jadh (six months old lamb) or thinnī (one year old goat) was charged for 5 to 9 camels, two goats for 10 to 14 camels; three goats for 15 to 19 camels, and four goats for 20 to 24 camels. When the number exceeded 24 camels, the tax was charged in the camels according to the following scale:- "From 25 to 35 camels, one year old she camel; from 36 to 45 camels, two-year old she camel; from 46 to 60 camels, three-year old she camel; from 61 to 75 camels, four-year old she camel; from 76 to 90 camels, two two-year old she camels and for 91 to 120 camels, two three-year old she camels."[22] According to Imām Abū Hanīfah, when the number of the camels exceeded 120, then the same cycle was to be repeated. Al-Shafi'ī on the other hand holds that after 120 camels, for every forty one two-year old she camel and for every fifty one three-year old she camel was to be collected.

The minimum number of cattle liable to Zakāt was 30, and when it exceeded thirty, one tabi' or tabi'ah (six months old calf) was recovered; from 40 to 59 one musinnah (one year old cow); for 60, two tabi's and after 60, one tabi' for every thirty and one mussinah for every forty was charged. As regards goats and sheep one jadh or thinnī was charged for every 40 to 120, two sheep for 120 to 200 and three sheep for 200 to 399 sheep or goats. When the number exceeded 400, one sheep was collected for every 100 goats or sheep. In case of gold and silver and also the merchandise the rate of Zakāt was 1/40th and for the treasure-trove the state took one-fifth.[23]

Jizyah or the poll tax

This tax named 'Jazit' was already charged by the Persians from the conquered territories in different grades and rates. Caliph 'Umar prescribed three grades for levying Jizyah i.e. the rich were required to pay 4 dinārs, middle class 2 dinārs, and the poor one dinār each, for twelve months. Women, children, beggars, monks, the aged, insane and the people suffering from incurable diseases were made exempt from the payment of Jizyah. Jizyah (or the tributum capitis) was levied on non-Muslims alone as a price of protection offered by the state to their lives and properties. This tax was not to be levied on the Muslims, yet the Umayyads imposed this tax on the Mawālīs or the new Muslims throughout the Muslim empire.

The famous historian al-Balādhurī has given a glaring example of undue exactions of Jizyah in Sind. Prince Jaysia, the son of Dāhir, it is related was converted to Islam, during the reign of caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and the pious caliph restored to him a portion of his father's territories. But Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Marī, the governor of Sind, required Jaysia to pay the tribute, which Jaysia refused to pay on contention that he had become a Muslim and hence exempted from the payment of the said tax.[24] On the insistence of the governor, Jaysia abjured the Muslim faith and consequently he was attacked and killed. Similar instances of illegality and high-handedness have been observed in the provinces of Khurāsān, Irān and North Africa. The Umayyads went to the extent of levying 'child tax' on the Berbers of north Africa in addition to Jizyah.[25]

Ghanimah and Khums

Ghanīmah denotes booty derived from war. It included weapons, dresses, horses, provisions, coined money, valuables or other movable property either left by the fleeing enemy or captured during the battle. It also included the prisoners of war (men, women and children) of which 1/5th "Khums" was taken out as the share of 'Bayt al-Māl', i.e. the public treasury. The amount of booty derived from Sind on various occasions seems to have been enormous in view of the conditions of the

time. Almost every Umayyad governor remitted to the central treasury a huge sum of cash, ornaments and a large number of slaves both male and female who were sold in the Arab markets on nominal prices: Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and after him Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, Hakām ibn 'Auwānah and others sent enormous booty to the Arab world, derived in their wars against the non-Muslims of Sind and the neighbouring countries of Gujrāt, Cutch, Rajastān and northern Punjāb. In spite of lavish expenditure Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Marī could save 4000 million dirhams for the central treasury. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī on the other hand deposited a booty equivalent to 120 million dirhams to Bayt al-Māl[26] immediately after the battle of Rāwar, to which ample additions were made after the conquest of various other towns. In Multān alone precious booty weighing 13200 maunds of pure gold was obtained,[27] apart from multitude of jewels, rubies, pearls and other valuables. Ghanīmah continued to be the chief source of revenue to the Arab colonists in Sind, who continued their maraudering raids on the territories occupied by the non-Muslims.

'Ushur

The tax levied on the merchandise was known as 'Ushur on account of the rate at which it was charged. 'Ushūr was instituted by caliph 'Umar, and was recovered from the foreigners who carried on their commercial enterprises in the Muslim territories. Later the provisions of this law were made applicable to the non-Muslim merchants of the Muslim empire (i.e. the christian and jews who were the natives of Syria, al-'Irāq and Egypt). The Muslim traders were, however, made exempt from the payment of 'Ushūr with a view to encourage them to monopolise the commercial enterprise of the empire. The exemption might have also been actuated in view of the payment of Zakāt which every Muslim merchant was obliged to pay at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.[28]

Judicial Administration

Due to the democratic tendencies and tribalism prevalent among the Arabs, judiciary had always been separate from the executive, from the earliest known times. Prophet Muhammad

himself appointed judges to discharge the judicial functions of the various provinces. The same practice was followed by the Khulafā and their governors who acted as de facto rulers within their respective spheres of authority. After the conquest of Sind, Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim appointed governors and judges over the different towns and forts. At al-Ror he appointed Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī as the judge, the executive functions of which place were entrusted to Rawāh ibn Asad.[29] During the independent Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind, the Habbārid rulers appointed judges to supervise the judicial functions of the state. The famous geographer al-Mas'ūdi relates that the judge of al-Mansūrah belonged to the family of Abī Shorāb and was related to the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah.[30] This suggests that judiciary among the Arabs had been separate from the executive from the earliest period of Arab rule in Sind, but it was restricted only to the matters relating to the Arab community. There is not a single precedence to show the impartiality of the judges and as such it can be fairly concluded that the judges might have acted partially, in conformity with the instructions of the rulers of al-Mansūrah.

As already stated the natives of Sind had their own law courts and the Muslim judges seldom interfered with their functions, provided no Arab was involved in the matter in issue. The local panchāyats dispensed justice to the non-Muslims according to their own laws and institutions. If a Muslim formed one or the other party in the suit or proceeding, the Qādī generally interfered and settled the issue with the help of a Buddhist Shamanī or a Hindū Brahman.[31] The Muslims were governed by Shārī'at law based on the principles of Muslim jurisprudence. The post of the judge was generally held by an eminent scholar, a man of integrity and of irreproachable character. The Islamic Sharī'at law enjoins that the parties shall be treated equally; that the burden of proof lies on the plaintiff or the complainant; and in case of the absence of evidence the accused (or respondent) was to swear. The Islamic law, however, allowed compromise in all cases, between the parties. The judge according to the same law must be male, adult, Muslim, free citizen and not disabled by any

physical or mental infirmity.[32] It was also incumbent on the judge that he should have a sufficient knowledge of the Muslim jurisprudence.

Jails and prisons

There was no arrangement for the detention of the prisoners in the beginning, as the cases were decided instantaneously. But later due to the multiplicity and complicated nature of litigations need was felt for judicial lock-ups and jails. Amīr 'Ambasah was the first Arab governor who built a jail in Sind. It is said that a portion of the temple of al-Daybul was used for the said purpose.[33] This new jail served as the central prison for the whole province of Sind during the rule of the governors. Later, however, a number of jails were founded and built throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah.

Treatment of the non-Muslims

The Arabs granted greater measure of tolerance to the people of Sind, who were mainly Buddhists and were averse to bloodshed. The Hindūs were but a few and these were mainly nobles, literateurs and soldiers. Chach, the Brahman ruler of Sind, had been a scribe, before he was elevated to the post of the minister under the Buddhist ruler of Rā'i dynasty. The Arabs adhered to the age-long rules based on customs and traditions, with regard to the treatment of the non-Muslims. The law prevalent in Sind was based on the code of Manū, in which certain disabilities were imposed on the low caste people. According to those indigenous rules, the Chandellas (or Chandals) were not allowed to live in towns, and prohibited from acquiring wealth. Their main wealth according to the same law were to be the asses and dogs and also the ornaments made of iron and stone. The first Brahman ruler of Sind Chach imposed these restrictions on some Buddhist tribes who belonged to the low caste tribes, as enunciated in the code of Manū. These were Channā, Sahitā, Samma, Lohāna and also the tribes of Jatt and Med, the nomadic tribes of Thar and eastern Balūchistān region. The Brahman rulers further promulgated an ordinance that whenever the representative of the above tribes happened to meet the governor, they should bring a

dog with them, as a sign of humility.[34] Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim did not remove these disabilities from the Buddhist tribes who were subjected to some other obligations in addition to the restrictions imposed on them by the Hindū rulers of Sind. They were required to furnish guides to the Arab soldiers and generals in conducting military operation against the refractory natives and also to travellers and tradesmen in various parts of Arab dominions. The natives were also required to entertain the Arab travellers for three days as a guest,[35] which generally resulted in the dishonour of the host. There is, however, no reference to conversion of either the Buddhist or Hindū tribes to the religion of Islam, excepting in the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Umavī, the fifth ruler of the Hakamite branch of the Umayyads. But that was a temporary phase and the people reverted to the faith of their forefathers again on account of discouragement from the Arab government. The Umayyad governors did not give special consideration to the conversion of the natives, who were required to pay the poll tax (i.e. Jizyah) under all circumstances. The new Muslims were granted secondary position as 'Mawālī' or the client and they were required to pay all the taxes due from the non-Muslims throughout the period of Umayyad regime, in all the conquered territories. The Umayyads further imposed 'child tax' on the Berbers of north Africa and some Turkish tribes of central Asia in spite of protests and these exactions finally resulted in the discontentment among the new Muslims, which finally brought abrupt collapse of the Umayyad dynasty and the Arab empire. The discrimination against the new Muslims of non-Arab origin continued unabated throughout the early 'Abbāsid period till the accession of Māmūn al-Rashid, when the power and supremacy of the Arabs crumbled down and independent dynasties of non-Arab origin rose to power in the body politics of Islām.

The Arabs in Sind were content with the payment of Jizyah by the non-Muslims, who were allowed to carry on with their respective professions, without any hindrance. It appears that the internal trade and commerce was chiefly controlled by the natives who were also left in the undisturbed posses-

sion of their lands. The non-Muslims of al-Daybul received ample encouragement from the government for hoarding the articles of merchandise and selling them at high prices when these became scanty and rare.[36] The black-marketing of goods was practised openly, most probably with the concurrence of the Arab government officials. This also shows that the Arab rulers held little consideration for the hardship of the people and their main concern was to obtain a proportionate share from the business community by fleecing the people.

Economic development

The Arabs took interest in the economic development of the country during the later period of their rule in Sind. They by their regular contacts with the Arab world, gave rise to a lucrative system of trade beween Sind and West Asia. They also introduced new methods of farming and irrigation in this part of the world, resulting in cultivation of various crops on large scale. Gardening was also encouraged and different varieties of fruits and vegetables were sown in all parts of the valley. These steps resulted in the encouragement and progress of various industries, which although on small scale, were of great benefit to the populace.

Agricultural reforms

The people of Sind were greatly benefited by the rule of the Arabs who introduced new methods of irrigation and farming in the Indus Valley. The digging of numerous wells and spreading a network of canals, gave impetus to agriculture which was in the hands of the locals. The land owners were subjected to heavy indemnities for leaving their arable land fallow. Since the land tax was collected on the total area of the holding, every inch of the land was cultivated, which resulted in plentiful returns. During the Arab rule, the country of Sind was watered by two rivers, Indus and Hākro, the bed of the latter has now completely dried up. Hākro may have either been a branch of Sutlej or the river itself which joined the Indus, some where near Aror and modern Shahdādpur. A branch of this river having separated itself at some distance to the south of al-Mansūrah, emptied itself in the Rann of Cutch. The old

bed of this river is still found at many places throughout the eastern regions of Sind, which is now mainly a desert.

The Arab geographers who visited Indus Valley during this period speak highly of the fertility of the land and report that the whole valley was covered with green fields, gardens and trees.[37] Apart from the cultivation of cereals, sugar-cane was also grown in large quantities. The gardens produced mango, orange, malta, and lemon in such abundance that a great quantity of these could be had on very low price.[38] The Arabs introduced date palms in Sind of which many a garden are found all over the valley. The agricultural commodities exported from Sind during the Arab period included sugar, costus, indigo, rice, coconut, mango, lemon and cotton. The Arabs due to their contacts with Sind introduced into the Arab world some new plants for cultivation which achieved great success. Rice, tamarind, ginger and pan were sown in large areas. Cotton was already introduced into Irāq by the Assyrian emperor Sinnachrib in the sixth century B. C. and it became known as the "wool bearing tree."[39]

The increase in agriculture made Sind one of the most fertile regions of the Muslim world and resulted in the well-being of its people. The commodities of daily use were cheap and handy and the people on the whole content and happy. This may have been spoken about the Arab settlers, who controlled both the trade and agriculture of Sind. The condition of masses who were mainly non-Muslims may not have been so deplorable as it would appear from the accounts of al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī.

He reports that one dirham of silver could fetch thirty maunds of food stuff in open market[40] and this assertion gives a general view of the prosperity of Sind during the Arab rule.

Commercial goods

The Arabs by their industrious habits and acumen for learning made serious attempts to utilize the natural resources of Sind for the general benefit of its people. Due to extensive cultivation of sugar-cane, manufacture of sugar became the chief industry of the province. Sugar is also said to have been extrac-

ted from dates and different varieties of sweets were prepared from them.[41] Due to continuous warfare with Jatts and Meds, the savage tribes on the frontiers of Sind, arms were manufactured locally. The town of al-Daybul was famous for the manufacture of swords of finest specimen, renowned for sharpness and durability. The cotton produce gave rise to the cloth industry in Sind, and resulted in the manufacture of different varieties of indigenous cloth in Sind. The port of al-Daybul was also famous for the manufacture of muslin cloth, which was exported to the Arab world in large quantities. Leather industry also flourished greatly and some of the best varieties of shoes were manufactured. The shoes manufactured at al-Mansūrah were regarded as rarities at Baghdād and other centres of the Muslim world, and their use was restricted only to nobles and highly placed persons.[46] Even bags and attachies made of leather were exported to the Arab world.

The Arabs introduced poultry farms in Sind where different varieties of hens and peacocks were reared. The industry became successful and lucrative, resulting in the export of hens to the west in large numbers. Such was the state of cheapness that ten to twenty hens could be purchased for one dirham. Separate farms were established for different varieties of cattle. The buffaloes of Sind were renowned in the Arab world for milk and fertility. The two-humped camels which originally belonged to Sind, were exported to Irān and Central Asia where these were known as Bukhātī.

Weaving industry was common in Sind and almost every house in the province had a spinning wheel. This industry was later introduced by the Arabs in west Asia and thence to Europe through Spain. The Arabs called it Nā'ūrah and the same in Spanish vocabulary became known as Nuriya. The province of Sind was famous for the manufacture of wooden boxes which were used for the export of costus. The boxes were generally of big size and used to contain 800 maunds of costus each.[43] Another great industry which flourished in Sind during the same period was that of copper and copper goods. There were special bazars of the copper goods in va-

rious towns and also those of ivory goods, which were made and fashioned with great accuracy and skill.

Commercial activities

Trade and commerce was the principal occupation of the Arab settlers in Sind, but this does not mean that the non-Muslims were completely excluded from the commercial profession. The internal trade of al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind, was chiefly controlled by the non-Muslim locals as would appear from the accounts of the Arab geographers. The province of Sind was connected with the Muslim empire by two important land routes, one of which ran through the coastal regions of Makran and Fārs and the other through Seistān, by way of Budha and Multān. Regular caravans were engaged in trade of almost every commodity produced in Sind and elsewhere in the vast empire. The commerce although a lucrative profession, was hazardous and required every precaution for the safe and effectual delivery of the goods to their respective destinations. These routes passed through one of the most dangerous areas of the world, being inhabited by fierce and barbaric tribes known as Jatt and Med.[44] These tribes which now call themselves as Balūchīs, were thieves and committed acts of robbery on the caravans and individual businessmen who happened to pass through the region now known as Balūchistān. The caravans were, therefore, guarded by armed soldiers employed by the owners of the merchandise and the tradesmen collectively.

The third and safer route frequented by the Arab tradesmen was the sea route, which connected Omān, Basrah, Yaman and other regions of the Arab world with al-Daybul, Baroach, Thānā, Cambay and other ports of the western coast of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The sphere of this route was large and extensive and extended to Ceylon, Karomandal, Indies and China. Arabs were fully conversant with this route which was frequented by their vessels, long before the advent of Islam. Al-Daybul was the chief market for cereals and other commodities, which were either grown or manufactured in Sind. Ships laden with the stuffs and other goods from China and perfumes and aromatics from India anchored at this port.[45] The merchants of al-Daybul purchased these commodities in bulk

and stored them in the godowns. These articles yielded large amounts of profits to the hoarders in the off season when these became rare.

The chief exports of Sind during the Arab period included among others, costus, fine cloth, sugar, grain, and poultry products. The forest produce such as honey, lac, gum, bamboo and even peacocks were exported to the Arab world. The Arabs seem to have had a great liking for the peacock's flesh which was considered to be a rare dish on the tables of Arab nobility. In return for these commodities the Arabs imported horses, crystal glass, lamps, aromatics, perfumes and hyna. The horse of the finest Arab breed was regarded as an article of luxury in Sind.

Foreign exchange

The agricultural commodities and the commercial goods of Sind were in great demand in the Arab world and earned for the country a great amount of foreign exchange in medieval times. Apart from the local currency minted at al-Mansūrah, some other coins known as Ṭāṭrī and Qāhiriyāt were also in use as legal currency throughout the Arab kingdom of Sind. The Ṭāṭrī and Qāhrī coins resembled the British pound and the American dollar of the present times and due to their long use, they had become the principal medium of exchange in all lands from Egypt to Indonesia and China. According to some writers the Ṭāṭrī in reality was the Ṭahirī coin minted in Khurāsān by the rulers of Ṭahirī dynasty; while others hold that it was as Indonesian coin minted at Jāvā, which appears to be somewhat unreliable. The Qāhirī coin which was of Fatmid currency was introduced into Sind by the Qarmathian heretics who were affiliated in their sympathies to the Fātmid rulers of Egypt. Some writers have given the name Qandhariyat (i.e. of Qandhār) to the Qāhirī coins and these were equivalent to five dirhams of the local currency. The Ṭāṭrī coin on the other hand weighed equal to one and half of the home coin minted at al-Mānsūrah.[46] Ibn Hauqal on the other hand asserts that the Tāhiri coin was $1\frac{1}{4}$ of al-Mansūrah's coin[47] and it was made of pure gold. The Ṭāṭrī and the Qāhirī coins continued to be the principal medium of exchange in Sind and

Arab world down to twelfth century A.C. as reported by al-Idrīsī,[48] the globe trotter.

The economic development of Sind could be well-estimated from the amount of annual remittance to the central treasury, during the 'Abbāsid caliphate. Sind and its adjuncts paid the following revenues to the central government:-

1.	Cash	110,00,000 dirhams
2.	Food stuffs ..	10,00,000 Kayrakhi
3.	Elephants	3
4.	Hashshi robes ..	2000 pieces
5.	Waist wrappers.. ..	4000
6.	Indian incense	150 maunds
7.	Other kinds of incense or aloe wood	150 maunds
8.	Sandels (shoes)	2000 pairs[49]

This report attests to the development made by the Arabs in various directions including agriculture and industries. The income later dwindled due to the establishment of the independent Arab kingdoms in the Indus Valley. The Habbārids stopped the tribute but occasionally flattered the puppet caliphs by sending them gifts and rarities.

The Arab coins of Sind

Different varietess of coins were in use in Sind during the Arab period, of which the coins minted at al-Mansūrah were frequently used. The other coins were, the Tāhrī coins, which were also known as Ṭāṭrī coins and were brought by the tradesmen for using as a medium of exchange in the Indus Valley. The Qāhrī coins on the other hand might have been introduced in Sind as a result of the influence of the Ismā'ilī Qarmathians, who overran the Valley during the later 'Abbāsid period. A few coins have so far come to light and these too due to the efforts of Mr. Bellasis, who excavated the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro in 1854. The following coins were unearthed:-

The coins of the Habbarid rulers

1. **Silver coin** size $1\frac{1}{2}$, weight 9 grains. ('Umar ibn 'Abdullāh)

Obverse: Legend arranged in five lines. بالله
محمد
رسول
الله
عمر

Marginal lines plain or dotted, complete the piece
Reverse: Kufic legends in three lines بالله
بنو عمريه ابو
منذر

2. **Silver coin** size 2, weight 8.4 grains. (ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar).

Obverse: لا اله الاالله وحده لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله الامير عبدالله

Reverse: بالله ولى
عبدالله و ملک[50]

3. **Copper Coin of ʿAbdullah.** size $3\frac{1}{2}$, weight 18 grains. Obverse: Central device, the conventional four point star like this ✦ around which in a circular scroll may be read لا اله الاالله وحده لاشريك له

Reverse: Central device composed of the name of the two portions عبد and الله being crossed at right angles so as to form Tughra or monogramic imitation of the outline of the star with four points of the obverse device. The marginal legend is arrangeed in the form of square and consists of the words: محمد رسول الله الامير

Silver coin of ʿAbdullah.

Obverse: محمد
رسول الله
عبدالله

Reverse: بالله ولى
عبدالله
و ملک

5. **Copper coin of Muhammad,** size 3.
Obverse: Absolutely blank.
Reverse: بالله محمد

6. **Silver coin of Ahmad.**
Obverse: لاالهالا
الله وحده
لاشريک له
Reverse: الامير احمد

7. Copper coin bearing similar legends, as in coin No. 2, with the only omission of al-Amir الامير which was the title held by the rulers of al-Mansūrah.

It appears that the al-Mansūrah mint had started working after the death of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī, the founder of the Arab dynasty of al-Mansūrah. Although he was an independent ruler yet he did not mint his own coins and this is attested to from the historical record of the events. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī as the story goes acted as a governor under the 'Abbāsid caliphs and exercised semi-independent powers in Sind. None of his coins have come to light from the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro or from Bhambhor, the only site which has drawn the attention of the Archaeological department of Pakistan. Mr. J. Burgess has wrongly ascribed coin No. 1 to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Habbārī, as it really belongs to his grandson 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh who was also known by the title Abu al-Mundhir as reported by al-Mas'ūdī.[51]

Coin No, 2 belongs to 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-Habbārī, the son and successor of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who appears to have been an independent ruler of Sind, offering nominal allegiance to the 'Abbāsid caliphs. He was the first to mint his own coins at al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital. Coins No. 3 and 4 also belong to the rule of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar.

Coin No. 5 is that of Muhammad ibn 'Umar, perhaps the eldest son of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh al-Habbārī, whom al-Mas'ūdī had seen in the court of al-Mansūrah. Another son of 'Umar, he names Ahmad whose coin has also been unearthed from the ruins of al-Mansūrah. It appears that both

Muhammad and Ahmad succeeded each other after the death of their father in succession.

Apart from these coins the site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro has emitted a number of coins dating back to the rule of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the usurper who overran Sind shortly before the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid rule in al-ʿIrāq. One of these coins is of copper and weighs 33 grains and its size is 6 of the mionnets scale. Since the year of the mint is not shown it can be fairly concluded that the coin belonged to the ʿAbbāsid period and was minted at al-Mansūrah under the orders of Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr, the second ruler of the ʿAbbāsid family. Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī who reigned only for four years does not seem to have minted coins and as such the coins are wrongly ascribed to him. The coin contains the following inscription:-[52]

Obverse:

لا الـه الا الله وحده لا شريك لـه

Margin: illegible.

Reverse:

محمد رسول الله

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب من با المنصوره مما امربه منصور

(In the name of God, this was minted at al-Mansūrah under the orders of Mansūr).

Three coins of Abū Muslim Khurāsānī (ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muslim) have also been found from the said ruins and made addition to Mr. Bellasis's collection. One of these coins bears the year of the mint as A.H. 133/751 A.C. This shows that Abū Muslim might have been invested with powers to hold Sind, on behalf of the ʿAbbāsids, immediately after the battle of Zāb, fought in A.C. 132/749-50 A.C.

Notes and References

1. Islam does not recognise any other alternative but conversion to the true faith or extermination. It appears that the rigidity of the Qurānic regulation was relaxed and the concession of the payment of Jizyah was extended to the Hindūs, Buddhists and the Zoroastrians.
2. The Shamanis were allowed to retain the governorship of the towns in Sind after the Arab conquest. Vide Chachnāmah, pp. 131, 132.
3. Chachnāmah, p. 235. His full name was Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb ibn Tā'ī ibn Muhammad ibn Sha'bān ibn 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī.
4. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 257; Chachnāmah, p. 100.
5. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), pp. 177,178; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 325.
6. Islamic Culture, Vol. I, p. 189.
7. Ibid, p. 200.
8. Chachnāmah, p. 172.
9. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 442.
10. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
11. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 283.
12. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 144; Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik al-Istakhrī), p. 176; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
13. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 449; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 283; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 67.
14. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
15. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 144.
16. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 180, Sūat al-Arḍ, pp. 324, 326.
17. Short History of Saracens, p. 283.
18. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, p. 174.
19. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p. 14.
20. Islamic Culture, Vol. XIII, p. 125.
21. Arab Administration, p. 196.
22. Ibid, p. 24.
23. Ibid, p. 23.

24. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 447. These events have also been recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, vide Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 282.
25. Arab Administration, p. 123.
26. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 445.
27. Chachnāmah, p. 240.
28. 'Ushūr was levied at the rate of 1/10 of the value of the merchandise or the commercial goods.
29. Chachnāmah, p. 235.
30. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
31. Islamic Culture, Vol. XVII, p. 125.
32. Arab Administration, p. 352.
33. Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 153.
34. Chachnāmah, p. 215.
35. Chachnāmah, p. 215; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 258.
36. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 29.
37. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
38. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
39. Ancient Times (Breasted), p. 160.
40. Ahsan al-Taqāsim, p. 480.
41. The sweets were known as Fanidh (فانيذ), Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 177.
42. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 353.
43. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (Ibn Khardazbeh), pp. 57, 58.
44. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 180; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 326.
45. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 29.
46. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p.173; Mu'jām al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 178.
47. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 321.
48. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 33.
49. Arab Administration, p. 200.
50. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 93.
51. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
52. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 91.

LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Development of Arabic literature; Poetry; Prose; Religious literature; Arabic Grammar and Numerals; Cultural activities; Agriculture; Industries; Trade and Commerce; Trade routes and distances; Animal husbandry; Dress; Customs and Manners; Arab Architecture in Sind.

Literary activities

The advent of the Arabs in Sind ushered in a new era in the development of the literary and cultural activities which served as a basis for the later Muslim culture of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. During the period of the Arab rule in Sind, the conquerors maintained close contact with Damascus, Baghdād, Cairo and other seats of the Muslim learning and consequently there was a flow of light which was destined to illuminate the whole sub-continent. Sind has the distinction of being the door of Islamic intrusion and as such it has ever since retained the name of Bāb al-Islām. The people of Sind not only absorbed and assimilated the dominant culture of the age but made additions to it by contributions which stand unique in the history of human civilization. Rich in the intellectual legacy, the country of Sind has made important additions to the knowledge of the human race in various branches of learning specially in the Arab sciences which reached culminating point of their development in the second century after Hijrah, due to the labour of the Arab scholars.

Eastern learning, more specifically of Indo-Pakistan received little encouragement from the Umayyads, who were more inclined to the Greek and Roman culture. Moreover the power of the Umayyads was not stabilized in Sind due to internal disorders. The people of Sind hated foreign rule and this is apparent from the uprisings which occurred in the valley after brief and short intervals. It was not until the establishment of the

'Abbāsid rule in al-'Irāq that some improvement was made and order was restored. The Arab tribes who had settled in Sind never reconciled themselves to their age-long jealousies, on account of their belonging to the two racial groups of the Muḍar and Himyar. The constant strife between these two factions during the later Umayyad period and the early 'Abbāsid period retarded greatly the cultivation and growth of the literary and cultural activities.

During the Umayyad rule the conquerors were not allowed to mix up with the conquered. The Arabs established their own colonies and settlements, and in the old towns separate quarters were specially reserved for them. The 'Abbāsid dynasty which was soon to follow was brought into power by the non-Arab Persians and Khurāsānians, who played a leading role in the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty. The international character of the 'Abbāsid state offered opportunities to both the Arabs and the non-Arabs to mix with each other. Frequent intercourse between the ruling class and the subject people brought closer understanding among them and contributed greatly to the development of learning and cultural activities.

The Arabs were unaccustomed to the arts of civilized life when they issued out from their desert home for the conqust of the world. The teachings of Prophet Muhammad had infused in them such an urge for the quest of knowledge, that they not only became the painstaking pupils of the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Persians and the Indians, but in due course of time they by their original thinking, became the main contributors to the development of the world civilization. Eastern learning more particularly of Indo-Pakistan origin received great impetus from the Buddhist family of the Barmakides who were at the helm of affairs during the first five 'Abbāsid caliphs. They by their generous patronage to men of letters spent large sums for the development of learning in the Arab world and as such, there was an exchange of learned men between Baghdād and the provincial towns of the Muslim world. The province of Sind too sent a deputation of scholars and learned men

who took with themselves precious works of Indo-Pakistan origin, on philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, astrology, politics and various other subjects, resulting in startling inventions in the Arab world.

Development of Arabic literature

Sind has played a leading role in the development and progress of Arabic literature and has produced some of the leading figures in the Arab world in various departments of learning, such as Arabic poetry, prose, language, script, from the earliest period of the Arab occupation of Sind. The Arab governors and after them the independent Arab rulers, encouraged and patronised the local and foreign scholars, in their efforts towards development and progress of Arabic literature. The exchange of scholars, poets, physicians, scientists and the translation of the various works of Indo-Pakistan origin into Arabic, was itself a great contribution of Sind to the Arabic literature. To this may be added the works of the religious scholars and divines who made their name in Sind and the Arab west, with regard to their knowledge and learning.

Arabic poetry

The first century of Islam was not favourable to the development and progress of literature. The Arabs who were busy with the work of conquest, were consequently involved in civil war, which greatly taxed their energies and time, leaving little scope for literary developments. During the Umayyad period, the old pagan spirit of the Arabism revived with such a great force that the teachings of Islam could hardly exert any influence on the mind of the Arab people. While the Prophet condemned those poets who opposed his mission and were given to indecency and vulgarity, he appreciated and patronised those who employed their talent in the right direction for the glory of Islām. The conquests during the early Khilāfat and in the period of the Umayyads resulted in the influx of enormous wealth into almost every city of the Arab world, resulting in prosperous living and luxury. The important and sacred cities of Mecca and Madīna in al-Hijāz, too received their proportionate share in the loot and consequently a tendency

of luxurious living and gaiety, developed among even the pious companions of Prophet Muhammad. Music, singing and poetry apart from acts of moral turpitude, became the order of the day. Abū Dhar Ghaffārī, a companion of the Prophet protested against these developments as early as the reign of Caliph 'Uthmān, but due to the power of the Umayyad aristocracy he was banished to Tā'if. The Umayyad period is, therefore, regarded as the inaugural period of the Arabic literature, in which both poetry and prose fostered exceedingly. Among the eminent poets of the Umayyad period may be mentioned, 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, the son of a Meccan merchant who spent the best part of his life in pursuit of dames, who inspired him to sing wonderful songs. His poems were so seducive that the pious Muslims considered their recitation and hearing as a heinous sin. Even men like 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, a famous authority on Qurān and Hadīth, is said to have been enchanted by the poems of Ibn Abī Rabī'ah. He had remembered by heart some of the erotic verses which the poet had once recited to him.[1]

The other poets of the same period who are conspicuous for their excellence, were al-Akhtal, al-Farzdak and Jarīr. Al-Farzdak and Jarīr were rivals and they engaged in public scolding contest for many years, branding each other by indecent and foul words. The oldest of the trio Ghiyāth ibn Ghawīth well-known as al-Akhtal, was a christian of Banū Taghlab tribe, which had settled in Mesopotamia. He did not become a Muslim in spite of a generous pension often thousand dirhams offered to him, by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, for the simple reason that christianity granted him licence to drink as often as he pleased. But al-Akhtal was a careless creature and he attached little importance to religion. This can be illustrated by an example that on one occasion, seeing a bishop to pass (in a street of Damascus) he cried to his wife who was then pregnant, "Run after him and touch his robe". The woman succeeded in touching the tail of the bishop's ass, but al-Akhtal consoled her with the remark, "He and the tail of the ass, there is no difference".[2]

Al-Akhtal seems to have flourished in the reign of Yazīd I, who in order to avenge the insult from the Ansārs of Madīna asked him to brand the Ansārs which he did in a large poem, of which the concluding lines were:-[3]

ذهبت قريش بالمكارم والعلا واللوم تحت عمائم الانصار

(The Quraysh have borne away all the honour and glory. And baseness alone is beneath the turbans of the Ansārs). In the dual between al-Farzdak and Jarīr, his sympathies were with the former, who acknowledged the supremacy of al-Akhtal in panegyric, satire and erotic poetry. The second great poet of the Umayyad period al-Farzdak (Ḥammām ibn Ghālib) belonged to the tribe of Banū Tamīm and was born at Baṣrah. His father and grand father had a reputation for liberality and honour, but these qualities were rapidly growing obsolete. His respect for his father's memory and his devotion to Caliph 'Alī and his family were proverbial. He did not conceal his convictions from even the Umayyad caliphs as he is reported to have recited a glowing panegyric on Zayn al-'Ābīdīn in the presence of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. In order to arouse the feelings of the people of al-'Irāq, he called on them to avenge the murder of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī at Karbalā:-[4]

فان انتم لم تثار والابن خيركم فالقو العلاح وا غزلوا بالمغازل

(If ye avenge him not, the son of the best of you; then fling the weapons away and naught but the spindle ply).

The last of the trio Abū Hazrā Jarīr ibn 'Attiya was a court poet of al-Hajjāj, who patronised him for eulogising him in extravagant terms. He also composed verses in praise of the ruling caliph 'Abd al-Malik. According to some critics he was the greatest and abler than Farzdak whom he used to satirize. Verses are of four kinds; boasting, laudatory, satirical and amatory and Jarīr excelled in all of them.[5]

The taste for poetry among the Arabs was not confined to the literary circles, but was diffused throughout the whole nation. It was cultivated by princes, politicians, soldiers and even by women and the love for poetry was largely of popular origin. In Sind Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was the first to make

a beginning in the development and progress of Arabic poetry. The poems recited by him about his bravery, acts of generosity and helplessness, have been recorded and preserved in the contemporary sources of the medieval age. Muhammad had conquered the whole valley up to Multān within a brief period of three years and had made preparations for an attack on the kingdom of Qanūj. With this aim he had despatched an army under the command of Abū Hakīm Shaybānī, but due to the change of the caliph at the centre, he was recalled and tortured to death. He himself laments his own inglorious end in these words:-[6]

اضاعونی و ای فتی اضاعوا لیوم کریهة و سداد ثغر

They lost me and what a conqueror they lost. For a day of adversity and frontier defence).

He also speaks of his helplessness in the dungeon of Wāsit, where he was imprisoned by Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, the 'Āmil of al-'Irāq. Even in this gloomy hour he did not forget asserting his accomplishments in Persia where he had killed many a brave soldier:-

فلئن ثویت بواسط و بارضها رهن الحدید مکبلا مغلولا
فلرب فتیه فارس قد رعتها ولرب قرن قد ترکت قتیلا

(Though I am imprisoned at Wāsit and its land in bonds of iron, twisted hand, yet many a youth of Persia I have fought and many a brave men I have left slain).

Again he says:-[7]

لو کنت اجمعت القرار لوطئت الساث اعددت للوغی و ذکور
وما دخلت خیل السکاسک ارضنا وما کان من عک علی امیر
وما کنت العبد المزوني تابعاً فبالک دهر بالکرام غیور

(It was easy, had I but made a stand, for me to mount; mares as well as horses wereready for battle. And the horsemen of Sakāsak could not have entered our land. There would not have been the Akkite to rule over me. I would not have been at the mercy of the liveried slave. Alas for thee, O time, careless of the noble).

An addition of six more lines is shown in the Mu'jam of al-Marzubānī, which may be suffixed to the above six lines:-[8]

انسي بنو مروان سمعي وطاعتي والي علي ما فاتني لصبور
فتحت لهم مابين سابور و بالقنا الي الهند منهم زاحف و مغير
فتحت لهم مابين جرجان بالقنا الي الصين القى سرة و اغير

(Has Banu Marwan forgotten my fidelity, although I am content with the usurption of my rights. For them I had conquered the land between Sābūr and Hind with lances. For them too I captured the regions between China and Jurjān).

The end of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was tragic in the extreme. He was a man of amiable habits and tolerant views and was loved alike by friend and foe. The people of Kīraj, it is said, had fashioned an effigy of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim in commemoration of his good deeds and the tolerance he had shown to the conquered people. Hamzah ibn Bā'idh al-Hanafī, a contemporary poet sang the virtues of Muhammad al-Thaqafī, in the following praiseworthy lines:-

ان المروة والسماحة والندي لمحمد بن قاسم بن محمد
ساس الجيوش لسبع عشرة حجة يا قرب ذلك سود دامن مولد
ساس الجيوش لسبع عشرة حجة والداته عن ذلك في اشغال

(Gratitude, forgiveness and generosity were the virtues of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muhammad. He commanded armies at the age of seventeen. How near the task was to his birth. He commanded armies at the age of seventeen, when the men of the same age were busy with other matters).

The exploits of the Arabs in Sind have been recorded by the contemporary poets and the story of the conquest of Sind may be summed up in the following two lines:-[9]

نحن قتلنا داهرا و دوهرا والخيل تردي منسرا فمنسرا

(We, (it were who), slew Dāhir and Dūhar. The cavalry trotting squadron by squadron).

Qābil ibn Hāshim, a soldier who fought at the battle of Rāwar against Rājā Dāhir the ruler of Sind, recited the following Rajz in the thick of fighting:-

الا فاصبحانی قبل وقعة داهر و قبل منایا قد غدون بواکر
و قبل غد یالهف نفسی علی غد اذا ماغدا صحبی و لست بباکر

(Friends, give me a full cup (of water) lest the battle with Dāhir may begin. Make haste, for the cup of death has made itself ready for me (to drink). All the friends would assemble in the cup feast tomorrow. Do not wait for me, friends, for I will not be available).

After the fall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, he was followed by a number of Arab governors with whom came many poets to Sind, but they were mainly soldiers. The accomplishments of these men have been recorded by the poets of the Arab world, such as Ibn Juwayrah, Jarīr, al-Farzdak, Hamzah al-Hanafī and many others. Specimen of Hamzah's poems have been quoted earlier. Concerning the generosity of Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Marī, a governor of Sind, the poet Jarīr says:-

اصبح زوار الجنید و صحبه یحیون صلت الوجه جما مواهبه

(The guests and friends of Junayd came with smiling faces brightened by his gifts).

Ibn Juwayrah on the other hand eulogises him in the following lines:-

لو کان یقعد فوق الشمس من کرم قوم باحسابهم اومجدهم قعدوا
یحسدون علی ماکان من کرم لا ینزع الله منهم ماله حسدوا

(Were it possible to sit above the sun for generosity, some would sit for their virtues and nobility. They are envied for their nobility. May God never refuse them His bounties which they desire).

Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī was one of the most generous among the Arab governors of Sind. He found eighteen crore dirhams (180 million dirhams) in the provincial treasury of Sind, which he made quick work of. A youth of Banū Yarbū' by name Khunays had accompanied him in the army as far as al-Hind. This young man's mother who belonged to the tribe of Banu Tay, went to al-Farzdak, asking him to write to Tamīm

to send her son back, and invoking the grave of his father Ghālib. Al-Farzdak wrote to Tamīm these verses:-[10]

اتتني فعاذت يا تميم بغالب	و بالحضرة السافي عليها ترابها
فهب لي خنسيا و اتخذ فيه منه	لينحوبه ام ما يسوغ شرابها
تميم بن زيد لا تكونن حاجتي	بظهر ولا يجفى عليك جوابها
فلا تكثر الترداد فيها فانني	ملول لحاجات بطى طلابها

(O Tamīm, a woman came to me asking the name of Ghālib and his dust covered grave. So give me Khunays and win thereby my gratitude for the love of a mother whose drink is not swallowed in comfort. Tamīm ibn Zayd, put not off my request. And be not averse to answer her. Delay not what I ask you for because I grow impatient when men delay in gratifying me).

The Arabs of Sind maintained social, commercial and cultural contacts with not only the seat of the caliphs but also with other towns of the Muslim world. The exchange of the poets, Muhaddiths, litterateurs, artisans, soldiers and other people brought closer understanding between the conquerors and the conquered and helped greatly in the development and progress of the cultural and literary activities. Poets of Sindhī origin have made a tremendous display of their talent and ability in the Arab world. The names of Abū 'Aṭā al-Sindī and Abū Dila' al-Sindī have been immortalized in the Arabic literature for spontaneity and eloquence.

Abu 'Ata al-Sindi

Aflah ibn Yasār as was his original name, Abū 'Atā was born and brought up at al-Kūfah in al-'Irāq. His father Yasār is reported to have come from Sind as a slave. He was a panegyrist of the court of the Umayyads and fought for them both with pen and the sword. He had seen the downfall of the Umayyads and the rise of the 'Abbāsids who never patronised his learning. He was a client of Banū Asad, from whom he purchased his freedom by paying four thousand dirhams lent to him by a friend patron Al-Hurr ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qarshī, for whom he composed the following verses:-[11]

اتيتک لامن قربة" هـی بنینا ولا نعمة" قـد متها استتیمها
ولکن مع الراجین ان کفت موردا الیه بغاة الدین تهفو قلوبها
اغثني بسجل من نداک یکفنی وقاک الردی مردالرجال وثیبها
تسمی ابن عبدالله حرا کوصفه و ذاک العلی یعني بها من یعیبها

(I came to you not for that relation which exists between us, nor for the gift you bestowed on me and I accepted. But I came with an expectation that a religious inspiration may arise in your heart. Help me with an ample gift that would not only be sufficient for me, but may save you from the attack of the evil persons. You are named Ibn 'Abdullah the noble, and this is such a great name that nothing will be done to you, even if people may find fault with you).

Prolific as a poet Abū 'Atā ranks among the foremost literary figures of the Arabic literature. His poetic talent was admired by men like Nasr ibn Sayyār and Hammād al-Rāwiyah, the latter being an authority on pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. When 'Abbāsids came to power in al-'Irāq, he eulogized them in these words:-

ان الخیار من البویه هاشم و بنو امیه ارذل الاشـرار
و بنو امیه عودهم من خزوع و لهاشم في المجه عودنضار
اما الدعاة" الی الجنان فهاشم و بنو امیه مـن دعاة" النار

(Banu Hāshim are the best (among men) and Banu Umayyali are the worst of the worst. The Banū Umayyah are like wood from the weak tree and Banū Hāshim from the green tree. The Hashmites call you to paradise and the missionaries of Banū Umayyah to fire).

But when he did not receive any reward from the 'Abbāsids, he satirized them in the following words:-[12]

بنو هاشم عودوا الي نخلاتکم فقد قام سعر التمر صاعاً بدرهم
فان قلتم رهـط النبي و قومه فان النصاری رهط عیسی بن مریم

(Banu Hashim, return to your oasis. The prices of the dates show an upward trend in cash. (There is no difference between you and the christians because) You call yourselves belonging to the tribe of the Prophet

in the same manner as the christians connect themselves with Christ).

Pages of al-Aghānī are full in praise of this great poet who is famous for spontaneity, vigour and eloquence. His poems are quoted in Diwān al-Hamāsah, Ibn Qutaybah's Sh'air wal-Shu'arā' and other anthologies of classical Arabic literature. The following poem which is the fifth poem of Diwān al-Hamāsah has immortalized Abū 'Atā and has gained proverbial eminence in the Arabic literature:-[13]

ذكر تكك والخطي يخطر بيننا وقد نهلت منا المثقفه السمر
فوالله ما ادرى واني لصادق اداءعرانى من حبابك ام سحر
فان كان سحرا فاعذريني على الهوى وان كان داء غيره فلك العذر

(I remembered you (even in the thick of battle) when the khatī spears were moving between us. Polished spears were ready to cause our bloodshed. By God, I am unaware of my condition. It is true. It is the sickness that has befallen me from your love or perhaps I am enchanted. If it is magic, then I deserve to be excused for my love. But if it is sickness, then whole blame is on you).

Abu Dila' al-Sindi

Next to Abū 'Atā comes the name of Abū Dila' al-Sindī, who was a client Mūsā al-Hādī, the fourth 'Abbāsid caliph. Some writers on the other hand hold that he was a client of the family of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, the brother of Caliph 'Alī. He was a traveller and an extemporaneous poet and used to bet on his poems to the tune of four thousand dirhams. He flourished at Baghdād during the reign of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and travelled extensively in the eastern lands, specially the land of his origin (i.e. Indo-Pakistan sub - continent), about which he has composed a long poem:-[14]

لقد انكر اصحابي وماذلك بالامثل اذا مادح الهند وسهم الهند في المقتل
لعمري انها ارض اذا القطر بها ينزل يعبر الدر والياقوت والدر لمن يعطل
فمنها المسك والكافور والعنبر والصندل واصناف الطيب يستعمل من يقفل
وانواع الافاديه وجوز الطيب والسنبل ومنها العاج والساج ومنها العود والصندل
وان التوتيا فيها كمثل الجبل الاطول ومنها الببر والنمر ومنها الفيل والدغفل

ومن الكوكب والببغاء والطاؤس والجوذل ومنها شجر الرابخ والساسم والفلفل
سيوف مالها مثل قد استغنت عن الصيقل وارماح اذا اهتزت اهتز بها الجحفل
فهل ينكر هذا الفضل الي الرجل الا خطل

A piece of lesson also appears in his poems for men who have lost faith in life and are fed up with the infidelity of this world:-[15]

يا نفس صبرا لا تهلكي ياسا قد فارق الناس قبلك الناسا
صبرا جميلا فلست اول من اورثه الظا عنون وسواسا

(O soul, have patience and do not lose hope. Verily it has separated itself from many people before you. Have patience, it is good, for you are not the first to have been hit by the pangs of wishful thinking or thoughts).

Kushajam ibn Shahak al-Sind

Kushājām ibn Shāhak was another distinguished figure in Arabic poetry and he too flourished at Baghdād during the reign of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was a descendant of al-Sindī ibn Shāhak and was one of the body guards of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. A specimen of his poem is given below:-[16]

والدهر حرب للحي وسلم ذي الوجه الوقاح و علي ان اسعى وليس علي ادراك النجاح

(Time itself is a battle for the tribe and peace is for the noble. My responsibility is to make efforts and I am not responsible for success, i.e. the success is in the hands of God).

Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Sindi

A theologian of Sind, by name Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Rijā, al-Sindī well known by the title of Abū Bakr, is also said to have made his debut in the Arab world in the Arabic poetry. The following couplet of his appears in Kitāb al-Ansāb of Ibn al-Wardī al-Qarshī:-[17]

من لم يكن لك منصفا في الود، فابغ به بديلا
و من استخف بنفسه زرعت له قال و قيلا

(If in friendship a man shows injustice to you, then think of a substitute. It is inferiority complex which makes a man speak much at table talk).

Arabic Prose

Arabic writing in the form of prose made its start during the reign of Mu'āwiyah, whose interest in the ancient history of the Arabs brought about the collection and compilation of various stories of the pre-Islamic Arabs. It is related that Mu'āwiyah was chiefly inspired by 'Ubayd ibn Sharī'a al-Jarhamī, the sole representative of Arab al-Bā'idah, who was granted a handsome pension for narrating age-long stories (of the pre-Islamic Arabs). These stories were mainly based on the data given by the Old Testament and also on the legends and myths, which came down from father to son from the earliest times. 'Ubayd is said to have compiled a number of works on history of ancient Arabians, of which Kitāb al-Mulūk wa Akhbār al-Madā'in was in wide circulation during al-Mas'ūdī's time.[18]

The writing of Arabic itself was confused and made up of consonants which could be understood by the Arabs only. Therefore, need was felt to form a systematic writing which could be read and understood by the conquered people. Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, the famous viceroy of al-'Iraq is, therefore, credited with having made improvement in the Arabic alphabet by promoting the use of vowel marks and of diacritical points placed above and below similar consonants. In spite of being dubbed as blood thirsty tyrant, al-Hājjaj was a cultured man and a great patron of the learned. Under his patronage, the Qurān and Hadīth were diligently studied both at al-Kūfah and Basrah, the important towns of al-'Irāq.

Among the early writers on the history and origin of the Arabs may be mentioned Wahb ibn Munabbih and Ka'b ibn Ahbār, the author of Kitāb al-Tījān fi Mulūk al-Himyar. This book was published with a supplement entitled Akhbār al-'Abīd at Hyderabad Deccan in A.H. 1347/1928 A.C.[19] The art of collecting stories and anecdotes about the ancient Kings of the Arabs gave rise to similar activities in respect of the Prophet and his immediate successors and in this way the science of Hadīth came into being. Biographies of the Prophet and his companions were written and consequently commentaries of Qurān and the interpretation of Hadīth and Sunnah followed.

Ibn Ishāq, Hishām ibn Muhammad, Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd compiled and wrote standard works on the life and wars of the Prophet.

The Arab interest centred on the Qurān and the first concern of theirs was to ensure its correct reading and pronunciation. Due to the different dialects used all over Arabia, no unanimity could be maintained and every one interpreted its meaning according to the dialect spoken by him. The collection of Qurān in book form was undertaken in the reign of Abū Bakr, when the need for this was felt due to the massacre of the Qurān readers in the battle of Yamāma. Caliph 'Uthmān was the first among the pious caliphs to undertake the codification of the word of God, after the death of Abu Bakr. He canonized the Madīnah codex and ordered all others to be destroyed. But the text of the Qurān was finally fixed during the 'Abbāsid period, by the two ministers Ibn Muqla and Ibn 'Isā with the aid of the learned Ibn Mujāhid. Ibn Mujāhid admitted seven readings of the Qurān which had developed because of the lack of vowel and diacritical marks as canonical. Notable among the early scholars on Qirat and the science of Hadīth were 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās and 'Abdullāh ibn Kathīr, both of whom flourished at Mecca. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās was a cousin of the Prophet and was known by the title al-Hibr 'the doctor' or al-Bahr 'the sea' by the Muslims. He is famous for the collection of notes and lectures on the interpretation of the Quran, judicial questions, pre-Islamic history and the Arabic poetry. He used to be consulted on the complicated problems of theology and the Muslim law and his fatwā (decision) was considered to be final. He has left two works, Isnād and Tafsīr which are the collections of explanations on Qurān and Muslim jurisprudence.[20] Ibn Kathīr on the other hand made a name in the Qirat (Qurān reading) with correct pronunciation. He flourished at Mecca and was a mawlā of 'Amr ibn 'Alqamā al-Kinānī. The system of Qurān reading by Ibn Kathīr was transmitted down by his two disciples, Kanbul (Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmī and al-Bāzzī (Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Farī) who died in A.H. 291 and A.H. 270 respectively.[21]

Religious literature occupied a prominent place in the development of Arabic prose in Sind. The first reference to it appears in the Chachnāmah, which speaks of a prayer formula collected from the Qurān and Hadīth and sent to Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, by al-Hajjāj the viceroy of al-'Irāq. The main object underlying this overture was to acquaint the young mind of the conqueror with the miracles of the religious writings, the recitation of which could turn the defeat into victory:-

اللهم انا نسئلک ذلک یاتک انت اللها لحي القیوم لاتاخذه سنة" ولانوم-
لک مافي السموات و مافي الارض من ذالذي یشفع عندک الا باذنک-
تعلم مابین ایدینا وما خلفنا ولا یحیط بشيء من علمک الابما شئت وسع
کرسیه السموات و الارض
ولا یودک حفظهما و انت العلي العظیم- فارزقنا مع ذلک شکر النعمتک
و معرفته لحقک و عملا برضوانک- والسلام علیک ورحمة" تهوبرکاته22

This is the only piece of religious literature copied out from the original work 'Fateh Nāmah' by the author of Chachnāmah during the sixth century after Hijrah. After the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, the valley was ruled by governors who followed one another in quick succession for a period of fifty five years. During this period there is no reference in any source to the cultural or literary activities in the Indus Valley. The Arab governors acted as tax collectors, who took more interest in the maraudering raids against the non-Muslim neighbours of northern Punjāb, Rajasthān, Gujrāt and Cutch. Nevertheless they founded mosques in various towns where the children of the Arab community acquired education in Qurān, Hadīth and the allied subjects. Since the conquerors refrained from mixing with the conquered, on account of the so-called Arab superiority, a close understanding between the two became impossible. The Arabs did not take interest in the culture of the non-Muslims in Sind and as such they did not patronise their learning. This practice continued till the appointment of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī as the governor of Sind. The Barmakides belonged to the Buddhist family (according to others to the family of fire-worshippers) of the priests of Nauvahār in Bactria (Balkh) and were famous for

pro-Indian leanings. 'Imrān took great interest in the learning of Indo-Pakistan origin and sent a deputation of Sindhī scholars to work at Bayt al-Hikmah in Baghdād. Their names, although changed, have been preserved in the historical and scientific works of medieval times and these were Mankā (Mānik), Bahlā (Bhala or Bhola), Kankā (Gangā), Rājā, Bajahra'i, Dhanotra'ī and others.[23] Among the works of Indian origin sent from Sind by 'Imrān may be mentioned the names of Surya-Sidhanta, Arya Bhat, Brahmaguptā, Khanda-Khāndek, Arthāshastra, Mahabharata and various others, the Arabic names of which appear in almost all the medical works of the medieval age. The translation of these works contributed greatly to the development of Arabic literature and brought the sciences of Indo-Pakistan origin to the notice of the whole civilized world. Already in the days of Naushirwan, the king of Persia, a Sindhian work, "Panchtantar" had been translated into Persian language, which the Barmakides got re-translated into Arabic. After its translation a new name was given to it "Kalilah wa Dimnah" and this is regarded as the first philosophic work which found its way into Arabic literature. Surya-Sidhanta was the next, which was translated into Arabic by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazārī in the Bayt al-Hikmah and the Arabs then called it 'Sind-Hind'. The translation of this work is responsible for the introduction of 'Ṣifr' or Zero in the Arab numerals which is considered to be of capital importance to the science of mathematics. According to some authorities, even the numerals from 1 to 9, were first introduced into the Arab world through Surya-Sidhanta and then transmitted to Europe through Spain. The Europeans called them 'Arab numerals' and the Arabs termed these numerals as 'Hurūf al-Ghubār' and al-Hisāb al-Hindī.[24] Important additions were made in the science of medicine on which books were written in prose. Pandit Gangā, a physician of Sind, who brought some of his works to Baghdād, got them translated into Arabic and these books adopted new names of Kitāb al-Namūzār fi al-A'mār, Kitāb Israr al-Mawālid, Kitāb Qarānāt al-Kabīr, Kitāb Qarānāt al-Saghīr, Kitāb fi al-Tibb and others.[25] Another Sindhī scholar Sankhal, had to his credit a book known Kitāb al-Mawālid al-Kabīr which gave a descriptive account of the

birth and its secrets, for men, animals, birds and even insects in details. His book along with the work of another physician Jodhar, also named Kitāb al-Mawālid was translated into Arabic at Baghdād. The third physician who distinguished himself in the Arab world was Nāyak, whose book dealt with the problems of life and their solution. Mahābhārat, the famous Hindu work which contains stories and legends of the great Indian war-fare and the subsequent events, was also translated into Arabic by Abū Sālih ibn Shu'ayb. Its second translation into Arabic was done by one Abū al Hasan 'Alī al Jabalī in A.H. 417, at the instance of the Buwayhids, an ultra Sheite dynasty which usurped power in al-'Irāq, due to the degeneracy and decline of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. The Indian works of Sind's origin made tremendous addition to the Arabic literature throughout the 'Abbāsid period and almost all works on various arts and sciences were added in due course of time.

Religious literature

Religious literature formed a great addition to the development and progress of Arabic literature in Sind. Commentaries were written on Qurān and Hadīth and text books were written and prescribed for various courses of studies. Mosques served as the centres where lectures were delivered, notes were taken down and opinions of the religious scholars were recorded. The Arabs had established centres for religious studies throughout Sind, of which the academies at al-Daybul, al-Mansūrah, and Kuzdār had acquired great fame in the Arab world. Among the prominent learned men of al-Mansūrah may be mentioned the name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Mansūrī.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Mansuri

Ahmad al-Mansūrī, as the name indicates, was born at al-Mansūrah in Sind. He received his education at Fārs under Abu al 'Abbās ibn al Athrām, as well as at Basrah, under Ahmad al Hizzānī commonly known as "Abū Rawq".[26] Ahmad held the post of Qādī of Arrājān in the province of Fārs and was recognised as an authority on the madhhab of Imām Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī al Isbahānī. Ahmad contributed many works in Arabic

language known as Kitāb al-Misbāh al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Hādī, Kitāb al-Nayyir and others.[27] Allāmah as-Sam'ānī however, charges him with fabricating Hadīth in order to form a halqa of his own.[28] Abū Ja'far al-Mansūri and Muhammad ibn Abī Shorāb, who flourished at al-Mansūrah are also regarded as traditionists of high repute and men well versed in the science of jurisprudence. They too wrote on Hadīth and Muslim law but those works have been lost and are not mentioned in the contemporary sources.

Abu Ja'far al-Mansuri

Abdullāh ibn Ja'far well known as Abū Ja'far al-Mansūrī was another distinguished traditionist who flourished at al-Mansūrah. He is reported to have been a man of dark complexion, but well versed in the science of Hadīth.[29] He had the distinction of being a teacher to the famous traditionist al-Hakim Nishāpurī, which suggests that he may have also left works on religious literature.

Muhammad ibn Abi Shorab

Muhammad ibn Abī Shorāb, the chief Qādī of al-Mansūrah, was one of the few learned men who flourished in Sind during the Habbārid rule of al-Mansūrah. He was known for his extensive knowledge on Muslim jurisprudence and as such he rendered valuable services to the rulers of al-Mansūrah, by advising them on all points of law referred to him for his opinion. Al-Mas'ūdī the famous Arab geographer relates that there existed family relationships between the ruler of the dynasty of Banū Habbār and the Qādī of al-Mansūrah. Muhammad ibn Abī Shorāb held the post of Qādī for a period of six months only and died in the year A.H. 280 (894 A.C.).[30]

The famous port of al-Daybul which was connected with the Arab world, by sea and land, became the home of some of the best known traditionists and scholars in religious literature. The names of some of these scholars are preserved in the works of Allāmah as-Sam'ānī, Ibn al-Wardī al-Qarshī, Yāqūt al-Hamavī and various other writers of the medieval age.

Abu Ja'far al-Daybuli

Muhammad ibn Abū Ja'far, known as Abū Ja'far al-Day-

bulī was a traditionist of high repute and a great teacher of his time on the science of Hadīth. After the completion of his education at al-Daybul, he proceeded to Mecca and then to Madīna,[31] and other centres of Islamic learning in quest of knowledge. He is reported to have studied the two famous works, Kitāb al-Tafsīr of Ibn 'Uyayna and Kitāb al-Birr wa al-Silā of Ibn Mubārak.[32] He wrote full commentaries of these works and thereby made valuable additions to the Arabic prose, apart from making precious contribution to the Muslim religious literature. Abū al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Farrās and Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mūqri transmitted Hadīth on his authority.[33]

Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Daybuli

Ahmad al-Daybulī was a disciple of Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī and is said to have undertaken tours of the Muslim lands in search of knowledge. He derived inspiration from 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān and Muhammad ibn Rayān at Damascus; from Hāfiz Ahmad ibn Umayr at Beirūt; from Abū 'Abd Rahman al-Makhal at Hārān; from Hāfiz al-Husayn ibn Ma'shar at Basrah; from Qādī al-Khalīfah at Baghdād; from Ja'far ibn Ahmad al-Fāryābī and various other traditionists of the time. His quest for knowledge took him to Mecca where he studied Hadīth under the guidance of his teacher Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī and also under Mu'addal-ibn Muhammad Janadī.[34] He ultimately settled at Nishāpur and joined the Khānqah of Hasan ibn Ya'qūb al-Haddād, and became an ascetic. He died at Nishāpur in A.H. 313 (926 A.C.) and was buried in the cemetry of al-Hīrah. In the last days of his life his only dress was a woollen garment, with which he was seen at lonely places.[35] His compilations on Hadīth are unfortunately lost, but references to these are found in the contemporary religious and literary sources.

Al-Hasan ibn Hamid al-Daybuli

Al-Hasan ibn Hāmid al-Daybulī was a trader by profession and as such he shifted to Baghdād, where he built a rest house after the name of his father entitled 'Khān-e-Hāmid'.[36] This inn became a place of shelter for the poor and

the indigent to whom free food and clothing were supplied. Al-Hasan's interest in the religious studies made 'Khān-e-Hāmid' a centre of theological studies and debates. Al-Hasan had learnt the science of Hadīth from the famous Baghdadite traditionists 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Mawsilī, Muhammad al-Naqqāsh and Abu 'Abd al-Tumārī.[37] He undertook a tour of Syria and also of Egypt, where he continued to lecture, till his death at Cairo in A.H. 407 (1017 A.C.).

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Daybulī was born and brought up at al-Daybul in Sind but later he migrated to al-Rayy and hence he was also known as al-Rāzī. He finally settled in the famous locality of Harbiyyah in Baghdād and as such he was also called by the name al-Harbī. Ahmad studied Hadīth at Baghdād from Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Fāryābī and at Kufah from Ahmad ibn Shārik.[38] He was also a great Qārī and left behind as his pupils some of the outstanding men of the time.

Khalf ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Originally a pupil of 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Daybulī, Khalf later went to Baghdād where he delivered popular lectures on Hadīth. Men like Abū Husayn al-Janadī of Baghdād and Ahmad ibn 'Umayr are reported to have been inspired by him and acquired much knowledge from him.[39] He also contributed written works on the science of Hadīth which are now competely lost.

Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Muhammad was a resident of al-Daybul in Sind, but he went to Baghdād, Basrah and Fāryāb to learn the science of Hadīth. He acquired the knowledge from and under the guidance of Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Fāryābī, Qādi Abū Khalīfah, 'Abdān ibn Muhammad, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Fāryābi and others. Muhammad later became a 'Warrāq' of Hadīth literature. Men like al-Hakīm of Nishāpur are reported to have learnt Hadīth and the art of Warrāq from him. He died in A.H. 346 (958 A.C.).[40]

Apart from the scholars who flourished in Sind, some other men of versatile genius who belonged to Sind and had migrated to the Arab world, made valuable contributions to the study of Hadīth literature in the medieval period. Among them may be mentioned the name of Imām Awzā'ī and Abū Ma'shar al-Sindī whose exquisite knowledge in Islamic studies surpassed even that of the great masters of the Arab world.

Shaykh al-Islam al-Awza'i

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Amr ibn Abī 'Amr, well known as al-Awzā'ī was a great jurist of his time and a Muhaddith of high repute. The people of Syria and Spain referred to him complicated problems on theology and jurisprudence for his opinion. He was recognised as the Imām of his time and the people of Syria and Spain followed his Madhhab.[41] Al-Awzā'ī wrote a number of works on Hadīth and jurisprudence of which Kitāb al-Sunan fi al-Fiqh, Kitāb al-Masā'il and Masnad al-Awzā'ī are the most important. He is said to have answered seventy thousand questions on Hadīth and is regarded as one of the four authorities on Prophetic traditions. The other three being Mālik ibn Ans, Sufyān al-Thaurī and Hammād ibn Zayd.

The origin of al-Awzā'ī is traced from Sind,[42] from where his parents came probably as slaves. Ibn Khalikān relates that he was a resident of Yaman[43] and then migrated to Syria where he fixed his residence at Awzā' a suburb of Damascus and hence al-Awzā'ī. In the Encyclopaedia of Islam, he is also shown to be a resident of Ba'albak, cited to be his birth place, where he was born in A.H. 88 (707 A.C.). He flourished at Damascus and finally at Beirūt where he died at an advanced age of seventy in A.H. 157.[44]

Abu Ma'shar al-Sindi

Abū Ma'shar Najīh ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī, was originally a slave or a son of slave from Sind and came under the clientage of Banū Makhzūm. He was later purchased by Umm-e-Mūsā, the daughter of the Abbāsid caliph al-Mansūr, who finally granted him his freedom.[45] A pupil of Hishām ibn 'Urwah (ibn Zubayr ibn Auwwam), Abū Ma'shar had the reputation of being a great Muhaddith and also an authority

on 'Maghāzī'. His knowledge on the subject has been recognized by men like Ahmad ibn Hambal,[46] who himself is the founder of one of the Madhhabs of the Sunnite Islam. Hailing from Sind, Abū Ma'shar was a resident of Madīna where he had acquired the knowledge of Hadīth and Maghāzī from Ibn 'Urwah. Later he migrated to Dār al-Salām on the invitation of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdī, who granted him a handsome pension of ten thousand dirhams.[47] It is related that Abū Ma'shar spent much of his time in the company of the Tāba'īn, which enabled him to remember a large number of Hadīths by heart. He compiled a treatise on the wars and the battles fought by Prophet Muhammad, which is not extant, but is referred to by eminent scholars who followed him soon after. He died at Baghdād in the month of Ramdan, A.H. 170/787 A.C.

He left two distinguished pupils, 'Alī ibn Mujāhid al-Rāzī al-Kindī and 'Alī ibn Muhammad al-Madanī, who are quoted as original sources on Hadīth, Maghāzī and the biography of Prophet Muhammad. Even men like Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi, the authors of Kitāb al-Sīrah and Tārīkh al-Maghāzī are reported to have been inspired by him.[48]

Abu Nasr al-Sindi

Abū Naṣr (Fath ibn 'Abdullāh) was a slave from Sind but he was later freed and he learnt theology and jurisprudence from Abū 'Alī Ahmad al-Thaqafī. Abū Naṣr was a specialist in scholastic theology and rose to eminence by sheer dint of merit. He is reported to have spoken bad Arabic due to lisping and also sometimes stammering, probably due to the Sindhī accent. It is said that one time he was going in the company of learned men and scholars, a high caste Arab who had fallen in the mud due to excessive drinking, rebuked him for having acquired such a respect. "How dare you walk with a haughty head in the company of the learned, when I have fallen thus in the mud". Abū Naṣr was originally a slave but now being manumitted he was given the position of a Mawālī (a client), much inferior to the Ashrāf (i.e. the Arab). He however retorted him with a prompt reply: "You have followed (the foot prints

of) my forefathers, while I have adopted the one persuaded by your ones."[49]

Abu Muhammad al-Sindi

Abū Muhammad Khalf ibn Sālim was anotlier traditionist of high repute who was famous for his exquisite learning in the traditional sciences. He flourished during the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the 'Abbāsid and died in Baghdād in 848 A.C. He had contributed greatly to the development of Hadīth literature and had also left many learned disciples at Baghdād.[50]

Arabic Grammar and Script

The science of Grammar took its root in the cities of al-Kūfah and Baṣrah, which were the chief centres of the Arab cultural life in al-'Irāq. The population of both these towns consisted of Arab Beduins, who belonged to the various regions of Arabia and spoke varied and different dialects. Apart from the Arabs, these centres had the population of non-Arab origin such as clients and artisans and hence there was every likelihood of the corrupting influences on the purity of Arabic language. The Qurān, which was the focus of all attention required the fixation of its correct reading and pronunciations and as such the science of grammar came into being. The foundation of the grammatical rules is ascribed to one Abū al-Du'īlī who died at Basrah during the Ummayyad period. Al-Du'īlī had confessed that he had learnt the rudiments of Arabic Grammar from Caliph 'Alī, the son of Abū Tālib[51] but he never made these rules known till Ziyād ibn Abīhī ordered him to compose a guide for reading and understanding the Book of God. He is, therefore, considered to be the founder of the grammarian school of Baṣrah, the most prominent representative of which was Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'. Various works on grammar were written both at Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, of which Kitāb al-Ayn, Kitāb al-Sibawayhi, Kāmil of Mubarrad Maqsura, Jamharat fi'l-Lughāt, and Kitāb al-Ishtiaqāq are well known in Arabic literature. The system of grammar thus founded at al-'Irāq spread over all the regions conquered by the Arabs including Sind, in which the same old principles

of grammar are still taught in mosques and Maktabs, down to the present times.

Language and Script

The Arabs introduced in Sind their own language which became the official language of the whole valley, the language of official correspondence and that of intelligentsia, throughout the period of Arab rule in Sind. The Arab geographers who visited the Indus Valley report that both Arabic and Sindhī were spoken in Sind, as far as Multān and its environments.[52] Unfortunately none of the writings of that period have survived with the exception of few inscriptions and coins. A piece of ivory talisman unearthed by Mr. Bellasis from the ruins of Bhīro, identified with al-Mansūrah bears a line in Kufic script الله الرحمان الرحيم i.e. God is merciful.[53] The coins also bear Kufic inscriptions and most of them were minted at al-Manṣūrah. This greatly reflects on the position of the Arab rulers of Sind, who appear to have been totally independent of the central government. Some of the writings on the coins are as follows:-

Copper coin of Abu Muslim Khurasani

Obverse
لا اله
الا الله
وحده

Margin
بسم الله مما امربه الأمير عبدالرحمان بن مسلم
محمد
رسول الله

Reverse
قل لا اسئلكم عليه اجرا: الاالمودة: في القربى [54]

Silver Coin of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullah al-Habbari

Obverse: legend arranged in five lines:
بالله
محمد
رسول
الله
عمر

Marginal lines plain or dotted complete the piece.
Reverse: Kufic legend in three lines:

بالله

بنو عمر

يه منذر[55]

The Arabic script of Kūfic character was in use in Sind since the earliest period of the Arab rule in Sind. The latest excavations at Bhambhor near Karachi have brought to light an inscription showing the building of the mosque in which the year of construction is shown to be 109 A.H.[56] The letters written by al-Ḥajjāj to Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī and vice versa and also to Rājā Dāhir, although lost, confirm that the Kūfic script was as elsewhere, dominant in Sind. The non-Muslims of Sind who were mainly Buddhists might have used the Nāgarī script, an specimen of which has been unearthed from the site of Depar Ghānghro and also from the ruins of Bhambhor.[57] Al-Berūnī who flourished during the Ghaznavid period relates that three scripts were in use in Sind and these were Ardh-Nāgarī, Malwārī and Sayndab. Ardh-Nāgarī which was a mixture of Sidhāmatrīka and Nāgarā was in vogue in Bhātiya and some parts of northern Sind. Malwārī was used in Malwa-Shān (Malva-Asthan) in southern Sind towards the Sea coast, whilst the Sayndab (or Sayndhava) was used in the regions of al-Mansūrah in middle Sind.[58]

Ibn Nadīm, the famous writer of al-Fihrist reports that the script in use in Sind was written from left to right as against the Arabic script which is written from right to left.[59] This was however, restricted to non-Muslims, but Arabic continued to be the medium of literary expression and writing for the Muslim communities in Sind. The language of the Arabs exercised profound influence over the language of Sind and its folk literature. Words like Kātī كاتي, Potī پوتي, Thalho ٹلهو, Ghuno غنو, Ajrak اجرک, Khamīs قميص, Thūm ٹوم, Basar بصر, Sita ست, Nukha نڙ, Rawa رڙو, Otio اوتيو, Tā'ith تائث, Ghāsho غاشو, Baqqāl وکال, Kurf کرف, Modī مودي and many other words and

phrases have found their way into Sindhi language. Bayt and Sh'ir which are the dominant forms of Sindhi poetry bear pure Arabic names. Sindhi folk literature is also composed, written and narrated on the lines adopted in the Arabic literature. Madāh مداح, Munāqiba مناقبا, Munājāt مناجات, Mawlūd مولود, Munāzirā مناظرا, Waqiyātī Bayt واقعاتی بیت, still bear Arabic names and are sung in the same fashion.

Arab Numerals

The numerals in use in Sind appear to be the same as used in the Arab world. The Arabs came to know about these figures after the translation of Sūriya-Sidhānta, a work of Indo-Pakistan origin which was translated into Arabic by Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī. Since the Pandits of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent used to write these figures on earth for explaining them to their disciples, they became known as Hurūf al-Ghubār. Ibn Nadīm reports that these figures were borrowed from Indus Valley after the translation of the Hindu works. The numerals were the same as they are today and differed only in the practice of adding zero. Instead of writing the zero in front of the figure, it was written beneath the figure thus ١ ٢ ٣ denoting 100, 200, 300 and so on.[60]

Cutural activities

The people of Sind were benefited by the Arab rule, who as it would appear, gave an efficient administration to the country. They made all efforts to make the province green and productive by means of the then improved methods of cultivation. Some new plants are also reported to have been introduced by Arabs into Sind, specially the different varieties of dates.

Agriculture

The prosperity of Sind depends mainly on its agriculture and the Arabs introduced a regular system of irrigation, by digging canals and wells all over the country. In order to give impetus to agriculture the Arabs, who were mainly a fighting class, left the cultivation in the hands of the natives. Further the imposition of light taxes made agriculture the most lucrative profession of the time. At times forcible

exactions were also made but such cases have rarely been recorded in the contemporary sources. The Arab geographers who visited Indus Valley in the medieval period speak of the general fertility of the land and the people on the whole were content and prosperous. They have further stated in their accounts that the whole country was covered with fields, gardens and trees.[61] Sugar-cane seems to have been the most favourite crop and it is still the cash crop of Sind due to the opening of the sugar mills after independence. As a result of abundant cultivation of cane, sugar was manufactured in large quantities. The gardens produced abundant fruits of which the lemon and mango were plentiful. The rates were cheap. The forests apart from providing fuel, produced some valuable commodities which were used in various medicinal prescriptions and were exported to the Middle East. Cotton, safron, indigo, rice were the principal crops of Sind.

The Arab geographers have complained about non-availability of grapes, apple, dates and wall-nut, but the two varieties of the fruits namely mango and lemon were plentiful. The grain was also cheap and plentiful.[62] Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī reports that 30 maunds of food stuff was valued at one dirham which may be an exaggeration. He also reports that one dirham of silver could fetch 3 maunds of pure honey in open market.[63]

Industries

Sugar manufacturing seems to have been the main industry of the province during the Arab rule. Next in importance was the industry of weaving, which produced cloth both for local use and exporting purposes. Almost every house in Sind had a spinning wheel called Ayt ايت, which was later introduced into west Asia and Europe. The Arabs called it Nā'ūrah and this in Spanish vocabulary came to be known as Nūriya.[64] The province of Sind was also famous for the manufacture of trunks and wooden boxes which were used for the purpose of exporting costus to the Arab world. The size and proportion of these boxes was so huge that each one of these contained eight hundred maunds of costus. There were large factories

for the manufacture of swords in Sind some of which were situated at al-Manṣūrah and al-Daybul, the two important towns of the Indus Valley. The swords of Sind were famous for their sharpness and durability.[65]

Copper goods were also manufactured in Sind in large quantities. There were special bazārs of copper utensils in the different towns of Sind.[66] Ivory goods which were widely used in Sind were manufactured with great accuracy and workmanship. This industry flourished in Hyderabad, Hala, Shikarpur towns before the conquest of Sind by the British, but it still flourishes in rural towns.

Trade and Commerce

The Arabs by their regular contact with al-'Irāq and Syria gave impetus to trade and commerce which flourished exceedingly. They maintained regular caravans which resulted in the exchange of commercial goods of the east and west. The chief export of Sind was costus, swords, camphor, grain, indigo, and the copper goods,[67] which were in great demand in the markets of the Arab world. Silk, spices, aloe-wood, sandal, aromatics, perfumes, crystal were imported from India and the Far-East.

The principal trade route which connected Sind with the Arab world came through Makrān, close to the sea coast. It appears to have been an international route trodden by people of different races and religions, between the Indus and Euphrates valleys. The principal stations on this route were Beh (Gelh), Band, Qasar-qand, Tiz, Kez (Kech), Qanaz-būr (Punj-goor), Armā'īl (Arman-Bela), al-Daybūl, al-Nerūn (Hyderabad), al-Mansūrah, al-Ror and Multān.[68] Another route came from Fahraj (Iran-Shahr) in Irān through the north-west Baluchistān by connecting Qalāt, Quzdār, Gandāva and Multān. A caravan route also connected Quzdār with Sehwan (Siwistān), which was situated opposite to al-Mansūrah on the right bank of river Indus. The main port of Sind, indeed of the whole valley, was al-Daybul, which traded with all the towns of the Malabār coast in the east and with Arab ports on the west. A

land route also connected the towns of Sind with those of Gujrāt and Kathiāwād regions.[69] Valabhrā'i, the ruler of Gujrāt is reported to have been greatly tolerant to the Arab traders who were allowed to establish colonies in almost all the coastal towns of his kingdom. The Arabs built mosques and they received free concessions in the exercise of their religion.[70]

Distances of the trade routes .

The distances given by the Arab geographers although inaccurate are not altogether void. The position and situation of various towns, the longitude and latitude, the measurement of the distances, give a general clue as to the identification of sites which are a heap of ruins now. Some of the sites have, however, vanished from the site due to the ravages of the time. The geographers themselves are not unanimous about giving the distances which separated one town from the other. It is, therefore, very difficult to distinguish, determine and arrive at the right conclusion with the given data. The route which connected Tīz with Armā'il had one station in between, which was known as Kīz (modern Kech Makrān). The distance between Kech and Arman Belā is reported to have been six marches, equivalent to 72 miles. Arman Belā (modern Belā) and al-Daybul, were six marches apart, which would bring the total distance of 142 miles between Kech and al-Daybul.[71] But this is wrong because the distance between Kech and the probable site of al-Daybul by modern calculations is more than 350 miles. On the other route, Dīrak and Tīz were six marches and Qanaz-būr and Tīz were three marches apart. Quzdār, the capital of Turān, lay at a distance of 20 marches from Multān, five marches from Qandābīl (Gandāvā) and 13 marches from al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind.[72]

As regards the towns of Sind, the distance between al-Daybul and al-Mansūrah was six marches, while al-Mansūrah and Multān were 12 marches apart. The towns on this route were Manjābarī, al-Nerūn, al-Mansūrah, Kallarī, Ballarī, al-Ror, Basmad and Multān. The distance between al-Daybul and al-Nerūn was four marches and thence to al-Mansūrah two mar-

ches, the whole total being six marches. Kallarī was one day's march from al-Mansūrah, from Kallarī to Attarī two marches, from Attarī to al-Ror four marches, from al-Ror to Basmād three marches, and from Basmad to Multān two marches. The town of Ballarī was situated at a distance of four days journey from Kallārī and Bāniyah which was the official residence of the Arab rulers, was situated at a distance of one day's march from al-Mansūrah. The trade route which connected Gujrāt with Sind, ran through Qamhul (probably Anhil-wara) which was situated at a distance of eight marches from al-Mansūrah. From Qamhul to Cambay the distance was four marches, from Cambay to Sobārah four days and from Cambay to Sindān in Cutch five days journey by land.[73]

The accounts of the Arab geographers show distances according to the day's journey which has now been fixed at 12 miles. But there was no uniform scale of distances traversed by a caravan during day to day journey. In some cases it extended to 20 miles and even more. Al-Idrīsī while corroborating the version of his predecessors about the distance of one day's journey between al-Mansūrah and Kallarī reports that both these towns were forty miles apart. This shows that even forty miles were traversed during a day by some caravans. The distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn has been shown to be two days journey by al-Istakhrī and three days by al-Idrīsī.

If we take the scale of 40 miles per day, then the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn would be 80 to 120 miles, which is not correct. Similarly the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Daybul would come to 240 miles, as both these towns were situated at six days journey from each other. Neither the modern scale of 12 miles[74] per day would solve the problem, because according to this calculation the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn would be 36 miles. The actual distance between Hyderabad (i.e. al-Nerūn) and the ruined site of Dalor-jo-Bhiro (probable site of al-Mansūrah) in direct route is about 47 miles. In this connection the distance given by Abu al-Fida seems to be more agreeable. Mr. M.R.

Haig reports that at present day the most direct route via Naṣarpur, the English officials do the distance in three days averaging 16 to 17 miles.[75]

Animal husbandry

The Arabs took great interest in the science and technique of Animal husbandry, with which they became conversant through the works of Indo-Pakistan origin. They studied the nature, physique, diseases and the cure of various animals and brought the technique in actual use by practical methods. They established forms not un-similar to those found in country side Sind nowadays. Their chief interest lay in the camel, their comrade of the desert and the horse, the greatest friend in times of war. In the nurseries that were founded at various places, they maintained pure breed of the camels and horses. The famous two humped camel of Sind, named Bukhātī[76] was greatly appreciated and reared by the Arabs, who were greatly enamoured by its beauty and qualities. The Arabs also took interest in taming elephants which might have been imported from India, or might have been obtained in warfare against the non-Muslim rulers of India. The elephants were of great use in times of war, as they were placed in the vanguard to attack the enemy and disperse its ranks. The ruler of al-Mansūrah, it is said, maintained a regular stable of elephants which according to al-Mas'ūdī numbered eighty.[77] Another important domestic animal in which the Arabs shew interest was the buffalo, still found in large numbers in Sind. They used to lie in the rivers and inundated pools for the whole day and it is therefore, that river Indus became known as ماء الجواميس, the river of buffaloes.[78]

The Arabs also established poultry farms which procured hens in abundance. They were even exported to al-'Irāq where one dirham could fetch twenty-four hens. In order to maintain the pure breed of cows and oxen, which were of great use in this country, their killing was strictly prohibited. Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was the first to issue such regulations which saved the animals from complete extinction.[79]

Dress, customs and manners

The inhabitants of Sind absorbed and assimilated the culture of the conquerors by adopting their customs, habits and dress. The Arab geographers who travelled extensively in Sind during the Arab rule, report that the people of Sind wore the same dress as worn in al-'Irāq and the adjoining Muslim countries. The ruler's dress was however different and it resembled the dress of the Hindū kings of India, specially in respect of hair and tunic.[80] This shows that the influence of Sind was also dominant over its rulers who had to adopt some customs of their subject people. There appears to have been no difference between the dress of the Hindūs and the Muslims, who wore almost the same dress. Due to the extreme heat in the lower part of the Indus Valley tunic was the most favourite dress of its inhabitants. The merchant (commercial) class wore a different dress comprising of shirts, cloaks, and gowns used by their co-professionists in al-'Irāq and Persia.[81]

The use of kurtā and shalwār was universal in Sind and it continued to be worn up to the 12th century A.C. when al-Idrīsī wrote his work. He also observed the same facts about the dress of the people of Sind. He further reports that, "the rulers of al-Mansūrah allow their hair to grow large and wear rings in their ears like the Hindū rājās of India."[82] The rulers of Multān and al-Mansūrah were called by the title 'Amīr' by the Muslims, but the non-Muslim subjects addressed them as 'Mahārāj'.[83]

The inhabitants of Sind are reported to have been hospitable, generous and polished. They were famous for their inclination to the religion which was pure orthodoxy. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī who came to Sind in A.H. 375/986 A.C. relates that no religious controversy existed in Sind and the people were mostly of Hanafite Madhhab.[84] This is attested to by Yāqūt al-Hamavī who says that many learned men and theologians had their abode at al-Mansūrah. One of these scholars is reported to have been Abū Muhammad al-Mansūrī, who was the leader of the Dā'ūdī sect of the Sunnite Islām.[85] The people of Sind are also reported to have been righteous, unaccustomed to falsehood and always honest in their dealings. They abstained

from the vices of drinking wine and adultery and never practised dishonesty in weights and measures. Most of them probably the Arabs were well-educated and excelled in intelligence. Their generosity was proverbial and they were always considerate to the poor and the forlorn. The position of women was honourable, but they were not allowed to loiter about in the streets. Al-Bashshārī asserts that he had not seen a single woman outside her house during the whole period of his stay at al-Mansūrah.[86] The non-Muslims who were mainly Buddhists, were attached to idolatry and adored the statue of Lord Buddha. Yet there were others who worshipped water, stars and fire. The Hindūs of Sind are also reported to have been honest and intelligent and were capable of maintaining the accounts of Arab tradesmen with great acumen and skill. It is reported that almost in all the shops of important towns of al-'Irāq, the khazānchī (or treasurer) was always a Sindhī[87] and there is not a single instance to show that they ever practised dishonest means or misappropriated their master's funds.

Arab Architecture in Sind

The Arabs ruled over Sind for nearly three centuries and in proportion to the time allowed to them, the Arab architecture is not only scanty but almost negligible. It is true that the Arabs belonged to the iconoclastic group of humanity, after the advent of Islām, yet they proved to be great builders. The artistic buildings of the best architectural styles found in Syria, Spain, Egypt and elsewhere attest to the taste of the building activities among the Arabs. They not only revived the architectural patterns of the ancient world but also introduced their own styles, unrivalled in the history of human civilization. The Arab architecture of the Umayyad period is not only unique but has no parallel in the contemporary medieval world. The Arabs no doubt borrowed much of their designs from the Greek and the Roman prototypes, yet in many respects they were original, developed independently in the Arabian peninsula and its outskirts. The whole town of Petra which was carved out and fashioned from the solid live rock, with its temples and residential houses, stores and harems, council halls and courts, stands out unique and of unsurpassed

beauty in West Asia. The Eloracaves of India or those of Ajanta can be brought in comparison to Petra, but the difference between the two is not only markedly different but glaring. Petra architecture is far more superior to that of Elora, in which the floral pattern is tender and more refined.

The Arabs as it would appear from the ruins in Yaman and Hydramaut, must have attained a high degree of culture independently without being influenced from the north. It is probable that the commercial intercourse between Yaman and Syria might have contributed greatly to the development of architectural taste among the Yamanites and other tribes of south Arabia. The great engineering feat of the Maārib dam built near San'a at an elevation of 3900 ft above sea level is still a place of great fame in Arabia. Another great building of which accounts are available was the fabulous castle of Ghumdān, which was built during the Himyarite rule of Yaman. This castle has acquired undying fame in the Arabic literature and was visited by some of the prominent men like Hamadānī and others during the medieval age. It is said that the said castle had twenty storeys, each of which was ten cubits high and the roof of the upper-most storey was so transparent that the king while holding his court in that storey, looking skyward could distinguish between a crow and a kite.

After the rise of Islām, the Arabs took interest in architecture and built some of the finest buildings in Syria, al-Hijāz, Egypt and al-'Irāq. The mosque of Damascus, Dome of rock, the Madinah sanctuary, and the Aqsā mosque were some of the outstanding structures of the early Umayyad period. Khadrā, the imperial residence of the Umayyads, al-Ukhaydir near 'Ayn al-Tamar, Mushata in the Transjordanic region and Qusayr Amrah near the northern edge of the Dead sea, are also famous in the annals for a new type of architecture, which was an admixture of Arab-Roman pattern. Mosques and other buildings were raised at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, Qayrwān in north Africa and Cordova in Spain. The famous towns of al-Kūfah and Basrah in al-'Irāq, followed suit and beautiful buildings were constructed at various towns within the empire. The mosques were, however, the preli-

minary specimen of the Arab architecture, introduced in Sind and other conquered lands.

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī, the conqueror of Sind is reported to have built some mosques in Sind. The first one was raised at al-Daybul, where four thousand Arabs were rehabilitated and a portion of the temple was converted for the said purpose.[88] The site of al-Daybul has not yet been definitely fixed and as such it cannot be said with certainty, on what model the conqueror laid the foundation of these structures in Sind. The mosque of Bhambhor which has been wrongly identified with that of al-Daybul appears to be a structure of the later period and it is hardly sufficient in size even to accommodate the four thousand Arab colonists of al-Daybul. In its heyday, when al-Daybul was the chief port of the Indus Valley and an important market of the merchandise of the east and the west, the population of this town swelled to over 300,000 men.[89] It is unbelievable to assume that the so-called mosque of al-Daybul, found at Bhambhor ruins, could have served as a place of worship to even five hundred devotees at the time of prayer.

Another mosque of which mention has been made was erected at al-Ror and the report that it is still surviving, appeared in all newspapers of Pakistan, on the occasion of the so-called Bāb al-Islām day. The Arabs built forts and founded towns during their rule in Sind. The fort of al-Mahfūzah was built by Hakam ibn 'Auwanah al-Kalbī and that of al-Mansūrah by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī. The town of Baydā was founded by 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī and that of Bāniya was built by the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah as their official residence. Unfortunately all these towns are in ruins and as such it is very difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion. A careful examination of the foundations of the buildings at Bhiro ruins (i.e. Dalor) which is believed to be the site of al-Mansūrah, shows that the constructions were solidly built and their foundations were strong and well-planned. All the buildings were constructed on raised platforms and their foundations are 2½ to 4¾ ft in breadth. The fort wall which surrounded the town also appears to be a

superb structure, and although in ruins it is spacious enough to allow modern vehicular traffic over it. But the most important of these is the minaret of the principal mosque in the ruins,[90] which although a fragment of the original edifice is still an imposing monument in the area. The minaret is built of thin and small bricks and there is a staircase leading to its top, built of the finest masonry work of the Muslim medieval style.

Al-Bashsharī al-Maqdisī who visited Sind in or about A.H. 375 has given a full description of the buildings and the chief mosque of al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind. He says that the said mosque was a spacious building built of bricks, mud and Chunam. It had four gates in the direction of north, south, east and the west, known as Bāb Multān, Bāb al-Bahr, Bāb Sandan and Bab Tūrān[91] respectively. No trace of the town of al-Mahfūzah and Bāniyah is available and same is the case with Baydā' built in the province of Budha.

The 'Abbāsid governor of Sind, who built the township of Baydā' is also reported to have constructed a bridge and repaired a long road in the north west regions of Sind. The bridge was known as الهبكر[92] and it was built for the purpose of controlling Jatts and Meds, the war-like tribes of north east Baluchistan who committed acts of depredations on the settled regions of Sind. Another of the governors of Sind, named 'Ambasah ibn Ishāq al-'Utbī converted a portion of the temple of al-Daybul into a prison, first of its kind in the history of Sind. This prison may have been founded for the purpose of internment of the political opponents and also under-trial prisoners, mostly Arab Muslims. This was done in the reign of caliph al-Mu'tasim Billāh, the last of the 'Abbāsid caliphs to exercise effective control on the affairs of Sind.

There is a grave and tomb in southern Sind, of a saint soldier Abū Turāb, which has been assigned great antiquity by some writers.

Notes and References

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4. Ibid, Vol. XIX, p. 34.
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6. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 446; Kamil, Vol. IV, p. 282.
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22. Chachnāmah, p. 352.
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25. 'Uyūn al-Anba', Vol. II, p. 32; Akhbār al-Hukamā, p. 175; Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. I, pp. 216, 217; Kitāb al-Ansāb (Sam'ānī), p. 313.
26. Lisān al-Mizān, Vol. I, p. 272.
27. Al-Fihrist, p. 306.
28. Kitāb al-Ansāb (Sam'ānī), p. 543.
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30. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
31. Mu'jam al-Buldān, p. 118.
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33. Kitāb al-Ansāb (Sam'ānī), p. 266.
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35. Ibid, p. 237.
36. Tārīkh-i-Baghdād, Vol. VII, pp. 303, 304.
37. Ibid, Vol. XII, p. 82.
38. Ibid, Vol. V, pp. 113, 114.
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42. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. I, p. 168; Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, Vol. VI, p. 239.
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44. Kitāb al-Ansāb (Sam'ānī), p. 53.
45. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. I, p. 216; Tārīkh-i-Baghdād, Vol. XIII, p. 428.
46. Ibid, pp. 216 and 428 as above.
47. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. I, p. 216; Tārīkh-i-Baghdad, Vol. XIII, p. 428.
48. Akhbār al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk, Vol. II (3), p. 1407; Tārīkh-i-Baghdād, Vol. XIII, pp. 427, 431; Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. I, pp. 216, 217; Kitāb al-Ansāb (Sam'ānī), p. 313; Kitāb al-Ansāb (Madqisī), p. 77.
49. Kitāb al-Ansāb (Maqdisī), p. 77.
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62. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamlāk; (al-Istakhrī), p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.

63. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
64. For full details see Tārīkh-i-Tamaddun-i-Sind, p. 197.
65. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
66. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 174.
67. 'Ajāi'b al-Hind, p. 3; Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
68. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, p. 179; Nuzhat al-Mushtaq, p. 27.
69. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 28.
70. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 176; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 320.
71. A marhalah i.e. one day's journey was equivalent to four farsakhs and a farsakh is equal to three miles. Vide Farhank Andarāj, Vol. III, p. 259.
72. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 179.
73. Ibid, p. 179.
74. Farhank Andarāj, Vol. III, p. 259.
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77. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
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79. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 277.
80. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 176; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 324; Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 31.
81. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 177; Sūrat al Arḍ, p. 324.
82. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 31.
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84. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
85. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IV, p. 151.
86. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 480.
87. Fakhr al-Sūdān (Jāhiz), p. 81.
88. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 443.
89. In the earthquake of al-Daybul, 150,000 people were killed. vide Kāmil, Vol. VII, p. 186; Tārikh al-Khulafā, p. 254.
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THE TOWNS OF SIND

(During the period of Arab rule in Sind)

Al-Nerūn - al-Daybul - Siwistān - al-Ror - Bānīyah - Kallarī - -Ballarī - Manjābarī - Brahmanābād.

The towns of Sind during the Arab period

The Arab writers have mentioned a number of towns which flourished in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. The towns of al-Daybul, Rāwar, Brahmanābād, Siwistān, Alor, al-Nerūn, al-Sika and Multān were all prosperous and populous at the time of the Arab invasion. With the exception of perhaps, Rāwar and Brahmanābād, all these towns continued to flourish throughout the period of Arab rule which extended for a period of about three centuries. The town of Rāwar, with its fort seems to have been a cantonment with temperate climate and inhabited chiefly by the military force. After the battle of Rāwar, the remnant of Dahir's forces took shelter in this fort, which was ultimately stormed by the Arab soldiery. The inhabitants who were mainly soldiers were exterminated and their families reduced to slavery. The fort was then razed to the ground. A cantonment town as such could not survive such a heavy shock on account of the massacre of its entire population. Rāwar therefore vanished from the scene and was never heard of in the later centuries.

Brahmanābād on the other hand was the summer capital of Sind and was situated on the eastern border of Sind, adjacent to the Thar desert. A branch of Indus or Hākro flowed past by it rendering the environments fertile and green. It was attacked with great fury and destroyed and its entire population was reduced to bondage. The town of Brahmanābād survived the shock it had suffered under the Arab vandalism, but could not maintain the same reputation due to the state of chaos which

prevailed in Indus valley after the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim. Prince Jaysia, the son of Dāhir who fled to Chitor after the fall of Brahmanābād, returned to Sind and recaptured it. He continued to rule lower Sind for a pretty long time, till the reign of 'Umar II when he was over-powered by deceitful means by Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, the Arab governor of Sind and killed. It is not unlikely that the new governor might not have attacked Brahmanābād in his attempt to recapture it. It might have suffered a terrible fate like Rāwar, having been burnt and razed to the ground. This is attested to from the later events in the history of Sind. Soon after when Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī came to Sind, a new town by name al-Mansūrah was founded by the Arabs, near the ancient town of Brahmanābād. The building material specially the bricks for al-Mansūrah might have been derived from Brahmanābād for the new town, which became the future head-quarter of the Arab administration in Sind. Brahmanābād which was already in ruins might have dwindled into insignificance and could not attain former eminence and prosperity. The remnant of the population that survived the two consecutive massacres, migrated to al-Mansūrah, the new town, which rose to be the capital of Sind for the major portion of the history of the Arabs in Sind.

The town of al-Nerun

Al-Nerūn, as mentioned by the Arab writers, was an important town situated in between the port of al-Daybul and the capital town of al-Mansūrah.[1] It has also been mentioned as Nerūz by Yāqūt al-Hamavī,[2] which may have been a corruption of the Persian name Nim-rūz. Even al-Nerūn or al-Berūn, with the exception of the Arabic prefix "al-" signify Persian names, which may have been placed over the town, probably during the Sassānid rule over Sind. Al-Nerūn was situated on the eastern bank of the river Mahrān (i.e. Indus) on the road leading to al-Mansūrah. It served as a ferry or a check-post for entry into the interior of Sind.[3]

The description of the town from various quarters indicates that al-Nerūn was a prosperous town held by a Buddhist Shamanī, who entered into secret correspondence with al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, after the death of Budayl ibn Tahafatah al-Bajjalī, near al-Daybul.[4] Al-Nerūn was not attacked by the Arabs but the inhabitants of the town surrendered the fort on the approach of Muhammad's army and agreed to pay the tribute. This account of al-Balādhurī is attested to and corroborated by al-Ya'qūbī, al-Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn.[5] The same version appears in the Chachnāmah, a local Persian work of a later period.[6] During the Arab rule of the Indus valley al-Nerūn was visited by al-Mas'ūdi, al-Istakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and Bashshārī al-Maqdīsī and all of them have attested to the fertility of its environments.

According to Chachnāmāh al-Nerūn, was situated on a hill and there was a lake or tank in its neighbourhood, sufficient in size to receive the fleet of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī,[7] the Arab conqueror of Sind. Sir Henry Elliot has identified the town of al-Nerūn with Jhirk and the lake with Kīnjhār (now Kalrī lake),[8] but Kīnjhār has no connection with the Indus. Similarly the distances given by the medieval geographers do not agree with the actual distance between the various sites. The proper identification of the town of al-Nerūn with any site in Sind depends on the fixation of the site of al-Mansūrah, al-Daybul and other towns of the Arab period. The site of al-Mansūrah has now been identified with the ruins of Dalor-jo-Bhiro near Shahdādpur town, but the identification of al-Daybul is yet to be determined. The Archaeological Department of Pakistan has identified the ruins of Bhambhor with al-Daybul,[9] but it does not conform with the accounts of the Arab writers of medieval age.

Al-Istakhrī reports that al-Nerūn was situated half way between al-Daybul and al-Mansūrah, and was nearer in distance to al-Mansūrah.[10] The same version appears in the work of Ibn Hauqal, who has also given a map of Sind, which shows the situation of al-Nerūn on western bank of river Indus.[11] Al-

Idrisī on the other hand relates that al-Nerūn was a small town and less populous but a strongly fortified place. The trees according to him, were rare, but the people on the whole were content and happy. He further adds that the town of al-Nerūn was situated at little over three days journey from al-Mansūrah,[12] the Arab capital of Sind. But Yaqūt al-Hamavī places al-Nerūn in between al-Daybul and al-Mansūrah, and gives the distance of five days journey from al-Daybul to al-Nerūn. The situation of al-Neūrn was at 82 degrees 20 minutes by 23 degrees 30 minutes according to the medieval geographical scale,[13] which does not tally with the modern scientific measurements. The general report of the geographers indicates that al-Nerūn although devoid of trees had fertile environments. Al-Idrīsī's report further shows that al-Nerūn like all other towns of Sind, was losing importance due to the rise of the new towns, such as Bakhar, Sehwan, Thatta and others.

As to the identification of the town of al-Nerūn, there appears to be only one town, which can be brought into comparison with it on the data supplied by the medieval Arab writers and this is the modern town of Hyderābād. The position of al-Nerūn described by Abu al-Fidā as 25 farsakhs from al-Daybul and 15 farsakhs from al-Mansūrah, agrees with the less definite statements of al-Iṣtakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal. Major General Haig who had carried extensive measurements in lower Sind, has also identified al-Nerūn with Hyderābād.[14] In this it is supposed, he has followed the advance of Muhammad ibn-al-Qāsim, which according to the early sources was in the north east direction. He places al-Nerūn in Lar region and states that it was situated at the head of the delta. There is no other site in the area which can be brought in comparison with al-Nerūn, excepting Hyderābād. The measurements of Mr. Haig further bring the site of Rāwar near Fateh Bāgh in Gūnī Taluka of the Hyderābād district. Under the circumstances the identification of al-Nerūn with modern Hyderābād becomes inevitable. Mr. Haig also asserts that the channel actually explored by

Alexander was "Khadro", a side channel of Gharo, which is believed by him to be the western most mouth of river Indus.[15] The accounts of the Greek writers on the other hand show that the site of Hyderābād might have been occupied by Patālā, the capital of lower Sind during the invasion of Alexander the great.

From the narratives of Arrian and Curtius, it appears that Alexander of Macedon had sailed down the Indus from Patālā for a distance of 400 stadia (46 miles) when his naval commanders first perceived the sea breeze.[16] This place must have been near Jhirk, which is 30 miles below Hyderābād by land and 45 miles or nearly 400 stadia by the river. Alexander is reported to have procured guides at this place, with whose help he pressed his journey due south till he reached in the neighbourhood of either Ghāro or Khadro creek. On the third day he became aware of being in the vicinity of the sea, by meeting the tide which is not felt in the Indus, more than 50 miles from the sea. The head of the western arm of river Indus which is formed of both Ghāro and Khadro creeks is 35 miles from the sea by land and 50 miles by water. This distance the fleet of Alexander might have covered on the third day, through the river.[17] This shows that the army of Alexander had covered a distance of 113 miles from Patālā to the sea which corresponds almost exactly with the measurements of Aristobulus at 1000 stadia or 115 miles.

According to Ptolemy, the head of the delta was exactly midway between Oskānā and Loni-bare-Ostium, the eastern most mouth of river Indus. This fixes Patālā at Hyderābād which is equidistance from Mahorta (i.e. Oskānā) and Korī mouth of river Indus, because it is also the mouth of Lunī river. The description of Onesikritus shows that Indus delta was in triangle form, all the three sides of which were of the same length. The base of the delta reckoned by Aristobulus at 1000 stadia (or 115 miles) seems to be more accurate than 1800 stadia, the measurement given by Nearchus and 2000 stadia by Onesikritus. The actual coastline from Khadro to Korī is little less than 120 miles. The distance of Hyderābād from

Khadro mouth is 113 miles and it is 117 miles from the Korī mouth of the Indus. The city of Patālā which was situated at the head of the delta can very well be identified with modern Hyderābād.

The term Patālā (or Patālene) is derived from Potā (i.e. a vessel) and is a corruption of Patālā, which means station for ships. It may also seem to have derived its name from Patālā the trumpet flower in allusion to the trumpet shape of the region, being situated within the two branches of river Indus. These two branches while approaching the sea, curve outward, like the mouth of the trumpet. This description of the Indus delta agrees with the situation of the Korī and Khadro mouths of river Indus. The town of Patālā as per accounts was situated at the head of the delta within the two branches of Indus and there is no other site at present within that area which could be identified with ancient Patālā. Hyderābād is therefore the only place which can be brought in comparison to Patālā of the ancient times and al-Nerūn of the medieval times.

Al-Daybul

Al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest, was a large town defended by strong walls. The first reference about this town appears in Futūh al-Buldān of al-Balādhurī, which gives the first authentic account of the attacks of the Arabs against Sind. It is reported that the first attack on al-Daybul originated and was organised in 'Oman by its governor 'Uthmān ibn Abi al-'As al-Thaqafī who in A.H. 15/ 636 A.C. sent his brother Mughīrah to pillage the coasts of al-Sind and al-Hind.[18] The governor of the town Samāh ibn Dewā'ij resisted the attack with the garrison of the fort and defeated the invaders. Mughīrah was killed in the action,[19] but the Arab forces managed to reach their destination safely. The second attack on al-Daybul was made during the reign of Walīd I, under the command of 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sulamī who was too killed outside the fort walls of al-Daybul. The third Arab general Budayl ibn Tahāfatah al-Bajjalī who attacked al-Daybul by land was likewise defeated and killed

near al-Daybul. According to Chachnāmah, it was Budayl ibn Tahafātah al-Bajjalī, who made the second attack on the port of al-Daybul and not 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān, who never came to Sind.[20] In the third and final attack under 'Imād al-Dīn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī the fort of al-Daybul was captured and reduced to shambles probably to avenge the insult of the first two defeats sustained by the Arab army.

During the whole period of Arab rule, al-Daybul occupied prominent place in the history and culture of Sind. It was the chief port of the Indus valley and was situated at a considerable distance from the river. Its situation is also reported on the sea shore and so close to it that the waves of the sea lashed against the fort walls of al-Daybul.[21] It was a great commercial centre and very thickly populated. Ships laden with the products of the east and the west anchored at this port and brought all kinds of merchandise. The chief imports of al-Daybul comprised of silk and silken goods from China, and the perfumes and aromatics from India. Dates, wines slaves, glass and crystal were imported from the Arab world. The merchants of al-Daybul are reported to have purchased these commodities at low prices, hoarded them in the godowns and sold them at high prices when these became rare.[22] This shows that the system of blackmarketing continued unabated and there was no law to check the evil. On the other hand the Arab officials encouraged anti-social activities, by accepting large sums in bribe. The main exports of al-Daybul consisted of costus, sugar, lemons and mango. Al-Daybul was also famous for the maufacture of the swords which were celebrated in the Arab world for sharpness and durability.[23]

The Arab geographers report that the city was well-built and rich, but its environments were barren. It was situated in a hilly country, where neither dates nor any other tree could be found. Al-Bashshārī, however, asserts that there were about one hundred villages around the port of al-Daybul.[24] The greatness of al-Daybul and its prosperity can be well imagined from the figures given by the Arab writers. about the number of persons who perished in the earthquake of A.H.

280/894 A.C. According to official figure as many as 1,25,000 men were killed under the debris. This would bring the population to nearly double that number.[25] The Arab geographers further report that the port was inhabited chiefly by the traders who were mostly non-Muslims.

The port town of al-Daybul has been identified with the Bhambhor ruins on the Ghārā creek situated on the national highway at a distance of 20 miles from Karachi. Its name has been brought in comparison to Bhambhor on the assumption that both the words carry the same meaning. Hypocritical and unscholarly conjectures have been put forward by certain quarters to connect the ruins of Bhambhor with al Daybul, although the Archaeological department does not agree with these assertions. The port of al-Daybul was in existence even before the Arab attack on Sind. It had a strong fort and a great stupa over which furled the red flag. The author of the Chachnāmah reports that the temple was 40 yards in height and was surmounted by a dome 40 yards high.[26] This would bring the total height of the stupa at 120 yards and it was due to this reason that the flag was visible from a great distance.

The situation of al-Daybul given by the Arab geographers is not only controversial but unreliable. Al-Mas'ūdī who himself came to Sind, reports that al-Daybul was situated at a distance of two days journey from the western mouth of the river Indus.[27] Al-Istakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal place it on the sea to the west of river Mahrān[28] and the same account appears in Ahsan al-Taqāsīm of al-Bashshārī al-Maqdīsī. Al-Idrīsī reports that al-Daybul was situated at a distance of six miles from the west of the river Indus. He also adds that al-Daybul was situated on an island in the sea, with the hill of Kaskahar in it. All the geographers however agree that the port of al-Daybul was situated in a hilly country on the sea coast and its environments were unproductive. This description agrees greatly with places like Karachi, Korangī, Waghu-dar and various other sites in the delta region. Sir Henry Elliot is of the opinion that al-Daybul was situated on the site of Karachi[29] and in this he is supported by Dr. Umar bin Muhammad Da'udpota probably

due to the existence of the mausoleum of 'Abdullāh Shāh at Clifton, which they consider to be that of 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sulamī,[30] the Arab general who was deputed by al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī. According to al-Balādhurī, however, 'Abdullāh ibn Nabahān al-Sulamī proceeded as far as al-Daybul, but he was defeated and killed.[31] Chachnāmah on the other hand reports that Abdullāh ibn Nabahān never came to Sind but he was appointed as governor over Makrān. It was Budayl ibn Tahāfatah al-Bajjalī who was deputed to Sind with an army of 3000 soldiers. There is much controversy relating to Budayl himself and his unfortunate fate. While the Chachnamah asserts the death of Budayl near al-Daybul, al-Balādhurī who appears to be more correct relates that Budayl was killed in an encounter with the Zutts of Budhā,[32] in Baluchistān.

Yāqūt al-Hamavī who wrote his great encyclopaedia in the sixth century A.H. places the port of al-Daybul at 83 degrees 20 minutes west longitude by 24 degrees 30 minutes south latitude and on the shores of Indian ocean. He also reports that it was situated on a bay or creek which he calls خورالديبل (the bay of al-Daybul).[33] The term "Khor" in Arabic means an estuary of the sea penetrating into the land and it stands for both the creek or bay. There are at present only three main creeks in the Arabian sea from the western-most mouth of the river Indus to the cape Monze and these are Khadro, Gisrī and the Ghāro creeks. On each of these creeks are the ruins of some ancient settlements, known as Mārī Moriro, Waghū-Dar and Bhambhor respectively. The ruins of Mārī Moriro and Waghū-Dar situated on Khadro and Gisrīcreeks are too small to be the site of ancient al-Daybul, which was a populous and prosperous town. On the third i.e. Ghāro creek are the ruins of Bhambhor, which have been identified by some writers with the site of al-Daybul, the Arab sea port of Sind. But the town of Bhambhor came into existence long afterwards and was founded by a Hindū Rājā Bhambhora'i, who seems to have gained prominence into the lower Indus valley possibly after the fall of Arabs or during the interregnum, which created a void in the history of Sind from the fall of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī to the accession of Qutub

al-Dīn Aybak, the first slave sultān of Delhi. Similar ruins are found on the whole coastline of Makrān and Sind and also on the small creeks like Korangi near Karachi. It appears that al-Daybul must have occupied a site on a bay and at a safe place unaffected by the rise of the sea-tide and in the vicinity where fresh water could have been made easily available. There are at present two bays in the Arabian sea from the Makrān coast to the western mouth of river Indus. On one of these is situated the port town of Son-Miyānī and on the other is the present city of Karachi. Both Son-Miyānī and Karachi are of recent origin, but the historical evidence shows that the town of al-Daybul might have occupied a very safe and protected place, where the ships could find a place for safe anchorage. It can be therefore conjectured that al-Daybul might have been situated on one of these sites, but Son-Miyānī bay is far off the Indus. It was probably the bay of Karachi, which might have served as a haven for the ships of the east and west during the Arab rule of the Indus valley.

The famous geographer al-Mas'ūdī, who visited Sind in A.H. 300 reports that river Mahrān (Indus) passed through the regions of Sākro and fell in the Arabian sea. Al-Daybul according to him was situated at a distance of two days journey from the mouth of Indus.[34] This would bring the port of al-Daybul in and around Karachi, as the distance between Sākro and Karachi by old modes of journey is covered in two days time. The same may be spoken for Bhambhor, which is situated on the Ghāro creek. But the Ghāro creek has never served as an outlet for river Indus. A canal by name Nāniyā Wāh, bypassed the town,[35] which may have been dug from the river Indus for the supply of drinking water to the town. It is also probable that the said canal might have had its source from a lake in the neighbourhood in which rain water might have been collected for the regular water supply to the town of Bhambhor. Moreover the town owes its origin to Bhambo rājā who ruled over the region long after the decline of the Arab power in Sind.

The description of al-Idrīsī that the town of al-Daybul

was situated on an island and on a mountainous tract where no greenery was found, agrees greatly with the modern site of Karachi. This description may also be compared with the island of Dabo, situated in between Dabo and Sisa creek in the Delta region. The ruins of Dabo are not only enormous but superb. The heads and statues of men, animals and birds and the foundations of heavy constructions lead us to believe that the site might have been occupied by a very important settlement possibly a big town, a portion of which might have been submerged under the sea. That the site of Dabo might have been the site of al-Daybul of medieval age is further evident from the route of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī's march into the interior of Sind. The Chachnāmah reports that the landing of Muhammad's vessels at al-Daybul, the sea port of Sind, was in the neighbourhood of Cutch, the ruler of which place prepared a bridge of boats for further advance of the Arab army.[36] The identification of Fateh Bāgh with the site of Rāwar further corroborates the version of Chachnāmah and brings the site of al-Daybul closer to Dabo creek on which the ruins of an ancient town are still visible. Furthermore the course of river Indus in medieval times was due south and not south-west as is assumed and hence it can be fairly concluded that the town of al-Daybul might have occupied a site closer to Dabo. This is further testified from the names Dabo and Daybul, which appear to be of the same origin.

Alexander Cunningham has identified the site of al-Daybul with Lālirī or Lahorī Bunder.[37] In this it appears, he has followed the narratives of Ibn Baṭūṭah, the famous Tunisian traveller who has spoken about the ruins of a big town near Lāhrī Bunder.[38] Mr. M.R. Haig identifies Daybul with Kakar Bukera,[39] a site in the interior of the Sakro region. Raverty on the other hand brings it closer to Pīr Patho.[40] Referring to Khulāsat al-Tārikh he reports that al-Daybul was famous for the pearl industry, which were picked out of the sea in large quantities. About 4000 vessels anchored at the port of al-Daybul,[41] according to the same source. Raverty might have based his arguments on the report of Khulāsat al-Tārikh and also perhaps on the assertion of Abū al-Faḍl, the court

historian of Emperor Akbar, who reports that Thattā occupied the site of al-Daybul.[42] But this is obviously wrong. Abū al-Fadl has committed similar blunder in identifying Bakhar with al-Mansūrah,[43] the Arab capital of Sind. He might have misunderstood the narratives of the Arab travellers and geographers who have described al-Mansūrah to be situated in between the two arms of river Indus and on an island. David Ross, Cunningham and Hughes all agree that al-Daybul was situated on the present site of Bhambhor, but they have not given sound arguments in support of their assertions.

There is a site near Karachi close to Korangi creek and just opposite to Rarhī, a few furlongs into the sea, situated on an island of hard rock. The fort walls, the foundations of the buildings, storeys and other structures are still in good form and bear witness to the settlement which might have flourished in Sind, in some distant period of its history. The stone balls found in large numbers further indicate that these were either used for the purpose of defence or might have been hit from outside by an invading army. This reminds us of the attack on al-Daybul by catapults in which a portion of the fort wall was destroyed by the bombardment of stones.[44]

The identification of the site of al-Daybul requires further investigation and lucid research. The condition of the delta region has completely changed and is not the same as it was in medieval times. It appears that the original port which was a great market for merchandise was destroyed by the earthquake of A.H. 280/894 A.C. It was then followed by a number of ports in the delta region which as per accounts were also known by the same name, al-Daybul. Even Thatta, an inland town, was long remembered as al-Daybul and its products had earned a name in foreign markets. The proper identification of al-Daybul requires a thorough touring of the delta region which is greatly expensive and hard and also the correct fixation of the course of river Indus during the Arab period. Till this is achieved, conjectural opinions would continue to puzzle the mind of the scholars and the future generations of Sind.

Al-Ror, the capital city under the Buddhists

The town of al-Ror, which for centuries had been the capitalof Sind,is now a mere heap of ruins, situated at a distance of five miles to the east of modern town of Rohri. It seems that Rohri is but a miniature of al-Ror, founded on a nearby site, after the destruction and depopulation of that city. Both al-Ror and Rohri carry the same meaning and signify "the town on the hill". Al-Ror has been mentioned by various names as al-Rūz, al-Rūd and al-Rūr, which are all derived from Ror or Rora, meaning stone. The name perhaps is due to the hilly nature of the country, on which both Al-Ror and Rohri are situated. Al-Ror has been identified with Oskanā, the capital of Mausikānos, the ruler of upper Sind, during the invasion of Alexander the great. Its present situation is at 27 degrees 39 minutes north latitude and 68 degrees 59 minutes east longitude and it agrees with the particulars of the situation given by the Greek writers with regard to Oskanā, the capital of northern Sind. Alexander Cunningham on the other hand identifies Oskanā with Mahorta[45] in Larkānā district which is situated in the vicinity of the famous ruins of Sind, Muan-jo-Daro.

According to Chachnāmah, the city of al-Ror was a beautiful town with palatial buildings, gardens and streams. It had a double strong wall and had many places for recreation. It was held by Gopi, a son of Rāi Dāhir, who vacated the fort along with the garrison due to the infidelity of the inhabitants of the town on the approach of the army of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī. It however, surrendered to the Arab army after a prolonged siege and continuous negotiations with the Buddhist Shamanīs.[46] In spite of the peace terms a large number of the people probably Hindus were killed by the Arabs after the occupation of the fort. Muhammad appointed Rawāh ibn Asad (a grandson of Ahnaf ibn Qays) as governor of al-Ror and entrusted the judicial administration of the town to Mūsā ibn Yā'qūb al-Thaqafī. It continued to be the capital of the Arab governors of Sind, till the foundation of al-Mansūrah

which substituted al-Ror as the head-quarter of Arab administration in Sind.

During the dynastic rule of Banū Habbār, the town of al-Ror was the second largest town of Sind. It was equal in size to Multān and was more populous than that city.[47] The situation of al-Ror has been placed on the eastern bank of river Mahrān which is reported to have been on the western side of the fort of al-Ror. Its importance decreased considerably due to the change of government, yet it continued to maintain its greatness throughout the period of Arab rule, on account of its strategic situation as a chief station of trade and commerce on various routes which connected it with Multān, Tūrān, Budha, Siwistān, al-Mansūrah and the regions of the eastern desert. Al-Ror was situated on the borders of the kingdom of Sind and as such it was defended by a double wall.[48]

The derivation of al-Ror is from Ror or Rora, which signifies both stone and noise. This may have been actuated on account of the hilly nature of the country or possibly due to the noise of the stream which acquires considerable dimension at this point after receiving the gushing waters of the five rivers of the Punjāb. It is also probable that the original name of the town might have been Shahr-e-Rūd (i.e. the town of the river) on account of its situation on the river bank. The prefix Shahr might have been omitted due to the long use and al-Rūd may have survived at the time of the advent of the Arabs. The Persians dominated Sind for a longer period than any other nation in ancient times and this is evident from the names of various towns such as Bahmanābād, Siwistān, al-Nerūn and the town of al-Rūd in Sind.

Huen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited Sind half a century before the Arab conquest reports that the capital of middle Sind was 'Pi-chen-po-la' which might have been the Chinese version of Vichola-purā. The other town of some prominence reported by the Chinese traveller was O'-fān-chā (i.e. Avandā) which had a temple containing the ashes of Rishī Tatha-Gatha.[49] The distances given by the Chinese Huen-

Tsang between Pi-chen-po-la and O'-fan-cha and that of O'-fan-cha and Pi-to-shi-lo (Pat-sila) show that O'-fan-cha might have occupied a site in the neighbourhood of Depar-Ghangiro or Dalor ruins in Sānghar district. Similarly the town of Pi-to-shi-lo might have occupied a site near modern Hyderābād, which has been identified with Pat-sila or Patala of the ancient times and Nerūn-Kot of the medieval period.

The ruins of al-Ror are situated to the south of the gap in the low range of Rohri hills which stretches from Bakhar towards south for about twenty miles. It was through this gap that the Indus once had its course, which protected the city to the north west. At a distance of three miles to the north east another river had its course, which could not have been any other stream than Hākro mentioned in the historical records of Sind. River Sutlej instead of joining the Indus in the south west Punjāb, had a different course through eastern Sind and as per accounts of the Arab geographers it flowed into the Indus twelve miles below al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind. The beds of Indus and Hākro are still distinguishable and corroborate the version of the Arab writers, who have spoken of the fertility of the region now known as Thar and Pārkar district of Hyderābād division.

Siwistan or Sehwan

Siwistān or Sehwan, like Multān is the oldest extant town in West Pakistan. Siwistān must not be confused with Seistān, which now forms an integral part of Afghānistān. A portion of Seistān is still one of the provinces of the kingdom of Irān. Siwistān takes its name from Siv or Siwī, a great tribe which inhabited Indus valley in ancient times. The connection of Siw or Sibi, with other towns like Su'ī, Sibī, Siw-kot and Siwistān, has now been firmly established.[50] The counterpart of this tribe called Malo'ī, pushed on in the interior and occupied the regions now known as Malvā in Central India. The Hindus connect the name of Siwistān with one of their deity Shivā whose temple was the centre of pilgrimage for people all over Sind down to sixth century A. H. A Muslim saint of Ismā'īlī origin, Shaykh 'Uthmān Qalandar, made it

his abode, as a result of which many people were converted to Islam. A piece of Shiva's image is still available and is suspended right upon the head of the grave of the saint as a sacred relic having come down from the heavens. It is perhaps due to this reason that both Hindus and the Muslims pay obeisance to the saint who is also known as Lāl Shahbāz. The Hindus believe the mausoleum to be the samadhi of Rājā Bharatarī,[51] who reject all stories of the existence of the grave of Muslim saint.

Siwistān has been identified with the Sindimana of Alexander's time whose ruler fled to the mountains on the arrival of the Greek army. It was said to be the seat of King Sombos,[52] who ruled over the hardy and mountainous tribes of the Khīrthar hills. These tribes might have been the Jatt and the Med, who had settled in Sind and Baluchistān regions between the first and second century before Christ. Alexander is reported to have built a fort at Siwistān, which is still cited on the raised ground outside the town in the north west direction. The said fort is but a fragment of the original and gives a panoramic view of the beautiful surroundings, including the scenic beauty of the Indus. Siwistān was one of the capitals of the old Hindu kingdom of Sind before the Arab conquest and was a prosperous and populous city. It was held by a Buddhist Shamanī who entered into conspiracy with al-Hajjāj to bring the fall of his rulers, even before the invasion of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī. When the Arab conqueror sent one of his lieutenants Muhammad ibn Mus'ab ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Thaqāfī, against Siwistān it surrendered even without any show of resistance. Chachnāmah relates that Chandrām who was the governor of the town was deceived by the Shamanīs who had already arranged peace terms with Arab invaders. Chandrām was, therefore, forced to flee for life in the mountains as was done by Sombos before him at the time of the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander. It was also chiefly due to the betrayal of the priests which resulted in the defeat of Sombos and the massacre of the population of Sindimana. At Sehwan Muhammad was reinforced

by an army of four thousand Jatts[53] to fight against the Hindu rulers of Sind.

The town and fort of Siwistān occupied important position during the period of Arab rule in Sind and was considered to be a key to the conquest of Sind, and its capital al-Mansūrah. An Arab adventurer by name Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī who came to Sind from Syria, first captured Siwistān and then marched on Mansūrah which he conquered with great ease. During the dynastic rule of Banū Habbār, Sehwan was one of the principal stations on the trade route which connected al-Mansūrah with the regions of Tūran and Budha. It was a town of oases and streams. The prices were low and the commodities were abundant. The commercial class was rich and prosperous and the general public was happy and content.[54]

Baniyah the official residence of the Habbarid rulers

The town of Bāniyah which was the official residence of the Arab rulers of al-Mansūrah is reported to have been situated in the neighbourhood of al-Mansūrah. It appears that due to the congestion and the busy life at the capital, the offices of the administration were shifted to the new town which appears to have been endowed with natural shade and coolness due to the great number of trees in it. The land around this town was very fertile and the commodities whether local or foreign were cheap and handy. Due to its commercial importance the inhabitants of this town were rich and prosperous. The town of Bāniyah has not yet been identified with any site, although Sir Henty Elliot has brought it in comparison with Bhātiya,[55] which is wrong. The town of Bhātiya as per accounts must have existed in the region which is now known as East Punjāb and to connect Bāniyah with Bhātiya is a ridiculous miscalculation. Bāniyah as reported by the Arab geographers was situated on the road which connected al-Mansūrah with Amhal or Fāmhal, a border town of the kingdom of Sind which lay on the trade route connecting Sind with Gujrāt. Amhul has been identified with Anhil-wārā, sometimes the capital of Gujrāt and it was situated at a distance of six marches from

Bāniyah. The town of Bāniyah according to the same source was situated at a distance of three marches (Marāhil) from al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind. Al-Idrīsī's account further indicates that Bāniyah was situated in the delta region and was nearer to al-Daybul as its distance from that place was two marches only.[56] The description of Amhul or Māmhul given by the same geographer leaves no place for arguments that the said town was situated in the regions of Gujrāt and its distance from Cambay has been fixed at five days journey.

The above accounts would bring the site of al-Daybul in the eastern portion of the Indus delta and Bāniyah must have occupied a site in the Thar regions by the side of the old bed of river Mahrān. The town of Bāniyah as per accounts of al-Istakhrī was founded by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Habbārī whose descendants, later became the rulers of Sind for over one and a half century.[57]

Kallari

The town of Kallarī has been often quoted by the Arab geographers for its beautiful surroundings and greenery. It is identified with a small village in Nawābshāh district, to the east of Sakrand.[58] Kallarī is reported to have been a well-fortified town and situated on the eastern bank of river Indus. It lay on the trade route which connected Multān with al-Mansūrah and was an important station for the caravans. The situation of Kallarī has been placed at the juncture where river Indus separated itself into two streams,[59] of which the largest ran towards the west as far as the vicinity of al-Mansūrah, which was its western bank. The other one ran towards the north west, then to the north and then towards the west and joined the principal stream twelve miles below al-Mansūrah. The distance between Kallarī and al-Mansūrah is a hard day's journey of forty miles and Siwistān is about three days journey from this town. The people of Kallarī were well-to-do and the trade was flourishing.

Ballari

The town of Ballarī is reported to have been situated near

Kallarī to the north and on the left bank of river Mahrān. This town has not yet been identified with any site, although a town by name Bulrī exists in Gūnī Talukā of Hyderābād district. This town which is the centre of the 'Alavīs (Sayads) is situated at a distance of 30 miles to the south of Hyderābād and is famous for the shrine of Shāh 'Abdul Karīm, the grandfather of Shāh Laṭīf of Bhit, the great Sindhi poet of Sind.

According to the available accounts the town of Ballarī was situated at a distance of three days journey from al-Mansūrah. It was to the north of the Arab capital and is reported to have been near the juncture where river Indus divided itself into two streams. The eastern branch which appears to have been the main river, having passed by the side of Kallarī joined with the other one, twelve miles to the south of al-Mansūrah. Like all other towns of Sind, Ballarī was a flourishing town with immense water supply and fields.[60] It was also a halting place for the Arab caravans which carried on the trade and commerce of Indus valley with Khurāsān and the lands of west. It might have been a very pleasant place of recreation and a centre of merchandise, with a number of Carāvān-serais. The present town of Bulrī which is situated in the Lār region of Sind can in no case be compared with Ballarī of medieval times, because its situation was to the north of al-Mansūrah and at a place in between Kallarī and al-Ror. Hence it may be traced somewhere in the northern part of Nawābshāh district or probably in the eastern Talukas of Dādū and Larkānā districts. It is also probable that the said town may have been submerged under the waters of mad Indus in some later period of Sind's history and may not be traceable for centuries to come.

Manjabari or Manhabari

The town of Manjābarī or according to some writers Manhātarī is reported to have been to the west of river Indus and situated on the road which connected al-Nerūn with al-Daybul, the seaport of Sind. Al-Idrīsī states that the town of Manjabarī was situated at a distance of two days journey from al-Daybul but he further adds that it was situated in bet-

ween al-Daybul and Panjgoor.[61] This version would place Manjābarī into the interior of Balūchistān, which is not correct. Major Raverty believes that the ruins near modern town of Badin about 33 miles west of it may be those of Manjābarī and the ruins near Shakrpur, 30 miles west of Thattā are those of Nerūn-Kot. M. R. Haig on the contrary assumes that Manjābarī might have been near modern Karachi. If this be correct then the site of Nerūn-Kot must be looked in the neighbourhood of Thattā instead of Hyderābād, and al-Mansūrah might have occupied a site near Hyderābād, probably at Nasarpur. Sir Henry Elliot has identified Manjābarī with Thatta which was also known as Minnagara (Min-Nagar) i.e. the town of Min people, who are reported to have been of Syth (Jatt) or Med origin.[62]

Due to the absence of the historical evidence as lamented by J. Abbot, it is very difficult to say with certainty which of the site was occupied by which town. Many sites have been washed away by the mad river and moreover the geological condition of the region has also greatly changed. The identification of various sites is now mainly based on conjectures, keeping in view the data supplied by the medieval Arab geographers. The identification of Manjābarī with Thattā by Henry Elliot does not appear to be correct. As per accounts, the town of Manjābarī was situated in the neighbourhood of al-Nerūn and its position was opposite to the town of Nerūn-Kot, on the other side of river Indus,[63] which position Thatta has never enjoyed throughout the period of its history. The view of David Ross appears to be correct[64] and in conformity with the available accounts. There is a ruined site in the neighbourhood of the town of Jhirk, which is called by the people as Kāfir-Kot and is supposed to have been built by Rājā Manjhira. The site contains remains of Buddhist and Hindū structures with curious inscriptions in ancient Indian characters. The distance between Hyderābād and Jhirk also agrees with the accounts of al-Istakhrī, who says that both these towns were two marches apart. If this be true then the ruins near Jhirk are definitely those of Manjābarī, and this view would also bring the site of al-Daybul near Dabo in the delta region.

Annari (or Atari)

The township of Annarī was situated near Kallarī and Ballarī and was equidistant from both these towns.[65] Annarī cannot be connected with Amrī, a town near Sann in Dādū district which has now emitted enormous material of archaeological interest in Sind. Presently a team of Italian archaeologists is working on it and it is believed that proper excavations of the ruins would add a new chapter in the ancient history of Sind, which would be taken back five or six centuries hence. Annarī may be Alrī or Amrī in Sindhi language and the same name appears on a number of Dehs in Nawābshāh and Dādū districts of Sind. It may be borne in mind that the flow of Indus in medieval age was in the eastern portion of Sind and as such a large portion of Nawābshāh, Khairpur and Sukkur districts lay to the west of the river. There is a continuation of ruins on both sides of the old bed of river Indus from Aror right up to the confines of Rann of Cutch and it is probable that town of Annarī might have occupied one of these sites.

Brahmanabad

The identification of the site of Bralumanābād has not yet been fixed although it has been identified by some with the ruins of Depar Ghānghro situated in Taluka Sinjhoro, District Sānghar of Hyderābād Division. The very name of the town indicates Persian influence and so is the suffix Abād. Zayn al-Akhbār, the famous Persian work of Gardezī relates that Bahman Jadhūyah who was also known as Artxerxes Longimanus, invaded Sind and conquered it. He then founded a town which bore his name and was named as Bahmanābād.[66] This name the town retained for a considerable period of time till probably the rise of the Brahmans in Sind, when the name was changed from Bahmanābād to Brahmanābād.

... Brahmanābād was the summer capital of Sind and this shows that it must have been situated within the reach of sea breeze, but not in the vicinity of the sea. It is believed to have been the O'fan-cha of Huen-Tsang, to which the Chinese pilgrim proceeded from Pi-ta-si-lo (or Patala). The pilgrim reports

that in order to have a glimpse of the ashes of Rishī Tathā-Gāthā he made a pilgrimage journey of 300 li to the north east to O'-fan-cha. Tathā-Gāthā had died in Sind and his ashes are reported to have emitted brilliant rays of light, beheld by the pilgrim himself.[67] The accounts of the Chinese pilgrim appear to be accurate and agree with the reports of the Arab geographers. Al-Balādhurī and other writers have shown the town of Brahmanābād situated at a distance of two farsakhs (six miles) from al-Mansūrāh,[68] the Arab capital of Sind. The distance of al-Mansūrah from al-Nerūn has been shown to be 15 farsakhs (45 miles) to the north east.[69] Al-Nerūn has been identified with modern Hyderābād and the ruins of Dalor which are believed to be those of al-Manṣūrah are exactly 44 miles to the north-east of that town. The ruins of Depar Ghānghro come within the radius of six miles from the ruins of Dalor. The whole region from the site of Dalor to the town of Jhol, is covered by extensive ruins and seems to have been occupied by the sites of various towns which arose on the ruins of each other. The ruins of Depar Ghānghro like that of Dalor are divided into two parts and bifurcated by the bed of a river which might either have been a branch of Indus or might have been the main stream of Hakro river, which flowed along the eastern border of Sind.

The town of Brahmanābād was destroyed by the Arabs in such a manner that it never rose again, although its name was perpetuated by the foundation of new towns in its vicinity. The accounts of Arab geographers show that al-Mansūrah which was founded in its close proximity,[70] at a distance of six miles, was known as Brahmanābād with the locals, and the town retained both these names down to the eleventh century A.C.

Abū al-Fadl writing in sixteenth century reports that Brahmanābād was a large town and its fort occupied an extensive area. He asserts that the fort of Brahmanābād had 1400 bastions each of which was situated at some distance from the other.[71] This may be an exaggeration, for the town of Brahmanābād and its fort was in ruins during his time and as such his

accounts are based on hearsay and conjectures. It seems that he may have also drawn his conclusion from the extensiveness of the ruins and on the popular version of the residents of that area. The author of Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī who preceded Abu al-Fadl, on the other hand reports that the Khiljī Turks, being defeated by the Mongols had fled to al-Mansūrah and took shelter in it. This reference it appears was made to al-Mansūrah, the Arab capital of Sind, which too was in ruins during the said period.

The name of Brahmanābād continued to have its echo throughout the medieval and the later period of the history of Sind. It is reported to have been ruled by Dalūrā'i, a prince who after the destruction of Alor occupied Brahmanābād and made it his capital. But this town also suffered the same fate on account of the follies of Dalūrā'i, who it appears himself perished in the catastrophe. The name of Dalūrā'i is not recorded after this event which shows that the last Hindū dynasty which ruled over Sind was brought to an end never to rise again. Due to the absence of historical chronology in local as well as in the foreign sources, the period during which Dalūrā'i ruled over Sind could not be ascertained. It can, however, be conjectured that Dalūrā'i may have ruled over Sind in the later Ghaznavid, or probably in the Ghorī period, when the monarchs of these dynasties failed to exercise political control on the affairs of Sind.

Notes and References

1. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175, Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 323.
2. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 356.
3. Chachnāmah, p. 116.
4. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 443.
5. Tārikh al-Tabarī, Vol. II, p. 1533; Kāmil fi al-Tārikh, Vol. IV, p. 258; Kitāb al-'Ibar, Vol. III, p. 66.
6. Chachnāmah, p. 118.
7. Ibid, p. 116.
8. Historians of Sind, Vol. II, p. 155.
9. Bhambhor (Booklet), pp. 1-4.
10. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, p. 175.
11. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 323.
12. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq (Wasf al-Hind), p. 29.
13. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 356.
14. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 284.
15. The Ghāro creek had never been the mouth of river Indus, but it appears to have been an outlet of the hill torrent carrying rain water to the sea from the neighbouring hills.
16. Ancient Geography (Cunningham), Vol. I, p. 282.
17. Ibid, p. 283.
18. Futūh al-Buldān, pp. 442, 443.
19. Chachnamāh, p. 73.
20. Chachnamāh reports that after the death of Budayl ibn Tahāfatah al-Bajjalī, 'Amir ibn Abdullāh made a formal request to al-Hajjāj for appointment over Sind, which was however rejected by the viceroy, who appointed Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim as governor over Sind. Vide Chachnāmah, p. 93.
21. Ahsan al-Taqāsim, p. 479.
22. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq (Wasf al-Hind), p. 29.
23. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
24. Ahsan al-Taqāsim, p. 479.
25. Kāmil, Vol. VIII, p. 185; Tārikh al-Khulafā', p. 254.
26. Chachnāmah, p. 104.

27. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
28. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 323.
29. Historians of Sind, Vol. II, p. 129.
30. Chachnāmah, p. 255.
31. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441.
32. Ibid, p. 441.
33. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VI, p. 118.
34. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 143.
35. Nāniā Wāh in some sources has been described as a canal coming from Indus.
36. Chachnamah, p. 153.
37. Ancient Geography, Vol. I, p. 342.
38. 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār, Vol. II, p. 7.
39. Indus Delta, p. 44.
40. Mahrān, p. 123.
41. Ibid, p. 319.
42. A'in-i-Akbarī, p. 556.
43. Ibid, p. 550.
44. Chachnāmah, pp. 106, 107.
45. Ancient Geography, Vol. I, p. 283.
46. Chachnāmah, pp. 224, 225.
47. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣtakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 322; Wasf al-Hind, p. 34.
48. Wasf al-Hind, p. 34.
49. Huen-Tsang: Book IV, p. 461.
50. Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 174, 175.
51. Ancient Geography, Vol. I, p. 264.
52. Ancient History, pp. 100, 101.
53. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 443.
54. Wasf al-Hind, p. 35.
55. Historians of Sind, Vol. II, p. 119.
56. Wasf al-Hind, p. 33.
57. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣtakhrī), p. 175.
58. Kallarī is about ten miles east of Sakrand in Nawābshāh district.
59. Wasf al-Hind, p. 35.

60. Al-Masālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 180; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 326.
61. Wasf al-Hind, p. 36.
62. Historians of Sind (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. II, p. 145.
63. Al-Masālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175.
64. Land of Five Rivers and Sind, p. 27.
65. Al-Masālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175.
66. Mahrān (quoting reference from Zayn al-Akhbār), p. 197.
67. Huen-Tsang: Book IV, p. 151.
68. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
69. J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 284.
70. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 444.
71. A'īn-i-Akbarī, p. 555.

THE ARAB KINGDOM OF MULTAN IN SIND

Derivation of the term Multān; Antiquity of Multān and its temple; Kingdom of Multān; Rulers of Multān; The idol of Multān; Multān under the Arabs; End of the kingdom of Multān.

Arab kingdom of Multan in Sind

Multan was the principal city of the eastern most province of the vast empire of the Arabs in the medieval times. It was held by a Qurayshite family which claimed its descent from Sāmah ibn Lū'iyah of the tribe of Banū Asad. The kingdom was finally brought to an end by the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Mahmūd who defeated the ruler of Multān and annexed his kingdom in the rising Ghaznavid empire.

Derivation of the term "Multan"

The term Multan is derived from Sanskrit Malisthānā (Mālī-Asthan) which means the seat of Mālī, a people who are reported to have been dominant in West Pakistan in the ancient times. The Mālī might have been the Maloi of the Greek writers[1] who along with Shibī (or Sibī) were the two great people or tribes which inhabited a greater portion of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Many names are still connected with these two tribes in both India and Pakistan which show the importance in which these people were held in the ancient times. Malwā in central India, Sibī in Baluchistān, Siwistān in Sind and Shivi-kot (Shorkot) in Punjab perpetuate the name of these tribes and the extent of their cultural influence on the sub-continent.

The ancient name of Multān is reported to have been Kasyāpā-pūrā, placed on it after Rishi Kasyāpā, who was one of the sons of Manū, the direct descendant of god Brahma.[2]

Manū had seven sons and these are represented in the heavens by the seven stars of the great bear. It also seems to have derived its name from "Mūl", the Sun-god,[3] whose statue adored the temple of Multān. This is attested to from the accounts of the Arab writers who speak of Multān as the chief centre of Sun-worship in the northern part of the Indus valley. The term Mūl in Sanskrit means the root (or origin); it also means heaven, ether, space, atmosphere or god. Any one of these names can be made applicable to Sun, the lord of ethereal space. It is related that the temple of Multān was the first ever built in the sub-continent for the worship of the Sun-god, by Sambā, the son of lord Krishnā. It was named Adiyasthanā or the first shrine.[4] Aditiyā is the corruption of Aditiyah (or the Sun) which is usually shortened to Adit and even Ayt[5] as in the case of Aditwara (or Aytwar) for Sunday. The sun-worship in Multān may be very ancient. According to one tradition it was instituted by the famous Prahlada, the son of Daitiya (or Hiryana Kapisu), the son of Manū as already mentioned. The famous Sanskrit scholar al-Berūnī relates that the idol of Multān which was named after the sun, was built in the Karta-Jug, which according to his calculations was 216432 years old.[6]

Antiquity of Multan and its temple

Multān and its temple claim remote antiquity. It has been mentioned in the accounts of the Greek admiral Skylax, who is reported to have explored the regions of Punjāb and Sind during the reign of Darius I, the third Achaemenian ruler of Irān. The description of the city of Kasya-Pāpura given by Herodotus and Ptolemy and the accounts of its situation bring it closer to the site of Multān. Alexander the Great who visited the temple of Multān was wonder-struck at the excellence of the human art with which the idol was built and suspended in the air by the pull of magnet.[7] Multān is also spoken of by the Chinese pilgrim Huen-Tsang, as a flourishing city with the temple of Sun, which he calls U-fa-Tsun (i.e. Aditiya), the Sun-god. The name of Multān appears as Mūlo-sān-pū-lā (i.e. Mulasthanpurā) and he further adds that the image of

the Sun-god was carved out of the pure gold and was adored with every kind of precious stone.[8] During the period of his visit Multān was situated on the eastern bank of Rāvī, but the river had long ago abandoned its old channel and it is now more than thirty miles distant.

Alexander Cunningham who travelled in that region in 1856 reports that during the high floods the river still flowed in its old bed and he had himself seen the ditches of Multān filled with the natural overflow of the river.[9] At the time of the invasion of the Arabs, Multān with its temple was the chief centre of pilgrimage in the Indus valley and the people from all over the sub-continent repaired to it during the season of the pilgrimage. The Arabs who became the masters of the Indus valley identified the idol with that of Job (Ayūb), the Hebrew Prophet.[10]

Multān was the capital of one of the provinces of the Hindū Kingdom of Sind, before the invasion of the Arabs. It is reported to have been captured by Chach, the Brahman ruler of Alor, who usurped the power after the death of Rā'i Sehāsi II, the last Buddhist ruler of Sind. At the time of the Arab attack Multān was held by Rājā Kandā who offered stiff resistance to the invading army and cut off the provisions from the south. The army, therefore, killed asses and used them as food. According to the version of Chachnamah the head of the animal cost five hundred dirhams,[11] which may be an exaggeration. The priests of Multān, who were tired of the prolonged misery entered into negotiations with the Arab army and surrendered the fort to them. Large quantities of gold were obtained by the Arabs from the temple of Multān and as such it became known as Farj Bayt al-Dhahab.[12] Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim appointed Dā'ūd ibn Nasr al-Omānī as governor over Multān, while the suburbs of that city were placed in charge of 'Ikramah ibn Tayhan al-Shāmi[13] under the orders of the conqueror. This suggests that the city of Multān as before became a dependency to al-Ror which now became the chief centre of the Arab rule in Sind.

Kingdom of Multan

In the absence of historical records it is very difficult to give the exact period of the foundation of the kingdom of Multān. It is however certain that Multān and its environments were ruled by Banu Sāmah, a branch of the Qurayshites till the rise of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah. It appears that Dā'ūd ibn Nasr al-'Omānī, an appointee of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī may have continued to rule over the northern regions by submitting to the authority of the Arab governors of Sind and also of the reigning caliph. There is no mention of the appointment of separate governor for Multān in any of the sources and as such it can very well be concluded that the descendants of Sāmah bin Lū'iyah continued to rule over the region till the reign of caliph al-Mutawakkil when the kingdom became independent.

Rulers of Multan

The names of the rulers of Multān who succeeded each other during a long period of nearly two centuries do not appear systematically in the historical sources. The geographers who visited the Indus valley during the Arab rule have failed to mention the names of the contemporary rulers of Multān. Al-Mas'udi is the only exception, as he has very graciously given the name of ruler of Multān and the extent of his territories. Al-Mas'ūdi who visited the Indus valley shortly after A.H. 300/919 A.C. reports, "that the ruler of Multān is Abu al-Dalhāth al-Munabbah bin Asad al-Qarshi, who since the time of his forefathers is in possession of the country."[14] This shows that the dynasty of Banū Asad might have continued to rule over the region since the time of the Arab conquest and the appointment of the members of this family might have been confirmed by the succeeding governors or probably the caliphs who held the helm of affairs at the centre. According to one account Multān and its environments were reconquered by the Arabs during the 'Abbāsid rule (A.H. 151 / 768 A.C.) by the governor of Sind, Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī.[15] It appears that due to the civil war among the Arabs in Sind a greater portion of the Indus valley might have gone out of the hands of the

Arab colonists. The Zutt and the Med who inhabited the regions of Thar desert and also the regions of Cutchī and Gandāvā, might have formed a confederacy to expel the Arabs out of the country. But with the emergence of the vigorous dynasty of the 'Abbāsids at the centre, the territories of Multān were reunited under one rule and probably governed from al-Mansurah, the Arab capital of Sind. There appears to have been a second attempt to reconquer Multān by Muhammad ibn 'Adiyu in A.H. 184 / 800 A.C. but he was forced to retire.[16] It is not sure whether Multān was held by the non-Muslims or by the Arabs of the Sāmah family. Modern researches however reveal that Multān was ruled by a Muslim dynasty with a greater portion of southern Punjāb under its sway. This is further attested to by the records of the Shāhī dynasty, which show that the Muslims were all powerful in southern Punjāb till the rise of the Ghaznavids.[17] A silver coin of one of these rulers has been found at the site of Bhiro near Shahdādpur and it bears the following inscription:-

بالله	محمد
بنو داود	رسول
واصم	الله

18

This coin which has wrongly been ascribed to the Dā'ūd-potrās, reveals that the family of Dā'ūd ibn Nasr al-'Omānī continued to rule over the regions of Multān, from a pretty long time. It can be fairly conjectured that Munabbah ibn Asad al-Qarshī mentioned by al-Mas'ūdīin his accounts, also belonged to the family of Dā'ūd ibn Nasr al-'Omānī. During the reign of Subuktagīn at Ghaznī the ruler of Multan is reported to have been Shaykh Hāmid and he entered into peace treaty with the Turkish commander of Subuktagīn.[19] The title of Shaykh prefixed to the names of the rulers of Multān suggests that the Arab rulers of Multān might have been influenced by the Ismā'īlī propaganda and might have been converted to the Qarmathian sect. It has been reported that the Qarmathian missionary work was in full swing during the later period of Arab rule in Sind on account of the propaganda machinery handled by men like al-Haytham and Jalam ibn Shaybān. The

latter who was a great Ismā'īlī fanatic broke the idol of Multān into pieces and ordered the closure of the Umayyad mosque[20] built earlier by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind. The omission of the names of the rulers of Multān by the Arab historians might have been actuated due to the distance of the province from the seat of the central government and also the lack of interest shown by the dynastic rulers in the affairs of the centre. It is unfortunate that the coins of the Arab rulers of Multān have not yet come to light from the ruined sites either in Punjāb or in the lower Indus valley. It is, therefore, very difficult to arrive at definite conclusion.

The idol of Multan

The idol of Multān identified with Job, the Hebrew Prophet by the Arab historians, was one of the few idols to which the people flocked in large numbers from the various regions of the sub-continent. During the period of Arab rule the temple of Multān was the chief source of revenue to the state and the rulers defrayed most of their needs from the income of the temple. The idol of Multān is reported to have resembled a man, seated on a chair. Its body was covered with red skin in such a manner that nothing of it could be seen, excepting the eyes, which are reported to have been two gems of great value. The jewels were fixed in the sockets with such a great skill that they looked real. Ibn Nadīm reports that these gems were bigger than the eggs of the sparrow and shone with brilliance in the temple.[21] A crown of gold also adored the head of the idol, whose hands were placed on knees and the fingers of one of his hands shew as if he was counting four. There were two other idols in Multān known as Junbukat (جنبکت) and Zunbukat (زنبکت). Both were carved out of stone and were placed at an elevation of eighty yards on both sides of the valley. Since these idols were seen from a great distance, the pilgrim would alight at the first sight and proceeded to the temple bare-footed as a sign of reverence.[22]

Gifts and presents were brought to the idol of Multān from a great distance; in some cases from places more than

one thousand miles away. Sacrifices were offered to the idol after shaving the heads and also the circumambulation of the temple. The sacrifices at Multān had various modes, some of which were horrible to the extreme. Some pilgrims would take out their eyes with the knife and place it before the idol. Others would select a long stick of bamboo and after making one of its end sharp, would place the naval of their stomach over it. The pilgrim would then press his body against it in such a manner that it passed through his belly and caused his death.[23]

Ibn Rustah who wrote by A.H. 290/903 A.C. gives a descriptive account from the narratives of the eye witnesses who visited the temple of Multān. He relates:-

"The idol of Multān was twenty yards in length and was of human shape. The Hindūs believe that it has come down to them from the heavens and have asked them to worship and adore him. The idol and the temple of Multān are a great source of income to the Arab rulers of Multān and also the priests who look after the temple of Multān. The rich people dedicate half of their properties to the idol, although there are cases in which the whole is given to the idol with intent to please him. The priests refrain from taking meat and observe strict rules of discipline, by remaining neat and clean. The idol is served with food which comprises of rice, fish, vegetable, accompanied with music and dance. The food is then distributed to the animals, birds, insects, who assemble there as usual. The idol is made of iron and suspended in the middle of the temple by the pull of magnet."[24]

Ibn Nadīm, another writer of the same period, reports that "the idol of Multān was seven yards in length and the total height of the temple was one hundred and eighty yards. He further adds that the idol had four faces, each one stood in front of the four entrances the pilgrim would select for visiting the idol."[25]

Al-Berūnī on the other hand reports that the idol of Multān[26] was made of wood and covered with the cordovan

leather. This suggests that the original idol which was made of gold must have been removed by the Arabs on account of its value and replaced by a new one made of wood. The wooden image of Multān was ultimately broken to pieces by the Qarmathian usurper Jalam ibn Shaybān (or Sha'bān) who also exterminated its priests.[27]

The idol of Multān was of great value to the Arabs. Apart from being the principal source of revenue to the state, it was also valuable for defence purposes. Whenever an attack was made on Multān by non-Muslims, the Arab rulers would take out the idol from the temple, and by exhibiting it on the fort wall threatened to break it.[28] This obliged the enemy to withdraw and in this manner the kingdom of Multān was saved from early extinction. It is related that when Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī captured Multān, he asked the reason of its prosperity and the immense riches that were found in its temple. The priests told him that it was due to the idol that the riches have accumulated in the temple. The people brought presents in the shape of valuables from all over India and these were hoarded in the temple for countless generations. Muhammad however spared the idol of Multān from being desecrated, but he hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery.[29]

Multan under the Arabs

The Arab geographers who visited the valley of Indus during the Arab rule report that Multān was a flourishing city and was the capital of the kingdom of the same name, which extended from al-Ror to the confines of Kashmīr. The country in and around Multān was flourishing and it had many gardens, fields and meadows. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that there were one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages in the kingdom of Multān,[30] which appears to be a ridiculous exaggeration. Nevertheless it gives a general impression of the prosperity of the country. The account of al-Mas'udi who was the first eye witness to the conditions of Indus valley in medieval times, may be summed up in the following description:

"Multān is seventy five Sindhian farsakhs from al-Mansūrah, each farskah is equal to eight miles. The whole country is well-cultivated and is covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with the people known as Med, who are a race of Sind. Multān is one of the strongest frontiers of the Muslims. There is an idol in it also known as Multān. The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimage to it from the most distant places. They carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multān is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol. The most important among these is the aloe-wood of Kumār, which is of the finest quality and its price is 200 dinars (i.e. gold pieces) per maund. When the unbelievers march against Multān and the Muslims do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them they threaten to break the idol, and this obliges them to withdraw."[31]

Al-Istakhrī, who followed al-Mas'ūdī in his tours of the Indus valley relates that:

"Multān is half the size of al-Mansūrah and known as Farj Bayt al-Dhahab. There is an idol in it held in great reverence by the Indians. Every year people undertake pilgrimage to this idol from different parts of the country (i.e. India) and bring to it vast sums of money. These sums they spend on the temple and also on those who have dedicated their lives to the idol. The town of Multān is so called after the name of the idol, which is placed in the temple, situated in the middle of the town, where all the roads cross each other. The idol is placed in the dome in the middle of the temple, around which there are dwellings of priests and the devotees. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with red skin except the eyes, which are made of two jewels. Some people believe that it is made of wood, others deny it, but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the issue. The idol wears a crown made of gold and its hands are placed on the knees in such a manner as if it is counting four. The king of Multān defrays most of its needs

from the income of the temple. When the Indians attack Multān the rulers take out the idol and showing it to the infidels, threaten to break it. This obliges the unbelievers to withdraw, otherwise Multān would have been destroyed by the Indians much earlier. It is known as Farj Bayt al-Dhahab on account of the vast quantities of gold recovered from its temple at the first conquest by the Muslims. Since the riches were obtained after famine and hardship in the Muslim army, it became known with the said name from that time onwards."[32]

He further adds that, outside Multān at a distance of about half farsakh, there is a cantonment and also the residence of the ruler of Multān. The chief never enters the city of Multān except on Fridays. He comes to offer prayers with the Muslims in the city and returns back seated on an elephant. The ruler is from the family of Sāmah ibn Lū'iyah and is independent but the khutbah is read in the name of the 'Abbāsids."[33]

Another geographer Ibn Hauqal, who is also reported to have visited Sind, repeats almost the same version about Multān. The only difference appears in the name of the cantonment, which al-Istakhrī has omitted to mention. The cantonment was known as Jandrūz (or Jandrawar), and it was situated on the east of river Mahrān.[34] The town of Basmad was also included in the kingdom of Multān by both al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal. It was a small town situated at a distance of one farsakh from the bed of river Mahrān which was almost equidistance from all the three towns of Multān, Jandrawar and Basmad.[35]

Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī was the fourth and last visitor of the Indus valley during the Arab rule in Sind. He gives a descriptive account of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah, its town and the general condition of the people of lower Indus valley, but he has omitted to mention the accounts of Multān and its Arab kingdom. This shows that Multān at this juncture might have been occupied by the Qarmathians who might have banned the entry of the said geographer in the territories of Multān. It is also possible that the geographer himself avoided to visit

Multān on account of personal reasons, or perhaps in the fear of being involved in espionage from the Sunnite kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind. All the writers, however, agree that the town of Multān was a busy trading place, with populous bazārs, having different varieties of commodities for sale. The ivory and copper goods were manufactured in abundance and these were regarded to be of very fine quality, in the whole Indus valley. The prices were low and within the reach of common man. The dress of the people of Multān resembled the dress of the people of al-'Irāq, but the Arab rulers had adopted the apparels of the non-Muslim rulers of India. Both Arabic and Sindhi were spoken in Multān,[36] the former being the official language of the state. The script in use at Multān was called Ardnāgrī (half Nāgrī) which appears to have been a mixture of Nāgrī with Sidhamatrikā.

The city of Multān was a great centre and halting place for the trade caravans which frequented it from the regions of Takhāristān, Budhā and al-Mansūrah. It appears that the trade activities of the Multānī merchants extended to the interior of India as far as Kanuj and other cities in the Ganges valley. The commodities whether local or foreign, according to the reports of the Arab writers, could be had in abundance and on cheap rates. Such was the state of prosperity that one silver dirham could fetch thirty maunds of bread and three maunds of sugar in the regions of Multān.[37]

A reference about the kingdom of Multān appears in the inscription of the kings of Pratihara dynasty who are said to be at war with the rulers of Multān.[38] The importance of Multān as a commercial and cultural centre began to dwindle due to the rise of a new and powerful dynasty of the Turks in the Afghān hills. The Ghaznavids who finally became a great power in Afghanistān, Khurasān and Central Asia, attacked Punjāb under its two great rulers Subuktagīn and Mahmūd and the kingdom of Multān was extinguished by the latter in the year A.H. 401/1010 A.C.

End of the kingdom of Multan

The kingdom of Multān was an outpost of the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and it was the eastern most province of the vast Arab empire. During the later period of the Arab rule, Multān came under the influence of the Qarmathian heretics, who began to propagate the new doctrine of their faith opposed to the dictum of the Qurān and Sunnah. At this juncture a new and vigorous dynasty of the Ghaznavids came to power in Afghanistān at Ghaznī which is situated in the immediate vicinity of the Indian frontiers. The great Shāhī dynasty which ruled over Punjāb was worsted by Subuktagīn and finally brought to an end by his energetic son Mahmūd, who may be regarded as one of the greatest conquerors of world history. Since Mahmūd professed pure orthodoxy, he decided to punish the ruler of Multān for defection and also for his heretical activities. In A.H. 396/1006 A.C., Mahmūd marched against Multān with a large force of about 12000 horsemen. But since the river could not be crossed with safety, he took the northern route and effected the passage of his army near Peshāwar. Anandpāla, the then ruler of Punjāb opposed the invaders with great determination, but he was defeated. The ruler of Multān too could not face the invasion of the hardy warriors of Mahmūd and as such he fled to an island in the Indus. The people of Multān implored for peace which was however granted by the Ghaznavid war-lord, but he exacted heavy indemnities from the citizens. Al-'Utbī and Gardezī both agree that the Sultān exacted twenty million dirhams[39] from the people apart from the booty left by the fleeing ruler. The Qarmathians of Multān however did not submit to the Sultān and fought desperately against the Ghaznavid onslaught, but they were cut to pieces. It is said that the Sultān put so many Qarmathians to sword that a stream of blood flowed from the Lohari gate and the hand of the Sultān was stuck fast to the hilt of the sword on account of the congealed blood. The Sultān had to immerse his hand in the water so that it could be loosened. Even the mosque of Multān built by Jalam ibn Shaybān was not spared and

reduced to the position of barn-floor.[40] The Qarmathians continued to hold Multān after the return of Mahmūd to Ghaznī, but the city and its environments were ultimately subdued in A.H. 401/1010 A.C. The ruler of Multān Abū al-Fath Dā'ūd was taken captive and imprisoned at Ghurah, fifty miles north west of Qandahār. The Arab kingdom of Multān was brought to an end and its territories were incorporated in the empire of the Ghaznavids.

Notes and References

1. Land of five rivers and Sind (David Ross), p. 92.
2. Ibid, p. 92.
3. Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, p. 234.
4. Ibid, p. 263.
5. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56.
6. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56. According to al-Mas'ūdī who was anterior in time to al-Berūnī, the temple of Multān was built in the time of the first Budha and it was 3,96,000 years old. Vide Tanbīh wa'l-Ashrāf, p. 33.
7. Athār al-Bilād, p. 62.
8. Huen-Tsang, Book IV, p. 152.
9. Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, p. 230.
10. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 445.
11. Chachnāmah, p. 238.
12. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 445; Kāmil, Vol. IV, p. 258; Chachnāmah, p. 24; Athār al-Bilād, p. 62; al-Fihrist, p. 486.
13. Chachnāmah, p. 240.
14. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 242.
15. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 91.
16. Ibid, p. 117.
17. Imperial Age (Kanuj), pp. 128, 129.
18. Indian Antiquary, Vol, XI, p. 94.
19. Tārīkh Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 18.
20. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 50.
21. Al-Fihrist, p. 486.
22. Ibid, p. 486.
23. A'ilāq al-Nafīsah, p. 136; Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
24. A'ilāq al-Nafīsah, p. 138.
25. Al-Fihrist, p. 486.
26. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56.
27. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56.
28. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
29. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56.
30. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
31. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142; al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 322.

32. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 175.
33. Ibid, p. 175.
34. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 322.
35. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Iṣṭaklırī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 322.
36. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamalik (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 175; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 324; Ahsan al-Taqāsim, p. 480.
37. Ahsan al-Taqāsim, p. 480.
39. Tārīkh Yamīnī (al-'Utbi), p. 212; Zayn al-Akhbār, pp. 67, 68.
40. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 117.

QARMATHIANS IN SIND

Origin of the Qarmathians; Their advent in Sind; The supersession of the Ismā'īlī Fātmīds; The end of the Ismā'īlī hegemony in Sind.

The Qarmathians were an offshoot of the Ismā'īlī community which was the second largest group of the Shī'ite Muslims. The Shī'ah according to Qalqashandī is the second "great tā'ifah" in Islam, which supports (Shaya'u) 'Alī and believes in his Imāmah and Khilāfah by nass and wasiya (i.e. prophetic delegation) whether in open or secretly. According to them the Imām cannot leave his line of succession except by usurpation and oppression by another without his consent or by Taqiyya (dissimulation) on his part.[1] The Shī'ah are divided into three main groups of Athnā Ash'ariyah, Ismā'īliyah and Zaydiyah. The Athanā Ash'ari as the name indicates believe in the twelve Imāms from 'Alī the first to Muhammad al-Mahdī the twelfth, whilst the Ismā'īlīs have faith in seven Imāms only, the seventh being Ismā'īl, the eldest son of Imām Ja'far Sādiq. The Zaydis have a nominal following and they accept the Imāmat of Zayd ibn 'Alī, the grandson of Husayn ibn 'Alī, the martyr of Karbalā.

The Ismā'īli theory like Pythagorian system is based on number seven which assumed importance of sacred nature among them. According to their gnostic cosmogony the steps of emanation are seven and these are I. God; II. universal mind; III. universal soul; IV. primeval matter; V. space; VI. time; and VII. the world of earth and man. This world was favoured with seven legislating prophets viz., Adam, Noah, Abrahām, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and Muhammad al-Tamm, the son of Imām Ismā'īl. [2] In between the two legislating prophets they inserted seven silent Ones (samit) namely Ismā'īl, Aoron,

Peter and 'Alī. The Ismā'īlis further based their theory on age-long belief in seven skies, seven earths, seven heavens, seven hells, seven planets, seven colours and so on. Hence the belief and conviction in the seven Imāms (viz. 'Alī, Hasan, Husayn, 'Alī (Zayn al-'Abdīn), Muhammad, Ja'far and Ismā'īl) became their cardinal belief. Ismā'īl, the seventh Imām it is told, due to his intemperance was eliminated from Imāmate by his father in preference to his second son Mūsā al-Kāzim. The seveners (sab'iyah) who believe in the infallibility of the Imām reject the theory of the appointment of Mūsā and remain loyal to Ismā'īl who according to them was also the hidden Mahdī.

The Qarmathians owe their origin to Hamdān Qarmat, a peasant of al-'Irāq, who is said to have been an eminent astrologer. Socialist to the core he built a residence for himself, near al-Kūfah, which he named Dār al-Hijrah. This house in due course of time became the place of refuge for the peasants of al-'Irāq who fled from their lands due to the atrocious vandalism of the feudal lords. Evidently it was a self-supporting secret society based on the system of communism in which the members were obliged to contribute a portion of their income to the common pool. Like the great Mazdak of Irān, Qarmat even went to the extent of prescribing the community of wives and children, called 'Ulfah'. Stress was laid on tolerance and equality and they based their whole existence on the allegorical catechism of the Qurān, which could be adopted by all races, castes and creeds. They organised workers and artisans into guilds (sinf) and their ceremonials had the ritual of guild. Even Ikhwān al-Safā, the eclectic school of popular philosophy at Baghdād was dominated and run by people who adhered more strictly to Qarmathian principles. It was this trade guild movement which afterwards influenced the formation of the European guilds and freemasonry.[3]

Ikhwān al-Safā, it may be borne out was a politico-religious society with ultra-Shī'ite views of Ismā'īlī order which later developed into a full-fledged movement culminating in the establishment of the Fātmid rule in North Africa. The collection

of the Rasā'il of the Ikhwān which number fifty two reveal obscure names (not disclosed due to 'Takiyah') probably of the Ismā'īlī Dā'īs, who had contributed to make the working of the society a great success. According to one tradition most of the Rasā'il of the Ikhwān were written and compiled by the Ismā'īlī Imām Muhammad al-Taqī, the fourth descendant of Ismā'īl ibn Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. The Ismā'īlīs aimed at overthrowing the existing political order of the 'Abbāsids, by undermining the popular intellectual system and the religious beliefs of the people. This is evident from the names of various scholars and intellectuals who have made tremendous contribution to the development of cultural and literary activities among the Muslims.

The greatest philosopher of the medieval age Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abū Nasr al-Fārābī, was an Ismā'īlī; 'Umar al-Khayyām the great astronomer and mathematician was likewise a follower of the Ismā'īlī sect. The other prominent men who made their name in medieval times and belonged to the Ismā'īlī order, include among others the famous geographer Ibn Hauqal al-Nasībī, Rudkī the famous poet of Irān, Nasiruddin Tūsī the mathematician-astronomer of Central Asia, the great traveller Nāsir-e-Khusraw, Qāzī Nu'mān of Egypt and a number of others, who had kindled the light of learning in medieval times. The Qarmathians believed in the theory of force. Shedding of blood of their opponents, even if he be a Muslim was mubāh for them. Before they attained full-fledged power, they instigated Zanj rebellion of the negroes of the southern al-'Irāq, which the 'Abbāsid forces failed to put down for 15 years (868 A.C. to 883 A.C.). In 889 A.C. the Qarmathians succeeded in founding an independent state on the western shores of the Persian gulf under the leadership of a Qarmathian missionary Abū Sa'īd al-Hasan al-Jannābī, with al-Ahsā as their capital. From their new headquarter the Qarmathians conducted depredatory raids on the towns of al-'Irāq, which had already suffered heavily during the servile war. The power of the 'Abbāsid caliphs crumbled down and the Qarmathians became the masters of the trade and pilgrim

routes to al-Hijāz. During the reign of Abū Tāhir Sulaymān, the son and successor of Hasan al-Jannābī, the Qarmathians attacked Mecca, desecrated the Ka'bah and took away the black stone (Hajar al-Aswad). This ancient relic of the Beduine belief remained with the Qarmathian heretics for a period of twenty years. It was on the intercession of the Fātmid caliph al-Mansūr (946 A.C. to 952 A.C.) that the black stone was returned to the holy Ka'bah.[4]

Abū Tāhir Sulaymān appears to have been a powerful chief, the influence of whose activities was felt in Syria, Yaman and even distant Khurāsān. He sent missionaries to these regions for gaining support to their cause which was based on the 'purity of Islam'. The so-called purity according to them lay in the rejection of the theory of Sifāt (Attributes of God). Two Ismā'īlī missionaries of the Qarmathian order are reported to have come to Sind and these were Ibn al-Haytham and Jalam ibn Shaybān. Ibn al-Haytham who came first was sent by Abu al-Qāsim ibn Hushāb well-known as Mansūr al-Yaman, and the missionary was his cousin. According to Qādī al-Nu'mān's work Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Masayrāt, the missionary was sent to a distant province in which there was a huge idol.[5] The name of the province or the town does not appear in the treatise referred to, but it can be fairly concluded that the province mentioned could not have been one except Multān which was famous for its idol in the Arab world. It has been reported further that the conduct and the views of the Ismā'īlī missionary were at variance with the original spirit of the Ismā'īlī teachings. He was therefore dismissed by the Imām (i.e. the Fātmid caliph) and succeeded by Jalam (or Halam) ibn Shaybān, who according to the version of al-Berūnī, closed the mosque built by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī at Multān.[6] He is also reported to have destroyed the idol of Multān, which was of great importance to the Arab rulers of Multān in respect of both revenue and defence purposes. According to another report the end of Ibn al-Haytham was hastened by the Fātmid caliph through intrigues and this is attested to from some of the epistles of al-Mu'īz.

The conquest of Multān by the Ismā'īlī missionaries is attested to from 'Uyūn al-Akhbār,[7] in the reign of al-Mu'īz li Dīnillāh, the most powerful of all the Fātmid caliphs. It was during his reign that Egypt was conquered by the famous Sicilian slave al-Jawhar, who also laid the foundation of al-Qāhirah (modern Cairo). The building of al-Azhar mosque which rose to be the greatest seat of learning in Africa is also due to this eunuch commander, who added Nubia, parts of Syria and al-Hijāz to the rising empire of the Fātmids. The Shī'ites of the Muslim world, at this period looked to the Fātmids of Egypt for their guidance, It is therefore probable to assume that the Ismā'īlīs of Multān might have also established contacts with the caliphs of Egypt, who are often referred to as Imāms. It may also be borne out that the Ismā'īlīs of Multān had no concern with the Bātnite strongholds of Persia (viz. Alamūt and Girdukh) which came into prominence at a very late period of the Muslim history. The Drūzes too had very little to do with the Ismā'īlīs of Multān, as that sect came into existence into the first decade of the eleventh century A.C. Its founder Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Darazī was one of the confidents of the sixth Fātmid caliph Abu 'Alī Mansūr al-Hakīm. a maniac who took pleasure in shedding blood. Al-Hakīm was finally assassinated at the instance and instigation of his sister Sitt al-Mulūk, whom he had earlier accused of illicit relations.[8]

One of the epistles of al-Mu'īz written on 19th Ramdān A.H. 354/966 A.C. and citations in 'Uyūn al-Akhbār prove that even the banners of the Fātmid caliphs of Egypt were sent to Sind. This was done in conformity with the prophecy of Imām 'Alī, who is reported to have said, "the rule of the house of Muhammad and the blessings of God be on him, will be completed when the banners will appear coming from Sind."[9] It can, therefore, be fairly concluded that there was an exchange of the Ismā'īlī banners between Sind and Egypt, both of which recognised the Fātmid rule and the nominal recognition of the 'Abbāsid caliphs as the lawful sovereign of the Muslim world was totally eliminated. These facts receive

corroboration from the accounts of Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, who visited Sind by the year A.H. 375 / 986 A.C. He reports that instead of the 'Abbāsids the Khutbah was read in the name of the Fātmid caliphs and the Ismā'īlīs of Multān cry out حي علي خير العمل in their call to prayer (i.e. Azān).[10] The Ismā'īlī influence was restricted to Multān alone but it was gaining momentum at al-Mansūrah too, which till then recited the name of the 'Abbāsid caliphs in Friday prayers. The geographer reports that the rulers of al-Mansūrah held contacts and diplomatic relations with the Buwayhid rulers of Shīrāz and that an ambassador of al-Mansūrah waited on them. The Buwayhids as it would appear were greatly inclined to the Fātmids of Egypt on account of Shī'ite proclivities and they would have replaced the 'Abbāsid caliphs with the Fātmids but the idea was abandoned due to the political reasons. Nevertheless one of their commanders al-Bassāsirī, who was the military governor of Baghdād in 1058 A.C., forced the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Qā'im to sign a document renouncing his rights of caliphate in favour of his rival al-Mustansir, the Fātmid caliph of Egypt. The insignia of caliphate along with the turband of the reigning 'Abbāsid caliph and a window from his palace were sent to Cairo as trophies.[11]

The connection of the Ismā'īlīs of Multān with the Fātmids of Egypt shows that the Ismā'īlīs of Multān had nothing to do with the Qarmathians as is generally assumed. It is probable that the Qarmathians might have captured Multān by force and occupied it for some time. But the epistles of al-Mu'īz to the Dā'ī of Multān confirm the general belief that the Fātmid missionaries must have had an upper hand over the Qarmathian heretics, who are referred to as Mulāhidah by the Muslim writers. The recitation of حي علي خير العمل further leads us to believe that the Ismā'īlīs of Multān and elsewhere in Sind were totally unconnected with the Qarmathians, who did not have faith in each other's dogmas.

It appears that the misunderstanding about the Ismā'īlīs of Multān belonging to the Qarmathian order might have been created by the writings of Ibn al-Athir and al-Berūnī, who

have dubbed the rulers of Multān and al-Mansūrah as murtad مرتد by abjuring Islam, the true faith. The blame of الحاد might have been thumped over the rulers probably from the orthodox point of view, who it may be borne in mind rejects all kinds of rational thinking. The Fātmid caliphs being rival to the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād, were therefore regarded as heretics and those who followed them or recognised their spiritual or political suzerainty were also dubbed as such. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who styled himself as the custodian of the true faith thought it proper to punish the heretics who were creating disruption among the Muslims by propagating their dogmas which were opposed to the Sunnite teachings.

The conclusion, therefore, would be that the hold of the Qarmathians over Multān might have lasted only for a few years due to the decline of their meteoric power in Omān and the regions of Persian Gulf and were superseded by the Ismā'īlīs who professed the doctrines of the Fātmids of Egypt. When al-Bashshārī came to Sind in A.H. 375 / 986 A.C. the kingdom of Multān was under the suzerainty of the Fātmids of Egypt and al-Mansūrah was in the process of being converted to the same cause. The allegiance of the 'Abbāsid caliphs was thrown off and diplomatic relations were maintained with the Buwayhids of Shīrāz. It would be proper to assume that at the time of the rise of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī the power of the Ismā'īlī agents of the Fātmid caliphs was firmly established in both kingdoms of Sind. The Sultān who was hostile to the Fātmid caliphs of Egypt wrecked his vengeance from the tiny Ismā'īlī kingdoms in the neighbourhood of his empire in India.

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī after having dealt with the ruler of Multān diverted his attention to al-Mansūrah Kingdom which was situated in Sind proper. The ruler of al-Mansūrah whose name has come down to us from the poetical collections of Farrukhī, was Khafīf,[12] who it is said, fled to the jungles.

The epistles in Drūzī script further reveal that the name of the Ismā'īlī missionary was Ibn Sūmār Rājā Bal or more

properly Bal-rāj, the son of Sūmer (or Sūmār the common Sindhi name). He is also referred to as Muwahid (موحد) and was instructed to arouse Dā'ūd Asghar, probably a scion of the royal family of Multān, to throw off the yoke of slavery in which he has been thrown by the Ghaznavid Sultān Mas'ūd. This shows that Bal-rāj or Rājā Bal, the Sumrah might have been a very strong Dā'ī of Sind and he was a contemporary to Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī. Secondly the title of Ibn Sumer as 'Shaykh' suggests that he was an Isma'īlī of Fātmid order, belonging to the Bātnite sect. But it is not clear whether the group referred to as rebellious, ignorant and incorrigible, was a reference to the Sunnites of Multān or the Ismā'īlīs of Qarmathian order, whom they superseded in the hegemony of Multān and its environments. It is therefore probable to believe that the Sūmrahs who were converted to the Isma'īlī cause might have usurped power in southern Sind due to the weakness of the Arab rule in Sind. Khafīf who is said to have faced the invasion of the Ghaznavids was more probably a Sūmrah as would appear from the list of the Sūmrah rulers given in Tuhfat al-Kirām. It can therefore be fairly concluded that the Arab rule in Sind was brought to an end by the Sūmrah Rajpūts, who espoused the cause of the Ismā'īlīs in Sind. Mahmūd of Ghaznī might have temporarily occupied Sind till his death, but his son Mas'ūd failed to exercise any influence on the affairs of Sind. Sultān Mas'ūd was himself in hot waters due to the advent of a new people, the Siljūkids in Khurāsān, from whom he sustained disastrous defeats. Consequently he abandoned all his acquisitions in Khurāsān and the Afghān hills and took shelter in Lahore. It was during this period of the Ghaznavid history that the Ismā'īlī activities once again flared up with dynamic force and grabbed the whole Indus valley.[13]

As regards the origin of the Sumrah rulers of Sind, conflicting opinions have been given by various writers. Ibn Batūtah reports that the Sūmrahs were Arabs and they migrated to Sind from Sāmarah (سَرّمَن را) a town of al-'Irāq, during the viceroyalty of Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī.[14] The assertion of Ibn Baṭūṭah who was merely a traveller, as it appears, is based

on hearsay reports, which he might have collected from the people and are apparently wrong. The town of Sāmarah was founded and built at a very late period (in 836 A.C.) of more than one century after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs. It is therefore unbelievable to assume that the Sūmrahs were Arabs and they came from Sāmarah. The author of Tuhfat al-Kirām relates that the Sūmrahs gained power in Sind as early as the period of caliph al-Mutawakkil, the 'Abbāsid.[15] This is attested to by the author of Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī, which shows that the Sūmrahs were of Hindū origin and were settled in Sind from a very early period of their history.[16] Since the Sūmrahs paid regular yearly tribute to the Arab rulers and after them the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids, they are not even mentioned in the early historical sources. Further evidence about their belonging to non-Arab origin can be had from their social customs and family life which shows that they belonged to the Hindū origin and possibly came from Rajasthān or Gujrāt regions of India. The names of the Sūmrah rulers such as Bhūngar, Dodā, Tārī, Sanghār, Hamoon, Chanesar, Armel and others show that Sūmrahs were an offshoot of some Rājput clan and had no relationship with the Arab Semitic origin.

The historical evidence of the Ghaznavid and the Ghorid period together with the early slave Sultānate period indicates that the rule of these foreigners was restricted to northern and central Sind. Their rule appears to have extended only to the towns of Bakhar, Siwistān and al-Mansūrah as no reference is made to the towns of lower Sind and Thar regions. The rule of the Sumrah Rājpūts was firmly established in lower Sind with their capital Mahatum Tūr in the delta region of the Indus, long before the rise of the Ghaznavid Sultāns.

It appears that the Sūmrahs were converted to the Ismā'īlī cause soon after the departure of al-Bashsharī al-Maqdisī, the Arab geographer who visited Sind by A.H. 375. This might have been accomplished by the Ismā'īlī missionaries whose activities were felt with great success even in distant lands as far as Bukhārā in Central Asia. The end of the Arab king-

dom of al-Mansūrah might have been brought by the combined efforts of the Sūmrahs and the Ismā'īlī rulers of Multān, converted to Ismā'īlī cause long before the arrival of al-Bashsharī. Khafīf, who is reported to have been the ruler of Sind at the time of the Ghaznavid invasion was definitely a Sūmrah ruler converted probably to Ismā'īlism. This is further proved from the accounts of Ibn al-Athīr, who while giving an account of the incident does not mention whether the ruler was an Arab or he belonged to some local dynasty. He simply reports that the ruler of al-Mansūrah had become a murtad and as such Sultān Mahmūd made an attack on Sind with intention to punish him for defection. Tuhfat al-Kirām, the famous Persian work of Sind, has given the name Khafīf to be the fifth ruler of the dynasty of the Sūmrahs, who ruled over Sind for full two centuries after the invasion of Mahmūd. The version of Tārīkh al-Ma'sūmī in this respect appears to be more correct when he says that the invasion of the Ghaznavids took place during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd who sent one of his ministers 'Abd al-Razzāk to Sind. The mention of Sultān Mahmūd appears to be a misnomer for 'Abd al-Razzāk had never been a minister to Mahmūd. It was Sultān Mas'ūd who had a lieutenant by name 'Abd al-Razzāk deputed frequently on important missions for the conquest of the rebellious regions of the Ghaznavid empire.

The Sūmrah rulers professed Ismā'īlī mazhab is proved from the evidence of the local and foreign sources. Firishta reports that the reconversion of the Sūmrahs to orthodoxy was due to the efforts of Sayad Jalāluddin Bukhāri of Uchch, who was a disciple of Shaykh al-Islam Bahāuddīn Zakariya of Multān.[17] It appears that during this period the influence of the Sūmrahs extended far beyond Sind into the regions of southern Punjāb. The Sūmrah chief who was converted to the true madhhab (i.e. Sunnism) is reported to have been very influential chief, ruling over Uchch and Multān regions. How far his conversion to Sunnism affected the destinies of the whole tribe is yet to be ascertained. It is highly probable that the extinction of the Fātmid caliphate in Egypt and the

destruction of Alamūt, Girdukh and other Ismā'īlī strongholds in Irān might have greatly influenced the fortunes of the Isma'īlī converts in Sind. Moreover the missionary efforts of Bahāuddīn Zakariya and his disciples together with the forceful methods adopted by the government agencies, resulted in the decline of the Fāṭmīd duwwāt in Sind. The Ghaznavids, the Ghorids and the Slave Sultāns of Delhi, who followed them soon after extended their full support and encouragement to the orthodoxy which resulted in the reconversion of a number of Sūmrahs if not all. A major portion of the Sūmrahs now professes Sunnite Islām, yet there are families who adhere to the madhhab of the Athnā-'Ashriyah order of un-compromising bigotism. The main profession to which they are attached to is washing and dyeing, but a number of them are cultivators. A new class of the Sūmrahs has migrated into Sind after partition (i.e. in 1947). They call themselves Rājpūts and belong mainly to business community.

The Ismā'īlīs are still a dominant community in the Lār region of Sind. They are rich and prosperous and very well organised under the leadership of the Agā Khān. The present Ismā'īlīs are mainly Lohānās (inferior Hindū caste) who were converted to Ismā'īlī madhhab at a later period. They are commonly known as Khojās and are found in large numbers in Hyderābād, Thattā and Karachī districts of West Pakistan.

Notes and References

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2. History of Arabs, p. 443.
3. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III, pp. 767-772.
4. Kāmil fi al-Tārikh, Vol. VIII, pp. 153, 154.
5. Islamic Culture, Vol. XXIII, p. 299.
6. Kitāb al-Hind, p. 56.
7. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, p. 297.
8. History of Arabs (Hitti), p. 621.
9. Islamic Culture, Vol. XXIII, p. 302.
10. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 481.
11. History of Arabs, pp. 475, 622.
12. Diwān-e-Farrukhī, p. 74.
13. 'Arab wa Hind ke Ta'alluqāt, p. 353.
14. Ibn Batūtah, 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār, pp. 56, 57.
15. Tuhfat al-Kirām Vol. I, p. 67.
16. Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī, p. 32.
17. Tārikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, p. 416.

SIND'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARAB SCIENCES

Mathematics; Astronomy; Medicine; Zoological Science; Chemistry and Botany; Political Science; Geography; Philosophy etc.

The contribution of Sind to the Arab sciences was not only tremendous but highly precious. With the exception of perhaps philosophy, in which the Greeks excelled the Hindū mind, a valuable addition has been made to the human knowledge by the scientific works of Sind trasmitted to Baghdād, during the Khilāfat of the early 'Abbāsids. Historical records show that cultural intercourse did exist between Sind and West Asia, long before the advent of Islām. Irān served as an intermediary between the Indus valley and the Semitic world. The author of Tabaqāt al-Umam reports that the first philosophical work which found its way to the Arab world was brought into Irān from Sind during the Sassānid period. Physician Burzoyah was specifically deputed to bring useful medicinal herbs from Sind by the then ruler of Irān Chosros An-Naushirwān, who it is said, took keen interest in the Indian medicine. Burzoyah who was also a great scholar, took with him to Irān some works of Indo-Pakistan origin, which were translated probably into Pahlavī. The most celebrated among these works was the famous Panchtantrā, which was renamed as Kalīlah-wa-Dimnah. During the same period the famous games of the sub-continent Chatrang and Chausar were also introduced into Irān.[1] Thereafter Sindhī scholars were invited to the Persian academy of Gunde-Sabūr, where a curious blending of sciences took place. How far this blending influenced west Asia, can be gathered from the names of plants and drugs[2] in Syriac, Greek and Persian works, which are purely of Hindū origin. This shows that the cultural influence of Indus valley extended

even to the Greek world long before the Sassānid period of Irānian history.

The country of Sind (or Indus valley) acted as an early source of inspiration to the Arabs, specially in wisdom, literature and mathematics. The scholars of Sind who were invited to Baghdād by the Barmakid ministers of the early 'Abbāsids were appointed to lucrative high posts in Bayt al-Hikmah, which itself owes its origin, to the influence of the Hindū work Panchtantra. They were assigned the duties of helping in the translation of the various works brought from Sind by scholars named Mānkā (Manik), Bahlā (Bholā-Rām), Kankā (Gangā), Dhanotrī (Dhanwatrā'i), Sanghal and others.[3] These works included among others, Sūryā-Sidhāntā, Aryā-Bhat, Khandā-Khāndek, Artha-Shāstra, Mahābharatā and a number of other works of which the original names have been lost, but they have survived through other names given to them by the Arab writers.[4] The most important of these works was 'Sūryā Sidhāntā' which was translated into Arabic by Muhammad ibn Ibrāhim al-Fazārī. The translation of Sidhāntā resulted in the invention of 'Zero'[5] hitherto unknown to the world of scholarship. The zero which the Arabs named Sifr (empty) is of capital importance to the science of Mathematics and other allied sciences. It was from this zero that decimal system came into being and calculations of enormous sums became possible. Even the numerals now in use in the whole world, were introduced into the Arab world by the scholars of Sind and this is attested to from the writings of Arabs themselves, who have very fairly admitted the superiority of Hindū sciences. That the Arabs learnt the art of notating figures from the Hindūs is now an admitted phenomenon and this is also evident from the very figures which are almost the same.

Even the Arabic script which is supposed to have been borrowed from the Nabātaeans, was greatly influenced by the Hindū Nāgari script.[6] Under the influence of Suryā-Sidhāntā Muhammad al-Fazārī compiled his tables called 'Zij' which served as a basis for later mathematical works of the medieval

times. Apart from zero and decimal system, some works were also written on the science of mathematics under the influence of the Hindū works. One of these was 'Hisāb al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābīla' from which the science of Algebra has derived its origin and name. This work discusses over eight hundred examples on calculations of integration and equation, and it was used as a text book in all the European universities up to sixteenth century. It also introduced into Europe numerals called algorisms, which are a corruption of the name al-Khwārizmī.[7] The other mathematicians who were influenced by the mathematical works of Sind, were al-Battānī, al-Berūnī, 'Umar al-Khayyām and Ahmad al-Nasavī, the last of whom composed a treatise on Hindū Arithmetic known as 'al-Muqni fi al-Hisāb al-Hindī', In this work he explains the fractions and extraction of the square and cubic roots in a modern manner. The European mathematicians who were first influenced by al-Khwārizmī were Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa, and Master Jecob of Florence, whose works like their Muslim predecessors contain six types of quadratic equations.[8] Al-Khwārizmī's work on mathematics was translated by Gerard of Cremona into Latin in the twelfth century A.C. and it was from that time onwards that the science of Algebra was made known to the Europeans. The numerals were known to the west as Arab numerals, whilst the Arabs called them Hurūf al-Ghubār and the Hindu numerals.

Astronomy

In the science of Astronomy too the influence of the Sindhi works appear to have been dominant and this is evident from the works of the famous astronomers of Islām. Al-Fāzarī, al-Battānī, al-Berūnī and al-Khayyām were all influenced by the principles of Hindū astronomy. Al-Khwārizmī prepared his astronomical tables under the influence of Sidhāntā and as such he called it Sind Hind al-Saghīr.[9] Al-Fazārī, al-Battānī, al-Berūnī and al-Khayyām were all influenced by the Hindū principles of astronomy contained in the books which were translated into Arabic. Al-Bāttanī, under the influence of Sidhāntā, Aryā Bhat and Khanda-Khandek, made several

emendations to Ptolemy and rectified the calculations for the orbit of the moon and other planets. 'Umar al-Khayyām reported to be the first to prepare solar calendar was chiefly influenced by Braham Gupt, another work of Sindhī origin. In Braham Gupt the length of the solar year is shown as 365 days, 6 hours, 12 minutes and nine seconds as against the modern calculation which comes to 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes, and 9-23/100 seconds.[10] The present Gregorian calendar leads us to an error of one day in 3330 years whereas the calendar of Umar al-Khayyām, prepared on Hindū lines leads us to an error of one day in 5000 years. According of Aryā Bhat the existence of the universe is based on 'time' known as Kalap, which is estimated to be 4,32,00,00,000 years. After the completion of every Kalap, the sun, the moon, the earth and the stars all strike at one point and are destroyed.[11] A new world is then created which continues to the same period and destroyed in the same manner. The Kalap is divided into smaller units known as Jug, Maha-Jug, Kal-Jug and the like.

Aryā Bhat also believes in the revolution of earth round the sun and its rotation around its own axis. It was believed that there was a central place on earth, the world capula, which was situated at Ujjain in India. The Arabs corrupted the word Ujjain into Uzain and finally into Arin, which they called قبة الارض.[12] From this Arin, the world centre imaginary latitudes and longitudes were drawn. That the Hindū astronomy dominated the Arab sciences is evident from the names of the scientific terms like Jiva, Kardijah, Oj, Badhmasah, Hindasah and various others. Jiva or Jiya is an abbreviation of Ardhā-jiya or Ardha-jiva, which means the bow-string.[13] It is from this jiva that the Arabic terms and works like Jayb al-Tamām, Jiyūb al-Mankūsah, Jiyūb al-Mabsūtah and Mujīb etc. were drawn.[14] Kardijah on the other hand is another form of Sanskrit Karamjiya and Oj is nothing but the Hindī word Uch, which means summit. Such was the interest created in the Hindū astronomy that al-Mu'tamid-billah, the caliph of Baghdād, sent one Ahmad ibn Khāfi al-Daylamī to Sind for further studies in that science.

Medicine

The influence of Sindhī works appears to have been much more on Arab medicine as compared to other sciences. The Arab writers have given instances in which the Sindhī physicians were consulted by Hārūn al-Rashīd, the 'Abbāsid caliph. In one of these cases, the caliph himself was taken seriously ill and he sent for Mankā,[15] because his personal physician failed to cure him. In another case the cousin of the caliph was saved from instant death by Sindhī physician named Sāleh ibn Bhalā. The cousin of the caliph Ibrāhīm was declared dead by the palace physicians and was to be buried after royal ceremonials. Sāleh who was a converted Hindū, cured him by using the Sindhī mode of cure. Ibrāhīm lived a considerable age after this event and married 'Abbāsah, the daughter of Mahdī and the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was appointed governor over Egypt and Palestine and died in Egypt where he is buried.[16] Sāleh was rewarded amply by the grief-stricken caliph who is said to have held his cousin very dear to his heart. Physician Mānik (Mankā) is also credited with having translated the works of Sushrattā and Chānkiya's works on poison.[17] The great Muslim physicians al-Rāzī (Razes) and al-Tabarī, have admitted the superiority of Hindū physicians and relate that they have copied out much of their information from the medical works of Sind. Firdaws al-Hikmah, the greatest compendium on medicine in medieval times and considered to be the medical bible of Asian and European Universities in middle ages, contains more than 50 per cent of the extracts from Sushratta's work on medicine. Same is the case with al-Hāvī, the famous work of al-Rāzī which too contains enormous material taken from Hindū sources.[18]

Sushrattā Sanghatā and Istang Sangrah, together with Charakā's work 'Nadān' were regarded as the best works on Medicine by the Arab physicians. A complete description of almost all the human diseases appears in Nadān which also deals with the complications of human pulse.[19] The other Hindū work of medieval period which influenced the Arabs minds in medicine was Sudh-Yogā which was written and

compiled by a pandit named Barānd. Charakā's work Nadān was first translated in Persian and finally into Arabic by 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī.[20] It contains correct diagnoses of 404 diseases and the work of Pandit Nawfishal (Nawqashal) contains description of 100 human diseases and necessary prescription for each one of them.[21] The records show that the Hindūs excelled in the treatment of various diseases by means of surgery. Rig-veda has given the names of Dev-Dās, Bhar-Diwāj and Ashnī Kumār as the inventors of Ayur-vedic Tibb and surgery. Surgical operation after administering intoxicating drugs was a known phenomenon in pre-medieval India. The surgical instruments were made of gold, silver and copper and these were used according to the social status of the patients. These were kept in wooden boxes which had either a silken cloth from inside or wool was inserted in the box, so as to keep the instruments away from each other.[22] Sushrattā has described 101 specimen of surgical instruments used for various diseases. Piles, ulcer, diseases of womb, stomach troubles, were all treated by surgical operations. Some of these instruments carried special names viz. Baran-Wastī, Wastī-Yantar, Pushap-Yantar, Shankā-Yantar, Nakh-Akrah, Garbh-Shanko, Purjanan-Shanko, Surup-musk etc. Wastī-Yantar for instance was used for cleaning the chest and stomach, Pushap-Yantar was used for putting medicine in the genitals, Purjanan-Shanko was used to bring the child alive from the womb.[23] Different varieties of bandages were used for various operations. The sewing of the injuries was made with the hair, sometimes human and in some cases those of horses were utilized. The Hindū works reveal that art of preparing imitation teeth and nose was known in Sind, from the earliest known times. The dental surgery was more efficiently done in India than any other country of the world. In the same manner the diseases of ear, nose and throat were cured with great proficiency. According to the Greek writers, the Indians are the only people on earth who cured the most difficult affliction of the snake bite. The Sindhī names of drugs and medicines which are still in use in the Arab world attest to the greatness of Hindū medicine which was transmitted to Europe through the Arab world and

laid the foundation of the modern allopathic medicine and surgery. Medicines like Haleelah (Harīr), Bahlelah (Baherā), Amlā, Qust-Hindī, Zanjabīl (Zanjbārā or Sundhbārī), Abijat, Atrīfal (Tiphulo), Tūttiyo and others attest to the version of the Arab scholars who had taken pains to study Hindū medicines for centuries. The most interesting stamp of Sindhī vocabulary appears in the name 'Bhat' and 'Rabb' both of which are found only in the language of Sind.[24] These two diets were recommended to be given to the patients in the whole Islamic world by the Muslim physicians throughout medieval times. The other Sindhī names were Sandal (Chandan), Kāfūr, Qaranfal (Kank-fal), Heel (Ilā'ichī), Ja'ifal, Nārjīl (Nariaṭ), Ambaj (Amb), Laimū, Nīlāj (Nir), Nilofar, Qand (Khand), Sāj (Sāg), Tamar Hindī (Gidāmirī) and others.[25]

Among the medical works of Sind, which have lost their original names and have survived through the names given to them by the Arab scholars may be mentioned the following names.

1. **Kitab al-Namudar fi al-A'mar**

This work deals with various ages of men, their temperaments and is a guide to lead a happy and successful life.

2. **Kitab Israr al-Mawalid**

It gives a descriptive account of the secrets of child birth.

3. **Kitab fi al-Tawham**

This work deals with the treatment of various diseases through mesmerism and psychological treatment.

4. **Kitab fi Ahdath al-'Alam**

In this book the influence of stars on human destiny is discussed in detail, which shows that the human being is helpless and cannot go a step further without the assistance of the stars. The stars also influence the destinies of nations and the whole human race collectively. This work also deals with the influence of various stars on the health of man.

5. **Kitab Mawalid al-Kabir**

The authorship of this work is ascribed to Sanghal Hindī whose period is almost uncertain. It deals with the problems

of child birth. This work has been mentioned by al-Berūnī in his work Kitāb al-Hind and he has included in it the list of the astronomical works.

6. **Zajar al-Hind**

This work deals with the omens and presages as a means for curing chronic diseases.

Zoological Science

The Hindūs also excelled in zoological sciences. Pal-Kapiaḥ, Brihāspatī, Jay-Dat, Nikal, Gūn are reported to have written a number of works on the treatment of animals, birds and even insects. Pal-Kapiah's work Gaj-Warpan principally deals with the diseases of elephants and their treatment. He has also written three other works on the animal life namely, Gaj-Chaktasiyā, Gaj-Ayurvedic and Gaj-Prekshā. Ashu-Chaktasiyā, the famous work of Jay-Dat deals with the horses. It describes the pedigree, birth, stable arrangements, the colour and caste of horses, together with the members of body, their diseases, diet and treatment. Brihāspatī on the other hand deals with the cattle at large in his famous work Govīd-Shāster.[26]

Susharattā and Charak are recognised as masters of Hindū medicine by the Arab writers. The works of these physicians also deal with the diseases of animals, birds and the crawling insects.[27] It has been mentioned in Bhūshiyā-Praūn that the mating season of the snakes starts before the rainfall, and in all 240 eggs are laid by the she-snake within a period of six months. Some of these eggs are eaten away by the snakes themselves while the others give birth to child-snakes. The snakes change their colour seven days after birth and become black. The teeth appear in their mouth within two weeks and in the third week the teeth begin to bear poison. The skin of the snake according to the same source has 240 strips. A similar work of Chānakiya dealing with animals was translated into Arabic during the 'Abbāsid period.[28]

Chemistry and Botany

In chemistry and botany some works were translated into Arabic from the Sanskrit sources, but their influence does not

seem to have been more apparent as in mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

Political Science

Ibn Nadīm has given an account of the number of books which were translated into Arabic on politics and administration. Of these the work of Chānakiyā deals with the arrangement of battle array and the selection of proper persons suited to their merit. It also deals with the organisation of army, its discipline, food, and the use of poison.[29] Bājahar's (Viyāghar) work on the other hand deals with the weapons of war-fare specially the swords and their qualities. A Sanskrit work the name of which has been preserved through Arab translation (viz. Adāb al-Mulk) was done into Arabic by Abū Sāleh ibn Shu'ayb. Its second translation was effected in A.H. 417 by Abu al-Hasan ibn 'Alī al-Jabalī and it deals with the art of the government useful only to rulers and men of power.[30]

The most important work on politics which was transmitted to the Arab world was Arth-Shāstra of Kautiliya, which dealt with the economic system of the state. The influence of the Sanskrit works on politics of Arabs appears to have been less dominant than their Greek counterparts, such as Aristotle's Politics and the Republic of Plato. These works had dominated the Arab mind even before the advent of Islam as is evident from the institution of the city states found in Hijāz and the northern Arab towns of Petra, Palmyra, Busra and others.

Geography

The geographical science had already developed in Syria under the Umayyads, probably due to the influence of Ptolemy's works. Sidhānta and other Hindū works helped the Arabs in determining the centre of earth. It was under the influence of Greek and Hindu works that al-Khwarizmī prepapred his first map of the world which he named "Sūrat. al-Arḍ". He was then followed by Ibn Hauqal al-Nasibi who apart from other maps, has given a sketch of Sind and its adjoining countries. The map from the modern point of view is defective but it gives

a general impression of the conditions and the geographical situations then prevailing in Sind. Al-Idrīsī, the globe trotter on the other hand has given a map of the whole world known in his times which he presented to his patron, the Norman King Roger of Sicily. Even the determination of latitudes and longitudes was based on the Indian data and these were drawn from the centre of the earth which was located at Ujjayn in India.[31]

Philosophy

Sind, which formed part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has contributed greatly towards the science of philosophy from the earliest known times. The philosophical hymns of the Vedas, Upanishads, Gitā and also the Samkhyā Vaiseshika of the Buddhists, had close bearing on human life. Various systems of Philosophy existed in the sub-continent as is evident from Yoga-sūtrās, the Samkhyā treatises, the Mimamsa-sūtrās, the Brahma-sūtrās Nayāyā-sūtrās and a number of commentaries and sub-commentaries. In the logical period of Indian philosophy there are observed logical discussions and dialects of an extremely subtle character, such as had never developed in Europe and which is claimed to be so difficult that 'no occidental scholar has been able to master them'.[32]

Upanishads are the foundations of Hindu philosophy whereas Samkhyā is regarded as the earliest systematic attempt at Philosophy. The fundamental tenets of the Upanishads are that self is Ultimate Reality and all influences are extraneous to it. This pure self which is called "Atmā" is one in all and is identical with the highest reality of the universe. The Samkhyā philosophy which is attributed to Kapīla, is regarded as the earliest formulation of realisation of experience. Kapīla's original work "Shashti-tantra" as the name indicates, was written in sixty chapters. Although the original work is lost, its influence appears dominant even in the earliest Upanishads. Samkhyā has two schools: viz. Theistic which is associated with Patanjalī and is called Yoga-system and Atheis-

tic of which the accepted form is now available in the compendium of Iswara Krishna.[33]

How far the Indian philosophy influenced the Arab mind is evident from the popularity of the world-famed "Kalīlah wa Dimnah", which was a translation of an Indian work "Panchtantra". The Pahlavi translation of this work was already available in Irān which is said to have been effected during the reign of Chosros An-Naushīrwan. It was translated into Arabic by a magian 'Abdullāh ibn Muqaffah and has interested the mankind to such an extent that it has been translated into forty languages of the world.[34] No other book, ancient or modern, can claim such a popularity which is chiefly due to the principles of wisdom enunciated in it for the general good of the mankind. The work contains the story of the ring-dov in which a group of animals acting as faithful friends to one another escaped the snares of the hunter. It was purely under the influence of Panchtantra that the famous philosophical school "Ikhwān al-Safā" was established at Baghdād. This school exercised profound influence on men like al-Ghazālī, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, 'Abu al-'Alā al-Ma'arī and Abu Hayyān al-Tawhīdī.

Another work on philosophy was that of "Budhāsif and Balohar" of which Ibn Nadīm has given a descriptive account in his famous work al-Fihrist. Budhāsif may be the corruption of Budhastavā and Balohar may be read as Prohatar, which means lord-priest Budhastava. The whole work deals with the life and times of lord Buddhā, his philosophy, the struggle of man to reach higher stages of spiritualism and the final communion with the Ultimate Reality. It is probable to assume that this work might have greatly influenced the rise and development of Sufism in Islam. Even the games of Indo-Pakistan origin appear to have exercised unbounded influence on the Arab Muslims, specially the Chatrang (Shatranj) and Nard (Chausar). These games which are based on mathematical calculations represented two different schools of thought of Indian philosophy. The game of Chausar indicates that

human being is not a free-agent and his destiny is guided and controlled by outward powers viz. stars, planets and men. Chatrang on the other hand teaches that man is a free-agent and he can change bad into good, and wrong into right by using his will power and intelligence. It was chiefly under the influence of this philosophy that two different schools of thought viz. Jabr and Qadr came into being in the early 'Abbāsid period. The Jabrites believed in the theory of predestinarianism, whilst the Qadrites held the opposite view and had their faith in free-will. An offshoot of the Qadrite school, called the Mu'tazila was made state religion under caliph al-Māmūn and this resulted in great upheaval in the heart of the Islamic empire, causing much bloodshed among the Muslims.

Notes and References

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4. Tārīkh Firishta, Vol. II, p. 435.
5. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. I, p. 97; Arabs (Hitti), p. 378.
6. Al-'Urwah, pp. 11 to 28.
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8. History of Arabs, p. 379.
9. Akhbār al-Ḥukamā, p. 178.
10. Arab Hind ke Ta'alluqāt, p. 144.
11. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī; Vol. I, pp. 96, 98.
12. History of Arabs, p. 384.
13. Legacy of India, p. 366.
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15. 'Uyūn al-Anbā, Vol. II, p. 33.
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17. Tārīkh Firishta, Vol. II, p. 365.
18. 'Uyūn al-Anbā, Vol. II, p. 32.
19. Qurūn Wustā, p. 144.
20. al-Fihrist, p. 303.
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23. Ibid, p. 146.
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25. al-Ma'ārif, Vol. 90, No. 6. pp. 446 to 448.
26. Qurūn Wustā, p. 148.
27. Ibid, p. 149.
28. Mafātih al-Ulūm, p. 167.
29. al-Fihrist, p. 315.
30. Arab Hind ke Ta'alluqāt, p. 159.
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32. Legacy of India, p. 100.
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CULTURAL IMPACT OF ARABS ON SIND AND VICE-VERSA

Cultural impact on Sind; Sufism in Sind; Conclusion.

The cultural impact of the Arabs on Sind appears to have been dominant and it was the only country in Asia which has fully absorbed and assimilated the culture of its conquerors with fullest zeal and enthusiasm. Glimpses of Arab culture are observed in the every day life of the people of Sind. In his dress, food, his behaviour and various customs, rites and practices a Sindhi Muslim resembles an Arab in toto. The Arabs introduced the turband, the shirt and the Shalwār with the gown and these are still the favourite apparels of the people of Sind. The introduction of the tunic is also due to the conquerors, the use of which became universal in the whole valley. The Arab geographers report that tunic was the favourite dress of the people of the Indus valley in the medieval times.[1] The Arab influence is apparent from the names of various apparels such as Ra'ṭ, Qamīz, Shalwār, tā'ith etc. which are derived from the Arabic language.

A Sindhi is an embodiment of Arab mentality. Arrogant in leisure time he is equally timid and cannot withstand force. Like an Arab he takes pleasure in having as many wives as he can and maintains sexual relations with a number of women called Surets (concubines). A woman is purchasable commodity in the social set up of Sind and a price is set on her head. Like the Ghazwah practice of the Arabs, women are stolen away, enticed, abducted and kept in confinement as concubines and later released and handed over to their original husbands and masters. Woman therefore is the root cause of crime and bloodshed in Sind. A woman may run away with the paramour, stay with him for years and bear children, yet the yearning husband would consider it his duty to effect her restoration even

against her will. Like Arabs, Badā system (exchange within the family or tribe) is in vogue in Sind and this has a list of evils on its trail. A woman is forced to marry a person against her will and this has its own evil to contribute to the degeneration and corruption in Sindhi society. In psychological traits, a Sindhi is a brother of an Arab, being vindictive and full of deceit at all times. Individualism counts much with him and he will never yield. In times of emergency he may even betray the whole nation for his personal ends. Like a true Arab, he is a cunning hypocrite and matchless intriguer. But this is only a unilateral estimate. The Sindhis are known for their simplicity and amiable habits. Their hospitality is proverbial. They had from the earliest times practised pure orthodoxy and are reported to have been truly religious.[2] The people of Sind have the distinction of being the first people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to be converted to the religion of Islam. The tribes of Samāh, Sahetā, Chanā and the Lohānas were the first to be admitted within the fold of Islam, probably due to the humiliation imposed on them by the erstwhile Hindū rulers of Sind. The mass conversion of these tribes might also have been actuated for equal rights or at least the concessions extended to the Mawālis (clients) by the Arab conquerors. Missionary efforts were also made by the Arabs and a number of mosques were built in Sind, Cutch, Gujrāt and other regions of the sub-continent. The Arab geographers have spoken of the mosques in Gujrāt and Karomandal coast of Western India.[3] Similarly in the lower Kashmīr (Punjāb) the first translation of Qurān was made into local language, which could not have been other than Lahnda.

The people of Sind practised pure orthodoxy at the outset and abstained from heresy. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī who visited Sind in A.H. 375/987 A.C. reports that no other heterodox religious community was found in Sind except at Multān where the Qarmathians had gained a firm footing. As a result of this influence the Khutba was read in the name of the Fātmids of Egypt, instead of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, who were regarded as the temporal and spiritual heads of the Muslim community throughout the Muslim world. The penetration of the Shī'ite influence in Sind may be dated

from the reign of caliph al-Mansūr the 'Abbāsid during whose reign 'Abdullāh ibn Al-Ashtar al-Hasnī came to Sind as trader in horses. The 'Abbāsid governor of Sind, 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī who afforded shelter to the fugitive was taken to task by the central government and transferred to North Africa and his place was taken by Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ashtar was however killed and his head was sent to Baghdād along with the family of the deceased leader.

Sufism in Sind

Sūfism or the Islamic mysticism which is still a living force in Sind was a blend of various ideas which found their way into the thinking of the Muslims in the medieval age. Christianity and neo-platonism contributed greatly to the new phenomenon. Irān had its own share in it, but the Hindū and Buddhist ideas seem to have had a strong influence on the thinking and development of Sūfism. The Muslims are of the opinion that Sūfism had its origin in the Qurān and the life of the Prophet. Some Qurānic Sūrahs attest to this belief as being full of deep religious devotion and ascetic feeling. Renunciation of worldly things and the love of God is taught by these Qurānic verses, which also lay emphasis on absolute dependence on God[4] (i.e. Tawakkul). Zuhd and Ibādah were, therefore, the basic principles of saintly living to which may be added Faqr (or poverty) which was chiefly practised by the Hindū and Buddhist Sadhūs. There is, however, some difference between the Muslim way of Faqr and that practised by the Hindūs or the Buddhists. Fanā, self-annihilation, Sulūk (or Tariqah), Marāqabah, and Mu'jizah or Karāmat were all perhaps influenced by Yoga, Nirvana and other Hindū practices. The idea of pantheism or Wahdat al-Wujūd appears to be an importation from the Hindū Vedānta and developed among the Muslims after their contact with Indus valley. Among the great Sūfī saints who visited Sind may be mentioned the names of Bāyazīd Bustamī and Husaīn ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj,[5] both of whom were greatly influenced by the learning and thought of the Indus valley. This fact is evident from the

teachings of later Sufism, which speaks of ghulū, taqsīr, hulūl etc. Sind has served as a nursery for the development and perfection of Sūfism, the influence of which is still dominant over the people of Sind. It is asserted by some Muslim writers that the idea of the unity of God was introduced by the Arabs among the polytheist Hindūs who were chiefly influenced by the teachings of Islam. Rig-Veda, the earliest written work of this sub-continent, however distorts this view and this may be gathered from the following verse:

'Men call it Indra, Mitra, Agni, Varuna or the heavenly Garutman, with glorious pinions. By many names the poets name what is but One.[6]

The greatest figure in the field of Sūfism was Shaykh Bahā'uddīn Zakariyah Multānī who was the direct descendant of the Arab Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah.[7] The Habbārids held Sind proper for about two hundred years. After the extinction of the Arab rule the family of Bahā'uddīn migrated to Multān and settled there. His disciple Makhdūm Jahāniyan Sayyad Jalāluddin Bukhāri whom he deputed to Sind is credited with having converted the Sūmrah chiefs to Muslim orthodoxy.

Conclusion

The claim of certain writers that the conquest of Sind was a mere episode in the history of Indo-Pakistan is distorted by the fact that the Arabs remained in possession of a major portion of Indus valley for a period of about three centuries. Parts of Sind however remained in the hands of non-Muslims for some time due to the political crisis at Damascus, but this temporary phase was overcome by the final conquest of Sind under Hakam ibn 'Auwānah al-Kalbī, who pacified the whole valley and founded the capital city of al-Mansūrah. Hakam al-Kalbi not only subdued Sind but conducted successful military operations against Cutch, Gujrāt and the interior of India.[8]

During the whole period of Arab rule the central government of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids exercised effective control on the affairs of the province of Sind which extended

from Multān to the Arabian Sea. It included the regions of southern Punjāb, Sind, Cutch and parts of Cutchi in north-east Baluchistān. After the decentralisation caused by the weakness of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, two independent Arab kingdoms were founded in Sind, one of Multān which extended over southern Punjab and the other that of al-Mansūrah which extended from al-Ror to the Arabian Sea.

The period of Arab rule in Sind wrote one of the most illuminating chapter in the history of Sind. The Arabs were more tolerant than the Turks, the Afghāns and the Baluchī who followed them in the hegemony of the province of Sind. Further the contacts of Sind with Damascus and Baghdād were of great significance and cultural value not only for the Arabs but to the whole world of culture and civilization. Sind has made tremendous contribution to the development of the Arab sciences, which received impetus at the hands of the early 'Abbāsids, who in turn were dominated and influenced by their non-Arab Buddhist ministers "the Barmakides". Various branches of learning received generous patronage from the caliphs as well as from the dynastic rulers and this resulted in the dazzling medieval civilization of which the Arabs were the main torch bearers.

The country of Sind benefited by the dominant culture of the age, but this was restricted to the period of Arab rule in Sind only. The Turks, the Afghāns, the Mughals and the Balūchī tribes who followed Arabs in the political hegemony of the country brought about complete extinction of the pure Islamic values. The iconoclasts ruled the land with iron hand, with the main object of squeezing the last drop of blood from the veins of the populace. The slavery and serfdom of more than one thousand years have taken away the very idea of and even the capacity to think of freedom, from the people of Sind. They still groan in ignorance, poverty and vices of all description and above all the serfdom of the Mirs, Pirs and the so-called Sayads and the waderās who still command reverence as demi-gods among the illiterate masses of Sind.

Notes and References

1. Al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik, p. 173; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 324; Wasf al-Hind, p. 32.
2. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IX, p. 151.
3. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 144; Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 324.
4. Qurān: Surah 4, verse 96; Surah 9, verse 113; Surah 33, verse 41; Surah 33, verse 47.
5. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 46.
6. History of Religion, Vol. I, p. 232.
7. Tārikh Firishta, Vol. II, p. 404.
8. Futūh al-Buldān, pp. 445, 447 and 449.

Appendix I

RUINS OF BHAMBHOR, AND ITS IDENTIFICATION WITH AL-DAYBUL

Situation of Bhambhor: Excavations; Derivation and history; Its connection with al-Daybul; Arguments as to identification.

Situation of Bhambhor

The ruins of Bhambhor are situated near the small town of Ghāro on the national highway of Pākistān at a distance of 23 miles north east of Karāchī. The site which is about 600 yards by 400 yards, is situated on a large mound to the right bank of Ghāro creek and there is a small lake besides it on the banks of which a museum has now been constructed. The foundations of the houses and the staircases show that the town was built above the general level of the ground and the foundations of various buildings and their floor also reveal that the constructions were mainly of stone. Some human skeletons were also found from the ruins and in order to preserve them, these were kept in the glass cages. In 1959 these corpses were in good condition but later these have been converted into dust due to the influence of salt and moisture. One of these corpses had an arrow pierced in the chest which shew that the man was evidently killed in the battle or the siege of the town. The present situation of Bhambhor has been fixed at 24 degrees 40 minutes north latitude and 67 degrees 41 minutes east longitude.

Excavations

The excavations of Bhambhor were first carried out by Mr. Mujumdar in 1930 and also by Laslie Alcock, who dug some trenches but they could not discover any relic of the pre-Muslim period. Henry Cousens had visited this place and collected some coins and pieces of glazed pottery, but he too

did not find any trace of Hindū or Buddhist culture on the site. The report of the Archaeological Department of Pākistān published in 1960, claimed that the said ruins have emitted material of non-Muslim origin which includes fragments of plain and painted pottery and storage jars, bearing short inscriptions in proto - Nāgari style. The said report further claimed the recovery of the red-tarnished pottery which is said to be of Scytho-Parthian period of Sind's history.[1] Some coins were also reported to have been found from the site which belong to the period of Arab governors of Sind. On 18th June, 1960 a fantastic report appeared in the 'Dawn' which claimed the recovery of the mosque of the Arab period with an inscription showing the name of one Muhammad ..... as the founder of the said mosque. The fabrication about the recovery of the said inscription is apparent from the year of the inscription which is given as A.H. 109 / 728 A.C. during which year no man by name Muhammad ever occupied any prominent position in Sind. Moreover it is also not certain whether the said inscription has been found from the Bhambhor ruins. It was a criminal fabrication to justify the existence of the Archaeology Department and with a purpose to play fraud on the ignorant masses of Pākistān. The recovered mosque itself is insufficient in size to be the principal mosque of a town, the population of which swelled to over three hundred thousand men.[2] The mosque which has floor of stone can hardly accommodate one hundred devotees at a time. As regards the coins of the Arab period of Sind, there are many persons in Sind who do possess coins in sufficient number and these can be purchased on nominal price. It appears that the propounders of new theories are not conversant with the history and culture of this part of the world and as such their findings are conjectural with no legs to stand upon. On April 19, 1968 a report appeared in the 'Daily News' of Karachi which claimed the recovery of coins of Hārūn al-Rashīd in a clay pitcher unearthed in Khanlarsky region of Azarbaijan. This does not mean that the said region was ruled by Hārūn al-Rashīd or his descendants.

Derivation and history

The local historian Mīr 'Alī Sher Qāni' Thattavī relates in his famous work 'Tuhfat al-Kirām' that Bhambhor and al-Daybul were two different places in the Sākro region of Sind and were situated at some distance from each other.[3] The town of Bhambhor became more famous on account of the love story of Sassu'ī and Punhūn, who finally perished in the defiles of Pubb mountains, in search for each other. Shāh Latīf of Bhit, the famous poet of Sind who is also known as the 'Giant of Sindhi poetry' has composed four great surs (chapters) in his Diwān called Shāh-jo-Risālo, the poems of which are on the lips of almost every Sindhi knowing person.[4] It is stated in the accounts that the town of Bhambhor was founded by a Hindū Rājā by name Bhambho-rā'i and as such it was known as Kāfir-kot by the Muslims of the region.[5]

The term Bhambho in Sindhī language means reddish in colour, but this has no connection whatsoever with the town of Bhambhor. In Hindi, Bhambhor means hustle-bustle or a noisy place. The other equivalent term in the same language Bhambhavā is the name given to a beggar who by continued starvation becomes a highway robber. That the whole Sākro region adjoining the sea was inhabited by thieves and sea-pirates is attested to from the accounts of the Arab writers. The Nakā-marah as they are known in the Chachnāmah[6] not only committed acts of robbery on land but they engaged themselves in the acts of piracy on the high seas. One of the reasons of the attack of the Arabs on Sind is stated to have been the capture of the Arab vessels by the pirates of Sind in which some Arab women were also involved. A captive Arab woman who belonged to the tribe of Banū Yarbū' yelled in agony and cried out "come to our help, O' al-Hajjāj"; and when this incident was reported to the viceroy at al-Kūfah, he hastened to retort with dramatic zeal "Here am I" and he immediately despatched an army to Sind.[7]

The name Bhambhor has been associated with Bau-Bahār or Van-Vahār[8] but no Vihāra has ever been found from

the ruins. The port of al-Daybul had a huge Vihāra (stupa) situated in the middle of the town, which according to Chachnāmah was 360 ft high.[9] It appears that the persons who have identified Bhambhor with al-Daybul have based their arguments on conjectures and unreliable sources. The name Bhambhor does not appear in any of the older works but it is reported to have been founded in the reign or caliph Harūn al-Rashīd. The Arabic sources of the medieval times as well as the later foreign and local sources are however silent on the issue. It can therefore be fairly concluded that Bhambhor came into existence very late at a period when non-Muslims had an upper hand in the political affairs of the Lār region in Sind.

Connection of Bhambhor with al-Daybul

Some writers have connected Bhambhor with al-Daybul and the others have identified al-Daybul with Thatta, Lāhrī, Dharajā, Waghū-Dar, Pīr-Patho, Karāchī, Dabo, and various other sites. The accounts of the Arab geographers and the historians indicate that al-Daybul like Karāchī was a large seaport for ocean going ships and was a chief market for the commodities of east as well as the west. The first reference about al-Daybul appears in Futūh al-Buldān of al-Balādhurī which shows that the town was situated in the immediate vicinity of the sea, and on the gulf or bay known as Khor al-Daybul.[10] Chachnāmah, the local Persian work too certifies the version of al-Balādhurī and reports the situation of al-Daybul on the sea shore as the ships which brought the siege machines directly came and anchored at al-Daybul. The evidence of Chachnāmah further indicates that the Sākro channel, which was one of the mouths of river Indus was situated at some distance from the port of al-Daybul.[11] The geographers who visited Indus valley during the Arab rule have given a descriptive account of the various towns of Sind but their accounts fail to solve the riddle about the situation of al-Daybul. The first geographer al-Mas'ūdī reports al-Daybul to be situated on the sea-shore at a distance of two days journey from the mouth of Indus.[12] In his another work 'Tanbīh wa'l-Ashrāf' he again asserts, that al-

Daybul was a coastal town situated on the shores of Indian ocean.[13]

Al-Istakhrī corroborating the version of al-Mas'ūdī affirms that al-Daybul was situated on the sea shore to the west of the mouth of river Indus, which he calls Mahrān.[14] His accounts are merely repeated by Ibn Hauqal who succeeded him in the tours of the eastern lands. He also gives the same account about al-Daybul.[15] Bashshārī al-Maqdisī who visited Sind in or about A.H. 375/986 A.C. reports that the port of al-Daybul was situated on the sea shore and had about one hundred villages in its neighbourhood, inhabited by non-Muslims. He further adds that at the time of higli tide, the sea waves lashed against the sea walls of al-Daybul.[16] Yāqūt al-Hamavī the famous medieval Encyclopaedist also places al-Daybul on Khor or a bay of the Indian ocean.[17] Al-Idrīsī, a geographer of the later period seems to be little clear in his accounts about al-Daybul. He says that "al-Daybul is situated on an island the environments of which are barren". The same writer places the situation of al-Daybul on a hillock to the south east of the Persian gulf and on the other side of the Kuskahār or Kirsar mountains.[18] This statement of al-Idrīsī would place al-Daybul at Karāchī. There is a site near Korangi creek inside the sea, a few miles from Rarhī.. It has fort walls, bastions, and also the foundations of the huge buildings made of stone. Besides it on the sea coast, there is a big graveyard and also some ruins, which signify that the site was occupied by an ancient port probably al-Daybul, the medieval sea-port of Sind.

It is stated in the accounts that al-Daybul was visited by an earthquake which destroyed half of the town and killed one hundred and fifty thousand of its inhabitants.[19] It appears that a portion of the said town might have gone down under the sea due to the convulsion of nature and the remaining portion might have continued to be a place of importance till the foundation of Lāhrī and other port towns of the Delta region. Similar view may be held about Lāhrī and Dabo both of which

are beyond the Kirthar range and are believed to be the sites of the ancient towns. When Ibn Batūtah visited Sind he had seen the ruins of a pretty large town near the port of Lāhrī[20] and these are still spread over a large area by the side of the sea-creek.

If the Khor of al-Balādhurī is taken to mean a bay, then there is no other suitable site excepting Karāchī or its neighbourhood which can be brought in comparison to al-Daybul, the pre-Arab sea-port of Sind. On the whole sea coast from Makrān to the western most mouth of river Indus there are only two bays, one at Son-Miyānī and the other at Karāchī. The bay of Karāchī was known to the Greeks as "Alexander's haven" and if this be true then the ruins near Rarhī (near Korangi) are most probably those of al-Daybul, the medieval sea-port of Sind. But if the Khor of al-Balādhurī is taken to be a creek, then the site of al-Daybul could be looked for at Bhambhor, Dabo, Lāhrī, Dharajā and other sites in the delta region. In this regard it would be advisable to trace the course of river Indus at the time of the Arab conquest and the principal mouth through which it emptied itself in the Arabian sea.

M.R. Haig, the author of Indus Delta Country is of the opinion that Baghār was the western most mouth of river Indus during the Arab period, the eastern branch of which was Purān.[21] The Baghār course which is now known as Phito, worked its away into the Indian ocean through its two mouths, Pitī and Pityānī whilst the Purān emptied itself in the Rann of Cutch possibly through the Kori mouth. There is another branch of river Indus known as Ghunghru, which is also reckoned to be one of the branches of Indus during medieval times. If this version be true then the port of al-Daybul may be looked for in the eastern portion of the Delta possibly at Dabo which is nearer to Cutch than any other known site in that region. Chachnāmah affirms that the ruler of Cutch had constructed a bridge on the river for the purpose of crossing of the Arab army.[22]

Ghāro creek on which the ruins of Bhambhor are situated had never been the mouth of river Indus. Moreover these ruins are also of later period. In spite of extensive excavations not a single Vihāra or idol of Buddha has been recovered. The recovery of the Scytho-Parthian pottery claimed by the Archaeological Department is a fabrication, to connect Bhambhor with the ancient sea-port of al-Daybul.

Arguments as to identification

Sir Henry Elliot has identified al-Daybul with Karāchī[23] and Cunningham has brought it in comparison with Lāhrī or Lohrānī.[24] Raverty on the other hand, places it in the interior far away from the sea coast at Patho[25] and M.R. Haig brings it closer to Kakar Bukerā.[26] Major Raverty asserts on the authority of Mujam al-Tārīkh that the port of al-Daybul had the capacity for anchorage of 4000 sea-going vessels at a time.[27] The port of al-Daybul referred to by Raverty might have been a reference to Lāhrī Bunder which gained considerable importance in the delta, after the destruction of al-Daybul. It is a custom in Sind that the names of old towns are replaced on new ones built either on the same site or in the neighbourhood of the old one. This fact is attested to from the names of al-Nerūn, Brahmanābād, al-Ror, Siwistān and other towns which are still borne by the modern towns of Sind. Henry Cousens who believes Thatta to be al-Daybul[28] must have followed the accounts of Abu al-Faḍl who reports that Thatta was built on the site of old al-Daybul.[29] Abu al-Faḍl has committed similar blunder by connecting Bakhar with al-Mansūrah[30], the medieval Arab capital of Sind.

David Ross and Hughes are of the opinion that al-Daybul was situated on the site of Bhambhor,[31] but they have not given cogent reasons in support of their claim. The site of Bhambhor is situated at a great distance from the sea at least 20 miles inland from Pitī, which is considered to be the western most mouth of river Indus. The Ghāro creek on which the ruins of Bhambhor are situated had never been the

mouth of river Indus, but is a natural channel carrying rain water of the adjoining hills to the sea. The mosque inscription which is said to bear the year of inscription A.H. 109 may actually have been 1109 A.H., when Sind was ruled by the Kalhora rulers. The historial evidence shows that no such person Muhammad was appointed as governor over Sind in the year A.H. 109. Sind's governor at this period appears to have been Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Marī and not Muhammed as is shown in the inscription. This Muhammad was undoubtedly Muhammad Sarfarāz or Muhammad Murādyāb, who were the princes of the royal family during the period shown in the inscription (A.H. 1109). The coins are the purchased pieces of old currency which can be had from a number of persons in Sind who live in villages in the neighbourhood of the old sites and ruins in Sind.

Al-Idrīsī relates that the port of al-Daybul was built on the raised ground on one of the islands of the Arabian sea and its environments were barren. The place altliough unproductive was very thickly peopled and it was a great market of merchandise. The same writer has placed the situation of al-Daybul to the south of the Persian gulf and on the other side of the Kirsar mountains, wrongly written Kisir mountains.[32] This description would also place al-Daybul at Karāchī. The identification of Karāchī with al-Daybul gains support from the accounts of al-Mas'ūdī who reports that al-Daybul was situated at a distance of two days journey from Sākro[33] through which river Indus flowed to the sea. The western mouth of river Indus now known as Baghār had its course through Sākro and the distance between Sākro and Karāchī is covered by two days with regard to the old means of conveyance. But Karāchī is a new settlement supposedly founded by a woman by name Kalāchī who belonged to the Dodāni tribe of Jatts.[34] The historical as well as the literary sources indicate that there existed a settlement at Karāchī long before the coming of Kalāchī and her tribe. Bhambhor came into being at a very late period of Sind's history being founded by a Hindū raja named Bhambho - rā'i. It would be therefore

difficult to assume Bhambhor to be the site of al-Daybul, in the presence of ruins near Karāchī (at Rarhī), Dharajā, Vikur, Wango, Dabo, Lāhrī and various other sites along the sea coast. The correct conclusion can only be drawn when these sites are excavated with proper care and interest. But this is not possible due to the lack of interest shown in the sites of Sind by the Archaeology Department of Pākistān. Astounding discoveries are expected from these ruins but the interest of Archaeology Department is centred only on Bhambhor due to its nearness to Karāchī.

Notes and References

1. Archaeological Report on Bhambhor (1963), p. 7.
2. The earthquake of al-Daybul which shook the town took human toll to the extent of 1,50,000 souls. Kāmil, Vol. III, p. 185; Tārīkh al-Khulafā, p. 254.
3. History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. I, p. 368.
4. Four surs have been dedicated to this love-story by Shāh Latīf viz. Desī, Kohiyārī, Sassu'ī and Ma'zur. The search of Sassu'i for her husband has been assigned mystical meaning and compared with search of the mystic seeker (sālik) for the Ultimate Truth.
5. Land of Five Rivers and Sind, p. 21.
6. Chachnāmah, pp. 89, 90.
7. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 441,
8. Islamic Culture, Vol. XXVI, p. 46.
9. Chachnāmāh, p. 104.
10. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 438.
11. Chachnāmah, p. 115.
12. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
13. Tānbīh wa'l-Ashrāf, p. 32.
14. Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (al-Istakhrī), p. 175.
15. Sūrat al-Arḍ, p. 323.
16. Ahsan al-Taqāsīm, p. 479.
17. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IX, p. 151.
18. Wasf al-Hind, p. 28.
19. Kāmil, Vol. III, p. 185; Tārikh al-Khulafā, p. 254.
20. Ajā'ib al-Asfār, Vol. II, p. 7.
21. Indus Delta Country, pp. 44, 45.
22. Chachnāmah, p. 166.
23. History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. I, p. 374.
24. Ancient Geography, Vol. I, p. 384.
25. Mahrān, p. 123.
26. Indus Delta Country, p. 45.
27. Mahrān, p. 319.
28. Antiquities of Sind, p. 123.

29. A'īn-i-Akbarī, p. 556.
30. Ibid, p. 550.
31. Sind Gazetteer (Hughes), p. 180.
32. Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p. 28.
33. Murūj al-Dhahab, Vol. I, p. 142.
34. Sind Gazetteer (Hughes), p. 414.

Appendix II

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF HYDERABAD

The town of Hyderābād which is the third biggest city of West Pākistān is situated on one of the most ancient sites of the Indus valley. It is supposed to have been previously occupied by Nerūn-Kot (Kot al-Nerūn) of the medieval period and the Patālā of the ancient times. The present town of Hyderābād owes its foundation to Ghulām Shāh Khān, the Kalhorā ruler of Sind who built its fort in A.H. 1182/1768 A.C.[1] and transferred the capital of his kingdom from Khudābād to Hyderābād. The stone tablet which was found from the fort shows the following inscription:-

رب أجعل هذا بلد امناً

(O' God make this town an abode of peace).

According to another account it was Mīr Fateh 'Alī Khān Tālpur who transferred his capital from Khudābād to Hyderābād.[2] The fort built by Ghulām Shāh Khān is still in existence but in a very deplorable condition and may not survive for long. The building of the kutchā mud fort is also ascribed to Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā, around the shrine of Shāh Muhammad Makkī on the south-western extremity of the Ganjā hills, on which the town of Hyderābād is situated. It has been stated in the accounts that Ghulām Shāh had to clear an old site before laying the foundation of the fort of Hyderābād,[3] and this indicates the existence of a small settlement of Nerūn-Kot by which name the town of Hyderābād is still known to the old inhabitants.

The description of the fort of Hyderābād given by an Englishman Dr. Heddle, as it appeared in 1836, seven years before the conquest, testifies greatly to its present position, although the buildings of the Tālpur rule are no more and their

place has been taken by new ones. The fort of Hyderābād as per report of Dr. Heddle was separated from the town by means of a ditch forty yards in breadth and this was the only artificial defence of the fort. The said ditch also insulated the southern extremity of the hill on which the citadel stood. The communication was therefore maintained by means of a bridge which was situated in front of the principal entrance into the fort and opposite to the main street which is now known as Shāhī Bazār. The entrance was defended by a semi-circular iron curtain and in order to reach it by whatever side, the approach was made by traversing half of the town. The buildings which comprised of bungalows for princes, chambers for public business, mosques, stables, harems and other constructions were all situated within the fort. The fort occupied an area of 36 acres and contained within it a large house belonging to one of the ex-Mīrs named Shahdād Khān. This house was turned into a public building by the British government and named 'Government House'. In 1857 many houses in the fort were pulled down for the arsenal, which was finally removed from Karachi in 1862 and established at Hyderābād. Further wreckage of the buildings in the fort was brought by the famous explosion in the fort on 15-4-1905, which shook the whole town and caused great damage to the life and property of its inhabitants.[4]

The description of al-Nerūn given by the Arab geographers shows that it was a prosperous town of the lower Indus valley. Its Buddhist Shamanī entered into secret correspondence with al-Hajjāj and made peace with the Arabs[5] without the knowledge of the Hindū ruler of Sind. During the Arab period it occupied an important situation in between al-Mansūrah, the capital and al-Daybul, the sea-port and was the chief station for the trading caravans. Al-Nerūn was not attacked by the Arab soldiery as it was the case with other towns of Sind, but its inhabitants made peace with the Arab army. Al-Nerūn according to al-Idrīsī was situated at a distance of three days journey from al-Mansūrah.[6] Yāqūt al-Hamavī on the other hand says that it was nearer to al-Mansūrah and was situated

at 82-20′ by 23-30′ at a distance of five days journey from al-Daybul.[7]

As to the identification of al-Nerūn with Hyderābād the accounts of the Arab geographers although inaccurate are to be relied upon. The position of al-Nerūn described by Abu al-Fidā as 25 farsakhs from al-Daybul and 15 farsakhs from al-Mansūrah agrees with less definite statement of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hauqal. According to Chachnāmah, Nerūn-Kot was situated on a hill and there was a lake or tank in its neighbourhood, sufficient in size to receive the fleet of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī, the Arab conqueror of Sind. Henry Elliot has identified the town of al-Nerūn with Jhirk[8] and the lake with Kīnjhar (modern Kairī) but Kīnjhar has no communication with the Indus. Similarly the distances given by medieval geographers do not agree with actual distances between Khadro creek and Jhirk or Jhirk and Dalor which is believed to be the ruins of al-Mansūrah. McMurdo, Masson, Richard Burton and Eastwick all agree that Hyderābād was the Nerūn-Kot of the medieval period and same is the case with the Muslim writers of the later period more specifically Mīr Alī Sher Qānī' Thattavī, the author of Tuhfat al-Kirām. It is stated that saints and poets like Ahsan Nerūn-Kotī, Mullā Bahā'uddīn, Shihāb Thāqib, Abdul Jalīl, Mullā Rahīmullāh and Mullā Muhammad Sayyar flourished at Nerūn-Kot long before the foundation of the fort of Hyderābād by Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā.[9] Muhibullāh Bulcharī in his history of Sind relates that the town of Hyderābād was originally known as Nerūn-Kot but after its conquest by the Mughals it became known as Hyderābād after the name of Hyder-Qulī Beg who carried on the repairs of its old fort.[10]

The Chinese traveller Huen-Tsang who visited Sind in 641 A.C. travelled to it from Koteswar in Cutch which according to him was at a distance of 700 li (or 119 miles) from Pi-to-chi-lo-(Patsila or Patālā). From Patālā he proceeded to north-east to O'-fan-Cha (Avandā) which was at a distance of 300 li (or 50 miles) from that town.[11] Pi-to-chi-lo may be read as Pat-Sila (i.e. flat rock) and this is an accurate description of

the long flat topped hill on which the present town of Hyderābād is now situated. The hill which is now known as Ganjo (barren) agrees with the accounts of the Arab geographers, who report the absence of trees at al-Nerūn, the modern counterpart of Hyderābād. The distances given by the Chinese pilgrim between Koteswar and Pi-to-chi-lo and thence to O'-fan-cha agree with the distances between Koteswar, Hyderābād and ruins of Depar-Ghānghro near Jhol. The size of the hill which is 1½ miles in length and 700 yards in breadth or upward of three miles in circumference, corresponds very closely with the dimension of the Ganjā hill, which according to Huen-Tsang was 20 li in circuit. The position of Hyderābād therefore corresponds much better with the ancient Patālā.

The narratives of Arrian and Curtius show that Alexander of Macedon had sailed down the Indus at a distance of 400 stadia (46 miles) when his naval commanders first perceived the sea breeze. This shows that the fleet of Alexander might have reached a place near modern Jhirk, which is 30 miles below Hyderābād by land and 45 miles or nearly 400 stadia by river. At this place Alexander procured guides for his further journey to the sea till he reached in the neighbourhood of Khadro creek, which is 35 miles from the sea by land and 50 miles by water. The distance between the Khadro and Jhirk is reported to have been three days sail. The distance from Patālā to the sea according to this measurement comes to about 113 miles, which corresponds almost exactly with the measurement of Aristobulus at 1000 stadia or 115 miles.[12]

Major General Haig (M.R. Haig) asserts in the "Indus Delta Country" that by accurate measurements Hyderābād occupies the site of Patālā and also of al-Nerūn[13] of the medieval age. Richard Burton too identifies al-Nerūn with Hyderābād[14] and the same view is held by Henry Cousens.[15] The name Patālā is derived from Pota i.e. a vessel. Patālā also seems to have derived its name from Patālā, the trumpet flower in allusion to the trumpet shape of the Indus delta. All these descriptions can bring only one town i.e. Hyderābād in com-

parison to Patālā as well as al-Nerūn of the medieval Arab period.

Among the old buildings of Hyderābād that have survived, may be mentioned the Puccā fort, the Kutchā fort, the tomb of Ghulām Shāh, tomb of Abdul Nabi, tomb of Sarfarāz and a congregation of tombs called Mīran-jā-Qubā. Of all these structures the tomb of Ghulām Shāh is the finest and a good example of the later Mughal architecture in Sind. It is a massive square building standing upon an extensive platform with its one entrance on the eastern side. The whole of the exterior of the walls was covered with glazed coloured tiles but these have been badly damaged. The interior of the building is very elaborately painted and guilded. A great deal of decorated surface made up of medallions, panels, and band of Persian texts which are intervowen letters are found on the walls.

At a short distance from the tomb of Ghulām Shāh is that of Miyān Abdul Nabī who usurped the throne after Sarfarāz Khān. It is almost similar to that of Ghulām Shāh, but in a deplorable condition. The tomb of Sarfarāz is situated at a distance of about half a mile from the tomb of Ghulām Shāh. Sarfarāz was killed under the orders of his uncle Miyān Abdul Nabī at the time when he was reading Qurān. He therefore became a martyr and also a saint and his tomb is visited by a number of women on Friday nights. The Tālpur tombs contain the graves of Mīr Karam 'Alī, Murād Alī, Noor Muhammad, Nasīr Khān, Shahdād Khan and Ghulam Shāh Khān and their women folk and relatives. These buildings are covered with glazed tiles of the latest colours and patterns, which are poorer than those found in the tomb of Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā. Just outside the fort gate there is an enclosure attached to the houses of the town, containing a long grave forty feet six inches long. This grave is said to be of an Ashābī (the companion of the Prophet) also known as Nau-Gazo Pīr (i.e. Nine-yard long saint), who it is believed stood that height in his shoes.

Notes and References

1. Tuhfat al-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 177.
2. Antiquities of Sind, p. 131.
3. Tuhfat al-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 177.
4. Gazetteer of Sind (Hughes), pp. 253, 254.
5. Futūh al-Buldān, p. 443.
6. Wasf al-Hind (al-Idrīsī), p. 29.
7. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. VIII, p. 356.
8. Chachnāmah, p. 125.
9. Maqālāt ush-Shu'arā', pp. 47, 109, 139, 158, 241 and 310.
10. Referred to in Sindhi Edition of Chachnāmah.
11. Huen-Tsang, Book IV, p. 151.
12. Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, pp. 282, 283.
13. Indus Delta Country, p. 45.
14. Sind Revisited, Vol. I, p. 244.
15. Antiquities of Sind, p. 131.

Appendix III

SINDHI LANGUAGE

Name and derivation; Origin of Sindhī language; Sindhī dialects; Relationship with Lahnda and Dārdic languages; Foreign influences; Sindhī alphabet; Future of Sindhī language.

Name and derivation

The term Sindhī is an adjective from 'Sindh' which means 'of Sindh' or belonging to Sindh. Sindhī or Sindhū in Sanskrit means an ocean or vast collection of water,[1] a name which the Aryan invaders gave to river Indus round about 2000 B.C. when they pushed on their march into the plains of the Punjāb. The appellation now applies to the southern portion of the Indus valley, which now comprises of Hyderābād and Khairpur divisions of West Pākistān. In Pashtū language too Sind refers to a current but it also implies fertility. The fertility of Indus valley was proverbial in the most distant part of the globe, since the earliest known times. It was from Sindh or Sindhū, that the whole sub-continent derived its name viz. Sindhū i.e. the land of Sindh. Since 'S' is interchangeable with 'H' in the Persian language, the Irānians called it 'Hindū' or Hind and the Greeks who followed the Persians in the hegemony of the land termed it 'Indū or 'Ind'. It was from this Ind or Indie, that the present name of the sub-continent 'India' was derived. The sub-continent of India is now divided into two independent sovereign states of Pākistān and Bhārat, and Sindhī is the language of the lower half of the Indus valley.

The Arab writers maintain that the sub-continent of Hind (or India) owes its origin to a person by name Hind[2] who was a descendant of Hām, the son of patriarch Noah. It is believed that after the great deluge, which is mentioned in the Qurān, only

three races of mankind survived and these are the white, the black and the yellow race. According to the same source white race descended from Sām (or Shem), the yellow race from Yāfith and the black race from Hām. Why the descendants of Hām became dark in complexion, a curious story appears in the Torah, which shows that Hām was cursed by his father[3] for disobedience. But this is a myth, with a moral lesson behind, which insisted the progeny of Isrā'īl to serve their parents and show obedience to them. The Qurān has also prescribed the same code of conduct for the children to be always alert in their duty to the parents, specially in the old age, when they are unable to look after themselves.[4] The people of Hind and Sind it would appear from the Old Testament descended from the persons of the same name, who were both brothers, being the sons of Tauqīr ibn Yaqtan ibn Hām ibn Noah. The people of Hind and Sind were grouped together and known to the Semitic world as belonging to the 'black race'.

Origin of Sindhi language

Various theories have been brought forward by writers about the origin of Sindhī language, but the majority of them agree that it is a branch of Prākrit. Prākritā literally means natural or unartificial, as against Samskritā (Sanskrit) which means polished or artificial language.[5] This shows that Prākrit might have been the original language of the Indus valley, before the advent of the Aryans. Modern researches reveal that a people of Indus valley origin had migrated to al-'Irāq in the distant past and introduced a new language in the valley of Euphrates prior to 2500 B.C. It is also probable that the importation might have been vice-versa, as would appear from the words: Lila, Ummā, Dān, Khumāch, Bhān, Alor, Anū, Sin, Ḍungī, Pur, Man, Patar, Shub, Essar, Akur, Bel, Patesī, Dūdū, Ḍodo, Kingū, Rām, Pal, Karath, Onnes and various others.[6]

The famous grammarian Mārkandāya reports that a corrupted form of Prākrit was spoken in the Indus valley. This might have resulted due to the influence of Sanskrit on the

original language of the Indus valley. Due to this reason it became known as Apbharamsa Prākrit or the corrupted form of Prākrit. Apbharamsā was divided into three main divisions of Nāgarā, Varāchadā and Kaykayā Apbharamsā. It was the Varāchadā Prākrit which was the most popular and was spoken in Sind. In Varāchada all the sibilants are pronounced 'Sh' or as translated into Sindhi ش , for example in Sindhi language the Sanskrit Vishaya becomes وڻ , i.e. the world and also the Sanskrit Simha, a lion becomes Shinh شينهن .

Mr. Grierson in his famous work Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. VIII, part I, published in Calcutta in 1919) opines that Sindhī and Lahnda form together the north western group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and possess characteristics which connect them with the Dārdic languages of the frontier regions specially with the language of Kashmīr. An instance of this may be quoted from the modern Dārdic languages in which there is no distinction between the cerebral and dental letters. In the Thali dialect of Lahnda, 'd' is frequently changed to ڈ, ڈ and same is the case with Sindhī language in which t ت and d د are changed into ٹ ṭ and ڈ ḍ respectively. Thus Hindi tāmba becomes Tāmo ٹامو (copper) and dena becomes diyan, ڈيڻ to give. Both in Sindhī and Lahnda there is a tendency to retain 't' between the two vowels, which is not the case with the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. This may be illustrated in Sindhī pito (drank) as against pia in Hindī language. Similarly Sindhī kito (done) is kia in Hindī and Sindhī suto (slept) is so'ā in Hindī and etc.

In the Dārdic and some other Indo-Aryan languages of outer circle specially the Kashmīrī, Sindhī and Bihārī, the influence of the Dravidian language seems to be apparent. This is shown in the example of a final short i or u, which is not dropped in the inner languages but is half pronounced, the mere colour as it were of the vowel, being given to the final consonant. The Sanskrit mūrtī, an image, becomes mūrat in Sindhī, but is pronounced as mūrat in the outer Bihārī.

Sindhī does not agree either with Lahnda or the Dārdic languages in respect of epenthesis which is common in

Kashmīrī language. For example, the word 'bad' i.e. great is pronounced 'bod' in Kashmīrī, but in Sindhī 'a' is unchanged and the word is pronounced 'waddo'. Similarly in Sindhī 'karan' (to do) is represented in Lahnda by karun; in Kashmīrī by karun in both of which second 'a' has become 'u' under the influence of the original following, which has been dropped in modern languages. Sindhī language in this respect appears to be in an older stage than Lahnda and Kashmīrī, in which the change of vowel has not yet taken place.

In most of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars one of the double consonants derived from Prākrit is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened. This is illustrated from the Sanskrit word 'bhaktah' (cooked rice) which becomes 'bhattu' in Apbharamsa Prākrit and 'bhat' in Sindhī language. It is not however the case with Punjābī and Lahnda in which the double consonant persists and so we get 'bhatt', but in Kashmīrī it is pronounced as 'bat'. This is one of the most important points of evidence which shows the relationship of Sindhī with Kashmīrī and other Dārdic languages of West Pākistān and this has been observed from the inscription of emperor Asoka. (250 B.C.)

It may be pointed out that this rule is not however universal with the Sindhī language and it does not apply to the sonant consonants such as g, j, d, d and b, in which the doubling of Prākrit is retained. This doubling is frequent in cases where there is no justification for the same. The following example testifies this assertion:-

Apbharamsa Prakrit	Sindhi	meaning
aggahu	aggu	in front
ajju	ajj	today
Chhaddai	chadde	he releases
saddu	sadd	sound
ubbalei	ubbare	he boils

In support of the theory of the connection of Sindhī with Kashmīrī language, Mr. Grierson has quoted an example of Hasthī-wanj, the famous pass of Kashmīr. Hasthī in Kashmīrī language means elephant, but there is no word wanj in that lang-

uage. The word wanjna (or wanna) appears in Lahnda, which in Sindhī becomes 'wanjan' meaning to go. 'Hasthī-wanj' therefore means the passage of the elephant and this is attested to from a tradition of the attack of elephants and the subsequent disaster, which has been preserved in Kāshmīrī even up to the present day.

The Dārdic language to which Sindhī is related may be the Dāradrai of Ptolemy, the Dārdai of Strabo, Dārdae of Pliny and Nonnus and Dārdanoi of Dionysus Periegetes. These people have also been referred to as 'Pisāchā' by the Greek writers, depicting their barbarous character as demons living on raw flesh. In Mahābhārat the people of West Punjāb are also dubbed by the same name, which appears to have been due to the religious animosity or ideological differences. During this period the region now known as West Pākistān was divided into three main tracts of Gandhārā, Kaykayā and the country of the Sindhūs and Sauvīrās. The Gandhārā country with its capital Takash-Shīla (modern Taxila) was the seat of the greatest university in the sub-continent in the sixth century B.C. At Salātūrā, close to this university was born Pāninī, one of the greatest grammarians of the Sanskrit language. Kaykayā (south-west Punjāb) too during the period was famous for its learning and this is evident from Chandogyā Upanishad which has given an illustration of the versatile genius of its Kshatriya king Asvā-patī, who like king Solomon the wise solved some of the most difficult problems on theology.

Captain George Stack who wrote the first grammar of Sindhī language and was also responsible for the arrangement of the Sindhī alphabet opines that Sindhī is a language fit only for the clowns. Yet he was confident to say that it would prove more interesting to a philologist than any other language of the Indo-Pākistān sub-continent. The affixing signs to words in lieu of pronouns and the prepositions governing them, the regular form of the passive voice, the use of the impersonals, the repudiated casual verbs and such other points give to it the beauties distinct from most of the other Indian languages.[10]

Dr. Earnest Trumpp who also wrote a grammar of Sindhī language published at Leipzig in 1872, asserts that Sindhi language has preserved most important fragments of Prākrit and has created for itself the grammatical structure which surpasses in beauty of execution and internal harmony wanting in Marāthī, Hindī, Punjābī and Bengālī languages. While all other dialects have sunk deeper to certain degrees, Sindhī has remained steady throughout since the firts stage of its decomposition. This fact is attested to from the rules laid down by the famous Prakrit grammarian Karmā-Dishwarā which are still applicable to Sindhī language. Although it claims a common origin with other Indo-Aryan vernaculars yet is quite independent and materially different from them.[11]

Relationship with Lahnda and Dardic languages

Lahndā and Dārdic languages to which Sindhī is related to are spoken in the northern and western regions of West Pākistān. Lahndā as the name indicates means the language of the west and its other names are West-Punjābī, Jatkī, Uchchī, Multānī and Hindkī in relation to the region in which it is spoken in West Pākistān. Dārdic on the other hand is the language of Gilgit and Kashmīr, the Indus and Swāt Kohistān and Chitrāl and Kāfiristān regions. Dārdic form of speech is also found in the adjoining areas of Afghānistān namely Laghmān, Ningrahār and Tirahi. The Dārdic languages of today may be akin to Dāradrai of Ptolemy, the Dārdai of Strabo, Dārdae of Pliny and Nonnus and Dārdanoi of Dionysus Periegetes. These people are referred to as Pisāchā by the Greek writers depicting their barbarous character as demons living on raw flesh.[12]

The Dārdic languages now fall into three main groups of Kāfir, Khwār and Dārd languages. The Kāfir group includes four languages namely: Bashgalī spoken by Siāh-posh Kāfirs; Wai-ala by Safed-posh Kāfirs; Wasi-veri or Veron by Presun; and Ashkund by the remaining Kāfirs. The Khwār is spoken by the Khos, a very important tribe of Chitrāl and it has connections with the Ghalchah language, spoken in the regions north

of Pāmīr. The Dārd on the other hand is sub-divided into three languages: Shīnā, Kashmīrī and Kohistānī. Shīnā is spoken in Gilgit valley and the Indus valley from Bāltistān to river Tangir, Kashmīrī in Kashmīr and Kohistānī, also known as Maiya, is spoken in Indus Kohistān regions and also in the mountains between Chitrāl and Chilās.

Sindhi dialects

Five dialects of Sindhī are well known and these are Sarolī, Vicholī, Tharelī (or Dhatkī), Lāsī and Lārī. To this may be added two more, the Kohistānī (or Jablī) which is spoken in the Kohistān regions of western Sind and the Cutchkī dialect which is spoken in the regions of Cutch and Kathiawar in India. Sarolī or the dialect of upper Sind is also known as Utrādī and it is closely related to Sira'ikī dialect of Lahnda, spoken in southern Punjāb. Sarolī is spoken in Sukkur, Jacobābād, Khairpur, Larkānā and parts of Dādū district. Tharelī or Dhatkī is the language of Thar region comprising of Thar and Pārkar district and parts of Sānghar and Khairpur districts. Vicholī, the standard dialect of Sind is spoken in Vicholo (i.e. middle Sind) i.e. in Nawābshāh, upper half of Hyderābād and parts of Sānghar and Dādū districts. Larī, the lower Sind dialect is spoken in southern half of Hyderābād and in the whole of Thattā district with the exception of Karāchī, which is a cosmopolitan city.

Vicholī it would appear, is the only written language of Sind, being the language of intelligentsia and literary expression. While the Sindhī prose is always written and expressed in this dialect, words, phrases, idioms of other dialects also appear in poetry composed in different parts of Sind. Shāh Abdul Latīf of Bhit, the poet laureate of Sind has often expressed himself in almost all the Sindhī dialects in his great diwān known as Shāh-jo-Risālo.

Very little difference can be detected in the Sindhi dialects and that also is felt in respect of consonantal groups tr, dr and dhr. In Lārī, r is dropped both in writing and pronunciation; in Vicholī it is not usually written but pronounced, but in Siro

it is both written and pronounced. This may be gathered from the following example:-

Lari	Vicholi	Sarolī
put	put (r)	putr
chand	chand (r)	chandr
ddadh	ddadh (r)	ddadhr

It may also be noted that in Vicholī the past participle of the word wathan (to take) is wathito, warto, wato or wardo; in Sarolī it may also be wado. In the Larī dialect the words are commonly contracted but in Lāsī only two instances have been observed so far viz. hekro or hekiro (i.e. one) and bbar for bbahar (i.e. outside). Although the Cutchkī dialect shares common boundaries with the Lārī dialect of Sindhi, yet it exhibits few peculiarities of it and agrees more with Vicholī, the language of central Sind. It follows Vicholī in respect of surd consonants and as such we get hath (a hand) instead of hatth (as in Punjābī) or hāth (as in Gujrātī). In spite of this similarity it differs from Vicholī in respect of two special peculiarities viz. the retention of short vowels at the end of the word and the Sindhī double sonant consonants, gg, jj, dd and bb. Due to the proximity of Cutch with Gujrāt the use of Gujrātī conjunctive participle 'ine' is very common in the Cutchkī dialect, as it appears in the case of achine (having come), karine (having done), khaine (having eaten), uthine (having risen) and vinine (having gone) etc.[13]

Foreign influences

Sind being the southern part of the Indus valley has remained under foreign domination for countless generations. It has, therefore, an indigenous population of mixed blood comprising of all races, colours, religions and nationalities. The Kols, the Sonthals, the Aryans, the Greeks, the Yueh-chi, the Scythians, the Hittites, the Sakas, the Huns, the Arabs, the Mongols, the Turks and the Afghans and other communities of divergent languages and cultures have settled in Sind. As a result of this influx of the foreign element throughout centuries Sindhī language apart from being influenced grammati-

cally has borrowed a number of words from various other languages. Even the English language which remained the official language of the conquerors for one century only has lent a number of words to Sindhī vocabulary which are now in common use in Sind. Orderli, Armeda, stamp, hospital, station, screw, school, button, bottle, board, treasury, ticket, tax, patloon, pension, judge, magistrate, chalk, shop, dozen, report, recruit, college, collector, coach, captain, coat, court, glass, madam and many other words have become the medium of common exchange between the masses. In the like manner the old Dravidian and Sanskrit words and also the later Arabic and Turkish words are still in common use and have acquired prominent place in the daily use as well as in the literature. The Dravidian words are: Khata (cot), Nīr (purple), Kalā, Pushpā, Pīhal (fruit), Biru (hole), Rūp, Petī, Kapāh, Sone, Biju, Kanak, Mann etc. The Sanskrit are mainly numerals such as Ek, Du, Triyā, Chār, Panch, Shah, Sapt, Asht, No, Dash, Ekā-Dushī, Duwā-Dush, Bisht, Trensht, Pancha-shat etc. Similarly Otāq, Elchī, Bandūk, Borchī, Chogho, Chaqmaq, Qalīch, Qaitūn which are purely Turkish words have acquired universal usage in whole of Sind.

Sindhi Alphabet

The present Sindhī alphabet has its origin in Arabic and was prepared under the auspices of the Education Department after the conquest of Sind by the British. It was standardised in 1853, to suit all the human sounds which could be expressed with ease and efficiency. In all 52 syllables were prepared in which the characters were all derived from Arabic script. The Devnāgrī script was also in use in Sind but it was restricted only to a limited class of Hindūs, called Bhā'ī-bands. The educated class of Hindūs appreciated and used Arabic script even before the conquest of Sind in 1843. This was on account of the educational system prevalent in Sind during the Tālpur and Kalhora period and also the other periods of history of Sind, during Muslim domination. The script used in Sind before the advent of the British was Arabic no

doubt, but it suffered heavily from some inherent defects. The Sindhi sounds such as bb ٻ, dd ڈ, jj ڄ, gg ڳ, nn ڻ, gn ڱ could not be pronounced with clarity but could be understood by learned men only while going through particular written matter. For instance, the word "conversation" written thus گال ٻول has been simplified like this ٻول گالهه and the word اڳ (before) which was written in a very crude manner has been changed into simple form and written اڳ. Sindhī language has one peculiarity of having four sounds, viz. ٻ bb, ڄ jj, ڳ gg, ڱ gn which are not found in any other language of the world. The British government removed these difficulties by getting the new script prepared under the guidance and supervision of Mr. Ellis who was appointed by Sir Bartle Frere to undertake the said task. After the preparation of the Sindhī script two European scholars namely Captain Stack and Earnest Trumpp, prepared the Grammars of Sindhī language. Thereafter a number of works were translated into the new script, from English, Persian and Arabic sources. The Risālo of Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit was also edited by Earnest Trumpp and printed for the first time at Leipzig in Germany, under the patronage of the British government. The expenses for the printing and publication of Shāh-jo-Risālo were borne by the Government of India and same is the case with the first two grammars of Sindhī language which were prepared by the European writers.

It appears that during the Arab period of Sind's history the script in use in Sind was the same as it was used before 1843 A.C. in the Maktabs and Madrassahs all over Sind. Ibn Nadīm, the famous writer of al-Fihrist, reports that the language of Sind was Sindhī, while the Arabs spoke the Arabic tongue. He has also given some of the specimen of the Sindhī script in use in Sind during the period, which with some modifications, appear to be same as used today. The numerals draw special attention of the scholars and are also the same with slight difference in respect of the addition of zero so as to increase their denomination. Instead of adding zero in front of the figure it was placed beneath the

figure. Further the perusal of the written works of pre-British period reveals that even the writing style of Sindhī works was based on the Arabic style and this is evident in Munājāt, Madāh, Manāzara, Mawlūd, Marthiya and other subjects of folk literature in Sind. Even Sindhī prose suffered from the same defect and it was written and read in poetic form. It was from the British period that Sindhī prose although translations was written in proper Sindhī language and style. This was principally due to the efforts of the British authorities in Sind.

Future of Sindhi

Sindhī language has a bright future ahead. It has expanded considerably to the regions where Sindhī language was never spoken. It has gained considerable importance in many parts of India due to the exodus of the Hindūs from Sind. The influx of the refugees into Sind after partition (viz. 1947) has increased the scope of Sindhī as one of the dominant written languages of Pākistān. Today it is spoken by more than one hundred million people as against forty to forty-five millions before partition. The present influx from India and elsewhere has taken place on a very large scale. The refugee element in spite of the highly prejudiced mind, has taken up seriously the study of Sindhī language in whole of Sind. This is principally due to economic and social considerations and although they hate to write in Sindhī, yet they are forced to speak in that language for other considerations. The institution of Urdū as national language has affected greatly the progress of Sindhī, but this is a temporary phase which could be overcome with sincere efforts on the part of educated Sindhīs. A little encouragement on their part would greatly affect the destinies of this ancient language which has its own heritage and literature, second to none in the whole world.

Notes and References

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, p. 389; Land of Five Rivers and Sind, p. 37.
2. Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. IX, p. 151; Tuhfat al-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 2.
3. It is related that Hām, the father of Can'ān had seen the nakedness of his father, while he was drunk and instead of covering his body (nakedness) informed his brothers about it. See Genesis, Chapter 9, Verse 22.
4. Qurān, Sūrah 17, Verse 23.
5. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, part I, p. 121.
6. These words have been deciphered by Mr. Rawlinson in his famous work on Assyriology, The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, in three volumes, printed and published at London in 1862.
7. J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 143.
8. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, part I, p. 237.
9. Ibid, Vol. I, part I, p. 134.
10. Grammar of Sindhī Language (Stack), p. 7.
11. Sindhī Grammar (Earnest Trumpp), p. 18.
12. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 108.
13. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, part I, p. 184.

EXTRACTS

Jamharah Ansāb al-Arab, Dār al-Ma'ārif. Egypt, 1948, pp. 109, 110.

فولد الاسود بن مطلب

هبار بن الاسود الشاعر له صحبه و زمعه بن الاسود و عقيل بن الاسود قتلا يوم بدر كافرين. فمن ولد هبار بن الاسود: الشاعر بن الاسود ، عمر بن عبدالعزيز بن منذر بن زبير بن عبدالرحمن بن هبار بن الاسود صاحب السند وليها في ابتداء الفتنه اثر قتل المتوكل وقد اول اولاده ملكها الي ان انقطع امرهم في زماننا هذا ايام محمود بن سبكتكين صاحب مادون النهر من خراسان وكان قائدتهم المنصوره وكان جده المنذر بن زبير قد قام بقرقيسا ايام السفاح فاسرو صلب و اسماعيل بن هبار هوالذي قتله مصعب بن عبدالرحمن بن عوف قتل معه قوم غيلة. و هبار كان يهجو النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم ايام كفره فلما اسلم محاكل ذلك بمدحه و حسن اسلامه وهوالذي نخس زينب بنت رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم اذا حملت من المكه الي المدينه فاسقطت جنيناً و ولد زمعه بن الاسود عبدالله بن زمعه له صحبه والحارث بن زمعه قتل يوم بدر كافراً مع ابيه و يزيد بن زمعه استشهد يوم الطائف رحمه الله - و اما عبدالله بن زمعه فتزوج زينب بنت ابي سلمه من ام سلمه ام المومنين فولدت له يزيد قتل يوم الحره صبراً.

Kitāb al-'Ibar, Egypt, 1284 A.H., Volume II, p. 327.

و هبار بن الاسود بن مطلب بن اسد بن عبدالعزي كان من عقبه عمر بن عبدالعزيز بن منذر ابن الزبير بن عبدالرحمن بن هبار صاحب السند وليها في ابتدا الفتنه اثر قتل المتوكل وقد اول اولاده ملكها الي ان انقطع امرهم علي يد محمود بن سبكتكين صاحب غزنه و مادون النهر من خراسان وكان قائدتهم المنصورة وكان جده المنذر بن الزبيع قد قام بقرقيسا ايام السفاح فاسرو صلب و اسماعيل بن هبار قتله مصعب بن عبدالرحمن غيله و هبار كان يهجو النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم ثم ابنه عوف اسلم فمدحه و حسن اسلامه و عبدالله بن زمعه بن الاسود له صحبته و تزوج زينب بنت ابي سلمه من ام سلمه ام المومنين و خديجه ام المومنين بنت خويلد بن اسد بن عبدالعزي والزبير بن العوام بن خويلد بن اسد بن عبدالعزي احد العشره و ابناه عبدالله و مصعب و حكيم بن حزام بن خويلد عاش ستين سنه في الاسلام.

'Uyūn al-Akhbār, Islamic Culture, Hyd. Deccan, Vol. XXIII, p. 304.

وكان فتح السند الامير المومنين المعز لدين الله سلام الله عليه و كان في تلك الجزيره احد الدعاة ممن خلط وغير واستجاب على يديه قوم كثير من المجوس فتركهم على كثير مما هو محرم في الاسلام مما يستحلون في دينهم وكان قد بلغ امير المومنين المغز لدين الله امره فاستهاله واستعظمه توضعاً لله و احياء لسيرة جده محمد رسول الله و كتب الى اهل الدعوة بالسند برفض ذلك الداعي المعز لدين الله واعتزاله لتضييعه الواجب عليه في دين الله من النهي عن المنكر والامر بالمعروف في اقواله و افعاله واقام الداعي حاتم بن شيبان في الجزيره لما هو عليه من العبادة والاستقامة و حسن النية و صفا السريرة فلم يصل كتاب امير المومنين عليه السلام الاوقد هلك ذلك الذي تواذا فيما يجب عليه واقام المومنون حاتم بن شيبان حتى يوافاهم الامام عليه السلام وينهو امرهم اليه وقد قص ذلك القاضي النعمان ابن محمد رضوان الله عليه في بعض ماالفه حيث قال و كان بعض الدعاة بجزيرة نائية الخ.

Al-Fihrist, Egypt, 1348 A.H., p. 435.

(اسماء كتب الهند في الطب الموجودة بلغة العرب)

كتاب سسرد عشر مقالات امريحي بن خالد بتفسيره المنكه الهندي في البيمارستان ويجري مجري الكناش، كتاب استنكر الجامع تفسير ابن دهن، كتاب سيرك فسره عبدالله بن علي من الفارسي الي العربي، لانه اولا نقل من الهندي الي الفارسي، كتاب سند ستاق معناه كتاب صفوة النجح تفسير ابن دهن صاحب بيمارستان، كتاب مختصر للهند في العقاقير كتاب علاجات الحبالي للهند نوقشتل فيه مائه داء و مائه دواء، كتاب روسا الهنديه في علاج النساء، كتاب السكر للهند، كتاب اسماء عقاقير للهند فسره منكه لاسحق بن سليمان، كتاب راي الهندي في اجناس الحيات و سمومها كتاب التوهم في الامراض و لعلل لتوقشتل الهندي

p. 438.

كتاب كليله و دمنه وهو سبع عشر بابا و قيل ثمانية عشر بابا فسره عبدالله بن المقفع وغيره و قد نقل هذا لكتاب الي الشعر نقله ابان

بن عبدالحميد بن لاحق عضيرالرقاشي و نقله عن بن داود الي الشعر و نقله بشر بن المعتمر والذي خرج بعضه ورأيت انا في نسخه زيادة بابين و قد عملت شعراء العجم هذاالكتاب شعرا و نقل الي اللغه الفارسيه بالعربية و لهـذا الكتاب جوامع و انتزاعات عملـها جماعه منهم ابن المقفع و سهل بن هارون و سلم صاحب بيت الحكمة والمريد الاسود الذي استد عاه المتو كل في ايامه من فارس، و من كتبهم كتاب سندباد الكبير كتاب سند باد الصغير كتاب البد كتاب بوذاسف و بلوهر كتاب - بوذاسف مفرد كتاب ادب الهند و الصين كتاب هابل في الحكمته كتاب الهند في قصة هبوط آدم عليه السلام كتاب طرق كتاب دبلك الهندي في الرجل والمراه كتاب حدود منطق الهند كتاب ساد برم كتاب ملك الهند القتال و السياح كتاب شاناق في التدبير كتاب اطرفى الاشربه كتاب بيدبا في الحكمه .

Akhbār al-'Ulamā', Egypt, A.H. 1326, p. 174.

[كنكة] الهندي وربما قيل كنكه قال ابو معشر في وصفه في كتاب المسمي بالالوف انه يعني كنكه المقدم في علم النجوم عند جميع العلماء من الهند في سالف الد هرولم يبلغنا تاريخ عصره ولا شيء من اخباره لبعد داره و اعتراض الممالك بنينا و بين بلاده و لهند هم تصانيف كنكه الهندي اشتهرت عنه كتاب النموذار في الا عمار كتاب اسرار الموالید كتاب قرانات الكبير - كتاب قرانات الصغير .

'Uyun al-Anba', Egypt, Vol. II, pp. 32, 33.

(الباب الثاني عشرفي طبقات الاطباء الذين كانوامن الهند)

١- (كنكه) حكيم بارع من متقدمي حكماء الهند و اكـابرهم ولـه نظر في صناعة الطب و قوى الادويه وطبائع المولدات و خواص الموجودات و كان من اعلم الناس بهيئه العالم و تـركيب الافلاك وحركات النجوم. وقال ابو معشر جعفر بن محمد بن عمر البلخي في كتاب الالوف ان كنكه هو المقدم في علم النجوم وعند جميع العلماء من الهند في سالف الدهر (ولكنكه) من الكتب، كتاب النموذار في الاعمار كتاب اسرار الموالید كتاب قرانات الكبير وصغير كتاب في الطب وهو يجري مجري كناش كتاب في التوهم كتاب في احداث العالم والدور في القران.

٢- (صنجهل) كان من علماء الهند وفضلائهم الخبيرين بعلم الطب والنجوم. ولصنجهل من الكتب كتاب الموالید الكبير و كان

من بعد لصنجهل الهندي جماعت في بلاد الهند ولهم تصانيف معروفه في صناعه الطب و في غير ها من العلوم مثل بـاكهر- راجه- سكه- داهر- انكو - زنكل - جبهر - اندي-جاري، كل هولاء اصحاب تصانيف وهم من حكماء الهند و اطبائهم و لهم الاحكام الموضوعه في علم النجوم الهند تشتغل بمو لفات هولاء فيما بينهم و يفقدون بهلو يتنا قلونها و قد نقل كثير منها الي اللغه العربية و وجدت الرازي ايضا قد نقل في كتابه الحاوي و في غيره من كتب جماعه الهند مثل كتاب شرک الهندي و هذا الكتاب فسره عبدالله بن علي من الفارسي الي العربي لانه اولا نقل من الهندي الي الفارسي و عـن كتاب سسرد و فيه علامات الاد واء و معرفه علاجها و ادويتهاو هـو عشر مقالات امريحي بن خالد بتفيسره و كتاب لدان في علامات اربعمائه واربعه ادواء و معرفتها بغير عـلاج و كتاب سندهشان و تفسيره كتاب صورة النجم و كتاب تفسيرا سماء العقار با سماء عشره و كتاب استانكر الجامع و كتاب في علاجات الحيالي الهند و كتاب مختصر في العقاقير للهند و كتاب نوشل فيه مائه داء و مائه دواء و كتاب روسي الهنديه في علاجات النساء و كتاب السكر للهند و كتاب رأي الهندي في اجناس الحيات وسمومها و كتاب في التوهم في الامراض و العلل لا بي قبيل الهندي.

٣- (شاناق) و من المشهورين ايضاً من اطباء الهند - و كـانـت لـه معالجات و تجارت كثيره في صناعه الطب و تفنن في العلوم و فـي الحكمه و كان بارعاً في علم النجوم حسن الكلام متقدماً عند ملوک الهند و من كلام شاناق قال في كتاب الذي سماه مفتحل الجواهر - يا ايها

p. 33.

الوالي اتق عشرات الزمان واخش تسلط الايام و اوعه غلبه الدهر و اعلم من الا عمال جزاء فاتق عواقب الدهر و الايام فان لها غدرات فكن منها علي حذر و الاقـدار مغيبات فاستعد لها و الزمان منقلب فاحذر دولته لئيم الكره فيخف سطوت سـريع الغره فلاتامن دولته و اعلم ان من لم يداو نفسه من سقام الاثام في ايام حياته في ابعده من الشفاء و هي واحده لم يضبط حواسه مـع قلتهاو ذلتهاصعب عليه ضبط الاعوان مع كثرتهم وخشونه جانبهم فكانت عامه الرعيه في اقاصى البلاد و اطراف المملكه ابعد من الضبط

(والشاناق) من الكتب كتاب السموم خمس مقالات فسره من اللسان الهندي الي اللسان الفارسي منكه الهندي و كان المتولي لنقله بالخط الفارسي رجل يعرف بابي خاتم البلخي فسره ليحيى بن خالد بن برمك ثم نقل للمامون علي يد العباس بن سعيد الجوهري مولاه و كان متولي قرأته علي المامون كتاب البيطره، كتاب علوم النجوم، كتاب منتخل الجواهر و الفه لبعض ملوك زمانه و كان يقال لذلك الملك ابن قماص الهندي .

(جودر) حكيم فاضل من حكماء الهند و علمائهم متميز في ايامه وله نظر في الطب و تصانيف في العلوم الحكميه وله من الكتب كتاب المواليد وهو قد نقل الي العربي .

[٥٨٨] كان عالما بصناعه الطب حسن معالجه لطيف التدبير فيلسوفا من جمله المشار اليهم في علوم الهند متقنا للغه الهند ولغه الفرس و هوالذي نقل كتاب شاناق الهندي في السموم من اللفه الهندي الي الفارسي و كان في ايام هارون الرشيد و قساقر من الهند الي العراق في ايامه واجتمع بـه و داواه ووجدت بعض الكتب ان منكه الهندى كان في جمله اسحق بن سليمان بن علي الهاشمي ونقلت من كتاب اخبار الخلفاء والبرامكه ان الرشيد اعتل علة صعبه فعالجه الاطباء فلم يجد من علته افاقه نقال ابوعمر الاعجمي بالهندطبيب يقال لـه منكه و هو احد عباد هم وفلا سفه فلو بعث اليه امير المومنين فلعل الله ان يهب له الشفاء علي يده . قال فوجد الرشيد من حمله و وصله بصله تعينه علي سفره فقد وعالج الرشيد فبرأ من علته بعلاجه فاجري عليه رزقاً واسعا واموالا كافيه. قال فبينما منكه سارا في الخلد اذا هو برجل من المانيه قـد بسط كساءه والقي عليه عقاقير كثيره وقام يصف دواء عنده معجونه فقال في صفته هذا دواء للحمي الدائمه وحي الغب وحي الربع ولوجع الظهر والركبتين والخام والبواسير والرياح ووجع المفاصل ووحي العينين ولوجع البطن والصداع والشقيقه والتقطير البول والفالج و الارتعاش ولم يدع علة في البدن الا ذكران ذلك الدواء شفاء لها .

Tārīkh al-Khulafā', Lahore, 1892, p. 254.

وفيها ورد كتاب من الديبل ـ ان القمر الكسف في شوال وان الدنيا اصبحت مظلمه الي العصر فهبت ريح سوداء فدامت الي ثلث

الليل - واعقبها زلزله عظيمه اذ هب عامه المدينه و كان عدة من اخرج من تحت الردم مائه الف و خمسين الفا .

Aja'ib al-Hind, Brill, Leyden, 1883, p. 3.

ثم جعل في الصين والهند ثمانيه اجزاء منها و جزأ في باقي المشرق (فمما) في الهند ما حدثنابه ابو محمد الحسن بن عمرو ابن حمويه بن حرام بن حمويه للنجيرمي بالبصره . قال كنت بالمنصوره في سنه ثمان و ثمانين و مائتين و حدثني بعض مشايخها ممن يوثق به ان ملك الراء و هو اكبر ملوك بلاد الهند و ناحيه التي هو بها بين قشمير الاعلي و قشمير الاسفل و كان ليسمي مهروك بن رائق كتب سنه سبعين و مائتين الي صاحب المنصوره و هو عبدالله بن عمر بن عبدالعزيز يسأله ان يفسرله شريعه الاسلام بالهنديه فاحضر عبدالله هذا رجلا كان بالمنصوره اصله من العراق حدالغريحه حسن الفهم شاعراً قد نشأ ببلاد الهند و عرف لغاتهم علي اختلافها فعرفه ما سأله ملك الراي فعمل قصيدة وذكر فيها ما يحتاج اليه و انفذها اليه فلما قرئت علي ملك الراي استحسنها و كتب و كتب الي عبدالله يسئله حمل صاحب القصيده فحمله اليه و اقام عنده ثلاث سنين ثم انصرف عنه فسأله عبدالله عن امر ملك الراء فشرح له اخباره وانه تركه و قد اسلم قلبه و لسانه و انه لم يمكنه اظهار الاسلام خوف من بطلان امره .

p. 4.

و ذهاب ملكه و كان فيما حكاه عنه انه سأله ان يفسر له القران بالهنديه ففسره له قال فانتهيت من التفسير الي سوره يٰسٓ قال ففسرت له قول الله عز وجل: قال من يحي العظام و هي رميم ..... خلق عليم قال فلما فسرت له هذا وهو جالس علي سرير من ذهب مرصع بالجواهر و الدر لاتعرف له قيمته قال لي اعد علي فاعدت فنزل عن سريره و مشي علي الارض و كان قد رشت بالماء وهي ندية فوضع خده علي الارض و بكي حتي تلوث وجهه بالطين ثم قال لي هذا هو رب المعبود الاول القديم الذي ليس يشبه احد . وبنا بيتا لنفسه واظهر انه يخلوفيه لمهمه و كان يصلي فيه سراً من غير ان يطلع علي ذلك احد وانه وهب له في ثلاثه دفعات ستمائه منا من ذهب .

p. 117.

ذكرت في فصل قبل هذا امر عباد الهند و زهادهم و هم عدة

اصناف منهم البيكور و اصلهم من سراندیپ و هم یحبون المسلمین و یمیلون الیهم میلا شدیداً. و کان اهل سرندیپ و ما والا ها لما

p. 118.

بلغهم خروج النبي صلي الله علیه وسلم فارسلو رجلا فیهما منهم و امروه ان یسیر الیه فیعرف امره، و ما یدعو الیه فعاقت الرجل عوائق و وصل الي المدینه بعد ان قبض رسول الله صلي الله عنه وسلم و توفي ابوبکر رضي الله عنه ووجه القائم بالامر عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه فساله عن امر النبي صلي الله علیه وسلم فشرح له و بین یرجع فتوفي الرجل بنواحي بلاد مکران و کان مع الرجل غلام له هندي فوصل الغلام الي سرندیپ و شرع لهم الامر و ما دعا علیه من امر النبي صلي الله علیه وسلم و ابي بکر رضي الله عنه و انهم وجد و اصاحب النبي صلي الله علیه وسلم عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه و وصف لهم تواضعه و انه کان یلبس مرقعة و یبیت في المساجد فتوضعهم لاجل ما حکي لهم ذلک الغلام و لبسهم الثیاب المرقعه لما ذکره من لبس عمر رضي الله عنه المرقعه و محبتهم للمسلمین و میلهم و الیهم لما في قلوبهم مما حکاه ذلک الغلام عن عمر رضي الله عنه

p. 78.

و حدثني الحسن بن عمر و انه رأي بالمنصوره اهل قشمیر الا سفل و بینهم و بین المنصوره مسیرة سبعین یوما في البر ینحدرون في مهران من قشمیر و هو یجري کما یجري دجله و الفرات في وقت المدور علي اعدال القسط و قال لي انهم یعبون القسط في الاعدال في کل عدل سبعمائه و ثمانمائه منا و یجلدون ثم یجعلون فوق الجلد القار فلا ینفذه ماء و لا غیره و یقرنون الاعدال و یشد و نها و یدو طئون علیها و یجلسون فیها و ینحدرون في مهران فیصلون الي فرضه المنصوره في اربعین یوما و لهم یلحق القسط شيء من ماء البته .

Kamil fi al-Tārīkh, Vol. VII, p. 185.

(سنه ثمانین و مائتین)

و في شوال انکسف القمر واصبح اهل دیبل والدنیا مظلمه و دامت الظلمه علیهم فلما کان ثلث اللیل زلزلوا فخربت المدینه ولم یبق من منازلهم الاقدر مائه دار و زلزلوا بعد ذلک خمس مرار و کان جمله من اخرج من تحت الردم مائه الف و خمسون الفا کلهم موتي.

Vol. IX, p. 143.

و قصد المنصوره و كان صاحبها قدبار تد عن الا سلام فلما بلغه خبر مجي يمين الدوله فـار قها و اجتمي بفياض اشبه فقصده يمين الدوله من موضعين فاحاط به و بمن معه فقتلو اكثر هم و غرق منهم كثير و لم ينج منهم الا القليل ثم سار الي بها طيه و اطاعه اهلها و داذواله فرحل الي غزنه فوصلها عاشر صفر من سنه سبع عشره وار بعمائه .

Kitāb al-Hind, Edited by E. Sachau, Ottoharassowitz. Leipzig, 1925, p. 11.

دخل محمد بن القاسم بن المنبه ارض السند من نواحي سجستان وافتتح بلد بمهنوا و سماه منصورة و بلد مولتان وسماه معـمورة واوغل في بلاد الهند الي مدينه كنوج

p. 55.

ومن الاصنام المشهوره صنم المولتان باسم الشمش ولذلک سمي آدت و كان خشبيا ملبسا سختيان احمر في عينيه يا قوتان .

p. 82.

وفي حدود ملوا ايضاً خط يسمي ناگرلا يفاصل ذلک الا بالصور فقط ويتبعه خط يسمي ارد ناكري اي نصف نـاگرلانه ممزوج منهما ويكتب به في بهاتيه و بعض بلاد السند و بـعد ذلک من الخطوط ملقاري في ملقشو في جنوب السند نحو الساحل وسيندب في بمهنوا وهي منصورة .

Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Dār al-'Irāq, Beirut, 1955. Vol. I,

pp. 95, 96, 98,

p. 95.

(ملوک الهند) ـ

قال اهل العلم ان اول ملوک الهند الذي اجتمعت عليه كلمتهم (برهمن) الملک الذي في زمانه كان المد الاول و هو اول من تكلم في النجوم و اخذ عنه علمها والكتاب الاول الذي تسميه الهند "سند هند" و تفسيره "دهر الدهور" و منه اختصر الا رجبهر والمجسطي، ثم اختصر و امن الا رجبهر الا ركن و من المجسطي كتاب بطليموس، ثم عملوا من ذلک والمختصرات والزيجات، وما اشبهها من الحساب

و وضع التسعة" الا حرف الهندية التي يخرج منها جميع الحساب الذي لايدرك

p. 96.

معوفتها وهي (١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩) فالاول منها واحده وهو عشرة وهو مائة" و هوالف وهو مائة" و الف وهو الف الف وهو عشرة آلاف آلاف الف وهو مائة" الف الف وعلي هذا الحساب ابدا فصاعدا و الثاني و هو اثنان وهو عشرون وهو مائتان وهو الفان وهو عشرون الفا وهو مائة" الف و هو الفا الف و علي هذا الحساب يجري التسعة" الاحرف فصاعدا غير ان بيت الواحد معروف من العشرة معروف من العشرة و كذ لك بيت العشرة معروف من المائة" وكذلك كل بيت واذا خلا بيت منها يجعل فيه صفر ويكون صفر دارة صغير ة.

p. 98.

وقالت الهند ان الله عز و جل خلق الكواكب في اول دقيقة من الحمل وهو اول يوم من الدنيا ثم سيرها من ذالك الموضع في اسرع من طرفة العين فجعل ليكل كوكب منها سيرا معلوما حتي يوافي جميعها في عقدة ايام السند هند الى ذالك موضع الذي خلقت فيه كما كانت كهيئتها الا ولي ثم يقضي الله تبارك و تعالي ما احب فقالو ان جميع ايام الدنيا من السند هند منذ اول مسادارت الكواكب الي ان تجتمع جميعا في دقيقة الحمل كما كانت يوم خلقت الف الف الف الف و خمسمائة" الف الف الف و سبعة" و سبعون الف الف الف

و سبعمائة" الف الف و ستة" عشر الف الف و اربعمائة" و خمسون الف يوم يكون ذلك شهورا ستين الف الف الف و ثمان مائة" الف الف و اربعين الف الف شهر ويكون من السنين اربعة" الاف الف الف وثلثمائة" الف الف و عشرين الف الف سنة" كاملة" بسني الشمس علي مدارها و السنة" ثلاثمائة" و خمسة" و ستون يوما و ربع يوم و خمس ساعات و جزء من اربعمائة" جزء من مائة"

Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa al-Tuhf, Kuwait, 1959, pp. 14, 15.

و ذكر المدائني ان ملك الهند اهدي الي الجنيد بن عبدالرحمان ايام ولاية" السند في خلافة" هشام بن عبدالملك ناقة" مرصعة" بالجوهر قد سلمت اخلافها لولوا و نحرهايا قوتا احمرعلي عجل من فضة" اذا تركت علي الارض تحركت العجل فمشت الناقة" فبعث بها الجنيد

الي هشام فاستحسنها ثم ان الذي جاء بها بزل اخلافها فانتشر اللولؤ
مي علتم ذهب كانت معه و نك عقها فسال الياقوت منه كانه الدهر
فاعجب بها هشام و جميع من كان في مجلسه و لم تزل في خزائن
بني امية حتي صارت الى بني عباس

p. 15.

والهدي موسي بن عمر بن عبدالعزيز هبارى صاحب السند الي
المعتمد علي الله في سنة احدي و سبعين و مائتين هديه كان في
جملتها فيل عظيم الخلقة و جمال موالج و اصنام ثلاثه من فضة و مسك
وعنبر و حرير و ظباء كانت كمثل البقر الوانها الي السداد و سرير
عود و اشياء سوي ذلك

p. 166.

ذكرا الواقدي في اخبار فتوح ان عبدالله بن سوار العبدي كان
عاملا لمعاوية بن ابي سفيان على السند انه غزا بلد القيقان فاصاب منه
غنائم وان ملك القيقان تغاوي منه باراء الجزية و حمل اليه من الهدايا
و طرائف ما في بلد السند مالم يرا مثله وكان في الهنديه و قطعه من
مراه يذكر اهل العلم ان الله عزوجل انزلها علي آدم كما كثر
ولده وانتشروا في الارض و كان ينظر فيها فيري من يزيده منهم
علي الحال التي هو عليها من خير و شر فانفذ ها عبدالله الي معاوية
قلم تزل عنده مدت حياته ثم صارت الي ملوك بنو امية و كانت
في خزائنهم الي ايام بني عباس ناخذ وها فيما اخذ و امن اموالهم

Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik, (Ibn Khardazbeh), Leyden, 1889 A.C.
p. 55.

من الفهرج الي طبران من عمل مكران عشره فراسخ ثم الي ماسور
جان مدينة الخرون اربعه عشر فرسخا ثم الي قريه يحي بن عمرو عشره
فراسخ ثم الى هذا و عشره فراسخ ثم الي مدو عشره فراسخ ثم الى موساره
تسعة فراسخ ثم الى دركب باموية تسعة فراسخ ثم الي تجين عشره
فراسخ ثم الي مقاطعة البلوص عشرون فرسخا ثم الى جبل المالح ستة
فراسخ ثم الى نخل تسعة فراسخ ثم الي قلمان ستة فراسخ ثم الى
سراى خالف اربعة فراسخ ثم الى قنزبور ثلثه فراسخ ثم الي حبس علي
طريق قندابيل مفازه عشرون فرسخا ثم الي قريه سليمان بن سميع ثمانيه
و عشرون فرسخا و قريه سليمان هذه فرضة من جاء من خراسان يريد

السند والهند ثم الي المنصورة ثمانون فرسخا فن اول عمل مكران الي المنصورة ثلثمائة وثمانية و خمسون فرسخا والطريق فى بلاد الزط وهم حفاظ الطريق

p. 56.

ومن زرنج مدينة سجستان الى الملتان سيره شهرين وسميت الملتان فرج بيت الذهب لان محمد بن يوسف اخا الحجاج بن يوسف اصاب في بيت بها اربعين بها را ذهبا والبهار ثلثمائة و ثلثه و ثلثون منا فسميت فرج بيت الذهب و الفرج الثغر يكون مبلغ ذلك الذهب الفي الف ثلثمائة الف و سبعة و تسعين الفا و ستمائة مثقال

p. 57.

بلاد السند القيقان و بنة و مكران والمند و القندهار قال ابن مفرغ:-

بقندهار ومن تكتب منية بقندهار يرجم دونه الخبر و قصدار واليو قان وقنداييل و قنزبور وارمابيل و قنبلي و كنبايا و سهبان و سد وسان و راسك والرور و ساوندري والمولتان و سندان و لمندل والميلمان و سوست والكيرج ومرمد و قالي ودهبخ وبروص وكان عمران بن موسي البر مكي ضمن السند علي ان يحمل منها بعد كل نفقة الف الف درهم-ثم الي ثار اسيره سبعة ايام وهي الحد بين فارس والسند ومن ثار الي الديبل سيره ثمانية ايام ومن الديبل الي مصب مهران - نهرالسند في البحر فرسخان ومن السند يجي القسط و القنا و الخيزران. -

Athar al-Bilad, Wustenfeld, 1848/50

pp. 62, 63, 83.

السند: ناحية بين الهند و كرمان-و سجستان - قالو السند والهند كانا اخوين من ولد توقير بن يقطن بن حام بن نوح - بهابيت الذهب - قال مسعر بن مهلهل مشيت الى بيت الذهب المشهور بها فاذا هو من ذهب في صحراء يكون اربعة فرسخ لايقع الثلج و يثلج ماحولها و في هذا البيت ترصد الكواكب و هو بيت تعظمه الهند و المجوس و هذه الصحراء تعرف بصحراء زردشت لبي المجوس و يقول اهل تلك الناحية متي يخرج منه انسان يطلب دولة لم يغلب و يهزم له عسكر حيث اراد و حكى ان الا سكندر لما فتح تلك البلاد دخل هذا البيت اعجبه كتب الي ارسطا طاليس و اطنب في وصف قبة هذا البيت فاجابه ارسطو اني راتيك تتعجب من قبة عملها الآدميون وتدع التعجب من

هذا القبه المرفوعه فوقك و ما زينت به من الكواكب وانوار الليل والنهار وسال عثمان بن عفان عبدالله بن عامر بن كريز عن السند فقال: ماؤها وشل وثمرها دقل ولصها بطل ان قل الجيش بها ضاؤ و ان كثر و جاعوا. فترك عثمان غزوها وبها لهر مهران و نهر عرضه كعرض دجلة او اكثر يقبل من المشرق انحذاً الي الجنوب متوجها نحو المغرب ويقع في بحر فارس اسفل السند. قال الاصطخري نهر مهران يخرج من ظهر جبل

p. 63.

يخرج منه بعض انهار جيحون ثم يظهر بناحيه ملتان على حدسمندور ثم علي المنصوره ثم يقع في البحر شرقي الديبل و هو نحر كبير عذب جدا و ان في تما سيح كما في نيل مصر وقيل ان التماسيح لهرالسند اصغر جحما و اقل فسادا و جرى نهرالسند كجري نهر النيل يرتفع علي وجه الارض ثم ينصب فيزرع عليه كما يزرع بارض مصر علي النيل

p. 83.

المنصورة: مدينه مشهوره بارض السند كثيره الخير بناها المنصور ابو جعفر الثاني من خلفاء بني العباس وفيها ينزل الولاه لها خليج من نهر مهران يحيط بالمدينه وهي في وسطه كالجزيره الا انها شد يدة الحر كثيره البق بها ثمرتان لاتوجدان في مدينه غيرها احدا هما الليمونه علي قدر التفاح والاخري الانبج علي شبه الخوخ واهل المدينه موافقون علي انهم لا يشترون شيئاً من المماليک السنديه و سببه ان بعض رؤ سائها من آل مهلب رباً غلاما سنديا فلما بلغ رآه يوما مع زوجته فجبه ثم عالجه حتي هذا وكان لمولاه ابنان احدهما بالغ والاخر طفل فاخذ الغلام الصبيين و صعد بهما الى اعالي سور الدار ثم قال لمولاه والله لئن لم تجب نفسک الان لارمين بهما فقال الرجل الله الله في و في ولدي فقال دع عنک هذا و الله ماهي الا نفسي و انى لاسمح بهامن شربة ماء واهوى ليرمي بهما فاسرع الرجل واخذ مديه و جب نفسه فلما راي الغلام ذلک رمي بالصبيين و قال فعلت بک ما فعلت بي وزياده قتل الولدين قتل الغلام با قطع العذاب و اخرج من المدينه جميع مماليک السند به فكانوا يتداولون في البلاد ولايرغب احد بالثمن اليسيرفي شرائهم بها لهرمهران عرضه كعرض دجله.

Mu'jam al-Buldan, Cairo, 1904, Vol. IX, p. 151.

[السِند] بكسر وله و سكون ثانيه و اخره دال مهملة بلاد بين بلاد الهند و كرمان و سجستان. قالوا السند والهند كانا اخوين من ولد توقير بن يقطن بن حام بن نوح يقال الواحد من اهلها سندى والجمع سند مثل زنجي و زنج و بعض يجعل مكران منها و يقول هي خمس كورفاوّلها من قبل كرمان مكران ثم طوران ثم السند ثم الهند ثم الملتان. وقصبة السند مدينة يقال لها المنصوره و من مدنها ديبل و هُن علي ضفة بحر الهند و النقر وهي ايضا علي ساحل البحر فتحت في ايام الحجاج بن يوسف و مذاهب اهلها الغالب غليها مذهب ابي حنيفة ولهم فقيه يكنى بابى العباس داوودي. المذهب له تصانيف في مذهبه وكان قاضي المنصوره - ومن اهلها والي السند ينسب ابو معشر نجيح السندى مولي المهدي صاحب المغازى سمع نافعا و نفرا من التابعين. قال ابو نعيم كان ابو معشر سنديا و كان الكن وكان يقول حدثنا محمد بن قعب يريد كعب

و فتح بن عبدالله السندي ابونصر الفقيه المتكلم مولى لال الحسن بن الحكم ثم عتق و قرا الفقه و الكلام علي ابي علي الثقفي - وقال عبدالله بن سويد وهو ابن عم رمعة احد بني شقره بن الحارث بن تميم

الاهل الي الفتيان بالسند مقدمي - علي بطل قد هزه القوم ملجم
قلم دنا للزجر أورعت نحوه - بسيف ذباب ضربه المتلوم
شد دت له كفي وايقنت انني - علي شرف المهوات ان لم اصمم

والسند ايضا ناحيه من اعمال طليطره من الاندلس - والسند ايضا مدينة في اقليم قريش بالاندلس. والسند ايضا قريه من قري بلده نسا من بلاد خراسان قريب من بلده ابيورد.

Vol. VIII. p. 177.

[المنصورة] مفعوله من النصرفي عده مواضع منها المنصوره بارض السند وهي قصبتها - مدينة كبيره كثيره الخيرات ذات جامع كبير سواريه ساج و لهم خليج من نهر مهران - قال حمزه و همنا باذ اسم مدينة من مدن السند سموها الان منصوره - وقال المسعودى سميت المنصوره بمنصور بن جمهور عامل بني اميه و هي في اقاليم الثالث طولها من جهة المغرب ثلاث و تسعون درجة و عرضها من جهة الجنوب اثنتان و عشرون درجة و قل هشام سميت المنصوره لان منصور بن جمهور الكلبي بناها فسميت به وكان خرج مخالفا لهارون

واقام بالسند وقال الحسن بن احمد المهلبي سميت المنصورة لان عمر و بن حفص الهزارمرد المهلبي بناها في ايام المنصوره من بني العباس فسميت به و للمنصورة خليج من نهر مهران يحيط بالبلد فهي منه في شبه الجزيره و في اهلها مروه و صلاح و دين و تجارات و شربهم من نهر

p. 178.

يقال له مهران وهي . شديدة الحر كثيره البق بينها و بين الديبل ست مراحل و بينها و بين الملتان اثنا عشرة مرحلة و الى طوران خمس عشره مرحلة من المنصوره الى اول حد البدهه خمس مراحل و اهلها مسلمون و ملكهم قرشي يقال انه من ولد هبار بن الاسود تغلب عليها هووا جداده يتوارثون بها الملك الا ان الخطبه فيها للخليفه من بني العباس وليس لهم من الفواكه لاعنب ولا تفاح ولا كثمري ولا جوزولهم قصب سكر و ثمره على قدر التفاح يسمونه اللميونه شديد الحموضه و لهم فاكهه تشبه الخوخ تسمي الا نبج يقارب طعمه طعم الخوخ واسعارهم رخيصه وكان لهم دراهم يسمونها الغاهريات ودراهم يقال لها الطاطريه في الدرهم درهم و ثلث . منها المنصوره مدينه كانت بالبطيحه عمرها فيما احسب مهذب الدوله ي ايام بهاء الدوله بن عضد الدوله و ايام القادر بالله و قد خربت ورسومها باقيه و منها..

Vol. VIII, p. 356.

[نيروز] مدينه من نواحي السند بين الديبل والمنصوره على نصف الطريق و لعلها الى المنصوره اقرب بينها و بين الديبل اربع مراحل في الاقاليم الثاني طولها من جهه المغرب اثنتان و تسعون درجه و عشرون دقيقه و عرضها ثلاث و عشرون درجه و ثلاثون دقيقه

Vol. IX, p. 202.

[سيوستان] بالكسر ثم السكون و فتح الواو و سكون السين الثانيه و تاء مثناه من فوق و اخره نون . كوره كبيره من السند و اول الهند على نهر السند و مدينه كبيره لها دخل واسع و بلاد كثيره و قرى.

Vol. IV, p. 4.

[الديبل] بفتح اوله و سكون ثانيه و باء موحده مضمومه و لام مدينة مشهوره على ساحل بحر الهند والديبل الاقليم الثاني طولها من جهه المغرب اثنتان و تسعون درجه و عشرون دقيقه و عرضها

من جهة الجنوب اربع وعشرون درجة و ثلاثون دقيقة و هي فرضة و اليها تفضي مياه لهور و ملتان فتصب في البحر الملح... و قد نسب اليها قوم من الرواة منهم ابو جعفر محمد ابن ابراهيم الديبلي جاور مكة روي عن ابي عبدالله سعيد بن عبدالرحمان المخزومي و حسين بن حسن المروزي و ابنه ابراهيم بن محمد الديبلي يروي عن موسي بن هارون.

Diwān-e-Farrukhī Sistānī.

۸- وزان حصار بمنصوره روي کرد و براند-
بران ستاره کجا راند حیدر از خیبر

۹- خفیف راسپه و پیل و مال چندان بود
دوان گذشت و بجوي اندر او افتاد وبحر

۱۰- باب شور و بیابان برگزند افتاد
بماندش خانه ویران ز طارم وز طرر

۱۱- خفیف راسپه وپیل و مال چندان بود
که بیش از ان بنود درهوا همانا زر

۱۲- نداشت طاقت سلطان زپیش اوبکر یخت
چنان که زوبگریزند صد هزار دگر

A'in Akbari, Calcutta, 1872.

p. 549.

هر دریا که بسند درآید سنده نام گیرد و در تته مهران گویند

p. 550.

بهکر گزین دژیست و آنرا درکهن نامها منصوره‌نویسند. هرشش دریا یکتائي گزیده از ته او گرزد و حصه از جانب جنوب قلعه ویک بخش از شمال- باران کم شود و میوه گزین - میان سوي و بهکر بزرگ دشتي است - بهنگام تابستان سه ماه سموم و زد -

دریاي سند در هرچند سال از جنوب بشمال گراید و آبادئي دیهالیز از پي شتابد ازین رود خانه از چوب و خس سازند

p. 555.

"سرکارتته"=

نخست برهمن‌آباد پای تخت بزرگ شهری بود. قلعه او هزار و چها رصد برج داشت و دوری میان هردو یک طناب و امروز از برج و باره او فراوان نشان پس الور امروز تته و دیبل آنرا گویند. شمالی کوه چند شاخ شده یک تا قندهار کشیده است و دیگر از دریای شور تا قصبه کوه باروا ین را رام گر نامند. بسیوستان انجامد و انجارا لکی خوانند. زمستانش محتاج پوستن نیست و تابستانش بجز سیوستان معتدل. گوناگون میوه شود خاصه انبه که بس خوب باشد. و در صحرائی او خرد خربزه خود روبهم رسد. گل فراوان شود شتر بسیار و خوب برآید مدار بر کشتی. و بسیار گونه شور و از خرد و بزرگ چهل هزار گورخر و خرگوش و کوته پاچه و خوک و ماهی شکار کنند.

و این ولایت غله بخش است. سیوم حصه از کشاورز برگیرند و کان نمک و آهن درو. شالی بسیار و گزین پدید آید و درشش کروهی تته کان سنگ زرد درازو کوتاه بیرند و بعمارات کاربرند. مدار خورش بربرنج و ماهی است. قاق سازند و کشتیها برآمده به بنادر و دیگر شهرها برده سود برگیرند. و از ماهی روغن کشند و بکار کشتی آید. قسمی است از ماهی که پلوه گویند به نیکوئی و خوش مزگی کم همتا. از دریای شور بسند آید. جغرات گزیده شور تا چهار ماه بپاید.

نزدیک سیهوان بزرگ کولا بسیت درازا دوروزه راه. آنرا منچور گویند. برقرارآب زمینها ساخته برخی ماهی گیران زندگی بسر برند.

CHART SHOWING THE DIVISION OF THE SEMITIC RACE

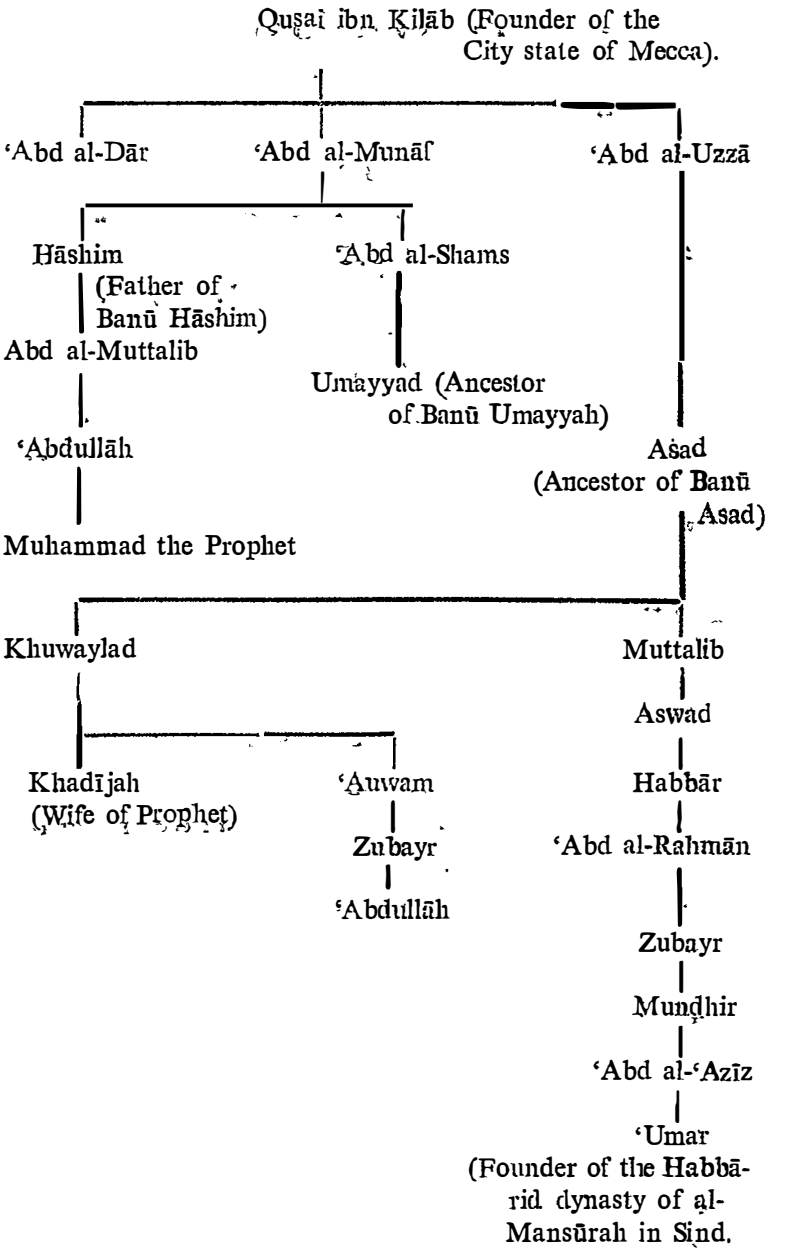
Eastern Semites

1. Akkādians	2850 B.C. to 2600 B.C. Capital Akkad in southern al-'Irāq.
2. Babylonians	2450 B.C. to 1925 B.C. Capital Babylon (Bab-El) in southern al-'Irāq.
3. Assyrians	1375 B.C. to 612 B.C. Capital first at Assūr, then Kalāh and finally at Nineveh in Northern al-'Irāq.
4. Chāldeans	612 B.C. to 535 B.C. Capital Babylon in southern al-'Irāq.

Western Semites

1. Can'ānites	City states 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C. Sea coast of Syria.
2. Arāmaeans	1500 B.C. to 500 B.C. Capital Damascus in the interior of Syria.
3. Hebrews	1900 B.C. to 587 B.C. Capital Jerūsalem in Palestine (southern Syria).
4. Hyksos	1800 B.C. to 1650 B.C. Capital Avaris in Nile Delta (Lower Egypt).
5. Arabs	Arabia (The cradle of Islam).

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE HABBARID RULERS OF AL-MANSURAH IN SIND



LIST OF ARAB GOVERNORS OF SIND

Umayyad Governors. A.H. 93 to A.H. 132 (712 A.C. to 750 A.C.)

1.	Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqāfī.	A.H. 93/712 A.C.
2.	Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah al-Saksakī.	A.H. 96/714 A.C.
3.	Habīb ibn Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrāh.	A.H. 96/714 A.C.
4.	'Amr ibn Muslim al-Bahilī.	A.H. 99/718 A.C.
5.	Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Marī.	A.H. 105/724 A.C.
6.	Tamīm ibn Zayd al-Utbī.	A.H. 111/730 A.C.
7.	Hakam ibn 'Auwanāh al-Kalbī.	A.H. 115/735 A.C.
8.	'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī.	A.H. 120/740 A.C.
9.	Yazīd ibn 'Arār.	A.H. 125/739 A.C.
10.	Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī (the Usurper)	A.H. 127/745 A.C.

'Abbasid Governors. A.H. 132 to A.H. 240/750 A.C. to 855 A.C.

11.	Mughlis ibn al-Sārah al-'Abdī	A.H. 132/750 A.C.
12.	Mūsā ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī.	A.H. 134/754 A.C.
13.	'Uyaynah ibn Musa al-Tamīmī.	A.H. 142/761 A.C.
14.	'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazarmard al-Muhallabī.	A.H. 151/770 A.C.
15.	Mu'bad ibn Khalīl al-Tamīmī.	A.H. 157/777 A.C.
16.	Rūh ibn Hātim al-Muhallabī.	A.H. 159/779 A.C.
17.	Bistām ibn 'Umar.	A.H. 160/779 A.C.
18.	Nasr ibn Muhammad ibn Ash'at al-Khuzā'i.	A.H. 161/780 A.C.
19.	Muhammad ibn Sulaymān al-Hashmī through his representative, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Shihāb al-Musma'i.	A.H. 161/781 A.C.

20.	Zubayr ibn 'Abbās al-Hashmī.	
21.	Misbāh ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī.	
22.	Layth ibn Tarīf	A.H. 164/784 A.C.
23.	Salīm al-Yunisī.	A.H. 170/790 A.C.
24.	Ishāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hashmī.	A.H. 174/794 A.C.
25.	Yūsuf ibn Ishāq al-Hashmī.	
26.	Tarīf ibn 'Abdullah.	
27.	Jābir ibn al-Ash'at al-Tā'ī.	
28.	Sa'īd ibn Salīm ibn Qutaybah.	
29.	'Isā ibn Jā'far ibn Mansūr al-'Abbasī.	
30.	Muhammad ibn 'Adiyu al-Tha'labī.	
31.	'Abdul Rahīm ibn.....	
32.	Ayūb ibn Jā'far ibn Sulaymān.	
33.	Da'ūd ibn Yazīd ibn Hātim al-Muhallabī.	A.H. 184/800 A.C.
34.	Bashr ibn Dā'ūd al-Muhallabī.	
35.	Ghassān ibn 'Ibād al-Muhallabī.	A.H. 203/819 A.C.
36.	Mūsā ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī.	
37.	'Imrān ibn Musa al-Barmakī.	
38.	Ahmad ibn Sa'īd ibn Salm ibn Qutaybah al-Bāhilī.	
39.	'Anbasah ibn Ishāq al-Dhabī.	A.H. 227/843 A.C.
40.	Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Saffārī.	A.H. 235/851 A.C.
41.	Harūn ibn Abī Khālid.	
42.	'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz al-Habbārī.	A.H. 240/855 A.C.

LIST OF THE HABBARID RULERS OF AL-MANSURAH

1.	'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz. Founder of the dynasty of Banū-Habbār and governor of Sind during the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the 'Abbāsid.	A.H. 240/855 A.C.
2.	'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz.	A.H. 270/884 A.C.
3.	Musā ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz.	A.H. 290/903 A.C.
4.	'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Umar al-Habbarī.	A.H. 300/913 A.C.
5.	Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh.	A.H. 299/912 A.C.
6.	Ahmad ibn	
7.	Khafīf ibn ..... The last ruler was defeated by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah in A.H. 416/1026 A.C. According to one tradition it was in the reign of Sultān Mas'ud that Sind proper was conquered by the Turkish Sultāns of Ghaznī.	

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پڑھندڙ نسل (پَـنَ) کا بہ تنظيمَ ناهي. اُنَ جو کو بہ صدر، عُهديدار يا پايو وِجهندڙ نہ آهي. جيڪڏهن کو بہ شخص اهڙي دعويٰ ڪري تہ تہ پَکَ ڄاڻو تہ اُهو ڪُوڙو آهي. نہ ئي وري پَـنَ جي نالي کي پئسا گڏ ڪيا ويندا. جيڪڏهن کو اهڙي ڪوشش ڪري تہ تہ پَکَ ڄاڻو تہ اُهو ٻہ ڪُوڙو آهي.

جَهڙيءَ طَرَح وٽن جا پَـنَ ساوا، ڳاڙها، نيرا، پيلا يا ناسي هوندا آهن اَهڙيءَ طرح پڑھندڙ نَسُل وارا پَـنَ بہ مختَلِف آهن ۽ هوندا. اُهي ساڳئي ئي وقت اُداس ۽ پڑھندڙ، بَرندڙ ۽ پڑھندڙ، سُست ۽ پڑھندڙ يا وِڙھندڙ ۽ پڑھندڙ بہ ٿي سگھن ٿا. ٻين لفظن ۾ پَـنَ کا خُصوصي ۽ تالي لڳل ڪِلَب Exclusive Club نہ آهي.

ڪوشش اها هوندي تہ پَـنَ جا سڀ ڪَـم ڪار سَهڪاري ۽ رَضاڪار بنيادن تي ٿين، پر ممڪن آهي تہ ڪي ڪم اُجرتي بنيادن تي بہ ٿِين. اهڙي حالت ۾ پَـنَ پاڻ هِڪَٻِئي جي مدد ڪَـرڻ جي اُصولَ هيٺ ڏي وَٺُ ڪندا ۽ غيرتجارتي non-commercial رهندا. پَـنَـن پاران ڪتابن کي ڊِجِيٽائِيز digitize ڪرڻ جي عَملَ مان کو بہ مالي فائدو يا نفعو حاصل ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش نہ ڪئي ويندي.

ڪتابن کي ڊِجِيٽائِيز ڪرڻ کان پو ٻيو اهم مرحلو وِرهائڻ distribution جو ٿيندو. اِهو ڪم ڪرڻ وارن مان جيڪڏهن کو پيسا ڪمائي سگھي ٿو تہ پلي ڪمائي، رُڳو پَـنَـن سان اُن جو کو بہ لاڳاپو نہ هوندو.

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پَنَن کي ڪُليل اکرن ۾ صلاح ڏجي ٿي ته هو وَسَ پٽاندڙ وڏِ کان وَڏِ ڪتاب خريد ڪَري ڪتابن جي ليکَڪَن، ڇپائيندڙن ۽ ڇاپيندڙن کي هِمٽائِن. پر ساڳئي وقت عِلم حاصل ڪرڻ ۽ ڄاڻ کي ڦهلائڻ جي ڪوشش دوران ڪَنهن به رُڪاوٽ کي نه ميجن.

شيخ اَياز علمَ، ڄاڻ، سمجهَ ۽ ڏاهپ کي گيتَ، بيتَ، سِٽ، پُڪارَ سان تَشبيهه ڏيندي انهن سيني کي بَمن، گولين ۽ بارودَ جي مدِ مقابل بيهاريو آهي. اياز چوي ٿو ته:

گيتَ بہ جِٽ گوريلا آهن، جي ويريءَ تي وار ڪَرن ٿا.

... ...

جئن جئن جاڙ وڌي تي جَڳَ ۾، هو ٻوليءَ جي آڙ چُپن ٿا؛

ريتيءَ تي راتاها ڪن ٿا، موٽي مَنجهِ پهاڙ چُپن ٿا؛

... ...

ڪالهَ هُيا جي سُرخ گُلن جيئن، اڄ ڪلهه نيلا پيلا آهن؛

گيتَ بہ جِٽ گوريلا آهن.....

... ...

هي بيتُ اَتي، هي بَم- گولو،

جيڪي به ڪٽين، جيڪي به ڪٽين!

مون لاءِ ٻنهي ۾ فَرَقُ نہ آ، هي بيتُ به بَمَ جو ساٿي آ،

جنهن رِڻَ ۾ رات ڪَيا راڙا، تنهن هَڏَ ۽ چَمَ جو ساٿي آ ـ

اِن حسابَ سان اڄاڻائي کي پاڻَ تي اِهو سوچي مَڙهڻ ته "هاڻي ويڙهه ۽ عمل جو دور آهي، اُن ڪري پڙهڻ تي وقت نه وجايو" ناداني‌ءَ جي نشاني آهي.

پَنَن جو پڑهڻ عام ڪِتابي ڪيڙن وانگر رُڳو نِصابي ڪتابن تائين محدود نہ هوندو. رڳو نصابي ڪتابن ۾ پاڻ کي قيد ڪري ڇڏڻ سان سماج ۽ سماجي حالتن تان نظر کڄي ويندي ۽ نتيجي طور سماجي ۽ حڪومتي پاليسيون policies اٽڄاڻن ۽ نادانن جي هٿن ۾ رهنديون. پَنَ نِصابي ڪتابن سان گڏوگڏ ادبي، تاريخي، سياسي، سماجي، اقتصادي، سائنسي ۽ ٻين ڪتابن کي پڙهي سماجي حالتن کي بهتر بنائڻ جي ڪوشش ڪندا.

پَڑهندڙ نَسُل جا پَنَ سيني کي **چو، چالاءِ ۽ ڪينئن** جهڙن سوالن کي هر بَيانَ تي لاڳو ڪرڻ جي ڪوشَ ڏين ٿا ۽ انهن تي ويچار ڪرڻ سان گڏ جوابَ ڳولڻ کي نہ رڳو پنهنجو حق، پر فرض ۽ اٽٽر گهرج unavoidable necessity سمجهندي ڪتابن کي پاڻ پڙهڻ ۽ وڌ کان وڌ ماڻهن تائين پهچائڻ جي ڪوشش جديد ترين طريقن وسيلي ڪرڻ جو ويچار رکن ٿا.

توهان بہ پڙهڻَ، پڙهائڻ ۽ ڦهلائڻ جي اِن سهڪاري تحريڪ ۾ شامل ٿي سگهو ٿا، بَس پنهنجي اوسي پاسي ۾ ڏِسو، هر قسم جا ڳاڙها توڙي نيرا، ساوا توڙي پيلا پن ضرور نظر اچي ويندا.

وڻ وڻ کي مون ياکي پائي چيو تہ "منهنجا پاءُ
پهتو منهنجي من ۾ تنهنجي پَنَ پَنَ جو پڙلاءُ".
- ايار (ڪلهي پاتم ڪينرو)

پَڑهندڙ نَسُل . پ ن The Reading Generation