SIND

Under The Mughuls

M.Saleem Akhtar

Culture, Tourism & Antiquities Department
Government of Sindh

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An Introduction to, Translation of and Commentary on the Mazhar-i-Shahjahani of Yusuf Mirak (1044/1634)

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	A'in-i Akbari
A.A.A.	'Alam Ara-i 'Abbasi
A.A., tr.	A'in-i Akbari, English translation.
Ad. Al.	Adab-i 'Alamgiri
A.N.	Akbar Namah
A.N., tr.	Akbar Namah, English translation.
Ansar Zahid Khan	History and Culture of Sind
Avasthy	The Mughal Emperor Humayun.
B.M.	British Museum
B.N.	Babur Namah, English translation.
B.Q.	Burhan-i Qati
Beg. N.	Beglar Namah
Bahr al-Asrar	Bahr al-Asrar of Mahmud b. Amir Wali Balkhi
Barani	Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi
Blochmann	The A'in-i Akbari, Vol.I.
Briggs	History of the Rise of Mohamedan Power in India till the Year 1612
Chalbani	Economic Conditions in Sind 1592-1843
D.I.	Dictionary of Islam
Dani	Thattah: Islamic Architecture
Dh.Kh.	Dhakhirat al-Khwanin.
E&D	History of India as Told by Its own Historians.
E.F.L.	English Factories in Sind
E.I.	Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.
Erskine	A History of India under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur Baber and Humayun
F.A.R.	Farhang-i Anand Raj
F.J.	Farhang-i Jahangiri
G.A.	Gulzar-i Abrar, MS. 185, The John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Guy le Strange	The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate
H.A.T.S.	History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind.
H.N.	Humayun Namah
H.N. tr.	Humayun Namah, English translation.
H.S.	Habib al-Siyar
Hashimi	Taqwim-i Ta'rikhi
Hobson-Jobson	Hobson-Jobson by Yule and Burnell.
I.D.C.	The Indus Delta Country
I.G.I.	The Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I.O.	India Office
Intro.	Introduction

Jauhar	Tadhkirat al-Waqi'at
Kamwar Khan	Tadhkirat al-Salatin-i Chaghata
Kewalram	Radhkirat al-Umara'
Kh.T.	Khulasat al-Tawarikh
L.T.S.	Lubb-i Ta'rikh-i Sindh
Lahaur	Badshah Namah
Lane	Arabic-English Lexicon
Loghat Namah	Loghat Namah-i Dihkhuda
M.A./Alam	Mir'at al-'Alam
M.Al./M.Al., tr.	Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri, English translation.
M.J.	Ma'athir-i Jahangiri.
M.N.	Makli Namah
M.R.	Ma'athir-i Rahimi
M.Sh.	Maqalat al-Shu'ara'
M.T.	Muntakhab al-Tawarikh by Badayuni
M.U.	Ma'athir al-Umara'
M.U., tr.	Ma'athir al-Umara', Urdu translation.
Mazhar	Mazhar-i Shahjahani
Maz. Sh.	Mazhar-i Shahjahani, Rashidi edition.
n.	note/notes.
N.M.	Nafa'is al-Ma'athir
P.E.D.	The Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary
P.U.MS.	Mazhar-i Shahjahani, MS. 7743 Punjab University, Lahore.
Q.N.	Qabus Namah
R.S.	Raudat al-Safa'
Raverty	The Mihran of Sind
Riazul Islam	Indo-Persian Relations
S.D.Sh.	Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign
Sorley	Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit
Steingass	A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary
s.v.	Under the word
T.A., tr.	Tabaqat-i Akbari, English translation.
T.A. Kh.	Tadhkirah-i Amir Khani by Rashidi
T.F.	Ta'rikh-i Firishtah
T.F.S.M.	The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique
T.K.,	Tuhfat al-Kiram, Rashidi edition.
T.K. tr.	Tuhfat al-Kiram, Urdu translation.
T.N.	Tarkhan Namah.
T.R.	Ta'rikh-i Rashidi
T.S.	Ta'rikh-i Sindh
T.T.	Ta'rikh-i Tahiri
Tr.	Translation.
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, Persian text.
Tuzuk (R&B)	Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, English translation.
Tuzuk, tr.	Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, Urdu translation.

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PREFACE

Started a simple translation of the second half of the *Mazhar-i -Shahjahani,* a matchless compendium on the working of the Mughul administration in Sindh, the present study has developed into an exhaustive history of relations between the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sindh and the Mughuls from the days of Timur down to the reign of Jahangir. The volume comprises three parts: introduction, translation of the second half of the *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani,* and commentary.

The Introduction consists of three sections. Section. I traces the origins of the Arghuns, their rise to power in Qandahar, their conflicts with Babur, and in doing so, indicates the number, nature and duration of the latter's campaigns against that important Arghuns stronghold prior to his triumphant advent into Hindustan. The latter part of this Section deals with the Arghun rule in Sindh, Humayun's wanderings in this region, the mutual rivalries of the successors of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, the division of Sindh into two independent principalities of Bhakkar and Thattah and their subsequent absorption into the Mughul Empire.

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

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

The translation is based upon the only surviving manuscripts of the *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* preserved in the Library of the Punjab University, Lahore. While commonly known administrative terms have been retained in their original form, unfamiliar technical terms, words and phrases have been rendered into English, with the original Persian given alongside in brackets. Those abstruse

terms and expressions which are not to be found in standard lexicographical works have been translated on the analogy of their usage by other writers of Persian historical works in India.

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

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

In the execution of this enterprise, the writer has not infrequently disagreed with his precursors. In criticizing their works, to which he himself owes so much, he was inspired by the same lofty ideals which prompted Hodivala to undertake the writing of the *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* and the idea or discrediting or disparaging them never crossed his mind because he was more than anybody else conscious of the fact that *hamah chiz hamagan danand wa hamagan hanuz az madar nazadah* and ('It is the whole of mankind that knows everything, and the whole of mankind has not yet been born') Nevertheless, the pursuit of truth has transcended all other considerations, and every effort has been made to uncover the facts.

M. Saleem Akhtar

Islamabad:
30 October 1989

INTRODUCTION

Sultan Abu Sa'id on 22 Rajab 873/5 [16] February 1469, at Qarabagh, [17] Dhu al-Nun joined the entourage of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (873-911/1468-1506),[18] a fourth cousin of Babur[19] and ruler of Harat, whose court was, in the years to come, to be "one of the most brilliant centres of letters, art and learning which ever existed in Persia".[20] A man of high ambition as Dhu al-Nun was, the position offered to him by Sultan Husayn fell far short of his expectations.[21] consequently, while on the march with Sultan Husayn against Sultan Yadigar Muhammad, Dhu al-Nun turned his reins from Yalqur Aqach-i Khabushan towards Transoxiana. Back in Samarqand, he had hardly been able to serve Babur's uncle, Sultan Ahmad Mirza (873-99/1469-94),[22] for two to three years, when the scramble for primacy between the Arghun and Tarkhan factions at the Miranshahi court obliged him to seek safety in Khurasan.[23] Sultan Husayn Bayqara welcomed Dhu al-Nun back to his court, but precisely how long it took the latter to regain the confidence of that monarch is open to conjecture. The most that can be said is that in 884/1479-80 he was entrusted with the governorship of Ghur[24] and Zamindawar.[25] The Nigudari and Hazarah tribes of those territories had long been a source of inconvenience and alarm to the authorities at Harat. Hence there could not have been a better outlet for the indomitable courage and irrepressible military zeal[26] of this seasoned soldier. Accompanied by a force comprising not more than 70 to 80[27] men, and thrilled with high hopes of victory over the erratic tirbes, Mir, Dhu al-Nun set out for the mountainous country.[28] The peculiar vigilance and vigour characterizing his operations against the refractory elements finally convinced them that they sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind. Within a period of three to four years, royal authority was reasserted in these territories, and the tribes ceased their predatory activities and undertook to pay a regular annual tribute to the government. The harshness of the deterrent measures of Dhu al-Nun was, however, matched by his kind concern for the welfare of his subjects. Equality, justice and consideration, contemporary authorities tell us, were distinctive features of his administration.[29] Furthermore, being a devout Muslim, his strong propensity towards orthodox practices and his deep involvement in spiritual austerities[30] endowed his personality with an aura of saintly prestige in the eyes of the credulous tribes, who apparently believed in the efficacy of his

prayers.[31] The awe and admiration that Dhu al-Nun thus inspired in the hardy men of the hills gradually turned them into a veritable source of strength for the shrewd commander.

Sultan Husayn Bayqara rewarded Dhu al-Nun's brilliant successes against the Hazarahs and the Nigudaris by conferring on him the additional territories of Qandahar and Farah. Although in the beginning, for a number of years, princes of the royal blood were nominally appointed to govern these regions, the actual power to adminster them always rested in Dhu al-Nun's hands. Finally, when the latter himself was elevated to the position of a viceroy to conduct the affairs of Qandahar, Farah, Ghur, Zamindawar, Sakhar[32] and Tulak,[33] this dichotomy came to an end. During the next few years, Dhu al-Nun extended his sway over Shal,[34] Mastung,[35] Siwi[36] and their respective dependencies; but, to make sure that the unwieldy size of his possessions did not vitiate his control over them, he divided them as *iqta* among his chief retainers. His son Shah Beg who was already helping Dhu al-Nun in the management of Qandahar,[37] was made the governor of that province. Ghur was given to Amir Fakhar al-Din and Amir Darwish jointly, Sakhar and Tulak were to 'Abd al-Ali Turkhan, and Dhu al-Nun Himself Settled at Zamindawar, where he erected several magnificent buildings. These steps were followed by the stoppage of the remission of annual revenues to the central authorities at Harat, a measure which could easily have brought Dhu al-Nun into conflict with Sultan Husayn Bayqara's government.[38] the sultan, however, impelled by expediency, overlooked, for the time being at least, this grievous misconduct of his viceroy and contented himself with Dhu al-Nun's continued participation in his expansionist campaigns.[39] Had Sultan Husayn exhibited greater firmness in his dealings with Dhu al-Nun's centrifugal tendencies at this stage and moved against him before he could really consolidate his position, the course of events in the years to come would probably have been more in his favour than it actually turned out to be. Dhu al-Nun twice accompanied him in his expeditions against Amir Khusrau Shah[40] and, because of his reckless behavior, in one of these campaigns sustained a serious head injury and was even temporarily taken captive by the enemy.[41] But, owing to what Babur calls the Sultan's "twice repeated unsuccessful retirements",[42] the very undertaking of those campaigns look

then a disastrous earthquake hit the whole region of Kabul. After the havoc wrought by the earthquake and the losses suffered by his subjects had been attended to, Babur's thoughts once again turned to military affairs. While he was still vacillating between leading an army to Qandahar and confining his campaign to the chastisement of the hill tribes around Kabul, Baqi Chaghaniyani and Jahangir Mirza induced him to invade Qalat,(67) a dependency of Qandahar which had been Bestowed by Dhu al-Nun on Muammad Muqim, and was then held by the latter's retainers. The Arghun officers stoutly defended the fort at Qalat, but just when the besiegers were nearly exhausted, the defenders lost heart and surrendered. After its fall, Babur offered the fort first to Baqi and then to Jahangir Mirza, but neither of them showed any inclination to take charge of it. Hence the fort had to be abandoned.(68) the reverberations of Babur's invasion of Qalat, however, did not go unheard at Qandahar and obliged Dhu al-Nun to appeal for help to Badi al-Zaman Mirza, who was then engaged in a punitive action against the refractory elements of Balkhab.(69) The Mirza betook himself to Qandahar, and, without delay,(70) ordered the troops at Sistan, Ghur, Sakhar, Tulak and some other areas to assemble at that place. When Babur discovered(71) the Mirza's presence at Qandahar and the elaborate preparation for war that were afoot under his supervision, he sent his envoys to him with friendly messages. The Mirza reciprocated his sentiments, and an outbreak of hostilities between the two sides was averted.(72) Thereafter, while Babur retraced his steps to Kabul, the Mirza and Mir Dhu al-Nun went to Zamindawar(73) and thence to Farah.(74) they were still wintering at Farah when the reports of Uzbek inroads into Balkh, Andhikhwud, Shiburghan, Maymanah and Faryab, and the streams of displaced people began to reach Harat. To decide upon a common strategy against the redoubtable threat from the north-east, Sultan Husayn Bayqara sent expresses to all his sons to converge on his capital. Badi al-Zaman Mirza also returned to Harat, and left Dhu al-Nun behind with instructions to meet him at the Marw al-Rud in the beginning of spring with all the troops of the Garmsir, Ghur, Sakhir and Tulak,(75) Babur was also invited to join forces with his Timurid cousins.(76) and, in fact, he did show great enthusiasm in going to Khursan.(77) he was still on his way,(78) however, when Sultan Husayn Bayqara, who, despite his frail health, had set out

at the head of an army to meet the Uzbek challenge, succumbed to some illness at Baba Ilahi and died on 11 Dhi al-Hijjah 911/5 May 1506.(79) Emboldened by his death, the Uzbeks intensified their predatory incursions into Iranian territories. One of these marauding parties, led by Ighli Aman, was hotly chased by Dhu al -Nun, who killed about 100 Uzbek soldiers and took 60 to 70 of them prisoner.(80) This was followed by the arrival of an Uzbek envoy, Maulana Khata'i, demanding the submission of the Mirzas.(81) Thereupon, these princes once again gathered together at the Marw al-Rud, where they were later joined by Babur as well; but, owing to their irresolution and deep-seated rivalries they were not able to forge a united front against their common foe. They watched unstirred the fall of Balkh to the Uzbeks, turned a deaf ear on the impassioned plea for action from Dhu al-Nun, and took absolutely no advantage of the huge armies that had assembled around them from all over Khurasan.(82) According to the historian Mirkhwand,, with the cooperation of the Mirzas, Babur could have saved Khurasan from the devastation of the Uzbeks.(83) His presence did in fact oblige Shibani Khan to return to his stronghold in Transoxiana as a precautionary measure(84) but it did not arouse the Mirzas from their stupor. In Rajab 912/ November-December 1506, the Mirzas dismissed the Uzbek envoy, Maulana Khata'i, and soon afterwards dispersed to their respective quarters.(85) Thus all hopes of stemming the rising tide of Uzbek aggression were irretrievably lost. Finally, in Dhi al-Hijjah 912/April 1507,(86) Shibani Khan issued forth from Samarqand to occupy Andikhwud and Maruchaq in quick succession; and on 7 Muharram 913/19 May 1507, with the fury of a tempest, he overwhelmed the camp of Badi al-Zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husayn Mirza at Badghis.(87) Left with no opportunity to collect troops, or to array those they had,(88) both the Mirzas sought safety in flight. The prodigious valour of Dhu al-Nun, however, could not be restrained.(89) He, together with some other nobles, fought heroically and laid down his life with honour. Harat fell into the hands of the Uzbeks without any resistance.(91)

2. Babur and Shah Beg Arghun

After the loss of Harat, Badi al-Zaman Mirza hurried off to Qandahar(92) in the hope of getting some assistance form Shah Beg,

Khurasan, Shah Beg had no option but to profess loyalty to them. However, with the defeat and death of Shibani Khan on 30 Sha'ban 916/2 December 1510[115] at the hands of Shah Ismail Safawi and Khursan coming under the latter's sceptre, the luckless Arghuns were once again faced with a crisis: on the north-east, they faced Babur, the scars of whose covetous onslaught upon Qandahar were still green, and on the north-west they were now confronted by the Shi'ite Safawids, who, by right of their victory over the Uzbeks, could be tempted at any time to enforce their will over Qandahar. To safeguard their autonomy, the best policy they could think of was the cultivation of good relations with both sides. Hence, on the one hand, Shah Beg dispatched a mission of friendship, with gifts and presents, to Babur,[116] and, on the other, using the good offices of Durmish Khan,[117] hastened to Harat[118] and waited upon Shah Ismail in person.[119] To start with, the Shah was favourably inclined towards, him,[120] but within a few days, before his departure from Khurasan,[121] the Shah, on detecting "signs of hypocrisy and disobedience" in Shah Beg, handed him over to Husayn Beg Lalah, the governor of Harat, for imprisonment in the fort of Ikhtiyar al-Din.[122] Precisely how long this imprisonment lasted is difficult to surmise.[123] Finally, through some clever stratagem Shah Beg regained his freedom and escaped to Qandahar.[124] Husayn Beg Lalah tried in vain to lay his hands upon the runaway Arghun chief, and several people were put to death on the suspicion of their complicity in the plot. [125]

Much as Babur would have like to advance against Qandahar during Shah Beg's imprisonment at Ikhtiyar al-Din,[126] the lightning speed of military and political happenings in the Transoxiana and Babur's inextricable involvement in them left him little time for other things. Hence, as soon as the situation at Qandahar was put in order, Shah Beg turned his attention towards his southernmost possessions of Shal and Mastung, and talking with his commanders, convince them that, for the realization of the political ambitions of the Arghuns, it was essential that they have an alternate base ready before Qandahar slipped out of their hands.[127] As a first step towards the achievement of this goal, Siwi[128] was recovered from the descendants of Sultan Pir Wali[129] Barlas.[130] The latter withdrew to Fathpur, about 100 miles from siwi on the road to Sind, and put up a stiff resistance, but victory fell to shah Beg. After

consolidating his gains in Fathpur, shah Beg returned to Siwi and occupied himself with constructing a fort, raising numerous buildings and laying out gardens.(131)

In 919/1513, when Shah Isma'il visited Khurasan, he sent Shahrukh Beg Afshar to capture Qandahar and chastise Shah Beg for his insolence.(132) When Shahrukh reached Qandahar Shah Beg was at Siwi; and his leading retainers, Mir Farid Arghun, Mir Fadil Kukultash, Zaynak Tarkhan and 'Aqil Atagah, whom he had sent from Siwi to Qandahar, were possibly already there. Failing to take the fort of Qandahar by surprise, Shahrukh proceeded to Shal and Mastung. Where Shah Beg was reportedly encamped during those days. Disappointed at not finding Shah Beg there, Shahrukh vented his spleen on the poor inhabitants of those towns, and, after plundering them,(133) turned back towards Isfahan.(134)

When Shah Beg subsequently returned to Qandahar and went on an excursion to Zamindawar and the Garmsir, on the very first stage of his journey, the wife of his late brother, Muhammad Muqim (d. *circa* 913/1508), Bibi Zarif Khatun,(135) appeared before him in mourning and implored him to rescue his niece, Mah Begum, whom Babur had carried off to Kabul during his previous invasion of Qandahar. Deeply moved by the plight of the widow of his younger brother, Shah Beg not only took counsel with his nobles, but also consulted his wives on the course to follow. These deliberations yielded a plan, in accordance with which, a trusty maid of Bibi Zarif Khatun clandestinely went to Kabul, where, in due course, she got in touch with Mah Begum and paved the way for her flight to Qandahar via the Hazarah region. Mah Begum finally rejoined her mother in the midst of great rejoicings, but her travails were not yet over. In view of the difficult journey that lay ahead and the strictest secrecy it demanded, she had to leave behind at Kabul her 18-month-old daughter from Qasim Kukultash, the celebrated Nahid Begum(136) of Indian history, the pangs of whose separation it was her misfortune to bear to the last days of her life.(137)

Following the death of Shibani Khan, the turn of events once again drew Babur to the land of his dreams. Samarqand; but the ephemeral nature of his success, and the subsequent vicissitudes of his life, left little doubt in his mind "that if his fortune was to be sought anywhere outside Kabul, it must be sought in the east

Muhibb Ali.[153] Nevertheless, a reconciliation between father and son could not be put off indefinitely; and some time during the year 926/1520-21 Shah Hasan returned to Qandahar. So far as Babur's designs against Qandahar are concerned, Shah Hasan's stay with him seems to have exercised a restraining influence on that indefatigable warrior.[154] Viewed against the background of Babur's persistence, and of the Arghun's subsequent unconditional withdrawl from Qandahar, to succeed in bringing about such a long secession of active hostilities between the two sides was not a mean achievement on the part of this young prince.

Underterred by Shah Hasan's reunion with his father, Babur renewed his advance upon Qandahar in 926/1521. The crops were still standing on the ground and besides whatever little grain Mihtar Sunbul, a slave of Shah Beg, had carried into the fort there was little to help the garrison stand through the rigours of the siege.[155] In the meantime, news of Khan Mirza's death at Badakhshan and the looming Uzbek danger on the horizon from that direction distracted Babur,[156] and this gave Shah Beg sufficient breathing space to reprovision the fort and strengthen its defence. Babur appointed his son, Humayun, at Badakhshan and even spent a few days with him there; but before long returned to Qandahar to resume the siege.[157] To start with, both sides fought valiantly and displayed great perseverance; but as the siege dragged on, Shah Beg began to send envoy after envoy to Amir Khan and Amir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, the two deputies of Prince Tahmasb, the young Safawid viceroy of Harat, requesting them to intervene with Babur to withdraw and let him proceed to the Prince's presence. He also promised to pay an annual tribute to the Safawid court. The Safawid Amirs, who had worries of their own, about Babur pushing his victory at Qandahar into Khurasan itself, lost no time in sending dispatches to Babur. They wrote to him that, though the past insubordination of Shah Beg certainly called for his punishment, now that he was ready to make mends and wait personally on the Prince, Babur should withdraw and let Shah Beg do so. Babur none the less pressed on with the siege, and replied that Shah Beg's protestations of loyalty stemmed from his difficult position and hardly deserved any credibility. He also assured them that, after the fall of Qandahar, Shah Beg would be sent to Harat as a prisoner and the keys of the Garmsir and Qandahar would also be

made over to any representative nominated by the Safawid court.[158] These negotiations were still going on when, in Jumada II 927/ May 1521, Ubayd Allah Khan Uzbek besieged Harat for a brief period. As Amir Khan had failed to take adequate measures for the security of the provincial capital, he feared that Amir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad would inform Shah Ismail of his neglect. Consequently, he got Amir Ghiyath al-Din Muhammd killed on the baseless pretext of his collusion with Babur, alleging that the former had invited the latter to come and occupy Harat. These events led to the arrival of Durmish Khan in Khurasan as the new *beglarbegi* (chief of the nobles; commander in chief) and tutor of the viceroy-designate of Khurasan, Sam Mirza. Panicked by the impending arrival of his substitute from the court, Amir Khan gave out that he was about to lead an army against Babur, and under that pretext, hastened to Sabzwar. However, the real objective of this exercise was that he wanted to lend some credence to the charges he had treacherously brought against the deceased Amir Ghiyath al-Din.[159] A shrewd politician and astute general, Durmish Khan[160] killed two birds with one stone. By a rare feat of cajolery and coolheadedness he prevented Amir Khan from fleeing towards Qandahar and at the same time, dispatched an envoy, Khwajah Muzaffar Beg, to Babur, telling him how, out of his regard for him, he had dissuaded Prince Tahmasb from going ahead with his advance upon Qandahar. He also urged Babur to go back to Kabul and let Shah Beg fulfil his promise of appearing at the Safawid court.[161] The tone of the message left little doubt that Babur's failure to comply with the request would hamper his relations with the Safawid authorities. The long drawn -out siege, producing no tangible results, had probably wearied his soldiers also. Hence Babur exercised great discretion and repaired to his capital. In the midst of the Persian New Year celebrations (Rabi) II 928/March 1522), Khwajah Muzaffar returned to Harat and brought the happy news of Babur's withdrawl. Gratified at the consideration Shown by Babur on 2 Jumada I928/30 March 1522, Durmish Khan sent another distinguished emissary, Hasan Chalabi, to Babur's court, expressing the desire to ever more strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding between the two sides. Chalabi had not yet returned from Kabul when, on 27 Jumada II/24 May, the envoys of Babur reached Harat with presents and offerings and

Bhakkar with the intention of leading an expedition against Gujarat; but he had to return to his capital because of the death of Mir Fadil Kukultash[183] After the conclusion of the mourning rites, Shah Beg again set out for Gujarat, and sent emissaries to Jam Firuz, asking him to join him on the way. But before long, he fell sick and on 22 Sha'ban 930/25 June 1524[184] breathed his last.

5. Shah Hasan Succeeds His Father

Upon Shah Beg's death, his son, Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, stepped into his shoes. The Mirza combined in himself the dash and courage of Dhu al-Nun and the foresight and military prowess of Shah Beg. The good relations he had cultivated with Babur during his stay at his court in Kabul a few years ago were apparently still intact. Endowed with a fine knack of making a virtue out of necessity, Shah Hasan, notwithstanding the contrary counsel of his nobles, offered his allegiance to Babur by causing the *Khutbah* to be read in the name of that determined scion of the house of Timur.[185] This act of his not only forestalled the danger of immediate conflict with Babur, but also saved his nascent principality from being nipped in the bud. As soon as news of Babur's advance towards India reached him, Mirza Shah Hasan dispatched his emissaries with suitable gifts from his court.[186] Soon afterwards, he informed Babur of his willingness to marry Mir Nizam al-Din Khalifah's daughter Gulbarg, who had been betrothed to him during his stay at Kabul. Accordingly, Gulbarg was sent with her brother, Husam al-Din Mirak, to Bhakkar, where she was wedded to Mirza Shah Hasan. And, as agreed previously, Mah Begum's daughter Nahid, was given in marriage to the Khalifah's elder son, Muhibb 'Ali Khan.[187] She was then not yet 16 years old. Having thus entered into a close matrimonial alliance with one of the chief nobles of Babur.[188] the Mirza devoted all his attentions to the conquest and administration of Sind.

One of the first things he did after his accession to the *masnad* of his father was to drive to Jam Firuz from southern Sind by defeating him in two successive battles, compelling him to seek shelter in Gujrat.[189] Shah Hasan now tried to stamp out the last traces of insurgency and insubordination in his dominions, especially on his frontiers. Not long afterwards, Langar Khan, a disaffected noble of the house of the Langahs[190] in Multan, fled to

the court of Shah Hasan and induced him to undertake an invasion of the faction-ridden kingdom of Multan. The strategic importance of this ancient town in the grand design to safeguard and secure the troubled boundaries of Sind was not lost upon the Mirza. He took the opportunity by the forelock, and, through a well-thought-out plan, conquered Multan and entrusted its administration to Dust Mir Akhwur, Khwajah Shams al-Din and Langar Khan.(191) He himself returned to Bhakkar, from where he soon proceeded to Thattah to meet the challenge of the formidable Kachh chief, Khingar, who was rallying his forces to take revenge for his brother Amir Amrani, who was killed fighting with Jam Firuz, against the Arghuns. Khingar was defeated and his territory was annexed to Sind.(192) But hardly a year after the conquest of Multan, Langar Khan defected to Babur.(193) To offset any move by Babur in favour of Langar Khan, Shah Hasan voluntarily ceded the territory of Multan to his Mughul overlord. Babur first appointed 'Askari to its administration,(194) but when he failed to calm down the warlike propensities of the local tribes, the area was added to the possessions of Mirza Kamran.(195)

6. Shah Hasan and Humayun

Babur died in Jumada I 937/ December 1530; but that was by no means the culmination of Mirza Shah Hasan's vassalage to his Mughul collaterals, nominal thought it was.(196) In 942/1535-36, when relations between Babur's successor, Humayun, and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat took turn for the worse and Humayun undertook a punitive expedition against him, he directed Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun to march upon Gujarat from Thattah and await further orders at Patan.(197) the Mirza, who was apprehensive of the activities of Jam Firuz, who had given his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur and was contemplating an attack on sind with the support of his son-in law,(198) welcomed the opportunity of joining Humayun to attack the ruler of Gujarat. Accordingly, he set forth from Nasrpur at the head of a large army and reached Patan via Radanpur. Khidr Khan, the commandant of Sultan Bahadur at Patan, dispatched all the peasants, together with their cattle, to some far off place and shut himself up in the Patan fort. Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari, who was in the vanguard of Mirza Shah Hasan's forces, laid waste a number of towns *(qura)* and encamped at a distance of seven *Kurohs* from Patan, from

tradition or law of primogeniture, his kinsfolk's pretensions to the throne, the indolent temperament of Humayun and his excessively kind and forgiving disposition towards his ever erring brothers, particularly Kamran, did not make the task of preserving his legacy any easier for his successor to the throne. All that the disaffected indigenous elements needed to strike a fatal blow to the precarious fortunes of the house of Babur was inspiring leadership; and that they found in Shir Khan,[214] a shrewd commoner who gradually rose to be a king. Apart from numerous other problems, the chief of which was the infidelity of his ambitious brothers and jealous relatives, Humayun's own ease-loving nature, slothful indolence and constant state of indecision, prevented him from mobilizing forces to contain the ever-rising torrent of his hardy Afghan adversary's might. Finally, he had to accept defeat and set out on a long and dreary journey in search of his fortunes elsewhere.[215]

9. The Fall of Humayun

After his final humiliating defeat at Qannauj (Muharram 947/May 1540) at the hands of Shir Shah's much smaller and ill-equipped army, without a single bullet having been fired on either side,[216] Humayun and the remnant of his army, broken and dispirited, retired from Qannauj to Lahore and joined the mighty multitude of Mughul families and fugitives that had already gathered there. Here, in a fresh attempt to bring about some cohesion among their ranks to evolve a united front against the imminent threat to the very existence of Babur's descendants in India, Humayun and his brothers met several times, but every meeting ended in a fiasco.[217] Mirza Kamran's sole concern was to retain Kabul,[218] which he owed to his brother, in his own hands; and in this regard he was not prepared to Hazard the slightest risk. Hence, every positive scheme was wrecked on the rock of his selfish intransigence. Mirza Haydar Dughlat, who, much to the discomfiture of Kamran, had previously stayed back at Agrah and sided with Humayun in the debacle at Qannauj,[219] proposed the conquest of Kashmir to use it as a base for future expeditions into India.[220] on the other hand, Yadigar Nasir, and Hindal Mirza wanted to capture Bhakkar and conquer Gujarat before embarking upon the redemption of Mughul fortunes in Hindustan,[221] and in fact, subsequently, they set out in that direction without obtaining

Humayun's permission.[222] Humayun, at first, agreed with Dughlat's proposal to proceed to Kashmir;[223] but later on, he was swayed by the arguments of others who thought that, in case of inordinate delay or failure in the Kashmir campaign, particularly if, in the meantime, Lahore also fell into the hands of the Afghans, a safe retreat from India would become wellnigh impossible.[224] Five precious months passed, while the Mughuls continued to bicker amongst themselves, unable to resolve their egotistic differences. Before long, the news of Shir Shah's arrival at the Beas arrived and put them to flight once again.[225]

10. Humayun Turns to Sind

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

11. Exchange of Messages between Humayun and Shah Hasan

Hounded by Khwass Khan, a trusty lieutenant of Shir Shah, Humayun reached Uchh towards the end of Sha'ban 947/ December 1540.[229] Since the territories of Bakhshu Langah, a prominent Baluch chief, were close by, the Emperor dispatched a *farman* conferring a dress of honour, a standard, a kettle-drum and the title of Khan-i Jahan on him. Bakhshu, whatever the reasons, did not come to welcome Humayun, but provided him with provisions and a number of boats, with the aid of which the royal party was able to continue its journey towards Sind.[230] Reaching Rohri on 28 Ramadan 947/27 January 1541, Humayun encamped in the delightful *char-bagh* of Babrlu,[231] three *kurohs* from Bhakkar,[232] and sent for Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari, the Arghun

ambushed by Shah Hasan's men. In the ensuing encounter, the latter's troops were defeated and they took refuge in the fort. This gave Humayun's followers a false sense of the enemy's weakness.[245] Consequently, the Emperor laid siege to the fort of Siwistan on 17 Rajab 948/6 November 1541. As the siege dragged on, Shah Hasan also advance from Thattah to Sann, dug trenches, collected boats and encamped there. One night, a body of his men cut their way into the fort; and Humayun retaliated by laying a mine, but its explosion failed to have any significant effect on the morale of the enemy.[246] As the siege dragged over seven months,[247] the rains came, the river flooded, and Shah Hasan managed to cut off Humayun's food supplies from all directions. The combination of these factors caused many desertions from the royal camp, including not only ordinary soldiers, but such eminent personages as Mir Tahir Sadr, who had been Humayun's envoy to Shah Hasan, Khwajah Ghiyath al-Din Jami and Maulana 'Abd al-Baqi. Shah Hasan conveyed them with great respect to his capital. Yet another group of prominent men, including Mir Barakah, Mirza Hasan and Qasim Husayn Sultan, tried to persuade Yadigar to leave Bhakkar and return to Qandahar with them.[248] In the meantime, Yadigar Nasir had been twice surprised by forces of the Bhakkar fort, and had sustained heavy losses. When a similar attempt from the fort was made for the third time, Yadigar personally intercepted the fort's contingent in the desert of Rohri, and put up a fight[249] in which 300 to 400 of the contingent's soldiers were killed.[250]

16. Shah Hasan Wins Over Yadigar Nasir

Realizing that cutting off food supplies and occasional raids on his camp had failed to undermine Yadigar Nasir's determination, Shah Hasan now resorted to guile to win him over to his side. He dispatched Amir Quli Muhrdar to Yadigar with a massage to the effect that, since he was an old man with no son of his own to succeed him, he would give his daughter in marriage to Yadigar provided he withheld his support from Humayun. Shah Hasan also informed Yadigar that, although, as long as he lived, he would run the affairs of Sind, on his death, Yadigar would be his successor. He promised that, once Yadigar had agreed to side with him, he would put all his resources at the disposal of Yadigar and assist him in the conquest of Gujarat. The

chaghata'i prince was not strong enough to resist the temptation offered by the astute Shah Hasan; and, ignoring Humayun's requests for help,[251] he began to show a willingness to accommodate the latter.[252]

17. Humayun withdraws to Bhakkar

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

Influenced by the promises of Shah Hasan Arghun, Yadigar Nasir finally separated himself from the royal entourage, made over his artillery to Shah Hasan's commanders at the fort of Bhakkar,[254] and, throwing overboard his word to the Emperor,[255] delivered Halah and 'Umar Shah,[256] two tribal chiefs who had rendered great service to Humayun, to the enemy and himself moved to Sukkur, which lay on the road to Qandahar.[257]

18. Humayun Proceeds to Marwar via Uchh

Demoralized by scarcities, desertions and the treacheries of his kinsmen and giving up all hope of vanquishing the Bhakkar fort, Humayun contemplated going to Qandahar and trying to reach some accommodation with his brothers. With the direct route thither blocked by Yadigar Nasir and Shah Hasan, he

Humayun's sworn enemies, the Surs. When Islam Shah Sur (952-60/1545-52) tried to lay his hands upon Kamran, the latter fled to Adam Gakhkhar, who turned him over to Humayun.(274) But for the mounting pressure of the victims of Kamran's tyranny, Humayun might well have overlooked the follies of his brother. However, left with no room for manoeuvring,(275) on 7 Ramadan 960/17 August 1553,(276) the Emperor ordered Kamran to be blinded, and then allowed him to proceed to the Hijaz.(277)

On his way to the two sacred sanctuaries of Islam, when Kamran passed through Sind, Shah Hasan put him up in the Island of Shadbelah, west of Bhakkar. Not long afterwards, he was shifted to Bagh-i-Fath, 30 Kurohs northeast of Thattah, which ironically commemorated Shah Hasan's victory over Humayn in 950/1543,(278) and allocate the revenue of the parganah of Baturah for the expenses of his kitchen. Shah Hasan did not want his daughter to accompany her unfortunate husband; but failing to dissuade her, he finally bade them both farewell, endowing them with opulent riches.(279) Mirza Kamran died at 'Arafat on 11 Dhi al -Hijjah 964/5 October 1557.(280) Seven months later, his wife also breathed her last.(281)

Several of Mirza Kamran's foster-brothers, who came to Sind during or after the Mirza's last visit to that land, took up permanent abode there. During the scramble for power following the death of Shah Hasan Arghun, they seem to have sided with Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan and his son Salih Tarkhan.(282)

21. Shah Hasan's Later Years and His Legacy

The kingdom of Sind that Shah Hasan Arghun had so zealously carved out and so jealously protected from the persistent encroachments of the dethroned Mughul Emperor for well over two years was, however, not destined to remain intact for long. After the departure of Humayun, Shah Hasan continued to preside over the affairs of state with his characteristic strength and vigilance; but during the final years of his life, owing to his affliction with a peculiar disease, from which he sought relief by frequently sailing down the Indus,(283) the situation in Sind became chaotic. Because of his inability to give enough attention to the smooth running of his kingdom, Shah Hasan, like all despots, grew suspicious of his old peers; and, to forestall any attempt at his overthrow by them, he began to replace them with

some local elements. Derived from the lower strata of society as these new favorites of the Arghun Chief were, they not only fell far short of any reasonable expectations, but by their churlish behavior also precipitated the very crisis they had been brought in to avert. The elevation of these worthless men to high offices, which were previously the preserve of the Arghun and Tarkhan grandees, was widely resented; but when the ignoble deeds of these men rubbed further salt into the wounds of the Arghun and Tarkhan nobility, lie became unbearable for them. To start with, the egotistic proclivities of these new nobles prevented the old elite from mounting any concerted action. But this obstacle was finally overcome when they agreed on Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, a prominent noble of high birth, who had started his career under Shah Beg Arghun and had since been serving the Arghun cause with unequivocal sincerity, as a substitute for the ailing and incapacitated Shah Hasan.(284)

While Sind was approaching a new era of turmoil in its internal politics, Humayun, at Kabul, was engaged in hectic preparations for a renewed, final bid for the recovery of his fortunes in India.(285) 'Isa Tarkhan, who was accused of royalist leanings during Humayun's wanderings in Sind about a decade and a half ago,(286) handled the new situation adroitly. A brave soldier, astute diplomat and dexterous manipulator of men, he allied himself completely with the cause of the disaffected Arghun nobles, put to death their rivals at Thattah,(287) captured the treasure, strengthened the fort of Tagharabad and openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Mughul Emperor Humayun,(288) though it was highly improbable that Humayun, notwithstanding his desire to conquer Sind,(289) would have been able to undertake any such expedition at the time. Thanks to the timely initiative of Shah Hasan, supported by his foster-brother, Sultan Mahmud, who was by no means less keen to grab his share from the disintegrating Arghun legacy,(290) although the march of events could not be reversed, it was at least halted for the time being. After a fierce battle between the rival forces, the two chief contenders, Sultan Mahmud, who commanded Shah Hasan's forces, and 'Isa Tarkhan agreed to await the death of Shah Hasan and then divide Sind between themselves, territories north of the Lakki hills going to Sultan Mahmud and those south of the range falling to 'Isa Tarkhan.(291) That this arrangement had the blessings

further enhanced by the proximity of his principality to the Mughul frontiers as well as by the lack of tribal support that his Tarkhan counterpart in Thattah enjoyed as a matter of course. He was viewed by the Arghun and Tarkhan nobility of Thattah as a secessionist, and they turned to him only when they needed his assistance against one another. Therefore, side by side with all his conciliatory overtures towards the Mughul ruler of India, a precaution against any expansionist designs of the latter, Sultan Mahmud, taking advantage of certain factors such as the strategic importance of Bhakkar, Mughul and Safawid rivalrly for the possession of Qandahar and his own Persian origin also successfully established and maintained cordial relation with the Safawid monarch Shah Tahmasb(308) and the princes of the royal blood responsible for the defence of Qandahar and exchanged embassies with them.(309) And whenever opportunity offered itself, he used these links with the Persian court as a lever to advance his interests in different directions with consummate skill and resourcefulness.

In 965/1557-58, Shah Tahmasb's embassy arrived in Bhakkar and brought, among other things, the title of *Khan* for Sultan Mahmud.(310) A few years later, he obtained a recommendation from that monarch for Akbar to bestow on him the title of *Khan-i Khanan*. Unluckily for him, the exalted title was then held by no less a noble than Munim Khan,(311) and it was against Akbar's policy to bestow such an exceptional honour on more than one noble at a time. Akbar, however, favoured Sultan Mahmud with the title of *I'tibar Khan*,(312) after having already granted him the territories of Uchh, Jajhwahan and Bhattiwahan(313) in the wake of Shah Tahmasb's conferment of the title of Khan on him.

24. Mirza Baqi succeeds Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan

In 974/1566 Sultan Mahmud's arch-enemy, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, died and was succeeded by his son Mirza Baqi, who at one stage had benefited from the hospitality and support of Sultan Mahmud against his father and his heir-apparent Mirza Salih.(314) When Baqi refused to accept the hegemony of his one-time benefactor, Sultan Mahmud, relying on Persian aid, unsuccessfully tried to foist his authority on the unstable principality of Thattah Mirza Baqi then complained about Such attempted encroachments to Akbar,(315) among whose vassals both of them counted

themselves.

Finally, when sultan Mahmud was locked in a stalemate with the Mughul commanders originally sent to reduce Thattah with his aid, among those who tried to defend the fort of Bhakkar, there was a contingent of Turk soldiers accompanying the Persian envoy Khwajah Muhammad Rahim,[316] who might have come from Qandahar as a token of Persian help in response to an appeal from the beleaguered Sultan Mahmud.[317] In this situation, when Akbar, goaded by the desire to recover Qandahar and motivated by the objective of securing his frontiers against all manner of aggression and adventurism from the side of the Uzbeks as well as the Persians, unleashed his onslaught against Sultan Mahmud and the successors of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, neither the exquisite politicking of one, nor the prodigious valour of the other, could indefinitely delay the realization of the imperialistic designs of the great Mughul.

25. Nahid Begum's Visit to Sind and Subsequent Events

In 975/1568, [318] Nahid Begum came[319] to see her mother,[320] Hajji Mah Begum, the queen dowager of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the late founder of the Trkhan dynasty of Thattah. Akbar especially ordered Sultan Mahmud to make adequate arrangements for the reception of the distinguished lady at Bhakkar and provide her with a safe escort in his territories on her way to and from Thattah.[321] The arrival of the Begum at Thattah alarmed Mirza Baqi,[322] who had succeeded his father in the face of bitter opposition from the Arghun nobility.[323] his indiscriminate extermination of his opponents,[324] killing[325] and kidnapping eminent citizens[326] and travelers,[327] had caused consternation throughout the region, and the reverberations of this reached the court of Akbar.[328] To make matters worse, his relations with his northern neighbor, Sultan Mahmud, were far from amiable[329] and his younger brother, Mirza Jan Baba Tarkhan, vehemently contested his claim to the throne.[330] Nahid Begum, who according to some authorities had come with the intention of procuring the hand of Mirza 'Isa's daughter for Akbar,[331] soon married her own daughter[332] to Mirza Baqi, and thus, for the time being at least, allayed his fears from her side.[333] Shortly thereafter, Jan Baba, who had earlier been defeated by Mirza Baqi,[334] sent Khan-i Zaman to launch a night attack on him while he was

29. Sultan Mahmud Marries his Daughter to Akbar

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

30. Beg Oghli Rebels against Sultan Mahmud

During his father's absence, Beg Oghli hatched a plan to overthrow Sultan Mahmud, who discovered the conspiracy in time to nip it in the bud and occupy the fort. Beg Oghli, however, succeeded in escaping with his wife and sister to Alor. Reaching there, he misrepresented the facts and instigated his father to take up arms against his master. The following day, father and son moved to Rohri, where they drew up their forces in front of the fort of Bhakkar; but before long, their men began to defect to Sultan Mahmud. Realizing the danger, Beg Oghli went to the Mughuls on 22 Rajab 980/15 November 1572, and the following day returned with Muhibb 'Ali Khan and Mujahid Khan, with their troops, to besiege the fort of Bhakkar. This coincided with Nawwab Sa'id Khan's advance towards the town of Rohri with strong artillery support. The Arghun nobles who had suffered at the hands of Mubarak khan and Beg Oghli, during the latter's

heyday at the court of Bhakkar, told Muhibb 'Ali Khan that both of them were in collusion with the Nawwab and were likely to defect to him in the near future.(354) Consequently, Muhibb 'Ali Khan, who already had an eye on the possessions of Mubarak Khan,(355) arrested him, Beg Oghli, and Khwajah Fattah, whose son had fled to Sa'id Khan's brother,(356) Makhsus Khan; and shortly thereafter put them all to death. A few days later, Sa'id Khan ravaged the village called Gandaran and went back to Multan, leaving Muhibb 'Ali and Mujahid Khan once again as the undisputed leaders of the Mughul campaign against Bhakkar.(357)

31. Sultan Mahmud Offers to Surrender the Fort

Sultan Mahmud dispatched a contingent of his men in a number of *ghurabs* under the command of his nephew, Muhammad Quli beg, to give battle to the imperialists; but as a result of a big explosion in his magazine, Quli Beg and many of his men were killed, and his expedition ended in disaster. A few days later, Mujahid Khan crossed the Indus at Panhwari, five *kurohs* from Bhakkar; and after inflicting a series of defeats on Sultan Mahmud's men, succeeded in throwing a bridge across the river from the side of Sukkur and attacked Bhakkar. The Bhakkari forces, together with a body of Qizilbash soldiers accompanying Sultan Husayn Mirza Qandahari's envoy to Sultan. Khwajah Muhammad Rahim, tried to halt the advance of the Mughul forces, but were badly beaten and obliged to retire into the fort. Thereafter, while intermittent skirmishes became a permanent feature of the situation, famine and pestilence raged in the garrison and claimed a heavy toll of human life. On the other hand, when the delegation accompanying the daughter of Sultan Mahmud waited upon the Emperor at Ajmer and presented his gifts to the ladies of the royal household, the Emperor was so impressed that he dispatched a *farman* through Mirji Tawaji conferring the territory of Bhakkar on Sultan Mahmud. Muhibb 'Ali and Mujahid Khan completely disregarded the contents of the royal decree; and, once Mirji Tawaji had entered the fort, did not allow him to leave. From the beginning of Rajab 980/October-November 1572 to Ramadan 982/October-December 1574 Sultan Mahmud suffered from dropsy, and when all attempts to cure his disease failed, he sent a message to the Mughul court asking for the dispatch of a royal emissary to receive the keys of the fort

appointment cancelled. Akbar then entrusted the government of Agrah to Tarsun Muhammad, and ordered Banawalidas to go back to Bhakkar as *Karori* and look after the revenue administration of that region. Later on, the Emperor raised Sayyid Muhammad, of Amrohah, to a *mansab* of 1, 000 and made him the governor of Bhakkar. Eminent Sayyid and scholar that he was, the powers of the *sadr* of the *a'immah* of that region were also vested in him. After the death of Sayyid Muhammad, on 8 Sha'ban 984/29 October 1576, his responsibilities devolved upon his son, Sayyid Abu al-Fadl, who shouldered them quite effectively until 2 Dhiqa'dah 985/11 January 1578, when the government of Bhakkar was bestowed on I'timad Khan Khawajahsara. His brief rule came to an abrupt end on 10 Rabi'i 1986/17 May 1578, when he was assassinated by one of his rebellious servants. Thereafter, Akbar made over the region to the joint command of Masnad-i Ali Fath Khan and Raja Parmanand, a relative of Raja Todarmal, who arrived there in Rajab/September-October of the same year. About two years later, Raja Parmanand was recalled; and shortly afterwards, when Fath Khan waited upon the Emperor, Raja Parmanand's *Jagir* was added to that of Fath Khan's. Through his simplicity and the inexperience of his *wakil* against Nahar Khan, who was then occupying the fort of Kankot. During the fierce battle that followed, Fath Khan's *brothers* his *wakil*, Shihab Khan, and several other important personalities were killed.[369]

34. War of Succession and Mirza Jani Beg's Rise to Power

While, owing to its weak administration Bhakkar was gradually sinking into complete chaos, on 8 Shawwal 993/3 October 1585,[370] the ruler of Thattah, Mirza Baqi Muhammad Tarkhan Killed himself with a dagger; and the people of Sind, who had long been groaning under the yoke of his unmitigated tyranny, heaved a sigh of relief. He was survived by two sons, Mirza Payandah Muhammad and Mirza Muzaffar Muhammad of whom, at that time, the first was at Siwistan and the second and younger at Badin. For a while, it seemed that the entire nobility was resolved to support the younger brother's claim to the throne; and Mirza Muzaffar's *wakil*, Mir 'Ali Khan, hurried him to Thattah by forced marches. But, before his arrival, the nobles realized the possibility of power slipping into the hands of the Jarejah Sammahs, from whom Mirza Muzaffar was descended on his

mother's side, and they concluded that, even though Payandah Muhammad was insane, his son, Mirza jani Beg, was capable of running the government efficiently. They therefore halted Mirza Muzaffar at the Ali Jan, and hurriedly sent for Mirza Jani from Siwistan.(371) The latter rushed to Thattah, supervised the accession of his father to the throne, and himself assumed the position of his *wakil*. He faced two immediate major problems; the restoration of law and order throughout his dominions and the establishment of his authority. Instead of taking swift action against his opponents, and pushing them into the lap of the pretender to the throne, Mirza Muzaffar, who was still encamped at the gates of the capital, Mirza Jani Beg chose to make a scapegoat of the erstwhile favourites of Mirza Baqi, who had been falsely accused of murdering their master, and subjected them to barbarously exemplary punishments. Darya'i Abdar was burnt alive; Marqadam Qurchi was sawed into two from head to foot and each part of his body was thrown into the street; Hindu was stoned to death, and Malik Ahmad(372) was Skinned alive from head to toe, his body flung before dogs and skin stuffed and gibbeted in the market-place.(373) This savage execution of innocent officers served two purposes: on the one hand, it ingratiated the Mirza with their enemies and silenced the dissidents at his court, and, on the other, struck terror into the hearts of Mirza Muzaffar(374) and his camp followers. Mirza Muzaffar and his *wakil* fled post-haste to Badin, leaving behind both their belongings and a Trial of ruin and devastation all through their path.(375) Having reached his stronghold in Badin, Mirza Muzaffar began mustering a strong army to mount an offensive against the ascendancy of Mirza Jani at Thattah. To start with, Mirza Jani tried to settle matters peacefully, but, when no alternative was left, he marched upon Badin in full strength and, by a combination of intrigue and military ingenuity, broke the back of his uncle's rebellion forcing him to seek shelter with Ra'e Bahrah of Kachh, a relative of the former from his mother's side- and incorporated Badin into his own kingdom.(376)

35. Akbar Orders Reduction of Thattah

Mirza Jani had hardly succeeded in restoring law and order in his dominions, when towards the middle of Rabi' I 994/March 1586,Nawwab Sadiq Muhammad Khan took over the charge of

and Qandahar. In spite of the fact that the royal court had been established in the Panjab since 994/1586,[396] the ruler of Thattah had shown no inclination to pay his homage to the Emperor personally,[397] and all attempts to bring him to his senses had ended in utter failure. On the other hand, the mutual bickering of the Mirzas of Qandahar, their strained relations with neighbouring Sistan,[398] and the constant instability and turmoil characterizing the Iranian political scene,[399] together with the covetous designs of the Uzbeks against Iran,[400] made it all the more imperative for the Mughul monarch to take necessary steps for the protection of his interests in that sector.[401] Consequently, side by side with his diplomatic negotiations with Mirza Jani, Akbar seems, as early as the end of 997/1589[402] or the beginning of 998/1589, to have made up his mind in favour of military action against Qandahar and Thattah. Khan-i Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim Khan,[403] one of the finest generals of the empire, was chosen for the task; but, owing to some unknown circumstances, [404] the campaign did not get off the ground for about two years. In 998/1589,[405] the Emperor bestowed Multan and Bhakkar on the Khan-i Khanan and ordered him to undertake military operations against Qandahar.[406] The latter was supposed to ask the ruler of Thattah to accompany him or send his troops for the execution of that campaign. If he agreed, Akbar told the Khan-i Khanan, well and good; otherwise, he was to chastise Jani Beg on his way back[407] in bidding farewell to the distinguished commander, the Emperor personally went out of Lahore for about a league.[408] Behaving rather curiously, however, the Khan-i Khanan, probably impelled by considerations of richer booty,[409] first attacked Thattah,[410] much to the displeasure of Akbar. Nevertheless, once operations against the Tarkhan ruler of Thattah got under way, the Emperor not only gave them his approval, but also favoured the Khan-i Khanan with reinforcements.

38. Mughul Advance upon Sihwan

The Khan-i Khanan was still encamped near Multan, when the Baluch tribes of the vicinity waited on him and made their submission. Subsequently, when the imperial forces marched to Bhakkar and were set up in battle array, Mirza Jani offered to extend his military cooperation to the Khan-i Khanan in his

camping against Qandahar. The latter, however, put the Sindhi envoys under detention and ordered his troops to continue their march.(411) Shortly afterwards, a fire broke out in the fort of Sihwan and destroyed its provisions. Encouraged by this news, the Mughuls advanced rapidly upon it overland and by water-ways.(412) Standing on top of a ridge,(413) the fort of Sihwan lay on the main line of communications to the Tarkhan capital.(414) As the Mughul men and boats would have to pass by it in their march towards Thattah, the Khan-i Khanan, on the advice of his officers, set himself to take it.(415) At the same time, while Qara Beg(416) sailed towards the Manchhur lake, captured large booty and subdeued the local *Zamindars*, another body of men went further down the river and seized the strategic defile of lakki,(417) which, according to Abu al-Fadl, was as important for the reduction of Thattah, as Garhi for Bengal's or Baramula for Kashmir's.(418) On hearing about the siege of Siwistan, Jani beg set out from Thattah with all the force he could muster.(419) In response, the Khan-i Khanan lifted the siege and turned towards the Mirza.(420)

39. Mirza Jani Prepares to Meet the Mughuls

Mirza jani beg at first pitched his tents at Nasrpur,(421) on the left bank of the river, about 75 miles south-east of Sihwan,(422) dug trenches, constructed a fort, and drove away the indigenous population, lest they conspire with invading Mughul armies. But before long, realizing the vulnerability of his position here(423) he moved 10 miles higher up the left bank to a village called Buhir(424) Jahejah,(425) and set up fortifications, entrusting the task of defending each position to one of his leading nobles. The new place was nearly impregnable, since one of its sides was washed by the river and the other, by which the enemy might attempt to approach, was protected by a huge tract of low-lying quagmire,(426) on which, in the words of Idraki Beglari, if anyone set foot, he would sink up to his neck.(427) The Khan-i Khanan was still undecided about his next moves, when news arrived that Rawal Bhim(428) of Jaisalmer, and Dalpat,(429) son of Ra'e Singh, of Bikaner, who were to have come via Bhakkar, had lost their way and now planned to approach the Mughuls via 'Umarkot. To prevent the army of Jani Beg from achieving an upper hand against this force, the Khan-i Khanan left behind a body of troops to keep the mind of the Sihwan garrison occupied and to ensure

42. The Khan-i Khanan Lays Siege to Buhiri Jahejah

Although some Mughul officers were in favour of a relentless pursuit of the retreating Sindhi forces, this idea had to be abandoned because of the rapidly gathering darkness.(451) The following day, the Khan-i Khanan went ahead and laid siege to the fort(452) of Buhiri Jahejah. The location of the fort made it quite easy for the garrison to have access to an abundance of all necessities, such as grain, firewood, and fodder for the beasts. Not only that, one gate of the fort was always open and inmates could come and go at leisure. The Mughuls tried to approach the fort through *sabats*,(453) but the vigilance of the garrison aborted all their attempts. The only hope for the conquest of the fort now lay in the capture of a commanding position in front of it, just across the stream; but there too, Khusrau Khan Charkas had constructed a fortress surrounded by a ditch full of water. The Khan-i Khanan tried to storm it, but to no avail.(454) Meanwhile, skirmishes around the fort of Buhiri continued(455) and men from both sides lost their lives everyday.(456) Ensconced in a formidable fort, and emboldened by his numerical strength, abundance of supplies, and help from the peasantry, Jani Beg had fixed his hopes on the forthcoming rainy season, when the Mughul forces would be obliged to lift the siege and he would be blessed with a grand victory.(457) To aid their passive resistance, the Sindhis, on the one hand, scoured all the surrounding countryside for available foodstuffs and made sure nothing reached the besiegers,(458) on the other, they frequently stole out of their stronghold and returned with whatever they could lay their hands on in the imperial camp.(459) this caused extreme scarcity and despair among the followers of the Khan-i Khanan,(460) and even a constant stream of reinforcements from the royal court(461) was not enough to alleviate it.

43. The Khan-i Khanan Lifts the Siege

Finally, after spending about two months(462) in fruitless operations, the Khan-i Khanan decided to lift the siege, spend the rainy season somewhere else, and then return and resume the fighting.(463) According to the *Tarkhan Namah*, the Khan-i-Khanan took this decision on the secret advice of one of the principal officers of Jani Beg, Ghuriyah by name, who counseled him to disperse his forces in other parts of Sind, where they would face no resistance, as the entire strength of the Mirza was stationed at

Buhiri. Meanwhile, Ghuriyah and other like-minded officers would prevail upon the Mirza to abandon the fort and take the field, where he would not be able to withstand the sudden onslaught of the Mughuls and would surrender.(464) Be that as it may, on 27 Day 1000/17 January 1592,(465) the Khan-i Khanan raised the siege and dispatched a considerable body of his army to resume the siege of Sihwan,(466) while he, with the rest of his men, marched towards Thattah, with the dual aim of procuring provisions for his army and causing consternation in the minds of the garrison at Buhiri,(467) as most of their families were in the fort of Tughluqabad,(468) 3 miles south of Thattah.(469) To start with, the Khan-i Khanan proceeded to Kakri Palejah, despoiled the inhabitants of the village Torki, and the following day encamped near the fort of Shahgarh.(470) they had hardly started operations, when the strong defensive measures taken by Mir Abu al-Qasim Sultan,(471) the commandant of the fort, soon convinced them of the formidable nature of their task.(472) Hence, they split themselves into a number of divisions, each marching in a different direction. One division was dispatched to Agham,(473) a prosperous area, under the command of Bakhtiyar Beg,(474) who was charged with the task of keeping an eye on the movements of Mirza Jani, ensuring a safe journey for the fleet sent to Sihwan, and forestalling any attempt by the Mirza's men to lay their hands on the Lakki pass.(475) the division sent to Badin, Fathbagh, Jaun and 'Umerkot achieved considerable success; but the one entrusted with the reduction of Thattah was deeply disappointed, as the town had been evacuated and set on fire by the inhabitants.(476)

44. Mirza Jani Beg Sets Out for Sihwan

According to same source, the Mirza was tempted to attack the imperial detachment sent to Sihwan, because of its apparent weakness,(477) but according to others, this detachment had already reached Sihwan and laid siege to the fort.(478) When this siege dragged on and the garrison was reduced to extremities, they pleaded for immediate relief, writing to the Mirza that, before long, they would be killed and the fort would fall to the enemy. Though his officers widely differed on what he should do,(479) Jani Beg inebriated with youth and encouraged by his numbers,(480) chose an adventurous path. He issued forth for Buhiri and hastened to Sihwan.(481) A soon as news of his advance spread,

compromise. Mirza Jani surrendered on certain condition, and hostilities ceased forthwith.[509] It was agreed that consequent upon the lifting of the siege, without any harm being done to his men as well as his person, the Mirza would marry his daughter to the Khan-i Khanan's son, Iraj, and surrender the town of Siwistan, together with its fort and 20[510] war boats, to the Mughuls who would pass the rainy season there. It was further agreed that, after the rains were over, he would accompany the Khan-i Khanan to the Mughul court.[511] Consequently, on 16 Khurdad 1000/16 June peace was established, and the ceremonies of betrothal were performed.

48. His Flight to Thattah

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

49. The Mughuls Advance upon Thattah

At the end of the rainy season, however, when the Khan-i Khanan was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Mirza to accompany him to the court, the latter sent a message, saying that he was indisposed and would go to the court after collecting the autumn revenue. He also reminded the Khan-i Khanan that it had been agreed that all areas south of Sihwan would be restored to him, but Nayrankot and Halakandi had not yet been handed over. The Khan-i Khanan took the Mirza's envoy into custody and separating his troops into three divisions, set one of them across the Indus to proceed to Thattah by the land route, dispatched the second in war-boats down the river, and sent the third along the river bank. All three divisions were ordered to keep in touch with one another, seize Nasrpur, which was a strategic point of that region, and oblige Mirza Jani to go to the royal court. After some days, the Khani-iKhanan sent an ambassador to the Tarkhan chief, and on his heels, himself also set off from Sann.(515) About this time, the Khan-i Zaman, having collected the revenue from the peasants, and tribes of Nilufri and Halankandi returned to Nasrpur. As soon as he heard that the imperial troops were heading his way, he, together with his son, Mir Abu al-Qasim Sultan, rushed to the fort of Shahgarh, dispatched his household to Thattah, and occupied himself with strengthening the fort's defences. Meanwhile, Nasrpur fell to the Mughuls.(516) When the Khan-Khanan arrived there, he sent on his three dvisions with the same arrangements as before; and they, in collaboration with some Arghuns, raided the Mirza's camp, which then lay some 3 *Kurohs* outside Thattah in the direction of the Ju'bar(517) branch of the Indus, where Mirza Jani was apparently heading to make sure that the lines of communication were open for the unhindered passage of any aid he might secure from the Portuguese governor of Hurmuz to throw out the Mughul aggressors.(518) Considering the huge losses his ancestor, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan,(519) and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat(520) had sustained by extending similar invitations to the Portuguese only a few decades ago, it is obvious that Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan was ready to undertake almost any risk in order to avoid having to accompany the Mughul commander to Akbar's court. What an uphill task it proved to bring this strong-willed erstwhile nominal vassal to his knees is best epitomized in this statement of the court chronicler, Abu al-

outside Sind, he seems to have spent almost all his time at the royal court.

53. His Death

During the 45th regnal year of Akbar, when he was engaged in an expedition against Sultan Bahadur, in Asir, the Mirza, because of his gross immoderation in drinking, became paralytic and delirious and died on 27 Rajab 1009/1 February 1601.(550) His body was escorted to Thattah by Khwajah Muhammad Qurbegi;(551) and on his burial place, an imposing mausoleum was built by his son, Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan,(552) who succeeded his father as the ruler of Thattah by an imperial edict.

54. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan Succeeds His Father

When Baba Talib Isfahani(553) reached Sind with a robe of honour and a royal order for the confirmation of the *jagir* of Mirza Jani Beg on Mirza Ghazi, it was expected that the young Mirza, together with his principal officers, would accompany the royal emissary to the Mughul court.(554) But Baba Talib found the Mirza involved in a tangled struggle with his insubordinate courtiers and rebellious local chiefs.(555) Whether or not it was because of this consideration, or in keeping with the usual tendency of royal emissaries of this kind to dawdle,(556) Baba Talib did get so carried away by the hospitality of Mirza Ghazi that he forgot the urgency of his mission, and nearly two years passed by. The protracted delay finally began arousing apprehensions in court circles about the real intentions of Mirza Ghazi; and little wonder if the enemies of the young Mirza added fuel to the fire.(557) At last, in 1010/1601-2, as in the case of the earlier conquest of Thattah by the Khan-i Khanan, Akbar this time bestowed Multan(558) and Bhakkar(559) on Sa'id Khan Chaghattah,(560) and dispatched him and his son, Sa'd Allah Khan,(561) at the head of a 20,000 strong army(562) to subdue lower Sind(563) and bring Mirza Ghazi Beg to court.(564)

While Sa'id Khan quartered his troops in the Darbelah parganah, Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin was ordered to proceed to Thattah to persuade The Mirza to come to the royal court. Namakin advanced up to Nasrpur with a substantial body of troops and sent a messenger to Mirza Ghazi to make arrangements for his departure.(565) The Mirza would have liked to defy the royal command, but the meagerness of his resources,(566) the disaffection

amongst the nobility[567] and the generally unsettled conditions in his domain[568] - some of which certainly were a legacy of the previous imperial campaign against Sind-made such defiance imprudent. After consultations with his advisers, he therefore decided to go to court,[569] and told Mir Namakin to return to Sihwan, where, he said, he would join him.[570] Finally, leaving some influential nobles, such as Khusrau Khan Charkas, 'Arab Kukah, and Walih Quli Diwan, in charge of government, Mirza Ghazi left for Sihwan accompanied by Shahbaz Khan, Ahmad Beg Sultan, Lutf Allah Sultan, Khwajah Amir Beg Bakhshi and Bha'i Khan Lutf Allah.[571] When he arrived at Sihwan, Mir Namakin escorted[572] the Mirza to Sitarjah, a dependency of Bhakkar, where Sa'id Khan was then encamped.[573] The sagacity and dignity of the Mirza so impressed the Mughul general that he took an immediate liking to him, and later, his son also became a close friend of the Mirza.[574]

55. Mirza Ghazi at the Mughul Court

At long last, when the Mirza appeared before Akbar[575] at Agrah, on 14 Mihr 1013/6 October 1604,[576] the Emperor received him kindly, conferring the *mansab*[577] and *jagir*[578] of his father on him and favouring him with a precious diamond.[579] About a year after the Mirza's arrival at court, on 13 Jumada II 1014/26 October 1605, Akbar died and a pall of gloom and uncertainty settled over the Mughul capital[580] Much to the chagrin of some reckless spirits in his entourage, who suggested that he take advantage of the situation and escape to Thattah, Mirza Ghazi chose to stay at court.[581] And before long, he succeeded in winning the confidence of the new Emperor, Jahangir.[582] Although, so long as Akbar lived, the status of the young Mirza was no better than that of his father,[583] he lost no time in catching up with court politics and cultivating close ties with Mughul nobles, He married a niece of Sharif Khan Atagah[584] and maintained very close relations with Sa'id Khan Chaghattah. Thus, when he sought Jahangir's leave to go back to Thattah, Sa'id Khan interceded on his behalf. However, though Jahangir agreed in principle, he postponed the Mirza's departure until his sister, whose engagement Akbar had arranged with salim's son, Khusrau,[585] was married to the prince.[586] whether this matrimonial alliance ever materailzed we cannot say; but, subsequently, when Khusrau rebelled against his father,

Thattah that the Mirza already possessed, confirmed him in his *mansab* of 5,000 personnel and horse,[610] and, conferring a robe of honour and jewelled sword on him, put him in charge of the government of Qandahar and the protection of that extremely sensitive frontier of Hindustan.[611]

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

From Lahore, the Mirza went to Multan, where he attended to the affairs of that region, and sent Ahmad Beg Sultan, given the title of I'timad Khan, to deputize for him at Qandahar.[616] Then he proceeded to Bhakkar, where he made relevant arrangements for the administration of the province of Thattah. He was still there when, on 14 Rajab 1017/24 October, Jahangir ordered him to betake himself to Qandahar; and, curiously enough, as the Mirza left Bhakkar, the news of the death of the previous governor of Qandahar, Sardar Khan arrived at court.[617] On his way to Qandahar, via Siwi and Ganjabah, the Mirza chastised the refractory elements,[618] and, on his arrival at Qandahar, he made two major appointments: Bha'i Khan Lutf Allah was sent to subdue the Afghans,[619] Ra'e Manak was entrusted with a campaign against a rebellious servant of Shah Beg,[620] Haydar[621] by name. Ra'e Manak also led a successful punitive expedition against the Hazrahs and the Nigudaris and forced their chiefs to acknowledge the authority of the Mirza.[622]

59. His Relations with Shah 'Abas of Iran

To secure the frontier of Qandahar against Persian intrigues and incursions, the Mirza entered into direct diplomatic negotiations with Shah 'Abbas by dispatching a friendly embassy[623] under Jalal al-Din 'Abd Allah, who held the title of *Mir Khan*,[624] to his

court, and thus minimized the possibility of the Persians exploiting internal dissidents of Qandahar. The Shah reciprocated in like manner, and letters and gifts were exchanged between the two. Gradually, relations between Shah 'Abbas and Mirza Ghazi Beg became so cordial that the former addressed the Mirza as 'son'(625) and conferred a robe of honour on him on more than one occasion.(626) The Mirza's regard for the Shah of Iran transcended considerations of diplomatic expediency, as expressed by his fulsome praises of the Shah in his eulogies.(627)

60. His Stay at Qandahar

In contrast to the muddle of affairs at Thattah,.The internal administration of Qandahar started off well. Even before the arrival of the Mirza, his viceroy, Ahmad Beg Sultan, had made plans for the amelioration of the conditions of the local population and army, and had initiated measures for the reconstruction of the region, which had been grievously damaged by the besieging Persian forces.(628) Though primarily a Mughul governor, the Mirza's court had all the trappings of an independent monarch, while his personal life was characterized by extreme debauchery and dissoluteness.(629) On the other hand, his liberal patronage of *belles-lettres* transformed Qandahar into a rendezvous for poets and scholars. The fame of his munificence spread far and wide, and it became wellnigh impossible for luminaries travelling between Iran and India to resist the temptation of calling at his court. Those who were not fortunate enough to reach it benefited from his bounties at their homes.(630)

After the death of Mirza Ghazi on 11 Safar 1021/13 April 1612(631) under dubious circumstances,(632) Bha'i Khan Lutf Allah, son of Khusrau Khan Charkas, assumed the role of his successor at Qandahar, while Khusrau himself, who was on his way to Qandahar under orders, of the late Tarkhan chief, retraced his steps to Thattah. Arriving there, Khusrau Khan enthroned Mirza 'Abd al-'Ali Tarkhan,(633) the only surviving minor prince from the line of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan, and himself became his regent.(634) to prevent the situation from getting out of hand, Jahangir rushed Abu al-Bi Uzbek to Qandahar as its new governor,(635) and recalled Mirza Isa Tarkhan II(636) from the Deccan to assign the government of Thattah to him. However, subsequently, when it was pointed out to Jahangir that the Mirza had long been aspiring to become

prince from the line of Shahrukh, via Yalqur Aqach-i-Khabushan. It is in this latter place that Dhu al-Nun parted company with him and headed towards Samarqand. Sultan Husayn continued his march and defeated Yadigar at Chanaran, near Abiward. Subsequently, however, taking advantage of the absence of Sultan Husayn, who had gone to the Yazah-tu fort, his wife Payandah Begum, who was an aunt of Yadigar Muhammad, on the instigation of some nobles, captured Harat and on 6 Muharram 975/5 July 1470 proclaimed Yadigar, who was then at Tus, the new king. Within a few weeks, Sultan Husayn surprised Yadigar Muhammad in Ravens' Garden of Harat, took him captive and, not long afterwards on 21 Safar 975/19 August 1470 (H.S., vol. III, iii, p. 224, has 23 Safar), had him put to death. According to Babur (B.N., pp. 134-35), Yadigar was 17 to 18 years of age at that time (for details, see R.S., vol. VII, pp. 34-61) . Viewed in the light of this account of events Mir Ma'sum (T.S, p.80) outomatically stands contradicted, and so are the T.N. (pp. 6-7) and some modern authorities (e.g. H.A.T.S., p. 251) who were misled by his statement.

In the *Lughat-Namah* (letter ي fascicule 1, p. 51) the poet 'Abd al-Wasi', who discovered Yadigar Muhammad's year and month of death from the Persian phrase *Shahr-i-Safar* (The month of Safar) 975 A.H., has been confounded with the famous 6th/12th century luminary 'Abd al-Wasi' Jabali. For the latter, see Jan Rypka, et al., *History of Iranian Literature*, ed., Karl Jahn, Dordrecht, Holland, 1969, p. 328. It may also be mentioned that the order and dates of Yadigar and Sultan Husayn Bayqara's accession to the throne of Harat mentioned by C.E. Bosworth, p. 165, are also incorrect.

19. Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 19.
20. E.G. Browne, p. 390.
21. R.S., vol. VII, p. 89; H.S., vol. III, iii, p. 237.
22. For his particulars, see B.N., p. 33 et seq.
23. R.S., vol. VII, p. 89; H.S., vol. III, iii, p. 237.
24. For Ghur, see C.E. Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghur", *The medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London, 1977, IX, pp. 116-33. Also see B.N., pp. 200, 214, 222.
25. "This province, which stretches from the roots and valleys of the Hazara mountains, along the right bank of the Helmend till its union with the Arghandab river, which joins it from Kandahar, is one of the richest and most fertile countries in these parts." Erskine, vol. I, p. 264. According to Babur (B.N., p. 274), Zamindawar was entrusted to Dhu al-Nun at a later date. Firishtah (T.F., maqalah viii, p. 321) wrongly asserts that Shah Husayn bestowed the government of Qandahar, Zamindawar, Saghar [sic] and Tulak on Dhu al-Nun in 984 [sic] 1576-77.
26. See B.N., pp. 274-75, 326-27; R. S., vol. VII, p. 140.
27. B. N., p. 274; Erskine, vol. I, p. 264, cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, Karachi, 1980, p. 22, where it is wrongly asserted that Dhu al-Nun "with a small force of eight swars at his disposal reduced the region and its turbulent tribes...."
28. R.S., vol. VII, p. 90: H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 238.
29. R.S., vol. VII, p. 90; H.S., vol. III, iii, p. 238. Contrary to what Mir Khwand and Khwand Mir have to say about the government of Dhu al-Nun, Zayn al-Din Mahmud Wasifi *(Badayi' al-Waqayi'*, ed., Alexander N. Boldyrev, 1961, pp. 1156-57) reproduces a story from Maulana Subhi, a panegyrist and boon companion of Dhu al-Nun, which besides being reminiscent of Rudaki's

attempt to induce the Samanid Nasr b. Ahmad to return to Bukhara (see Nizami 'Arudi' Samarqandi, *Chahar Maqalah*, ed., Muhammad Mu'in, Tehran, 1933 H. Sh., pp. 49-54), and underlining one of the many roles of such characters at the autocratic courts of medieval times brings to light yet another aspect of Dhu al-Nun's much acclaimed administration. The story goes that Dhu al-Nun bestowed Kaziw, a dependency of Zamindawar, on his foster-brother Mir Fadil. The latter through his tyranny and oppression laid waste the whole region but nobody had the courage to report the matter to Dhu al-Nun. Finally the inhabitants of the town sought Maulana Subhi help. Subhi waited on Dhu al-Nun and, in the course of conversation, related a rather incredible story to him. When the latter expressed his reluctance to believe, it Subhi swore by God who created 17, 999 worlds. Dhu al-Nun said: "There are 18,000 worlds' what happened to one world?" "that one world was Kaziw, which has since been destroyed", Subhi retorted. Dhu al-Nun was so pleased with the joke that he gave Kaziw to Maulana Subhi.

30. B.N., p. 275; R.S., vol. VII, pp. 90-91; H.S., vol III, iii, p. 238.
31. See Zayn al-Din Mahmud Wasifi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1152-56.
32. For Sakhar, see *Heart and North-Western Afghanistan*, ed., Ludwig W. Adamec, Graz, Austria, 1975, pp. 348-49.
33. For Tulak, see *ibid.*, pp. 425-26.
34. According to A. S. Beveridge (B.N., p. 492, n. I.), Dhu al-Nun captured Shal in 884/ 1479; but she does not mention any authority for this apparently incorrect statement.
35. On p. 337 of B.N., Mastung is mistakenly called modern Quetta. In fact, Quetta is the present name of the Shal of olden times.
36. Siwi or Sibi owes its name to a tribe which lived there in ancient times. For this tribe, see N. M. Billimoria, "Some Ancient Tries of Sapta sindhu", *Journal of Sind Historical society*, VII/1-2 (Jully 1944), pp.33-34, Erskine (vol-I, pp.342, 347, 385) almost invariably, and Beveridge (*B.N.*, P. 427), at least occasionally, confound this town with another place called Siwistan or Sihwan.

    T.S. (p. 81) does not mention Siwi after Shal and Mastung and Ansar Zahid Khan (p. 22, n. 4), little realizing that it owes al its information to R.S., vol. VII and H.S., vol. III, iii on the basis of T.S., tries to refute the capture of Siwi by Dhu al-Nun mentioned in the *Habib al-Siyar!*
37. Babur writes that Dhu al-Nun's "son Shah-i-shuja' Arghun used to move about with him and even in childhood used to chop away with his sword. The Mirza [Sultan Husayn] favoured Shah-i-shuja and, somewhat against Zu'n-nun's wishes, joined him with his father in the government of Qandahar."B.N, p. 274.
38. According to T.F. (Maqalah viii, p. 321), he revolted against Sultan Husayn and then distributed these territories among his retainers.
39. R.S., vol. VII, p. 91; H.S., vol. III, iii, p. 238.
40. B.N., pp. 57, 60.
41. R.S., vol. VII, pp. 119-23; H.S., vol. III, iii, pp. 250-52.
42. B.N., p. 61.
43. R. S., vol. VII, p. 143; H. S., vol.III, iii, p. 260.
44. R. S., vol. VII, p. 149; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 263; *T.S.*, p. 84; *T.F.*, Maqalah viii, p. 321.
45. B. N., p. 70; R.S., vol. VII, p. 149; *H. S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 263. For Khusrau's antecedents see B. N., pp. 49-50 et seq.
46. According to a story which appears in T.S., pp. 81-84 (also see.T.N., pp. 8-9;

death, was that he anticipated an outbreak of hostilities among his sons; in which case, he thought, he could get hold of some of their territories. However, as he reached Jurwan (=Juruwan, for which see *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* p. 424) and learnt about the massing of troops by the Mirza's sons on the bank of the Murghab, Babur turned his reins towards Marw al-Rud and sent an envoy to inform them of his arrival. Among those who were forthwith dispatched to receive the King of Kabul were Mir Ahmad Baranduq Barlas and Amir Dhu al-Nun. R. S., vol. VII, p. 315; H. S., vol. III, iii, pp. 354-55. Also see B. N., pp. 296-97.

79. R. S., vol. VII, pp. 310-11; H. S., vol. III, iii; p. 253. Cf. *The Islamic Dynasties,* where the A. H. year of the termination of Sultan Husayn's reign is wrongly mentioned as 912. Moreover, the book fails to take notice of the dual succession of Badi al-Zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husayn Mirza to the throne of their father. Dhu al-Nun and Muhammad Baranduq were respectively appointed the Lords of the Gates of the two Mirza's. See B. N., pp. 292-93; R. S., vol. VII, pp. 304-06; H. S., vol. III, iii, pp. 351-52.

Indian chronicles, such as T. A., vol. III, p. 519; T. F., Maqalah viii, p. 321; and M. U., vol. III, p. 303, refer to Dhu al-Nun as Sultan Husayn Bayqara's *Amir al-Umara',* Commander-in Chief and guardian of his son, Badi al-Zaman Mirza; and some modern authorities (e.g. Blochmann, vol. I, p. 389, and H. A. T. S., p. 252) have also been tempted to use these titles with his name, but none of the contemporary sources refer to the *official* bestowal of any of these positions on Dhu al-Nun during the reign of Sultan Husayn Bayqara. Probably the highest office Dhu al-Nun ever held at the *Timuvid* court of Harat was the Lordship of Badi al-Zaman Mirza's Gate. For hi attitude after the assumption of this office, see *B. N.,* p. 326.

80. R. S., vol. VII, pp. 310-11; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 353. Also see *B. N.,* p. 296.
81. R. S., vol. VII, p. 311; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 353.
82. R. S., vol. VII, p. 316.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.,* pp. 312-13; 316-17.
85. *Ibid.,* p. 317.
86. H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 357. The Tehran edition of the R. S., vol. VII, p. 331, has *A. H.* 911, which is incorrect.
87. R. S., vol. VII, p. 322; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 357.
88. B. N., p. 327.
89. See R. S., vol. VII, pp. 323-24; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 357; B. N., pp. 327-28.
90. R. S., vol. VII, pp. 322-23; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 357; B. N., p. 327; *T. S.,* pp. 101-02.
91. R. S., vol. VII, pp. 325-26; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 358.
92. R. S., vol. VII, p. 324; H. S., vol. III, iii, p. 357.
93. T. S., p. 102; R. S., vol. VII, p. 345.
94. R. S., vol. VII, p. 345. From Qandahar, Badi al-Zaman Mirza returned to Shuja Beg's uncle, Amir Sultan Ali Arghun, the ruler of Sistan, who extended some paltry assistance to his erstwhile overlord and enabled him to make his way to Astarabad. The Mirza spent about one year at Astarabad; but then, frightened by the imminent attack of Shibani Khan on that region, fled to Shah Isma'il's court, then in Adharbayjan. After spending three to four months in Adhrbayjan, the Mirza moved to Ray, whence he subsequently returned to Astarabad, where he was defeated by the Uzbek governor of the region. He then took refuge at the Sammah court of Sind in 918/1512-13 (The Nawalkishore edition of T.F., Maqalah viii, p.320,

erroneously attributes this visit to the year 928/1521-22) . Here, the Mirza enjoyed the hospitality of Jam Firuz for about one year; then retraced his steps to Khurasan, where he waited upon Shah Isma'il for the second time in 919/1513-14 (Ghulam Sarwar, History of *Shah Isma'il Safawi*, Aligarh, 1939, omits the first visit of the Mirza to the Safawid court and ascribes the second visit mistakenly to the year 916/1510. See ibid., p. 64) . When Shah returned to Adharbayjan, the Mirza also accompanied him Back in Adharayjan, he took up residence at Shumb-i Ghazan and the Shah settled upon him a daily allowance of 1,000 *tankahs* from the treasury of Tabriz. After the "Safawid defeat in the battle of Chaldiran, in Rajab 920/September 1514 (See Ghulam Sarwar, *op. cit.*,p. 83), the ottoman Sltan Salim took Badi' al-zaman to Istanbul, where he died from the plague within a few months, R. S., vol. VII, pp. 347, 351-52; *H. S.*, vol. III. Iii, pp. 367-68.

95. B. N., p. 330.
96. T. S., p. 120. Mir. Ma'sum adds that Shibani sent three horses, a dress of honour and a tent for Shah Beg, through his emissaries, 'Abd al-Hadi Khawajah and Timur Tash Apprehending that the real purpose of Shibani's envoys might be to acquire first hand information about his strength and defence capability, Shah Beg forthwith sent for his troops from different quarters and came out to receive the Uzbek envoys with great pomp and circumstance. He received them on the outskirts of Qandahar and, after entertaining them for three days, dismissed them from there.
97. T. R., p. 202.
98. A cousin of Babur, found guilty of disloyalty and banished to Khurasan. See B.N., pp. 313-20.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 331-32.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-37; R. S. vol. VII, p. 342; *T. S.*, p. 103.
101. The battle was fought at a place called Jalik which was situated at a distance of half a *farsakh* from Qandahar. R. S., vol. VII, p. 342, cf. T. F., Maqalah ii, p. 199; Briggs, vol. II, p. 18.
102. B. N., p. 332; T. R., p. 202; R. S., vol. VII, p. 342; T. S., p. 103; T. F., Maqalah ii, p. 199.
103. B. N., p. 338; *R. S.*, vol. VII, p. 342; *H. S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 365, A. A. A., vol. I, p. 191; T. S., p. 103; *T. F.*, Maqalah ii, p. 199; Briggs, vol. II, p. 18. *Cf* Riazul Islam, p. 3; Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 26, where Nasir Mirza has been confounded with his son, Yadigar Nasir Mirza.
104. See *B. N.*, pp. 337-39.
105. T. S., p. 103.
106. R. S., vol. VII, pp. 342-43. According to Babur, Shah Beg went towards Shal (modern Quetta; cf. B. N., p. 337. T.F., Maqalah ii, p. 199 and Briggs, vol. II, p. 18, wrongly call this place Yasawal.) and Mastung, and Muqim towards Zamindawar, from where he went on and met Shibani Khan. (Shibani was not then at Zamindawar, as M. H. Siddiqi, "Chronology of Babur's Occupation of Qandahar and Expulsion of the Arghuns, *University Studies*, University of Karachi, III/1, April 1966, p. 4., wrongly suggests.) Shah Beg also sent envoy after envoy to the Uzbek chief to come to their rescue. See *B. N.*, pp. 337-39.

    M.H Siddiqi's suggestion that, from Shal' Shah Beg "organized attacks on Siwi (Sibi) and Fathpur" *(ibid)* is also anachronistic. He bases his conclusions on T.S., (pp. 104-105), which leaves little doubt that the invasion of Siwi was contemplated after Khurasan had already passed

'Ali Arghun had died sometime in 913/1507-08, after Shibani Khan's victorious return from Qandahar. This also explains why Shah Beg had to rush his experienced commanders to Qandahar from Siwi.

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

M. H. Siddiqi (*op. cit.*, p. 5) goes a step further, and on the basis of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana,* MS. No. 809 of the *Habib al-Siyar,* f. 460a, preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and several other works, writes that, as a punitive measure against Shah Beg's misconduct, "Shal and Mustang were plundered and Qandahar was invested" by Shah Rukh Beg Afshar, and "the siege was pressed on until Shah Beg submitted and agreed to read *khutba* and strike coins in the name of Shah Ismail." He also adds (*loc. Cit.,* n. 1) that Khwandamir even mentions that "Shah Beg agreed to profess Shi'i faith" (on this point, also see Riazul Islam, p. 15, n. 5) . Most of this information is either not included in the Bombay, 1273/1855-56, edition of the *Habib al-Siyar* or runs quite contrary to its contents. Apparently, this holds true of the Tehran, 1271/1854-55 edition, and the 'Abd al-Salam Collection MS. Of the Aligarh University Library as well; otherwise, it is presumed, Ghulam Sarwar (*op. cit.*, pp. xiii; 71, 114) would have alluded to this glaring discrepancy. If siddiqi's reference is not incorrect, then we are inclined to think that, either the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana,* MS. No. 809, contains some later interpolations or suffers from some anomaly in its identification.

134. After the completion of the Qandahar expedition, Shah Rukh was supposed to proceed to the help of Diw Sultan, who was executing a campaign against Balkh and Andikhwud; but since these two places had already fallen to Safawid arms, Shah Rukh marched back to Isfahan and informed Shah Ismail Safawi of his actions against Shah Beg. *H. S.,* vol. III, iv, p. 75.
135. Ansar Zahid Khan's assumption (pp. 23-24) that Bibi Zarif Khatun was Babur's cousin is not supported by any historical evidence. To accept her as Babur's cousin entails that she was married to Muhammad Muqim sometime in early 909/1503-4; and even if she bore him a daughter (Mah Begum) that same year, the latter would have been at the most, in the fourth year of her life at the time of her abduction from Qandahar and her subsequent marriage to Qasim Kukultash in 913/1507-8. If we go by M. H. Siddiqi's interpretation (*op. cit.*, pp. 3-4) of T. S., (pp. 104-5), this daughter of Zarif Khatun, by the time she was finally kidnapped, at the latest, by 916/1510, would have been in the seventh year of her life, whereas she had already had a baby daughter (Nahid Begum), who was 18 months old!
136. *T. S.*, pp. 105-7.
137. See *infra.*
138. *L. F.* Rushbrook-Williams, op. cit., p. 111.
139. *B. N.*, translator's note, pp. 364-65; *M. H.* Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
140. *T. S.*, pp. 109-10.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 110; *B. N.*, translator's note, p. 365.
142. *T. S.*, p. 111.
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*
145. *B. N.*, pp. 369, 383-84; 388, 395.
146. *T. S.*, p. 110, has 17 Dhiq'dah 921/23 December 1515, which is incongruous with the chain of events.

147. *Ibid.*
148. *B. N.*, p. 325.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
153. *T. S.*, p. 147. Cf. *B. N.*, translator's note, pp. 165-66.
154. see. *M. H.* Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
155. *T.S.*, p. 111.
156. See *H. N.*, tr., p. 92 and n.5.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 93 and n. 2; *H. S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 96.
158. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 99-100.
160. He was not an officer of Prince Tahmasb, as suggested by L.F. Rushbrook-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 119. See *H. S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 101.
161. *Ibid.*
162. According to *H. S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 103, Qandahar should have been transferred to Babur sometime between 2 Jumada I 928/30 March 1522 and 27 Jumad II 928/24 May 1522; but according to an inscription at Chihilzinah, in Qandahar, this event took place on 13 Shawwal 928/6 September 1522 (for inscription, see Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bakhari, Hyderabad, Sind, 1979. (plate 84) . For details, see B. N., translator's note, p. 436 and appendix J; Riazul Islam, p. 18, n. 3.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Mir Ma'sum's account of the surrender of Qandahar to Babur (*T.S.*, pp. 111-12) is, however altogether different, a fact which impels us all the more to believe that he probably did not have access to *H. S.*, and whatever there is common between his *Tarikh-i Sind* and Khwand Mir's *Habib al-Siyar*, both of them have independently plagiarized from the *Raudat al-Safa* of Mir Khwand. However that may be, according to Ma'sum, during the last siege of Qandahar by Babur (which he wrongly puts in 922/1516; on this point see B. N., translator's note, pp. 431, 435; Riazul Islam, p. 15, n. 6), it was agreed between Shaykh Abu Sa'id Purani, from Shah Beg's side, and Khwajahs Khudawand Mahmud and 'Abd al-'Azim, from Babur's side, that the following year Shah Beg would peaceably surrender Qandahar to Babur. Hence the latter lifted the siege, and Shah Beg, having shifted to Shal and Siwi in the meantime, in 923/1517 handed over the keys of Qandahar to Mir Ghiyath al-Din for delivery to Babur.

    Among other things, Mir Ma'sums's statement suffers from anachronism, because Shaykh Jamal al-Din Abu Sa'id Purani had already died at Qandahar, by falling from a roof (not"through the fall of a roof" as suggested by *A. S.* Beveridge in *B. N.*, p. 306, n. 2), in 921/1515-16. See *H. S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 345-46.
164. *Ibid.*, vol. III, iv, p. 103.
165. *H. S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 103 and *A. A. A.*, vol. 1. P. 91, charge him of unfaithfulness. Also see L.F. Rushbrook Williams, p. 119.
166. Erskine, vol. I, pp. 357-58.
167. *T. S.* pp. 111-12.
168. See *T. S.*, pp. 73-76; *T.T.*, pp. 51-56.
169. See *T. T.*, p. 308n.
170. A capable administrator, gallant soldier and resourceful general, Darya

226. *H. N.*, p. 49.
227. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 171.
228. 'Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Ta'rikh-i Sher Shahi*, tr., Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya, Patna, 1974, pp. 466-67.
229. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 172.
230. *Ibid*; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 47; *H. N.*, p. 50; Jauhar, pp. 55-56.
231. *T. S.*, p. 167.
232. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
233. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 173.
234. *T. S.*, pp. 167-68.
235. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 173; *T. S.*, pp. 168-69; *T. A.*, vol. II, pp. 47-48.
236. *T. S.*, p. 169.
237. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-71.
238. Jauhar, pp. 58-59; *H. N.*, pp. 52-53; *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 174.
239. *T.S.*, p. 171.
240. *Ibid.*, *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 48; *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 174.
241. According to *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 174, Humayun promised to give Yadigar Nasir one-third of his Indian Empire, when it had been reconquered, and on reaching Kabul, in the near future, to bestow on him Ghazni, Kabul and Lohgarh, which had been left to his mother by Babur.
242. *Ibid.*; T. A., vol. II, p. 48.
243. This happened in the latter half of Jumada I 948/August 1541. See *A. N.*, vol. I, pp. 174-75.
244. See *ibid.*, vol.I, p. 176; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 49; *T. S.*, pp. 171-72.
245. See *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 176; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 49; *T. S.*, pp. 171-72.
246. *H. N.*, p. 53.
247. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 49, *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 176.
248. *T. S.*, p. 173.
249. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
250. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 176.
251. *T. S.*, p. 174; *T. A.*, vol. II, pp. 49-50.
252. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 177.
253. *T. S.*, pp. 174-75.
254. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
255. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 51.
256. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 178, has: Gandum and Halah. Also see *T. T.*, pp. 85, 320n.
257. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 178. Earlier an armed conflict between him and the Emperor was scarcely averted through the intervention of one of the Mirza's trusty comrades. See *ibid.*; T.A., vol. II, p. 51.
258. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 179.
259. For details, see Kalikaranjan Qanungu, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-77.
260. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 182; T. S., p. 177.
261. *H. N.*, p. 48.
262. *T. S.*, p. 177.
263. *H. N.*, p. 48.
264. *T. S.*, p. 178.
265. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 185.
266. *T. S.*, p. 179.
267. As it took two days to transfer the entire army across the river, the actual journey towards Qandahar started only on 9 Rabi I 950/12 June 1543. See *T. S.*, p. 180.

268. *B. N.*, p. 645.
269. See. *A. N.*, vol. I, pp. 189-90; *T. S.*, p. 181. Also see *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 56.
270. *T. S.*, p. 181.
271. *A. N.*, vol. I, p. 200.
272. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 241; H. N., p. 76; M. T., vol. I, p. 449. Cf. T. A., vol. II, p. 65.
273. *T. S.*, p. 182.
274. For details, see Avasthy, pp. 357-77.
275. *T. A.*, vol. II, pp. 78-79.
276. Avasthy, p.477
277. Bayazid Biyat, *Tadhkirah-i Humayun wa Akbar*, ed., M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 156-60.
278. See H. A. T. S., p. 110, n. 3.
279. T. S., p. 183.
280. *Ibid.* According to Khwajah Hasan Nithari Bukhari, Kamran was buried in the Guristan-i-Mughulan. See his Mudhakkar-i-Ahbab, ed., S.M. Fadl Allah, Hyderabad Deccan, n. d., p. 117.
281. T. S., p. 183
282. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
283. See *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556*, tr., A. Vambery, London, 1899, p. 37. According to Sidi Ali Reis during the last five years, the Mirza had become an invalid and was unable to mount his horse. He only went about on that the Mirza suffered from this disease throughout his life.
284. *T. S.* pp. 183-85: T. T., pp. 90-94.
285. See Avasthy, pp. 480-84.
286. *T. S.*, pp. 178-79 According to Tahir Nisyani (*T.T.*, pp. 88-90) the services rendered by 'Isa Tarkhan to Humayun before the latter's departure from Sind for Khurasan earned him a royal decree from Humayun, whereby the country of Sind was bestowed on the Mirza for six generations.
287. *T.T.*, p. 93.
288. *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Amiral*, & c., pp. 37-79. The name of the fort Taghrabad, is wrongly given as Nasrabad in The *Travels*.
289. See *Diwan-i Bayram Khan*, ed., Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, and Muhammad Sabir Karachi, 1971, pp. 38-39 and n. 1 on p. 39.
290. See *T. S.*, pp. 186-87, 189, 221; *T. T.*, pp. 92-93.
291. *T.S.*, p. 191; T. T., p. 93.
292. *T. S.*, p. 190.
293. *Travels*, & c., p. 39.
294. *Ibid.*; T. S.,p. 190.
295. *T.S.*, p. 191.
296. *T.S.*, p. 191. The gold-embroidered dress of honour bestowed by Sultan Husayn Bayqara on Mir Dhu al-Nun was presented by Shah Beg Arghun to Jam Firuz See ibid., p. 116.
297. A standard adorned with the tails of Tibetan yaks which is bestowed on great nobles. See Blochmann, p. 52.
298. Mir Ma'sum, at one place, mentions Monday, 12 Rabi I 962/4 February 1555 as the date of Mirza Shah Hasan's death (*T. S.*, p. 192) ; yet, at another place (p. 207) in the same book, he puts his death in the beginning *(awa'il)* of Jumada I 992 (Jumada I 992 started on 11 May 1584), On the other hand, by a compromise of various approximate dates mentioned by 'Ali Reis and

Ma'smi, M.H. Siddiqi has tried to establish 9 Jumda I 962/1 April 1555 as the alternative date of death of the Arghun chief (see his H. A. T. S., pp. 123, n. 5; 131; 247-48) and some scholars (e.g., Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, *Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari ki zindagi ka ek pihlu, Nadhr-i Hamid Ahmad Khan*, ed., Ahmad Nadim Qasimi, Lahore, 1980, p. 51) have accepted it, too. Since the very premise of Siddiqi is based upon the wrong assumption that *awakhir-i mah-i Safar* ('the last days of the month of Safar') means "the last day of Safar" [sic.] (H. A. T. S., p. 247), his conclusion seems rather far fetched. And as Rabi' I 962 falls on Monday, we, like Hodivala (vol. I, pp. 127-28), feel inclined to accept it as the correct date of Shah Hasan's death.

299. *T. S.*, p. 192.
300. This place lies about 6 miles from Tando Muhammad Khan in *Guni parganah* which is about 40 miles north-east of Thattah. See Hodivala, vol. I, p. 127.
301. *Travels*, & c., p. 42. Shah Hasan wrote to the Padishah to assure him of his unalterable loyalty". idem.
302. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 49.
303. See *T. S.*, pp. 178-79.
304. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-94.
305. Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portugese and India*, & c., London, 1894, vol.I, p. 508, quoted in T. T., pp. 326-27n. Also see *T. S.*, pp. 207-8, 222; *T. T.*, pp. 111-14; *T. K.*, pp. 135-36. This incident took place in 963/1556.
306. *T. S.*, pp. 223-24; *H. A. T. S.*, pp. 154-58 with all relevant notes.
307. *T. S.*, pp. 229-30.
308. See *infra*. In his petition to Shah Tahmasb, he reminded him of his ancestral sincerity and devotion (*Izhar-i husn-i 'aqidat wa ikhlas-i mauruthi...numudah)* . A. A.A., vol. I p. 116.
309. For a fuller treatment of the subject, see Riazul islam, "Iran and the Mughul Frontier Provinces (A study of Diplomatic Contacts)," in *Miscellanea in Honorem Ibrahim Purdavud*, Tehran, 1976, pp. 110-14; Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi's article referred to above in n. 298.
310. See *T. S.*, pp. 233-34.
311. *Ibid.*, p. 223. In the Safawid list of precedence, the title of Khan ranked higher than that of Sultan. See *H. S.*, vol. III, iv. P. 96.
312. For his life and career, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 24-25.
313. For the text of Shah Tahmasb's letter to Akbar in this regard, See *T. K.*, pp. 496-98. Also see Riazul islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations (1500-1750)*, Tehran, 1979, p. 97. Besides a reference in this letter, no other Indian or Persian source confirms the bestowal of this title on sultan Mahmud by Akbar. In the *farman* of Akbar sent to Sultan Mahmud in connection with Nahid Begum's visit to Thattah via Bhakkar, the following titles precede his name (which has been omitted by Namakin):

    *"Umdat al-*Mulk *Rukn al-Saltanat al-Qahirah wa 'Aduddaulat al-Bahirah Zubdat at-Mukhlisin fi'lDauran La'iq al-i tibar wa' I Ihsan Qudwat al-Khawanin al-uzzam bayn al-aqran Mubariz al-Din... See Munsha'at al-Namakin, op. cit.*, p. 11.
314. *T. S.*, p. 223.
315. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.
316. *A. N.*, vol. II. pp. 278-79.
317. According to Mir Ma'sum (*T. S.*, p. 244), he was sent by Sultan Husayn Mirza Qandahari.
318. *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 240. Cf. *T. A.*, vol. II, pp. 232-33; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I. p. 167.
319. She came to see her mother after a long time *(muddat-i-madid)*. See Akbar's

farman referred to above in n. 313.

320. *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 362; *T. S.*, pp. 211, 226; *T. N.*, p. 55.
321. See above, n. 319
322. *A. N.*,vol. II, p. 362; *T. N.*, p. 55.
323. *T. T.*, p. 115; *T. S.*, pp. 210-11; *T. N.*, pp. 51-52.
324. *T.S.*, p. 211; *T. N.*, pp. 52-55; *T. T.*, pp. 118-21.
325. *T. S.*, p. 213; *T. N.*, pp. 59-63; *T. T.*, p. 131.
326. *T. T.*, pp. 131-37.
327. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
328. See *ibid.*, p. 121; *T. N.*, p. 59.
329. *T. S.*, pp. 211, 213; *T. N.*, p. 56; *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 278.
330. *T. S.*, p. 211; *T. N.*, p. 56.
331. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 232; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 167.
332. She was previously married to and separated from Najabat Khan. See *T. S.*, p. 212; *T. N.*, p. 56, n.I.
333. *T. N.*, p. 56.
334. *Ibid., p. 57; T. T., pp. 126-27.*
335. *Beg. N.*, pp. 107-14. Also see *T. S.*, p. 212; *T. N.*, p. 57; *T. T.*, pp. 128-29.
336. *T. S.*, p. 212; *T. N.*, p. 58.
337. *T. S.*, p. 212; *T. N.*, p. 58; *Beg. N.*, p. 122.
338. *T. S.*, p. 212; T. N., p. 58. Cf. *Beg. N.*, p. 123; *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 362.
339. *T. S.*, p. 213; *T. N.*, p. 59; *Beg. N.*, p. 124. Cf. *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362.
340. *T. S.*, p. 227: *T. N.*, p. 59. Also see *Beg. N.*, p. 123.
341. See. *T. A.* vol. II, p. 233; *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 362; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 167; *M. U.*, vol. III, pp. 239-40. According to *Tarkhan Namah* (p. 59), some Arghuns disaffected with Mirza Baqi and then staying at Bhakkar accompanied the Begum to the Mughul court.
342. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. p. 233; *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 362.
343. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 233; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 167-68. Cf. *T. S.*, p. 227; *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 240.
344. *T.S.*, p. 227.
345. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168.
346. *T. S.*, p. 227
347. *Ibid.*; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168. *Cf. M. U.*, vol. III, p. 240.
348. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168, has Ra' epad Qanungu.
349. *T. S.*, p. 228.
350. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
351. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
352. *Ibid.*, p. 229. Also see *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168; *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 241.
353. For I'timad Khan, see *H. A. T. S.*, p. 165, n. 4.
354. *T. S.*, pp. 229-33. Also see *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 36.; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168; *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 241.
355. *A. N.*, vol. II, p. 363; *T. S.*, p. 233.
356. For his antecedents, see *M. U.*, vol. III, pp. 323-24.
357. *T. S.*, p. 233.
358. *T.S.*, p. 235; A.N., vol. III, p. 91. According to A. N. (vol. II, p. 91) and M. U., (vol. II, p. 242), Sultan Mahmud offered the fort of Bhakkar as a present to the young Prince Salim.
359. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 91; *M. U.*, vol. II, p. 242.
360. *T. S.*, pp. 235-36.

417. "Between the towns of Laki and Sihwan the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some place so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839." A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Scind*, p. 686. Also see T. T., pp. 181-82; A. N., vol. III, p. 601; *T. N.*, p. 77; Maz. Sh., pp. 60-61.
418. *Abu al-Fadl* also refers to it as the 'gate to the country of Sind.' See A. N., vol. III, p. 601.
419. *T. S.*, p. 252; T. A., vol. II, p. 414; *T. F.*, Maqalah ii, p. 267; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180; Beg. N., p. 231; T. N., p. 71 According to the latter, the Mirza advanced at the head of 60,000 horse, 300 *ghurabs*, and a large number of boats full of fighting men, artillery and other equipment.
420. *T. S.*, p. 252; T. A., vol. II, p. 414; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35; *T. F.*, Maqalah viii, p. 323; Cf. ibid., Maqalah ii, p. 267; M. R., vol. II, pp. 346, 360. According to T. T., p. 181, the Khan-i Khanan lifted the siege, because as long as other parts of Sind, and its ruler were not subdued, the conquest of Sihwan was meaningless.
421. Beg. N., p.232.
422. I. D. C., p. 103.
423. Beg. N., p. 332.
424. T. S., p. 252; M. R., vol. II, p. 346; I. D. C., p. 103. Cf. T. N. p. 71. T. A., vol. II, p. 414, T. F., Maqalah ii, p. 268, and *ibid.*, Maqalah viii, p. 323, are reticent about the name of the place, and confine themselves to saying that the Mirza constructed a fort on the bank of the Indus at a place which was surrounded by water and morass. It may be mentioned here, however, that 'buhri' or 'Kuhri' is the word used in Sindhi to denote a pool of water on the bank of a river left behind by a flood. N. A. Baloch identifies Buhri with a place now called bohriyon situated near Uderolal, the modern name for Jahejah. See T. T., p. 334n.
425. Beg. N., p. 232.
426. Original: *chhallah*, which is variously translated by scholars, but the translation that fits the context, as suggested by Hodivala, is 'quagmire, quicksands, slough or morass.' See Hodivals, vol. I, p. 113. T. N., p. 232, refers to it as *Jumjumah*.
427. Beg. N., p. 232.
428. He held a *mansab* of 500 under Akbar (A. A., vol. I, p. 163) while he was still a prince. Jahangir married the Raja's daughter and bestowed on her the title of *Malikah-i Jahan* (Queen of the World. On his death, Rawal Bhim was survived by a two month-old son, but he too died soon. In 1025/1616, Jahangir summoned Bhim's younger brother, Lakyan, and exalted him with the tika of Raja and the title of Rawal. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 325-26, Tuzuk, pp. 159-60.
429. Holder of a *Mansab* of 500 under Akbar (A. A., vol. I, p. 163) . Subsequently, he broke into rebellion and was arrested and hanged in 1021/1612. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 215.
430. *T. S.*, p. 252; *T.N.* p. 71; *I D. C.*, p. 103. Cf. *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 360; *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 414 Dh. Kh., vol.I, p.35 suffers from a Lacuna.
431. See T. T., pp. 179-80.
432. *T. N.*, pp. 71-72.
433. *Ibid.* According to *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 414, it consisted of more than 100 *ghurabs* and 200 boats full of archers, gunners and heavy artillery. *Cf. T. S.*, p. 252;

M. R., vol. II, p. 360

434. See *T. T.*, 184.
435. *T. N.*, p. 72; *T. T.*, p. 184. Nevertheless, there was also a rumour that the land forces were advancing under the personal command of Mirza Jani Beg. See *A. N.*, vol II, p. 602.
436. *T. N.*, p. 72; T. S., p. 252; *ba'd az waqt-i zawali; M. R.*, vol. II, p. 346; *waqt-i zawal-i aftab.* Except for the I. O. *MS.* 2747 of the *T. S.*, which records the date of this battle as "Shawwal 999"/July-August 1591, all the other MSS. Of the work leave a gap here (see H. A. T. S., p. 197, n.1) Abu al-Fadl (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 602) mentions the date of Khusrau Charkas's arrival as 21 Aban 1000/ 12 November 1591, which is also supported by *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 414, and *M. T.*, vol. II, p. 379. These last two works give 26 Muharram 1000/12 November 1591, i. e. one day after Khusrau Charkas arrived, as the date of the actual battle. Curiously enough, according to *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35 and M. R., vol. II, p. 362, the battle was fought on 6 Muharram 1000/24 October 1591. The fromer even *gives* 2 Aban of the 26 regnal year of Akbar as its corresponding Iranian month, and thus obviates all chances of ascribing this slip to the unfortunate scribes! Beveridge's conversions from the Hijrah to the Gregorian era are not correct (*A. N.*, tr., vol. III, p. 919, n. 4) and M. H. Siddiqi (H. A. T. S., p. 197, n. 1) has also quoted them uncritically.
437. *T. S.*, p. 252; *T. N.*, pp. 72-73.
438. *T. N.*, p. 73.
439. *T. S.*, p. 253. According to *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 346, this attack was launched by some *ghurabs*.
440. *T. S.*, p. 253; *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 602. Cf. A. N., tr., vol. III, p. 919.
441. *T. N.*, p. 73.
442. *T. S.*, p. 253; *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 602; *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 346. Cf. *T. N.*, p. 73, where no reference is made to this attempt.
443. *T. S.*, p. 253; A. N., vol. III, p. 602.
444. *T. S.*, p. 253; T. N., p. 73.
445. *T. N.*, p. 73 Cf. T. T. p. 185; I. D. C., pp. 105-6, n. 128; Hodivala, vol. I, pp. 122-23.
446. According to M. R., vol. II, p. 361, the explosion took place in one of Khusrau Khan's own boats.
447. *T. S.*, p. 253; T. N., pp. 73-74; A. N., vol. III, p. 603.
448. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 602. Cf. T. A., vol. II, p. 414; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35; M. R., vol. II, pp. 346, 361.
449. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 603; A. N., tr., vol. III, p. 920, n. 1; Hodivala, vol. I, p. 122; T. T., p. 185.
450. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 603 Also see *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 414; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35. Many of Khusrau Khan's men were taken prisoner (*M. R.*, vol. II, pp. 346, 361) ; and to celebrate the victory, the Khan-i Khanan raised a tower of the enemy's heads and held feasts. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 362.
451. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 603. Akbar was very keenly pursuing the fortunes of his army in this campaign, and restively waited for news from the front, which finally arrived on 13 Adhar 1000/4 December 1591. Ibid.
452. *T. S.*, p. 254; T. N., p. 74; M. R., vol. II, pp. 346, 362. Cf. T.a., vol. II, p. 414. According to Abu al-Fadl the fort was invested on 9 Adhar 1000/30 November 1591. See A. N., vol. III, p. 606.
453. According to a contemporary account. 'sabat' is a word used to describe two walls whose foundations are laid at a distance of about one musket

522. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 634.
523. *Ibid.*; also see T.T., pp. 200-1.
524. *T. N.*, p. 80 T.T., pp. 199-200. According to *T. S.*, p. 256, they met near Fathbagh.
525. *Beg. N.*, p. 241.
526. *T. N.*, p. 80.
527. *Cf. T. S.*, p. 256.
528. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 634.
529. For his reign and achievements, see Nasr Allah Falsafi, *Zindagani-i Shah 'Abbas*, Tehran, 1353 H. Sh., 5 volumes.
530. *M. R.*, vol. II.
531. *T. N.*, pp. 81-82. In his letter dated 12 Adharmah of the 37th regnal year of Akbar, Abu al—Fadl urges the Khan-i-Khanan to bring Mirza Jani to the royal court as early as possible. *See Har sih daftar-i Abu al-Fadl, op. ci.*, p. 139.
532. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 634.
533. *Ibid.*
534. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
535. *T. A.*, vol. II, p. 421: 9 Farwardin.
536. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 634.
537. *Beg. N.*, p. 243; A. N., vol. III, p. 637.
538. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 644. For his particulars, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 20-23; *M. U.*, vol. III, pp. 328-34; Blochmann, *pp.* 326-27.
539. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 637.
540. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 642. Cf. *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 376, which erroneously has Diul and Thattah.
541. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 642. Cf. *T. S.*, p. 257; *T.N.*, p. 83; *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 376. According to the latter three works, the entire *wilayat* of Thattah was given back to Mirza Jani.
542. *T. N.*, p. 83.
543. *T. T.*, p. 202.
544. He started his career at the Mughul court with a *mansab* of 3,000 (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 637; A. A., vol. I, p. 160; M. R., vol. II, p. 376; M. R. vol. II, p. 349, erroneously has 4, 000) . The Mirza received a promotion to a *mansab* of 3,500 in 1005/1597 (A. N., vol III, p.721; Kewalram, s.v. Tarkhan Mirza Jani). In Contrast, T.S., p.257 (also see H. A. T. S., p. 205, and n. 3 on that page), wrongly gives the impression that the Mirza started his career with a rank of 4, 000 or 5,000 as Siddiqi has translated it "4, 000 Personality and 5,000 Horse." M. H. Siddiqi (H. A. T. S., p. 205, n.3) speculates that apparently Mirza Jani "held both the Commands-4,000 Personality *(dhat)* and 5,000 Horse *(sawar)* "; but this is not correct, because the *sawar* rank could, at most, equal the *dhat* rank of a *mansabdar*, but never exceed it. For a fuller discussion, see Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughul Army, Delhi*, 1972, repr., p. 47 ff. from T.N., p.83, Dh.Kh., Vol.I, p.179 and Tuzuk, p.33, one gathers that the Mirza was awarded a mansab of 5,000 at the very outset this, too, militates against the evidence of Abu al-Fadl.
545. From T. N., p. 83, *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 179 and *Tuzuk*, p. 33, one gathers that the Mirza was awarded a *mansab* of 5,000 at the very outset; this, too, militates against the evidence of Abu al-Fadl.
546. *M. R.*,vol. II, pp. 342, 348; t. s., p. 257; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 37; t. N., p. 83; Tuzuk, p. 8.
547. *M. T.*, vol. II, p. 304.

548. In 1001/August 1595 the Mirza, together with other Mughul nobles was deputed to receive Muzaffar Husayn Mirza Qandahari after his defectin to Akbar's court (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 671) ; otherwise, he does not seem to have ever been entrusted with a position of responsibility.
549. See the remark attributed to him about the fort of Asir in *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180. Also see n. 583 below.
550. See *M. N.*, p. 519n.; *Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan aur uski bazm-i adab, op. cit.*, p. 124. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 783, mentions 13 Bahman 1009, which corresponds to 2 February 1601. Also see T. S., p. 257; H. A. T. S., p. 206, n. 1.
551. *T. T.*, p. 209.
552. See M. N., p. 519n.
553. Previously, he had been a member of the embassies sent by Akbar to the rulers of Great Tibet (Ladakh) and Little Tibet (Baltistan), and after the death of Akbar, when Jahangir assigned the government of Qandahar to Mirza, Baba Talib also went there, and he was appointed the Mir 'Adl of Qandahar and the Punjab. It may be mentioned here that a part of Multan, in the Punjab, was also included in the *jagir* of the Mirza. See Mulla Qati'i Harawi, op. cit.,pp. 214-17n.; A. N., vol. III, pp. 552, 731; A. N., tr., vol. III, pp. 838, 1091; B. M. MS. Or 3397, s. v. Baba Talib Isfahani.
554. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 783; *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 250; T. T., p. 238.
555. *T. T.*, p. 239.
556. See Asad Beg Qazwini, *Risalah-i Ta'rikh*, B. M., MS.
557. Cf. Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, *Mirza Ghazi beg Tarkhan aur uski bazm-i adab*, op. cit., p. 44, where the author expresses the opinin that Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan II might also have been responsible for spreading rumours about the intentions of Mirza Ghazi Beg. But this does not seem possible since Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan arrived at Akbar's court (cf. Dh. Kh., vol. II, p. 210; M. U., vol. III, p. 485) in 1012/1603-4 (T. N., p. 96), that is, after the departure of Sa'id Khan Chaghattah.
558. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 810.
559. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 10.
560. For his particulars, see *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 34.
561. *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 345; *T. T.*, p. 242. He was married to a daughter of Mirza 'Aziz Kukah (*A.N.*, vol. III, p.802. *Cf. Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 250) . For his life, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 250-52; 291; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 73, 183, 197.
562. *M. R.*, vol. II, p. 350.
563. *Ibid.*
564. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 190; *Tuzuk*, p. 109.
565. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 112; P. U. MS., f. 301.
566. *T. T.*, p. 241.
567. *Infra.*
568. *Ibid.*
569. *T. T.*, p. 241.
570. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 112; *P. U.* MS. f. 301.
571. *T. T.*, p. 241.
572. See n. 570, above.
573. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 190.
574. *T. T.*, pp. 241-42; Dh. Kh., vol. I, p. 190; M. U., vol. II, p. 410.
575. According to M. U., vol. III, p. 346, the Mirza was 17 years old at that time.
576. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 839.
577. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 21; T. T., p. 242.

Ramdan has throughout been confounded with that of Shawwal. The same error has crept into *Mirza Ghazi Beg, & c.*, p. 87.

610. *Tuzuk*, p. 63; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 133; *M. J.*, p. 110, n. 4. Cf. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 22; *T. N.*, p. 90; *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 345-46.
611. *Tuzuk*, p. 63; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 133; *M. J.*, p. 110.
612. *Tuzuk*, pp.62-63; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 131, 133.
613. Dh. Kh., vol. I, p. 22; M. U., vol. III, p. 345. Also see T. N., p. 90.
614. A collection of flags, arms and insignia which followed a royal march. See Blochman, p. 52, n. 4.
615. *T. N.*, pp. 90-91.
616. *T. T.*, pp. 260-61.
617. *Tuzuk*, p. 72; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 151; M. J., p. 118.
618. *T. T.*, p. 261; Maz. Sh., p. 234; P. U. MS., ff. 392b-393a.
619. *T. T.*, p. 261.
620. *Ibid.*; Maz. Sh., p. 335; P. U. MS., f. 393a.
621. See *Infra*.
622. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 335; p. U. MS., f. 393a.
623. *T. T.*, p. 262.
624. For his particulars, see *Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan & c., op. cit.*, pp. 424-31.
625. *T. N.*, p. 91.
626. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 23; M. U., vol. III, p. 346.
627. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 23;
628. *T. T.*, p. 260.
629. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 29-30. Vincent A. Smith, op. cit., p. 235.n. 2, calls him a "dissolute scamp."
630. For an exhaustive biography of the Mirza, see Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan & c., op. cit.
631. *Ibid.*, p. 118. Authorities widely differ about his date of death. For a detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 114-19.
632. Authorities are divided about the manner of his death. According to some, he was poisoned, while others believe he died from excessive drinking. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 108-13.
633. *T. T.*, pp. 270-71; *T. N.*, p. 93. Also see *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 41-42; P. U. MS., f. 255.
634. Son of Mirza Farrukh, son of Mirza Shahrukh, son of Mirza Muahmmad Baqi Tarkhan. See T. N., p. 93.
635. *Ibid.*; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 24-25, 391. According to Shaykh Farid Bhakkari, it was feared that Bha'i Khan might hand over Qandahar to the Persians. See *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 24.
636. He fled to the Mughul court in 1012/1603, during the days of Akbar (*T. N.*, p. 96), and not during the reign of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan (d. 974/1566-67), as erroneously mentioned by *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 26, 210, and uncritically repeated by *M. U.*, tr., vol. III, p. 408-9.
637. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 211; *M. U.*, tr., vol. III, p. 409. The Emperor however, exalted him with a rank of 1, 000 personanel and 500 horse (Tuzuk, p. 110) . On the death of Jahangir, Shahjahan also appointed the Mirza as the governor of Thattah, but he was still on his way when he was recalled, and Shir Khwajah was dispatched instead. (*A. S.*, vol. I, pp. 239, 226; *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 486. Cf. P. U. MS. Shir Khwajah died on his way to Thattah, and Mir Husam al-Din Inju was sent to replace him (A. S., vol. I, p. 241) .
638. See *infra*.
639. See *T. N.*, p. 94.

640. The Persian text of the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* (p. 117) has two serious errors in this regard, and both these errors have gone undetected in English and Urdu translations of it. Firstly, in the original text, Mirza Jani has been wrongly transcribed as "Mirza Khani"and Tattah has been confounded with Patnah. In their English translation. (Tuzuk (R&B) . vol. I. p. 240) . Rogers and Beveridge arbitrarily change "Mirza Khani" to "Mirza Khan", but leave Patnah. I'jaz al-Hqq Quddusi (*Tuzuk*, tr., vol. I, p. 396), in his Urdu translation, seems to have followed Rogers and Beveridge on this point-Nevertheless, in the explanatory note that he has added on "Mirza Khan", the latter has been described as "Mirza Khan", b Mirza Iraj Shahnawaz Khan b. Khan-Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim Khan" (*ibid.*, p. 416. n. 4). The fact of the matter, however, is that 'Mirza Khani" is a transcriptional error for Mirza Jani, (Tarkhan ruler of Thattah and father of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan) . Similarly, Patnah is a misreading for Tattah (Thattah).

641. *T. N.*, p. 94. Jahangir (*tuzuk*, p. 117) makes no referece to his arrival.

642. *Tuzuk*, p. 117; *tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 240. Tuzuk, tr.,vol. I, p. 396, erroneously has 6 Rabi' I 1022.

643. Whereas Jahangir's own statement in the *Tuzuk* (p. 117) does not give any clue to the fate of Khusrau Khan Charkas, or any of his companions, according to T N., pp. 94-95, his son, Lutf Allah, and 'Abd al-'Ali Tarkhan were all three put to prison, where he subsequently, died. The latter two, however, were released on the intercession of Nur Jahan. 'Abd al-'Ali's services were placed at the disposal of Asaf Khan (d. 1051/1641), whom he served until his death-probably in 1039/1629-30, although the inscription on his grave in Thattah gives 9 Rajab 1040/11 February 1631 as the date of his death. See M. N., p. 540n.; T. K., p. 215. According to Shaykh Farid Bhakari, Lutf Allah was received very kindly by Jahangir (*Dh. Kh.*, vol II, pp. 23-24), while 'Abd al-'Ali was awarded life imprisonment (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 24-25; 391) . Bearing in mind the fact that Shaykh Farid Bhakkari completed his *Dh. Kh.* Some time around 1061/1650-51, and the *Tarkhan Namah* was completed in 1065/1654-55, several years after the death of 'Abd al-'Ali Tarkhan, the divergence of opinion between these two Sindhi authors is quite bewildering Neverthless, truth seems to be on the *Tarkhan Namah's* side. Being a history of the Tarkhans of Sind written on the request of one of the Tarkhan princes, Mirza Salih Tarkhan, it would not be unfair to assume that its author would have made necessary enquiries before committing anything to paper about 'Abd al-'Ali, who was a cousin of his pstron. Secondly, Shaykh Farid's statement suggest that 'Abd al-'Ali was languishing in prison at the time of the writing of the *Dhakhirat al-Khwann* unless it is accepted that he wrote his wrok over a number of years and did not find an opportunity to bring it up to date before his death, this is anachronistic, because Mirza 'Abd al-'Ali had died in 1039/1629-30 or 1040/1631. As far as Khusrau charkas is concerned, he might have been imprisoned to start with, but he seems to have died a free man, and was buried at Ajmer. See *T. K.*, p. 216. n.1.

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

Yusuf Mirak accompanied him but, finally, apprehending retaliation from Mirza Yusuf, he took leave of Ahmad Beg Khan at Samitani and, under the pretext of visiting Junejah, which lay in the *jagir* of his brother, headed for Multan, where Mir Abu al-Baqa acted as governor on behalf of Nawwab Asaf Khan. As soon as the real intention of Yusuf Mirak dawned upon Ahmad Beg Khan, he dispatched a special emissary to prevail upon him to return to Sihwan and, at the same time, instructed his subordinates at Bhakkar to intercept Mirak and dissuade him from proceeding to Multan. However, these frantic efforts unimpeded. From Multan, Mirak thought he would be able to undertake a journey to Agrah, where he wanted to inform the Emperor of the woeful condition to which Ahmad Beg and his depraved brother had reduced the people of Sihwan, but before long, Abu al-Baqa was ordered to take over as the governor of Thattah, and Ahmad Beg was sent to Multan to replace him.(10) Mir Abu al-Baqa was not a novice in the art of government, nor in the etiquette of court life and the conspiracies that surrounded it. Exxpediency did not permit him to let his brother proceed on his idealistic errand. Consequently, he took Yusuf Mirak to Thattah with him, and promised to send him to court as soon as suitable arrangements for such a journey had been made soon after his arrival at Thattah, Yusuf Mirak was taken ill. Meanwhile, on the one hand, Ahmad Beg and his brother's departure from Sihwan obviated the urgency of the expedition, and on the other, the fact that such an incompetent person as Ahmad Beg had been awarded the governorship of Multan, which was a far more important and prosperous domain than Sihwan, discourged Yusuf Mirak from pursuing the matter any further, the fact that he would have had to pass through Multan to reach the capital must also have dampened Mirak's enthusiasm. Giving up his original intention, he then vowed that, on his recovery, he would write a book about the affairs of Sindh and present it to the Emperor.(11) He did write the book, but it was not to be completed until 19 Muharram 1044/5 July 1634.(12) Whether he obtained the honour of presenting it to Shahjahan, to whom it was dedicated, and, if he did, how far his recommendations for the reform of Mughul administration in Sind were heeded, are questions to which, in the present state of our knowledge, no definite answers can be given. But given the fact that the book dealt at length with the misrule of Ahmad Beg Khan

and the brutalities of his brother, Mirza Yusuf, who were nephews of the Prime Minister, Nawwab Asaf Khan, and cousins to the Emperor's favourite queen, Nur Mahall, the odds are that it had not been considered expedient to bring it to the notice of Shahjahn. In any case, the original copy remained with the author until 1048/1638-39, when he finally made it over to his nephew, Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf, for safe custody.(13)

As long as Mir Abu al-Baqa' remained the governor of Thattah, Yusuf Mirak would seem to have stayed with him; but around Shawwal 1041/May 1632,(14) When the former was transferred to Junagadh, he accompanied him as far as the village Rahman, on the border of the desert of Kachh, whence he returned to Sihwan.(15) Here, as usual, he stood high in the favour of the new Mughul *Jagirdar*, Dindar Khan.(16) He admired the leniency, the piety and the humanitarian attitude of Dindar Khan, but lashed out at the weak rule and the misconduct of his officials.

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

2. His Father

Yusuf Mirak's father, Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin, was the first person of his family to set foot on Indian soil. He traced his origin to a distinguished branch of the Husayni Sayyids of Harat, whose main task it was to look after the shrine of the eighth Shi'i Imam, 'Ali al-Rida(17) (d.203/818), at Mashhad, in eastern Iran. The rise to power of Shibani Khan Uzbek,(18) in 906/1500-1 in Central Asia, heralded an era of strife and turmoil that lasted for a long time. An empire-builder cast in the mould of his ancestor, Chingiz Khan, Shibani Khan overran Samarqand, Bukhara, Tashqand and Farghanah in quick succession, and gradually brought the whole of Khurasan under his sway. In 913/1507-8, as we have seen earlier, he wrested Harat from the weak hands of the imbecile and mutually warring descendants of Sultan Husayn Bayqara; but, within a span of three years, he lost it to his sworn enemy, the Safawid dynast, Shah Isma'il. In a fierce battle that took place in 916/1510, Shibani Khan was killed, his body hacked to pieces, and the pieces dispatched to different parts of the Safawid Empire. His head was stuffed with straw and sent to the Ottoman Sultan

eastern provinces, he preferred to press on with the Gujarat campaign. Mun'im Khan-i Khanan was, however, directed to take necessary measures for the annexation of those regions to the Mughul Empire.(38) Sulayman was succeeded by his elder son, *Bayazid*, who, in sharp contrast to the policy of appeasement of the Mughuls successfully followed by his father over a number of years, assumed all the insignia of royalty and ordered the recitation of the *Khutbah* and the striking of coins in his own name. Though the nobility of Bangal soon supplanted him with his younger brother, Da'ud, the policy initiated under his reign was not abandoned.(39) In fact, emboldened by the enormous military might Sulayman Kararani had bequeathed to his sons, Da'ud went a step further and occupied the fort of Zamaniyah(40) on the frontiers of Jaunpur. The hostilities that ensued lasted almost four years, during which Akbar personally supervised the reduction of the forts of Hajjipur and Patnah in 982/1574.(41) This was followed a few months later by the famous battle of Tukaroi,(42) In Orisah, between Afghans and Mughuls. Included in the left wing of the Mughul army,(43) Mir Namakin, together with other generals, played a crucial role in turning an imminent Afghan victory into a disastrous defeat for them.(44) However, smouldering members of Afghan disaffection continued to flare up intermittently until, finally, Da'ud was captured and beheaded on 15 Rabi II 984/12 July 1576.(45) With this, Mir Namakin's association with the war effort in Bangal came to an end. The court chronicler, Abu al-Fadl, quite naturally, does not mention him by name in any significant context but available reference in the *Akbar Namah* leave little doubt about the value of his contributions. He seems to have generally served under the command of Raja Todar Mal; and barring the blunder in his response to a surprise attack of Junayd Kararani,(46) a cousin of Da'ud,(47) the Mir full justified the confidence placed in him by his colleagues and superiors. Nevertheless, a vague remark of Shaykh Farid Bhakkari suggests that, some time during the protracted warfare against Da'ud, a gold elephant-chain was found in the Mir's house, on account of which his standing with the Emperor suffered a setback.(48) The author of the *Ma'athir al-Umara'* reproduces this remark, like numerous other extracts from the *Dhakhirat al-Khwanin*, of Shaykh Farid Bhakkari, without any acknowledgement or analysis.(49) However, in the absence of any corroborative evidence in relatively

more contemporary sources, such as the *Akbar Namah*, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, or the *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, and bearing in mind the glowing tribute Akbar paid to the Mir at the time of his subsequent appointment to Bhakkar,[50] it may be surmised that either Shaykh Farid was misinformed, or, if there was any basis for such a report, the Mir succeeded in clearing his name honourably.

When, in the wake of important administrative and financial reforms introduced by Akbar, which were often mismanaged by his officers and much detested by some of his nobles, and as a direct consequence of a shift in his religious policies, which in the eyes of his opponents and the orthodoxy, verged on apostasy, his court became a hotbed of intrigue and especially the eastern provinces of Bangal and Bihar became involved in seditious conspiracy and armed insurrection,[51] the gallant Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin is seen stalking through the turmoil in Bangal. Here he served in the imperial army which inflicted a crushing blow on Ma'sum Khan Farankhwudi, one of the chief rebels.[52] Similarly, after the generals of the ruler of Kabul, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had twice invaded Mughul territory[53] and the Mirza had then himself made an attempt to take Lahore by storm,[54] when Akbar finally mustered and led probably the greatest army of his entire career[55] against the Mirza, at a time when disloyalty had widely infected the imperial camp,[56] the Mir was again among the outstanding generals chosen to spearhead the campaign, under the command of Prince Murad.[57] Following a stubbornly fought battle, these generals victoriously entered Kabul at the head of dedicated troops, and stamped out the rebellion once and for all. As far as the significance of the successful culmination of this campaign against Mirza Hakim is concerned, V.A. Smith[58] has aptly remarked that now "Akbar could feel that he had put all enemies under his feet, that his life and throne were secure, and that he could do what he pleased in religion and all other matters of internal administration. The success of the Kabul expedition gave him an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career. His power was now established so firmly that he was able to take extraordinary liberties with his people and defy criticism with absolute impunity."

Consequently, upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim's death on 16

of flouting Mughul authority, was spared his life and sent to prison instead.(76) The Mir, it seems, once again returned to Swat or thereabouts.

On 15 Farwardin 1001/14 April 1596 the Mir returned from his *tuyul* somewhere in the north-west, and obtained the privilege of an audience with the Emperor.(77) Shortly before him, the Khan-i Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim Khan had also returned from Sind with Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, the vanquished ruler of Thattah.(78) Consequently, the regions of Multan and Bhakkar, which had till then been in the *jagir* of the Khan-i Khanan, in order to facilitate his campaign in Sind, were now distributed by the Emperor between Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan and Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin. The Tarkhan chief received a *mansab* of 3,000 and was appointed the governor of Multan,(79) while the *sarkar* of Bhakkar, except for the *parganahs* of Darbelah, Kakri, and Chandukah, which belonged to the *jagir* of Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari,(80) passed under Mir Namakin as his new *jagir*, and he was also made responsible for the maintenance and defence of the fort of Bhakkar. Besides, all *jagirdars* within and around the area were instructed to extend all possible help to the Mir in his efforts to crush refractory elements.(81)

It was during his stay at Bhakkar that Mir Namakin, together with Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari, Sayyid Baha' al-Din Bukhari, the *tuyuldar* of Uchh, Bakhtiyar Beg, the *iqta'dar* of Siwistan, and other soldiers from the province of Multan, was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against the Panni Afhgans of Siwi. Siwi was a frontier outpost which lay on the route to Qandahar, whose possession had developed into an issue of honour and prestige between the rulers of two mighty empires of Asia, the Safawid and the Mughul. Traditionaly, it was a dependency of Bhakkar; but encouraged by the weakness of successive *Jagirdars* of Bhakkar, it had gradually slipped out of Mughul control. Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl reasserted Mughul authority through and expedition led by his son in 984/1576,(82) but this phase did not last long. In 997/1588-89, Shiruyah Sultan made a half-hearted attempt to recapture the town, sending a not very well equipped army under the command of his son, Muhammad Husayn Beg, but the latter sustained heavy losses and the entire campaign ended in a fiasco.(83)

This further emboldened the Afghans, who became virtually

independent from Mughul rule. Distinguished veteran that Mir Namakin was of campaigns against the hardy Afghan and Baluches stretching over more than a decade, it was he who was now chosen to lead an expedition against the Afghans. To start with, the Mir exacted submission he arrived on 3 Isfand 1003/22 February 1595. The Panni Afghans came out of the fort of Siwi to fight with a strength of 5,000 men; but after only a short engagement, they retreated back into the fort. When the Mughul troops began to storm the fort, the garrison surrendered without further resistance.(84) Mir Namakin imposed a fixed seasonal tribute on the Afghans, which continued to be realized from them at least up to 1044/1634-35.(85) The successful execution of this campaign not only stamped out a possible source of concern in a sensitive border region, but also convinced the wavering Safawid prince, Muzaffar Husayn Mirza,(86) of the inadvisability of any hostile action in this area, especially as it might ruin his negotiations with the Mughuls on terms for his defection to them.(87)

The Mir also put forward a proposal for the subjugation of the tract of Kich-Makran, which, though traditionally a part of Sind, extended only nominal loyalty to the Mughuls.(88) But, since this region bordered on the Safawid provinces of Kirman and Sijistan, and was in close proximity to the part of Hurmuz,(89) Akbar, According to Yusuf Mirak, in deference to his friendship with Shah 'Abbas I, did not allow this scheme to be put into operation.(90) The Shah, however, did not reciprocate these sentiments and, as soon as an opportunity offered itself, had no compunction in bringing the ruler of this region under his vassalage.(91)

According to Shykh Farid Bhakkari,(92) the Mir, during his first tenure at Bhakkar, was accused of oppressing its peasants and *arbabs*, and was consequently transferred from Bhakkar. The aggrieved parties followed him to court and appealed for the redress of their grievances. Mir 'Abd al-Hay, the *qadi* of the royal camp, issued summons to the Mir, but he failed to appear before the *qadi*. The *qadi* reported the matter to the Emperor, who ordered the Mir to be tied to the foot of an elephant and paraded through the city. Meanwhile, the Mir, in consultation with Shaykh Ma'ruf, the *sadr* of Bhakkar, paid some money to the complainants and persuaded them to go back to Bhakkar. The following day the Mir appeared before the Emperor and complained that the qadi

of Jahangir changing his mind cannot be ruled out, such instances are rather rare. Thirdly, Yusuf Mirak's statement is corroborated neither by the *Akbar Namah,* which records the Mir's audience with Akbar, nor by the *Tuzuk,* in which Jahangir mentions the promotion of Sardar Khan and his appointment as the new governor of Qandahar.

Being an old servant of Akbar, Mir Namakin seems to have been quite intimately known to Jahangir, who, besides recording the promotion of the Mir to a *mansab* of 1,500, supplies very interesting information about the number of his children.[115] According to the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani,* when the Mir's appointment to Qandahar fell through, Jahangir sent him on some expedition to Jalabad.[116] Incidentally, the Mir was still at Gujrat,[117] probably on his way to Jalalabad, when Prince Khusrau (who had fled from the Agrah fort on the night of 8 Dhi al-Hijjah 1014/17 April 1606, [118] and, after his defeat by Shaykh Farid Bakhshi,[119] was being hotly pursued by the Emperor and numerous grandees) tried to slink across the Chinab on the night of 28 Dhi al-Hijjah 1014/6 May 1606.[120] Arriving here from Kashmir at about this time Hilal Khan joined forces with Mir Namakin and Khwajah Khidr. They blockded the western bank of the river, and after a skirmisk arrested the rebel prince.[121] According to the *Dhakhirat al-Khwanin,*[122] one of the sons of Mir Namakin, Mirza Kashmiri, was found guilty of complicity in Khusrau's rebellion, and had to pay for this with the excision of his genitals. According to the *Ma'athir* al-Umara', the Emperor rewarded the Mir for his contribution to the arrest of Khusrau by promoting him to a *mansab* of 3,000 and reappointing him as the governor of Bhakkr,[123] but this is not true. A year later, when Jahangir, on his way to Kabul from the Panjab, alighted at Gharibkhanah, across the Marpich pass, on 29 Muharram 1016/26 May 1607, the Mir waited upon him.[124] In early Safar/June, the Emperor entrusted the *Jagirdari* of Jalalabad to 'Arab Khan, and Mir Namakin was made the commandant of the *thanah* of Bajaur.[125] How long he occupied this position, it is difficult to say. However, when the agent of Sardar Khan[126] in Sihwan, Darwish Beg, died from the injuries he had sustained in an encounter with the rebellious Samejahs, the region of Sihwan, with the exception of the *parganahs* of Kahan, Junejah, and half of Khittah, was once again given to Mir Namakin as his *jagir.*[127] The Mir had hardly been able to repair the damage done to the

administrative machinery of Sihwan during the tenures of his predecessors when, sometime around 14 Rajab 1017/23 October 1608, he was ordered to accompany Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan,[128] the governor designate of Qandahar, to that region. Almost at the same time, the Lakhah peasants of the region of Sihwan also brought an imperial order addressed to Mir Namakin, commanding him to recover their lands from the Samejah occupation and to administer condign punishment to the Samejahs for their excesses against the peasants. At first, the Mir thought of sending a strong body of troops under the command of his son, Abu al-Baqa',with Mirza Ghazi Beg to Qandahar, so that he could stay back to chastise the Samijahs; but finally, in deference to Ghazi Beg's wishes, he reversed this idea. Consequently, he proceeded to Qandahar with Ghazi Beg, at the head of a 400 to 500 storng contingent of his loyal Mughul servants.[129] The Mir was not destined to see Sind again- a year later, when he was travelling to Sihwan, he died and his mortal remains were carried to Bhakkar.[130]

a. Mir Namakink's Children

Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin begot numerous children. "There are few men such as he", writes Jahangir,[131] "for abundance of children; he has 30 sons; and if his daughters are not as many, they must be half that number." Shahnawaz Khan[132] gives 22 as the number of the Mir's sons; but, besides the aforementioned Mirza Kashmiri and Mir Abu al-Baqa', he mentions only two others by name: Mirza Husam al-Din and Mirza Yad Allah. The former rose to a comparatively high *mansab*, but his career was cut short by his early death. The latter was in the service of Nawwab Khan-i Jahan Lodhi.[133] Shaykh Farid, who was the *bakhshi* of the Nawwab, writes that Mirza Yad Allah was not a capable person, although his stock with the Nawwab was very high.[134]

We owe the identification of three more sons of Mir Namakin to the discovery of the *Mazhar-i shahjahani*. Besides its author, Yusuf Mirak, two other sons of the Mir, Lutf Allah and Nur Allah, also served in Thattah under their elder brother, Mir Abu al-Baqa.'[135]

Of the female offspring of the Mir, nothing is known Neverthless, Shaykh Farid[136] mentions one of his sons-in-law,

of 500,[147] did not approve of Shamshir Khan's participation in his hereditary *jagir*, and, counting on the record of his family's long service to the Mughul throne hastened to the presence of Jahangir at Agrah. Jahangir responded by leaving Siwistan with Shamshir Khan and giving Mir Abu al-Baqa' the territories of Ubawrah, Ganjabah and Ripri Langahan in *jagir*.[148]

Ever since its conquest by Mir Namakin, the situation in Siwi had been calm and completely under the control of the Mughul authorities at Bhakkar, of which Siwi was a dependency. Mir Abu al-Baqa's stay at Ganjabah, however, coincided with the outbreak of an Afghan rebellion. Realizing the military weakness of Quch 'Ali Kurd, the Mughul *Jagirdar* of Siwi, the Panni Afghans put him under a virtual siege. Alarmed at the possible consequences of this revolt in a remote border outpost, Jahangir directed Mir Abu al-Baqa' to procure whatever help he needed from Taj Khan, the *jagirdar* of Bhakkar, and rush to the rescue of Quch 'Ali. As soon as the Mir appeared in Siwi, the Afghans gave up their revolt and once again accepted Mughul suzerainty.[149]

On the death of Taj Khan, in 1023/1614, Shamshir Khan[150] took his place as the governor of Thattah; and Sihwan was bestowed jointly on Mir Abu al-Baqa' and Mirza Dust Beg. When soon afterwards Mirza Dust Beg went to Qandahar with the royal treasury of Multan, the responsibility of administering the entire region of Sihwan devolved upon the shoulders of Mir Abu al-Baqa'; who, however, managed this most excellently. Travelling long distances speedily and stealthily, he fell upon the Chandiyahs, the Nuhmardis and the Samejahs Unar, and brought them to their knees. Likwise, he punished the Shurahs and took necessary measures, including repairs to the Winjarah fort and the deployment of a strong force there, to protect the region's peasants from future excesses of the recalcitrants.[151] At this time, Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri[152] was the *bakhsi* of Thattah. Subsequently, when he was elevated to the position of governor, and Shamshir Khan was subordinated to him as the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, Mir Abu al-Baqa' was transferred to Badin, with Nayrankot and Shal as his *tankhwah* jagir.[153] During his governorship of Thattah, Muzaffar Khan made an unsuccessful bid to crush the rebellion of the Dals of the region of Shal; but, owing to the stiff resistance of the latter, many of his troops were killed and his initiative lost all its momentum. The following night, Mir Abu al-Baqa' arrived from

Badin. In a stormy attack on the Dals in the foothills, he killed about 200 of their men and thus brought the campaign to a successful conclusion. Thereafter, Muzaffar Khan left Mir Abu al-Baqa' at Nayrankot, whence the latter sent some expeditions against the Dals and the Shurahs, and himself returned to Thattah. It was in one of these military forays against the Shurahs, that Mir Abu al-Baqa's younger brother, Lutf Allah, lost his life.(154)

According to Mirak Yusuf, from Badin, Mir Abu al-Baqa' was recalled to the court to join the campaign against the fort of Kangarah.(155) Military proceedings against this hill fort, which had defiantly withstood all attempts at its conquest by Muslim rulers of the Subcontinent since the days of Sultan Mahmud,(156) started on 14 Farwardin 1024/3 April 1615(157) and were completed on 1 Muhrram 1030(158) /26 November(159) 1620, when it surrendered to Mughul arms. During this period, Mir Abu al-Baqa' received two promotions: on 18 Mihr 1027/10 October 1618,(160) Jahangir bestowed on him a *mansab* of 800 personnel and 600 horse, which was raised to 1,000 personnel and 600 horse on 11 Urdibihist 1029/1 May 1620.(161)

After the conquest of Kangarah, the Mir seems to have joined the entourage of the Khan-i Jahan, on whose recommendation, on 1 Shahriwar 1031/23 August 1622,(162) Jahangir elevated him to a *mansab* of 1,000 personnel and 900 horse. Subsequently, the Mir also secured the favour and confidence of Nawab Asaf Khan; and towards the close of Jahangir's reign, when Multan was conferred on Asaf Khan, the latter appointed Mir Abu al-Baqa' as his governor in Multan.(163) On the accession of Shahjahan, Asif Khan's governorship of Multan was confirmed,(164) and Mir Abu al-Baqa' continued carrying out his duties undisturbed. In the meantime, his title of *Mir Khan* was changed to that of *Amir Khan*, and, as a mark of his gratitude, he proffered a gift of one lakh rupees to the Emperor.(165)

By the end of Jahangir's reign, Mir Abu al-Baqa' had already attained a *mansab* of 2,500 personnel and 1,500 horse.(166) In early 1039/1629, when the governorship of Thattah fell vacant on the demise of Husam al-Din Murtada Khan II,(167) Shahjahan raised the *mansab* of Mir Abu al-Baqa' to 3,000 personnel and 2,000 horse and transferred him to Thattah as its governor.(168) After his arrival here, one of the first things Mir Abu al-Baqa' did was to punish those, including the Jam Halah of Kukralah, who had helped

al-Baqa' had effectively chastised Jam Halah,[190] the Sammah[191] ruler of Kukralah;[192] but subsequently, when the administration of Bhakkar and Thattah,[193] passed under the control of Prince Aurangzib, who was then the governor of Multan,[194] the Jam's sons, Masta and Gahiya, once again took up arms. Aurangzib sent an army to crush their revolt. While Masta accepted Mughul suzerainty and prepared to wait upon the prince at Multan, his brother fled to Kachh and, with the aid and abetment of the ruler of that region, prepared for an invasion of his ancestral lands. However, before he could embark on this, Mir Diya, al-Din Yusuf, assisted by his brother, Mir Abu al-Makarim, issued forth from Thattah with a huge park of artillery and put Gahiyah to flight.[195]

Similarly, when Nawwab Zafar Khan,[196] the last Mughul governor of Shahjahan in Thattah,[197] wanted to stop Samejah raids on the route between Siwistan and *Halah Kandi* and sought an imperial injunction for the *faujdar* (commander) of Siwistan to cooperate in this task, the Emperor nominated Mir Diya' al-Din to lead this campaign.[198] Towards the close of Shahjahan's reign, Mir Diya' al-Din held a *mansab* of 1,000 personnel and 600 horse.[199] Aurangzib conferred the title of Khan upon him and appointed him the *faujdar* of Siwistan.[200] The Mir served in this capacity until Jumada II 1075/January 1665, when he was replaced by Arsalan Khan.[201]

Mir Diya' al-Din Yusuf's grandson *(nabirah)*[202] Mir Abu al-Wafa', was also in the imperial service; and in 1114/1702, in addition to his other duties, he was made the *darughah* of the royal oratory. This latter position gave him ample opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Emperor. Once Aurangzib received a letter in cryptic language from Prince Mu'azzam; and however much he tried, certain points remained unclear. Finally, he handed over the letter to Mir Abu al-Wafa, and ordered him to solve the obscurities. The Mir readily worked out a solution to the problematic words, and produced a satisfactory purport of the entire letter for the Emperor. The latter was so highly impressed by the sharpness and intellectual capacity of Mir Abu al-Wafa' that he rewarded him most generously, raising him in rank to a *chahar sadi* (400).[203] the collection of Aurangzib's rough notes called the *Raqa'im-i Kara'im* contains at least two references to Mir Abu al-Wafa' that indicate his closeness to the Emperor.[204] The Mir outlived the reign of Aurangzib, and was a frequent visitor to

the literary gatherings that used to be held at Amir 'Abd al-Karim Khan's during the reign of Bahadur Shah (1119-24/1707-12). During the six regnal year of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19), Mir Abu al-Wafa; waited upon the Emperor and was awarded a robe of honour.(205) The following year he died.(206)

c. Mir Abu al-Qasim

Mir Abu al-Baqa's third son, Mir Abu al-Qasim, also played an active role in the restoration of law and order in his father's *jagir*.(207) Beyond that, virtually nothing is known about him, except that he died in 1045/1635-36 and was buried on the *Suffah-i Safa'*.(208) Likewise, his brother, Shams al-Din, finds only a passing mention in the *Tuhfat al-Kiram*.(209)

d. Mir 'Abd al-Razzaq

Yet another son of Mir Abu al-Baqa was known as Mir 'Abd al-Razzaq, who waited upon Shahjahan on 22 Shawwal 104/12 May 1632 and, on his father's behalf, presented to him some jewels, Sindhi fabrics *(aqmishah)* and one thousand mohars.(210) He, subsequently, joined the imperial service and rose to a *mansab* of 900 personnel and 300 horse.(211) He was killed in Shi'i-Sinni clashes in 1062/1651-52, and was buried on the Suffah-i Safa'.(212) According to Qani; Thattawi, the Mir was well read in the sciences, had an excellent command of languages and a remarkable memory.(213)

e. Mir Abu al-Makarim Shuhud

Mir Abu al-Baqa's fifth son, Mir Abu al-Makarim Shuhud, also participated in military campaigns during Shahjahan's reign;(214) but his simple and austere style of life, strong inclination towards mysticism and poetry gave an altogether different hue to his personality. Although he was well-versed in a variety of science, his fame rested on his literary attainments. Besides a Diwan (collection of poems), he also left behind a romantic *mathnawi* (a long poem) called the *Parikhanah-i Sulayman*. Another of his long poems, dealing with the romance of Badi' al-Jamal and Say al-Muluk, was left incomplete when he died in 1073/1662-63, and was buried in Siwistan near the tomb of Shaykh La'l Shahbaz.(215) He was survived by four sons, namely Amin al-Din Khan Husayn, Mu'in al-Din Hasan, Radi al-Din Fida'i and Mir Hafiz al-Din

though far less learned than his uncle, Mir Kamil, followed in his footsteps. He was more at home in Hindi than in Persian, and exhibited such exceptional versatility in his Hindi writings, prose and verse, that his contemporary, Mir Qani', refers to him as the second Amir Khusrau(243) and writes that, had Mir Hafiz al-Din not been handicapped by defects of eyesight and hearing,(244) he would have become another Mir Kamil.(245) At the time of the writing of the *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, the Mir was still alive and led a life of celibacy and withdrawal from the world.(246)

f. Mir 'Abd al-Karim

Unlike his brothers, Mir; Abd al-Karim, the youngest son of Mir Abu al-Baqa', did not confine himself to the region of Sind. He moved himself farther afield in the Subcontinent, where he succeeded in carving out a brilliant career and maintained the family tradition of rising to higher rungs of imperial service. It was an old practice with Mughul Emperors to draw their personal attendants *(khwasi)* from the ranks of the progeny of their *amirs*. Mir 'Abd al-Karim was lucky enough to attract the attention of Aurangzib.(247) By dint of his perspicacity, ready wit, literary attainments and amiable manners, he gradually worked his way up to be the chief of the royal attendants and began to be counted among the favorites of the Emperor. In Sha'ban 1093/August 1682, when Aurangzib was encamped at Aurangabad, the Mir was appointed the *darughah* of the royal oratory *(janamazkhanah)*.(248) Before long, the duties of the *amin* of the seven *chaukis*(249) were also entrusted to him.(250) Mir 'Abd al-Karim discharged the dual responsibilities until he was relieved of the latter job,(251) and made the *darughah* of the *naqqashkhanah* instead,(252) in addition to his position of the head of the royal oratory.

In Dhi al-Hijjah 1097/October 1685, when Prince Shah 'Alam communicated the news of his victory Abu al-Hasan, the ruler of Tilanganah, and the reducation of Hyderabad and recommended the grant of suitable rewards to the officers serving under his command, the Emperor gave the Mir the task of carrying robes and jewels to the prince as a mark of his appreciation for his and his commander's efforts. At Mangal, 4 kos short of Hyderabad, the Mir was ambushed by the men of Abu al-Hasan: his entire entourage was massacred, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Abu Al-Hasan kept him under detention for four

days, and then had him conveyed to the prince's camp, where the Mir's wounds were tended. On his recovery, Mir 'Abd al-Karim waited on the Prince and told him about the gifts sent by the Emperor and how these had been looted. He then returned to court(253) and resumed the usual duties of the *darughah* of the royal oratory. Soon afterwards, the *amini* of the seven *chaukis* was again given to him.(254) In *Rabi'* II 1098/February 1657, Aurangzib appointed Sayyid Sharif Khan, son of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Qannauji, the spiritual guide of Shahjahan, as the *karor-i ganj* of the camp and collector of *Jizyah* for the four provinces of the Deccan, and ordered him to visit the aforementioned provinces in order to ensure a strict observance of Islamic law in the collection of jizyah.(255) A few months later, the Mir was retained as the *darughah* of the royal oratory, but instead of amin of the chaukis, was appointed as deputy to Sayyid Sharif Khan,(256) and put in charge of the collection of fines.(257) The duties of the karori-i ganj entailed strict supervision of the supply of food grain to the royal camp at a reasonable price.

While famine raged throughout the surrounding regions, the Mir handled the situation so skillfully that the imperial camp was kept well supplied without any significant rise in prices. The Emperor expressed his pleasure at this by honouring him with the title of *Multafat Khan*.(258) This was followed by his appointment as the head of the *abdarkhanah*(259) Meanwhile, in Rajab 1104/March 1693, when Anwar Khan, son of Wazir Khan Shahjahani died, yet another feather was added to the Mir's cap and thenceforward he became the *darughah* of the *khawasis*.(260) Sometime after Dhi al-Hijjah 1112/April 1701, he was created *Khanahzad Khan,* and before long,(261) the title of Mir was also officially appended to his name.(262) On 20 Dhi al-Qa'dah 1115/15 March 1714, the Emperor conferred on him his father's title of Amir Khan. While doing so, he remarked in a light-hearted manner that, when Shahjahan had bestowed the same title on the Mir's father, he had presented 100,000 rupees to the Emperor so what were his plans in that regard. The Mir replied that his life and property were all bound in propitiation *(tasadduq)* to the Emperor; and the following day, he presented him with a copy of the *Qur'an* transcribed by Yaqut, a renowned calligraphist of the 3rd/9th century.(263) There could have been no better connoisseur of this precious gift than Aurangzib, whose own favorite recreation was to pen copies of

each on Abu al-Khayr Khan and Muhtaram Khan.[282]

On his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) reappointed Amir Khan the governor of Akbarabad,[283] and his son, Muhtaram Khan, was exalted with the directorship (*mutasaddigari*) of Bandar Surat.[284] Subsequently, when an envoy from Iran alighted at that harbours, Muhtaram Khan was ordered to put 30,000 rupees at the disposal of the royal visitor and make arrangements for his journey to the capital.[285] During the second regnal year of Farrukhsiyar, Amir Khan was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad; and Samsam al-Daulah Khan-i Dauran Bahadur took his place as the governor of the province,[286] but entrusted most of his responsibilities to Amir Khan. During the sixth year of Farrukhsiyar's rule, Amir Khan waited on him to present a gift of 100 ashrafis, one thousand rupees and a copy of the Qu'ran.[287] Soon afterwards, Amir Khan's brother's grandson, Abu al-Wafa'[288] and his sons, 'Abd al-Azmi Khan, Mahram Khan[289] and 'Ali Rida Khan, did homage to the Emperor and were rewarded with robes of honour.[290] Amir Khan also received a robe of honour and was made the *darughah* of the *Khwasis*. Since he had become too old to carry all the burden of that exalted office by himself, Muhtaram Khan was appointed his deputy.[291] The following year, when Mir Abu al-Wafa' died and Amir Khan retired into mourning, Emperor Farrukhsiyar especially ordered Amin al-Din Khan Bahadur[292] to fetch the Khan and, besides consoling him, favoured him with a robe of honour.[293]

During the interregnum that followed the death of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers raised Amir Khan to the office of the *sadr al-sudur*, vice Afdal Khan.[294] The elder Sayyid, Qutb al-Mulk 'Abd Allah Khan held him in such high esteem that he offered Amir Khan a seat at the corner of his own masnad. As *sadr al-sudur*, Amir Khan spared no effort to ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy who turned to him for help.[295] Under Muhammad Shah, Amir Khan also served as *sadr al-sudur* for a while; but, after his replacement by Mir Jumlah,[296] he seems to have retired from active life. Nevertheless, towards the close of his second have regnal year, Muhammad shah favoured him with a robe of honour.[297] Amir Khan died sometime between 16 *Rabi'* 1132/27 January 1720, when he received the robe, and on 1 Rajab 1134/27 April 1722, when his son, Abu al-Khayr, was appointed

the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad, on the recommendation of Jumdat al-Mulk Bahadur, *wazir-i a'la.*[298]

About Amir Khan's sons, the author of the *Ma'athir al-Umara'* writes that, except Abu al-Khayr *Khan*, who because of his proximity to Khan-i Dauran 'Asim *Khan*, received the title of Khan from Farrukhsiyar,[299] the others contented themselves with the acquisitions of their father. This statement is not borne out by facts. Among other things, as we have seen earlier, the title of Khan appears with Abu al-Khayr's name as, it does with the names of his three brothers, as early as the fourth regnal year of Bahadur Shah.

From the preface to the *Raqa'im-i Kara'im*, where the compiler of that work calls himself Sayyid Ashraf Khan Mir Muhammad al-Husayni and refers to Amir 'Abd al-Karim as *qiblahgahi* and *Khan-i marhum*,[300] Rieu[301] surmised that Sayyid Ashraf was also a son of Amir Khan. Other scholars have followed suit,[302] but the conclusion drawn from so slim a basis appears unjustified in the absence of any corroboration.

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

g. Mir Abu al-Baqa's Daughters

finally, a word about the female descendants of Mir Abu al-Baqa'. A reference in the *Sakinat al-Auliya'* of Prince Muhammad Dara Shukuh suggests that the Mir fathered several daughters and at least five sons.[307] On the other hand, miscellaneous other sources available to us record the names of seven sons, who have been dealt with in preceding paragraphs and make specific reference to only one daughter.

It seems that, even after the death of Mir Abu al-Baqa', his family continued to enjoy a prestigious position in court circles, and Shahjahan's favours towards them did not undergo any significant change. Shahjahan's fourth son, Sultan Murad Bakhsh, had been married to a daughter of Shahnawaz Khan Safawi[308] for more than a decade,[309] but she had not borne him a son. In 1066/1656, about nine years after Mir Abu al-Baqa's death,

73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 493-94.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-33.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 559.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 637.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 633
79. *Ibid.*, p. 637.
80. *T. S.*, p. 251.
81. *T. S.*, p. 251.
82. See 50, above.
83. *M. T.*, vol. II, p. 245.
84. *A. N.*, vol. III, p. 666.
85. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 28-29.
86. For his antecedents, see *infra.*
87. See Riazul Islam, p.
88. *A. A. A.*, vol. II, p. 958.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Maz. Sh., p. 23.
91. *A. A. A.*, vol. II, pp. 861-62. During Shahjahan's reign, hese regions once again came under Mughul control. See Ad. 'Al., vol. I, p. 26.
92. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 198-99.
93. See his note reproduced by Rashidi *T. A. Kh.*, pp. 67-68 from *Gauhar-i Manzum,* an unpublished diary of Miyan Ghulam 'Ali Maddah.
94. See *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 108-9.
95. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp. 493-94.
96. Ashirbdi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Agra, 1962, vol. I, pp. 331-69.
97. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 746.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 734.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 748. A. N., tr., vol. III, p. 1117, mistakenly gives the date as 19 Day.
101. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp. 748. The text erroneously has Bihar. See A.N., vol. III, pp. 1117, n. 4.
102. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 108.
103. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp. 783.
104 For his career, see infra.
105. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 111-12.
106. *Ibid.*, A. N., vol. III, pp. 816.
107. *Maz.* Sh., p. 112.
108. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp. 839.
109. *Maz.* Sh., pp. 112-13.
110. For his career, see infra.
111. See M. H. Siddiqi, op. cit., p. 1.
112. *A. A.*, vol. I, p. 162; Blochmann, p. 525.
113. *Tuzuk*, p. 13.
114. *A. N.*, vol. III, pp. 839.
115. *Tazuk*, p. 13.
116. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 113.
117. Curiously enough, Momin Mohiuddin ("The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography", *Indo-Iranica*, XIX/2 June 1966, P.40; *Munsh'at al-Namakin, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, VIII/1 [January 1960), p. 91] has completely failed to understand the significance of Akbar's *farman*

(included in the *Munsha'at al- Namakin)* concerning Mir Namakin's first appointment at Bhakkar. He wrongly translates *mahl parganahs* as "a village" and fails to distinguish between "Gujarat" (=Gujrat, in he Punjab) and Bhakkar, in Sind.

118. *Tuzuk.*, p. 24.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33; Dh. Kh., vol. I, p. 134; M. J., pp. 85, 495; M. U., vol. III, p. 76.
122. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 200.
123. *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 76.
124. *Tuzuk*, p. 49.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
126. For his career, see *Infra.*
127. See *maz. Sh.*, p. 116.
128. See *infra.*
129. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 115-16.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The exact year of Mir Namakin's death is unknown. There are three chronogrammatic inscriptions on his grave, at Suffah-i Safa': two of them yield 1018/1609-10, and the third 1019/1610-11. See Ibid., p. 294n.; T. A. Kh., p. 52.
131. *Tuzuk*,p. 13.
132. *M. U.*, vol. III, p. 76.
133. For his life, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 69-116; *M. U.*, vol. I, pp. 715-31.
134. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 200.
135. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 40, 46.
136. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. II, p. 395.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 192; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. II, p. 103.
138. Blochmann, p. 352 Cf. M. J., p. 12.
139. *M. U.*, tr. By H. Beveridge, rev. by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979, repr., vol. II, part, II, p. 682; *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 192-93.
140. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. II, p. 103.
141. For the contents of this work, see Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India office,* rev. and completed by Edward Edwards, Oxford, 1903, vol. I, Entry 2064, and Momin Mohiuddin's articles referred to in n. 116, above.

    Besides the India office manuscript, another Copy of the *Munsha'at al-Namakin* is preserved in the Lytton Collection No. 3/26/7 of the Aligarh Muslim University Library.
142. Dealing with the philosophy of Islam, the work is dedicated to Mirza Muhammad Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, and its only known manuscripts are available in the Bodleian Library. See *Indo-Iranica, op. cit.*, p. 40.
143. *Maz. Sh.*, p. 121.
144. *Dh. Kh.*, vol. I, p. 200.
145. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 116-20.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
147. *M. U.*, vol. I. p. 171; Kewalram, s. v., Amir Khan.
148. *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 121-22.
149. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
150. For his career, see *infra.*
151. *Mas. Sh.*, pp.123-219
152. For his life, see *infra.*

232. *T.K.*, tr., 632
233. *M.Sh.*, p.175.
234. *Ibid.*, pp.492-93; T.K., tr., p.633.
235. *T.K.*, p.633.
236. *M.Sh.*, pp.670-71.
237. 'Abd al-Hakim 'Ata' Thaththawi, Diwan-i 'Ata', ed., Sayyid Muhammad Muti' Allah Rashid Burhanpuri, Hyderabad, Sind, n.d., pp. 459-61.
238. For his life, see Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, *Sindh mein Urdu Sha'iri* Lahore, 1978, pp.21-38.
239. *Ibid.*, p.25.
240. *M.Sh.*, p.673.
241. *Ibid.*, p.671.
242. *T.K.*, tr., p. 633.
243. *M.Sh.*, p.182
244. *Ibid.*
245. *T.K.*, tr., p.634.
246. *Ibid.*,
247. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.303
248. *M. 'Al.*, tr., pp.135-36
249. Mounting guard *Chauki* in Hindi. The four divisions of the army were divided into seven parts, each of which was appointed for one day, under superintendence of a trustworthy *mansabdar*. Selected Documents of Shah *Jahan's Reign*, p.89, n.1.
250. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.146
251. *Ibid.*, p.153
252. *M.U.*, vol. I, p.303. During the 28th regnal year of Aurangzib, owing to some fault (qusur) the Mir was suspended from the *darughahship* of the royal oratory.
253. *M. 'Al.*, tr., pp.164-65; MU., vol.I, pp.303-4
254. *Ibid.*, p.174
255. *Ibid.*, pp.178, 181.%
256. *Ibid.*, pp.181; M.U., vol.I, p.304
257. *M 'Al.*, tr., p.184; M.U., vol.I, p.304
258. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.199; M.U., vol.I, p.304
259. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.204; *The Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri* also adds that the Mir was promoted by 100 dhat, which office brought him close to the Emperor's person.
260. *Ibid.*, p.212
261. *M. Al.*, tr., p.265. He had already been promoted to a *mansab* of 1500/200 in 1696 *A.D. Ibid.*, p.237
262. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.282
263. *Ibid.*, p.290. shaykh Jalal al-Din Yaqut Musta'simi, who was originally a slave of the 'Abbasib caliph, al-Musta'sim Bi'llah 640-56/1242-58, finally rose to the position of the court Librarian. He is credited with the invention of the *naskh* style of calligraphy. Shaykh Ahmad, alias Shahykhzadah Suhrawardi, Arghun Kabuli, Maulana Yusuf Shah Mashhadi, Maulana Mubarak Shah Zarrin Qalam, Maulana Haydar Kandahnawis, *(Gundah nawis?)* and Mir Yahya were six renowned pupils of Yaqut. He died in 697/1298 during the reign of Ghazan Khan. See A.A., vol.I, p.75; Blochmann, p.106; Badayi' al-Waqayi', op.cit., vol.II.pp.88-89
264. *M.U.*, vol., I,p.305
265. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.300. Also see ibid., p.199; M.U., vol.I, p. 305.

266. *M.U.*, vo.I, pp.307-8
267. *Ibid.*, p.307
268. See *ibid.*, vol. III, p.159
269. *Ibid.*, p.308
270. *M.U.*, tr., H. Beveridge, rev., annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979, repr., vol.I, p.256; M. 'Al., tr. P.302.
271. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.306
272. *Ibid.*, p.313
273. He declared himself Emperor on 10 Dhi al-Hijjah 1118/15 March 1746 Kamwar Khan, p.2; William Irvine, *Later Mughal.*, ed., Jadunath *Sarkar*, New Dehli, 1971, repr., p.8
274. Kamwar Khan, p.3.
275. See Mubarak Allah Wadih, *Ta'rikh-I Iradat Khan*, ed., Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Lahore, 1971, p.54. According to M.U., vol. I, p.308, he was left behind at Gawaliyar with the heavy baggage of the army.
276. *Later Mughuls*, vol.I, p.36.
277. Kamwar Khan, p.22.
278. For information on him, see Bhagwan Das Hindi, *Satinah-i Hindi*, ed., S. Shah Muhammad 'Ata al-Rahman, Patna, 1958, pp. 132, 134; Kishan Chand Ikhlas, *Hamishah Bahar*, ed., Waheed Qureshi, Karachi, 1973, pp. 172-73.
279. Bindrabin Das Khwushgu, *Safinah-i Khwushgu*, ed., S. Shah Muhammad 'Ata' al-Rahman, Patna, 1959, p.148. Also see *ibid.*, p.218
280. *Ibid.*, p.148
281. *Ibid.*, p.102
282. *Ibid.*, p.114
283. *Ibid.*, pp.172, 173
284. *Ibid.*, p. 173
285. *Ibid.*, p.185
286. *Ibid.*, p.189
287. *Ibid.*, p.231
288. *M. 'Al.*, tr., p.273; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.172 Kamwar Khan, p.242. In this latter work, on p.231. Abu al-Wafa' is referred to as Amir Khan's nephew *(biradarzadah)* which is probably a transcriptional error.
289. This could be a misreading for Muhtaram Khan.
290. Kamwar Khan, p.231
291. *Ibid*, p.232
292. For his particulars, see M.U., vol.I, pp. 356-57; Kewalram, s.v.
293. Kamwar Khan, p.242.
294. *M.U.* vol.I, p.309
295. Safinah-i Khwushgu. p.148
296. Kamwar Khan, p.303. For information on Mir Jumlah, see *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 710-12
297. Kamwar Khan, p.332
298. *Ibid.*, p.338
299. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.309
300. *I.O.MS.* 3021, pp.1,2.
301. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1966, repr., vol.I, p.400
302. E.g., see T.A.Kh., p.184
303. Kewalram, s.v. Amir Kha.
304. He was a son of Muhammad Mu'izz al-Din Bahadur. See Kamwar Kha. P.9.

Ma'sum Bhakkari is the first of these local works. Beginning with the Arab conquest of Sind, it proceeds to chronicle the vicissitudes of Sind up to the time that Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan appeared at Akbar's court, after his surrender to the Mughul commander, 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan. In sharp contrast to his reputation as a historian of great distinction,(4) Mir Ma'sum's writing suffer from insufficient care about dates and consistency, an inadequate acknowledgement of sources and, largely as a result of an attempt to encapsulate history, a lack of perspective. These shortcomings infect even his borrowing from the *Chach Namah*, for the earlier period of Sind's history, and the *Raudat al-Safa'* and the *Habib al-Siyar*, for the early history of the Arghuns. And, despite his close association with the Mughul campaign in Sind, his description of events is not as adequate as that of the *Ma'athir-i Rahimi* and the *Akbar Namah*, or even the comparatively brief treatment of the *Tabaqa-i Akbari*. But, even with all these defects, the value of Ta'rikh-i Sind, as the earliest history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans, can hardly be overemphasized. If Mir Ma'sum had not written about the lives and achievements of the writers, poets and saints of the period in Sind he covered,(5) we would have remained largely ignorant about the cultural development in this region during the 10th/16th century. In addition, his book sheds light on the Langah rulers of Multan, provides information on Baluch and native tribes of the area, and helps us to identify several historical sites. Mir Ma'sum's Detailed account of the Mughul expedition against Bhakkar and this territory's subsequent administration by its imperial functionaries offers a rare insight into the dissensions and squabbles riddling the royal camp during and immediately after the campaign and the mediocre quality of the officers generally appointed to administer this important new Mughul acquisition.

Within a decade of the completion of the Ta'rikh-i Sind, another Sindhi scholar, Idraki Beglari undertook the writing of the biography of his patron, Amir Qasim Khan-i Zaman.(6) Sayyid Qasim Beglar, under the title of the *Beglar Namah*.(7) Written on the advice of the Khan-i Zaman and with the constant encouragement of his son, Shah Muqim *Shultan*, the *Beglar Namah* constitutes an important link in the series of historical writings produced in this region. Though primarily an account of the Khan-i Zaman's life, exploits and family circumstances, it is also a treasure of information

about the internecine political struggles and scramble for power of contemporary Tarkhan rulers, during whose reigns Shah Qasim flourished and played vital role in numerous developments. Details about native tribes inhabiting different parts of Sind found in this book are second only to the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* in their extensiveness. The *Beglar Namah* also yields significant new information about various aspects of the battles fought between Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan and the Khan-i Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim Khan. Some incidental remarks of the author indicate that in 1017/1608-9 he was still engaged in the writing of his work and that, as late as 1034/1624, the process of additions and improvements was still in progress. All the same, the accounts of important events, such as the death of the Khan-i Khanan and the blinding of his son, Abu al-Qasim Sultan, on the instance of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, are quite conspicuous by their absence from this work. Yet couched in elegant Persian prose, interspersed with Arabic maxims and Persian verses, the *Beglar Namah* is a durable monument of the skill and proficiency of its author.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the *Beglar Namah*, the second quarter of the 11th/17th century witnessed the completion of yet another important work on the history of the region in the *Ta'rikh-i Baldah-i* Thattah, or the *Ta'rikh-i Tahiri*, of Mir Tahir Muhammad Nisyani,[8] (1051/1641). Descended from a family of Astrabadi Sayyids, who had long been in the service of the local Arghun and Tarkhan rulers[9] and enjoyed matrimonial relations with the powerful Sa'tah tribe of Darbelah,[10] Mir Tahir Muhammad was in touch with contemporary developments. His father was in the service of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan;[11] and, after his death continued to serve under his son and successor, Mirza Jani Beg, taking an active part in his exploits against Mughul forces under the command of the Khan-i Khanan.[12] Tahir Muhammad's maternal grandfather, the influential Sa'tah chief, 'Umar Shah, and his son Da'ud had done all in their power to facilitate Humayun's stay in Sind; and they were rewarded with a latter of appreciation, which also entitled them to the possession of Darbelah as an imperial gift as and when Humayun retrieved his throne and brought Sind under his sway.[13] The author himself was a retainer of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan. Ever since the latter's death in 1021/1612, Mir Tahir Muhammad had entertained the idea of writing a history of Sind, but had not been able to put this

The higher echelon of Mughul nobility, constituting the governing class of the country, was generally of Iranian or Turanian origin. Outsiders as these *mansabdars* were, they showed little compassion and consideration for inhabitants of their *jagirs*. And the Mughul emperor, too, despite all their zeal and enthusiasm for justice, and occasional exemplary punishment of corrupt functionaries, did not succeed in restraining the tyrannous tendencies of some of the nobles, such as Mirza Rustam and Mirza Muzaffar. Even Mir Ma'sum and Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin, who have been profusely admired by Mirak for their concern for the welfare of the peasantry, have not escaped charges of excesses from other historians.(19)

Similarly, Mirak's observation that in the Shi'i faith, the torture of the Sunnis seems to be an act of extreme piety(20) should be viewed in its true historical perspective. Although there is no direct evidence, some incidental remarks in contemporary works suggest that the 10th/16th century in Sind was marked by extreme sectarian tension between Sunnis and Shi'is. The son of the sister of Muhammad 'Ali Beg Bandari, who was the *faujdar* of Bhakkar during Ahmad Beg Khan's *jagirdar* of Siwistan, Sultan Ahmad Khan, showed his disdain towards the first three Rightly Guided Caliphs by inscribing their names on the soles of his shoes.(21) Mirza Yusuf's irresponsible behavior further fuelled the fire of sectarian animosity. This explosive situation culminated in armed conflicts between the followers of these two creeds, and in one these encounters, in 1062/1051-52, Yusuf Mirak's nephew, 'Abd al -Razzaq, was killed.(22)

A great deal has been written about the power and influence of Nur Jahan and her family during the reign of Jahangir.(23) Mirak alleges that, during the ascendancy of the great queen, many of the *zamindars* had procured *musammati farman*(24) by paying money, and had thereby succeeded in appropriating some of the best lands as *madad-i ma'ash* holdings. If any *jagirdar* ever tried to investigate these irregularities, these people silenced him by offering him huge bribes.

The *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* is based mainly upon the personal observation of the author and quite eloquently bears out his administrative capabilities, his critical acumen and his deep insight into the problems of the local population. This work is a most valuable source of information on the history of the imperial

jagirdar of this region, its administrative set-up, revenue system and classification of lands, the ethnic composition of its population, its trade and commerce, weights and measures, geography and topography, and the rites and customs of the local people. It provides very useful data on some important imperial *mansabdar*, and it is through this work that several of the members of Mir Namakin's family, including the author himself, have come to light for the first time. No writer on the socio-economic conditions of Sind during the 10th/16th centuries can afford to overlook this book.

As far as the history of proselytization in this region is concerned, the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* is the first work which categorically states that the peasants in this region were Muslims, but their economic conditions were hardly enviable.(25)

In the Epilogue *(khatimah)* of his work, Yusuf Mirak describes the ways and means by which kings, wazirs and nobles could raise their stature in the eyes of God without relinquishing their just worldly pursuits. In doing so, he divides the Muslim community into three categories: the kings of the world and the hereafter; the beggars of the world who were the kings of the hereafter; and the kings of the world who were beggars of the hereafter. The first category comprises the four Rightly Guided caliphs and those kings and nobles who walk in their footsteps. The second category consists of the poor Muslims who bear the hardships of life and are contented with whatever little they have been given by God. The third and last category comprises tyrant kings.(26)

The author urges the king to try to be the king of the hereafter as well as of the world, and explains that this objective can be achieved either through the sheer blessing of God or by adorning oneself with a number of good qualities, the foremost among which was the acquisition of knowledge. The king should appoint four persons who should every night read out to him the virtues of the just kings of the past and the traditions of the Prophet concerning the supremacy of justice over tyranny and oppression, because, he adds, no king can do without justice if he wishes to ensure the endurance of his kingdom.(27)

Among other things, he exhorts the king to be always accessible to petitioners, and in this regard, reminds him of the chain of justice. Anushirwan and, in later times, Jahangir(28) had

8. *Cf. T.K.*, tr., p.636 wrongly records his name as 'Lasyani'.
9. *T.T.*, P.75.
10. *Ibid.*, 9.113
11. *Ibid.*, P.156; T.K., tr. P.636
12. *T.T.*, P.189
13. *Ibid.*, pp.75-76.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.10-23
15. Ed., S. Husam al-din Rashid, Hyderabad, Sind, 1962.
16. *Ibid.*, p.242
17. *A.A.*, vol.II. pp.173-77
18. Yusuf Mirak, *Ta'rikh-i Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, Sindhi tr., Niyaz Humayuni. Hyderabad, Sind, 1979, p.4.
19. See Dh.Kh., vol. I, pp. 198-99; 204-5
20. *Maz. Sh.*, p.156
21. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, pp. 369-70
22. *Se T.A.Kh.*, p.177
23. E.g., see Irfan Habib, "The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign: A Political Study," Papers on *Mediaeval Indian History, Indian History Congress, Allahabad*, 1965, Aligarh, n.d.; Muhammad Afzal Khan, "Position of I'timad al-Daula's Family during the Reign of Shah Jahan," *Papers on Medieval Indian History, Indian History* Congress, Hyderabad, 1979, Aligarh, n.d.,
24. Royal decrees for the grant of *madad-i ma'ash* lands to ladies.
25. *Maz. Sh.*, p.242
26. This division of the Muslim community is virtually the same as is found in the *Taqsim al-anam 'ala arba 'at al-aqsam*, a letter of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi addressed to Nawwab Murtada Khan Shaykh Farid. See his *Irsal al-Makatib wa'l Rasa'il Arbab il-Kamal wa'l Fada'il*, manuscript in the Private Collection of the late S.V.H. Abidi, Lahore 1972.
27. *Mas. Sh.*, p.250
28. Jahangir himself has made the following observation about his chain: "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up to the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should [indulge in] delay or practice hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shak it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 gaz in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds, equal to 42 'Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to as stone post fixed on the bank of the river". Tuzuk (R&B, vol.I, p.7. Cf. Wahed Husain, Administration of Justice, Delhi, 1977, repr., p.41, where the author puts up a fanciful interpretation of the installation of the chain and writers: "This device was adopted by The Emperor and avoid the harassment of the porters and court-underlings. For references to the installation of a similar chain by Anushirwan, see *Siyasat Namah*, p.50; *The Book of Government*, p.40; Sa'di, *Risalah Panjum dar Nasihat-i Muluk, Kulliyat-i Sa'di*, p.57.
29. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Taqtaqa, generally known as Ibn Taqtaqa, *Ta'rikh-i Fakhri*, translated into Persian by Muhammad Wahid Gulpayigani, Tehran, 1350 H. Sh., p.45.
30. See Felix Tauer, in Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed., Karl Jahn, Dordrecht-Holland, 1968- p.426
31. MS. 1387 recorded in Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the*

Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1924, p.662. For the life of Qadi Ikhtiyar al-Din, see Sa'id Nafisi, *Ta'rikhi-i Nazm-o Nathr dar Iran-o dar Zaban-i Farsi*, Tehran, 1344 H. Sh., p.278. The Qadi waited upon Babur during the latter's visit to Kabul in the wake of Sultan Husayn Bayqara's death. Babur admires his treatise on jurisprudence and mentions his 'collection of homonymous verses from the Quran', but is reticent about this particular work of the Qadi. See B.N., p.285

32. Probably misled by the name of this work, Felix Tauer op.c. p.427. attributes its dedication to Babur's son Humayun, but this is a mistake, since Humayun was born in 913/1508, a year after the compilation of the book. For Humayun's birth, see Avasthy, p.18.
33. For his life and achievements, see M. Abdul Haq Ansari, *the Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih*, Aligarh, 1964.
34. Ethe, I.O. 2203
35. A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*, Agra, 1974, p.108-18
36. His biographers do not record this book among his works. The only manuscript of it dated 13 Rabi' II 1034/23 January 1625 was discovered by the present author in the Public Library of Khairpur Mirs', Sind.
37. For his life, see M.A. Quraishi, *Muslim Education and learning in Gujrat* 1297-1758, Baroda, 1972, pp.205-10
38. Edited by Muhammad Saleem Akhtar, Islamabad, 1985
39. Ethe, I.O. 1535; Wladimir Ivanow, p.662
40. Hermann Ethe, *Neupersische Litteratur*, translated into Persian by S.R., Shafagh as Ta'rikh-i *Adabiyyat-i Farsi*, Tehran, 1958, p.272.
41. The only manuscript of this work is in the Gilani Library of Uch. See Mas'ud Hasan Shahab, Khitaah-I Uch Bahawalpur, 1967, pp.345-46
42. Khaliq Ahmad Ni'zami, *Hayat-i Shaykh 'Abdl al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi*, Delhi, 1953, pp. 169-70. The author has confounded this collection of *ahadith* by the Shaykh with another one of his collections concerning religious sciences.
43. Diya'al-Din Barani, *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, ed. A. Salm Khan, Lahore, 1972.
44. *P.U. MS.* Ff. 108b. to 230b.
45. Husayn Wa'iz *Kashifi, Akhlaq-i Muhsini*, Lucknow, 1957.

CHAPTER ONE

An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Bhakkar

Be it clear to the intellect of sun-like brilliance that Bhakkar[4] is the name of a fort which stands upon a hill in the midst of seven rivers.[5] On the upper side of Bhakkar, which has an abundance of water, in the southerly direction opposite to the fort on top of a hill on the bank of the river, is situated the city of Lohri.[6] There is another hill on this side, in the midstream,[7] overlooking the fort where Pir Ghulam[8] had built a quadrangular platform with a minaret on every corner of it, and had named it the *Suffah-i-Safa* (the platform of purity), He spent most nights of the *Ayyam-i-bid*[9] there in the company of the learned, and consumed the melons *(kharbuzah)* of the village Niyahbadrah,[10] which lies 4 *kurohs* from this place and is known for its wonderful indigenous *(wilayati)* melons. The choicest of these melons Pir Ghulam sent to Hadrt-i 'Arsh Ashiyani who ate them with great relish.

On the other side of the fort, facing Stipur Nahiran, water is scarce and during winter at times, the river becomes so shallow that one can walk across it; and towards the north, on the bank of the river facing the fort, is situated the city of Shakkar.[11] Towards the east, at a bowshot from the fort, they have built the shrine *(astansh)* of Hadrat-i Khidar,[12] on whom be the peace of God. Westward from the fort, at a distance of a quarter *kuroh*, there lies, in the midstream, a low hill with a flat top which contains a few date-palms and a dome. That hillock is known as Shad Belah. And at a distance of half a *kuroh* [from the fort?] there used to be a small hill in the middle of the river. During the summer, when the water subsided, it became visible, whereas in the flood season it disappeared. Consequently, boats[13] coming downstream ran into it, were shipwrecked and sunk. Mir Ma'sun Bhakkari caused a ship laden with stones to be sunk at that place, and upon it, constructed a green dome, naming it Sitasar,[14] which has developed into a beautiful recreations spot. Plenty of people go

there for a walk and enjoy themselves; and on sight of it, boats take precautions in navigating the flood waters. In front of this dome, in the direction of Shakkar, he built a ship-like mosque on top of a hill on the bank of the river, and this is also a pleasant spot. Therefrom, towards the river, descends a flight of stone stairs, whereby people come down and perform their ablutions. During the days of 'Id this is place of amusement *(tamashahgah)* for the people of Bhakkar and Shakkar.

The region of Bhakkar consists of eight parganahs: five of them stand on the side of Lohri and three in the direction of Shakkar. Out of the five parganahs, the first is called Matilah,[15] which has a now worn-out *(Kuhnah)* and old *(qadim)* fort of baked bricks. Mainly Darejahs and Mahars inhabit this parganahs. The second *parganahs* is called Alor; it has a strong, old, worn-out fort situated on top of a hill. In[16] olden times the river flowed just underneath this fort, and it was the capital of the rulers of those days. Amir Shah Beg Arghun demolished the old fort of Bhakkar and replaced it with another one, built of kiln-backed bricks, which were procured by pulling down the fort of Alor and razing to the ground most of the buildings belonging to the Turks and the Sammahs, situated on the outskirts of Bhakkar. And even now, when the year 1044 [1634-35 A.D] is current, this fort still stands. This parganahs also belongs to the Darejah tribe *(mardum)*, though the people of the Pawar clan are also settled here in great numbers. The latter are possessed of a large number of camels and ply them on lease to Jaisalmer, Multan and Qandahar.

The third *parganahs* is called Ladah Kakan[17] and is also inhabited by the Darejah tribe. During the days of Amir Shah Beg, they had committed some acts of intemperance, which led to a reprisal against them. The *Ta'rikh-i Sindh*[18] relates that incident as follows: Amir Shah Beg Arghun entrusted the government of Bhakkar to Sultan Mahmud Khan, and made the Sayyids of Bhakkar responsible for extending all possible help to him. He also ordered some Darejah chiefs to abide within the precincts of the fort. But these short-sighted people, disregarding the promise, fled away and thus not only opened the gates of hostility and conflict with the inmates, but also started annoying and affronting Sultan Mahmud. They left no stone unturned to oust him from the fort, and refused to make the payment of any dues to him. They sent back his messengers with the utmost disgrace; and mustering

them to the fort of Bhakkar. Ever since, they have taken to the manner of peasants, have never disobeyed the *hakim* of Bhakkar, and regularly pay the revenue *(mal-i diwan)*. During the days of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani, both these parganahs were in the *Jagir* of Mir Ma'sum *Bakhari*, who raised the prosperity of land and people to its zenith. Since the description of his good behavior towards the peasants and his religiosity is beyond the scope of this treatise, I have confined myself to a brief account of his administration. During his tenure, he had instructed his *'amils* that, when recording the measurement of land *(dabt)*, they should have both ends of their chain *(jarib)* directed correctly and take due notice of productive and unproductive *(bud wa nabud)* or damaged *(tukmzadah)*, that is, they should enter only the productive cultivated land in their survey register *(khasrah)* and leave out the rest altogether. For example, a village *(qaryah)* had 1,000 *jaribs* under cultivation; by some heavenly calamity, 999 jaribs were destroyed and only one *jarib* was left intact. Thus only that one jarib was recorded in the survey register and the remaining 999 *jaribs* were completely ignored. And wherever a canal was needed, he excavated one at his own expense to bring water to that place. In fine, he asked of his peasants nothing more than cultivation. As a result of his wise management, these two parganahs attained such prosperity that there was hardly any jungle left between them. All available land was brought under the plough and populated, leaving scarcely any ground even for hunting; and Mir Ma'sum, who was very fond of hunting with *gaz* and *tir*, had to go out of his parganahs to look for the game. The author has learnt from reliable people of the town of Darbelah that, when that *parganahs* was given in *Jagir* to Mir Ma'sum, during the first year 500 *bighahs* of cultivated land belonging to both the peasantry and the nobility *(a'immah)* were recorded; but when the peasantry received encouragement and was assured of his consideration and justice, then, within a short span of one *kharif*, the cultivated land in that area rose to 50,000 bighahs, excluding the unproductive and the damaged. Hence you can imagine the population and prosperity of other places.

All five these *parganahs* pay their revenue regularly, and none of their inhabitants are recalcitrant. The assessment *('amal)* of these parganahs has always been based upon measurement *(dabti)* and the regulations *(dastur)* regarding each harvest autumn

(safidbari) as well as spring *(sabzbari)* were also laid down in days past. Thus, to increase the produce in these *parganahs*, the greatest favour to the peasants would be to demand nothing of them beyond the requirements of the assessment regulations *(dastur al-amal)*. At the time of measurement *(dabt)*, enough attention should be paid to productive and unproductive; and the *arbabs*, the *ra'ises*, the *qanungus* and the *'amils* should be prohibited from making any extra exactions *(malbah)* from them, that is, in addition to the land revenue. If for the welfare of the peasants and the prosperity of the Treasury *(Diwan)*, the peasants receive some rebate in the land -revenue during one season, they will increase their cultivation, and that will add to the affluence of both parties. The residents of these parganahs do not fear the contumacious and the recalcitrant from any quarter, except the imprudent Samejah freebooters who belong to the region of Sihwan and whose depredations extend right up to Matilah, rather *Ubawah*, which lies within the boundary of Multan, and Jaisalmer. Incidentally, if the people of some parganahs happen to be strong, the rebellion *(tamarrud)* of these wretches *(badbakhtan)* - except by way of stealing- is unable to harm them. But if the residents of some parganahs become weak, they carry away their cattle with impunity and martyr whoever comes in their way; so that the peasants find it hard to stay there much less engage in cultivation. Mostly, when a village has been attacked and devastated by the Samejahs, the rehabilitation of the people in their original habitat becomes impossible.

Of the three *parganahs*, which lie in the direction of Shakkar, one is the *parganahs* of *Jato'i*. In olden times *(dar 'amal-i sabiq)* the chiefs of this *parganahs* hailed from Baluch tribes, such as the Jato'i. Bulidi, Kura'i, Dardasht, Lora'i, and Shar and so on; and they often indulged in mischief and sedition. Amir Shah Beg put an end to their sedition. The detail of this incident is as follows:

Once Amir Shah Beg had found peace with the completion of the fort of Bhakkar and the resolution of the problems of his subjects, he took counsel on the problem of the short-sighted Baluch who continued with their mischief and rebellion, and concluded that the fire of that people *(quam)* should be quenched with the temper of the sword. It was resolved to deploy a few experienced men to live with the Baluch in every village for some time, and then at a previously determined opportune moment

than they did in the previous year- which has survived in this region from the days of Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari because it causes unnecessary hardship to them; for, as has been shown in the case of Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari, there is no better way of motivating the peasantry to pay more heed to cultivation than to show beneficence *(ihsan)* towards them.[28]

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

As regards the arbabs, there are two facets *(sifat)* to their position they are subordinates as well rulers. As long as a deputy of the king *(na'ib-i padishah)* receives the revenue from the *arbabs* as he would from other peasants, pay whatever he owes to them as their remuneration for acting as *arbabs* from his own *khalisah*, does not permit them to exact their expenses *(taujih)* from the petty

peasants *(ra'iyaat-i rizah)*, and, through his benevolence, wins over the hearts of the latter to himself the *arbabs* adhere to their correct subordinate role. They behave like *ra'iyyat* and never let themselves be carried away by the idea of mischief mongering. But, on the contrary, when the *jagirdar* leaves peasants at the mercy of *arbabs*, either through revenue-farming or through rack-renting *(taujih-i ziyadah talabi)* the latter develop characteristics of a ruling class, which automatically makes peasants dependent on them for two reasons: firstly, the arbabs, hailing as they do from the same territory, now act as pillars of government; secondly, a deputy of the king has unconditionally handed over the peasants to them. Thus when the peasants fail to live up to the demands of *ijarah* or, for that matter, those of excessive exactions, and the arbabs also do not have enough money in their homes to make up the difference, the latter inevitably break into rebellion and run away. Consequently, the petty peasantry also goes into exile behind them, mainly because of two fears: firstly, they fear the possibility that, if they stay in their homes, the ruler might force them to pay the aforementioned shortfall in revenue and exactions, which they cannot do without selling their children: secondly, they fear that, if they do not flee and remain in their homes, the *arbabs* might return and kill them. Therefore, why should one in the capacity of a deputy of the king hand over the reins of government, which are all-important, to a handful of arrogant *(shakh natrashidah) arbabs* and destroy his populous and prosperous country?

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

carry out the revenue assessment of the nomadic tribes of the place but, when they arrived there, they failed to do so. Consequently, Sultan Mahmud Khan recalled them to Bhakkar, and dispatched another party to replace them. These people from the plain, who numbered about 200, left Ganjabah for Bhakkar with their families. On their way back, their guide felt giddy and told them to stop for an hour or so to enable him to recover his balance. Instead of waiting, they become furious and killed him with a stroke of the sword, and then were left alone to wander in that waterless desert. The entire party succumbed to thirst and died to the last person. Travellers still find their belongings, such as arms, and most of the land is swept by the simoom, which blows for four month during the summer.(30)

By the grace of God and owing to the everlasting fortune of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani, the fort of Siwi was wrested from the Panni Afghans by Pir Ghulam during the days of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani. When the region of Bhakkar was transferred to him in *Jagir* from the Khan-i Khanan 'Abdal-Rahim Khan, Pir Ghulam, realizing the potentials of that region, implored the Emperor to allow him to bring the region of Kich and Makran under the sway of the imperial army. The Emperor forbade him, saying that Kich and Makran lay on the frontier of Shah 'Abbas' empire; and, since relations between the two sides were cordial, it would not be right to make an encroachment upon the region of Kich and Makran without any reason.

The same *ijarah*, in cash and kind that Pir Ghulam had levied upon the Siwi Afghans still continues in force. At the beginning of every season, functionaries from Bhakkar go to the submissive tribes *(asham-ira'iyyat)* and collect the fixed amount *(muqta'i)* from them.

If the army *(jam'iyyat)* is strong, the revenue administration *(sarishtah-i'amal)* is also good; but if the army is weak, the revenue is also slender *(zabun)*. When Siwi was in the *Jagir* of Quch 'Ali Kurd,(31) he showed a great deal of valour vis-a-vis the Afghans of Siwi; but, since his army was weak, the Panni Afghans besieged him in the fort of Siwi. During those days, Taj Khan(32) was the *jagirdar* of the region of Bhakkar; and the Jagir of Ubawrah(33) and Ganjabah(34) was under my brother, Abu al-Baqa. When this news reached Emperor Jahangir, an exalted *farman* was dispatched through Madu Sazawul to the author's brother, commanding that,

having obtained reinforcements from Taj Khan, he should betake himself to the rescue of Quch 'Ali. He left Ubawrah for Bhakkar, obtained 200 troops from Taj Khan, and went to Siwi along with his own army, which comprised his brothers, relatives and old servants from the days of his father. Taken a back, the Afghan waited upon him; and that was how he rescued Quch 'Ali from the besieged fort. On another occasion, when Ganjabah was also part of the Jagir of Quch 'Ali, he taught a good lesson to the Afghan, in which a large number of them were killed. He fought several set battle with them. Although he had only 200 Mughuls at his disposal and the Afghans, every time, confronted him with strength of 2,000 to 3,000 he always fought and defeated them. Once his mind was set at peace concerning the Afghans and other nomadic tribes, he left Siwi and made forced marches through the hills for three days and nights, until he reached the fort of Kuhyar and besieged it. Some fierce battles took place between him and the Baluch occupants of the fort, and both sides suffered casualties. Consequently, Ibrahim Khan, the commandant of the fort, waited upon him with special gift from the hills, such as horses, camels, goats and chequered carpets *(shatranji).* Then, Quch 'Ali returned to Siwi. Had his means allowed him, he would have stationed a guard in that fort. The following year, he was again planning to lead an expedition to the hills; but in the meantime, he was transferred to India. Such things are not impossible for an adventurous *(kartalab)* soldier. For instance, it is mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Sindh* that, during the days of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani, Mirza Mujahid came with 30 soldiers and, near the fort of Matilah, gave battle to Sultan Mahmud Khan Bhakkar's slave, Mubarak Khan, who was accompanied by about 2,000 men, defeated him and put him under siege in the fort of Matilah. Thus retrieving the outskirts of the fort of Bhakkar from Mahmud Khan Bhakkari, he brought the region of Bhakkar under the sway of the victorious army of the Emperor. The Qur'anic verse, "How oft by Allah's will hath a small force vanquished a big one",[35] has found its fullest expression here.

After the transfer of Quch 'Ali, when the *faujdari* of Bhakkar was bestowed upon Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, he dispatched an old servant of his *(az qadimiyan)* called Shaykh Bol as the *shiqqdar* of Siwi. The Panni Afghans killed him. His sons mustered a force and rushed to Siwi, where a fierce battle was fought between

peacefully won over the chiefs of these last mentioned two clans and tamed them. Subsequently, when the region of Thattah fell into the hands of the agents of the Emperor Jahangir [Hadrat-i Jannat Makani], he also appeased Jam Halah and Ra'ana 'Umar with petty *mansab (juzwi mansab)* and allowed them to stay in their respective areas, from which they were ever ready to extend a helping hand to the governor *(sahib-i subah)* of Thattah.

In keeping with the will of the Master of the world and the people of the world *(sahib-i 'alam wa 'alamyan)*, and as a measure of security for the country, by the grace of God and by virtue of the good fortune of the Emperor, my brother, Abu al-Baqa;, has recently exterminated the Kihars, together with their chief, Jam Halah. Since no orders were issued with regard to the Nakamarah, he did not move against them, with the result that their chief, Ra'na 'Umar, also stayed in his place and continued to behave in a submissive manner.

As regards the *sarkar* of Chachkan, its peasants also are poor and tractable. The Madarah had formerly been recalcitrant since the days of the Tarkhans but during the governorship of Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri,[40] when Badin[41] was, for the first time, given in *Jagir* to my brother, he chastised them in such a befitting manner that they have thereafter remained submissive, indeed, in contrast with the rest of the peasantry they are more subservient to the *jagirdar* and pay the land revenue. Apart from the Sahudah and the Samejah Dal who belong to the *sarkar* of Nasrpur, this *sarkar* does not fear rebellion from any direction, and, since the former two have also been satisfactorily reprimanded by the aforementioned brother, the land measurement *(dabt)* of this *sarkar* is accomplished with minimal show of force.

In the *sarkar* of Nasrpur, some of its inhabitants, such as the Sahudah, the Samejah Kibar, the Samejah Sand, the Samejah Junejah, the Samejah Kiriyah and the Samejah Dal, are refractory. But the most contumacious of them all, who do not pay the revenue, are the Samejah Dal. The parganah of Samwati, whose income recovered for salaries *(jam-i tankhwahi)* amounted to 4 million *dams*, also owes its devastation to them.

When Mirza Rustam Qandahari[42] was on his way to Thattah, he send Shamshir Khan Uzbek, the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, ahead at the vanguard of his army, and himself followed on his heels. When Shamshir Khan drew near to the village of Palli Sammah,

which lies within the *parganah* of Samwati, the Samejah Dal plundered the cattle of that village. Chasing them, Shamshir Khan Uzbek put many of their men to death and freed the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those wretched ones.

Another seditious element of this *sarkar* consists of the wretched Samejah Unar, who belongs to the region of Sihwan and are settled upon the border of the *parganah* Halah Kandi, which lies just within the *sarkar*. They have ravaged this last-mentioned *parganah* whose income recovered for salaries *(jam'-i tankhwahi)*, amounted to 2 million *dams*. During the days of Muzaffar khan Ma'muri, the produce of this *parganah* had risen to 11,000 *kharwars*, and whatever it now produces is also well known. Most of this *parganahs* destruction took place during the tenure of Mirza Husam al-Din Murtada Khan II;[43] and the following briefly describes what happened: He dispatched his son, Samsam al-Daulah, to deal with the Samejah Unar. Reaching the village called Thatti which lay at a distance of half a *kuroh* from the town of Halah Kandi and was such a big village that is competed in size with the aforementioned town, Samsam dug a formidable moat around his army and shut himself up in a barricade of thorny bushes *(kharbandi numudah nishast)*. Becoming impatient, he dispatched Musa Khan Afghan, the commandant *(thanahdar)* of Halah Kandi, at the head of a body of soldiers, to attack the Samejah, who were already aware of the arrival of Samsam's army, and were keeping a watch on its movements. When Musa Khan's contingent emerged from the army's fortified position and set out for their area, the Samejah went behind the enemy and waited in ambush. When this contingent neared the Samejah villages, but was still in the jungle, they swooped upon it and martyred many of its men. Yusuf Samejah, the *arbab* of the parganah Kibar, who had, for some reason, been estranged from his *shiqqdar* and had absconded, took the Samejah Unar with him, and in broad daylight attacked the town of Halah Kandi, Hajji Muhammad, the *shiqqdar* of this parganah, was so mortified by this turn of events that he slew his wife with his own hands and fought against the ambushers until he, too, attained martyrdom, the wretches then plundered the town and ran away. Having observed all this, Samsam al-Daulah could not stand remaining inactive. He arrested the *arbabs* of the *parganahs* of Halah Kandi and Samwati and took them to his father in Thattah, who, as a

After the death of Mirza Ghazi, Emperor Jahangir sent Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri to Thattah. At that time, Shamshir Khan Uzbek was the *jagirdar* of Sihwan. He picked out 300 of the best and most resolute of his soldiers, and sent them, under the command of Khwajah Jan, who was related to him with Muzaffar Khan. when Muzaffar Khan reached Thattah, Khusrau Beg took *flight* at the sight of this Uzbek contingent. Playing a trick on Muzaffar Khan, he told him that the Shurah, Dal, and Babar tribes had gone into rebellion, and he should, therefore dispatch Khwajah Jan to suppress them. Ignorant of the terrain as the Uzbeks were, they set out in that direction hesitatingly. As a matter of custom, the Uzbeks usually fix a *qarqarah*[50] on their heads. As soon as they reached the field on the outskirts of the fort of Nayrankot, the rebels, who numbered 2,000 horse and 8,000 foot and lay in wait for the Uzbeks, noticed this headgear and decided among themselves to play a trick *(par gudharim)* on them, to the effect that every horseman of theirs should be flanked by four foot-soldiers, two on each side, to give battle to the Mughuls in this formation. Accordingly, they came out to face the Uzbeks in this formation. When the Uzbek soldiers gave rein to their mounts as they reached the midst of the enemy, the foot-soldiers fell to the grounds and were killed. An Uzbek called Khwajah Muhammad Sultan, who was one of the heroes *(az bahaduran)* of Shamshir Khan, also lost his life in this battle. The defeated remainder of the contingent retreated to the fort of Nayrankot. Surrounding the fort, the rebels encamped around it. On receiving news of this, Shamshir Khan left Sihwan with a strong army and hastened to the rescue of his soldiers. When the rebels learnt of his advance, they lifted the siege and returned to their strongholds. Khwajah Jan left the fort with his men and came to Sihwan.

Among the Shurah, Isma'il Shurah made a name for himself in sedition. He roamed about with the kettle-drum and the *sakpal* of Sa'indinah Hindu and none of the mountain tribes or of peasants of the aforementioned *sarkars* or the region of Sihwan could stand up him. Secondly, Da'ud Shurah, who lived in the village of Khasa'i Shurah on the bank of the river near the foothills, commanded a large number of Husarah river pirates, and fearlessly lay in ambush on both river and land routes. Thirdly, among the Dal, a man called Manahi was quite notorious.

An Account of the Governorship of Shamshir Khan Uzbek in Thattah

After the death of Taj Khan Shamshir Khan Uzbek was appointed the governor of Thattah; and the region of Bhakkar, after his transfer from there, was, as a revenue assignment *(Jagir-i tankhwahi)*, collectively bestowed upon my brother and Mirza Dust Beg. My brother dispatched an attendant of his called Mahabbat Khan with melons from the village of Narlam in a boat for Shamshir Khan and for Muzaffar Khan, who was then the *bakhshi* of Thattah. When the boat sailed past the ferry of Khasa'i Shurah, the Husarahs of Da'ud Shurah leapt into their boats and, catching up with Mahabbat Khan, killed him and took the water melons to Da'ud Shurah. When news of this reached my brother, he lost his patience and the same day, around the time of the evening prayers, left Sihwan by boat. He sailed continuously for three watches of the night. During the last watch, one *kuroh* before the ferry of Sann, he disembarked on the side of Sihwan and rode hard towards Khasa'i Shurah. By the time he reached there, Da'ud Shurah had somehow already learnt of his approach, and had retired into the hills with his family. The imperial army set fire to the Khasa'i Shurah, killed a few of the Shurah it encountered, and plundered whatever possessions it could lay its hands upon. This was the first blow the imperial army stuck against the Shurahs.

An Account of the Governorship of Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri in Thattah

After the transfer of Shamshir Khan, Muzaffar Khan took over as the governor of Thattah, while the former came back to Sihwan. Meanwhile, my brother was appointed to Badin, in the *sarkar* of Chachkan, with Nayrankot and Shal, in the *sarkar* of Chakar Halah, as his revenue assignment. Hence, in accordance with the imperial *farman*, he went to Badin.

Once, intending to punish the Samejah Dal who lived in the *parganah* of Shal, Muzaffar Khan, together with the *mansbdars* in attendance on him at Thattah, rode out of that city. My brother had not yet arrived at Thattah from Badin. When the army of Muzaffar Khan reached the outskirts of Shal, Manahi, the chief of

allegiance to the Emperor. On their way back, they kept a watchful eye on the Shurah and Dal tribes. Riding hard towards these short-sighted ones, they fell upon them early in the morning in the foothills. In close analogy to the hunting-ring formed to gather in game for the grand royal chase *(qamurghah)*, they surrounded the wretches. They killed many of them, captured Junjar, son of Isma'il Shurah, together with several of his followers, and plundered all the cattle of the two tribes. Bayazid's sons brought the captives to their father in Thattah, where Isma'il Shurah's son died in captivity. Except for the few who escaped to the hills and cast in their lot with the hill tribes, or those who chose to submit this expedition exterminated the Shurahs and the Dals. The submissive ones remain submissive and do absolutely no harm to the peasants of the *sarkar* of Chakar Halah.

The Babar were related to Babu Palejah. When they were deprived of the support of the Shurah and the Dal, those of them that survived came and took up their abode near the village of Babu Palejah. But Babu Palejah soon found an opportunity to inform on them to the troops of Sayyid Bayazid, stationed at the *thanah* of Nayrankot; and they one morning attacked and killed most of them. The remaining few offered their allegiance. During the days of Sayyid Bayazid, these three intractable tribes in the *sarkar* of Chakar Halah were completely exterminated. Consequently, the wild Nuhmardis who inhabited the hills in the direction of Sihwan then gained control over the peasants of Chakar Halah. The *jagirdars* of this *sarkar* therefore gave then some of their villages in *Jagir* to conciliate them, and thus managed to save the rest of their *jagirs* from being ravaged. From Nayrankot up to the shrine of Uways-i Qarami,[52] may the mercy of God be upon him, the Nuhmardis are now settled. A description of this shrine *(nazargah)* will be given presently.

This *sarkar* and a part of the *sarkar* of Thattah, including the parganah Sakirah, which lies towards the parganah Chakar Halah, stand in need of an army to control them. The nomads found in the vicinity of the parganah Sakirah are made up of Kalimati and Jokiyah Baluches, and these two factions *(firqah)* together number around three thousand horse and foot. They have been offering seasonal tribute *(faslanah)* of some heads of camel and goats to the *subahdar* of Thattah and avoid creating unnecessary disturbance in the region of Thattah. However, to

keep an eye on their activities, the *subahdar* of Thattah always stations a *thanah* in the fort of the village of Narelah.

During the tenure of Sayyid Bayazid, the Jokiyahs once went amiss; the details are as follows: The Sayyid gave 50 horsemen to his adopted son, Shah Muhammad, and appointed him the commandant of the *thanah* Narelah. Whimsical person that he was, Shah Muhammad was infuriated by a remark of Hajji, son of Bajar Jokiyah, and in a fit of rage flung his shoe at him. This sent a wave of consternation throughout the Jokiyahs, who abandoned their homes and headed for the hills. Shah Muhammad followed them with his army and tried to conciliate them, but in vain consequently, they found themselves arrayed in battle against each other. Shah Muhammad's men fought with hand weapons, such as sabres and spears, but those wretches took recourse to arrows. They killed Shah Muhammad and all the 50 soldiers accompanying him, stripped them of their horse and weapons, ran into the hills. Hence, Sayyid Bayazid imposed an embargo on the movement of grain and other commodities in that direction until the Jokiyahs called on him under a promise of safe conduct. The Kalimatis and Jokiyahs occasionally raid the region of Sihwan. Between them and the Nuhmardis there is open hostility, and they are always at war with each other. But, with their large numbers, the Nuhmardis retain superiority over their rivals.

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

As regards the development of this region, it is essential that the description-roll *(taujih)* of this country should be called for from the *qanungus* and scrutinized in the royal presence; so that whatever excessive exactions the *jagirdar* take from the peasantry, beyond half of their be appointed here with the stipulation that he would, henceforth, be responsible for the prosperity of the country and for not allowing the *jagirdar* to compel peasants to give more than what is permissible under the regulations.

The frontiers of this region should be safeguarded against refractory elements; so that out of this one region the produce of 10 regions could be procured and the region itself could be

CHAPTER FOUR

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

SECTION I

A Brief Description of the Parganahs of This Region

Be it known that Sihwan[54] is the name of an old, dilapidated mud-built fort which is perched on a mound on the back of the river in the direction of Sitpur Nahiran. The river passes by the northern side of the fort while the population is located on the southern side. The sacred threshold of his holiness, Makhdum Lal Shahbaz, who is blessed with mystic spiritual flight *(quds parwaz)*, lies to the extreme south of the city and the tomb of his holiness Makhdum Chhata Imrani,[55] on whom be the mercy of God, is situated at a quarter of a *kuroh's* distance from Thattah sprawls a mountainous tract. The hills of this area, which measures three *kurohs* by half a *kuroh*, lie nearby. They consist of green sedimentary rock united by sand. At the start of this mountainous region there is a hill which is known as Yak Tanbi[56] in the Sindhi language. It derives its name from the fact that they hewed the rock to construct a house on top of a pillar which is said to be the shrine *(nazargah)* of his holiness, Amir 'Ali, may God be pleased with him. On top of this mountains, Pir Ghulam erected a platform like the one at Bhakkar and named it *Suffah-i Wafa'* (the Platform of Fidelity). The nights of the *Ayyam-i bid* (the 13th, 14th and 15th of each lunar month) he mostly spent there and regaled himself in the company of sages, scholars and soldiers, eating melons from the village Nar. Even now, in the year 1044 [1634-35 A.D], that platform is still intact. Half a *kuroh* away from this hill the sand is red and harbours innumerable skinks *(rigmahi)*.[57] The time for hunting these skinks in summer, when the rain has not yet fallen. Next to this sandy tract, some springs have burst from the ground and are known as the springs of his holiness Lal

Shahbaz, may God halo his grave. Like Wilayat, here also the custodians of the tomb *(mujawiran)* of his holiness Lal Shahbaz use the water of these spring[58] for agricultural purposes.

On the day following the Shivratri *(Shiwrat)*[59] of the Hindus, those Hindu inhabitants of the city who cannot afford going to the Dakri-i Kalan, both males and females, wash themselves at one of these spring and call that spring the Dakri-i Khurd. The Dakri-i Kalan will be described later.

Three kurohs from the city there stands a rocky mountain which contains hard white marble.[60] This is the same mountain which to the south verges on the sea and the region of Kich and Makran, and in the north joins the mountain ranges of Qandahar, Kabul and Kashmir. In the middle of this mountain there is a large population which is mainly composed of Baluchi tribes. They do not stay at one place; but roam from one good pastureland to another. Some forts, such as Ka'inarah, Anunbelah, Kuhyar, Winkar, also dot this area, where cultivation also takes place. On top of the hill *(pusht-i kuh)* called Lakki there stands a kiln-baked brick dome which now lies in ruin. This dome has come to be known as the Mari of Emperor Humayun, which in Sindhi means an upper chamber. The place is at 4 *kurohs*' distance from the city. There are two accesses to the hill: one is called Baqi Ji because it was cut out by Mirza Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan; the second is known as Ganah and passes by the aforementioned Mari. Ganah in Sindhi means an oil mill *(raughankadah)*; in this path there lies a stone which looks like an oil mull, and hence the name. Both paths are extremely dangerous. Very few people have survived the journey through these paths, since most travellers are martyred by the Baluch. This hill abounds in mysterious spirits *(mardan-i ghayb)*[61] and martyrs *(shuhada)* and quite frequently the voice of their remembrance *(dhikr)* is distinctly heard in the dead hours of the night. It was at the foot of this very hill, in the direction of Thattah, that Mirza Jani Tarkhan fought with, and was defeated by, the followers of the Khan-i Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim, who formed part of the victorious armies of Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani, while the Khan-i Khanan had for some reason lifted the siege of the fort of Sihwan and proceeded to the parganah of Jaun, a dependency of the parganah of Chachkan. This defeat broke Mirza Jani's back, while on the other side, Daru, a son of Raja Todarmal, was killed in this battle.

Pahawars; and seventhly, the Hindus. The peasants of this parganah are extremely poor. They endure all the hardships perpetrated on them by the *jagirdar* without ever rebelling. Given encouragement, this parganah could improve tremendously in growth and prosperity. But the town of Bubakan is very rich in slanderers and calumniators *(mardum-i sa'i wa chughul)*. As soon as a new jagirdar arrives, one informs on the other and thus ignites a fire that not only consumes him personally, but also burns up others, and in the process causes destruction in the entire country.

Sixth, the *parganah* of Haweli Sihwan: the peasant of this parganah are extremely indigent and destitute. Beside submission they have no other occupation.

Seventh, the *parganah* Nayrun: in olden times, this aquatic *parganah* was known as Kulab-i Manchhur (Manchhur Lake). It does not have any cultivation worth the name. Its only produce is fish, other aquatic products and grass *(kah)*, and it is only in the form of these articles that the inhabitants of the place pay the fixed revenue demand *(muqta'i)*. Its peasantry consists of poor boatmen, [67] most of whom have never set foot on land, never eaten grain worth the name and do not know what clothing is. They weave reed[68] and rope into a rug-like thing and then, stuffing it with hay, weave another layer of the same reed on the upper side of it as well. Looking like a mound *(tal)*, it stays afloat on water, and the bigger ones are known as *madd* in the Sindhi language. Thatching them over, these people live in them on water. The small ones are called *taro*. On board these taros, they catch fish, hunt water-fowl and go out in search of their livelihood. They wear mat and live on aquatic food, including fish and grass-roots, which are known in the Sindhi language as *biha*,[69] *kuma* and *lura*; and if one brings these people to the land, they have difficulty in walking normally.

There are 16 big villages afloat on water. It is a huge lake, measuring 10 by 10 kurohs. During the winter season, there is a great abundance of game in this lake, such as goose *(qaz)*, heron *(kulang)* and other water-fowl, so that they descend on the lake in lacs and crores and are hunted by whatever method the people can devise. For this purpose, the boatmen have manufactured different types of nets for use by day and by night. They catch these birds with the aid of these nets. Likewise, the hunters carry a decoy *(qalib)*[70] with them, which they put on their heads to catch

them. But best of all is hunting with a matchlock, in that one does not have to lie in ambush. Sitting on board a boat one can fire as many shots as one likes. These birds sit in big flocks, and it has happened quite often that with a single shot between three to four geese have fallen. The author has often hunted with a matchlock at this lake.

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

To start with, this lake was included in the revenue assessment of the parganah Haweli Sihwan; but during the tenure of Shamshir Khan Uzbek, it was made part of the revenue assessment of the region of Sihwan, under the name of Nayrun. In this lake the *par-i kilki* fish are also met with.

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

Four places in this parganah, namely the town of Sann and the villages of Lak'alwi, Amiri and Thatti Wali Muhammad, belong to the Sayyids.

The Sayyids of Lak'alwi are of a very pure lineage. They do

grandson of Guryah Hindi, exhibited considerable valour against these people. This is what happened: He had 100 horsemen of his own and, collecting 200 horsemen and foot-soldiers from the peasants, he rode out from the town of Talhatti with the intention of attacking a faction of the Dahiris. By the time he reached their villages, they had got wind of his approach, and around 1,000 Dahiri horsemen and foot-soldiers fell on him and put him to flight. Wherever he fled, the Dahiris followed. At last, while passing through a forest, Ra'e Singh deployed 50 horsemen on each side of the path in the forest, leaving no sign on it. When the enemy reached the midst of these horsemen, they let fly their arrows and killed 30 of the Dahiri vanguard. Most of their bog chieftains, such as Shah Mir and Sand, fell into Ra'e Singh's hands. Though there were about 20 casualties on his side, too, the Dahir's were routed. Thus defeated, they accepted the over lordship of the *jagirdar* and agreed to pay the revenue *(parah'i malgudhari)*.

The Halahpotrahs were another strong tribe in this parganah. They had been resisting the Samejah Unar and were quite diligently engaged in cultivation. They also extended their help to the jagirdar in his expeditions against the Samejah Unar up to the days of Shamshir Khan Uzbek. After his tenure, when the tyranny and oppression of some of the jagirdar reduced the peasants of this parganah to prostration, the Halahpotrahs were also weakened, and the Samejah Unar's arm of oppression was extended to this parganah. But some sort of peace still prevailed between these two tribes until, during the tenure of Ahmad Beg Khan, the Samejah Unar completely devastated this parganah, and most of its inhabitants were driven into the wilderness. With the destruction of this parganah, the oppression of the Samejahs, now extended to the villages of the parganahs of Bubakan, Haweli Sihwan and Sann, which lay on this side of the river. Since the parganah of Khittah was situated entirely on the bank of the river, adjacent to the parganah of Lakut, which was the habitat of the Samejah Unar, and its villages were yet intact, the wretched, infamous Samejah Unar chose the peasants of this parganah as the target of all manner of coercion and aggression. When the jagirdar rode out in support of the imperial subjects, the Samejahs, having subdued the peasants of this parganah, hastily withdrew across the river. They never did any harm to the peasantry of the villages

on this side of the river, but rather reserved all their mischief for the other side. The destruction of the parganah Khittah greatly increased the power of the Samejah Unar.

Then Dindar Khan bestowed some of the villages of Khittah, Lakut and Sann on the Samejah Unar and the Sayyids of Sann and Lak'alwi in *jagir*, and this created an atmosphere of complete peace and tranquility. He brought Karan, the chief of one section of the Samejahs, and settled him right in the middle of the Khittah parganah. Thereafter, some of the villages of this parganah were rehabilitated. However, this parganah still needs to be protected from the Samejah Unar and to be developed, because in its prosperity lies the destruction of the Samejah Unar. And God knows best what is right.

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

Frightened as the Samejah were of the Lakah and the imperial army, they did not cultivate the *rizani* lands on the bank of the lakes, but instead did most of their *rabi'* and *kharif* cultivation, such as that of millet *(jawari)* and barley *(jau)*, in arid land, with the aid of rain water. That cultivation of theirs was also plundered by imperial soldiers in collaboration with the Lakah, or else they obliged the Samejah to pay revenue. Under these circumstances, there was hardly any chance for the Samejah to establish themselves and the peasants also gave their allegiance to the Lakahs tribes. Subsequent to the tenure of Shamshir Khan Uzbek, however, the irregularities of some of the jagirdars weakened the Lakah tribes, and most of their lands were appropriated by the Samejah Unar, who exterminated them ruthlessly. Those of them who survived emigrated to Sann and settled there. The majority of the peasantry of this parganah then swung towards the Samejah tribe, and the latter started harvesting

sprinkling being enough to grow barley (jau). They cover the seeds with hay to prevent animals and birds from eating them up. By the grace of God, without anything more being done, the barley attains perfection, ripens and becomes food for these wretches. Even if they were to pay no more than one-tenth of the value of this cultivation in land-revenue, that would still be plenty.

The second group is that of the intractable Chandiyah Baluches, who live at the foothills near the parganah Baghbanan. They cultivate the land and are possessed of a great number of cattle. Since the tenure of Bakhtiyar Beg and Pir Ghulam, nobody has ever realized any revenue from them. They are divided into two faction: first, the Gora, which means 'white' in Sindhi; secondly, the Kara, which signifies 'black'. The reason they are so called is that a mountain Baluch called Chandiyah had two sons of whom one was named Gora and the other Kara, and while the descendants of Gora are known as Goras, those of Kara are called Karas. In all, they number around 1,000 horse and foot, around 300 horse and about 700 foot. This type of mischief-maker is rarely met with. Besides cattle-lifting, they engage in the abduction of human beings *(adamduzdi)* and the sale of free-born people *(hurr firushi)*. The parganah of Baghbanan owes its ruin and destruction to the oppression exercised by these people, and the collapse of the parganahs of Kahan, Patar and Akbarabad is also mostly due to them.

The third group of intractable elements is made up of the Nuhmardis. The reason behind this nomenclature is that nine factions of the Samejahs broke away from the tribe and settled in the hills, and from those wretches were begotten these ones. However, originally the Nuhmardis were Samejahs. They form a fairly large body, numbering around 6,000: 1,500 horse and 4,500 foot. They are divided into four *tarafs* (sections), namely the taraf-i Kanbo, the taraf-i Harun, the taraf-i Choli, and the taraf-i Lashkari. They mostly inhabit the hilly country contiguous to the parganah of Haweli Sihwan and Sann. Since the jagirdars of the *sarkar* on them as a reward (in'am), some of them are also found around the mountains of Chakar Halah.

They do not engage in cultivation, nor are they settled in any particular place. Whatever place they settle in for a while they call a *thanah*. They own plenty of horses, camels, goats, cows and

various products of the mountains. They are not short of anything and actually are quite rich. The finest of a special breed of camel *(shuturan-i rangan)* are to be found with them. Nevertheless, their sole occupation is rapine and plunder. In those parganahs of Sihwan which are situated near the fort of Sihwan on its side of the river and in the *sarkar* of Chakkar Halah they are the main source of trouble; and, until now, no *subahdar* of Thattah and no jagirdar of Sihwan has ever disturbed them or invaded any of their *thanahs*, except where, in retaliation for their plunder of a place, he might have pursued and killed some of them. And God knows best what is right.

SECTION III

Description of the Cause of the Destruction of the Peasants of the Region of Sihwan and the Strengthening of the Insurgents

As an account of this matter involves the tenures of some past *jagirdars*, I here first venture to outline the tenures of these jagirdars. Be it known that during the administration of the Tarkhans, because of their good conduct and lack of tyranny, the peasantry was quite well-to-do and regularly paid the revenue. Moreover, the Tarkhan had established strong *thanads* everywhere, so that no one clan could harm the other and the peasantry remained safe from the arm of insurgents. Indeed, beside the protection of the *thanahdars*, the peasants themselves were strong enough to defend themselves[72] against intractable elements as well as against one another. Consequently, no trouble erupted among the peasants, and they busied themselves with cultivation in complete peace of mind and had no occupation besides agriculture. Thus, wherever there was waste land, they brought it under the plough, and paying the share due to the revenue officer *(diwan)*, retained their own share. Side by side with the others, the Samejah Unar also worked as peasants; but, since most of the Arghun and Tarkhan chiefs had married their daughters or otherwise entered into matrimonial relations with them, they tended to be arrogant. On the other hand, Mirza Salih Tarkhan had done a good deal of killing among them, and Mirza

Thirdly, though he led his army through several expeditions and numerous adventures against insurgent nomads of this region, I venture to describe just a few of them. First of all, when he reached the region of Sihwan, he sent his *shiqqdar*, Shahsawar, to the abode of the Samejah Unar, which was one of the dependencies of the *parganah* Lakut. Stationed amidst the Samejah Unar, he collected revenue from them. One day, finding an opportunity, the Samejahs killed him. As soon as Bakhtiyar Beg got the news, he dispatched an army under the command of Quch 'Ali Shamlu against the short-sighted Samejah Unar. The following day this army fell upon the wretches, and killed many of them. The Samejah chiefs such as Paryah, Bodlah, Muhamud, Farid, Jayundah and Judah, drawn from all the four of their quarters *(tarafs)*, called on Quch 'Ali and pleaded for pardon. He put the heads of the slain insurgents into baskets and sent them with these six chiefs to Bakhtiyar Beg in Sihwan. Bakhtiyar Beg kept these chiefs under custody until Qasim Khan Arghun,(74) who was the *hakim* of Nasrpur from the side of Mirza Jani Beg, guaranteed the realization of a fine of 24,000 Laris(75) from the Samejah and procured their release. Bakhtiyar Beg dispatched his men to Qasim Khan in Nasrpur to make arrangements to fetch the aforementioned sum of money. Being indigent, the Samejahs chose the option of exile, and went and settled in the *sarkar* of Nasrpur. A part of the amount of the aforementioned fine they paid in cash, and the remainder they wanted to make good in king, such as horses, camels, cows and donkeys. The agents of Bakhtiyar Beg conveyed this wish to their master, who, rejecting the request, crossed the river and encamped at the fort of Winjarah. From there, he wrote to Qasim Khan Arghun asking him to pay the balance in cash or else soon expect him on his head. He also warned him against granting asylum to the Samejahs, who were Bakhtiyar Beg's subjects. When this letter reached Qasim Khan Arghun he started temporizing with excuses and protests. Bakhtiyar Beg, putting his army on the alert, marched towards Nasrpur. When he reached Nagar, a place neighboring the said *sarkar*, Qasim Khan Arghun was brought news of this, and he instantly paid the balance of the fine in cash from his own exchequer to the agents of Bakhtiyar Beg, and wrote back to him apologizing profusely. He also deputed his men to keep an eye on the Samejah Unar, so that wherever they migrated

into the *sarkar* of Nasrpur, they should be captured and dispatched back to the region of Sihwan, thus extricating himself from the surety he had offered in respect of the Samejahs. Consequently, finding themselves helpless, the Samejahs came back to their own habitation, adopted the manners of peasants, and gave up their short-sighted insurgency. Bakhtiyar Beg repaired to Sihwan, but his *shiqqdar* stayed among the Samejah Unar and realized the revenue from them, as he did from the rest of the peasants, so that, even in the case of cultivation in plains whose irrigation depended on rainfall, he charged revenue from them in accordance with the assessment regulations.

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

Besides this, Bakhtiyar Beg himself led an expedition against the intractable Machhis of the village of Akbarabad and exterminated them, to which reference has been made earlier. Then, on one occasion, when the Nuhani Baluches, who will be dealt with later on, defaulted in the payment of their revenue, Bakhtiyar Beg rode out personally against them and slew 17 of their warlike chiefs. But a Baluch called Tuta fought valiantly and killed some of Bakhtiyar Beg's soldiers. And when Rahman Quli galloped towards this Baluch, the latter hamstrung his horse. Rahman Quli fell to the ground and the two of them grappled with each other. As Rahman Quli was clad in mail, the Baluch's blows had little effect on him, whereas his blows so wounded the Baluch that he died. Subsequently, Bakhtiyar Beg bestowed

revenue from them as he did from his other peasants.

Bakhtiyar Beg's tenure in Sihwan lasted for seven years. He had made a crop-sharing arrangement with his peasantry, which varied from one-half to two-fifths, one-third and one-fourth at other places. He followed only the crop-sharing system. The income from one *rabi'* crop during his tenure had reached 80,000 *kharwars* of grain, which of course, did not include the *wujuh-i sabzbari* and the grain of the *kharif* crop. He looked upon the *zamindars* of this region as his people *(ra'iyyat)* and did not burden them with oppressive exactions. He treated everyone with due consideration, so that no one gained preference over the other. He gave grants to the arbabs and *muqaddams* and never inconvenienced the peasants on that account. This sort of behavior contributes tremendously to the prosperity of a people, because, in the crop-sharing system, the holding of an *arbab*, *muqaddam*, or *qanungu* is as subject of assessment as that of an indigent peasant. There is no chance of complicity in extortion *(sitam shariki)* in it; whereas in *dabt*, at the time of assessment, *muqaddams* and *qanungus*, separate their own holdings, and, adding their own revenue on to that of the assessable lands of the peasants, get involved in making exorbitant assessment. How prudent and discerning an administrator should be to forestall this vile practice of the *arbabs*, *muqaddams*, and *qanungus*, while performing the duties of assessment has been briefly commented upon previously in connection with Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari. Besides, in the crop-sharing system, the peasants cultivate the low-yield lands as well as, if not better than, the high-yield lands, whereas in the *dabti* system they cultivate only those lands which can fulfill the *dabti* obligations, and ignore the low-yield ones altogether.

In his expedition against the fort of Siwi. Bakhtiyar Beg, by order of Hadrat-i 'Arsh 'Ashiyani, accompanied Pir Ghulam with a fair contingent, while, in the Qandahar expedition, he sent his younger son, Ba' Aba Beg, at the head of 300 choice horsemen.

In short, during the tenure of Bakhtiyar Beg, not only was the region of Sihwan well-administered, populous and flourishing, the army also in other territories as well. His discipline kept the tribes of the region of Bhakkar and Thattah in awe and order. Highly as he regarded the Emperor, every step he took, from purchase and sale to assessment of land, was taken in collaboration with local magistrate *(qadi)* and mufti (jurisconsult on Muslim

law), in order to make sure that nobody's interest was hurt. And that is what the welfare of the peasants and the destruction of the insurgents require. And God knows best what is right.

When Bakhtiyar Beg fell ill and his condition deteriorated day by day, his sons, 'Abd al-Rahman and Baba Beg, imprisoned all Pahawar chiefs in the fort of Sihwan, except from Baha' al-Din Pahawar, who was at large. Then while the *rabi'* crop was being harvested, Bakhtiyar Beg entrusted his life to God. Goriyah Hindu procured this harvest from the imperial court on lease at a specified rent and entrusted it for assessment to Jaysar Hindu, whom he had employed as a *qanungu* in Sihwan. Meanwhile, the Samejahs, finding an opportunity, decided to exterminate the Pahawars and the Korejahs, who were pure peasants *(ra'iyyat-i khalis)*. Thus, every Samejah, no matter whether he was in the region of Bhakkar or in the territory of Sihwan, prepared to get rid of the Pahawars and Korejahs. On this side of the river, the Samejahs of the village Lakiyar, a dependency of the region of Bhakkar, advanced and set fire to the village Binhan, a dependency of the parganah of Kahan, which formed part of Sihwan, and ran off with whatever they could lay their hands on. Likewise, the Samejahs of the village Kanhari, a dependency of the *parganah* of Kahan, set ablaze the village Samtani, which also was a dependency of this parganah and the home of Baha' al-Din Pahawar, and looted it. Similarly, the Samejah Unar, across the river, ravaged the villages of the Korejahs and Pahawars, which lay in the parganah of Junejah. Thus the region of Sihwan presented a spectacle of complete chaos. Left with no alternative, the Pahawars and Korejahs unanimously resolved to give battle to the Samejahs who were the root of this disorder and confusion; and if, by the grace of God, they succeeded against the Samejahs, well and good, otherwise they would emigrate to the region of Thattah. In keeping with this resolution, 4,000 to 5,000 Pahawars and Korejahs, horse and foot, went across the river to the village Babri, one of the dependencies of the parganah Junejah, and encamped there. Jaysar Hindu also joined them with his army. On the other hand, 5,000 to 6,000 Samejah horse and foot came together and took up positions in the village of Kajirah, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned parganah. Consultations held by the Pahawars and Korejahs led them to the conclusion that they should mount a surprise attack on the Samejahs. Completing

Khittah, was given to Pir Ghulam in place of Bhakkar, whence he was transferred. When Pir Ghulam reached Sihwan, he found a wrecked and destroyed country. He summoned the *qanungus* and ordered them to give him a detailed list of all the villages in every parganah and indicate which of them were populated and which were lying in ruin. With this list in hand, he traced out the peasants of the destroyed villages from wherever they had gone and rehabilitated them in their previous homes. He encouraged them with a crop-sharing system coupled with assistance by way of a decreased State share, and gave this assurance to every one of them in writing. He took no notice of vested interests and what slanderers told him about the peasants. He stationed strong *thanahs* on the frontiers of this region and appointed a *shiqqdar* in the *tappa* of the Samejahs, too. Thus during the very first year of his tenure this country was set on the path of development; and wherever there was an insurgent, he submitted and undertook to pay revenue.

One day in the afternoon, the Samejah Unar made a raid on the cattle of the Lakahs in the village Kujran, which lay in front of Sann, just across the river. A servant of Pir Ghulam named Bayazid, who was the *shiqqdar* of the parganah of Sann, felt outraged by this audacity of the Samejahs. He leapt into a small boat, together with his horse, and, crossing the river, fell upon them all by himself. Those accursed ones hamstrung his horse and killed him. This news reached Pir Ghulam four watches past the day. He mounted his horse immediately, but, before he could cross the river, his servants *(khanahzads)* had already betaken themselves to the villages of the Samejahs with a party of soldiers, killed a group of them and severed their heads. A delegation of the chiefs of these scoundrels, including Danipasa, Tayyib and Jamid, called on those *khanahzads*. The latter apprehended them and subsequently presented them, along with the severed heads to Pir Ghulam, who, having crossed the river, had encamped in the villages of Mihran, which lay in the parganah Khittah. The following day, the rest of the Samejah chiefs also called on Pir Ghulam, with some of their girls and an offering of a big indemnity, pleading for pardon. Henceforth, he established a strong fort in the village of Winjarah, which lay right in the centre of the Samejah area, and another in the village of Dih, which was situated in the parganah of Haweli on the bank of the river, and

stationed strong *thanahs* there. Then, during his tenure, these Samejahs never again committed any insurgency and paid the revenue as the rest of the peasants did.

On another occasion, another Samejah clan, the Tibah, resident in the parganah Baghbanan, whose insurgency has been described earlier, rose in rebellion in collaboration with the Chandiyahs. Pir Ghulam rode out personally and encamped in the centre of the of Tibah villages, such as Kandhkot. Chin, and Pitah. The *kharif* crop had turned out to be extremely good, and he got it assessed to his satisfaction. The Tibahs and the Chandiyahs all called on him and pledged their obedience. Thereafter, they too: never again committed any insurgency during his term of office and paid the revenue regularly.

In yet another instance, the Nuhmardis stole cattle from the villages of *parganah* Haweli Sihwan. A young man called Quli Jan, who was the *thanahdar* of the village Tiri, came out and pursued the insurgents. He retrieved the cattle, but a severe battle ensued between them. By the grace of God and owing to the eternal good luck of the Emperor, the insurgents were defeated and a large number of their men were killed. Thus chastised they never again resorted to rebellion in this region. All their chiefs called on Pir Ghulam and secured a promise of safe conducts for grain, which they took back to their area. They also undertook to pay some tribute in kind, such as camels and goats, which they did regularly every season.

When Mirza Jani died, his son, Mirza Ghazi, was in Thattah. To capture him, Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani bestowed the region of Bhakkar and Siwi on Sa'id Khan[79] in jagir and dispatched him to that area. Having arrived there. Sa'id Khan encamped in the parganah of Darbelah. An order was also issued to Pir Ghulam that he should personally go to Thattah and escort Mirza Ghazi to the court. Thus, having prepared a good force, in keeping with the imperial decree, Pir Ghulam decided to reach Thattah before Sa'id Khan and accompany Mirza Ghazi as a steward *(sazawul)* to the capital of Agrah. He went personally to Nasrpur, which is the navel of the region of Thattah, and then sent ahead one of his servants, Mir 'Ata' Allah Mashhadi, who was outstanding in the excellence of his poetry and calligraphy, as an envoy. On hearing this news, Mirza Ghazi wrote to him: "I submit to the orders of the Emperor. You go back and I shall follow you." Pir Ghulam,

do you suggest I do about this situation?" Mirza Ghazi replied: "Since the *farman* commands that the Samejahs should be punished severely, wherever these accursed ones turn, you must pursue them and put them to death, capture their families and confiscate their cattle." My brother said: "Put these two things in writing, so that the blame does not subsequently fall on me." Mirza Ghazi immediately put it all down in writing and, affixing his seal on this handed it over to my brother, and himself left for Qandahar together with Pir Ghulam. Abu al-Baqa' also left for Sihwan via Bhakkar. On the way, when he reached the parganah of Junejah, which lay in the *jagir* of Mirza Ghazi, the latter's revenue-collectors told him that the Samejah Bukyah of the village Kajirah had taken to insurgency and refused to pay the revenue. He therefore decided to go straight to the village Kajirah, and rode hard to that place. Since the Bukyahs had already dug a formidable ditch and put a barbed fence *(kharbandi)* around the village, a battle of arrows took place. Most of the men and two horses of my brother were wounded, but he then broke through the fence and killed some of wretches. The remainder of their chiefs called on him and pleaded for pardon. He handed them over to the revenue-collectors of Mirza Ghazi, and he himself made for Sihwan, whence, after necessary preparations for a raid on the Samejah Unar, he crossed the river.

No sooner had he done so than Samejahs dispersed and ran away. Some of them went towards the sand hills of Jaisalmer while others came to the *sarkar* of Nasrpur. Here he learnt that the Samejah chief called Talib had crossed the river Sankarah with his groups and was heading towards the sand hills of Nasrpur. My brother then rode hard in his pursuit and overtook Talib before they could reach his destination. Nearby, there was a fort called Sadgar,[80] where Shir Beg,[81] the son-in-law of Qasim Arghun lived. Talib together with his group, entered this fort and strengthened its defences. My brother besieged the fort, and the garrison of the fort fought back with arrows, muskets and cannon. But the imperial army humbled them with a single blow: they put an elephant in the fore and charged the gate of the fort. By the grace of God and by the eternal good luck of the Emperor, the elephant followed by the soldiers broke through the gate. Thus the Samejahs were massacred right in the middle of the fort. About 1,200 Samejahs, along with their chief, Talib, were killed;

and the imperial army was blessed with a deservedly brilliant success.

On the way back, my brother subdued the region of the Samejahs comprising the villages of Sabah, Winjarah, Katrah, Dira'un and Janrah, crossed the river at the ferry called Mandihji, in front of the fort of Sihwan, and reached Sihwan. But vicious and perfidious as this tribe is, the Samejah came back and attacked the parganah Khittah. My brother played a trick and, under the pretext of riding out against the Samejah Tibah, who lived in the parganah Baghbanan, returned from Sihwan for the second time. It was around the time for the noon prayers[82] that he reached the township of Patar. He crossed the river at the ferry of Muhrah, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned parganah, and, around the time for the evening prayers, set out towards the Samejah Unar. That night and the following day and night, he galloped along the border of the desert of Jaisalmer. After traversing a distance of about 6 kurohs, around dawn, he fell upon the village Dira'un, killed about 500 men of the Samejah Unar, rounded up a large number of captives, and seized countless cattle. Thence, he came to the village Kajran, where the Lakahs pleaded with him to establish a fort for them in that village and to station a strong *thanah* there. Complying with this request of the Lakahs he built a strong fort in that village, named it Jahangirabad, appointed an old servant of Pir Ghulam, Fath 'Ali, with a strong detachment, as the thanahdar of that fort, and himself left for Sihwan.

When the news of the return of my brother reached Qasim Khan Arghun in Nasrpur, he resolved to avenge the embarrassment of the defeat at the Sadgar fort and dispatched his sons, Jinda'i and Fathi. Together with about 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, comprising Samejah Unars and Sahudahs, to storm the fort of Jahangirabad, and Afghan called Ibrahim, happened to come out of the fort on a hunting expedition and, observing the situation, rode back post-haste to convey the news to Fath 'Ali. He immediately deployed a body of archers and musketeers on top of the fort, and, mounting his horse, came out of the fort with his army, positioning himself between the barbed fence and the ditch of the fort. As soon as the army of Jinda'i and Fathi appeared and made a dash for the fort, it was subjected to a volley of arrows and musket-shot. Whatever God Most High does is appropriate: in the

and then, in the afternoon *(waqt-i zawal)*, rode out towards the Chandiyahs. He rode the whole day and night, and, at dawn, fell upon them in the mountain pass called Daruband and killed and captured a large number of these scoundrels. On the way back, he severely chastised the Samejah Tibah in the *parganah* of Baghbanan, arrested their chief, Guriyah Tibah, and brought him to Sihwan. After that day, the Chandiyahs and the Samejah Unar never again indulged in insurgency, and paid the revenue obediently.

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

Thirdly, he stationed a servant of his called Manzur, with 50 soldiers, at the fort of Jahangirabad in the *tappah* of the Samejah Unar. One day, the aforementioned Manzur rode out against a group of Samejah Unar. The latter, who had got news of his expedition came behind him and blockaded the road. When Manzur was returning, after achieving the goal of expedition, the Samejahs attacked him, killed 10 to 15 of his soldiers, and carried away the horses and arms of the dead together with the kettle-drum. Thus defeated, Manzur returned to the fort of Jahangirabad. When news of this reached my brother, he was running a temperature and could not ride out personally. Hence, he dispatched his elder son, 'Atiq Allah, accompanied by his own brothers, relatives and soldiers against the Samejah. 'Atiq Allah came to and camped in the fort of Jahangirabad. Securing the intercession of certain personalities, the Samejah called on 'Atiq Allah, brought along the horses and other belongings of the dead soldiers, together with the kettle-drum, and offered to pay indemnities, as well. 'Atiq Allah, who had the pride of youth in his head, turned down this offer of peace, and, instead, chose to ride out against them. When he reached the plain of the Sabah lake, he found a luxuriant crop of millet *(jawari)* standing there. The Samejah sent their families and cattle towards the deserts of

Jaisalmer, and themselves took positions behind that crop. 'Atiq Allah, having traced their tracks, sent Mir Kamil, a cousin of his father, at the head of 200 serviceable soldiers as an advance party, after completing necessary preparations, himself followed them. These armies were probably about two *kurohs'* distance from each other when the Samejah came face to face with the detachment of 'Atiq Allah and engaged it in a battle, wherein, hamstringing the horses of 30 to 40 good soldiers, who were right in the forefront, they killed the soldiers. The Samejahs also suffered numerous causalities; indeed, Lakah, a son of Parayah Samejah, the brother-in-law of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, a prominent Samejah chief, was killed in this battle. The Samejahs then hamstrung the camel carrying the kettle-drum and defeated the imperial army. 'Atiq Allah, however, did one good thing: together with 10 to 15 soldiers, he removed the kettle-drum from the back of the camel and, putting it on a mule, retreated to the fort of Jahangirabad on the heels of the defeated army. When this news reached my brother, he was extremely distressed. Suffering from fever though he was, he set out from the fort of Sihwan, crossed the river, and encamped at the village Mihran in the *parganah* Khittah, which lay at a distance of 11 *kurohs* from the fort of Jahangirabad. When the Samejah Unar became aware of this situation, they brought in some mediators and called on my brother, Meanwhile, the army of 'Atiq Allah had also joined my brother. The Samejahs agreed to pay the revenue, and my brother, still encamped at the village Mihran, settled the account of the *kharif* and *rabi'* crops with them. But then he decided to ride out against the Samejah Unar. Then while the Darejah and the Manahijah people, who had received assurances of peace, remained in their homes and abodes, their chiefs, Danipasa and Tayyib, accompanied my brother. The Rahujahs, the Firuzjahs and the Mangwanahs, however, took to flight. My brother left the village of Mihran right in the prime of the summer heat of the region of Sihwan, at the middle hour between sunrise and noon, reaching the village Winjarah, which lay right in the centre of the area occupied by the Samejah Unar, around the time of the midday prayers. The soldiers, going into the nearby forests, rounded up between 2,000 to 3,000 cows. They also brought with them the heads, of some of the Rahujahs they had killed in the process. That night, Abu al-Baqa' spent in camp on the bank of the Winjarah lake, telling his soldiers that he was

with their families; and, in accordance with the terms of the truce, they laid down their arms and behaved like ordinary peasants. When Shamshir Khan passed by the village, this *khanahzad,* the present writer, who, on account of his friendship with Shamshir Khan, was in attendance on him, told him that he would never again find such an opportunity and urged him to order his troop to attack the village Dira'un because, whereas sometimes his troops had to ride hard for 50 to 60 *kurohs* to decapitate a single Samejah, without any guarantee of success, now they could easily sever the heads of 2,000 to 3,000 of these rebels. Though some of the *zamindars* of Sihwan did not approve of the idea, Shamshir Khan rather liked this advice. But, since he had given his promise to the Samejahs, he prevaricated and told his soldiers and peasant tribes *(ahsham-i ra'iyyat)* to act in accordance with what the present writer told them to do. No sooner was this uttered, than, by the grace of God and owing to the eternal good fortune of the Emperor, a massacre was wrought almost the Samejah Unar. God Most High tied the hands of the Samejahs with his power, and those wretches were not able to show any valour at all that day. About 1,000 of them were killed, around 700 of their leading men *(mardum-i sardar)* and others were captured, and the extent of the cattle and other property belonging to them seized by the soldiers and the peasant tribes accompanying Shamshir Khan is known only to God. Having killed Danipasa and Tayyib, Shamshir Khan put up his camp right in the middle of the battlefield. The following day, he left Dira'un for the village of Winjarah, repaired its fort afresh, and established his camp in that fort. Every day, on a revolving basis, he sent a body of his troops in pursuit of the scattered Samejahs. These troops returned with the heads of between 50 to 60 Samejahs each time. As a consequence, the Samejahs were greatly weakened.

Of the Husarah boatmen who lived among the Samejahs, and with their backing ambushed travellers along the river route, about 100 persons were captured alive. Shah Khan ordered them all to be hanged at the ferry of the town of Lakut on the bank of the river. He stayed in the fort of Winjarah for only a week. Had he stayed there another two months, the Samejah Unar would have been completely extirpated, and he could have distributed their territory to whatever section of peasants he chose. But, despite all efforts of this *khanahzad* to make him stay for another

two months, Shamshir Khan did not agree. Instead, acting on the advice of some *zamindars* who had good relations with the Samejahs, he left the fort of Winjarah, took the captives along with him, and moved to the bank of the river in the town of Lakut, where, within one week, he raised a suitably strong fortress and encamped there. The hill people were prepared to give 1,000 camels in exchange for the Samejah captives, but Shamshir Khan did not accept this offer. Finally, through the *zamindars* who favoured them, the Samejahs were able to convince Shamshir Khan that, since they had become submissive and were now easy to deal with, he should repair to Sihwan. Shamshir Khan was a simple, God-fearing man; overwhelmed by compassion, one Friday, he abandoned all the captives to the Samejahs and, crossing the river, returned to Sihwan.

On yet another occasion, when the Chandiyah Baluches marauded the *parganahs* of Baghbanan, Kahan and Akbarabad, seizing peasants and selling them as slaves, the people of these *parganahs* appealed to Shamshir Khan for help against those scoundrels. Shamshir Khan rode out on the Chandiyah clan. This *khanahzad,* the present writer, who again accompanied him in the capacity of a friend, told him that the Chandiyahs could be captured with a sudden attack following up on a reconnoitering party. Shamshir Khan did not approve of the forced march this required, and, instead, approached the villages of the Chandiyahs stage by stage. The Chandiyahs caught wind of this and relocated into hills well in time. Or reaching the Chandiyah villages, Shamshir Khan laid siege to their millet fields, dug a ditch around his army and surrounded it with a barbed fence. In the night, the Chandiyahs returned and showered arrows on his army; but, by the grace of God, they were unable to do any harm. The following day, Shamshir Khan mounted his horse and rode up to the hills while the Chandiyahs stood on top of a hill and beat a drum. Shamshir Khan paid no heed to them, and ordered his soldiers to cut down the unripe millet crop with their swords so that the Chandiyahs might ruefully witness the loss of their own eyes. The soldiers complied and cut down as much of the crop as they could. At nightfall, Shamshir Khan returned to his encampment. The Chandiyahs then approached the Pahawars, who lived in their neighbourhood, to act as mediators, and, through their intercession, waited upon Shamshir Khan the following day and

about 45,000 of their cattle. When this news reached Shamshir Khan, Murid was present before him in Sihwan. A group of people advised Shamshir Khan to apprehend Murid, so that, if the Nuhmardis had destroyed the peasants, they should at least return the cattle. Shamshir Khan rejected this proposal, and, recalling Murid, told him that, lest the peasants of Bubakan turn to him for the redress of their grievances, he should for the time being, go back to his homeland, whence he might subsequently return. Accordingly, Murid left for his home in the night. After some time, when the uproar died down, he came back to the presence of Shamshir Khan.

On yet another occasion, from the side of the villages of the *parganah* Haweli Sihwan, which were situated near the hills, around afternoon prayers, news was brought to Shamshir Khan that the Nuhmardi troops had charged forth from their home and were proceeding towards these villages. Unfortunately, that day most of his army was away, the soldiers having gone to their *thanahs* and *jagirs*. Nevertheless, mustering whatever was at his disposal, he dispatched between 60 to 70 soldiers with his brother-in-law, Badshah Khwajah, to village Nar, 7 *kurohs* away from Sihwan near a pass in the hills. Badshah Khwajah went and overnight, stationed himself in the fort of Nar. The following day, Shamshir Khan also rode out to the city to the bank of the Dadiji stream and encamped there. At the same time, he bade Shah Khwajah to go to the village of Nar with 20 horsemen and join the advance guard. In the meantime, the author also got this news and betook himself to the side of Shamshir Khan. The latter related the whole story to him, telling him what he had heard and that he had dispatched troops for the protection of the villages. The author remarked that it might have been better if he had himself gone for, in his absence, the Uzbek hardly exerted themselves, whereas, in his presence, they seemed bent on sacrificing their lives. This observation stirred him, and he forthwith mounted his horse, and rode off with 10 to 12 of his closest equestrian friends present there, including the author. Meanwhile, he kept back Badshah Khwajah and his comrades at the fort of Nar. Shah Khwajah and his companions had reached the village Tiri, at a distance of 3 *kurohs* from Sihwan, when the army of the Nuhmardis, comprising 200 to 300 horse and 700 to 800 foot, at four watches after dawn, invaded the village Kachi,

which was situated at a distance of 5 *kurohs* from Sihwan, killed several of the peasants of the village and drove their cattle to the hills. When Shah Khwajah learnt of this incident, he rode towards the army of the Nuhmardis, but soon realized that, with his small body of troops, he was no match for the Nuhmardis in a battle of arrows and swords, because the Nuhmardis far outnumbered him and shot their arrow with extreme dexterity. Thus, he took up his musket and, while riding, fired at them from a distance. When the enemy turned to attack him, he whisked his horse around and when they resumed their march, he pursued them and fired his musket at them. Having heard of this, Shamshir Khan went to the village of Kachi. While he was standing beside the casualties among the poor peasants, he realized that he had been cut off from the rest of his troops, with the enemy standing between himself and these troops. The contingent with him was not sufficient to face the enemy. Thus, he made no advance towards it. Meanwhile, Shah Khwajah was continuously engaging the enemy, and, in this battle, an arrow hit and killed Beg Muhammad Qurq Uzbek, a close confidant of Shamshir Khan. though Badshah Khwajah's troops, accompanied by a body of men from the village of Nar, caught up with the Nuhmardis, they crossed the stream, through which the rain water flowed from the hills, and from there dispatched their cattle with some men on foot to the hills, and themselves took up positions and prepared for a battle of arrows. Meanwhile, the bright world put on the black garment of night and the Uzbek force, failing to gain any advantage, returned to its master. The Nuhmardis, however, continued their aggression against the villages of the *parganahs* of Sihwan and Sann, and Shamshir Khan made no further effort to stop them.

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

After some time, an order of Hadrat-I Jannat Makani reached Shamshir Khan, telling him that he should proceed to Qandahar to help Bahadur Khan Uzbek. Accordingly, he left for Qandahar

position, though he did have some Uzbeks in his employ who, at times, disregarded even his orders. At the time of the afternoon prayers when the nobles and *qadis* came to his audience, he would proclaim: "Friends! You know me. Every oppressed person who comes to me receives redress of his grievances. It is possible that there might be some headstrong *(shakh natrashidah)* Uzbeks who enjoy my confidence, but perpetrate injustice in their *jagirs,* or even in the city; and out of fear nobody brings it to my notice. If you know of it and do not let me know, tomorrow, on the Day of Judgement, it is you who will be held responsible in the presence of God, Exalted be His name.

Sihwan so thrived and prospered during his tenure that out of the products of India, 'Iraq and Europe whatever one wanted was available. Except for a *ser* of candy *(nabat)* that he realized from every boat, the merchants were free from all sorts of revenue imposts *(kharaj ma'na).* The peasants, *imams* merchants and artisans all lived comfortably. If a merchant should happen to be looted in his *jagir,* he always strove to recover his goods and, on recovery, returned them to him; and, if anything remained missing, he paid compensation from his own pocket, making the merchant happy. As a matter of fact, during his term of office, people were so well off that they thanked God. The mosques were full of worshippers and he himself paid much heed to the performance of prayers, fasting and *tahajjud* (additional prayers in the night). He met the expenses for his clothes and food from the income of his personal boats and never spent anything on himself from the public exchequer.

After the transfer of Shamshir Khan, in the *rabi'* season of the year Sijqan'il,[88] 1032 A.H., this region was bestowed upon Shir Khwajah,[89] better known as Baqi Jan Khwajah, who sent his revenue collectors, but himself stayed back in the royal presence. Encouraged by the assurance of assessment by crop-sharing that had been extended to the peasants in view of the bad condition of the area, they had cultivated the lands extensively during this season. As the fields were afflicted by a scarcity of rain, most of the cultivation dried up. And where some of the cultivation survived, the per *jarib* (about five-eighths of an acre) yield of wheat and pulses did not exceed 5 *kasahs* (30 Jahangiri *sers*) and 2 *toyahs* or 3 Jahangiri *sers,* respectively). When Baqi Khwajah's agents arrived in this region, the slanderers and calumniators

offered them their assistance and registered all the areas under cultivation, irrespective of the good or bad crop, and made absolutely no allowance for the calamity-stricken nature of the region. But rather, in accordance with mode of the *dabt* assessment of grain, they added up the total *(jam' bar bastah)* and, computing the price of grain at double the market rate, extorted money from the peasants. A great deal of injustice was done to the peasants but, since they had enjoyed a few years of prosperity under Shamshir Khan, they endured the oppression of the revenue collectors of Baqi Khwajah. The petty peasants were, however, scattered hither and thither, and whatever means of cultivation they possessed they sold and used the returns to meet the iniquitous demands of the latter. Similarly, misled by the slanderers, the agents measured the lands of the *imams* with the rope *(tanab)* of injustice and tyranny and levied revenue of these mendicants *(fuqara),* hanging *imams* publically to recover the imposts from them. They also levied excessive surcharges on the boats of merchants, charging a huge amount on each boat. The generally nominal *dharat* tax, they increased, too. On account of this tyranny and oppression, all the *imams* and several of the peasants set out for the imperial court. The Emperor was in the capital of Lahore during those days, and Shir Khwajah was a royal confidant *(muqarrab al-hadrat).* When group after group of the impoverished people started reaching Lahore to seek redress of their grievances, Shir Khwajah at last learnt about the shameful conduct of his agents. He called the complainants to his presence and comforted each one of them individually. He issued warrants *(parwahchah)* of *madad-i ma'ash* to all the *imam,* and authorized them to reoccupy their holdings. Whatever his agents had extorted from them by tyranny and oppression, he obliged them to return to the *imams.* Shir Khwajah also reassured the peasants about their future, giving them a written guarantee that, henceforth, they would be governed by the same revenue regulations that were observed by Shamshir Khan. Having suffered greatly during his term of office, these unfortunate people were not prepared to be satisfied with these measures. Hence, he ordered the arrest of his agents, as well as those on whose false reports *(sa'ayat)* they had perpetrated their injustice and tyranny on the people, and imposed a heavy fine on them. He appointed new agents in their place, and advised them, in no

the *karori* of the *parganah* of Baghbanan, led a daring expedition against the Nuhmardis, the administration of Nauruz Beg was even worse. The details of Shaykh Mustafa's expedition are as follows: He came to Sihwan from the *parganah* of Baghbanan to submit his accounts *muhasabah* and encamped outside the fort with about 60 to 70 horsemen from his dependencies. In the meantime, the Nuhmardis plundered the cattle of the *parganah* of Sihwan, and news of this reached Sihwan around afternoon. Shaykh Mustafa, camping as he was outside the fort, rode out in pursuit of these scoundrels. He reached the village of Nar well after the afternoon prayers; the peasants pleaded with him that he had better go back because it was too late to follow the enemy who had already gone into the hills along with the cattle. Shaykh Mustafa did not listen to them. He alighted there, fed morasses and *ardawah*[94] to his horses and having tightened their straps and girths rode out from that place around the time of evening prayers. That night, until one watch after dawn, he travelled secretly. The recalcitrant, unaware of this approach, left their horses and cattle to graze and themselves went to sleep beside a spring. The army of Shaykh Mustafa fell upon them, killed about 40 of the Nuhmardis, severed their heads, captured their horses and equipment and returned with the cattle of the peasants.

On the transfer of Nauruz Beg, this region was jointly bestowed upon Sayf al-Muluk Kashghari[95] and some other *mansbdars*. He had been given the territory in *tankhwahi* for the *kharif* crop, but he reached there so late that that crop had been disposed of and the *rabi'* crop was also about to be lifted. Nauruz Beg had already assessed and appropriated the revenue of the *kharif* crop. Sayf al-Muluk Kashghari got his share from him, and also obtained a written commitment to the effect that it was Nauruz Beg's responsibility to account for the revenue of the *kharif* crop to the imperial court. The *rabi'* crop was assessed by Sayf al-Muluk, who was a good soldier. With the intention of inspiring awe for his army among the hill people and to impress the Samejah Unar, Sayf al-Muluk dispatched his brother, Mahdi Sultan, with an army to the *parganah* of Sann. Mahdi Sultan was about to cross the ferry of Sann towards the Samejah Unar, when their four chiefs, representing all the four *tarafs* waited upon him in the town of Sann with the intercession of the Sayyids of that town. Mahdi Sultan brought them to his brother in Sihwan. Sayf

al-Muluk, who was contemplating a campaign against the Samejahs as soon as the winter became milder, detained them and decided to keep them under his custody as a military strategy.

On another occasion, the Nuhmardis rode out on the villages of the *parganah* Haweli Sihwan. Peasants of the area brought news of the impending raid to Sayf al-Muluk. He pre-emptively dispatched Mahdi Sultan to the village of Nar. Reaching this village, Mahdi Sultan spent the night in its fort. The following day, the Nuhmardis, skirting the foothills and bypassing the village of Nar, towards the fort of Sihwan. Sayf al-Muluk received news of this around midday. Although he had already sent the army with his brother and himself was left with only a bunch of decrepit horsemen, having heard this news, his sense of honour did not allow him to sit idle. He therefore rode out with the five or six horsemen left with him. Meanwhile, his brother Mahdi Sultan had already left the village Nar in pursuit of the insurgents and had caught up with them around the time of evening prayers. The Nuhmardis took up positions on a hill, and a battle of arrows and muskets ensued between the two parties. Nobody was killed, but the Nuhmardis were defeated, and they retreated. Having retrieved the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those accursed ones, Mahdi Sultan turned back. On the way, the two brothers met and together came back to Sihwan.

As soon as the *kharif* crop was half ripe, and the time for leading an expedition against the Samejahs arrived, Sayf al-Muluk was transferred, and this region, except for the *parganah* of Junejah, was bestowed upon Ahmad Beg Khan.[96] Until the arrival of Ahmad Beg, his relative, Murtada Khan Mirza Husam al -Din, who was the *subahdar* of Thattah at that time, dispatched his men, namely Muhammad Rida Beg as *hakim* and Ibrahim Beg as *diwan,* to undertake the revenue assessment to that region. Hardly had they recorded the *kharif* cultivation when Ahmad Beg Khan also arrived. In the early phase of his tenure, for some days, he behaved fairly with the people, so that the *arbabs,* and *muqaddams* of the parganahs and villages all turned towards him, and Ahmad Beg Khan realized that most of the people who had left had returned to Sihwan. He was accompanied by a brother called Mirza Yusuf, who was so oppressive that, to him, even Yusuf-i Hajjaj[97] would have been an ordinary disciple in tyranny. Ahmad Beg Khan entrusted all his affairs to him, took off the signet-ring

from his own finger and made it over to him. Henceforth, the *diwan* also began to be held at Mirza Yusuf's house.

The first thing that Mirza Yusuf proceeded with was the arbitrary arrest of the former *'amils.* He also started detaining the *arbabs* of the entire region and, acting upon the advice of the slanderers, decided that all rain-irrigated villages, such as Ararah, which will be discussed later, and the village of Akbarabad Wahi, which had never been subjected to *dabti* previously, and had always followed the crop-sharing system, be subjected to *dabti* system and that this revenue be imposed upon the peasants, such as the Pahawars. He also ordered the immediate branding of the cattle statistics *(gawshumari),* which had previously been abolished throughout the imperial domains by a decree of Hadrat-i Jannat Makani and until now in the year 1044 A.H., that order of abolition remains in force. Consequently some of the *arbabs,* such as Baha' al-Din Pahawar, who were strong enough, made good their escape in the dark of night. Other Pahawar chiefs, such as Arbab 'Ali and Arbab Da'ud, who nursed hostility towards Baha' al-Din Pahawar and considered Sihwan their native land, did not choose to flee. Forty-one of these chiefs were ordered by Mirza Yusuf to go to the village of Akbarabad Wahi and assess it by the *dabti* system. With them, he also sent a small number of his own men. When this party reached the village, the men of Baha' al-Din Pahawar, in league with the hill nomads, came and killed each one of the 41 Pahawars and then escaped. All the remainder of the Pahawar chiefs, no matter whether they were *arbabs, muqaddam, patwaris* or *qanungus,* Mirza Yusuf put in jail together with their assistants *(gumashtah-ha).* Thus, in accordance with substance of this couplet, the heavens were set spinning:

> When He chooses to destroy a people
> He puts their land into the hands of a tyrant.

He inflicted a variety of punishments on these people. Every day he had 200 to 300 men flogged at his house without any justification; each one of them receiving 100 to 200 lashes. A silk merchant was kept sitting there so that whenever the whip-cord wore out, he was there to repair it immediately.

Ahmad Beg spent all day in his palace, and at nightfall came out to hold his court, which continued until the last watches of the night. Mirza Yusuf usually joined his brother, and, even in his

presence, subjected people to floggings. Some people even died under his lashes but he was never moved in the least. It seems that in the Shi'i faith, the perpetration of torture on Sunnis is an excellent act of devotion *('ibadat-i khubast)*. Be that as it may, the situation came to such a pass that, regardless of their sex, whomever of the people of Sihwan the Mirza suspected of possessing something, he summoned on the basis of some baseless charges, flogged and forfeited all their belongings. In this region, if anybody owned a camel and Mirza Yusuf could subjugate him, he usurped the beast by violence and oppression and added it to his personal estate. As the proverb goes, "a handful is enough to show what's in an ass-load *(kharwar)*": you can well imagine what else was happening there.

Mirza Yusuf posted his own men at the ferries and issued strict instructions that nobody should be allowed to pass without a permit[98] with the Mirza's personal stamp on it. Every boat that came from upstream or downstream, the Mirza stopped, summoned its occupants and recorded their particulars, held the boat in the ferry indefinitely and told the owners to unload their goods there. Consequently, fed up with the situation, the merchants paid him a considerable sum for every boat to ensure its release. Even then, he allowed only the boatmen and the owners of the goods to depart, detaining whoever else was with them. He asked such people to enter his service, and subjected those who refused to floggings. Whatever merchandise attracted the Mirza's fancy, he compelled the owner by violence to sell to him at half the normal price. When a robber from some village deserving capital punishment was brought before him, the Mirza removed his shackles, offered him a robe, inducted him into his personal service, and exhorted him to commit robbery wherever he pleased, so long as he brought all the stolen articles to him. The Mirza infested the city streets with gamblers from Bangal, who forced whoever passed by them to gamble with them, winning away whatever he possessed. If, losing all, he still owed them anything, they even snatched away his shawl *(chadur)*.

Around the city of Sihwan, he made both gentry and common man dig a foundation and ordered a wall to be constructed there. He also ordered that they should carry mud and water to the site on their heads. Whoever took along a labourer to do his work for him was subjected to torture.

abolished all oppressive practices against the peasants and the *imams*. He realized the revenue in respect of the *rabi'* crop from the peasants by sharing the stacks of their unthrashed corn *(khaliha)*; and he returned to the men and women of the *a'immah* class whatever he had already resumed in this regard from the holdings bestowed upon them by royal decrees. At the same time, he dispatched his servant, Mir Hashim, towards this *khanahzad*, the present writer, together with messages for Hakim Salih, Muhammad 'Ali Bandari and Man Singh, to the effect that Mirak Yusuf be comforted and prevailed upon to come back, and that he should not be allowed to proceed to the Court. By the time Mir Hashim reached Bhakkar, I had already left for my destination. My brother, Abu al-Baqa', was the *subahdar* of Multan during those days. Thus, I went to him first, so that after making necessary arrangements for my journey to India, he could send me off to that land. In the meantime, his position in Multan was taken away from him, and he was entrusted with the *subahdari* of Thattah Consequently, he took me to Thattah with himself, saying that he would make the arrangements for my journey and see me off to India from Thattah. Unfortunately, owing to the unsuitable climate of Thattah, I was overwhelmed by a bad cold, and proceeding on a journey became impossible. So I vowed to my God that, on recovering from the indisposition, I would write a book about the affairs of the country of Sind and take it with myself when I went for the perambulation of the Ka'bah of the creatures of the seven climes *(haft iqlim)*. Praise and gratitude be to God that in accordance with the substance of this couplet,

My Lord, You know my intentions
Since my intentions are good, You bestow good on me,

The transcript of the *Mazhar al-Tadbir* ('Manifestation of Management') has been completed; and I hope that the Just Amir, Strengthener of Islam, Refuge of the People, Leader of East and West, Abu al-Muzaffar Shihab al-Din, Second lord of Happy conjunction, Shahjahan Padishah Ghazi,

O thou who in the field of *khilafat* for years have been the Lord of the Happy Conjunction!
It is out of thy love that mankind and the geni aspire to live in thy dominions will look at it with the eye of charity.

While Ahmad Beg Khan was involved with the Pahawar

peasants of the *parganah* Kahan, the *parganah* of Khittah was destroyed by the Samejah Unar, and the *parganah* of Bubakan, Haweli, and Sann were laid waste by the Nuhmardis and the aforementioned Samejahs. Once the Nuhmardis not only plundered the cattle of the town of Sann, but also entered the town and looted the inhabitants. Shaykh Fath and Shaykh Habib, two brothers who were the *shiqqdars* of this *parganah,* ran away and took refuge in their homes. Some of the soldier who came in the way of the Nuhmardi wretches were killed, and the latter made good their escape. On hearing this news, Ahmad Beg Khan got the inhabitants of Sann to construct a wall around the town. Even now, in the year 1044 A.H., that wall still exists.

The *parganah* Bubakan, Kahan, Patar and Akbarabad were ruined by the Chandiyahs, and there was virtually no difference left between a rebel and a peasant of this region, for most petty peasants dispersed hither and thither, some of the Zamidars moved out and settled among the insurgents, and the rest, as a defensive measure against the excesses of an oppressive *jagirdar,* abandoned their animosity towards the recalcitrants and made peace with them. What was then needed was a united army that, on the one hand, would have comforted the displaced persons, and, on the other, would have initiated measures for dealing with the refractory elements, including the Baluches, Samejahs and other rogues, who, encouraged by the chaotic conditions of the region, had gone astray from the path of moderation and taken to mischief and rebellion. But the mistreatment of Ahmad Beg's brother had disgusted the army, too; for the last four or five months, nothing had been paid to them. And even during this period of lawlessness, Ahmad Beg Khan was reluctant to pay anything to the soldiers. That explains why, when he led some expeditions against the Pahawars and fought them, he was defeated. As regards the calamity-stricken crop, it fell neither into his hands nor into those of the peasants. It was rather turned into a public feast *(khwan-i yaghma)* open to everybody's rapine and pillage. Whatever fell into the hands of the insurgents, they appropriated. Most of the villages of this region that were devastated during the days of Ahmad Beg Khan have not recovered their prosperity yet; and this is what is implied by the destruction of the peasants and the strengthening of the recalcitrant.

and decided that, after keeping him in prison for a few days, he would have been killed as a reprisal for the murder of that robber. On the subsequent intercession of some people, he spared his life, but did not keep him in his service. Thus, impressed by the favours of Dindar Khan, the insurgents abandoned their incursions into his *jagir* and acknowledged his authority.

Dindar Khan is also credited with having raised a strong army in this region. In the *kharif* season of the Takhafu'il,[102] 1043 A.H., he personally went across the river with a resolute and well-prepared military force and encamped in the village of Jahangirabad, and thus, without any trouble, gained control over the cultivated land on the Lakah side. Instead of fleeing their homes, the Samejahs waited upon him and, under pressure of circumstances, even paid some revenue. The Lakahs of this village, whom the tyranny and oppression of the Samejahs had driven to seek redress for their grievances at the imperial court, returned from there with a *farman* ordering Qilich Khan to chastise the Samejahs. Qilich Khan[102] dispatched Bahadur Khwajah, a *mansabdar,* with the Lakahs, who carried the *farman* to Dindar Khan, asking him to carry out the imperial orders. They presented the *farman* to Dindar Khan while he was still encamped in the village. Dindar Khan gave some land and a paltry sum of money in reward to the plaintiffs, and, by a subterfuge, extracted a letter of satisfaction from them. Then, departing from Jahangirabad and subduing several Samejah villages, including Winjarah, he proceeded to the city of Sihwan. The Samejahs remained in their homes, but their chiefs accompanied him to the ferry of Mandihji, near the fort of Sihwan, whence Dindar Khan crossed the river and returned to the city. In Sihwan the chiefs of all the four Samejah clans *(taraf)* mostly remained in attendance upon him, and enjoyed complete freedom. In keeping with the Samejah undertaking that they would offer Dindar Khan some grain in the *rabi'* season, in the *rabi'* It'il of the aforementioned year, he again crossed the river and went among the Samejahs. If he had so wished, he could then have exterminated them by force of arms; but about this time the region was transferred from him to Jan Nithar Khan.[104] On hearing this news, the Samejahs murdered most of the men he had charged with the responsibility of collecting the grain from their villages, and looted their horses and equipment. The remainder of these men returned to Dindar

Khan, who, realizing the danger, immediately crossed the river and retired into the fort of Sihwan. This explains why the appellation of the 'tail of a dog' *(dum-i sag)* is applied to the Samejahs. Just as the dog's tail cannot be divested of its crookedness, the Samejahs also, no matter how much consideration one shows them, persist in their misdeeds and, except for the blow of a sword, nothing can really tame them.

The tenure of Dindar Khan augured well for the nobles *(ashraf)*, the *imams* and the erstwhile soldiers of the imperial army in this region. He was very fond of the company of *Sufis* and ecstatic's, and celebrated the death anniversaries *('urs)* of the saints quite frequently. There was hardly any day or night when there was no such celebration at his home. Every month there were some such functions that were particularly noted for their pomp and show and were held with the accompaniment of religious singing and music *(taranah wa surud)*. He maintained a large number of singers akin to *qawwals*(105) *(muntriban)* for this purpose. He showed great enthusiasm for the recitation of the Qur'an and observed a fast on numerous days. During the month of *Sha'ban*, regardless of whether it fell in winter or summer, on the 13th, 14th and 15th, he observed the *tayy* fast. He celebrated the month of fasting *(Ramadan)* with such zeal that he collected provisions all the year round and used them during that month. A large quantity of viands, sweetmeats and fruit were served in his *iftar* (fast-breaking) parties. Between 300 to 400 persons said their *tarawih*(106) prayers in his company every day; he listened to recitations, from the Qur'an during these prayers in a standing posture, and the Qur'an was completed in these congregations of the Night of Power (27th Ramadan). On that night, he handed out charitable bounties to the *'ulama'*, *huffaz* (those who know the Qur'an by heart) and hermits *(gushah nashinan)*, and the following day read the entire Qur'an from beginning to end. During the winter, he presented robes to all his soldiers and acquaintances, and sent such large quantities of cloth to the nobles that it lasted them even through the following year. Whenever he proceeded on a journey not only to the nobles and grandees who accompanied him, but also to the local peasants, he sent meals from his household, and wherever there was a tomb of a saint, he stopped and made arrangements for its repair and restoration. But his *khalisah* villages, his *wakil*, Qadi Pirah, landed in hardship and

of Sihwan killed 100 men without any justification no one could stop him. If some unfortunate person, having suffered a great deal of hardship, travelled to the royal court and, as a consequence of his appeal, succeeded in procuring an imperial order, nobody accepted or implemented it here. On the contrary, the slanderers of Sihwan developed a feeling of enmity towards him and, within a brief period of time, had him destroyed at the hands of the *jagirdar* of Sihwan. Thus, if a *jagirdar* had a little of God's fear in his heart, or cared for the wrath of the Emperor, he protected at least one of the two parties, namely the peasants or the *imams;* otherwise, he trampled upon both of them. There was not a single functionary of this region, including the *sadrs, qadis, qanungus* and *arbabs,* who gave sincere advice to the *jagirdar* in time of need. Rather, everybody saved his own skin and looked upon the circumstances, which had all the lineaments of the Day of judgement, with complete apathy and indifference. If a tyrant *jagirdar* encouraged one of the *zamindars* of this region and made him his accomplice, that *zamindar* set on fire a whole world of peasants and *imams,* ruining them. You can imagine the circumstances of this region from the bare fact that, whereas, in all the protected imperial dominions, imperial news-writers *(waqi'ah nawis)* are at work, in Sihwan after the departure of Shamshir Khan, no *jagirdar* ever accepted any *waqi'ah nawis* in his *jagir.* As has been mentioned earlier, during the tenure of Dindar Khan, a *(waqi'ah nawis)* Ni'mat Allah by name, who had come from Bhakkar, was slain right under the Sihwan fort and nobody looked into the matter, whereas as has been demonstrated by Hakim Sana'i in a poem,[107] the fact is that, on the Day of Judgement, a ruler will have to account even for the fracture of a goat's leg on a bridge in his domain.

On another occasion, Man Singh sent, from Bhakkar, one of his agents, 'Abd al-Baqi, who stayed here for a few days and then went back. Then, the *bakhshi* of Thattah dispatched one of his functionaries as the *waqi'ah nawis* of Sihwan, but Dindar Khan did not accept him and, soon after his arrival, returned him to Thattah. If one is not intent on oppression, what could be the harm in the appointment of a *waqi'ah nawis.*

Similarly, during the tenure of Dindar Khan, a bailiff *(sazawul)* arrived with an imperial decree ordering the *qanungus* to accompany him to the court with a statement of a ten-year

settlement and to explain to the Emperor all the factors contributing to the destruction of this region, including the excesses of the *jagirdars,* as well as the depredation of the refractory elements. How much of an effort was involved in sending the *qanungus* that he did not sent them?

As a matter of fact, the reins of oppression were let loose for the first time during the tenure of Ahmad Beg Khan. the details of the oppressive ways of his brother Mirza Yusuf have already been described to the attendants of the royal throne; except that Ahmad Beg Khan was transferred from this region, no trace of wrath seems to have touched him. On the contrary, he was treated still more kindly, as is apparent from the fact that he was made the *subahdar* of Multan, which was a better place. It was the sight of this state of affairs that dismayed the victims of his oppression; and so on instead of following him to the heavenly court for the redress of their grievances, as they had originally intended, they retraced their steps back to their native places in Bhakkar. If the Emperor had instituted and inquiry into the administration of Ahmad Beg Khan, and, in keeping with the canons of sacred law, had obliged him to return to the oppressed whatever he had tyrannously extorted from them, and, in consonance with imperial justice, had made him bear the consequences of whatever bloodshed he had illegally perpetrated, not only would no *jagirdar* thenceforth have allowed this region to be ruined with impunity, but the jagirdars of other protected dominions would also have desisted from indulging in tyranny, and, instead, would have adopted an upright and benevolent attitude towards their peasants.

It is recorded in the historical works[108] of Sind that Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughlug Shah[109] departed from this world for the hereafter near Thattah, and that after his death, as willed by him, Firuz Shah ascended the throne and left for the capital of Delhi. Jam Khayr al-Din ruler of Sind, accompanied him for a few stages, but returned to Thattah from the outskirts of Sann, a dependency of Sihwan. After the departure of Sultan Firuz Shah Jam Khayr al-Din opened the gates of justice and benevolence and did all in his power to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants and common people. An interesting story is told about this pious Jam. One day, while he was out riding with his nobles and attendants, he caught sight of some human bones in a ditch. He pulled in the reins of his horse, and for a moment looked at those

KHARIF

Indian Millet *(jawari)* Nachni and Ragi *(mandwah)* Rice paddy *(shali)*	in kind: 33 ½ *kasahs* per *bighah* in cash: *1 Muradi tankah* and $35_{1/2}$ *dams* per *bighah*
Cotton *(panbah)* Melon *(kharbuzah)* Watermelon *(tarbuzah)* Vegetables *(tarkari)* Sesame *(kunjid)* Radish *(turb)* Common millet *(arzan)* Kangni *(gal)* Tag-san, or Bangal san	in cash: 25 *Muradi tankahs* and $29_{1/4}$ *dams per bighah*
Carrot *(zardak)*	in cash: 35 *Muradi tankahs* per *bighah*
Urd *(mash)* Mung *(mung)*	in cash: 14 *Muradi tankahs* and $2_{1/2}$ *dams per bighah*
Sugarcane *(nayshakar)*	in cash: 72 *Muradi tankahs* per *bighah*
Dilpasand *(kachrah)*	in cash: $6^{1/2}$ *Muradi tankahs* per *bighah*
Indigo *(nil)*	in cash: 35 *Muradi tankahs* per *bighah*

RABI

Wheat *(gandum)* Barley *(jau)*	in kind: $33_{1/2}$ *kasahs per bighah* in cash: 1 *Muradi tankah* and $35_{1/2}$ *dams per bighah*
Bangal gram *(nakhud)*	in kind: 171/2 kasahs per bighah in cash: 45 dams per bighah
Mustard seed *(sarshaf)*	in kind: 28 *kasahs* and 3 *toyahs* Per *bighah* in cash: 1 *Muradi tankahs* and 8 *dams* per *bighah*
Khardal *(ahuri)*	in kind: $28_{1/2}$ *kasahs* per *bighah* in cash: 35 *dams* per *bighah*

Common millet *(arzan)* Onion *(piyaz)* Melon *(kharbuzah)* Watermelon (tarbuzah) Tag-san, or Bangal san Egg-plant *(badinjan)*	in cash: 25 *Muradi tankahs* and $29_{1/2}$ *dams* per *bighah*
Mung *(mung)* Chickling vetch *(masang)*	in cash: 14 *Muradi tankahs* and $2_{1/4}$ *dams* per *bighah*
Lentil *('adas)*	in cash: 28 *Muradi tankahs* and 31 *dams* per *bighah*
Cummin *(zirah)* Fennel *(badyan)* Safflower *(gul-i mu'adfar)* Parsley *(ajwad)*	in cash: 48 *Muradi tankahs* and $37_{1/2}$ *dams* per *bighah*
Garlic *(sir)* Hemp *(bhang)* Opium poppy *(kuknar)* Tobacco *(tanbaku)*	Not existing previously, this was introduced during Dindar Khan's tenure in cash: $2_{1/2}$ rupees per *bighah* with each rupee comprising 24 *Muradi tankahs*

CROP-SHARING

1/2 Out of every two *kharwars*, one goes to the peasants and one is resumed.

1/3 Out of every three *kharwars*, two go to the peasants and one is resumed

1/4 Out of every four *kharwars*, three go to the peasants and one is resumed

1/5 Out of every five *kharwars*, four go to the peasants and one is resumed

2/5 Out of every five *kharwars*, three go to the peasants and one is resumed

4/9 Out of every nine *kharwars*, five go to the peasants and one is resumed

the jagirdar also favours the tyranny, he should report the matter to the heavenly court, so that some solution is indicated to him from there. This type of *amin* should be looked on as a treasurer. A treasurer pays 100,000 rupees against a cheque *(barat)* of that amount, and does not pay more than that; and if somebody demands more through oppression, he does not accept his demand, and if that person exerts more pressure on him, he seeks the help of the owner of the wealth, which puts off the burden of the matter from his shoulders onto those of the malefactor, and the owner takes steps to chastise him. Likewise, if the *jagirdar* demands more from the peasants than what is allowed by the statutes, the amin should not allow him to do so. If the jagirdar persists in making such exactions forcibly, the amin should apprise the Emperor. Since the peasant are the best of all the imperial treasures – as has been mentioned earlier – the Emperor should take 10 time more offence at this attitude of the oppressor than the owner of the wealth does in the case of the aforementioned treasurer, and he should bury the tyrant in the ground so that other oppressor learn a lesson from this example. In this connection, if two or three of the slanderers, who by their falsehoods caused the destruction of the imperial peasants, are apprehended and punished, this will be a still better deterrent for oppressors. And the amin should not engage in any activities other than his own; he should restrict himself to carrying out the duties of his office, because, as mentioned in Part, One, with two responsibilities entrusted to a single person neither are fulfilled. The *amin* should also send a yearly return, for each *parganah* and village, about their progress and prosperity to the imperial secretariat, so that the ministers of the brilliant government *(arkan-i daulat-i bahirah)* are also annually kept informed about the latest state of the progress and prosperity of this region.

The Emperor's august consciousness should never entertain the idea that a *qanungu* can replace an *amin*. Held in low esteem as the *qanungus* are, they can hardly do anything to make the *jagirdar* desist from oppression and tyranny. As a matter of fact, it is quite likely that they would become the *jagirdar's* accomplices in his excesses. The amin ought to be a respectable and honest person, so that the *jagirdar* is receptive to whatever he says.

For the welfare of the army, which as will be explained presently, is essential in this region, a *bakhshi* should be appointed,

so that he may obtain a sufficient force from the *jagirdar* of this region to deploy on the borders, and thus secure the peasants from the mischief of insurgents, enabling the former to busy themselves in cultivation, and making the *kharaj* levied on them lawful *(halal)*. If the jagirdar withholds the salary *(haqq)* of the army, the *bakhshi* should send him a word that in fact the army belongs to the Emperor and is meant for imperial expeditions, and that the *jagirdar* is nothing but a link between the Emperor and the army. And when a *jagirdar* is transferred, unless the new incumbent's soldiers are stationed at the borders, the *bakhshi* should not allow the army of the transferred *jagirdar* to be withdrawn from the frontiers.

As for the job of news writing *(akhbar nawisi)*, a separate *waqi'ah nawis* news-writer ought to be appointed, as was the previous practice in the provinces; and this function should never be entrusted to the *bakhshis*, as has lately come into vogue.

The *imams* of the region, who are an army of worship *(lashkar -i du'a)*, are also discontented and dishonoured. They comprise four categories. The first category consists of *mansabdars*, and includes *qadis*, *muftis*, *sadrs*, and *muhtasibs;* the second of scholars and those who have memorized the Qur'an by heart *(huffaz);* the third of Sayyids, *masha'ikh*, and the Mughuls of pure descent, who, turning their backs on the inordinate desires of the world, have retired into seclusion and are content with the *madad-i ma'ash* bestowed upon them by the court, with no other source of income. These three groups obtained their *madad-i ma'ash* by presenting themselves before Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani and Hadrat-i Jannat Makani and his successor Shah Jahan, may God perpetuate his empire; and their *madad-i ma'ash* is such that, notwithstanding all their diligence in making the most of their little holdings, they eke out a bare subsistence from it. At the time of every crop, every year, they cajole the labourers, give them aid and dig canals, and thus arrange to cultivate a part of their holding. Despite all these endeavours, the yield of their lands is small; the fourth category of *imams* comprises *zamindars* who are also *arbabs* and *muqaddams*. They never waited upon Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyani and Hadrat-i Jannat Makani. Having procured *musammati farmans*, in exchange for money, during the days of Nur Jahan, these *imams*, being the *zamindar* that they were, had demarcated very productive tracts of land in good locations, and had secured control over them. The

charged the same amount as before, and the another escort is provided to them to the ferry of Halah Kandi. Despite all these safeguards, the insurgents frequently plunder the merchants' boats and kill owners of the merchandise. In short, the extermination of these wretched Samejahs is absolutely obligatory upon the victorious; and before this can be done, it is necessary to know that from the days of the Tarkhans down to the close of Shamshir Khan Uzbek's tenure, various, previously mentioned, groups of peasants consistently resisted the Samejah Unar; so that when the *jagirdar* led an expedition against the Samejahs, most of these groups of the peasants, particularly the Lakahs, who lived in the neighbourhood of the Samejahs Unar, did their best to destroy them. When such a big proportion of the population made genuine efforts to subdue them, and the *jagirdar* also did all in his power to achieve the same objective, the goal was indeed achieved. Some of the Samejahs were killed, some were taken captive, and most of their cattle were seized. A strong *thanah* was always stationed among them and the *Lakah* quarters of the *parganah* Lakut and Khittah, which bordered on the habitation of these wretches, were flourishing and prosperous. This stopped the Samejah Unar from gaining in strength, keeping them constantly concerned about safe guarding their own quarter in the *parganah* of Lakut, lest they should really be obliged to pay the revenue. The *jagirdar*, nevertheless, made them pay at least a part of the revenue, by way of *ijarah*; and, whenever they ventured to rebel, he forthwith rode out against them and wreaked vengeance on them.

After the departure of Shamshir Khan, except for Muhammad 'Ali Bandar, no *jagirdar* attempted to punish these waylayers. Coming from Bhakkar, Muhammad 'Ali joined forces with the men of Shir Khwajah, chastised the Samejahs, and, seizing a large number of their men, sold them off to the Afghans of Siwi.

He also apprehended a prominent chief of these recalcitrants from the Darejahs quarter, Budalah by name, and took him to Bhakkar. As a result of this blow, as mentioned in the Part One of this book, the Samejahs abandoned their headstrong ways for two to three years, and lead a life of isolation. Thereafter, while they gradually recovered their power, the high-handedness of the *jagirdars* reduced the peasants of utter weakness. After Shir

Khwajah, whoever got this region in *jagir*, thinking that all the income from the *parganah* Lakut was spent on the maintenance of the men stationed in the *thanah* of the Samejahs, neither paid any heed to that *thanah* nor ever ventured to lead an expedition against them. Thus, in the meantime, the Samejahs completely overwhelmed the *parganah* Khittah and the Lakah quarter, and gained control over these areas. They slew all the robust men, and the weak ones accepted their supremacy. Most of the villages of *parganah* Haweli, Sann and Junejah were also ruined by them. When the peasants had been thus weakened, nay destroyed, some *zamindars* through matrimonial relations and others out of farsightedness expressed their willingness to collaborate with the Samejahs, and this situation still prevails. Thus, if the goal is to quell the rebellion of the Samejahs and Chandiyahs, the *parganahs* Kahan and Junejah, which are, on the whole, still prosperous, and the parganahs Khittah and Lakut, which lie in ruin, should be bestowed in jagir on some bold and prudent person. If only the task of dealing with the Samejahs and Chandiyahs is entrusted to such a person, it is quite possible that he may adequately put an end to the mischief of these two tribes. Once brought under his control, they would not be able to do any harm to other regions. But if the objective is to exterminate the Samejah Unar, this can be achieved by swift and speedy land stewards *(sazawuls)* fetching the *jagirdar* of Bhakkar, the *subahdar* of Thattah, the Raja of Jaisalmer and the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, with their armies, to be deployed, respectively, at the village of Karank, in the *parganah* of Darbelah; at the village Abrejah, in the parganah of Halah Kandi; at the places of retreat of these trouble-makers in the sand hills of Jaisalmer; and at the village Lakah, a dependency of the *parganah* Khittah; so that neither might grain reach these waylayers, nor might they flee with their families and cattle. Then an attempt should be made to terminate the friendship and accord that characterize relations between these refractory elements and some *zamindars* of Sind, which came into existence during the recent developments in Sind. This may be achieved by sending a public crier around with the proclamation that, if any village harboured any Samejah Unar, or gave refuge to their wives, children, cattle or other effects, and this were proved, the inhabitants of the village would also be slain like the Samejahs, and their cattle would be seized, without any distinction between high and low.

waylayers; and this would become possible if the region is bestowed in *jagir* on a person who is gallant, loves his soldiers, patronizes his *peasants* and abhors tyranny. Having arrived here, he should, first of all, gain full control over two things, the peasants and the soldiers, so that, with the strength of these two, he may exterminate the insurgents and restore the well-being and prosperity of this region. To gain control over the peasants, he should deal with each *parganah* separately. The details of this strategy are given below:

The *parganahs* Baghbanan is one of the eight *parganahs* lying on this side of the river with the fort. For the development of this *parganah*, it is necessary that the fort of Sultan Muhammad Barnankani Arghun, situated in the village Puliji, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *parganah*, should be strengthened afresh, with a *thanah* of 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen stationed there. This *parganah* is inhabited by four clans of the Samejahs, the Bukyahs, the Junejahs, the Baryahs and the Tibahs. While the first three clans are submissive and pay their revenue, the fourth comprises recalcitrant rascals. If the *jagirdar* is possessed of the strength of a sensible army, and he sends this to their villages at the time of harvest, they resign themselves to paying something; otherwise they pay nothing.

As has already been mentioned, the wretched Chandiyahs also live beside this *parganah*. When such a force is stationed among them as a permanent *thanah*, it will make it possible to keep an eye on both these tribes, and thus stop them from attempting any rebellion.

The *jagirdar* should comfort the peasants of this *parganah*, and follow previous regulations to the letter. The details of regulations are as follows: although this *parganah* has mostly been assessed on the basis of the *dabti* procedure, while, in other places, two *biswis* are given as usual practice, in this *parganah*, three *biswis* are allowed and a rebate of a quarter of a rupee per *bighah*, on the rate of the grain, is also remitted. The *jagirdar* should also repair the canals that were previously operating and bring them into working order again, so that not only do the displaced peasants from every place throng to this ruined *parganah* and recover its prosperity again, but the *kachah* lands which lie on the side of Maha lake and the Marwi nullah, which flows from the side of Siwi and Ganjabah, also come under the plough and this *parganah*

assumes the position of four *parganahs*. The *parganah* of Baghbanan lies at a distance of 22 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan.

The second *parganah* is called Nirun Qal'ah. For its development it is necessary that a *thanah* with 20 horsemen and 10 matchlockmen should be stationed at the fort of the same name. The peasants should be comforted and the practice of crop-sharing, which remained in vogue from the tenure of Bakhtiyar Beg down to the term of Shamshir Khan Uzbek, should be revived. The details of this practice are as follows: the cultivations of Arbab Baha' al-Din Pahawar may be assessed on the basis of three shares, that is, two shares should be left with him, and one share should be resumed, while cultivation of the rest of the peasants should be assessed on the basis of nine portions, that is, five portions to be left with the peasants and four to be resumed. If possible, an even smaller share should be realized from the latter, so that they might attain some stability, because they occupy a very difficult area that lies right in the middle of the hill tribes and the Chandiyahs, and is presently in a state of desolation. This place is situated at a distance of 25 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan.

The third *parganah* is Kahan, and the fourth Bubakan. Both these *parganahs* contain some alluvial villages; the lands of those villages receive their alluvium from the water of the river. At present, most of these villages are prosperous. In respect of these villages, the principle of 50/50 crop-sharing should be strictly followed. It is hoped that their produce will raise to three time, or even more.

The rest of the villages of this *parganah* in the foothills are of the *kachah* type. During the rainy season, when the water flows from the hills, the lands of these villages are covered with alluvial deposits, and they produce very good crop of millet and sesame, in the *kharif* season, and mustard seed, in the *rabi'*. Ever since the departure of Shamshir Khan Uzbek, the population of these villages has gradually dwindled, and now they are lying in utter desolation. This has happened because these villages are situated in impassable hill passes, where, as has been mentioned earlier, its peasants live under the constant fear of the hill tribes and the Nuhmardis and Chandiyahs, so that, without the backing of a strong army, they cannot engage in cultivation.

Until the close of Shamshir Khan Uzbek's tenure, the peasant

Tabak, Kuranah and Aknari; secondly, the village Ararah and, thirdly, the village Karwati, both of which lie in the parganah Bubakan.

The village Uthal and Ararah are situated 16 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan, and 8 and 11 *kurohs*, respectively, from the big mountain *(kuh-i kalan)*. The village Karwati lies 20 *kurohs* away from the Sihwan fort, and 6 from the big mountain. The towns of Kahan and Bubakan are situated at a distance of 13 and 5 *kurohs*, respectively, from the fort of Sihwan.

The fifth *parganah* is called Patar and does not stand in need of any army. For the welfare of the peasants, the old system of 50/50 crop-sharing should be followed, so that it may flourish. The town of Patar is situated at a distance of 30 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan.

The sixth *parganah* consisting of a lake is called Nirun. Lying at a distance of 1 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan, it is surrounded by the villages of the *parganahs* Kahan, Bubakan, and Haweli Sihwan. A fixed sum is levied on the boatmen[111] who live in this lake; and it is realized from them at the beginning of each season. It does not need an army, nor can it be populated, because there is no land whatever.

The seventh *parganah* is called Haweli Sihwan and comprises 15 villages. Of these, 10 lie on this side of the river along the fort; and of the 10, seven are situated in the foothills, on the side of the hill tribes. The development of the last together with five villages of the *parganah* Bubakan, coming to a total of 12, is discussed subsequently.

The village Sawah lies at a distance of 15 *kurohs* from the big mountain.

The village 'Azizani lies at a distance of 15 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan and 8 *kurohs* from the big mountain.

The village Pahani Kot lies at a distance of 10 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan, and 7 *kurohs* from the big mountain.

The village Tihani lies 13 *kurohs* away from the fort of Sihwan, and two *kurohs* from the big mountain.

All these four villages are dependencies of the *parganah* Bubakan.

The village Jankar lies at a distance of 7 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan and 5 *kurohs* from the big mountain.

The village Bazaran lies $5_{1/2}$ *kurohs* from both the fort of

Sihwan and the big mountain.

The village Kachi lies about 5 *kuroh* away from the fort of Sihwan, as well as from the big mountain.

The *villages* Nar lies 7 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan and 4 *kurohs* from the big mountain. This village produces the choicest quality of *wilayati* melons. It is a beautiful spot. There is a perennial spring of water, which originates in the mountain 2 *kurohs* from this villages. The author has time and again visited the source of this spring. It took like a fountain that has erupted from the ground and then flows towards the aforementioned villages. The peasants of the village use this water for irrigation, which they arrange in the manner used in Afghanistan *(wilayat).* Here, in addition to melons, indigo is also produced, and the indigo of this place vies in quality with that Biyanah. The water is so scarce here that, throughout the year, only 250 *jaribs* (about 156 acres) are irrigated. There was no dearth of land and had there been enough water, up to 20,000 *jaribs* (about 12,500 acres), or more, could have been brought under the plough.

The saint, Ari Shihani, on whom be the mercy of God, is buried here. Lying at a distance of a quarter of a *kuroh* from the village proper, his grave is resplendent with divine grace. His name Shihani is derived from the Sindhi word *shih*, which means a lion. One day in his life, as he was going for a walk with his companions, a lion suddenly appeared. Scared, his companions ran away, but he grabbed the ear of the beast, and, sitting on his back, went for a ride.

When the region of Sihwan was conjointly bestowed in *jagir* on my brother, Abu al-Baqa', and Mirza Dust Beg, my brother sent the melons of this village to Hadrat-i Jannat Makani, who ate them with great relish and, comparing them with the original Afghan melons found these much better in taste. Hence this village was included in the *khalisah sharifah*, and handed over to Nawwab Asaf Jah. Thenceforth, it remained under the control of the latter's agents for a number of years.

The aforementioned four villages belong to the parganah Haweli Sihwan; and these, together with the previous four, total eight villages. The peasants of these eight villages never remain safe from the excesses of the hill tribes for even a single year. In a year, the hill tribes of the Nuhmardis, the Chandiyah Baluches, and others, invade these villages frequently, plunder the cattle

middle of the city, without anyone standing, in the way of those wretches. As a result of this violence, Dindar Khan constructed a wall around the city of Sihwan, which has already been described. On day, this *khanahzad* told Dindar Khan that letting such a village lie in ruin was unbecoming of his tenure. The remark touched him, and he gave the village to Sayyid Jalal, who named it Kamalpur, after the name of his son, Sayyid Kamal, built a wall around it, reassured its surviving peasants, and settled them in their homes. He gave them a written undertaking to charge revenue from them on the basis of four shaves of crop-sharing, resuming one share and leaving the remaining three to the peasants. Encouraged by this assurance, the peasants cultivated between 10 to 20 *jaribs* (6 to 13 acres) during the *rabi'* season; but soon after this, Dindar Khan was transferred. In short, the development of this village is also imperative. The revenue arrangement of Sayyid Jalal should be continued in respect of this village, and 10 matchlockmen and 10 archers should be deployed here, so that its peasants might regain their confidence and keep an eye on their half of the Lakki path.

Both these villages are dependencies of the *parganah* Haweli Sihwan.

Next, we come to the turbulent of Sihwan, whose development has been discussed along with the aforementioned villages. For the welfare of its peasants, the old practice of 50/50 crop-sharing should be continued; and because the fort of Sihwan is in a dilapidated condition, and its moat has also became useless, it would be desirable to repair this fort.

Then there are the springs called Ka'i and Na'ing. Both these spring are treated as one village in the records *(daftar)* and are counted among the dependencies of the *parganah* of Bubakan. The area around both these springs is inhabited by the Nuhani Baluches, who engage in cultivation, but do not pay revenue as the rest of the peasants do. During the tenures of Bakhtiyar Beg and Pir Ghulam, nay to the end of Shamshir Beg's tenure, they presented some goats and sheep and participated in military expeditions, which have been described above. The areas around these springs are now in a poor state and, as such, have fallen from the revenue roll. These two springs are about 1 *kuroh* from each other, and they lie in the hills at a distance of 14 *kurohs* from Sihwan. Game, including *rang* and *quch* (goats and rams), is found

in abundance around these springs. The present writer, together with the late 'Atiq Allah, the elder son of my brother, Abu al-Baqa', whom Hadrat-i Jannat Makani had sent to hunt *rangs*, has hunted a great *rangs* and *quches* in those hills.

For the protection of the aforementioned areas, these Baluches should be encouraged to stand firm against the turbulence of the hill tribes, and some reward should be bestowed on them in the shape of a *jagir*. They should station 100 of their men in the *thanah* of the aforementioned villages along with the detachment of troops already there, while another 100 should continue to live in their dwellings around the aforementioned springs. Moreover, the fort that was constructed by Ahmad Beg Khan on the Ni'ing spring, which counts among his commendable deeds, should be repaired, and a *thanah*, comprising 20 horsemen and 10 matchlock men, should be stationed there, so that the Nuhani Baluches might also serve under the command of the imperial army, and thus keep the inmates of the *thanah* informed about the hills tribes.

These measure would protect the aforementioned 12 villages from the imposition of the hill people, so that the mind of the *jagirdar* will also be at peace in this respect.

Out of the 10 villages of the parganah Haweli Sihwan, three villages, Kabrut, Sanakpur and Bhutarah, lie on this side of the river. These three villages are separated from the hills by the Manchhar lake; hence, the inhabitants of these villages have no fear of the hill insurgents. To develop these villages, their peasants should also be assessed on the basis of a 50/50 crop-sharing.

Five of the villages of the parganah Haweli are situated on the other side of the river, in the vicinity of the wretched Samejahs; and because of those accursed ones, they are lying in a state of desolation. Measures for reviving these villages will be listed when we deal with the development of the parganah Khittah. These villages are known as: Linjar, Saydan Karah, Daulatabad, Dih, Beli Shaykh Mumah.

The eighth *parganah* is called Sann, and, because of the damage done to it by the Nuhmardis and Samejah Unar, is presently lying in ruin indeed, some of its villages have been utterly desolated and depopulated.

For the development of this parganah, the fort built by Ahmad Beg Khan in the village Amiri, which was yet another

direction of Thattah, and 7 *kurohs* from the big mountain. Five *kurohs* from Sann towards Thattah, on top of a hill, there are the tombs of Hadrat Khwajah Uways-i Qarani and his mother, on both of whom be the mercy and forgiveness of God. It is said that these places are watched by them *(nazargah-i ishanast)*. On the day of Hajj, a whole world of hill tribes and others throng to this place tor render homage.

Once the jagirdar of Sihwan has set his heart at peace with regard to the safety of the *parganahs* on this side of the river, deploying 640 horsemen and 340 matchlockmen and archers in the *thanahs* of these eight *parganahs*, and soothing the peasants, he can quite confidently go across the river with 500 horsemen and 200 matchlock men, construct a fort in Winjarah, lay down gardens around the Winjarah lake, and encamp in the Winjarah fort, with view to resolutely exterminating the wretched Samejah Unar and developing the three *parganahs* which lie in the vicinity of those accursed ones. He should assess the peasants of the *parganah* Junejah on the basis of a 50/50 crop-sharing.

The *parganah* of Lakut comprises two quarters, one is inhabited by the Lakahs, who are pure peasants, and the other is inhabited by the wretched Samejahs, and this has already been described. From the beginning of Bakhtiyar Beg's tenure down to the days of Ahmad Beg Khan, the Lakah quarter was assessed on the basis of one-third of the produce in crop-sharing, as well as by *dabti*. Out of consideration or the weakness of the Lakahs, and to the advantage of both parties, Dindar Khan reduced the State share to one-fourth of the total produce. For the Lakah quarter, this old rate of revenue fixed by Dindar Khan, that is, one-fourth of the total produce, should be continued.

As regards the Samejahs quarter, so long as the Samejahs paid the revenue during the tenures of Bakhtiyar Beg, Pir Ghulam and Shamshir Khan, one-third of their produce was resumed as revenue. But when an area has fallen from the revenue roll, it became difficult to make it pay any revenue. Nevertheless, as far as the Samejah quarter is concerned, the same old system should be upheld and one-third of their total produce, under all circumstances, must be forcibly resumed in kind from those wretched ones. And the peasants of the parganah Khittah and those of the villages of the parganah Haweli Sihwan lying on the Samejah side should be assessed on the ratio of three to one, that

is, three shares should be left with the peasants and one should be resumed.

The town of Junejah is situated at a distance of 15 *kurohs* from the fort of Sihwan, from the town of Lakut 8 *kurohs* and from the town of Khittah, which is the same as the village Thatti, at a distance of 3 *kurohs*. However, the name Khittah has come to denote the whole *parganah.*

Moreover, if the *jagirdar* of Sihwan encamps confidently at Winjarah for a whole year, this will help to destroy and ruin the Samejah Unar, and all three of these *parganahs* will then regain their previous populousness and prosperity. The petty peasants who had been obliged to bid farewell to the *parganahs* of Khittah, Sann and Junejah and desert their homes to take refuge with the Samejahs will leave those wretched ones, as they have done before, and return to their former dwellings in the three aforementioned *parganahs,* in the Lakah quarter of the *parganah* Lakut, and in some villages of the parganah Haweli Sihwan, which have been mentioned above. What will those black-faced ones do then without the peasants? It is obvious that they will scatter hither and thither and will be ruined. Then a town crier should be sent around proclaiming that any soldier or peasant capturing a Samejah, his wife, or any cattle shall be allowed to keep them forever. Then, steadfastly keeping his promise, the *jagirdar* should ride towards the Samejahs and see for himself what, by the grace of God, happens to them. Most of them will be killed, their families taken captive and their cattle confiscated. Those who survive the sword shall wait on him in great humility and become ordinary peasants. Within a period of five years, like the Shurah, Babar and Dal, who lived in the sarkar of Chakar Halah, the Samejah will also be obliterated, and the world will be delivered from their mischief.

It should never cross the generous, glorious and fragrant mind of the Emperor that 1,440 horsemen and 540 matchlockmen and archers cannot be sustained by the income of the region of Sihwan; for, if the type of person that has been mentioned above becomes the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, he will not only be able to maintain the aforementioned army, but also remit a tribute of 50,000 rupees to the imperial exchequer- except for the first year, while he will be comforting the peasants and developing the army. After five years, when the insurgent of this region have

Manak as their *faujdar*. Thus, he accompanied Sa'indinah and Shahbaz Khan to Nasrpur, with a strong army, where, after expelling the sons of Qasim Khan Arghun from the fort of Nasrpur, he turned it over to Shahbaz Khan. Khusrau Beg told the sons of Qasim Khan Arghun that, among the whole party, it was only Manak who really mattered, as the others were worthless creatures; and urged them to kill Manak in whatever way they could. Accordingly, Fathi, a son of Qasim Khan Arghun, invited Manak to a feast at his home and killed him treacherously. After Manak's death, Fathi's brother, Janda'i, mounted an elephant and, at the head of a big army, made for the camp of Manak. Shahbaz Khan and Sa'indinah closed the gates of the fort of Nasrpur and strengthened their defences. Ra'esingh, a son of Manak, at the head of his father's army, gave battle of Fathi and defeated him. He killed many of Janda'i's men and, capturing his elephant, presented it to Shahbaz Khan. Shir Beg, a son-in-law of Qasim Beg Arghun, was killed in this battle. Ra'esingh then attacked Janda'i camp, 5 to 6 *kurohs* from Nasrpur, and looted all that he could lay his hands upon. In short, Manak accomplished all these deeds on the strength of one *parganah*. And God knows what is right.

ITEM TWO

On Ways of Subduing the Chandiyah Baluches

The commandant (*thanahdar*) of the parganah Baghbanan can easily deal with the Chandiyah Baluches. If they choose to stay in their homes and abodes, they shall have to pay the revenue like rest of the peasants and stay away from headstrong ways. If they refuse to do so, he shall ride out against them and take such measures that not only will they be reprimanded, but others, too, shall learn a lesson from their fate. And if, instead, they leave their native land and take up residence in the region of Siwi and Ganjabah, even then the goal of subduing them will be achieved: the nomads of those parts, who entertain an instinctive hostility towards these wretches, will destroy and ruin them. And God knows best what is right.

ITEM THREE

On Measure for Quelling the Fire of Nuhmardis Sedition

The present writer would like to explain to the world-adorning and joy-spreading intellect of the Emperor how the Nuhmardis may be subdued in one of two ways. Firstly, as has been said above, they are a warlike people and possess a strong army. Following the dictum that man is responsive to benevolence, the *jagirdar* of Sihwan may send for the chiefs of all the four Nuhmardi clans, and, after soothing them, send them off to the heavenly imperial court, where a petty *mansab,* together with a *tankhwahi jagir,* may be bestowed on each one of them either in the *parganah* Chakar Halah or the *parganah* Sann. Once they have experienced the taste of a *jagir* and become used to imperial service, they will also become amenable to rendering military service, for weakening all the remaining hill tribes, driving them the *jagirdar* of Sihwan, and helping in the imposition and realization of the annual tribute *(saliyanah).* Moreover, if the conquest of Qandahar, or that of the region of Kich and Makran, is ordered, they might be helpful in its execution as well. And God knows best what is right.

Secondly, they might be so weakened that the imperial dominions are no longer threatened but their excesses; the achievement of this goal also rests with the *jagirdar* of Sihwan. The hill tribes, particularly the Nuhmardis do not engage in cultivation, but possess a large number of livestock, including camels, horses, goats, and cows, and, for their livelihood, are totally dependent on the *parganahs* of Sihwan and the *sarkar* of Chakar Halah. They bring their camels, horses, goats, rugs, *shatranjis* (chequered carpets) another merchandise from the hills and sell them at these places, from where they then buy grain, arms and cloth. On the other hand, the merchants of this region, on their side, carry cloth and arms to the hills and return from there with hill articles, including camels, horses, goats, and other things. Therefore, the *jagirdar* should order his men in the above-mentioned *thanahs* to terminate all traffic of the Baluches and merchants to and from hill, so that nobody may smuggle any Sindi articles to the hills. Similarly, the *subahdar* of Thattah should

into the stages of the divine world *('alam-i uluhiyyat)* on the day that is described as "That day will a man flee from his brother, and his mother and his father, and his wife and his children; for each one of them that day shall have concerns enough to make him heedless of others",[116] he undergoes the experience of "Then he who is given his record in his right hand will verily receive an easy reckoning, and he will turn to his folk, rejoicing",[117] and enjoys and pleasure of "They shall be on thrones encrusted with gold, reclining on them, facing each other. There, immortal youths shall go round attending them, with goblets and ewers and a cup from a pure springs, wherefrom they get no aching of the head nor any unconsciousness, and fruits that they prefer and the flesh of fowls that they desire. And (there will be) fair ones with wide, lusterous eyes, like unto pearls well-guarded, a reward for what they used to do."[118] The protection of these two sides by kings and *amirs* is possible only if they act in accordance with the substance of the following verse:[119]

> The comfort of both the worlds in the exposition of these two points:
> Generosity to friends and peace with enemies.

And, in both the worlds, there is no better friend for them than the peasant; for it is from the peasants' earning that they acquire revenue without undergoing any toil or drudgery themselves. Peasants lead a life of pain and misery whole kings and *amirs* pass their time in ease and luxury. When they treat peasants benevolently, and do not demand anything from them against the canon of the sacred law, they live in comfort and enjoy a good name in this world, and, in the world to come, the peasants bear witness to their good temperament and justice, with the result that they are blessed with the reward of justice in keeping with the spirit of this saying: the justice of one moment is better than the good deeds of both worlds. Then, why is it that some *amirs* and their agents behave neglectfully towards such a friend and by their oppression earn a bad name and suffer uneasiness in this world, and, in the Hereafter, face embarrassment before God? That is exactly what Hakim Salih did in the region of Bhakkar, which resembled a golden cup full of precious stones. By the imposition of unauthorized leases *(ijarahs)* and the demand of revenue in respect of the dead *(fauti)* and runway *(farari)*

cultivators, he drove the peasants who paid their revenue voluntarily into rebellion. Had there been an imperial *amin* in such a region who prevented the violation of the regulations *(dastur al-'amal)*, this type of situation would not have arisen.

Strangely enough, these injudicious people, dubbing the outstanding dues of their tyrannous demands as arrears, put peasants in jail. They become so absorbed in these petty irregular demands that they sacrifice huge amounts of regular official revenue. Once peasants have been put behind bars, who can then attend the court of the *jagirdar*? However, the refractory elements who neither pay the revenue nor attend the court of the *jagirdar* rightly deserve to be imprisoned.

How small an army Muhammad 'Ali Beg had with him is an open secret, yet all the peasants of the region of Bhakkar acknowledged his authority, showed more respect to him than his servants did, and accompanied him wholeheartedly in his expeditions for the eradication of insurgents. On the other hand, despite all the army at the disposal Hakim Salih, because of his mistreatment, the peasants of the *parganah* Chandukah and Takar went into rebellion, caused confusion in the region of Bhakkar, and took to headstrong ways. Here is an account of this incident: When the aforementioned Hakim Salih, who had already imprisoned the *arbab* of the *parganah* Matilah called Jallo, also captured Siddiq and Shah Beg, son and son-in-law, respectively, to Nandah, the *arbab* of the *parganah* Chandukah, and took them to Bhakkar, the Abrahs killed Dayal Das, a relative of Mansingh, the *diwan* of Bhakkar and Turaj, a son of Gopal, the *qanungu* of Bhakkar, in a row about the assessment of their cultivations and plundered a caravan from Siwi. Tahir Muhammad, the *shiqqdar* of the *parganah* Takar, with the help of 80 horsemen, wanted to lay his hands upon the *arbab* of the aforementioned *parganah*, 'Abd al-Wahid by name, who was then in the village Lakiyar, a dependency of the *parganah* Takar; and, with this intention, rode out towards the village Lakiyar. The Samejahs of Lakiyar destroyed the dam that lay in his way, and thus Tahir Muhammad's army found itself stranded in water. The wretched Samejahs shot all the 80 horsemen with arrows, looted their arms and horses, and took Shiqqdar Tahir Muhammad, into custody.

In the hour of need, when there is no escape left,
The hand grabs the sharp blade of the sword.

prosperity of the realm are the basic supports of a king. Yet another such thing is that the king should sleep in a place where he can hear the voice of the oppressed and the supplicants. It is said of Nushirwan that he had installed a chain of which one end was linked to his bed chamber and the other was suspended from window, so that when a supplicant pulled that chain, Nushirwan at once became aware of it, and could then redress his grievance. During the beginning of his reign, Hadrat-i Jannat Makani had also installed such a chain of justice. This least of the *khanahzads*, however, says that there is no need to put up such a chain of justice. Instead, the king should allocate a special place within his sight for the oppressed and the supplicants, which every poor, and rich person should be able to reach without let or hindrance. Thus, the moment the king notices anybody there, he should know that person is a supplicant, and he should then listen to his affairs and look into the matter.

One more thing that the king should do in this regard is that he should say two *rak'ahs* of supererogatory morning *(ishraq)** prayers with the intention of invoking divine guidance *(istikharah)*. During the first *rak'ah*, he should recite *"Qul ya ayyuhaal-kafirun"* ["Say: O disbelievers" Qur'an Surah 59] after the Fatihah, and, during the second *rak'ah* he should recite *"Qul Hu Allahu Ahad"* ["Say: He is Allah, the One," Qur'an, Surah 62] when he has completed the prayers, he should raise his hands and recite the following invocation [Omitted here].

Indeed, this invocation is just like a living preceptor to a disciple. Thus, whoever says these prayers regularly may hope that, by the grace of God, his sayings, deeds, movements and pauses will conform to the *shari'ah* of the Prophet and, God willing, he would attain high stages in Paradise.

Yet another such thing is that the king should say two *rak'ahs* in the night *('Isha')* prayers before the *witrs* (prescribed *rak'ahs*). During these two *rak'ahs*, he should think of repentance and returning to God Most High. In every *rak'ah*, after the *Fatihah*, he should recite from the Qur'an whatever he can and then say the following invocation [omitted here].

As for the benefit of these last prayers of repentance, the *Sufi* masters, on whom be the mercy of God, said that a true disciple is one who renders the recording angel on his left shoulder so idle that he stops recording any of his sins. They have said that

it does not mean that the disciple no longer commits any sins; unimpeachable as he is, he does commit sins; but the angel does not record them until that person goes to bed. Hence, one should repent all one's sins before that time, and make it a habit to say these prayers all through one's life, so that the angel remains idle and does not record one's sins. Whoever says these prayers regularly, and repents every day before going to bed, may hope that, by the grace of God, his good deeds *(hasanat)* are recorded and sins *(sayyi'at)* are ignored. Thus, God willing, on the Day of Judgement, only the good deeds will be recorded in his roll of deeds, and no sins will be found in it. He will enter Paradise without any interrogation and, as, by the grace and mercy of God Almighty, he attains high stages in Paradise, he will be reckoned among the Kings of Paradise; and this is not beyond the benevolence of God Most High.

With this, I bring to a close the epilogue and complete the book. I hope that God Most High, in his mercy, will forgive my shortcomings in this book, and that it will win the approval of the attendants of the royal throne of the King of the world and the people of the world, Elect of God the Merciful, Shadow of Divine Kindness on the people of the world Abu al-Muzaffar Shihab al-Din Muhammad, Lord of the Second Conjunction Shah Jahan Padshah Ghazi.

Gagan.[30]

(18) See T.S., p.122

(19) Cf. T.S., p.122. According to some manuscripts of T.S., Sultan Mahmud was aged 15[31] at that times, but, considering the fact that he was born in 898[32]/ 192-93, his age should have been more than 20 years at that time.

(20) Could he be the same person who has been described as one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kamran[33] and whom Mirza Hayder Dughlat during Kamran Mirza's absence to Qandahar in 941/1534,[34] unsuccessfully tried to send to Kashmir on a military expedition?[35] He was also dispatched by Kamran Mirza during the last phase of Humayun's wanderings in Sind, to Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun with a proposal for the latter's daughter.[36]

(21) Mir Fadil b. 'Adil b. Ahmad Khwajah hailed from a respectable family of Khurasgan,[37] a town in the subdistrict of Jay in the province of Isfahan, on the Isfahan-Yazd road.[38] His grandfather, Khwajah Ahmad Isfahan who traced his origin to the proverbial philanthropist, 'Abu 'Adi Hatim-i Ta'i,[39] fell into the hands of Mir Dhu al-Nun's father, Mir Hasan Basri, when the latter was engaged in a punitive expedition against the inhabitants of Isfahan, under Amir Timur Gurkan,[40] in 789/1389.[41] Mir Hasan Basri adopted Khwajah Ahmad as his son,[42] and thus laid the foundation of close cooperation between the two families Khwajah Ahmad's son, 'Aqil Khwajah Atakah,[43] and grandson, Fadil Kukultash,[44] took sides with Dhu al-Nun and his son, Shah Beg Arghun, through thick and thin, and distinguished themselves in many difficult enterprises.

Fadil Kukultash and his sons, particularly Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari, Baba Ahmad[45] and Mir 'Abd al-Fattah, [46] made a significant contribution in carving out an independent Arghun kingdom in Sind, and in the restoration of law and order in its precincts. A seasoned soldier though he was, Mir Fadil's harsh and cruel nature could inspire fear and awe, but could not win over the heart of his subjects. Once Mir Dhu al-Nun assigned to him township of Kaziw, in the region of Zamin Dawar, but Fadil destroyed it by his excesses. The favourite of the Mir that he was, no one could bring the matter to the notice of the Arghun chief – that is not

until Maulana Subuhi, a poet and boon companion of the Mir, finally apprised him of the plight of the population of the town and *rescued* the people from the high-handedness of Mir Fadil.[47]

Mir Fadil died in 928/1521-22 and was buried at Bhakkar.[48]

(22) the scion of an old and illustrious family of the *Qadis* of Sind [49] and paternal grandfather[50] of the celebrated Qadiri saint, Miyan Muhammad Mir Sindhi Lahauri,[51] Qadi Qadan's versatile personality and the high esteem in which he was held by contemporary rulers spontaneously brings to mind the famous Safawid Qadi-i Jahan.[52] His ripe wisdom, innovative genius and profound learning and piety made him equally popular with the Jam[53] and the Arghun[54] rulers of Sind, and he stood them in good stead in many a difficult situation. In his old age, he retired from active life and devoted himself fully to spiritual refinement. He died in 958/1551.[55]

(23) Kakri (var. Kakhri). During the days of Akbar, this place was one of the 12 mahals of the *sarkar* of Bhakkar, in the province of Multan. Its inhabitants are described as Mankrerah in the *A'in*,[56] which is one of the several variations of the word Mangnejah.[57] According to Hughes,[58] they are a Sindhi clan settled in Naushahro district. They are perhaps so called because they are descended from a person named 'Naghe'.[59]

(24) Derived from *T.S.* (p. 245)

(25) Sayyid Muhammad belonged to a distinguished family of the Sayyids of Amrohah,[60] an important town in the *sarkar* of Sanbhal. He studied *Hadith* under the most accomplished teachers of his age, and then joined the imperial service under Akbar.[61] The Emperor subsequently chose him as his *Mir 'Adl*. This office was introduced by Akbar for the first time in the history of Mughul administration in the Subcontinent.[62] There was no such office under the Sultans of Dihli nor does an office under this designation ever seem to have existed in the judicial structure of any Muslim government outside the Subcontinent. Under the Mughuls, the appointment to this post was made only in instances where the *qadi* was found unable to cope adequately with the whole range of his responsibilities.[63] The main task of the

incumbent holding this position was to see to the smooth functioning of the executive side of the judiciary.(64) Producing the litigants before the *qadi* and implementing the latter's verdict were also the *Mir 'Adl's* responsibilities(65). Beside this, he was supposed to help the *sadr*, along with the *qadi*. To inquire into the circumstances of applicants for a grant of the *madad-i ma'ash* and assist him in the processing of these cases.(66)

By virtue of his universally recognized learning and piety,(67) Sayyid Muhammad pre-eminently qualified for this exalted office. Once appointed, he discharged his duties in such an exemplary fashion that the title of his office became an inseparable part of his name for the rest of his life.

After the death of Sultan Muhammad Bhakkari, when court circles did not approve of the appointment of descendants of Sayf al-Muluk to a frontier province such as Bhakkar,(68) Akbar, who was already contemplating the liquidation of the orthodox clique at court,(69) promoted Sayyid Muhammad, a man of strictly orthodox outlook,(70) to a rank of 1,000,(71) bestowed upon him a special sword, a horse and a robe of honour,(72) and made him the governor of Bhakkar.(73) Sayyid Muhammad arrived in Bhakkar on 11 Ramadan 983(74)/13 December 1575.

In view of his extensive experience as Mir 'Adl, and his learning and piety, Sayyid Muhammad was given the powers of the *sadr* as well, and authorized to grant means of subsistence to deserving Sayyids, scholar, saints and other inhabitants of the area in accordance with their needs. Sayyid Muhammad made such liberal use of this prerogative that, during the short span of his office, before his death on 8 Sha'ban 984/29 October 1576, he had distributed around 50,000 *bighahs* of land among various deserving people.(75)

After the death of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl, his son, Mir Abu al-Fadl, held his position for some time, until, in the same year, 984/1576-77, he was replaced by I'timad Khan.

(26) Khwajahsara.(76)

Darbelah (var. Darbelo). One of the 12 mahals of the *sarkar* of Bhakkar during the days of Akbar, containing 121, 146 *bighahs* of land, with a total revenue of 1,262, 761 dams. (77) According to Abu al-Fadl, the place was inhabited by

Bhattis[78] and provided a 200/500 strong cavalry and infantry.[79]

Darbelo lies about 76 miles south-east of Bhakkar and 10 miles north of Naushahro, in the ta'luqah of the same name.[80]

(27) Based on *T.S.*, (pp. 124-25).

(28) The other manuscript of the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* has the following additional information about it: "the fourth *parganah* is called Fathpur, but, since it has been lying in utter ruin, I have not ventured do describe it."

(29) Based on *T.S.* (pp. 128-30)

(30) T.S., p.130. According to A.A., vol.II, p.161, the simoom blew for three months.

(31) According to Farid Bhakkar,[81] he was of pure Turkman stock. He and his brother Burj 'Ali, both were in the imperial service. Burj 'Ali did not make much of his life, but Quch 'Ali, after serving for some time in Gujarat, was during the reign of Jahangir, honoured with the *jagir* of Siwi and Ganjabah, a dependency of Bhakkar. During his stay there, Quch 'Ali led some punitive expeditions against the Afghans and Baluch of the *kachah* region, and wrought such a havoc among them that thenceforward the Afghans disciplined their children by frightening them with his name. A man of barbarous temperament, he kept two big vats of boiling water perpetually ready; the moment a criminal was brought to his presence, regardless of the nature of the crime, he was tied hand and foot and flung into one of these vats. Around 1,000 persons in that region met their death at his hands in this manner.

He had borrowed a sum of about 100,000 rupees from the money-lenders of Akbarabad, Lahore and Multan. When he came to Sind, he brought these money-lenders along and, after somehow or other obtaining a receipt for the money he owed to them, he killed them one and all. When news of his tyrannous administration reached the imperial court, he was recalled, and his *jagir* was made over to the sons of Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari Suspecting Shaykh Farid Bhakkari of having manoeuvred his transfer, Quch 'Ali wanted to obtain the *faujdari* of Bhakkar, the native place of his opponent, and wreak vengeance on him. Meanwhile, the efforts of Shaykh Farid bore fruit, and Quch 'Ali was obliged to accompany

Thattah,[117] Jahangir forthwith dispatched Mir 'Abd al-Razzaq Ma'muri to look after the affairs of that province,[118] while he pondered about the suitable incumbents who might be entrusted with the governorship of that province on a long-term basis.[119] In the meantime, when Mirza Rustam Safawi, who had been recalled to court from the Deccan expedition at his own request,[120] arrived at court, Jahangir appointed him the new governor of Thattah with a substantial increase in his mansab.[121] After Mirza Rustam's arrival[122] at the seat of his government, 'Abd al-Razzaq Ma'muri returned to the court with the headstrong slave of the late Mirza Ghazi and some other Arghun and Tarkhan notables.[123] Not long afterwards, the Mir was once again on his way to Thattah as the *bakhshi* with a few more laurels in his cap,[124] and the title of Muzaffar Khan to his credit.[125] On 15 Rabi'I 1025/2 April 1616; he was promoted to the governorship of Thattah.[126] Henceforth, except for a brief interlude, when he visited the court during the 13th regnal year,[127] Muzaffar Khan continuously held that position for almost five years, until towards the close of the 15th regnal year (1030/1621), he was recalled to court.[128] During the remaining period of Jahangiri's reign, he was twice appointed the *Mir Bakhshi* and as many times the governor *(hairs)* of Akbarabad,[129] before his final assignment as the governor of Malwah.[130] When Shahjahan emerged from Ajmer and proceeded to take over the mantle of power, Muzaffar Khan waited on him[131] and pledged his loyalty to him. However, he could not survive long under the new order and soon retired from service.[132]

(41) Badin lies 62 miles south-south-east of Hyderabad.[133]

(42) Mirza Rustam was a great grandson of Shah Isma'il Safawi. His father, Sultan Husayn Mirza, son of Bahram Mirza, was a nephew of Shah Tahmasb Safawi, who entrusted him (965[134]/1558) with the government of Qandahar, Zamindawar and its dependencies as far as the Hilmand river,[135] Sultan Husayn Mirza held this region for almost two decades until he died (984[136]/1576) during the reign of Shah Isma'il II. He was survived by five[137] sons, namely Muhammad Husayn Mirza, Muzaffar Husayn Mirza, Mirza Rustam, Abu Sa'id Mirza and Sanjar Mirza, Shah Isma'il blood-thirsty monarch

that he was, slew Muhammad Husayn Mirza, and issued orders for the elimination of his brothers at Qandahar.[138] Luckily for the Mirzas, before the plan could be executed, the Shah himself passed away. His successor, Muhammad Khuda Bandah bestowed Qandahar on Muzaffar Husayn Mirza, and gave Zamindawar and its dependencies to Mirza Rustam and his two younger brothers, Abu Sa'id and Sanjar.[139] The intrigues of their enemies, and the irrepressible desire of Muzaffar Husayn Mirza and Mirza Rustam to advance their respective fortunes at the cost of the other, soon put the two brothers at each other's throat. A long period of incessant internecine warfare followed.[140] Finally, apprehending retaliation from the Maliks of Sistan, whose ruler, Malik Mahmud, he had treacherously killed,[141] and realizing that it was well-nigh impossible to resist both the ever-growing Uzbek pressure[142] and the covetous designs of the Mughuls,[143] Mirza Rustam expressed a desire to emigrate to the Subcontinent.[144] Akbar accepted his request, and elaborate arrangements were made to receive him at various stages of his journey into the Mughul empire.[145] They were partly meant to tempt his elder brother to follow suit.[146] Akbar gave an audience to the Mirza at Lahore in Muharram 1002/1593. His brother, Sanjar Mirza, his four sons, Mura, Shahrukh, Hasan and Ibrahim, and 400 Turkmans were also present on the occasion. Every one of them was adequately rewarded.[147]

With an eye on further impressing Muzaffar Husayn Mirza, who still held Qandahar, Akbar showed all the more warmth and generosity of Mirza Rustam; he gave him a *mansab* of 5,000,[148] Multan and many *parganahs* of Baluchistan[149] in *jagir*, and a cash reward of 10 million *Muradi Tankahs*.[150] He was also favoured with a standard and drums.[151]

The Mirza Rustam's arrival in the Subcontinent paved the way for still more Safawid defections to the Mughul court, and thus considerably enhanced Akbar's prestige. It also reinforced the Mughul desire to capture Qandahar and strengthened their case for their suzerainty over it.

Consequent upon the desolation of Multan at the hands of Mirza Rustam's functionaries,[152] it was converted into

(43) Mir Husain al-Din Inju, son of the celebrated Persian lexicographer,[195] 'Adud al-Daulah Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn,[196] was married to a niece[197] of Nur Jahan Begum. This matrimonial alliance with close relations of the royal consort not only raised the Mir's stock in the eyes of his contemporaries, but also aided the advance of his career.[198] In 1026/1617, Jahangir promoted him to the mansab of 1,000 personnel and 400 horse.[199] Towards the close of 1029/1620, when an ambassador of Shah 'Abbas, Zanbil Beg by name, reached the neighbourhood of Lahore, the Emperor deputed the Mir to receive him and to present him with a robe of honour and 30,000 rupees for his expenses. He was also charged with the responsibility of looking after the distinguished royal guest during his stay at Lahore.[200]

The Mir served under Prince Khurram during the Mewar expedition in 1022[201]1613, and in 1032/1623, when the latter, having been defeated by Mahabat Khan at Dihli, turned his reins first to Malwah and Mando and then to Asir, the Mir, who was then the commandant of the fort, notwithstanding strict orders from the court,[202] surrendered the fort to the rebel prince without any struggle. For this, the prince promised him a *mansab* of 4,000 personnel, with standard and drums, and the title of *Murtada Khan*, and he joined him with all of his family.[203] Later on, while he was travelling from Burhanpur towards the Deccan, he was captured by the imperial forces and produced before Mahabat Khan who imprisoned him and extracted 1,000,000, rupees from him in cash and kind.[204]

On his accession to the throne, Shahjahan gave the Mir a rank of 3,000 personnel and 2,500 horse, a robe of honour, a jeweled dagger, a horse, an elephant and a standard.[205] Not long afterwards, he was promoted to a *mansab* of 4,000 personnel and 3,000 horse, given the title of Murtada Khan, honoured with a jeweled dagger, an elephant and Rs. 50,000 in cash, and made the governor of Thattah,[206] where he died sometime around Rabi'I 1039/October-November 1629.[207]

The most successful of his sons was Mir Samsam al-Daulah.[208] On 1 Muharram 1048/15 May 1648, Shahjahan appointed him the *bakhshi, waqi'ah nawis* (news writer) and *darughah-i tupkhanah* (superintendent of the artillery at

Qandahar.[209] On 14 Rabi' II 1049/15 July 1539, he was promoted to the *diwanship* of that place.[210] On 1 Shawwal 1053/13 December 1644, he was made the *diwan* of Kabul.[211]

On 1 Safar 1057/8 March 1647, when Prince Muhammad Shah Shuja' was entrusted with the governorship of Bangal, Mir Samsam al-Daulah accompanied him as the *diwan* of that province.[212] In Rabi'I 1060/March 1650, he received a mansab of 1,000 personnel and 200 horse.[213] His *mansab* was raised to 1,500 personnel and 500 horse on 1 Dhi al-Hijjah 1065/2 October 1655 and he was appointed as the *haris* of Orisah by the Prince.[214] He died soon after.[215]

(44) From 1038-1042/1628-33, Bhakkar was in the *jagir* of Nawwab Asaf Khan and Hakim Shah was his *'amil* in that *sarkar*.[216] Meanwhile, when Khan-i Jahan Lodi fell from grace at court [217] and fled for his life,[218] Shaykh Farid Bhakkari, who was in his service, returned to his home in Bhakkar in great distress. Mirza Husayni was the *faujdar* of Bhakkar at that time. On account of his cordial relation with Shaykh Farid, he allowed him a good deal of say in the day-to-day running of the *sarkar*, and, thanks to the influence and resourcefulness of the Shaykh, collected a considerable amount of wealth. This aroused the jealousy of Hakim Salih, and, through Mansingh, the *waqi'ah nawis*, he wrongly reported to the court that Farid Bhakkari was engaged in raising an Afghan army at Bhakkar; that he had sent word to Khan-i Jahan to come to Bhakkar from Sironj; that, on his behest, Shir Khan Tarin, of Shal, had ravaged the town of Ganjabah, a dependency of Bhakkar; and that his stay at Bhakkar endangered the area's peace and security. Soon thereafter, a royal decree was issued, stipulating that Shaykh Farid be required to produce a guarantor for his good conduct that, in the meantime, he should be made to present himself at the court. At about the same time, Mirza Husayni was removed from his post. Subsequently, both of them were sent to Burhanpur, where Mir Jumlah Bakhshi presented them before the Emperor. But, luckily for them, since Khan-i Jahan had, in between, been killed.[219] Shahjahan pardoned them and ordered them to be set free.[220]

(45) A close relative and admirer[221] of Nawwab Murtada Khan Shaykh Farid,[222] Sayyid Bahowah, generally known as

Shahjahan, who, quite naturally, lost all his confidence in the loyalty of Shir Khan, and depriving him of all privileges, confined him to his house.[245] Thus, this unfortunate exile's last hope of returning to his homeland was also shattered for all time to come. He died from tuberculosis in the Subcontinent.[246]

(47) For the economic and historical importance of Nasrpur, see Chalbani, pp. 56-7.

(48) *Milak* was a kind of rich silk material with gold threads.[247] It was used in the manufacture of aristocratic and imperial robes of honours.[248] In the days of Akbar, when each *Mohr* consisted of 9 rupees,[249] its price ranged from 3 to 70 *Mohrs*.[250]

(49) *sakpal, sukhpal* means a kind of palanquin. See *A.N.*, vol.III, p.828 and its translation by. H. Beveridge. *A.N., tr.*, vol.III, p.1240.

(50) As would appear from the following extract from B.N., this practice was not peculiar to the Uzbeks. Referring to Sultan Husayn Bayqara, Babur writes: "He used to wear either the black lambskin cap *(burk)* or the *qalpaq*, (*) but on a feast-day would sometimes set up a little threefold turban, wound broad and badly, (**) stick a heron's plume in it and so go to prayers.[251]

(51) Bahadur Khan Uzbek's original name was Abu al-Bi.[252] Under 'Abd al-Mu'min Khan he served as the governor of Mashhad,[253] but, when the former was assassinated in 100[254]/1598, notwithstanding all efforts of Baqi Khan to assuage his fears, Abu al-Bi came to India, on the pretext to proceeding on a pilgrimage, and entered Akbar's service in 1011/1602-03. He started with a *mansab* of 500 personnel and 150 horse,[255] and before long he succeeded in carving out a respectable position at the Mughul court.[256]

After the accession of Jahangir, when Khusrau made good his escape from the court, the Emperor appointed Abu al-Bi with 57 other *mansabdars* to assist Shaykh Farid the task of pursuing the fugitive prince.[257] In Shawwal 1018/January 1610, he was raised to a command of 1,500 personnel and

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* This is a felt wide-awake worn by travellers in hot weather (Shaw); The Turkhman bonnet (Erskine)

** Hai, M.S: *yamanlik*, badly; Elph. MS: *namayan*, whence Erskine's *showy*.

1,000 horse,[258] and then in Muharram 1019/March 1610, he was made the *faujdar* of Multan.[259] In 1021/1612, when Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan, the governor of Qandahar died, Jahangir promoted Abu al-Bi to a rank of 3,000 personnel and horse, honoured him with the title of *Bahadur Khan* and a flag, and appointed him the governor of Qandahar.[260]

During 1029/1620, when, sensing the high intrigue riddling the Mughul court, the Persians were gradually reinforcing their efforts to recover Qandahar from the Mughuls, and Jahangir was making necessary preparations for its Defence, Bahadur Khan, who had not long before been favoured with a sudden rise to the *mansab* of 5,000 personnel and 4,000 horse,[261] requested his recall to the imperial court on the pretext of some eye disease.[262] He was ordered to hand over charge of the fort to 'Abd al-'Aziz Naqshbandi and himself to come to the court.[263] Abu al-Bi reached the court some time during Jumada II 1031/April 1622,[264] but was soon afterwards again selected to go as an auxiliary to the army of Qandahar, and favoured with horse and a dress of honour.[265]

In Rajab 1036/March 1627, Abu al-Bi was appointed the governor of Allahabad.[266] After the death of Jahangir, he pledged his allegiance to Shahjahan and continued to serve under him.[267] He held the *sarkar* of Chandawar, near Akbarabad in *jagir* for some time and finally died there.[268]

(52) One of the *Taba' tabi'in* or companion of the companions of the Prophet of Islam. Hailing from the Qaran quarter of Najd oasis of Arabia, Uways was a contemporary of the Prophet; but because of his ecstatic condition and the old age of his mother he never managed to undertake a journey to Madinah. Nevertheless, his devotion to the Prophet was so overwhelming that when he heard that the Prophet had broken some of his teeth in the battle of Uhud, not knowing which teeth were affected, he pulled all his own teeth out. He owed his spiritual attainments to the direct attention of the Prophet, who left his patched robe *(khirqah)* with 'Umar and 'Ali to pass on the Uways after his death. Hence the epithet of Uwaysi applied to all the subsequent *Sufis* who master. He was killed in the battle of Siffin (37/657) while fighting at the side of 'Ali.[269]

ghayb led the congregational prayers. The worshippers heard him recite the Qur'an and followed his commands throughout the ceremony, but they never saw him. One of these spirits even sent a present to Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi through that youth.

According to yet another anecdote narrated by the Khwajah,[292] a man called Khwajah 'Ali used to be visited by these spirits, who always greeted him in the usual Muslim fashion. Once they called on him in large numbers and repeated the salutation "Peace unto you". Khwajah 'Ali lost his temper, and asking how long they would continue greeting him in this fashion, he demanded that they come face to face with him. The *mardan-i ghayb* did not like this attitude and stopped visiting Khwajah 'Ali.

The Mughul Emperors, Humayun[293] and Akbar also believed in the existence of these creatures. The latter is even reported to have invoked their assistance in one of his battle.[294] In 1141/1730-31 and number of Bilgrami Sayyids were killed in a battle between Nawwab Sarbuland Khan and Rajah Abhi Singh Rathore. According to Sayyid Muhammad, since the body of one Sayyid Ghulam Mustafa could not be found on the battlefield, it had probably been whisked away by the mardan-i ghayb.[295]

The Arabic word for *"martyr"* in the Qur'an, and Muslim theology, is *shahid*, with *shuhud* or *shuhada'* as plural forms, the literal meaning of which is "present as a witness". It implies all that is understood by the Greek *kaprus*, and the English martyr; but it is also a much more comprehensive term; for, according to Muslim law, not only those who die in witness of, or in defence of the faith, are martyrs, but all those who die such deaths as are calculated to excite the compassion and pity of their fellow men.

'The word occurs in the Qur'an, Surah iv, 71: "whoso obeys God and the Apostle, these are with those with whom God has been well pleased - with prophets *(nabiyin)*, and confessors *(siddiqin)*, and martyrs *(shuhada)*, and the righteous *(salihin)*: a fair company are they.'[296]

(62) 'Makhdum ... that place', is almost a verbatim reproduction from T.S. p.110.

(63) One of the *mahals* of the *sarkar* of Siwistan during the days of

Akbar,[297] Baghbanan is now known as Baghban and lies 27 miles north of Sihwan,[298] between Khuda Abad and Dadu.[299]

(64) Our earliest evidence about the use of the wheel for irrigational purposes in Sind comes from the *Ta'rikh-i Sind* of Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari[300] and not from the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, as is mistakenly assumed by Irfan Habib.[301]

Though the documented history[302] of the use of the Persian wheel in the Indian Subcontinent goes as far back as 532 A.D.,[303] the earliest surviving description of its mechanical structure relates almost to the same era as that mentioned by Mir Ma'sum in Sind and is preserved in the *Memoirs* of Babur. Referring to the modes of irrigation in India, Babur remarks.[304]

In Lahore, Dibalpur[305] and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close to it is another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed.[306]

As distinct from the aforementioned wheel, which is called *rahat, arhat* and *urhat* in Hindi[307] and *saqiyah*[308] in Arabic, and which is used for raising water from wells, another type of wheel known as *na'ur*[309] or *na'urah*[310] in Arabic and noria in Spanish[311] and English, is employed to lift water from rivers, streams and lakes, etc. 'It differs from the *saqiyah* in that no chain is present and the buckets, pots, or bamboo tubes are attached to the circumference of a single wheel, collecting at the bottom and discharging at the top.'[312] In the case of rivers, the norias are usually furnished with pedals which are propelled by the power of the currents,[313] but on still or slow flowing streams they are operated either by human labour or by draught animals. Norias are usually made if bamboo and wood and can be as big as 75 feet in diameter,[314] depending on the height of the fields.[315] In some countries, they are 'often arranged in batteries with a

Shal is a fortified, town and contains about twelve hundred houses collected round a central mound on which stands the citadel. The elevation of the citadel is much above the town, and it is the prominent object in the valley, but its walls are very poor, and more or less in a state of decay. By the natives it is called Shal Kot, and by the Afghans Kwatta, or "the little fort" whence our Quetta.[338] The valley of Shal is very similar to that of Mastung...

(72) The Muslim highway-robbers who trespass on the lands of Islam and are captured, can be killed, according to the Muslim sacred law (shari'ah), but cannot be sold, no matter how superficial their profession of that faith may be.[339]

(73) An Akbari *amir*,[340] with a mansab of 600,[341] who distinguished himself in several military campaigns, served successfully under Rajan Man Singh in Kabul,[342] and made a significant contribution in the reduction of Thattah under the command of the Khan-i Khanan Mirza 'Abd al-Rahim Khan.[343] When Mirza Rustam Qandahari defected to the Mughul court, Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to welcome the Safawi prince at three different stages.[344] After the conquest of Thattah, when Akbar decided to return the whole region, with the exception of Siwistan and Bandar Lahari, to Mirza Jani Tarkhan, Bakhtiyar Beg, together with some other Mughul grandees, was honoured with *jagirdari* of Sihwan.[345] During his stay in Siwistan, Bakhtiyar Beg participated in the expedition against the Panni Afghans of Siwi and brought that campaign to a successful conclusion.[346]

(74) A notable general and distinguished noble of the Tarkhan court, Amir Shah Qasim Khan-i Zaman traced his origin, from his father's side, to a prominent Sayyid family of Samarqand,[347] The relations between him forbears and the local Turk tribes, particularly the Aghuns, were so close[348] that, over the years, it became difficult to distinguish the two families from one another.[349] His father, Shah Qasim Beglar, emigrated to Sind during the reign of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun,[350] who bestowed on him the *parganahs* of Jahejah [351] in *suyurghal*.[352] Impressed by his intrepidity and skill in the art of war, the Wirsi Sodhahs[353] offered him the hand of their daughter, who was also related to the ruling dynasty of

Jaisalmer.[354] From this union[355] was born Amir Shah Qasim,[356] who, though orphaned at the age of seven,[357] by dint of his courage and sagacity, subsequently rose to great heights under the Tarkhans, and dominated the political scene of the region throughout the rule of that dynasty.

His talents were first noticed by Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, who presented him with the village Kachi in suyurghal.[358] After Mirza Arghuns death, Shah Qasim cast his lot with Mirza 'Isa Turkhan and, notwithstanding his young years, played a significant role in quelling the rebellion of his son, Mirza Baqi Tarkhan.[359] Shah Qasim enjoyed the full confidence of the heir to the Tarkhan throne, Mirza Salih Tarkhan, whose marriage he arranged in a princely family of the Wirsi clan of the Sodhahs.[360] After the assassination of Mirza Salih Shah Qasim allied himself with his younger brother, Jan Baba, and spared no effort to obtain the throne for him from his brother, Mirza Baqi.[361] However, when Jan Baba was killed, Mirza Baqi extended his hand of friendship to Shah Qasim and appointed him as the *wakil* of his son, Mirza Shahrukh, who then held Nasrpur.[362] When Shah Qasim finally waited on him, the Mirza received him with open arms, arranged his marriage with the daughter of Mir 'Abd al-Majid Tarkhan, and charged him with the responsibility of restoring law and order and making proper arrangements for the realization of revenue from the Unars of the *parganahs* of Lakhawat, Khittah and Junejah.[363] He had scarcely accomplished this assignment, when he was ordered to proceed to 'Umarkot and settle the dispute resulting from the murder of Rana Ra'emal Wirsi at the hands of Rana Meghraj Wisah.[364]

In Ramadan 980/January 1573, he was entrusted with the government of Kukralah, where law and order had completely broken down. He not out only chastised the truculent tribes, but also taught a lesson to Rattah Sodhah, who refused to honour the transfer order sent by Mirza Baqi Tarkhan.[365] Soon afterwards, Kukralah was given to Jam Wisar, and Shah Qasim was made the *jagirdar* of the Unar region, which had again lapsed into rebellion. Shah Qasim brought the whole region under his control in a befitting manner.[366]

Akbar. He grew up with Akbar, who showed great attachment to him right to the end of his life. Mirza 'Aziz held several positions of power and responsibility under Akbar and Jahangir, though his outspoken attitude and inept behavior, occasionally, particularly during the reign of Jahangir, landed him in grave trouble. In 988/1580-81 Akbar promoted him to a mansab of 5,000 and gave him the lofty title of Khan-i A'zam. Later, in 1003/1594-95, he was elevated to the office of *Wakil*, or prime minister, in which capacity he served for almost a decade. The following year, the royal seal was also made over to him, and this further enhanced the prestige of the Mirza. In 100/1596-97, Multan was given to him in *jagir*.[391] Since Bhakkar was a dependency of Multan during those days,[392] it is not improbable that the Mirza might have received it, too. It seems he assigned the administration of Multan and Bhakkar to his two sons, 'Abd Allah and Anwar, respectively, and himself continued to stay and work as *Wakil* at the court. Anwar, who had a reputation for immoderate drinking and indolent habits and, because of these habits was subsequently superseded by his younger brothers, 'Abd Allah and Shadman, in promotion to a rank of 1,000 (1010/1601-02),[393] apparently proved to be a better administrator[394] than his brother in Multan,[395] who offended the local population by his excesses and irresponsible behaviour.

(77) A veteran of the campaign against the ruler of Kashmir[396] and the Tarikis,[397] Qara Beg Turkhman played an important role in the conquest of Thattah under the command of the Khan-i Khanan.[398] When Mirza Rustam Qandahari defected to India, Qara Beg was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to receive him.[399] Subsequently, when the Mirza's elder brother and arch rival, Muzaffar Qandahari made some friendly overtures to the Mughuls and sent his mother and elder son, Bahram Mirza, to India, in view of his old ties with the House of the Safawis, Qara Beg was dispatched to reassure Muzaffar of Akbar's favour and to accompany him to the Mughul court.[400] In 1007/1595-96, when Akbar left for the Dakkan and entrusted the execution of the campaign against the Rana of Udaipur to Prince Salim,

among other, Qara beg was also attached to his retinue.[401] On his accession to the throne, Jahangir honoured Qara Beg with the title of Khan[402] and, together with other *mansabdar*, dispatched him to the Qandahar expedition under the command of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan.[403] This army joined Sardar Khan near Multan, whence they marched off to Qandahar, but Qara Khan died on the way.

(78) *Rakas* is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *rakshasa* which means a demon or fiend. These *rakshasas* 'haunt cemeteries, disturb sacrifices, harass devout men, animate dead bodies, devour human beings, and vex and afflict mankind in all sorts of way.'[404]

(79) A great general and grandee from the days of Akbar, Sa'id Khan, son of Ya'qub Beg, son of Ibrahim Chubuq[405] was, described by Jahangir as "one of the confidential nobles and connected with my father by marriage. His origin was from the Mughul tribe, and his ancestors were in the service of my forefathers.[406]

By dint of his sagacity, dedication to duty and other sterling qualities, Sa'id Khan rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was the tutor *(ataliq)*[407] of Prince Daniyal for some time, participated in several expeditions, revved as the governor of Panjab, Bangal and Bihar and earned a promotion to the mansab of 5,000. Akbar also bestowed upon him the revenue assignment of Multan and Bhakkar.[408]

When Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan failed to heed the imperial edict sent to him through Baba Talib in 1009/1600-01,[409] two years later, in 1011[410]/1602-03, Akbar charged Sa'id Khan with the responsibility of bringing the Mirza to court.[411] Encamped at Bhakkar, Sa'id Khan[412] sent his men to the Mirza and commended a return to the fold of loyalty to him. Good sense prevailed on the Mirza and, at long last, entrusting the affairs of his *jagir* to Khan-i Zaman and Khusrau Khan Charkas, in Shawwal 1013/February-March 1506, he set out for Bhakkar,[413] whence Sa'id Khan together with Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin escorted him to Agrah. They were still in Agrah, when the Emperor died.[414] In the confusion surrounding the question of accession to the throne, Sa'id Khan sided with the pro-Jahangir elements.[415]

Unlike his contemporaries, Zayn Khan Kukah and Qilich

rebellion of the Mirza.[449] Upon the death of his master, Tukhtah Beg, with many of his comrades, waited upon Akbar at Rawalpindi in 993/1585, and was received generously.[450] Henceforth, he mostly served in the north-western parts of the Mughul Empire and played a very important role in the suppression of frequent Afghan revolts.[451] In 998/1589-90, a *jagir* in Ghazni was bestowed upon him.[452] In 1002/1594, he was attached to the retinue of Prince Salim, and received another *jagir* in the Panjab.[453] In 1013/1604-05, Akbar conferred the title of *Khan* on him,[454] which, on his accession to the throne, Jahangir elevated to Sardar Khan.[455] The new Emperor also raised Tukhtah Khan from his previous mansab of 2,500 to that of 3,000,[456] and dispatched him to take over the government of Qandahar from Shah Beg, who was then besieged by the Persians.[457]

Sardar Khan died at Qandahar round about 14 Rajab 1016/4 November 1607.[458] He was survived by two sons, Hayat Khan and Hidayat Khan,[459] each of them receiving half of their father's *mansab* upon his death.[460]

(80) Completed in 1012/1603-04, this strong fortress on the bank of lake Ganbat, was constructed by Mir Shah beg Khan-i Zaman with a view to countering the predatory raids of the Samejahs Unar and the Junejah in the *parganahs* of Halakandi, Khebran and Jahejah.[461]

(81) Shir Beg, a son of Mir 'Ali Shir Beg Arghun, was killed on 11 Ramadan 1010[462]/17 November 1711 in a battle against Ra'e Singh, a son of Manak Chand.

(82) *Namaz* is the Persian equivalent of the *Arabic salat*, which is the second of the five pillars *(arkan)* of the practical religion of Islam. It is obligatory for every Muslim to perform this devotional exercise five times a day, namely in the early morning *(fajr)*, at midday *(zuhr)*, in the afternoon *('asr)*, in the evening *(maghrib)*, and at night *('isha')*. In Persian these prayers are generally known as *namaz-i subh, namaz-i Pishin, namaz-i digar, namz-i sham, namaz-i khuftan.* Besides, there are three voluntary prayers also, *tahajjud, ishraq* and *chasht*: the first is performed after midnight, the second in the morning, and the third before noon.[463]

Conscious of the close association of these prayers with their timings, Muslim writers transformed their names into a

set of terms with the help of which they designated different times of the day,(464) and in doing so, as is abundantly clear from the following extract from the *Babur Namah*, made absolutely no distinction between the religious or secular nature of the events involved. Referring to one of his Bohemian episodes, Babur writers:

We also invited Shahi, a qalandar, and one of the *karez-men* who played the rebeck. There was drinking till the Evening Prayer on the rising-ground behind the karez we then went into Tardi Beg's house and drank by lamp-light almost till the Bed-time prayer.(465)

(83) Although the tern *kutah pachah* normally refer to a spotted deer-like quadruped, its rare meaning of hare has here been used because one would otherwise have expected the large game to have been mentioned first.

(84) A finely woven silk from Turkistan believed to have been introduced into India by the Mughuls.(466) Akbar ordered numerous improvements in its colour and texture.(467) The main centres of its production in India were Patnah, Agrah, Sirhind, Lahore,(468) and Sind.

A variant of *Tafsilah*(469) Sind excelled amongst industrial centres of India(470) in the manufacturing of *Tafsilah*. As well as other fine cloth. The demand for the *Tafsilah*. With gold threads seems to have been so high in the days of Akbar that it was imported from Makkah, and while the price of Indian *Tafsilah* ranged from 8 to 12 rupees apiece.(471) the imported stuff was sold for 15 to 20 rupees apiece.(472)

(85) Sayyid Baqir rose to a mansab of 700 personnel and 400 cavalry during the reign of Shahjahan.(473)

(86) In 1028/1619, Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, who was then the faujdar of Bhakkar, sent an ibex as a gift of Jahangir. He had brought the animal from the hills when it was small and raised it in his house. Jahangir, who was greatly delighted at the receipt of this gift, records in his Memoirs:

Of *markhwur* and hill sheep I have seen many brought up in the house, but I never saw a *rang* tamed. I ordered them to keep it with the Barbary goats, in order that they might pair and produce young ones. Without doubt, it is not allied to the *markhwur* of the *quchqar*. Sayyid Bayazid was raised to the *mansab* of 1,000 personnel and 700 horse.(474)

(92) Born of a concubine in 1013/1605, Shahryar was the youngest surviving son of Jahangir.[498] He was married to the daughter of Nur Jahan by Shir Afkan.[499] The astute and powerful queen groomed him to be the successor of her husband and a pliable means of continuing her hold on the affairs of state.[500] She spared no measure to push forward the fortunes of her son-in-law. She exploited the strained relations between Shahjahan and his father,[501] who promoted Shahryar to a *mansab* of 12,000 personnel and 8,000 horse and put him in charge of the Qandahar expedition.[502] On the death of Jahangir, Shahryar, on the instigation of Nur Jahan, proclaimed himself emperor, only to be outwitted defeated and captured by the protagonists of his elder brother and arch rival, Shahjahan. He was first blinded and then killed in 1037/1628.[503]

(93) Qur'an 6:164; 17:15; 35:18; 39:7.

(94) *Ardawah* is a mixture of parched and bruised grain and barley given to cattle as fodder, dry or mixed with water.

(95) Subsequently, he rose to a mansab of 1,000 personnel and 400 horse.[504]

(96) He was a nephew of Nur Jahan, and his sister was married to Mir Husam al-Din Inju (Murtada Khan).[505] In 1030/1621, Jahangir promoted him to a *mansab*, original and increase, of 2,000 personnel and 500 horse, bestowed upon him the title of Khan, a standard and drum, and made him the governor of Orisah.[506] It was during Ahmad Beg Khan's governorship of Orisah that, in 1033/1623, the rebellious prince, Shahjahan, succeeded in penetrating Orisah from the Golkundah side and obliged Ahmad Beg Khan to flee to Dhakah, where his uncle, Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang, the governor of Bangal resided.[507] In the battle that ensued between the rebel and the imperial forces at Akbarnagar, or Raj Mahall as it was alternatively called,[508] Ibrahim Khan was killed and Ahmad Beg made good his escape to Dhakah, where, subsequently, he, surrendered himself to the prince, and fabulous booty fell into the hands of the victorious army.[509]

On his accession to the throne, Shahjahan gave Ahmad Beg Khan a robe of honour and a horse, and raised him to a rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,500 horse.[510] Not long afterwards, on 13 Rajab 1037[511]/19 March 1628, he was

appointed the *jagirdar* of Sihwan. Except for the construction of a few forts here and there,[512] Ahmad Beg's rule at Sihwan was generally characterized by maladministration, inefficiency and extreme oppression. The way he acquiesced to the tyranny of his brother, Mirza Yusuf, over the people of Sihwan cast serious doubts on his capability to hold any position of responsibility, and clearly demonstrated the degenerate condition of the Mughul administration in far-flung areas, such as Sind, during this period.

On his transfer from Sihwan, evidently he was first appointed the *faujdar*[513] of Multan and then promoted to the governorship[514] of that province. During the 25th regnal year,[515] Shahjahan raised him to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 2,000 horse and appointed him the *faujdar* of Biswarah.[516] He also served as the faujdar of Lakhnau, where, during the 28th regnal year,[517] he was replaced by Iradat Khan.[518] Later on, Shahjahan deprived him of his *mansab* and *jagir*[519] for some unknown reason, but he got them back during the 30th year[520] of that monarch's reign.[521] Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Ahmad Beg Khan. His two sons, Mukhlis Khan[522] and Muhammad Sharif,[523] were also in Shahjahan's service.

(97) It should be Hajjaj-i Yusuf, or Hajjaj b. Yusuf, the Thaqafi governor of 'Iraq under the Umayyad caliphs, 'Abd al-Malik and Walid. He is a byword for tyranny and oppression in Islamic history. He ruthlessly put down the rebellion of 'Abd Allah b. Zubayr at Makkah, and, in the course of his action against him, did not even hesitate to destroy the Ka'bah. At the time of his appointment as the governor of 'Iraq, its annual revenue amounted to 100,000 dirhams, but, as a consequence of Hajjaj's oppressive rules, this was soon reduced to 25,000 dirhams. He ruled for about two decades, and finally, when he died in 95/714, there were 50,000 men and 30,000 women languishing in his jails, which were without roofs to protect the inmates from inclement weather.[524] He considered himself a scourage of God.[525]

(98) For a specimen of the *dastak* of Shahjahan's reign, see *S.D. Sh.*, p.92.

(99) *Begar* is a Persian word which means to force someone to work without remuneration[526] and, in that sense, it

to Abu al-Fadl[539] the sweepers (kannas) in India were known as *Halal-khwur*.

(102) The *fowl* year.

(103) A gallant soldier and capable administrator, Qilich Khan Turani was a nephew[540] of a Mughul grandee of the same name[541] who flourished under Akbar and Jahangir. He started his career[542] as a retainer of 'Abd Allah Khan Firuz Jang,[543] but subsequently joined the service of Prince Shahjahan and served him so loyally[544] and efficiently that, on his accession to the throne, Shahjahan bestowed on him the rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,500 cavalry. The Emperor also honoured him with a robe *(khil'at)*, a jeweled dagger, a horse, a standard, an elephant and a cash reward of Rs. 5,000.[545] Soon after, a kettle-drum was also given to him.[546]

Qilich Khan served as the governor of Dehli, Allahabad. Multan, Qandahar, the Panjab, Badakhshan and Kabul.[547] He was twice appointed to Multan,[548] and served there for a total of about seven and a half years.

He played an important role in the smooth transfer of Qandahar from the Safawids to the Mughuls in 1047/1638, on the defection of its Persian governor, 'Ali Mardan Khan. During his governorship of Qandahar, he also conquered Zamindawar and Bust. He is also credited with stamping out a rebellion at Allahabad[549] and restoring law and order at Badakhshan.[550] In sum, he attained to the pinnacle of glory under Shahjahan,[551] and died at Bherah, in the Panjab, on 15 Safar 1064/5 January 1654.[552]

(104) A close and trusted servant of Shahjahan from the days of his princeship, Kamal al-Din Husayn,[553] alias Jan Nithar Khan, is first heard of in 1037/1627, when, open receipt of the news of the death of Jahangir, Shahjahan, considering himself to be the *de facto* sovereign of India, dispatched him with an important *farman* to Khan Jahan Lodhi in Burhanpur, confirming him in his post and extending to him a variety of other concessions.[554] Later, on the eve of his coronation, when Shahjahan conferred honours on his courtiers, Jan Nithar Khan was given the rank of 2,000 personnel and 1,000 horse. The Emperor also bestowed upon him a robe of honour, a jeweled dagger, a standard, a

horse, an elephant, and 12,000 rupees in cash.[555] As is abundantly borne out by the Khan's subsequent rapid promotions, he seems to have enjoyed this undiminished confidence of Shahjahan right until the close of his career.

In 1038/1629, Shahjahan increased his rank by 200 horse.[556] After a few months, he received an increase of 500 personnel in his *mansab*.[557] The following year (26 Rabi'I 1040/2 November 1630), he was appointed the commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar,[558] in which position he served for a year, until he was recalled to the court.[559] Soon after, in Jumada II 1040/December-January 1631-32, he was honoured with a robe of honour and a horse, and dispatched to Daulatabad under the command of Wazir Khan.[560] After his return from Daulatabad, he appears to have been made the *faujdar* of Lakhi Jangal, whence he was relieved by Sazawar Khan, son of Lashkar Khan, in Shawwal 1042/ April 1633.[561]

In Rabi' II 1043/October-November 1633, Jan Nithar Khan was promoted to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 1,500 horse[562] and appointed the hakim of Siwistan, whence, in Shawwal 1047/February-March 1638, he was ordered to proceed to Qandahar and help Qilich Khan, the governor-designate of that place, in his expedition[563] Jan Nithar Khan served in the Qandahar campaign with distinction and, on 1 Rajab 1048/8 November 1638, an imperial directive returned him to his prior assignment in Siwistan.

On 10 Sha'ban 1048/18 December 1638, he was promoted to a rank of 2,500 personnel and 2,500 horse and ordered to take over as the *nazim* of Bhakkar from Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashkandi, who had served with him in the Qandahar campaign and was now being promoted to the *subahdarship* of Multan. Yakkah-taz succeeded Jan Nithar Khan as the governor of Siwistan.[564] The latter died on his way to Bhakkar;[565] and, on 9 Ramadan 1048/14 January 1639, Shah Quli Khan was appointed the *nazim* of Bhakkar in his stead.[566]

Jan Nithar Khan proved himself to be a good administrator. To keep a check on the truculent and predatory Sodhas and Samejahs, he married the daughters of the *zamindars* of those tribes. As long as he lived, these

some years, Banhbinah's brother, Tamachi, rebelled at Thattah; and the Sultan dispatched Jam Juna to suppress his rebellion. The Jam returned to Thattah and sent Tamachi to Dihli. Banhbinah was also subsequently allowed to return to Thattah, but he died on the way.[585]

(110) *T.S.* (p.65): seven years.

(111) The original *mallahan* has been translated as boatmen. According to Khwarazmi another meaning of the word *mallah* is "a person who frequents the waterways *(mut'ahhid al-ma')*". C.E. Bosworth adds: "the word comes ultimately from Akadian, and in ancient Mesopotamia, the *malahu* was boatman, and perhaps, sometimes, a shipbuilder."[586]

(112) *Dhara* means a stream, and Tirath (Hindi) or *tirth* (Sanskrit) signifies a bathing place, a shrine or sacred place of pilgrimage (such as Banaras); especially, particular spots along the course of sacred streams (such as the Ganges).[587]

(113) Encouraged by the Persian siege[588] of Qandahar, Haydar, who was originally a servant[589] of Shah Beg Arghun, also raised the standard of rebellion at Zamindawar,[590] a dependency[591] of Qandahar. He collected some men and launched marauding raids on neighbouring territories. Some time, his raids extended to the fort of Qandahar, as well.

He was known for his horse, called Chini, which resembled a camel in certain of its movements and could traverse as many as 100 *kurohs* a day when called upon to do so in times of emergency.[592]

According to the Dhakhirat al-Khwanin,[593] his rebellion was quelled by Shah Beg Arghun.

(114) For Jats, see Irfan Habib, "Jatts of Punjab and Sind" in *Punjab Past and Present*, ed., Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, Patiala, 1976, pp.92-103.

(115) Qur'an 28:88.

(116) Qur'an 80:34-7.

(117) Qur'an 84:7-9.

(118) Qur'an 56:11; 15-24.

(119) The couplet is by Hafiz,[594] and seems to have been inspired by the following saying[595] of Alexander the Great:

"When Alexander was asked by virtue of what it was that he had been able to acquire so great an empire in so short a space of time, he replied, "By winning over enemies by kindness and gathering friends about me by solicitude for them."

Reference:

1. See *H.N.*, p.3; *Tuzuk* p.3; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.9 *M.A.*. vol.I. p. *waw*; Kamwar Khan .p
2. Raverty, p.49, n.99.
3. *H.N.*, p.50. Also see its English translation, p.147, n.2.
4. The texts of the *White Yajurveda*, tr., Ralph T.H. Griffith, Third Edn., Banaras, 1957. (Book XXXIV, Verse 26), p.335 and commentary.
5. The Rig Veda was probably composed between 1500 to 900 B.C. See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, fourth Impression, London, 1977, p.234.
6. See Heinrich Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Weidmann, 1879, 3 sqq.
7. For the *economies* and historical importance of Bhakkar, Sukkur and Rohri, see Chalbani. Pp. 59-60; *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 235-37.
8. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I, p.199
9. The same name occurs in *T.T.* (p.25), but N.A. Baloch considers it an aberration rather than a popular name. See *ibid.*, pp. 287-89n.
10. D.I., s.v.
11. Dh. Kh., vol.I, p.199
12. Muhammad Khaza'ili, *A'lam-i Qur'an*, 2nd Edn.. Tehran, 1350 H. Sh., p.210.
13. D.I., s.v. 'Al-Khizr'
14. Raverty, 492n.
15. *Tarjumah-i Risalah-i Qushyriyyah* ed., Badi al-Zaman Furuzanfar, Tehran, 1967, pp.32, 250, 658, 681, 682, 692-93
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 584-85
17. Raverty, 492n. For further details, see G. Rentz. s.v. E.I. Khurdad 1002/May-June 1594
18. *Ibid.*
19. Text has wrongly 'nakhud'
20. *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, p. 1001; A.N., vol.III, p.651-52. For more information about transportation on the Indus, see Chalbani, pp. 101-3.
21. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I. p.204
22. Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, *Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bakhari*, Hyderabad, 1979, pp. 202, 335-36, 363-66
23. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.327
24. *M.U.*, vol.III, P. 580
25. Henry Cousens *(The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929) does not mention it.
26. *D.h. Kh.*, vol.I, 204; *M.U.*, vol. III, p.277; Blochmann, p.580.
27. The Urdu translator of M.U., (vol. III, p.327n.) has confounded the Sitasar with the domed tomb of Mir Ma'sum in the city of Sukkur. For the latter, see Edward Thorton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East-India Company* London, 1854. vol.IV, p.605; *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, B. vol.III (Sukkur District), Bombay, 1928, p.49; Henry Cousens, op.cit., pp. 150-52; Rashidi, op.cit., pp. 344-61.

100. *Ibid.*; *M.U.*, vol.I p.483; Blochmann, p.508.
101. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.395
102. *A.A.*, vol.II, p.162; A.A., tr., vol.II, p.333.
103. Hodivala, vol.I, p.106.
104. H.T., Lambrick, Sind: *A General Introduction*, Second Edn., Hyderabad, 1975, p.157. For Qusdar, see Guy Le Strange, pp.331-33.
105. 'Ali b. Hamid b. Abi Bakr al-Kufi, *Chanchnamah*, ed., 'Umar b. Muhammad Da'udpotah, Bombay, 1939, p.89.
106. The names 'Abd al-Razzaq and Abd al-Razzaq Ma'muri refer to one and the same person, not two persons as suggested by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p.417.
107. Cf. *A.N.*, tr., vol.III, Index, p.3.
108. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.376.
109. See *A.N.*, vol. III, pp.496. 629, 702-3, 784.
110. *Ibid.* p.511.
111. *Ibid.*, p.638, 651.
112. *Ibid.*, p.784.
113. *Tuzuk*, p.6; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.13.
114. *Tuzuk*, p.7; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.16
115. In 994/1585-86 Akbar decided to appoint two *Amirs* in every province so that if one of them came to the court or fell sick the other could ensure the proper functioning of the local administration. Besides these two *Amirs*, every province was provided with one *diwan* and one *bakhshi*. (See. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.511). Jahangir's decision to appoint two men in association in the discharge of the chief offices was an extension of the aforementioned reform of his father, and as he puts it, did not stem from want of confidence in them, but because, if any confusion or obstacle should present itself to one the other is there so that the affairs of the servants of God may not come to ruin. *Tuzuk (R&B)*, vol.I, p.82; *Tuzuk*. P.39.
116. *Ibid.*
117. The crux of the problem was the growing independence in the attitude of Mirza Ghazi's agents at Thattah, and not any 'bitter conflict between the soldiers and the peasants' as wrongly suggested by Beni Prasad, p.175. He seems to have been misled by the English translation of the *Tuzuk* (p.110, *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.255). The original text purports that 'Abd al-Razzaq was sent to Thattah by Jahangir to restore the confidence of the peasantry and the soldiery, and not 'to reconcile his subjects with his soldiers' as misconstrued by Beni Prasad.
118. Jahangir does not specify his designation. But whatever he has written (*Tuzuk*, p.110) read in conjunction with *Maz.Sh.* (p.42) and the colophon of a Persian Manuscript entitled the *Tarjumah-i Nahj al-Balaghah* By Qadi Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Aziz, preserved in India Office Library and Records (Handlist *entitled Delhi Persian* Collection prepared by Bilgrami and Sims Williams, p.194, Entry no. 474-251) clearly supports the view that he was appointed as the governor of that place.
119. *Tuzuk*, p.110; *Tuzuk* (R&B), p.225.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Tuzuk*, p.111; *Tuzuk* (R&B), p.229. He was sent on his journey to Thattah on 26 Jumada II 1021/25 August 1612.
122. According to *T.N.*, p.94, he arrived at Thattah on 10 Muharram 1021/13 March 1612, which cannot be correct for obvious reasons (Note 121 above).

Could it then perhaps have been 10 Muharram 1022/2 March 1613?

123. *Tuzuk*, p.117; *Tuzuk* (R&B), p.240; T.N., p.94
124. *Tuzuk*, p.118; *Tuzuk* (R&B), p.242
125. *T.N.*, p.94.
126. *Tuzuk*, p.156
127. *Ibid.*, pp..234, 238.
128. *Ibid.*, pp.. 326-27
129. Kewalram, s.v., Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri; *Tuzuk*, p.361.
130. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.226, *M.U.*, vol.III, p.377
131. *Ibid.*, pp.183, 226; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, Allahabad, 1958, p.62.
132. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.378. The last time he is heard of in the A.S., (vol.III, p.405) is 18 Shawwal 1041/8 May 1632.
133. Hodivala, vol.I, p.114. Also see *T.T.*, pp. 162, 195.
134. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40.
135. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; A.S., vol.I, p.40; M.U., vol.III, p.295.
136. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.207; A.N., vol.III. p.644; A.S., vol.I. p.40. Cf. M.U., vol.III, p.295; *M.U.*, tr., vol.III, p.252, where his death is erroneously attributed to the years 974/1566.
137. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; A.N., vol.III. p.644; A.S., vol.I. p.40.
138. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; A.N., vol.III. p.644; A.S., vol.I. p.40.
139. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478.
140. For details. See *A.A.A.*, vol.I pp.478-85; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.295-97, 433-35; Blochmann, pp. 328-29.
141. *A.A.A.*, vol.I., pp. 483-84
142. See *ibid.*, p.485; *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.261; *T.K.*, p.314.
143. *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.584-644 *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435; Abdur Rahim. P.19.
144. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.645.
145. *M.T.*, vol.II, p.388; A.N., vol.III, p.646; *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I. p.99. According to A.A.A. (vol.I, p.485), the Mirza first came to Bhakkar, whence he accompanied Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan to the court of Akbar; whereas the fact is that Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan had already arrived at the Mughul court in Jumada II 1001/March 1593 with Khan-i Khanan 'Abd al-Rahim Khan (A.N., vol.III, p.633; *M.T.*, vol.II, p.386). evidently, Iskandar Beg Munshi has confounded the details of Mirza Rustam's journey to the court with those of his brother, Muzaffar Husayn, for it was the latter who was received among others, by Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan (A.N., vol.III, p.671)
146. *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.485.
147. *A.N.*, vol.III., p.646.
148. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.160
149. *A.N.*, vol.III., p.646
150. *M.T.*, vol.II, p.388; *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I, p.99; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435
151. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435.
152. *M.T.*, vol.III. p.403; A.N., vol.III, p.696.
153. *Cf. M.U.*, vol.III, p.436, where it is attributed to the 40th (1003 A.H.) regnal year of Akbar.
154. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.696. *Cf.*, *M.U.*, vol.III, p.436; Blochmann, p.329; *A.N., tr.*, vol.III, p.1041. All these authorities give an altogether different interpretation of the original text of the *Akbar Namah*.
155. *A.N.*, vol. III, p.712.
156. *Ibid.*, p.749.

1041/1631-32, 1042/1633-34. See *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 328, 270-1 n.
231. *M.U.*, vol.II p.24; Kewalram, *s.v.*, Dindar Khan.
232. *I.G.I.*, vol. XX., p.153. For an 11/17 century description of this place, see *Ad. Al.*, vol. I, p.63.
233. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.397; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.653.
234. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.974.
235. *Ibid.*, p.1087; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.653.
236. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.1074.
237. See *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.102. Also see *M.U.*, vol.II, p.654.
238. For his life, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, pp.27-28; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp. 794-806.
239. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.102
240. *Ibid.*, p.103; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.654
241. *Ibid.*, Some sources attribute this capture of Pushang to 'Ali Mardan Khan's personal animosity towards Shir Khan Tarin. See *Bahr al-Asrar*, pp. 99-105; A.S., vol.I, pp.397-98.
242. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.104; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.399; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp. 655-56; Abdur Rahim, pp. 46-47; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, pp. 213-14. Also see Riazul Islam, p.213.
243. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.105; A.S., vol.I, pp.399, 407, 517; vol.II, pp.109, 132, 149, 320; vol.III, p.110; M.U., vol.II, p.656.
244. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.104; M.U., vol.II, p.656.
245. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.104; M.U., vol.III, p.657. Also see A.S., vol.I, p.320
246. His brother, Daulat, extended his cooperation to prince Aurangzib in his abortive campaign against Qandahar in 1062/1651, and was rewarded by the Mughul court. See *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.60, 62; A.S., vol.III, 110-11, 364. The author of the *Lubb-i Ta'rik-i Sindh*, Khudadad Khan, was a descendant of Shir Khan Tarin. See Lubb, pp.77-78.
247. See *A.A.*, vol.I, p.68.
248. *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.975.
249. *W.H.*, Moreland, *The Agravian Systemn of Mughul India*, Allahabad, n.d., p.384.
250. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.68.
251. *B.N.*, p.258.
252. *Cf. A.N.*, vol.III, pp.820, 839; Dh. Kh., vol.I, p.24.
253. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.820.
254. Riazul Islam, p.64.
255. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.820.
256. See *ibid.*, vol.III, p.839
257. *Tuzuk*, p.28.
258. *Ibid.*, pp.80, 109
259. *Ibid.*, p.109.
260. *Ibid.*, *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.24
261. *Tuzuk*, p.310.
262. *Ibid.*, p.323. According to some sources (e.g., *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.315) he spent a sum of 200,000 rupees at the court to have himself transferred from Qandahar.
263. *Tuzuk*, p.323.
264. *Ibid.*, p.344.
265. *Ibid.*, p.345.
266. *Ibid.*, p.419
267. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.183.
268. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.315.

269. 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Hujwiri al-Jullabi al-Ghaznawi, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, ed., Muhammad-i 'Abbasi, Tehran, 1336 H. Sh., pp.50 99-102, Attari-i Nishaburi, *Tadhkirat al-Ahuliya'*, ed., M. Isti'lami, Tehran, 1346 H. Sh., pp.19-29.
270. For the history of *Kotwal*, see P. Saran, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1952, pp.104-12.
271. For the essential qualities, duties and functions of a *muhtasib*, see Ibn Ikhwah, *Ma'alim al-Qurbah fi Ahkam al-Hisbah (A'in-i-Shahrdari)*, tr., Ja'far Shi'ar, Tehran, 1347 H.Sh.,
272. 'Abd al-Ghafur. B. Haydar Siwistani, *Tadhkirah-i Masha'ikh-i Switan* ed., Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi (published in *Mihran*, 3:1974), pp.213-14.
273. *T.T.*, p.28.
274. *T.K.*, pp. 67, 81-82.
275. N.A. Baloch reports to have seen an old seal in Sihwan which belonged to this saint and bore the date 305/917-8. See *T.T.*, p.292n.
276. See Tadhkirah, p.213; T.T., p.31; T.K., tr., p.407.
277. *Maz., sh.*, p.278n.
278. Tadhkirah, p.213; Maz. Sh., p.278n; T.T., p.291n.
279. *Umm hubain*, glossed as lizard, and also as 'male chameleon' (see Lane, *s.v., hirba*), but the *hunaishat al-jannah* is the wall lizard.
280. Persian, *zard chubah*.
281. The Travels of *Ibn Battuta* (A.D., 1325/1354), *tr.*, H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge, 1971 vol.III, p.598.
282. H.H. Wilson, *Essays and lectures on the Religions of the Hindus*, ed., Reinhold Rost, New Dehli, 1976, repr., vol.II, p.219.
283. Regarding the exact date and month of this festival the authorities are divided. For details, see A.A., vol.III, p.150; Wilson, pp.211-212.
284. Monier Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1897, p.182; Bhattacharyya Sahityasashtri, "Religious Practices of the Hindus" in *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed., Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, 1953, p.191.
285. Radhagovinda Basak, "The Hindu Concept of the Natural World" in The *Religion of the Hindu*, p.97.
286. *H.H.* Wilson, pp.220-21.
287. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.54; T.A., vol.II, p.343; Blochmann, p.210.
288. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.361; The *Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughul*, ed., William Foster, H.S. Publication, n.d., p.366.
289. *T.T.*, p.182; also see *Maz. Sh.*, p.59.
290. *Beg N.*, pp.216-18
291. Khwajah Nizam al-Din Auliya', *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, comp., Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi, Urdu tr., Muhammad Sarwar, Lahore. 1973, p.69-70.
292. *Ibid.*, p.70.
293. Khwajah Ni'mat Allah. *Ta'rikh-i Khanjahani wa Makhzan-i Afghani, ed.*, Sayyid Imam al-Din, Dacca, 1960, vol.I, pp.311-12.
294. Hajji Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari, *Ta'rikh-i Akbari, ed.*, Sayyid Mu'in al-Din Nadwi and Sayyid Azhar 'Ali Dihlawi, revised by Imtiyaz 'Ali 'Arshi, Rampur, 1962, p.179.
295. *Tabsirat al-Nazirin*, Ms., Pir Sayyid Hasam al-Din Rashidi-Private Collection, Karachi (1979), p.167.
296. *D.I.*, p.327, ii.
297. *A.A.*, vol.II, p.166.
298. *I.D.C.*, p.84, n. 103; Maz. Sh., p.204.
299. *T.S.*, p.309.

353. *Cf. T.K.*, p. 201, Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 48, n.67.
354. *Beg. N.*, pp.29-30.
355. See *Beg.* N., p.34.
356. See *T.K.*, p.201, n.67, of Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, where his name has been confused with that of his eldest son.
357. Shah Qasim was born in 947/1540-41, and, according to Idraki Beglari (Beg. N., p.32). His father died in 950/1543-44. However, the date of the latter's death recorded on his tombstone (see its photograph in *Chanesar Namah*, ed., Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, Hyderabad, 1956, p.69) is Rabi'I 954/ April-May 1647, and there is no reason to disbelieve this.
358. *Beg. N.*, p.39.
359. *Ibid.*, pp.40-47.
360. *Ibid.*, p.49.
361. See *ibid.*, pp.51-151.
362. *Ibid.*, p.174.
363. *Ibid.*, pp.176-78.
364. *Ibid.*, p.191.
365. *Ibid.*, pp.192-211.
366. *Ibid.*, pp.212-18.
367. *Ibid.*, p.218.
368. *Ibid.*, p.221
369. *Beg. N.*, pp.267-268.
370. See *T.T.*, pp.332-33n.
371. *Beg. N.*, p.224.
372. *Ibid.*,
373. *Ibid.*, pp.227-8.
374. *Ibid.*,
375. *Ibid.*, p.229.
376. E.g., See Beg. N., pp.232, 235, 240.
377. *Beg. N.*, p.242; *T.K.*, p.202.
378. *Beg. N.*, p.235.
379. *Beg. N.*, p.250.
380. *Beg. N.*, p.234-237.
381. *T.T.*, pp.225-35.
382. *Ibid.*, p.235-38.
383. *Ibid.*, pp.243-50.
384. See the photograph of his tombstone in the *Chanesar Namah*, Introduction, p.70. His grave still exists in his family graveyard.
385. Their names were, Mir Abu al-Qasim Sultan., Mirza Qasim, Mir Shah Muqim, Mir Fathi Beg, Mir Yaran Beg, Mir Salim Khan and Mir Murad Khan. While the last three were still young at time of the composition of the *Beglar Namah*, the first four were married and quite well-known for their social activities and military exploits. The author of the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani* mention another son of Shah Qasim, by the name of Jinda'i. Unless it is the nickname of one of the above mentioned of his sons, nothing much is known about him.
386. *T.T.*, pp.243-50. According to the Dh.Kh. (vol.II, p.28) probably after the death of Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan, he escaped to India and entered Jahangir's service, and was exalted with a *mansab* and *jagir*. Subsequently, however, he ran away to Thattah, together with the stable of imperial horses he had been entrusted with. Back in Sind, he took to a *zamindar's* way of life. In his

harem, he had 100 beautiful Samejah, Sumrah and Sodhrah ladies, who bore him about 20 sons.

387. W.H., Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar,* Delhi, 1962, p.53. Also see Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.*
388. *Dh. Kh.,* vol.I. p.80
389. *A.N.,* vol.III, p.147.
390. Asad Beg Qazwini, *Risalah-i Ta'rikh,* B.M, MS., pp.51-54. For other incumbents of this post during the reign of Akbar, see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughul Empire,* Karachi, 1967, repr., p.140.
391. *A.N.,* vol.III, pp.308, 669, 717.
392. *A.A.,* vol.II, pp.160, 163-64.
393. See *A.N.,* p.804, cf. H. Beveridge's translation, p.1208.
394. *Dh. Kh.,* vol.II, pp.325-26.
395. *Ibid.,* pp.326-27
396. *A.N.,* vol.III, p.53
397. *Ibid.,* p. 510
398. *Ibid.,* pp. 585, 602, 608, 633-34.
399. *Ibid.,* p.646.
400. *Ibid.,* p.650; M.T., vol.II, p.402. According to the latter, Qara Beg was *Mir-i shikar* at that time.
401. *M.J.,* p.36
402. *Tuzuk.,* p.33.
403. *Ibid.;* M.J., p.89.
404. See John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature,* London, 1950, pp.254-55.
405. *M.U.,* vol.II, p.408; Blochmann, p.351.
406. *Tuzuk,* vol.I, p.13.
407. Ata in Turkish means father, and the termination *liq* indicates relationship. Thus the word *ataliq* literally signifies the relationship of a father and son. See Pavet de Courteille, s.v.
408. *M.U.,* vol.II, pp.409-10; Blochmann, p.351.
409. *M.R.,* vol.II, p.350. See also *Dh. Kh.,* vol.II, p.21; *Beg. N.,* p.20; *T.T.,* p.239; *T.K.,* p.172.
410. Cf. Blochmann, p.351.
411. According to M.R. (vol.II, p.350), he was dispatched with 20,000 *sawars.*
412. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I. p.223. during his stay at Bhakkar, Sa'id Khan built a mosque at a little distance to the south-west of the island shrine of Khwajah Khidr in the river Indus. This brick mosque, bearing an inscribed slab indicating 1011/1602 as the year of its construction, was lying in ruins when Henry Cousens noticed it. See his *The Antiquities of Sind,* p.147.
413. *Beg. N.,* p.21. See also *T.N.,* p.87; *T.T.,* pp.240-42.
414. Mirza Ghazi Beg was the first noble to congratulate Jahangir on his accession to the throne. *Dh. Kh.,* vol.I, p.82.
415. See *ibid.,*
416. *Ibid.,* pp.124, 190; *M.U.,* vol.II, p.411; Blochmann, p.352.
417. *Dh. Kh.,* vol.I pp.190-91; *M.U.,* vol.II, pp.413-44.
418. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.13; Beni Prasad, p.101.
419. According to Blochmann (p.352), he died before joining the post to the governor, but this is not borne out by the facts.
420. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.62; Ben Prasad, p.123.
421. *Dh. Kh.,* vol.II, p.250. On him, also see *T.T.,* pp.241-42; *Dh. Kh.,* vol.II, p.291;

494. Kewalram, s.v. Sharif al-Mulk.
495. Iqbal *Namah-i Jahangir*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.432-33; A.S., vol.I, pp.159-60. CF. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.211.
496. *A.S.*, p.181. For 'Isa Khan's life, see Dh. Kh., vol.II, pp.210-12; T.K., pp.320-22.
497. *T.K.*, tr., pp.437-38.
498. *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.20
499. *Ibid.*, pp.199-202.
500. Beni Prasad, op.cit., p.275.
501. See Banarsi Prasad Saksena, p.39.
502. *Ibid.*, p.301.; Tuzuk (R&B), vol.II, p.237.
503. Mu'tamid Khan, *Iqbal-Namah-i Jahangiri*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.435-38; Dh., Kh., vol.II, pp.34-45; A.S., vol.I, pp.167-82; Beni Prasad, pp.366-72; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, pp.56-61.
504. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.366.
505. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.308; M.U., vol.III, p.382.
506. *Tuzuk*, p.332; Tuzuk (R&B), vol.II, p.210.
507. *Tuzuk*, p.382; Tuzuk (R&B), vol.II, p.298.
508. Beni Prasad, p.321; Tuzuk (R&B), vol.II, p.299.
509. *Tuzuk*, p.384.
510. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.223. Cf. M.U., vol.I, p.194; M.U., tr., vol.I, p.196, where his rank is erroneously mentioned as 2,000 personnel and 500 horse.
511. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.236.
512. See *Maz. Sh.*, pp. 163, 215.
513. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.361.
514. He held this position when Shir Khan Tarin turned to the Mughul court for refuge after losing his stronghold to 'Ali Mardan Khan, the Safawid governor of Qandahar in 1044/1634-35. See A.S., vol.I, p.399, 201.
515. Started on 1 Jumada II 1061/22 May 1650.
516. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.129.
517. Started on 1 Jumada II 1064/19 April 1653.
518. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.143.
519. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194 mistakenly puts this incident in the 26th regnal year of Shahjahan.
520. Started on 1 Jumada II 1066/27 March 1656.
521. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.174. He also held the parganahs of Ja'is and Amethi in *jagir*. Dh. Kh., vol.II, p.238; M.U., vol.I, p.194.
522. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.239.
523. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.381.
524. Mas'udi, Al-Tanbih wa'i-Ishraf, tr., Abu al-Qasim Payandih, Tehran, 1349 *H. Sh.*, pp.292, 296-97.
525. See Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ghazali-i Tusi, Nasihat al -Muluk, ed., Jalal al-Din Huma'i, Tehran, 1351 *H. Sh.*, p.132.
526. *F.J; B.Q., F.A.R.; H.J.;* Steingass., s.v. Bigar, or Begar,
527. *T.F.S.M.*, p.265, n.12.
528. See *F.J., s.v.* Bigar, Shakar and Sukhra, with relevant footnotes.
529. *T.F.S.M.*, pp.265-67
530. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
531. Beg Muhammad b. Zindah 'Ali Beg, Damimah-i *Ta'rikh*-i *Ma'sumi*, quotes in *Maz. Sh.*, p.362n.
532. *Ibid.*, p.196n.
533. *Ibid.*, p.146.

534. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-50.
535. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
536. According to the L.T.S. (p.77), Nawwab Mirza 'Ali Muhammad Beg was appointed the *hakim* of Bhakkar, which lay in the *jagir* of Nur Jahan, in 1031/1621, and was replaced by Faujdar 'Muhammad 'Ali in 1038/1628. Apparently, it is one and the same person who served as the *faujdar* of Bhakkar first on behalf of Nur Jahan and the on behalf of Asaf Khan.
537. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.
538. Steingass, s.v.
539. *A.A.*, vol.I, p.97. Also see Blochmann, p.147n.
540. Kewalram, s.v.
541. Qilich Khan Andijani. For his life, see *N.M., s.v. Ulfati*, his poetical name; *Dh. Kh.*, vol.I, pp.172-75; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.68-73.
542. *Dh. Kh.*, vol.III, p.66; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.91.
543. This title was conferred on him by Shahjahan. See *A.S.*, vol.I, p.354. for his life, see *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, pp.173-85; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp. 776-88.
544. *A.S.*, vol.I, p.220
545. *Ibid.*, p.223.
546. *Ibid.*, p.260
547. *M.U.*, vol.III. p.92-93.
548. From Shawwal 1041/May 1632 to Shawwal 1047/March 1638 (see A.S., vol.I p.405; vol.II, p.228) and from Rabi' I, 1051/ June-July 1641 to Dhi al-Hijjah 1052/March 1643. (*A.S.*, vol.II, pp.228-33)
549. *Ibid.*, vol.I, pp.357-58.
550. *Ibid.*, vol.II, pp.385-86.
551. He rose to the rank of 5,000 personnel and 5,000 cavalry. *A.S.*, vol.III, p.350.
552. *Ibid.*, p.137.
553. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.524.
554. Lahauri, vol.I, p.75.
555. Lahauri, vol.I, pp.118-19. *Cf. M.U.*, vol.I, p.525.
556. Lahauri, p.260.
557. Lahauri, p.288.
558. *Ibid.*, p.320.
559. *Ibid.*, p.399.
560. *Ibid.*, p.410.
561. *Ibid.*, p.476.
562. *Ibid.*, p.542.
563. *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.35.
564. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.525, gives the impression that he died after assuming the office of nazim of Bhakkar, but this is an erroneous reading of the facts of the case. See Lahauri, vol.II, p.131.
565. *Ibid.*, p.131.
566. *Ibid.*, p.131. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *op.cit.*, pp..60, 68, 69, 201, 202, 218, 221, 22, 359) has confused Kamal al-Din Jan Nithar Khan (d. 1048/1639) with Yadigar Beg, son of Zabardast Khan, who got the title of Jan Nithar Khan on 1 Muharram 1056/8 March 1646, and was sent as an envoy to the Persian court on 18 Safar 1056/5 April 1646. (See Lahauri, vol.II, pp.488-489, 493, 499; Kewalram, *s.v.* Jan Nithar Khan and Lashkar Khan).
567. See *Dh. Kh.*, vol.II, p.106; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.525-26.
568. *D.I., s.v.*
569. Ed. Mudarris Radawi, Tehran, n.d., pp.544-45.

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