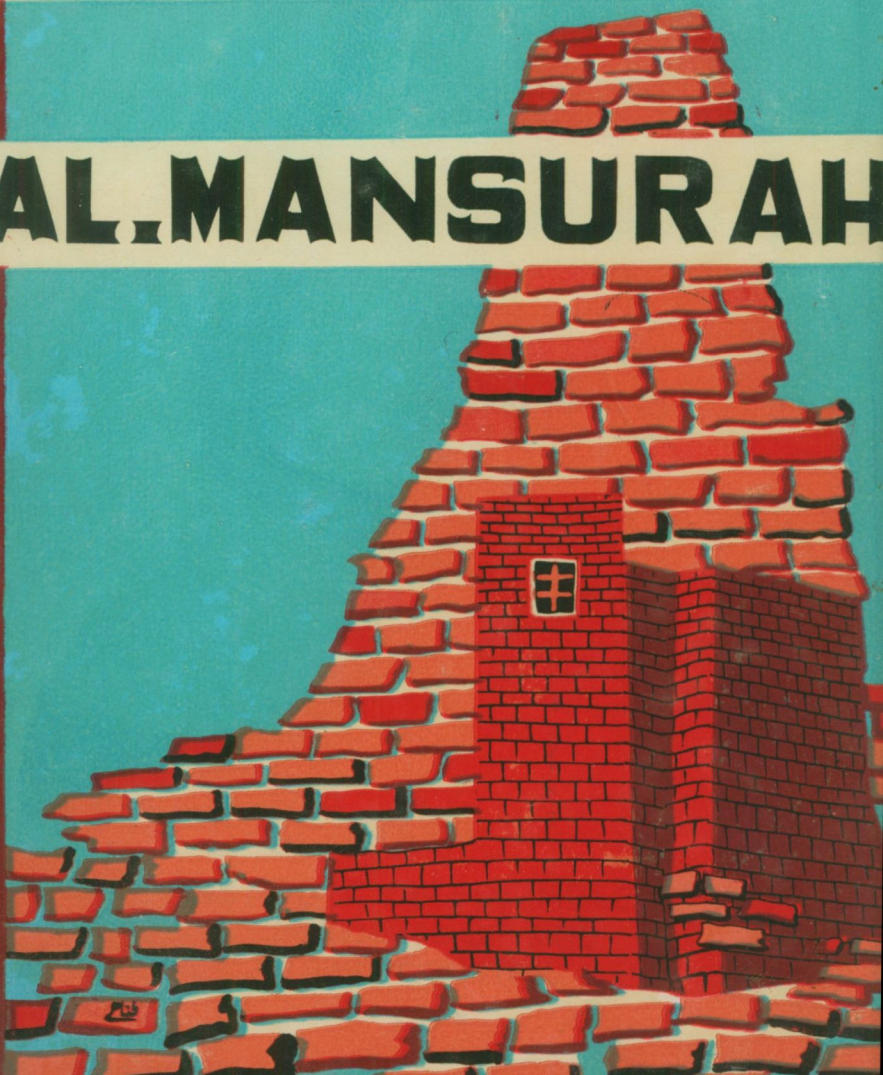


ARAB

KINGDOM OF

AL MANSURAH



**ARAB KINGDOM OF
AL-MANSURAH
IN SIND**

ARAB KINGDOM OF AL-MANSURAH IN SIND

DR. MUMTAZ HUSAIN PATHAN
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INSTITUTE OF SINDHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SIND
SIND, PAKISTAN.
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present work "Arab Kingdom of al-Mansurah" is the Ph.D. thesis which was submitted to the University of Sind in 1962. It is the second Ph.D. thesis in English language which is being published by the Institute of Sindhology, the first being "History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind" which was submitted to the University of Manchester and was published by the Institute in December 1972.

The present thesis covers the period between the conquest of Sind by the Arabs to the rise of the Ghaznavids and it is hoped that it will be of great interest to those who are interested in the history of the region.

The publishers wish to express their thanks to the University of Sind for granting permission to get the thesis published.

The publishers are thankful to Mr. Aijaz Mohammed Siddiqui, Manager, Sind University Press for taking keen interest in getting the present work printed.

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana,
Assistant Director,
Institute of Sindhology,
University of Sind, Sind.

PREFACE

In almost all the works on Indo-Pakistan history, the period of Arab rule in Sind is missing. It had been customary with the non-Muslim historians to surmise that this period hardly contributed to the cultural heritage of the Sub-Continent. The Arabs are generally considered as looters who came to rob the riches of the Indus Valley and fleece its people. When they had fulfilled their desire, they scattered into insignificance like the sand of their desert home. This estimate of a people who in reality were the founders of Indo-Muslim culture is hardly fair and is based on sheer prejudice and ignorance. The Arabs were the main torch-bearers of culture and civilization in medieval times. Without them much of the learning of the past would have been lost to posterity. The Arabs not only revived the learnings of the past but they added to it by original contributions, unique in the historical annals.

It may be noticed that the historians of the Indo-Pakistan region generally pass to the Ghaznavid period after briefly describing the conquest of Sind by the Arabs under Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, completely neglecting the history of Sind, for a period of nearly three hundred years. Some historians even go as far as to describe the conquest of Sind by the Arabs as a mere episode asserting that the country was reconquered by the non-Muslims immediately afterwards. This is far from the historical truth. The Arabs were in permanent occupation of the country of Sind for three centuries and their hegemony over the Indus Valley may be divided into three distinct periods:-

1. The period of Umayyad Governors.
2. The period of 'Abbasid Amīrs.

3. The period of the Independent kingdoms of al-Mansūrah and Multān.

The domination of Arabs over the Indus Valley forms one of the most illuminating chapters of Indo-Pakistan history. The light kindled by Prophet Muhammad in the Arabian desert shed its rays on Sind, which consequently spread its sparks over the whole of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent.

The present work is an attempt to fill in the missing link between the conquest of Sind by the Arabs to the rise of the Ghaznavids and it also deals with the glorious achievements of the independent Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah in the Lower Indus Valley. This work is divided into two parts: the first deals with the topography, ancient history of Sind, and the conquest of Sind by Muhammad ibn Qāsim al-Thaqafī. It also gives a brief account of the governors who ruled over Sind, during both the Umayyad and 'Abbasid period, till the establishment of the independent Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah. The second part deals with the foundation and situation of al-Mansūrah, the dynasty of the Banū Habbār and its rulers, the territorial limits of their kingdom, the towns and their identification, language, script, customs, manners, currency, coins, sources of revenue and general conditions of the period. International relations of the rulers of al-Mansūrah, their military power and the literary and cultural activities of the period have also been discussed. Accounts of the present ruins of al-Mansūrah and its destruction are given, which furnish considerable amount of historical data. The concluding chapter deals with the kingdom of Multān and its relations with al-Mansūrah.

Besides a bibliography, one appendix containing the Arabic and Persian texts from the early extant works directly relating to the kingdom of al-Mansūrah are also added for ready reference. In view of the gap in modern historical works on Indo-Pakistan history, this work seeks to make a tangible contribution towards filling up at least a large portion

of it. Humble though it is, it can claim to some extent an original contribution to the history of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. It is hoped that further attempts at filling the gaps in the history of Indo-Pakistan with which this work is not concerned will make the historical survey of the Muslim period in Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent more consistent and complete.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not thank Mr. Aijaz Mohammed Siddiqui, Manager, Sind University Press, who has been very kind to prepare the Index of the book correctly and in a very intelligent manner. Mr. Aijaz Siddiqui has also supervised the printing of the present work.

Hyderabad Sind.
1st January, 1974.

Dr. Mumtaz Husain Pathan.

CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

Futuh al-Buldan

The first among the contemporary authorities, to give an account of the arrival of Arabs in Sind is the author of *Futūh al-Buldān*, Ahmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir, well-known as al-Balādhūrī. He was born at Baghdād and received his education at Emesa and Damascus. He was an intimate friend of the Caliphs al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'in and was placed in charge of the education of 'Abdullāh, the brilliant son of Caliph al-Mu'tazz. He died in the year 279 A.H./892 A.D., mentally deranged after drinking the juice of anacardia (Balādhur) hence nicknamed Balādhuri.

Futūh al-Buldān is a comprehensive work on the Arab conquest and contains a world history up to the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil. It gives a lucid account of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs and the establishment of the Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah in Sind by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri. The accounts given in *Futūh al-Buldān* are more accurate and authoritative than those of the local Persian work known as *Chach Nāmah*, due to its being the earliest work on the conquest of the countries, by the Arabs.

Tarikh al-Ya'qubi

The second in importance is the history of al-Ya'qūbi the famous Shi'ite Historian, who was a client of the Abbāsīd family. His full name was Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahāb ibn Wādih al-Kātib al-'Abbāsi and he was a great historian as well as a geographer. Very little is known about the date of his birth and early life; but he spent his youth in Armenia in the service of the Tahirids in Khurāsān. After the fall of the Tāhirīds, al-Ya'qūbī went to Egypt where he died in the year 284 A.H. (897 A.D.).

Al-Ya'qūbī wrote a World History up to the year 259 A.H. (872 A.D.). It is divided into three parts; the first deals with general history of the world up to the advent of the

holy Prophet; the second deals with Muslim History from the times of holy Prophet up to the brief reign of Mu'āwiyah II, and the third starts with the reign of Marwān I and ends up to the times of Caliph Ahmad al-Mu'tamid 'ala-Allah.

Al-Ya'qūbī's history contains a detailed account of the affairs of Sind and its Arab governors during both the Umayyad and the Abbāsid period which is not found in any other contemporary or later source.

Tarikh al-Tabari

The third important contemporary work is that of al-Tabarī, one of the greatest historians of the world whose work *Kitāb Akhbār al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, is a universal history from the creation up to 303 A.H. (915 A.D.). Born in 224 A.H. (839 A.D.) at Amul in the province of Tabāristān, al-Tabarī learnt the holy Qur'an by heart at the age of 7, and journeyed extensively in the countries of West Asia and Egypt. Most of his time however he spent at Baghdad where he died in 310 A.H. (913 A.D.). The History of al-Tabarī refers briefly to the events of Sind during the Arab rule, including the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah.

Muruj al-Dhahab

The fourth in point of importance is the great geographical-cum-historical work of Abu al-Hasan 'Ali al-Mas'ūdī, called "*Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir*," which contains a description of the dominions and the towns of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Al-Mas'ūdī who visited Sind in the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh, the third Habbāri ruler of al-Mansūrah (after 300 A.H.), gives a full description of the condition of the people, the language, customs, manners and above all the military might of the rulers of al-Mansūrah. He also rejected the views of some Muslim scholars about the source of the river Indus and gave his own theory which appears to be more correct. Al-Mas'ūdī is the only contemporary writer who mentions the name of the ruler of al-Mansūrah, while his successors al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hauqal have made the grave mistake of omitting the names of the rulers of al-Mansūrah during their visit to the Indus Valley. Al-Mas'ūdī has also

recorded one of the theories on the foundation of al-Mansūrah which although not correct seems to have been current in Sind during the time of his visit.

‘Aja’ib al-Hind

Next in importance to al-Mas‘udi’s work comes ‘Ajā’ib al-Hind which contains impressions of the famous Persian traveller Buzurk ibn Shahriyār of Rām Hurmuz, who flourished during the last quarter of the third and the early years of the fourth century Hijrī. This work contains valuable accounts of the reign of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar, the second ruler of the independent Habbāri dynasty of al-Mansūrah. It also gives an interesting story about the translation of the holy Qurān into the Sindhi language.

Kitab al-Masalik wa’l-Mamalik

Another great work is that of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhim ibn Muhammad al-Fārsi al-Istakhri entitled Kitāb al-Masālik wa’l-Mamālik, which gives an authentic account of the Indus Valley in the 10th century A.D. Originally a native of Istakhr (Persepolis), the geographer is reported to have travelled extensively in the Muslim countries and has written his work by 340 A.H. (951 A.D.). He wrote somewhat earlier than Ibn Hauqal whom he met in Sind during his tour and with whom he exchanged observations.

Kitab Surat al-’Ard

Muhammad ibn Abi al-Qāsim al-Nasibi, well-known as Ibn Hauqal was a contemporary geographer, and compiled earliest geographical work on the Muslim countries of the world. He too is also reported to have visited Sind by the middle of 4th century A.H. He has given a full description of not only Indus Valley but also of India, Kashmir and Tibet. The importance of his work “Kitāb Sūrat al-’Ard” lies in the fact that it contains the first authentic map of the Indus Valley indicating the situation of the different towns of the kingdoms of al-Mansūrah and Multān.

Ahsan al-Taqaṣim fi Ma’rifat al-Aqalim

The geographical work of Shams al-Din Abi ‘Abdillāh

Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Shāmi al-Maqdisī well known as al-Bashshārī called *Ahsan al-Taḡāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm* is another contemporary work of great value. Al-Bashshārī came to Sind after 350 A.H. and completed his work by 375 A.H. (986/87 A.D.). This work gives informative description of the country of Sind, its towns, its people, trade, products and above all, the social, political and religious conditions which are not found in any other source.

Al-Fihrist

Of Ibn al-Nadīm another important contemporary work, deals with the cultural and literary activities of the Arabs in Sind and the part played by Sindhi scholars in introducing the sciences of Indo-Pakistan origin into the Arab world.

Kitab al-Hind

The famous work of the celebrated and versatile Muslim mathematician Abū-Rayhān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī, contains a full geographical description of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. It gives the location of the different towns of Sind during his time and also provides us with a valuable account of the various dialects and scripts in use in the Lower Indus Valley.

Kitab al-Aghani

The great "Book of songs" written by Abū al-Faraj 'Alī ibn Husayn al-Isfahānī, is the treasure house of Arabian poetry, music and archaeology. It contains poems of some of the poets of Sind, like Abū 'Atā al-Sindī, and references about its learned men, like Abū Nasr al-Sindī.

Kitab al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'ara'

Of Ibn Qutaybah also contains poems of Abū 'Atā al-Sindī and deals with the biography of the Sindhi poet who made his name in the Arab world for eloquence and spontaneity.

Diwan al-Farrukhī

A great Persian poetical work of Farrukhī who flourished at the Court of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah, contains qasidās sung in praise of the great Ghaznavid kings. Although the historians of Mahmūd give no account of the conquest of the Lower Indus Valley by the Sultān, yet this poet has in a very lucid manner given an interesting account of the capture of al-Mansūrah and the destruction of its army. His account is in conformity with that given by Ibn al-Athīr and other historians of later times.

Jamharah Ansab al-‘Arab

This is a contemporary work of the Spanish writer Abū Muhammad ‘Alī ibn Ahmad, Ibn Hazm and contains references to Habbār ibn al-Aswad, his opposition to Islam, his conversion and the detailed account of his descendants who established the independent kingdom of al-Mansūrah. It also refers to the extinction of the dynasty at the hands of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah.

Among the contemporary works of lesser importance may be mentioned *Tarikh Bayhaqi*, of Khwājah Abū al-Fadl Muhammad ibn Husayn Bayhaqi; *Athār al-Baqiyah* ‘Un-qurūn al-Khāliyah of Abū Rayhān al-Birūnī; *A‘lāq al-Nafīṣah* of Abū al-‘Alī Ahmad ibn ‘Umar ibn-Rustah; *Kitāb al-Akhhbār al-Tiwāl* of Dinawarī; *Tarikh-e-Yamīnī* of ‘Utbi and lastly the impressions of some of the contemporary Arab travellers like Sulayman al-Tājir, Ibn Khurdāzbih, Mus‘ar ibn Muhalhil and Abū Zayd of Sirāf. Ibn Khurdāzbih’s work with the title *al-Masālik wa’l-Mamālik* was published at Leyden while extracts of Mus‘ar ibn Muhalhil are given by Ibn al-Nadīm, Yāqūt al-Hamavī and Qazvinī in their works, *al-Fihrist*, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* and *Athār al-Bilād* respectively. The impressions of Sulayman and Abū Zayd under the name *Silsilat al-Tarikh* were published separately at Paris in 1811 A.D. All these works contain short references to the country of Sind, its trade, fertility and the men of eminence.

EARLY NON-CONTEMPORARY SOURCES**Kitab Sirat ur-Rasulullah**

Among the non-contemporary work the earliest is Kitāb Sirat al-Rasūl of Ibn Hishām which is a recension of Ibn Ishāq's work on the biography of the holy Prophet. It contains informative notes on Habbār ibn al-Aswad and other members of the tribe of Banū Asad, who opposed to or fought for the cause of Islam.

Kitab Tabaqat al-Kabir

Written by Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Sa'd, generally known as Kātib al-Wāqidi's "Great Work of Classes", contains an extensive biography of the holy Prophet and shorter notes on his companions, helpers and the followers arranged in "classes", i.e. generations. It is important for the information it contains about the members of the Banū Asad tribe to whom Habbār ibn al-Aswad, the ancestor of the rulers of al-Mansūrah, belonged to. It also gives a descriptive account of the relationship which existed between the members of the Banū Asad tribe and the holy Prophet.

Diwan al-Hamasah

Composed by Habīb ibn Aws of the famous tribe of Tay, it contains gems of the Arabic poetry. In it are given the verses of the famous Sindhi poet Abū 'Atā al-Sindī.

LATER WORKS**Chach Namah**

Among the later works which throw much light on the affairs of Sind is the Chach Nāmah written by 'Alī ibn Hāmid al-Kūfī. The original is lost but the Persian version of the text is extant and was edited by Dr. 'Umar ibn Muhammad Da'ūdpoṭā at Delhi in 1939. Chach Nāmah is the only source through which the pre-Islamic history of Sind is available in detail. It also gives an authentic and detailed account of the conquest of Sind by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind. The work, however, contains some exaggerations and false accounts.

One such story contains the fable about the end of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, which lacks corroboration from any other source.

Nazhat al Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-‘Afaq

The great geographical work of Abū Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Idrīsī, the court geographer of Norman King Roger who reigned over Sicily from 1130-1154 A.D. Al-Idrīsī has given a detailed account of the Indus Valley, its towns, trade, commerce, currency, language, customs and social as well as the economic condition of its people. Al-Idrīsī does not seem to have visited Sind himself but he has reported true and authentic facts about the Indus Valley which corroborate the accounts of al-Mas‘ūdī and other geographers who actually visited Sind.

Athar al-Bilad wa Akhbar al-‘Ibad

Composed by Zakariyā ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd al-Qazvinī, generally called the “Pliny of the East”. He was not a traveller himself but has compiled his work from the writings of al Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and other geographers whom he regularly cites as his authorities. This work is the store-house of information about al-Mansūrah, its kingdom, its towns and the condition of its people.

Tabaqat al-Umam

Written by Qādi Abū al-Qāsim Sā‘id ibn Ahmad ibn Sa‘d al-Andalusī, is an important and informative work on the Sciences of the different countries of the world. It gives an authentic account of the branches of knowledge directly derived by the Arabs from the Indus Valley and their transmission to Spain and the Western world.

‘Uyun al-Anba fi Tabaqat al-Atibba’

Of Muwaffiq al-Dīn Abū al-Abbās Ahmad ibn al-Qāsim al-Sa‘dī al-Khazrajī,* a great physician and biographer. This work contains a detailed account of the medical science of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and its influence over the Arab world. It also praises the excellence of Sindhi physicians

*Known as Ibn Abi Usaybiyah

and mentions the translation of the various medical works brought by them to Baghdād at the invitation of the Būrmakid ministers of the Abbasids.

Tarikh Baghdad

Written by 'Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit, known as al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī contains full details of literary men of high religious merit, who flourished in Sind and the Arab world during medieval times.

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz

Of Hāfiz Shams al-Dīn ibn Abi 'Abdillāh al-Dhahabi also refers to the learned men of Sind and their contributions to the traditional sciences, Islamic Jurisprudence and scholastic theology.

Mu'ajam al-Buldan

Written in 625 A.H. (1228 A.D.) by the great geographer and encyclopaedist Shihāb al-Dīn Abi-'Abdillāh Ya'qub ibn Abdullah known as Yāqūt al-Hamavī; it is an important and informative treatise dealing with the situation of the towns of Sind, their culture, trade, institutions, currency, language and other facts.

Kitab al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh

Written by Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn al-Athīr was born in 555 A.H. (1160 A.D.) in Jazīrah and died at Mosul in 630 A.H. (1234 A.D.). His work known as al-Kāmil or complete work in history is especially valuable as the events are given in detail, chronologically and year by year. It contains accounts of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, the succession of governors and the establishment and fall of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah.

Wafayat al-A'yan

The great work of Ahmad ibn Muhammad, Ibn Khalikān who was born in 608 A.H. (1211 A.D.) at Arbela and held the post of Chief Qādī of Damascus. His work is a comprehensive history of the world and contains references to the Arab rule in Sind.

Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar

The brief history of mankind written and composed by Abū al-Fidā, the famous historian and geographer, contains a short history of the Indus Valley and its conquest by the Arabs.

Tarikh Firishtah

This is a local history written by Mullā Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādi well-known as Firishtāh who has given a brief history of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent with details since the times of Mahābhārat based on local traditions and fables. A major part of the work is unreliable but some references carry value and are copies of the accounts recorded by early writers.

The other sources consulted on the subject are:-

Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb and Lisān al-Mizān: by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī.

Tabakāt Akbarī: by Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn ibn Muhammad,

Tabakāt Nāsirī: by Abū ‘Umar Minhāj al-Dīn ibn Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī.

Tārikh al-Khulafā: by Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī.

Muntakhab al-Tarikh: by ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh al-Badāyūnī.

Kitāb al-Bayān: by Abi ‘Uthmān ‘Amr al-Jāhiz ibn Bahr al-Kanānī al-Basrī.

Kitāb al-A‘ilam Baitullāh al-Harām: by Imām al-‘Alam Allamāh Qutb al-Dīn al-Hanafī.

Kitāb al-Ansāb: by Shaykh al-Imām al-Hāfiz Abi al-Fadl Muhammad ibn Tāhir ibn Alī al-Maqdisi.

Kitāb al-Ansāb: by Allamāh Sam‘ānī.

Archaeology

The archaeological evidence on the period of the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah is scanty and of little value. All the

towns which were the flourishing centres of trade and commerce during the Arab period have since vanished either by earthquake or by the change of the course of river Indus. The only town which has survived the ravages of the time is Sehwan but here also the old fort is in ruins, forming a mound of towering height. Sehwan would also have perished had it not been for the shrine of the great saint Shaykh 'Uthmān Marwandī, well-known as Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar to which people flock from all over Sind during the annual fair.

The site of al-Mansūrah was excavated by Mr. Bellassis in 1854 and also on three other successive occasions, which yielded various articles including coins. The illustrations of these articles are given in the great work on Sind by Henry Cousins, known as "Antiquities of Sind." A detailed account of the coins and their decipherment have been given in the Indian Antiquary by Jas-Burghess.

The observations of Mr. Bellassis are of great value because they contain a clue to the possibility of the town of al-Mansūrah having been destroyed by an earthquake. The coins bearing inscriptions give the names of some other rulers of al-Mansūrah about whom we know nothing from the original sources. The ruined site of al-Mansūrah is now preserved by the Government under the provisions of the Preservation of the Ancient Monuments Act. No excavations have yet been carried out by the Archaeological Department of Pakistan during the 23 years of our Independence. But during the rainy season a great number of coins and other articles are found on the surface of the site. However, the excavation of Bhambhor, a site near the modern town of Gharo, which is supposed to be the site of al-Daybul, is in progress. The ruins have yielded coins bearing the name of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the last governor of the Umayyad period, who is reported to have usurped the province of Sind by force.

Mr. H. Cousins did not excavate any portion of the great site of al-Mansūrah, yet his treatise throws much light on the theory of its foundation. He has also given his views on the situation of the great town and has attributed certain reasons

to its destruction. M.R. Haig another foreign visitor to this site, has made useful efforts towards the identification of the sites of al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād by actual measurements. He has also recorded the impressions of his tour and survey of the Lower Indus Valley in his work 'Indus Delta Country'.

Another writer on the subject is Mr. Raverty who compiled a voluminous work on "Mihrān and its Tributaries" which gives a noteworthy account of the towns founded by the Arabs, their history and, finally, the different stories about their destruction. The Geographical work of Cunningham and Brahmanābād of Bellasis also help in determining the situation of the different towns of the al-Mansūrah kingdom as well as the factors that contributed to their fall.

CHAPTER I

The country of Sind;
Its Geographical position; Its ancient History;
Foreign nations who invaded Sind and ruled over it.

SIND

The great country of Sind, which now forms an integral part of West Pakistan, derived its name from Indus, the mighty river that flows through it. Sindhū (or Sind), as is the term applied to the river literally means an ocean or vast collection of water.¹ It was the first great body of water encountered by Aryan invaders pushing on their march to India through the north-western gate-ways. The Muslim historians have given a different theory about the name given to the country. They believe that it is so called after Sind, (the brother of Hind) a son of Buqir ibn Yaqtan (ibn Hām ibn Nūh) whose descendants ruled the country for many generations.² Whatever may be the true version, the importance of the river to this country cannot be ignored, the absence of which would have rendered the whole region a barren and inhospitable desert extending from the borders of Iran to the very confines of the Himalayas.

Situation & Boundaries

Sind was once a far flung Sub-Continent extending from Kashmir to Arabian Sea and from Seistan to Thar Desert in the east, and included in it a greater portion of West Pakistan, South - East Afghānistān, Makrān and parts of Kirmān.³ Its present geographical position has shrunk to a considerable limit. Before the setting up of a single province of West

Pakistan in 1955, the country of Sind was bounded on the north by a portion of the Punjab province, Bahawalpur and Kalat States; on the east by the Rajastān States of Jodhpur and Jaisalmir; on the west by Kalāt and Lasbella States and on the south by the Arabian Sea, and the great Rann of Cutch. It lies between the 23rd and 28th parallel of northern latitude and between 66th and 71st meridian of the eastern longitude. It is about 360 miles from north to south with an average breadth of 170 miles from east to west, covering an area of 59166 sq. miles,⁴ with a population of 46,05,934 souls, mostly Muslims.⁵

Topography

Sind is a low and flat country with the exception of a mountainous tract on the west which separates it from Balochistan. There are, however, a few hills in the interior but of little significance. One of these hills, Ganja with an average height of 50 ft. is in Hyderābād District: it is on this range that the city of Hyderābād is built. The other ranges of some importance are Maklī in Thatta District and Lakī in Dadū District, of whom the elevation of Lakī ranges from 1500 to 2000 ft. above sea level.⁶

Sind may be divided into 3 natural regions running parallel to each other, Kohistān, the hilly tract on the west, Registān, the desert region on the east, and alluvial tract of land on both sides of the river, in the middle. The mountainous tract which lies on the west is a great barrier which divides Sind from Balochistān and forms a natural line of demarcation between the two countries. Hālār or Khīrthār, as is the proper appellation, touches the frontier of Sind at 28th parallel and then merges into Pubb hills near 26th parallel, stretching up to the Arabian Sea. The elevation of Khīrthār is considerable, some of its peaks rise to 7000 ft. above sea level. One of these peaks Kuteji-Kabar rises to the elevation of 7200 ft. above sea level and the other two peaks Dārhyāro and Dhānā tower to 6000 and 4500 ft. respectively.⁷ Pubb hills on the contrary are much less lofty as their heights do not in any case exceed 2000 ft. The distinguishable feature of the Khīrthār range is that it

is divided into 3 great ridges running parallel to each other. The first (i.e. the eastern) has its sides steep and more vertical towards the west, the second is a table-land with flat tops and rounded sides, and the third is formed of a vast plateau, of limestone. This region possesses but little soil and due to scarcity of rain it is almost devoid of vegetation.⁸

Another of these regions, Thar or Registān is a vast sea of sand, stretching from north to south, with an average breadth of 30 to 50 miles. It is covered with sand-dunes and hills (known as Bhits) shifting from one place to the other under the influence of weather.⁹ Parts of this tract are watered by Eastern Nara or sometimes by the monsoons which pour abundant of rain after considerable lapse of time. The area which is now a destitute wilderness was once the most fertile; river Indus and its branches are reported to have flowed through this region in bygone ages. Numerous beds of the mighty Mehraṇ have been discovered in that arid zone, one of them Purāṇ still exists in western parts of Tharparkar District.¹⁰

The third tract is the extensive alluvial region extending from Kashmīr to the Sea, running parallel to the two regions discussed above. The average breadth of this zone varies from 10 to 20 miles on both sides of the river. Its soil is the most fertile and if irrigated properly is capable of producing more than two crops a year without application of manure or additional labour.¹¹ This alluvial tract is again sub-divided into three distinct parts of Siro, Vicholo and Lār, of which the soil of Lār is kalarish but produces abundant of rice.

Climate

The climate of Sind is one of the most extreme; in the hot season the thermometer frequently rises to 114 and in winter it falls below freezing point.¹² There are only two seasons in Sind, of which the hot season starts by the middle of February and ends by 15th October when the winter commences.

Flora

“Sind is an extra-tropical country where every crop under

the sun could be grown with ease and efficiency." There are two principal crops (yearly) in Sind: Vernal (Rabi) sown in autumn, and Kharif in the summer months. The Rabi crop includes wheat, barley, oil seeds, mustard, saffron, garlic, onion, radish, carrots, turnips, indigo, hemp and senna, whilst the Kharif items are bajri, juar, rice, urd, chaunra, mung, til and cotton.¹³ A third crop is also sown in some parts of Sind where water is abundant and is known as Adhaun. Fruits are also plentiful, the common among them being dates, plantains, mango, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, figs, grapes, apples, tamarinds, mulberries, melons, nectarines, and peach.¹⁴

Fauna

Among the wild animals found in the province of Sind are tigers, hyena, Gurkhars, wolf, jackal, fox, wild hog, antelope, hares, pig and porcupine. The tamed domesticated animals include, one humped camel, buffalo, cow, goats, sheep, horse, mules, asses, and dogs. Among the birds may be mentioned the names of vulture, falcon, flamingo, pelican, stork, crane, tilur, quail, partridges, water fowl, wild geese, ducks, teals, carlew, snipe and hen.¹⁵ Sind is also famous for its variety of snakes.

Lakes

Natural lakes are rare in Sind except for Manchar which is the largest artificial body of water in the province. During the inundation season it covers an area of nearly 180 sq. miles being more than 20 miles in length at many places. The other lakes are Sonahrī, Hālejī, Jhoī and the historic Kīnjhar in Thatta District, Hadro in Larkānā District and Makhī, the former haunt of Hur outlaws in Sānghar District.¹⁶

Rivers

The principal river of Sind and the source of its teeming life is Sindhū (or Indus), which rises in Tibet from the mountain named Kailās Parbat, near lake Mansrowar. After flowing through the valleys of Kashmir, it traverses the North-West Frontier, Punjāb, Sind and falls into the Arabian Sea through its two chief mouths, Ochito and Mutni (or Haidri).¹⁷

The main tributaries of this great river are the Kābul and five rivers of Punjāb, Sutliġ, Jhelum, Biyās, Chenāb and Ravī. The course of the Indus through Sind is about 700 miles, whilst its total length exceeds 1500 miles, being the 7th largest river of Asia.¹⁸ Besides the Indus, there are some hill streams or Nais of which Habb is the most important and may be called a river. Taking its course from Mahar Jabal (a branch of Khirthār in the N.W. corner of Thatta District) it flows in an almost southern direction for 120 miles up to the sea and falls in it near Cape Monze. Before the setting up of One Unit it was the natural line of demarcation between Sind and Lasbelā State. The other important Nais are Malīr, from which the city of Karachi obtains its water-supply, Bāran which feeds a greater portion of Kohistān and the Gāj, both in Dadū District.

Minerals

There are rich deposits of iron and coal at many places but they have not yet been tapped. These two commodities are imported from outside specially from India. The only mineral which is produced in abundance in Sind is gypsum which is mined near Maurīpur and on the banks of river Gāj in Kohistān region.¹⁹ Limestone, salt and fuller's earth, if these may be termed minerals, are also found in such a great quantity that they are exported to different parts of Pakistan and India. Recently successful experiments in many parts of the province have given a clue of the availability of petroleum and oil and the work is in progress towards their exploitation.

Ancient History of Sind in brief

The remote antiquity of Sind credits an Aryan Dynasty in possession of the country as early as the Mahābhārat period, which may be placed between 1500 to 1200 B.C. Jaydrath the ruler of Sind is related to have represented his country in Mahābhārat war as an ally of Kaurūs. He was consequently chastised and killed by the Pandoos, who then took control of

the country and ruled over it.²⁰ There is, however, little indication about subsequent events in the history of Sind from any source till the beginning of 6th century B.C., when the country was invaded and attacked by a Commander of Darius I, the third Achaemenian Emperor. Admiral Skylax of Caria was specifically deputed to explore the sea and land route between Persia and India. This expedition resulted in the annexation of a greater portion of the Indus Valley to the Persian empire to become its 20th satrapy. Two centuries later when the country witnessed a second invasion by Alexander the Great,²¹ he found river Indus, the eastern boundary of the Persian empire and the country of Sind ruled by various princes independent of each other.

The earliest authentic history of Sind, however, begins with the conquest of Alexander the Great, who entered its frontiers in the year 325 B.C. After having defeated Porus, the king of Punjab he made a downward march to Sind supported by a fleet of 2000 warships.²² Sind at this juncture was divided into two important principalities of Upper Sind with its capital Aror and Lower Sind with Patala as its headquarters. Mausikanos, the ruler of Upper Sind submitted to the conqueror without resistance but later instigated by his Brahman councillors, revolted against the authority of the Greek Emperor. He made a desperate effort to gain freedom but to no avail, as he was immediately afterwards captured by the Greek forces and beheaded.²³ The ruler of Lower Sind, Moeris is reported to have abandoned his capital in terror,²⁴ which was occupied by the Greek army without difficulty. In 325 B.C., Alexander set out from Patala on his way home by sea and land route, through the coastal regions of Mekran and Persia. His hold over the Indus Valley was therefore brief and shortlived. Two years later after his death in 323 B.C., his empire was shattered to pieces, and the princes of India had leisure to assert independence within their principalities. In the meantime Chandra Gupta Mauryā, a scion of the royal family of Magadha who had previously instigated Alexander to invade the Ganges Valley, occupied a greater portion of N.W. India. In

the course of the next few years, he was able to overthrow the Nandā regime from Magadha, and to make himself the master of Hindustān.²⁵

Seleucus Nicator, Alexander's general who succeeded him as the 'King of the Eastern Empire', marched with considerable forces to reconquer the Indian territories. In 305 B.C, having entered the frontiers of India, he crossed the Indus and penetrated as far as Taxila near modern Rawalpindi. He met opposing him, an overwhelming army under the command of Chandra Gupta himself, who had advanced to meet the new invader. The encounter that followed brought about a humiliating defeat for the Greek army and Seleucus was compelled to sue for peace. According to the terms of agreement the Greek War-Lord was obliged to surrender all Indian possessions west of the river Indus and to give his daughter in marriage to the victor.²⁶ Peace having been made, Seleucus returned to the west to deal with another rival Antigonos whom he defeated and slew at Ipsus in Phrygia in the year 301 B.C.²⁷ After this great event Sind formed part of the great Mauryan Empire under Chandra Gupta and continued owing allegiance to his mighty successors Bindūsārā and Asoka. Chandra Gupta reigned for 25 years and abdicated the throne in favour of his son²⁸ in 298 B.C. Bindūsārā, who was a warlike prince is reported to have made successive raids on Deccan. Like his great father, he established diplomatic relations with the Greek rulers of west, specially those belonging to the house of Seleucus. His contemporary Antiochus Soter likewise manifested the same eagerness by the exchange of gifts.²⁹

Asoka who took up the reins of government in 272 B.C. after the death of his father Bindūsārā, was undoubtedly the ablest and most enlightened sovereign of ancient India. In 261 B.C., he marched on Kalinga, a region lying on the east coast of India between the Mahanadi and Godavari rivers corresponding to modern Orissa with the most northerly portion of Madras.³⁰ A fierce battle between the contending armies resulted in heavy carnage, which frustrated all designs

of further conquests. The tragic scene of the battle had a tremendous effect on the mind and intellect of the warrior king who then resolved to abandon the traditional course of waging war and turned to the teachings of Lord Buddha. Buddhism was then declared as the State religion of India and was enforced on reluctant masses by the decree of the king. A true and ardent champion of the Buddhist faith, Asoka moulded his life according to its sublime doctrine which he got engraved on rocks, pillars and plates, still existent in some parts of India.³¹ The death of this great religious monarch in 232 B.C. proved a decisive blow to the United Indian hegemony and brought about the ultimate fall of Mauryan Empire. The control of the Indus Valley then shifted to the Greek rulers of Bactria but their hold over the country was too uncertain and precarious.

The consensence of the Mauryan kings and the lust of conquest brought Demetrius into India in 190 B.C. He was the son of the great Euthedemus who after incessant struggle with Antiochus the Great succeeded in securing for himself the position of an independent ruler of Bactria.³² The conquests of Demetrius were merely a passing event, as he was immediately afterwards defeated and slain by his rival Eucratides who established himself on the Bactrian throne by the year 175 B.C. All the lands of the Indus Valley including Sind, therefore, reverted to the domination of the new king of Bactria.³³ The conquest of both these rulers, however, paled into insignificance before the enterprises of Menander, a kinsman of Eucratides who invaded N. W. India in the year 155 B.C. This was the third of the series of major military operations conducted by foreign rulers against the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. Menander having traversed Punjab overran the whole of the Indus Valley up to the Sea and proceeded in the south as far as Kathiawad. He thence attacked Mathura in the Ganges Valley, which he took by storm, and threatened to advance on Pataliputra, the Imperial Capital of India. It was with great difficulty that his advance was checked and he was forced to retreat.³⁴ Although Pataliputra and its dependencies remained immune from foreign domination, Sind and

Punjab continued to groan under the Greek influence for two centuries more.

About the middle of 2nd century B.C. a new power rose to eminence in Central Asia; they were the Yueh-chi, a people of nomadic and barbaric tendencies. The place of their original abode is generally identified with the present province of Kansu in the neighbourhood of Sikiang.³⁵ Pressed by the innate disadvantages of nature, they moved to west in great number, in search of fresh pastures for their cattle and virgin land for their own sustenance. The first to feel their onslaught were the tribes of Doosan and Sakas of north-east Persia whom they defeated with great vigour. They soon plunged westward and put an end to the Greek kingdom of Bactria which existed in that region since the conquest of Alexander the Great. An offshoot of this tribe called Scythians, advanced to the Afghan hills and having crossed the Hindu Kush they spread over a great portion of the Punjab like whirlwind. Waves of migration took a serious turn of permanent menace. Their advance was, however, checked for the time being by Vikramaditya, the king of Ujjain whose successful resistance in 57 B.C., marks the beginning of Hindu Samvat era.³⁶

Although this victory placed a barrier on the advance of barbarians into the interior they acquired dominant position throughout the north western regions. The first sovereign of the race claiming sovereignty over Punjab was Kadphes I, who reigned for 30 years (15-45 A.D.).³⁷ Sind at this juncture was under the domination of Indo-Parthian Greek kings, ruling the realm since the downfall of the Mauryas. The conquest of Lower Indus Valley was, however, reserved for a later period when Kanishka, the third ruler of this house, made the final subjugation of the country. Kanishka is also celebrated for his having convened a Buddhist Council, third in the series after his great predecessor Asoka and like those of Asoka, the commentaries composed by this Council have still the force of religious canon in China, Tibet and Mongolia.³⁸ Kanishka died in 123 A.D. after a benevolent rule of nearly 45 years and was followed by three successors Vasishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva. Huvishka founded a new Kushan

capital Hushakpur, in Kashmir and also built a shrine in front of the Bodhi tree at Gaya to replace the one already built by Asoka.³⁹ Although the rulers of this dynasty continued to hold sway over the whole of the Indus Valley, their control became precarious after the death of its last ruler Vasudeva⁴⁰ (reigned from 140-173 A.D.). The Lower Indus Valley (Sind proper) henceforth cited as Indo-Scythia continued to groan under the Kushan governors who, fully conscious of the weakness of the central government, assumed independence within their provinces. The absence of historical data however makes it impossible to name those rulers who commanded indisputable sway over this region and the system of administration they happened to introduce. The Scythian hegemony in Sind appears to have been more durable as it subsisted for a fairly long time in spite of successive revolutions and the ravages of time inflicted on this unfortunate and unhappy land.

With the extinction of the Kushan dynasty in the north-west and the Andhra dynasty in the interior, the centre of gravity shifted once more to Pataliputra and a new and vigorous dynasty was brought on the scene. It was that of the mighty Guptas, whose advent in India is characterised as the period of revival of Hinduism, and Aryan supremacy over the whole of the Sub-Continent. Its founder, Chandra Gupta was a ruler of a small kingdom whence his marriage with a Lakhmīd princess, brought him new strength and made him the paramount ruler of whole India. His successors carried on the work of conquest and added a greater portion of N.W. India. It was not until the reign of Chandra Gupta II (345-415 A.D.) that Sind was also added to the rising Gupta empire which now included almost the whole of India north of the river Narbada.⁴¹ Deccan was never conquered permanently by the Guptas although maraudering excursions by Gupta rulers took them to the extreme south as far as Adam's bridge.⁴²

By the middle of the fifth century A.D. another savage race, the white Huns began to pour into India. Issuing from their wild reservoirs in Central Asia, they advanced to the Hindū Kush and, having entered Punjāb, they appeared on the very banks of Ganges with astounding speed. They were,

however, defeated by Sikanda Gupta, with great slaughter and forced to retreat. Taking no cognizance of the disaster inflicted on them, they appeared again with characteristic freshness and vigour. But this time they did not venture to advance to the interior and contented themselves with retaining the sovereignty over Punjāb and Kashmīr.⁴³

While these events were taking place in North India, Dewājī, a kinsman of the royal house of Chitor, succeeded in establishing a line of kings in Sind, known as the Rai dynasty. Heuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited the Indus Valley in the first half of the 6th century A.D., speaks of these kings as Sudras. The reference is perhaps to Rai Sehāras I. He reports the general prosperity of the country under that rule.⁴⁴ The other rulers of the dynasty were Rai Sehāras I, Rai Sehāsi I, Rai Sehāras II and Rai Sehāsi II. The rulers of this dynasty were all Buddhists and reigned over the country with great prudence and justice. Their reign is presumed to have extended in aggregate over 137 years, probably from 580 to 630 A.D. The boundary of their kingdom extended from Kashmīr to the Arabian Sea and from Kirmān to Kanauj in the east.⁴⁵

In the reign of the fourth king, Rai Sehāras II, the Iranian emperor sent an expedition to Sind from Nemroz. The king advanced to meet the marauders in person but was defeated and slain.⁴⁶ He was succeeded by his son Rai Sehāsi II, who is reported to have repaired the disaster by repelling the aggressors from his dominions and by conducting regular yearly inspection tours of the frontiers.⁴⁷ He was the first to organize the army on regular bases and he kept it punctually paid. Some new forts were also reported to have been built by him with the aid of his subjects who were made exempt from payment of land tax in exchange for providing material and labour for the task.⁴⁸ About the year 630 A.D. Rai Sehāsi II died a natural death without an issue; he was followed by his minister Chach, who later founded the Brahman dynasty.

The Brahman usurper, who later married the widow of the deceased monarch, proved to be a benevolent ruler and under his enlightened administration people prospered exceedingly.

Rana Mahurat, the ruler of Chitor, a relative of Rai Sehāsi II, marched against the usurper with considerable forces, but was defeated near Jodhpur and slain.⁴⁹ Secure in his power, Chach is reported to have made extensive tours of his dominions and appointed trustworthy governors over the provinces. Chach ruled for 40 years and was followed by his brother Chandur who held the kingdom for eight years. He was in turn followed by his nephew Dāhir, the eldest son of Raja Chach. It was during the reign of Raja Dāhir that the famous Arab invasion of Sind took place, under the command of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, and this brought to an end the Brahman dynasty in Sind.

Foreign Invasions

The Persians

Since the immigration of the Aryans into Sind the first nation that violated its frontiers was its neighbour Persia, which in the 6th century B.C. rose to be one of the greatest and most powerful empires of the ancient world. With the overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia by Cyrus, the king of Anshān in 538 B.C., all the provinces of its vast empire acknowledged the suzerainty of the Achaemenian monarchs of Persia, who like other ancient rulers of West Asia, shifted their capital to Bab-El, the renowned city of the eastern world. Cyrus's son and successor Cambysus added Egypt as far as Nubia to the rising empire which attained dazzling height of its greatest splendour in the reign of Darius I, the second successor of Cyrus the Great.⁵⁰ Of all the rulers of the Achaemenian dynasty Darius was the ablest and most enlightened sovereign. He was the first to coin money and introduce the postal system throughout the vast empire and the first to inaugurate his reign with reforms concerning public utility which endeared him to the masses. He is also reported to have divided the whole empire into small units called the Satrapies over which he appointed civil governors. The military functions were undertaken by another officer

called the General, both being independent of each other and entitled to communicate directly with the sovereign.⁵¹

Not satisfied with the vast kingdom he inherited from his predecessors, he sent an expedition to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, under Skylax the Greek admiral, to explore the route by which he could extend his influence to the east. Skylax entered the frontiers of the Sub-Continent by the year 512 B.C. and without receiving any opposition acquired a great portion of Punjāb and Sind. He sailed back to his country by means of a fleet built in Punjāb through the coastal region of Makrān and Persia.⁵² The River Indus then became the eastern boundary and Sind with its dependencies became the 20th Satrapy of the vast Persian empire.

The fertility of the Indus Valley and its prosperity can well be determined from the amount of revenue it yielded to the Central treasury. It amounted to 360 talents or 187 Hw. of gold (one million sterling) and was 1/4th of the total revenue derived from all the Asian provinces.⁵³

Darius ruled for 36 years and was succeeded by a series of brilliant rulers until the dynasty came to an abrupt end in the reign of Darius III (336-330 B.C.), who was defeated by Alexander of Macedon in two successive battles at Issus (333 B.C.) and Arbela (331 B.C.). Darius III fled from the battle-field but received unfortunate death at the hands of his own men at Hamadān.⁵⁴ An heir to the Achaemenian emperors, Alexander considered all the eastern provinces including Sind as his heritage and as such he advanced to the east for the pacification of the empire.

The Greeks

In the spring of 334 B.C. at the head of a large army which varied from 3000 to 40,000, the young monarch having crossed the Hellispoint swept over Asia Minor, then a province of the Persian Empire. His advance was, however, resisted by Darius III in person at Issus near the Cilician borders, which resulted in a humiliating defeat for the Persians. Darius fled from the battle-field in utter confusion, leaving his family

behind which was however treated well. Instead of pursuing the fallen enemy, Alexander marched on Syria which lay at the feet of the conqueror almost undefended. In the autumn of 332 B.C. Alexander led his mighty arms out of conquered Asia into Egypt. He was received by the Egyptians with great jubilations at Memphis and hailed as the son of God.⁵⁵ From Egypt the conqueror made his dash towards the east and defeated once more the Persian forces at Arbela. Darius fled before the invading forces who then advanced to Babylonia; the renowned city of East. The Persian capital was taken by storm and the greater portion of it set to flames. Meanwhile Darius was assassinated by his own men at Hamadān but the corpse received a royal burial at Persepolis under the orders of Alexander.⁵⁶

Within the short period of three years Alexander recovered all the provinces of Persian empire and after successive and arduous campaigns succeeded in extending his sway to Bactria in the East. Having made his position secure in the Afghān hills, he occupied Kābul in the year 327 B.C. and then descending further east, through the Kābul Valley, he reached the Indus, which was crossed in the spring of 326 B.C.⁵⁷ Omphis (or Ambhi) the King of Taxila made a cowardly submission to the Greeks and surrendered the city without any show of resistance. Here Alexander received provisions and contingents of Indian troops as reinforcement for his attack against the proud and war-like prince of the neighbouring kingdom.⁵⁸ Poru or Porushya, a great champion of independence, likewise made preparations to check his advance with a force of 4000 horse, 30000 foot, 500 chariots and some elephants. In the pitched battle that was fought on the banks of the Jhelum, the Indian forces in spite of their numerical superiority suffered ignominious defeat and were completely annihilated. Poru himself was badly wounded and taken prisoner but received magnanimous treatment at the hands of the conqueror who restored him to his ancestral kingdom as his Viceroy.⁵⁹ Alexander had contemplated an attack on the Ganges Valley but his army refused to go further. He therefore marched to the south by land and river and received submission of some of the

warlike tribes of Southern Punjāb on his way to Sind. The ruler of Upper Sind whose capital is generally identified with Aror, submitted to the conqueror but rose in rebellion soon afterwards. He was consequently chastised by the Greeks and killed. Then Alexander moved to Patala. Its ruler Moeris evacuated the capital and fled to the neighbouring forests, and his capital was occupied by the Greeks. At Patala Alexander received homage from different tribes and a chief called Sombos⁶⁰ who ruled in the vicinity of Khīrthār mountains. Alexander is also reported to have made an excursion to the Rann of Cutch, with a view to find out the eastern branch of the Indus, which emptied itself in that great waste.

In the year 324 B.C. Alexander returned to Patala and made preparations for returning home. The whole army was divided into two parts, one division under Nearchus took the sea route through the coastal regions of Makran and Persian Gulf whereas the other one under his personal command proceeded by land through the present Lasbela and Makran states. Both armies being united the conqueror reached Babylon in the year 323 B.C. where he breathed his last due to excessive drinking and fatigue.⁶¹ His death proved a signal to the Indian princes to rise in revolt everywhere and to drive the Greeks out of the country. Chandra Gupta Maurya, a scion of the royal house of Magadha who had previously instigated Alexander to invade the Ganges Valley, took the best opportunity of the chaos and carved a kingdom for himself in Punjāb. Subsequently he defeated the Nandas and extended his rule over the greater portion of North West India.⁶²

Alexander left no issue, his empire was therefore divided among his generals, Antipator, Antigonos, Ptolemy and Seleucus.⁶³ Seleucus Nicator who succeeded Alexander as the king of the eastern provinces marched against India with considerable forces to recover the lost Greek possessions. But Chandra Gupta was more than a match for him. On the banks of the Jhelum, Seleucus was defeated by the Indian forces and forced not only to relinquish the Indian territories occupied by him but also to give his daughter in marriage to the victor.⁶⁴

The consummation of this matrimonial alliance brought the celebrated Greek envoy Megasthenes to the imperial court of Pataliputra. While living at the Indian court Megasthenes wrote a detailed account of India which afterwards served as the standard text book for the classical writers of the later ages.⁶⁵

As long as Chandra Gupta and his immediate successors lived no foreign intruder even attempted to violate the frontiers of India. But when the Mauryans grew weak and enfeebled, a series of invasions brought the whole of north west India under alien influence. The first to take part in the drama were the Bactrian Greeks, who under the usurper Euthedemus, occupied the regions of Hindū Kush, and then descending further east, overran the Punjāb and parts of Sind.⁶⁶ His son and successor Demetrius made further invasion into India and succeeded in making himself master of a great part of the Indus Valley including Sind.⁶⁷ Yet another member of this family of kings, Menander made a bold attempt of attacking the interior of India. After traversing Punjāb and Sind, he led successful expeditions in Rajputana and Kathiawad which were consequently annexed to his dominions. His next objective was to capture Pataliputra, the imperial capital of India. On his way to that city he stormed Mathura in the Ganges Valley and put its garrison to sword. His advance was, however, checked by Prince Pushyamitra Sanga, who forced him to retire to the west.⁶⁸ In spite of these reverses Menander held a greater portion of N.W. India including Rajputana and Kathiawad. The kingdom of the Greeks in Bactria was not destined to survive long for its capital was occupied by the Parthians towards the close of the first century B.C. They had therefore to remain content with their petty possessions in India and the Afghān hills.

The Scythians

While these events were taking place in Bactria, the danger of fresh intrusion appeared from the eastern quarters. Bands of savages called Yueh-chi inhabiting the sterile and barren regions of N.W. China were driven out of the Chinese

territories by Emperor Chin-Shih-Huang Ti (247-210 B.C.) who was then pacifying the Chinese empire. But the real cause of their movement seems to have been the economic pressure which obliged them to quit their ancestral home. Within a short space of time they were able to organise a very fine army of 100,000 archers, which was sent as an advance guard wherever they went.⁶⁹ They soon occupied the regions of central Asia and the Greek kingdom of Bactria succumbed to their onslaught. A branch of this race called Scythians having penetrated the regions of the Afghān hills attacked India and overran a greater portion of the Punjāb. Sind and other parts of the Indus Valley were afterwards incorporated in the Kushan empire by the powerful Kanishka (78-123 A.D.).⁷⁰ The first sovereign of this race claiming sovereignty over Punjāb was Kadphises I who is supposed to have reigned from 15 B.C. to 45 A.D. After his death he was followed by his son also named Kadphises, who in turn was succeeded by the most energetic Kanishkā. It was during his benevolent rule that Sind was added to the Kushan empire which now extended from Bactria to Benarus and from Kashmir to Kathiawad.⁷¹ Military expeditions were also sent against the Chinese but with little success. In spite of that the Kushan empire was at its height during the reign of this ruler who after Asoka is considered to be the greatest ruler of ancient India. Like Asoka he was also a great patron of Buddhist faith which was at the zenith of its expansion and power and was fast spreading into Mongolia, China and Tibet.⁷² Kanishka ruled for 28 years and was succeeded by his son Hosshika who founded the city of Hosshikpur in Kashmir, which he adorned with beautiful palaces, temples and monasteries. His successor Vasdev who followed him in 140 A.D. reverted to Hinduism which seems to have had an upper hand over Buddhism. The coins of this and other rulers who succeeded him, show the picture of Shivā with his oxen.⁷³ Horse sacrifice was also revived and later continued under the Imperial Guptas. The successors of Kanishka continued to rule over the greater portion of the Indus Valley till the rise of Chandra Gupta II, who incorporated the eastern parts of the Valley into his empire. The western half of the Indus Valley at the same time became part of the

Persian empire which was gaining prominence under the powerful Sassanids.⁷⁴

The White Huns

In the second half of the 5th century A.D. occurred fresh inroads which brought the White Huns into India. This was perhaps the last attack from Central Asia and contributed to a great extent in bringing about the downfall of the Guptas. For 30 years the Huns were all powerful (500-530 A.D.) in N.W. India and they also carried on their devastating raids into the interior. Two kings of this race Tourmana (500-510) and Mihirakula (510-540 A.D.) were mighty monarchs, of whom the latter was a ferocious tyrant. Mihirakula was defeated by a confederacy of native kings and allowed to retire to Kashmir where he is reported to have founded a new kingdom. He was, however, not allowed to enjoy the fruit of his new enterprise and died a year later in 540 A.D.⁷⁵ His death brought about an end to the Hun menace in India.

Due to the absence of a paramount ruler, chaos became supreme throughout the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, as a result of which several independent petty states grew up. In Sind also Dewāji, a kinsman of the royal house of Chitor succeeded in founding a dynasty which as time passed began to grow into prominence. All the ruling chiefs from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea acknowledged his suzerainty, and his sway likewise extended to the borders of Irān.⁷⁶ The last representative of this family of kings died without an issue and was succeeded by his chamberlain Chach, who established the Brahman Hindu Dynasty in Sind. This Hindu dynasty was brought to an end by the Arabs, during the reign of Chach's son, Raja Dahir, who was slain in the battle of Rāwar in the year 93 A.H.⁷⁷

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CHAPTER II

Advent of Islam; Arabs in some
Parts of the Indo - Pakistan Sub - Continent;
Conquest of Makrān Arab Out-Post & Colony of Sind.

The Arabs were a very independent people and they paid little heed to the enterprises of the great conquerors of the world. Sargon I, Hammurabi and after them the great Assyrian and Achaemenian Emperors could not intimidate them in their long repose of tranquillity and isolation. Likewise no embassy or gift was sent by them to Alexander the Great, in recognition of even his temporal suzerainty. The conqueror was outraged at the conduct of these insolent barbarians and vowed destructive vengeance on them. But before he could carry out his designs into operation, he himself met death at Babylon, where he breathed his last in the year 323 B.C.¹ Augustus Caesar the Roman Emperor made a similar attempt to bring the "Contemptuous Arabs" to a severe reckoning, but the desert barrier on the north and the barren nature of the country rendered its permanent occupation almost impossible. The famous expedition of 10000 soldiers, conducted from Egypt, under its prefect Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C., resulted in an ignominious failure.² The Arabs remained as they were tranquil in comparative peace in the undisturbed and undisputed possession of their arid peninsula. About the end of the sixth century A.D., when darkness prevailed throughout the world, a brilliant star shone on the horizon of al-Hijaz, which was destined to illuminate the whole world. It gave the tidings of the birth of the Prophet Mohanmmad, who made his appearance among the most barbaric and savage society of his time. Born into a poor but highly venerated family of Quraysh, in Mecca, he was grieved

to see the social, political and religious condition of his people. Centuries of continuous freedom had fostered in them innumerable vices, which could only be washed off by a resolute and implacable reformer. With extraordinary faculty and incalculable vigour, the Prophet began to preach the new doctrine of faith based on the unity of God and universal brotherhood of the human race. In the beginning he was rejected, scorned and even subjected to severest persecution, but afterwards accepted, honoured and obeyed. The process of conversion to the new faith was slow and gradual but sure, and within 11 years after his migration to Yathrab, the Prophet was able to unite the warring tribes of the desert into one compact body, under the same brotherhood, a phenomenal miracle, such as had never been seen or heard of before. Before his demise, he was the master of Arabia and after him his worthy successors, brought about the neighbouring countries of Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt within the orbit of Islam. Before the lapse of the first century Hijri, his successors built up a mighty empire extending from the confines of Kashghar to the Atlantic Ocean in the West, an empire greater than that of Rome at its height of greatness and splendour.

Commercial intercourse between India and the Arab world had existed long before the advent of Islam. Hindu merchants and the pilgrims are reported to have visited the holy shrine of the Ka'bah every year and performed Hajj.³ The Arabs knew more about India than any other country of the world due to their extensive commercial activities in the Indian Ocean. The Indian ports of Daybul, Saymūr, Baroch, Thānā were often visited by their ships, and their commercial influence extended as far as the East Indies and China in the Far East. The Arabs are reported to have established colonies in Ceylon, Gujrat, Malabar and the Karomandal coast of India at a very early period dating back to the second half of the seventh century of the Christian era.⁴ It is related that the people of Ceylon, when they heard of the advent of the holy Prophet at Mecca, sent one of their group to ascertain the report and bring an authentic account about the new Prophet and the religion that he was preaching. The man, who was subjected

to a long voyage by sea due to bad weather, reached Madina during the Khilafat of Hadrat 'Umar, the second orthodox Caliph. He had the honour to meet the Caliph and after receiving the required information, returned to Ceylon. On his way back home, he died in the vicinity of Makrān, but his Hindu slave managed to reach Ceylon safely, where he informed his countrymen about Islam, its founder and the Caliph, a godly person whom he had seen in simple patched garment. In consequence the people of Ceylon greatly loved Muslims and showed great affection to them.⁵ The Muslim women involved in the plunder of eight vessels sent by the King of Ceylon to Caliph Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik at Daybul were undoubtedly the descendants of those Arab merchants who had settled in the island immediately after this incident. One of these women belonging to the tribe of Banū Yarbū' called on al-Hajjāj to come to their rescue, and finally the incident led to an attack on Sind which resulted in the annexation of the country in the year 712 A.D.⁶

The second great centre of Arab settlement was Maldeep archipelago known to Arabs as Jazīrat al-Mehl, and hence Mehl-Dip (or Maldev) which is the Sanskrit version of the term.⁷ Ibn-Batūtā who visited these islands, about 700 A.H. reports that "the island is ruled by a Bengālī woman named Khudayjah and all its inhabitants were Muslims most of them being the descendants of Arab settlers who seem to have established colonies in the early centuries of Islam."⁸

The colonization of the Malabār coast was also made at the same period or shortly afterwards due to its rich products, the spices, which were exported in large quantities to the western countries.⁹

The Hindu rulers seem to have been tolerant to the Muslim communities in the exercise of their religion, partly due to the commercial profession of the settlers and partly due to the marauding piratical expeditions of the Arab fleets conducted against the western coast of India which caused great harassment. The settlements of Muslims in these towns prevented further incursions and ensured safety to the port towns. The

Arab travellers who visited the western coast of India in the 4th century Hijri mention the existence of mosques in almost every town of the Malabar coast and the Muslim communities had complete freedom in the exercise of their religion.¹⁰

The Arabs were also acquainted with the Karomandal coast of India, which they called Mandal. It was famous for ambergris and aloe wood which were produced in great quantity and exported to the different countries of the world.¹¹ But the most important centre of Arab settlement was Gujrāt whose ruler Balhara (probably Vallabh-Rai) felt well disposed towards the Muslims. They were allowed to establish colonies in his country which was the largest of all the rulers of India. The inhabitants of Balhara's country believed that it was due to the favour shown to Arabs that their rulers lived a longer span of life.

The country of Sind was neglected by the Arabs due to its aridity, which is summed up in the statement of the famous Arab general, deputed for a survey trip to the country. Hakīm ibn Jabalah al-Abdi's reply to Caliph 'Uthman's question was thus:-

"The water is dirty, the fruits are bad, and the bandits are dangerous. If a small force is sent, it will perish; if however a larger force is sent, it will also perish, due to hunger."¹²

In spite of this unfavourable report, attempts were made to conquer Sind for the Islamic dominions, as early as the Caliphate of 'Umar, the second orthodox Caliph.

The first systematic expedition against Sind and the coastal region of India was directed from Oman as early as A.H. 15 (636/37 A.D.). The organiser of this expedition was Uthmān ibn Abi al-As' al-Thaqafī, the Governor of Oman, who sent his brother Mughīrah to pillage the coasts of al-Sind and al-Hind as an experimental enterprise. This piratical raid against Baroch, Daybul and other coastal towns proved a success and the ships returned to the Arabian ports safely.¹³ Caliph 'Umar, the second orthodox Caliph was against the policy of

extension of boundaries (of Muslim domain) and moreover sea voyages being perilous in their nature incurred heavy losses to human life. Naval enterprises were therefore sternly repressed by imposition of strict regulations and heavy indemnities.¹⁴ The work of conquest was however carried on by land and the province of Fars, on the northern coast of the Persian gulf was overrun. In A.H. 23 (644 A.D.) Suhayl ibn 'Adiyu attacked the country of Kirmān which lay in the immediate vicinity of Fārs. The Marzubān (Governor) of the province resisted the advance of the Muslim army but he was defeated and killed. The two important forts of this region Jayrfat and Shirjān were captured in quick succession and the Muslim army advanced to Seistān.¹⁵ Seistān was the last province of the Iranian empire and its conquest brought the Arabs close to the borders of the Kingdom of Sind.

The conquest of Seistān was followed by an attack on Makrān, under the leadership of Hakam ibn 'Amr al-Taghlābī. The ruler of Makrān (Raja Rāsil) was a vassal of the King of Sind, who sent some forces to his rescue. But these combined forces were defeated and dispersed, on the banks of river Helmand. Immense booty fell into the victors' hands who do not seem to have conquered the region permanently but returned to their bases loaded with the spoils of war.¹⁶

Immediately after the death of 'Umar I, the eastern provinces of Fars, Khurāsān, Seistān and Kirmān rose in revolt against the Arab rule. The cause of sedition was principally Yazdegird, the last Sassanid emperor who was still alive.¹⁷ Abdullāh ibn 'Amir ibn Kurayz who was appointed governor of Irāq by the third Caliph was therefore commissioned to deal with the situation. In A.H. 30 (625 A.D.) 'Abdullāh ibn Amir marched on Khurāsān and sent Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd-al-Sulamī to Kirmān, who took the towns of Bāmyand and Brokhroh. He then led his army to Shirjān the capital of Kirmān, which capitulated after a siege of a few days. The garrison was destroyed and a greater portion of the population banished.¹⁸ The fall of Shirjān was followed by the conquest of Jayrfat, Hurmuzd and other towns, where the Arabs established

colonies and many families adopted a settled life in the region.

'Abdullāh ibn 'Amir ibn Kurayz under instruction from the Caliph 'Uthmān, also sent a naval expedition to the country of Sind, under the leadership of Hakīm ibn Jabalah al-'Abdī, on an intelligence service to get information about the conditions of the country and the possibility of an attack on it.¹⁹ Hakīm returned to Iraq after possibly surveying eastern Makrān and Balochistān and his reply has already been given in the preceding pages.²⁰ No further incursion was therefore carried on by the Arabs against the frontiers of Sind during the reign of the third Caliph. Marauding attacks on Makrān and the borders of Sind were continued during the Khilāfat of 'Alī and Mu'awiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty. The first to violate the frontiers of Sind was Hārith ibn Marrah al-'Abdī, who in the reign of 'Alī, advanced as far as Qayqanān (or Qayqān) in the interior of Balochistān.²¹ He was followed in quick succession by two other generals Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrah and 'Abdullāh ibn Sawār al-'Abdī, both of whom penetrated farther beyond Qayqanān. One of these generals, Muhallab is reported to have captured Banū and Ahwāz, lying in between Multān and Kābul, but retreated back laden with the spoils of war.²²

The permanent conquest of Makrān was however effected during the reign of Mu'awiyah ibn Abī Sufyān by Sinān ibn Salāmah al-Hidhli, a man of reputed piety. He was deputed by Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, the Viceroy of Irāq, and was the general who made his army swear (on the divorce of their wives) that they would remain steadfast in their fight against the enemy. The Muslim army was successful and he not only conquered Makrān but also made arrangements for its control and administration.²³ Makrān henceforth became an Arab province and a colony and also an army outpost for their attacks on Sind. Sinān al-Hidhli was followed in the governorship of Makrān by Rāshid ibn 'Amr al-Jadaydī (of the Banū Azd) who raided Qayqanān, but on his way back to Makrān, he was defeated and killed by the native Meds.²⁴ Sinān was therefore restored to the governorship of Makrān which he

retained for a period of two years and he was succeeded by Mundhir ibn Jārūd ibn Bashr. Unfortunately Mundhir died of an illness in one of his expeditions to Sind, near the Porali river and was followed by his son Hakam ibn Mundhir who held the province for nearly 6 months.²⁵

In 694 A.D. Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqāfī was appointed by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik as viceroy of all eastern provinces with headquarters at Kūfa. A school teacher of Tā'if (طائف) this invincible man distinguished himself by his brilliant career as one of the greatest political genius of medieval times. Before his appointment to the new post, Hajjāj as the Governor of the holy cities, held Hijāz and Yaman as a dependency, after defeating the rival Caliph 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr. Ibn Zubayr contended with 'Abd al-Malik as the Caliph of the Muslim world for a period of eleven years, but fell fighting in the siege of Mecca in the year A.H. 73 (693 A.D.).²⁶

A born Arab with characteristic zeal, his war-like nature allowed him no rest. Immediately after taking over his new appointment, he set up an army under the command of Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī and sent it to the regions of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. In a series of brilliant campaigns Qutaybah overran the regions of Balkh (Bactria), Sughd (Soghdiana), Khwārizm and Farghānah. According to one tradition, the Muslim armies under Qutaybah penetrated as far as Kāshghar, where peace was patched up with the native Chinese.²⁷ An expedition was also sent against Rutbīl, the ruler of Kābul, under 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ash'at, in retaliation for withholding the tribute.²⁸ But the most important and long projected expedition was against the country of Sind, whose ruler failed to compensate the loss of eight vessels, sent by the King of Ceylon and attacked by the Sindhi pirates, an episode in which some Muslim ladies are also reported to have been involved. It is related that the ruler of the Island of Maldeep, in order to create friendship with the Caliph of Damascus, had sent eight vessels full of rare presents in addition to some slave girls. Some Muslim women whose ancestors had settled in these Islands and who desired to perform Hajj were also in these ships.²⁹ When these ships reached in

the vicinity of the port of Daybul, a group of thieves referred to as Nakāmarah³⁰ attacked these ships and after having looted their riches made the women prisoners. One of these prisoners was a Muslim woman who is reported to have belonged to the tribe of Bani 'Aziz³¹ according to Chach Namah and Bani Yarbū, by Balādhurī.³² shouted "Oh Hajjaj come to my help". When Hajjaj received intelligence of this fact from one of the escaped prisoners, he hastened to answer, "So I am here". He then immediately despatched an envoy to Rājā Dahir the ruler of Sind, demanding the return of the valuables plundered and the early release of the Muslim women.

The reply of Rājā Dahir as related by the author of Chach Namah clearly indicates that the king of Sind was not involved in the incident and that he could not be held responsible for the acts of the pirates, committed on the high seas. But the main reason was the political asylum given by the king of Sind to one Muhammad ibn Mu'awiyah al-'Alāfi, which kindled the wrath of the Viceroy of Iraq. Hajjaj is reported to have had a long standing enmity with the family of al-'Alāfi, who had murdered one of his lieutenants Sa'id ibn Aslam al-Kilābi.³³ The real reason of the revolt of the 'Alāfi seems to have been the despotic regulations introduced in Iraq by Hajjaj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafi.

The first regular attack on Sind organized by Hajjaj was made under the leadership of 'Abdullāh ibn Nabhān al-Sulamī who according to al-Balādhurī had reached Daybul. 'Abdullah was, however, killed in an encounter with the Sindhian forces and the expedition proved a failure.³⁴ The second attack was headed by Budayl ibn Tahāfatah al-Bajalī who proceeded to Daybul almost without opposition and led siege to it. The garrison came out of the fort and gave battle to the invaders but was defeated with heavy losses and forced to retire. Timely reinforcement from Nerūn, however saved Daybul from capitulation and a deadly conflict ensued between the contending armies. Towards the close of the battle Budayl fell from his horse and was killed. His death brought about a crushing defeat for the Muslim army.³⁵ According to al-Balādhurī,

Budayl does not seem to have reached Daybul but perished on the way while fighting with the Jats of Balochistān.³⁶

The failure of the two expeditions induced the fiery Hajjāj to organise for the third time a fine army selected from Syrian and other Arab contingents. The command of this new force was entrusted to Imād al-Dīn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī,³⁷ a cousin of the Viceroy himself. The invasion of Sind by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī is the subject of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER III

Invasion of Sind by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī; Attack on Daybul; Its Fall; Conquest of Sind.

The conquest of Sind by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thāqafī, a youth of seventeen is unique in the Muslim Annals for generalship. His budding youth, his dash of valour, his administration, his spirit of tolerance and generosity all combine to make him one of the remarkable figures of Muslim history. Muhammad was entrusted with the task of pacifying the riotous environments of Ray, before he was commissioned to invade Sind by his cousin Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī.¹ Muhammad displayed extraordinary ability and heroism in the task entrusted to him and proved worthy of Hajjāj's expectations. He not only distinguished himself in the conquest but also proved to be one of the great administrators of the early centuries of Islam.² In Shīrāz Muhammad was met by reinforcements of six thousand picked horsemen from Syria, and at the head of considerable forces he marched on Makrān. Makrān was an Arab outpost and colony, and its governor Muhammad ibn Hārūn al-Numrī, joined him with all the available forces. On his way to Sind through the coastal region of modern Balochistān, Muhammad reduced the two important towns of Qanzbūr (modern Panjgūr) and Armā'il (modern Belā).³ It was at Armā'il that Muhammad ibn Harūn al-Namrī fell seriously ill and died but the loss was made good by another general Jahm ibn Zahr al-Ja'fī who accompanied Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim at Makrān on his march to Sind.⁴ On Friday, 13th Muharram, 93 A.H. (713 A.D.) Muhammad reached Daybul and led siege to it. Daybul was a large fortified town on the sea shore, with a lofty temple situated in

the centre of the city. A red flag which flew over the vaulted portion of the temple was considered to be most sacred and guarded by a host of gods. The Muslim army pitched their tents, beside the fort and dug a trench as a protection against the possible attack of Sindhis. Meanwhile catapults and other materials of war, despatched from Makrān by sea, arrived unexpectedly earlier and were fixed at their proper places.⁵ The siege of Daybul continued for eight days when on the ninth some stones from the catapults decided the struggle. The red flag was pulled down, as a result of which the garrison issued out of the fort and gave battle to the invaders. They were, however, defeated with heavy losses and the fort was captured by force. The first man to enter the fort by means of a staircase was Sa'id ibn Khuzaymah of the tribe of Murād, of al-Kūfā, who gave the signal for the general assault.⁶ In accordance with the law of war, all able-bodied men above the age of 18 were beheaded and their families reduced to slavery. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim built a mosque in the town.⁷ After taking Daybul Muhammad marched on al-Berūn, (Kot Nerūn) the inhabitants of which made peace with the conqueror and agreed to pay the tribute.⁸ The next target of attack by the Arab army was Sehbān (Sehwan) which capitulated to Mus'ab ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān on agreeable terms.⁹

Raja Dahir, the inveterate king of Sind, advanced to meet the invaders in person, but their rapid successes obliged him to fall back on Rāwar. A bridge of boats was then built by the Muslims with the aid of Raja Rāsil the ruler of Cutch,¹⁰ and Muhammad advancing with his columns crossed the Indus. On the other side of the river, he saw a large army supported by elephants ready to give him battle. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim organized his army under the time honoured tactics of right, left and centre and placed himself in the heart of the army along with some selected generals like Hudhayl ibn al-Azdi, Namilah and Mas'ūd, sons of al-Shari al-Kalbi and Makhariq ibn Ka'b al-Rasi.¹¹ A dreadful conflict ensued as a result of the encounter, which continued for four days. For the first three days prodigies of valour are reported to have been displayed by individual combatants on either sides. On the fourth day there was general fighting which raged for the whole day.

King Dāhir took the field in person, clad in complete armour, seated on an elephant with a bow in his hand. Beside him in the Pālki were seated two damsels, one to give him the arrows as quick as he could shoot and the other to refresh him with a beetle nut, whenever required.¹² Towards the close of the day the elephant on which he was riding ran amok and rushed to the river to quench its unexpected thirst. While in the river the king was incessantly showered with arrows, but in that hour of peril he did not lose heart. He fought gallantly by the side of his soldiers, sword in hand, but was surrounded by Arab soldiery and killed, in 'the thick of fighting'.¹³ The man who killed him was one al-Qāsim ibn Tha'lbah ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Hasn of the famous Yamani tribe of Tay.¹⁴ The Sindhian army seeing their leaders fall, attacked with great fury but was defeated and repulsed with heavy losses. With a garrison of 15000 soldiers, Dāhir's wife Bāi (or Ma'yan of the Chach Namah) and his son Jaysia offered some resistance, by shutting the gates of the fort of Rāwar. Muhammad divided his army into two parts and by shelling the fort from catapults, day and night together, destroyed some of the citadels of the fort. The city was then taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword.¹⁵ Jaysia the son of Dāhir presented a very low example of temerity by fleeing to Brahmanābād. The queen on the contrary obtained relief from "the cow eater chandāls" by committing herself to the flames in the self-kindled fire.¹⁶ Immense booty fell in the hands of the victors including 30000 slaves, out of which 30 girls were the daughters of prominent rajas.¹⁷ One-fifth of the spoils along with the head of Rājā Dāhir was sent under the command of Ka'b ibn Mukhāriq al-Rāsī, to Hājāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī as a share of Baytul-Māl (Public Treasury).¹⁸

Muhammad marched on Brahmanābād, the second largest city of the Brahman Kingdom. On his way to that town Muhammad captured the two forts of Bahrur and Dahlilah, the former having a garrison of 16000 soldiers. The capture of Bahrur took more than two months due to the stubborn resistance offered by the Sindhis who perished to the last man in defending their city.¹⁹ The inhabitants of Dahlilāh along with

their ruler Dewrāj, a cousin of Dāhir, evacuated the fort under cover of darkness and escaped to India, by way of the desert. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim appointed Nūbah ibn Hārūn as governor of Dahlīlah and himself advanced to Brahmanābād, situated at a distance of three miles from that town. On reaching Brahmanābād, Muhammad led siege to it and as usual dug a trench, for the defence of his soldiers. There were about 40000 soldiers in the fort, who used to come out of the fort during day time to give battle to the Muslims and returned to the fort in the afternoon. The siege continued for more than 6 months, from Rajab to Dhi-al-Hijjah 93 A.H. At last the residents of the fort sued for peace. The city was handed over to the conqueror by a stratagem and on condition that no harm would be done to the inhabitants.²⁰ Muhammad observed strictly the promise he made to the people who agreed to pay the tribute. It was in this fort that Queen Lādi, the wife of Dāhir who later became wife of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was captured and brought before the conqueror.²¹ This is Chach Namah's version which seems to be more correct, but al-Balādhurī on the contrary reports that the fort was captured by force and eight thousand of the remaining forces of Dāhir were slain.²²

Jaysia, the son of Rajā Dāhir who was at Brahmanābād after the battle of Rāwār, wrote in vain to the rulers of India and the adjoining territories for help against the Arab invaders, but received no response. Overwhelmed by disappointment and the infidelity of his subjects, he evacuated Brahmanābād along with his family and by taking the desert route he went to the Ruler of Chittor.²³

The conquest of Brahmanābād was followed by an attack on Aror, the capital city itself which was defended by Gopi, another son of Rajā Dāhir.²⁴ On his way to Aror Muhammad received submission of the inhabitants of two important localities, Savindri and Basmad. Built on the banks of eternal Mahrān, Aror boasted of very many fine buildings, graceful temples, cool orchards, connected with each other by clean metalled roads. It was the metropolis of the Hindu Kingdom and contained in it beautiful palaces for the king, his ministers

and the grandees of the empire. The fort wall which surrounded the city was impregnable enough to suffer the siege for a considerable time. But tired of prolong misery the inhabitants sent a deputation to make peace with the Arab conqueror and the city capitulated without much bloodshed.²⁵

According to the terms of agreement, no harm was to be done to the inhabitants and the temple of Buddha was spared. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim built a mosque at Aror and appointed Rawāḥ ibn Asad as the governor of the town. The judicial functions of the town were, however, entrusted to Mūsā ibn Ya'qub al-Thaqafi²⁶ who was a kinsman of the conqueror. After making administrative arrangements at Aror Muhammad proceeded to the town of Bhātya which was situated on the southern bank of River Biyās. Its ruler Kāksa, a cousin of Rājā Dāhir, who had previously fought against the Muslims in the battle of Rāwar, submitted to the conqueror and surrendered the treasures.²⁷ Raja Sehra the ruler of Iskalandah which was situated on the other side of river Biyās, evacuated the fort on the approach of the Muslim army and took shelter with the ruler of al-Sikā. Muhammad granted peace to the inhabitants of Iskalandah and appointed 'Utbah ibn Salāmah al-Tamimi as the governor of the town.²⁸

Al-Sikā, which was the next target of Muslim attack was defended by Rājā Bajahra, who resisted the advance of the Muslim army and inflicted heavy losses on them. Some of the best companions of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim are reported to have perished in these raids, and as such Muhammad vowed to destroy the whole city. The fort was then taken by assault and the whole town razed to the ground.²⁹ Rājā Bajahra fled to Multan which seems to have been the last great town of the Sindhian Kingdom and chief centre of pilgrimage in northern India. It was a well-fortified town surrounded by a lofty and strong wall. Muhammad led siege to it, which continued for a long time. The provision having been wholly consumed, the Muslim soldiers had recourse to kill asses for food.³⁰ According to the author of Chach Namah, the head of an ass cost five hundred dirhams.³¹ However a man came from the fort and revealed the passage through which water was supplied to the

town. The entrance was immediately closed by the Muslims, thereby forcing the inhabitants to sue for peace and surrender the fort.³² All able-bodied persons, whose number is given as 6000, and capable of taking arms, were beheaded and their families reduced to bondage.³³ It was in this town that Muhammad granted amnesty to six thousand monks but they also were reduced to slavery. The idol of Multān identified with that of Job (Ayub) was, however, not molested³⁴ but the temple was robbed of all its riches. Immense booty fell in the hands of the victors which apart from huge cash, included a large quantity of gold, silver, pearls, rubies, hoarded in that edifice for countless generations. The temple yielded 13000 maunds of pure gold apart from other riches.³⁵ It was due to the great quantity of gold secured from Multān that it became known as Farj Bayt al-Dhahab.³⁶ The estimated value of the booty came to about 120 million dirhams while the expenditure incurred on the expedition did not exceed 60 million dirhams.³⁷ After the conquest of Multān Muhammad built a mosque for the Muslims and appointed Dā'ūd ibn Nasr al-Omāni as the governor of that city.³⁸

Having settled the affairs of Multān, Muhammad pushed on his march further north and reached a place called Panj Mahyat (possibly Panj Nad) where the demarcation line between Sind and Kashmir was re-established. These boundaries were previously fixed by Chach the great Brahman ruler of Sind.³⁹

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim contemplated an attack on the interior of India and had actually sent an army against the kingdom of Kanuj under Abu Hakim Shaybāni. Abu Hakim is reported to have advanced as far as Udhaypur⁴⁰ in modern Rajputānā but the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim to Damascus hampered all progress and the Muslim army therefore returned to Multān.

Meanwhile Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, after having returned to Aror from Multān attacked Nīlma and Sirsūt,⁴¹ in modern Kathiawad. These regions were inhabited by Meds who committed acts of piracy on the high seas. The ruler of

Kiraj, Duhar, was also defeated and his dominions incorporated in the territories conquered by the Muslims.⁴²

End of Muhammad ibn al Qasim al Thaqafi

Caliph Walid died in the year 96 A.H. and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik who dismissed Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and appointed Yazid ibn Abi-Kabsha as-Saksaki as the governor of Sind.⁴³ Yazid arrested Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and sent him to 'Iraq where he was imprisoned at Wasit by the 'Amil of 'Iraq Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. Muhammad was later tortured to death by Sālih who thereby avenged the death of his brother Adam; killed by Hajjāj ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafī on charges of being a Kharji.⁴⁴

The story of the Chach Namah that Muhammad was killed by way of punishment for molesting Raja Dahir's two daughters⁴⁵ is a mere fiction and seems to have been cooked up by the author of the Chach Namah himself to justify the inhuman death of the conqueror. The real cause of the fall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was due to the personal feelings of the new Caliph Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik who was hostile to the family of Hajjāj. Hajjāj had actively opposed the succession of Sulaymān and had persuaded Walid to appoint his son 'Abd al-'Aziz as heir apparent to the throne. He is also reported to have insulted Sulaymān and had he been given time, he would have certainly succeeded in setting aside the succession of Sulaymān.⁴⁶ Secondly, Hajjāj maintained a kind of enmity with Muhallab ibn Abi Sufrah and his family. He had during the period of his power dismissed Yazid ibn Muhallab and his brothers from the respective offices held by them. Yazid was Governor of Khurāsān and his brother Habib held the Governorship of Kirman whilst the third one 'Abd al-Malik was a police officer. In 86 A.H. all the three brothers were put into prison under the orders of Hajjāj but they managed to escape after the lapse of four years and took shelter with Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the crown prince.

Immediately after his accession to the Khilafat Sulaymān appointed Yazid ibn Muhallab as Viceroy over all the eastern

provinces,⁴⁷ the post previously held by Hajjāj under Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Ibn Abī Kabshah who was appointed to the government of Sind was assisted by Mu'āwiyah ibn Muhallab and an officer belonging to the family of Akk, in arresting Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim and bringing him back to Irāq. Muhammad could have defied the orders of the Caliph and had means to offer resistance as would appear from his own verses:⁴⁸

لَو كُنْتُ أَجْمَعْتُ الْقَرَارَ لَوُطِئْتُ
إِنَاثٌ أَعِيدْتُ لِيَلُودُ غُلٍّ وَ ذُكُورُ
وَمَا دَخَلْتُ خَيْلَ السَّكَامِيكَبِ أَرْضَنَا
وَلَا كَانَ مِن عَيْكَ عِلِّيُّ أَمِيرُ
وَلَا كُنْتُ لِمُعَبْدٍ الْمَرْوُونِيِّ تَابِعاً
فَيَا لَيْتَكَ دَهْرٌ بِأَلِكِ رَامٍ عَشُورُ

But as a noble man and a disciplined soldier, he submitted to the authority of the Caliph possibly in the hope of receiving due consideration for his services to the Umayyad cause. He was, however, treated roughly as a state enemy and killed in a very inhuman manner.⁴⁹

Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim had endeared himself to the natives of Sind by his humane disposition, tolerant views and policy of reconciliation, the qualities lacking in most conquerors. His death, therefore, grieved the people of Sind who loved him with sincerest affection. In order to perpetuate his memory, they are reported to have built a statue of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim at Kīraj and remembered him long for his excellent qualities.⁵⁰

Notes and References

1. Al-Balādhurī, p. 441.
2. *Chach Namah*, p. 99.
3. Al-Balādhurī, p. 442.
4. *Chach Namah*, p. 101; Al-Balādhurī, p. 442.
5. Al-Balādhurī: p. 442; Ibn Athir, Vol. IV, p. 257.
6. *Chach Namah*, p. 107; Al-Balādhurī, p. 442.
7. Al-Balādhurī: pp. 442-43; Ibn Athir, Vol. IV, p. 257.
8. *Chach Namah*, pp. 105-106; Al-Balādhurī, p. 443.
According to the author of *Chach Namah* the people of al-Nerūn had made correspondence with Hajjāj at a very early period when Budayl was killed at Daybul. *Chach Namah*, p. 93.
9. Al-Balādhurī, p. 443.
10. *Chach Namah*, p. 157; Al-Balādhurī, p. 443.
11. *Chach Namah*, p. 172.
12. Ibid., pp. 178-179.
13. Al-Balādhurī, p. 443.
14. Ibid., p. 444.
15. *Chach Namah*, p. 194.
16. Al-Balādhurī, p. 444; *Chach Namah*, p. 195.
17. *Chach Namah*, p. 195.
18. Ibid., p. 196.
19. Ibid., p. 198.
20. *Chach Namah*, p. 205.
21. Ibid., p. 207.
22. Al-Balādhurī, p. 444.
23. *Chach Namah*, p. 202.
24. Ibid., p. 221.
25. *Chach Namah*, pp. 224-25; Al-Balādhurī, p. 444.
26. *Chach Namah*, p. 235.
27. Ibid., p. 236.
29. *Chach Namah*, p. 237.

30. Ibid., p. 237.
31. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
32. *Chach Namah*, p. 238.
33. Ibid., p. 238.
34. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445; *Chach Namah*, p. 238.
35. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
36. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445, Ibn Athīr, p. 258.
37. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
38. *Chach Namah*, p. 244.
39. Ibid., p. 38.
40. Ibid., p. 241.
41. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
42. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
43. Ibid., p. 445.
44. Al-Balādhurī, p. 446; Ibn Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 282; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 86.
45. *Chach Namah*, pp. 245-47.
46. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVII, p. 258.
47. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVII, p. 258.
48. Al-Balādhurī, p. 446.
49. Ibid., p. 446.
50. Al-Balādhurī, p. 446.

CHAPTER IV

Sind under the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid
(Arab) Governors. Independent Arab
Kingdom of Multān and al-Mansūrah.

Umayyad Governors

The rule of Umayyad and 'Abbasid governors who succeeded each other in rapid succession with the exception of a few, was not a happy one for the country of Sind. The natives who seemed to have hated foreign rule were in a state of chronic revolt as would appear from the historical accounts. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was at Multān when he was recalled to Damascus by Caliph Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who appointed Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah as-Saksakī as governor of Sind. Muhammad was arrested by the new governor and sent to 'Irāq where he was imprisoned by Sālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, the 'Amil of Iraq, who had old accounts to settle with the family of Abi 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī. Muhammad was tortured to death by Saleh who thereby avenged the death of his brother Adam, killed by Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, on charges of being a Kharjite.¹

Yazīd ibn abī Kabshah died 18 days after his arrival in Sind and was followed by Habīb ibn Muhallab ibn Abī Sufrāh. By this time, Dāhir's son Jaysia had recovered a greater portion of his father's dominions and established himself at Brahman-ābād. Habīb does not seem to have interfered with his authority and attacked Aror which capitulated on agreeable terms.² Caliph Sulaymān died in 99 A.H. (717 A.D.) after a brief reign of three years and was succeeded by his cousin the pious 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who inaugurated a policy of reconci-

liation and invited the rulers of al-Sīnd and al-Hind to accept Islam. Jaysia who is reported to have accepted Islam, was restored to his father's dominion by the pious Caliph.³ The Caliph's governor 'Amr ibn Muslim al-Bāhili, who followed Ḥabīb ibn Muḥallab made successive expeditions against other parts of the country and reconquered it for the Umayyads.⁴ Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who succeeded 'Umar II as Caliph at Damascus appointed Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marī as governor of Sind which post he held till the death of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Junayd, after having reached Daybul, advanced in the interior and encamped on the western bank of the Mahrān. He sent a message to Jaysia requiring him to pay the tribute.⁵ Jaysia resisted his advance on the contention that he had accepted Islam and was confirmed by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz; he was therefore, not obliged to pay the tax. On the insistence of Junayd, for the payment of tribute Jaysia abjured Islam, and made preparations to give battle to the new invader. He organized a fleet of war-boats and manned them with soldiers. Similar arrangements were also made by Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marī. A great naval battle took place on river Indus, the first of its kind in the history of Sind, which resulted in the defeat of the Hindu army. Jaysia was taken prisoner and beheaded. His brother Chach who escaped from the battle intended to go to Iraq to report about the governor's breach of faith. Outmanoeuvred by Junayd, Chach was also captured by deceit and put to death.⁶ It appears that the whole country was in disorder and Junayd had to reconquer all the important towns of the valley one by one. After having pacified the whole valley Junayd turned his attention to the interior of India and conducted successful expeditions against Gujrat and Nilma, which are also reported to have been conquered by the Muslims.⁷ According to one account Junayd is reported to have sent expeditions even against Malwā and Ujjain which returned back with a large amount of booty. The booty collected in these attacks was so great that although spent lavishly by the governor, he could save 4000 million dirhams. which he sent to the Central Treasury.⁸

Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān was succeeded by Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī, who possessed excellent qualities, and was a man of humane disposition although of a weak temperament. He died of an illness near Daybul and was followed by Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbī. Due to the weak policy of Tamīm ibn Zayd, a greater portion of the province of Sind was reconquered by the natives, and as a result, the Arabs were expelled from their colonies and centres established on the Sindhian soil. When Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbī came to Sind he found no place of safety for the Muslims. He therefore, founded a new town on the other side of the river and named it al-Mahfūzah.⁹ One of his chief councillors, 'Amr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim who accompanied him to Sind, founded another town (opposite to al-Mahfūzah) called al-Mansūrah in commemoration of the victory won against the natives. Al-Mansūrah later became the chief centre of Arabian activities and finally the capital of the Kingdom of al-Mansūrah.¹⁰ It was with Hakam, that Mundhar ibn Zuhayr ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Habbāri came to Sind, whose grandson 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz later founded the dynasty of the rulers of al-Mansūrah.¹¹ Hakam is reported to have been killed in an expedition against the natives and was succeeded by 'Amr ibn Muhammad, the son of Thaqafi conqueror of Sind. 'Amr seems to have been involved in the civil war that broke out between the Arab tribes throughout the Indus Valley. He was defeated and besieged in his capital by the insurgents, but was rescued by the timely help of Yusuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi, the governor of Iraq.¹² 'Amr ibn Muhammad al-Thaqafi was dismissed by Caliph Walid ibn Yazid, who succeeded Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik at Damascus. He appointed Yazid ibn 'Arar to the government of Sind in the year 125 A.H. Yazid who seems to have been well-versed in the art of administration took immediate steps to restore order but he himself fell prey to another ambitious man Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī. Mansūr as we are told was one of the rebellious chiefs of the declining Umayyad State and he had a hand in the murder of Walid ibn Yazid.¹³ He took active part in the two uprisings headed by 'Abbas ibn Hisham and Abdullah ibn Muawiyah, the princes of the Umayyad family, but having failed in his designs to

gain power he fled to Sind. Yazid ibn 'Arar who was well-informed about his activities, refused to grant him the permission to enter his territories by crossing the Indus. Mansūr therefore attacked Sehwan and captured it by force. He then gave orders for the construction of a bridge over the Indus and having crossed it, attacked Yazid ibn 'Arar's forces by surprise. Yazid who never suspected an attack from Mansūr, made no preparations to resist his advance. He was, therefore, defeated with heavy losses and forced to take shelter in the al-Mansūrah fort, which was besieged by Mansur's forces. Tired of war and relying on the fidelity of Mansūr, Yazid surrendered the fort to him but received inhuman treatment from the newcomer who put him to death in the most horrible manner.¹⁴ Mansūr who now became the ruler of Sind, appointed his brother over Western Sind which included the towns of Daybul and Qandābil.¹⁵ He then busied himself in making arrangements for the pacification of the country and the restoration of order. While these events were taking place in Sind, the rest of the Arab world was witnessing a great Civil war, which finally brought a new and more vigorous dynasty of Caliphs at Baghdad. Caliph Yazid ibn Walid who followed his father in 126 A.H. was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim ibn Walid, after a brief reign of a few months. Ibrahim was likewise defeated and deposed by Marwān II in 127 A.H. who was himself dragged into civil war with the other Umayyad princes.¹⁶ Moreover, unfortunately for Marwān II, the strife between the Arab tribes of Mudarites and Yamanites revived again and took a very dangerous course. Marwān II had leanings towards Nizārites, but Syria was predominantly Yamanite; hence he had to fight the enemies at home. The Kharjites and the Shi'ites also rose in revolt everywhere, putting a heavy strain on the resources of the Umayyads. These events only added to the prestige of the Abbasids who were now gaining a strong foothold in the distant and pro-Shi'ite province of Khurāsān. Abū Muslim Khurasani an arch enemy of the Arabs, benefited by their differences took the side of Yamanites. Nasr ibn Sayyar the Mudarite governor of Khurasan was defeated by the combined forces of the Yamanites, the Banu Rabi' and Abu Muslim and was forced to flee for his

life.¹⁷ In 129 A.H. Marv was occupied and the whole of Khurasan fell into the hands of Abu Muslim. Emboldened by his successes he sent Qahtabah ibn Shabib to Iraq who captured Tus, Sozkan, Nishapur and Jarjan on his way to Mesopotamia. He was successful everywhere. The cities of Ray, Isfahan and Nahavand opened their gates without offering resistance. It was only at Shahroz that some resistance was offered and the town had to be captured by force. Likewise an army under Yazid ibn Hubayrah, the governor of Iraq was annihilated near Kūfā and dispersed.

In 132 A.H. Abu al-'Abbas Abdullah ibn 'Ali al-'Abbasi was declared Caliph. He gave his first sermon in the mosque of Kufa and took the oath of allegiance from the people.¹⁸ Marwān II was not unaware of the progress of the new revolution which was destined to bring an end to the Umayyad dynasty, as he was busy fighting the Kharjite menace in Jazirah. Having relieved himself from them he advanced with a force of 120000 men to deal with the Abbasid forces who were under the command of 'Abdullah ibn 'Ali an uncle of the new Caliph. On the banks of the river Zab a great battle was fought, in which Marwan II fought desperately. The Umayyad forces in spite of their numerical superiority were routed with heavy losses.¹⁹ Apart from the great number of soldiers, 300 persons of the Umayyad family perished in this battle, and it proved a death blow to Umayyad hegemony. Marwān fled to Jazirah and then to Syria by way of Mosul and Haran. The Syrians proved unfaithful to the fallen monarch who escaped to Egypt through Hims, Damascus and Palestine.²⁰ 'Abdullāh ibn 'Alī who was hotly in pursuit captured Mosul, Harān, Hims, Damascus and Palestine without any resistance. From Damascus 'Abdullāh sent his brother Sālih ibn 'Alī with Abū 'Awn in pursuit of Marwān II, who was captured on the banks of Nile and put to death.²¹ With him ended the dynasty of the Banu Umayyad whose reign with some interruption lasted for 90 years.

'Abbasid Governors

Abū Muslim Khurāsānī who wielded great power after the establishment of the 'Abbasid dynasty sent his own men to

the different parts of the Muslim world. To Sind, he sent one Mughlis al-‘Abdī whose advance was resisted by Manzūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, a brother of Mansūr who was defeated and killed. After having captured Daybul Mughlis made his advance towards the interior and reached the environments of al-Mansūrah. Mansur likewise made preparations to check the advance of the new ‘Abbasid governor. A great battle was fought outside al-Mansūrah, in which Mughlis was defeated and captured alive. He was, however, put to death by Mansūr who thereby avenged the death of his brother killed earlier by Mughlis at Daybul.²² The failure of Mughlis enraged Abn Muslim who now appointed Mūsā ibn Ka’b al-Tamīmī to deal with the usurper. Mūsā is reported to have made some preliminary arrangements by making many Arab tribes to his side by secret correspondence and reached al-Mansūrah with 12000 men. Mansūr, who advanced to give him battle was defeated and his army completely routed. Relying no more on the fidelity of the inhabitants of al-Mansūrah he fled to Rajpūtānā where he is reported to have died of thirst in the sands of the desert.²³ But according to Ya’qūbī, he was caught by Mūsā’s men and put to death.²⁴ Mūsā ibn Ka’b al-Tamīmī remained governor of Sind up to 140 A.H., and died of an ailment at Baghdad in 141 A.H. His son ‘Aiyun ibn Mūsā who held the government of Sind in the absence of his father, was confirmed in the post, by Caliph Abū Ja’far al-Mansūr. ‘Aiyun, who was man of weak character, could not control the situation but on the contrary assumed a rebellious attitude towards the central government.²⁵ The Caliph therefore dismissed ‘Aiyun and appointed ‘Amr ibn Hafs ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Abī Sufrah (Hazārmard) who continued to govern Sind for nearly nine years. He was, however, dismissed from Sind in 151 A.H. due to his pro-Shi’ite designs and later transferred to north Africa.²⁶ ‘Amr ibn Hafs is reported to have shown sympathy to ‘Abdullāh al-Ashtar al-‘Alvī, who had been obliged to take shelter from persecution in the distant province of Sind. Hishām ibn ‘Amr al-Taghlabī, who succeeded ‘Amr ibn Hafs, received secret instructions from Caliph to capture the State enemy. ‘Abdullāh al-Ashtar was, however, killed in one of the fightings with Hishām’s forces but his wife

and minor son Muhammad were sent to Baghdad,²⁷ as prisoners. Hishām seems to have been a great warrior as he was the second Arab general after Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī to overrun the whole Indus Valley up to Kashmīr. Multān which had remained unconquered after the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim was also captured. Likewise the ruler of Qandābil (modern Gandhara) who had become independent due to the civil wars of the Arabs, was brought to severe reckoning after which he conquered Qandhār. Hishām ibn ‘Amr al-Taghlabī was followed in 157 A.H. by Mu‘bad ibn Khalīl al-Tamīmī who continued for two years till his death in the year 159 A.H.

It seems that the native Jats who used to give trouble to the Arab colonists rose in open rebellion and the new Governor could not cope up with the situation.

By this time Caliph al-Mansūr had died and was followed by his son al-Mahdī, who after the death of Mu‘bad ibn Khalīl appointed Rūh ibn Hātim al-Tamīmī to the government of Sind. Rūh ibn Hātim was temporarily replaced by Bistan ibn ‘Amr, a brother of Hishām ibn ‘Amr al-Taghlabī, but was reinstated to his former post after the lapse of a few months.²⁹ Rūh ibn Hātim again proved a failure and was succeeded by Nasr ibn Muhammad (ibn Asha’t al-Khuzā’i), Muhammad ibn Sulaymān, Zubayr ibn ‘Abbās and Musbāh ibn ‘Umar in quick succession but none of them proved able to deal with the situation. Hence al-Mahdī sent one of his slaves Layth ibn Tarīf, to Sind who restored order by promulgating martial law and by dealing with refractory tribes with severe strictness.³⁰ Caliph al Mahdī died in 169 A.H., and was followed by his son Mūsā al-Hādī, who died in 170 A.H. after a brief reign of 14 months. His brother Hārūn al-Rashid who succeeded him appointed Salīm Yūnisi as governor of Sind. Salīm ruled for four years and was succeeded by Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Hāshimī who held both Makrān and Sind for a period of one year.³¹ During the governorship of Tayfūr ibn Abdullāh al-Hamīri who followed Ishāq, the old struggle between Mudarites and Yamanites started again and developed into a dangerous civil war. Tayfūr was a Yamanite and

hence he took the side of the Yamanites which added fuel to the fire. The two other governors Jābir ibn Ash'at al-Tā'i and Sa'd ibn Salīm ibn Qutaybah, likewise failed to control the situation and bring about order. Caliph Hārūn therefore appointed an 'Abbasid prince 'Isā ibn Ja'far ibn Mansūr al-'Abbāsī as governor of Sind. 'Isā did not come to Sind but sent Muhammad ibn 'Adī al-Tha'labi on his behalf to conduct the administration of the province. Muhammad al-Tha'labī proved worst of all the governors, as, in his period the civil war turned into open fighting among the Arab tribes.³² His successors 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-Malik (ibn Salih al-Hāshmi) and Ayūb ibn Ja'far likewise failed to extinguish the spark of civil war. Candid decision was therefore required to make a new choice. Caliph Harun after long deliberations appointed Dāūd ibn Yazīd (ibn Hātim al-Muhallabī) in 184 A.H.³³ who continued to rule Sind for nearly 20 years. Daud took immediate measures to deal with the situation by inflicting exemplary punishments on the outlaws. The power of the Mudarites (who were in majority in Sind and who were responsible for the disorder) was broken and most of their settlements completely destroyed. Al-Mansurah which was hot-bed of intrigues and sedition was likewise treated with great severity. A great portion of its population was destroyed and the massacre continued for twenty days.³⁴

It was during Dā'ūd's governorship that Kanka or Gangā, a physician of high calibre was sent to Baghdād from Sind for the treatment of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Another physician Mankā, was granted a handsome pension by the Caliph to work in the Bayt al-Hikmah.³⁵ A third, one Salih ibn Bahla acquired fame by curing Ibrāhīm ibn Sālih, the husband of Hārūn's sister 'Abasah.³⁶ Dā'ūd died in the year 205 A.H. and was followed by his son Bashr ibn Dā'ūd, who stopped sending regular tribute and showed signs of rebellion. He was, however, deposed and taken prisoner by Ghasān ibn Ibād al-Muhallabī, specifically deputed for the purpose and sent to Baghdād.³⁷ Mūsā ibn Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Burīnakī, who succeeded Bashr in 213 A.H. is credited with having sent to the Central Treasury one million Dirhams as yearly

tribute. His son 'Imrān ibn Mūsā who was confirmed in the post of his father, was seriously involved in the civil war which once again broke out among the Arab tribes (of Nizārī and Yamanites). 'Imrān took the side of the Yamanites (who were in the minority) who were always oppressed by the Mudarites. Nizārītes had by this time recovered from the losses inflicted on them during the governorship of Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī and once again asserted their power by violent means. Meanwhile the Jats and Meds of Sind, also rose in open rebellion everywhere and brought about turmoil throughout Sind.

The leader of the Nizārī tribe 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz taking advantage of the general chaos attacked the forces of 'Imrān, who was killed in the fighting.³⁸ His successor 'Ambasah ibn Ishāq adopted a different policy of reconciliation and avoided to interfere in the tribal strife. Nevertheless, he had to fight continuously for nine years to deal with rebellious chiefs who had established themselves in the different parts of the province. 'Ambasah is also credited with having founded a central jail at Daybul, for which the temple of Daybul was used. 'Ambasah was dismissed by Caliph Mutawakkil in 235 A.H., who appointed Hārūn ibn Abī Khālid al-Marūzi. Hārūn governed Sind for 5 years and was killed in 240 A.H. After his death 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbari who was the leader of Mudharites in Sind, wrote to Mutawakkil requesting him to appoint him as governor of Sind.³⁹ He promised to be loyal to the 'Abbasids, and agreed to recite the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph in the Friday prayers.

Notes and References

1. Al-Balādhurī, p. 446.
2. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 283; Al-Balādhurī, p. 446.
3. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 283; Al-Balādhurī, p. 447.
4. Ibid.
5. Al-Balādhurī, p. 447; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 64.
6. Ibid.
7. Al-Balādhurī, p. 447; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 64.
8. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448.
9. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 283.
10. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449; Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 50.
11. Al-Balādhurī, p. 450.
12. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 56.
13. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 135.
14. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 67.
15. Ibid., p. 64.
16. Ibid., p. 66.
17. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 141.
18. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 70.
19. Ibid.
20. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 70.
21. Dinawarī, p. 365.
22. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 67.
23. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 216; Al-Dinawarī, p. 384.
24. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 80.
25. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 91.
26. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 281; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 198.
27. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. III, p. 283.
28. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449; Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 91.
29. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 109.
30. Ibid.

31. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 117.
32. Ibid., p. 117.
33. Ibid., p. 117.
34. Ibid., p. 117.
35. Ibn abi Usaybiāh, p. 33.
36. Ibid., p. 35.
37. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 153.
38. Ibid., p. 169.
39. Ibid., p. 177

CHAPTER V

Foundation of al-Mansūrah and its Situation

Foundation of al-Mansurah

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

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

Zakariyah al-Qāzvinī, who followed al-Mas'ūdī in his tours of the eastern lands as far as China and who is known by the title of "Pliny of the east" contradicts al-Mas'ūdī's views by stating that al-Mansūrah was so called after the name of the

second 'Abbasid Caliph Abu-Ja'far al-Mansūr and was also styled "Mansūriyah thaniah", the second al-Mansūrah. He further adds that it is very hot and that it is encircled by a branch of the river Mahrān. It has many fleas but its water is sweet and it is a place of considerable size.⁴ Zakariyah's views are corroborated by Ibn al-Wardī al-Qarshī who is also of the opinion that al-Mansūrah was founded during the reign of al-Mansūr the second 'Abbasid ruler, who according to him, was the real founder of al-Mansūrah.⁵

Yaqūt al-Hamavī the great Arab geographer and encyclopaedist who flourished in the 13th century A.D. gives three different theories about the foundation of al-Mansūrah. Quoting Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Muhallabī, he says that the town of al-Mansūrah was founded during the reign of Abu-Ja'far al-Mansūr the second 'Abbasid Caliph, and named after him. The founder of the town was, however, 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī,⁶ who was the governor of Sind at that time. The other two theories in which he mentions the names of al-Mas'ūdi and Hisham respectively as his chief informants, make Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the real founder of al-Mansūrah.⁷ Before Yaqūt gave his views, al-Idrisī had already admitted the authenticity of this fact by stating that four new cities were founded during the reign of al-Mansūr the second 'Abbasid Caliph. Those were Baghdad in Iraq, al-Mansūrah in Sind, al-Masīṣah on the Mediterranean and al-Rafīqah in the land of Jazirah (i.e. Mesopotamia).⁸

Al-Balādhurī, the oldest historian on the contrary reports that al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbī.⁹ He gives a very lucid account of its foundation and says that "during the reign of Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik the seventh Umayyad ruler of Hakhmite branch, Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbi was made the governor of Sind. Due to his weak policy, perhaps leniency, the country of Sind was reconquered by the Sindhis and the Arab families who had settled in the province were expelled from their colonies and settlements. Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbi was succeeded by Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbī, who, when he came to Sind found no

place of safety for the Muslims. In order to bring all the Arab tribes together at one place, he founded a new town on the eastern bank of the Buhairah (lake or estuary) facing al-Hind (i.e. India) and named it al-Mahfūzah,"¹⁰ This new town not only became a place of refuge for the Muslims, but also served as the headquarter of the governor and his army for conducting regular military operations against the refractory natives. These steps resulted in the complete pacification of the country and the land was once again reconquered by the Arabs. Among the chief counsellors who accompanied Hakam, was one 'Amr the son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind who as our informant relates was entrusted with a task of great (military) importance in which he became successful. To commemorate his victory, 'Amr founded another town on the other side (i.e. western side) of the river, which he named al-Mansūrah.¹¹

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

Al-Ya'qubī, who like al-Baladhurī may be considered to be almost contemporary to the events reports that Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbi who succeeded Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbi as governor of Sind, on his arrival attacked and conquered Cutch. He then founded the town of al-Mahfūzah for the Muslims and brought the whole country under subjugation. During his governorship 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim who accompanied him to Sind founded another town on the other side of the river and named it al-Mansūrah.¹³

Abu-Rayhān al-Berunī, writing in eleventh century A.D. gives a totally different theory about the foundation of al-Mansūrah. He says that Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim entered Sind from the Sijistan side and after having conquered the whole country gave the name al-Mansūrah to Brahmanābād

and al-Ma'mūriyah to Multan.¹⁴ Abū al-Fadl the court historian of Akbar, on the contrary says that Bakhar, a small town in the middle of the river Indus in Upper Sind, was al-Mansūrah on the assumption that after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs they changed the name of its capital Aror to al-Mansūrah, signifying their victory over the rulers of Sind.¹⁵

The question now arises who was the real founder of al-Mansūrah? Al-Mas'ūdi is the only person among those mentioned above, who had actually visited Sind, but his account about the foundation of al-Mansūrah is far from historical truth. His view that al-Mansūrah was founded by Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī is totally unfounded. It was in existence long before the arrival of Ibn-Jamhūr in Sind, who is later reported to have laid siege to it.¹⁶ It is related that due to the intriguing nature of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī he was not permitted to enter the territories of al-Mansūrah by its governor Yazid ibn 'Arār, the successor of 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. Mansūr had, therefore, recourse to stratagem, by which he was able to obtain possession of the fort of Schwan, where he made preparations for his attack on al-Mansūrah.¹⁷ If, however, al-Mansūrah was founded by him then there was no necessity of making preparations for its conquest. Likewise the statement that al-Mansūrah was founded by Abu Ja'far al-Mansūr, the second 'Abbasid Caliph, is also unbelievable. Al-Mansūrah was the headquarter of the Umayyad governors long before the advent of the 'Abbasids.¹⁸ There is no doubt that it was recovered from the usurper Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī immediately after the establishment of the 'Abbasid rule in Iraq. It seems that 'Amr ibn Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī, who was the governor of Sind during the reign of al-Mansūr, might have named it after his sovereign, in order to aggrandise his name and from that time onwards the city became known after the name of second 'Abbasid Caliph. The succeeding governors who were paid employees of the 'Abbasids might have given wide publicity to the fact that al-Mansūrah had been founded by Abu Ja'far al-Mansūr.

It is also incorrect to assume that the foundation of al-

Mansūrah was laid by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī the Arab conqueror of Sind, as reported by al-Berunī.¹⁹ Al-Ma'mūriyah was another name of al-Masīṣah,²⁰ a township founded by Caliph al-Mansūr in the year 140 A.H.²¹ There is no mention of such fact in the earliest accounts of Sind and, moreover, al-Berunī seems to have put forward his own views on the assumption that the only great victory won by Arabs against Sind was won by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, hence the name al-Mansūrah might have been given by him to Brahmanābād which bore both these names during his time.²² The court historian of Akbar, Abū al-Fadl also seems to have involved himself in a great misunderstanding by citing Bakhar as al-Mansūrah.²³ In this he seems to have followed the accounts of most of the Arab geographers who described al-Mansūrah as an island in shape situated between the two arms of the river Indus.²⁴ He might have also misunderstood the site of the Arab capital on the assumption that it might have been founded near the ancient Hindu capital of Sind, which was Aror, near the modern town of Rohri.

The earliest accounts clearly indicate that al-Mansūrah was founded near Brahmanābād, at a distance of two farsakhs (about six miles) exactly opposite of al-Mahfūzah, which was the first Arab settlement in Sind, after its reconquest by Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī. It is also clear from the accounts that its founder was 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, who came to Sind, with Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī and later succeeded him to the governorship of Sind.²⁵ The absence of the historical data, however, makes it very difficult to determine the period during which al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. It is stated that Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbi with whom 'Amr came to Sind was an appointee of Khālīd ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qasrī, the famous viceroy²⁶ of 'Iraq. He was in power for fifteen years, from 105 A.H. to 120 A.H., and Hakam was the second governor, posted to Sind during his vicerealty. It is, therefore, probable that the period of Hakam's governorship over Sind might have commenced from 110

A.H. It would be, therefore, more accurate to place the period of al-Mansūrah's foundation between 110 A.H. and 120 A.H. the period during which Hakam remained governor of Sind. Since Hakam took up the work of conquest immediately after his arrival in Sind, it is probable that al-Mansūrah might have been founded by about 115 A.H. (corresponding to 734 A.D.) shortly after the foundation of al-Mahfūzah, which was built earlier by the governor himself.²⁷

Henry Cousins in his treatise on the Antiquities of Sind, is of the opinion that al-Mansūrah was founded by 'Amr son of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī and in this connection he relies mostly on the accounts of al-Balādhurī, the oldest historian. But H.G. Raverty who seems to agree with the accounts of al-Balādhurī, al-Mas'udī and al-Idrisī, who have given three different theories about the foundation of al-Mansūrah sums up his conclusion in the following words: "If all the three writers are correct, then Mansūrah was founded during Hakam's time, furnished in the time of Mansūr son of Jamhūr and the name merely continued by Abu Ja'far Mansūr."²⁸

Situation of al-Mansurah

The situation of al-Mansūrah like its foundation is a matter of great controversy among the various scholars, but most of them agree that it was founded on the ancient site of Brahmanābād or at least near it. Al-Balādhurī is the first to observe that al-Mansūrah was founded on the western side of the lake (or estuary) facing al-Hind exactly opposite to al-Mahfūzah, a township built by Hakam ibn 'Awanah al-Kalbī. Al-Mansūrah according to him was built at a distance of two farsakhs from ancient Brahmanābād which he adds, was in ruins when he was writing his famous work on the conquest of the countries.²⁹

Quoting Hamzah, Yāqūt al-Hamavī says that al-Mansūrah was the second name of Vahmanābād (i.e. Brahmanābād) the ancient capital of Sind and was situated at 93 degrees north-east by 22 degrees south-east. He further adds that an estuary from

Mahrān (Indus) encircles it and renders the land on which it stood an island in shape.³⁰

Abū Ishaq al-Istakhri, who made extensive tours of Muslim lands and who completed his work by the middle of the 10th century A.D., states that "the name of al-Mansūrah in Sindhi language is Brahmanābād. It is about a mile long and a mile broad and is surrounded by a branch of the river Mahrān." Al-Mansūrah according to him was situated on the western bank of the principal river (i.e. eastern branch) and its climate was exceedingly hot.³¹ Another geographer, Ibn-Hauqal who followed him soon afterwards repeats the same version and reports almost the same facts about the situation of al-Mansūrah.³² The map of Ibn Hauqal is a very important document which gives a true and authenticated position of the towns of Sind. He places al-Mansūrah between the two branches of the river Indus just below Kallari, the juncture at which the river divides itself into two streams. The eastern branch which is considered to be the principal stream by al-Istakhri, takes a round about way and is then joined by the other branch in the south of al-Mansūrah.³³ Ibn Hauqal, however, contradicts the version of his predecessor by stating that al-Mansūrah was situated on the eastern bank of the principal river (is western branch) as people coming from Daybul to al-Mansūrah had to cross the river near al-Nerūn.³⁴

Al-Idrisi who flourished in 6th century Hijri gave the following account about the situation of al-Mansūrah. He says, "the river Mahrān divides itself into two branches near Kallari which is a pretty well-fortified and a busy trading place. The largest runs to the north-west, then to the north and then towards the west; both again unite and make one single stream at a distance of about twelve miles below (to the south of) al-Mansūrah."³⁵ Al-Mansūrah as he asserts was surrounded by the river on all sides and was situated on the western bank of the principal river,³⁶ which according to him was the eastern branch of the river. Abu Rayhān al-Beruni, writing in the eleventh century affirms the verdict of his predecessors and gives the following account of al-Mansūrah's situation. Aror he says "is situated between the two branches of the river

Indus and is at a distance of 15 farsakhs from Bhatī (or Bhatya) a township on river Biyas in India." Al-Mansūrah which he also calls Bamanhavā (or Bahmanvā) was about five farsakhs from Aror and Lohranī, identified by Haig with Daybul, on the mouth of the river Indus was fifteen farsakhs from Aror and thirty from Bhatī.³⁷

From these accounts it would appear that either Brahmanābād and al-Mansūrah occupied one and the same site or were so close to each other that both the towns became known by one name. The question now arises where was Brahmanābād situated? There is a ruined site in Taluka Sinjhero, District Sanghar, at a distance of about eight miles to the east of the modern town of Shahdādpur, which has been identified with both Brahmanābād as well as al-Mansūrah. The site is about a mile long and a mile broad and is situated in close proximity of the Jamrao Canal near 44/3 crossing. The observation of the ruins reveals that the city which once stood on the site was well planned and built on the western bank of the eternal Mahrān, which once flowed in that direction. The bed of the river is distinguishable and extends for miles in open country. The site is known as Dalor Jo Bhīro and to others as Bhambhra Jo Thul. There is no other site west of these ruins, but to the east and south, there are small sites which are given the names of Mutahal and Dufani respectively. At a distance of about six miles from these ruins there are other ruins of a large town, to the south of the present town of Jhol, which with some interruptions extend almost to the ruins of Dalor which have been already specified. This site is generally known as Depar Ghānghro³⁹ and is bifurcated by an old bed of a river. It seems that before the construction of the Jamrao Canal and other canals of Lloyd Barrage scheme, the whole region was a continuous ruin, extending over a large area of nearly eight miles. But the situation has now completely changed. A greater portion of the waste land has been brought under cultivation and the region now abounds in flourishing fields.

The observation of the great sites Bhīro and Depar Ghānghro indicates that the town of al-Mansūrah may have occupied one of these sites. Both the sites are bifurcated by the

abandoned beds of the river Indus and as the Arab historians report al-Mansūrah was situated immediately opposite to al-Mahfūzah.⁴⁰ If we take the site of Depar Ghānghro to be that of al-Mansūrah and al-Mahfūzah, then the great site of Bhīro might have been the site of the town of Brahmanābād. But the inspection of the site reveals different facts. The site of Bhīro is principally a Muslim town as would appear from the bricks used in the construction of the buildings. The bricks are small and thin, which is the regular Muhammadan type,⁴¹ and never used by the Sindhians before the advent of Arabs in Sind. The site has also yielded a great number of coins with Arabic legends bearing the names of the Arab governors of Sind, and the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah.⁴² The curiosities found from these ruins contain no Hindi or Sanskrit inscription, but even the smallest object bears Arabic and chiefly Kufic inscriptions, as would appear from the accounts of Mr. Bellassis who was the only European to carry on observational excavations of the ruins of al-Mansūrah. He observes that, "Among the curiosities found at Brahmanābād, showing an advanced state of art are some beautiful engravings on cornelians and aggate. Many of them are perfect gems of art and like the intaglios of Rome are polished on the inside of the device, an art, I believe now lost. Some that were found had upon them a bull and others a lion; some merely a name in Arabic and some in character resembling Devnagri or Sanskrit. The most curious relic I found was a hexagonal cylinder of what I imagined to be wood or perhaps ivory, with an inscription in Arabic in Kufic characters on each side. It is three inches in length and two and three quarters in circumference. It was probably a talisman or charm which when wrapped up in silk or leather, was worn round the arm or neck. It was unfortunately fractured soon after it was discovered and has been put together with glue by Mr. Richardson. The Arabic inscriptions as far as they were legible are 'Allāh is merciful' and etc."⁴³

Apart from these facts, it is also interesting to note that the site has not yielded a single image so much loved by the Hindus or the Buddhists, who formed the bulk of the population of

the country. Henry Cousins also reports that most part of the ruins belong to a Muhammadan city and further adds that "the lime plaster on the upper part of the houses and the pottery found from the site look more Muhammadan than Hindu specially the pots and the spouts."⁴⁴ At the same time, the site has also procured the ruins of three mosques within a very small area which could never have been built in a town inhabited predominantly by the Hindus or the Buddhists. Furthermore, the extent of the site, about one mile long and a mile broad, agrees with the accounts of the Arab geographers who had visited al-Mansūrah during its flourishing days.⁴⁵ The last and the most important fact which comes to light after the visit of the site, shows that the site on which the ruins stand was surrounded by river Indus on all sides, rendering it an island in shape. The principal stream of the river seems to have been on the north-east of al-Mansūrah, as reported by al-Istakhri and after him by al-Idrisi and others.⁴⁶

Mr. Bellasis has identified the site of Bhīro with Brahmanābād, but he also assumes that al-Mansūrah was also built on the same site. He again contradicts his own views and states that, "from the observation of the various articles found from the site, I think that Brahmanābād could never have been occupied by the Muhammadans."⁴⁷ Cunningham identifies Bhīro with al-Mansūrah, but reports that "al-Mansūrah must have been founded on the site of Brahmanābād."⁴⁸ Henry Cousins also seems to corroborate the views of Mr. Cunningham in the identification of the site as both al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād. He further adds that the ruins of Dalor may have also been the site of al-Mahfūzah⁴⁹ which was the first settlement of the Arabs in Sind.

Mr. M.R. Haig, who appears to be more correct identifies the site of Bhīro with that of al-Mansūrah and the site of Depar Ghānghro with that of Brahmanābād.⁵⁰ It is clear from the accounts of al-Balādhuri that al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād were situated apart and that there was a distance of six miles between them. He further adds that Brahmanābād was in ruins and al-Mansūrah had taken its place as the headquarter of the Arab governors of Sind.⁵¹ It is, therefore, clear beyond

any doubt that al-Mansūrah was never built on the ancient site of Brahmanābād and therefore both towns could never have occupied one and the same site. It is probable that the Arabs may have derived much of their construction material from Brahmanābād as would appear from the thick bricks found in the eastern portions of the ruins of Bhīro. The availability of these thick bricks in that part of the ruins may have convinced Mr. Bellassis, Cunningham and Henry Cousins to believe that the eastern portion of the ruins had been a part of a Hindu town, which they believe to be the town of Brahmanābād.

Raverty who seems to corroborate M.R. Haig, also identifies the site of Bhīro with that of al-Mansūrah and the ruins of Depar Ghānghro with those of Brahmanābād.⁵²

Now, if we take the ruins of Bhīro to be that of al-Mansūrah then the site of Brahmanābād may be traced nearby within a radius of six miles, the distance given by al-Balādhurī.⁵³ As already specified there is no other ruin west of al-Mansūrah, but to the north east there are extensive ruins which continue for miles up to the present town of Jhol. These ruins are known as Depar Ghānghro and the western part of these ruins may have been the site of the town of Brahmanābād, the ancient capital of Sind. These ruins satisfy all the available accounts about the situation of an ancient town of Sind, existing before the arrival of the Arabs.

M.R. Haig in the identification of this site might have followed the advance of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind, which was from south west to north east and not from north to south as is supposed by al-Berūnī.⁵⁴ It is reported that after the conquest of Nerūn Kot (modern Hyderābād) and settling the affairs of Schwan, Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim marched on Brahmanābād. The last town captured by him was Dahlilah, before he reached in the vicinity of Brahmanābād.⁵⁵ He then established his camp near Jalwālī (or Jarwārī) which might have been either an old course of the river Indus or a branch of Hākro, from where he directed his attack on the town of Brahmanābād. Dr. Baloch has identified the small village of Jarārī with Jalwālī of

Chachnamah,⁵⁶ by which name the lake was known in those days. If we take Jalwalī to be the Buhayrah of al-Balādhurī, then it would take al-Mansūrah away further north and al-Mahfūzah, most probably near the ruins of Depar Ghānghro. But this is not correct, the Buhayrah of al-Balādhurī, might have been the eastern branch of the river Indus and it was on the eastern bank of this estuary that the fortress of al-Mahfūzah was first built by Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī. The Arab geographers specifically al-Istakhri, clearly state that al-Mansūrah was built on the western bank of the principal river.⁵⁷ The map of Ibn Hauqal also places al-Mansūrah to the west of the eastern branch of the river Mahrān. It seems that the 'Buhayrah' of al-Balādhurī might have been a flood channel which separated itself from the river ten miles east of Sakrand near a small town of Kallari. It passed by the east of al-Mansūrah and then joined the principal river ten miles south of al-Mansūrah which is now known as Lohāna. The old beds of these branches of the river Indus are still existent and can be seen in a greater portion of Nawābshāh and Sānghar districts of Hyderābād Division. These facts merely corroborate the accounts of the Arab geographers who mention the fact of the river Indus's separation at Kallari and unification to the south of al-Mansūrah.⁵⁸ The sketch of M.R. Haig who has made an extensive survey of the area is given in this work for ready reference, as it throws much light on the situation of al-Mansūrah. Jalwālī, according to him is the old bed of the river Indus which passed by the east of Brahmanābād, taking a south-westerly direction, by which it met Lohano Channel of the Indus at a distance of about ten miles south of al-Mansūrah. It was on the eastern bank of this branch of the Indus that Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim established his camp and sent for Nūbah ibn Dhāran.⁵⁹ There is a small village by the name of Jarārī to the north of Bhīro and west of the ruins of Depar Ghānghro up to the present time, which according to M.R. Haig perpetuates the old name of that river channel.⁶⁰

It is also stated in the accounts that after the capture of Brahmanābād, Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thāqafī

proceeded to Aror by way of a place known as Mutahal where he is reported to have encamped⁶¹ for rest, of the army which might have been fatigued due to the prolonged siege at Brahmanābād. Mutahlo is still existent and is a place of some importance in that region. All these facts throw much light on the true position of the town of al-Mansūrah and Brahmanābād. It is related that al-Mansūrah was 15 farsakhs (or 45 miles) from al-Nerūn and this fact has been verified by some European officers, by direct march in a straight line, which is nearly 44 miles.⁶² Brahmanābād according to this calculation, would be therefore 50 or 51 miles from Nerun (modern Hyderābād) and hence it will be clear from the measurements that the site of Depar Ghānghro specifically its western side, might have been the site of Brahmanābād. It is further reported by McMurdo that some time before the advent of the British in Sind the site was named Debal-Kāngrah⁶³ and if this be true then the ruins are definitely those of Brahmanābād.

The site of Depar Ghānghro has exhibited signs of great antiquity and this is evident from the fact that it was existent long before the revival of Hinduism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. We are told that the foundation of Brahmanābād was laid by the Sasanid Emperor Bahman⁶⁴ Artuxarxes Longimanus, and was then named Bahmanābād. The name is definitely Persian as shown by the suffix Abād but when the Brahmins got an upper hand in the affairs of the country, the name may have been changed from Bahmanābād to Brahmanābād without any difficulty. At the time of the conquest of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim, Brahmanābād, like all other towns of Sind was principally a Buddhist town, inhabited chiefly by Buddhists. The Hindus were few, probably the soldiers. The site is full of Buddhist stupas and has also yielded numerous relics of Lord Budha, but no Muslim coin or other article has been found from this site as yet.

M.R. Haig has given three important references in support of his identification of the site of al-Mansūrah, which are as follows:-

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

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

3. Idrīsī says Mansūrah was rather more than a three days journey from Nerūn but he puts the distance between Nerūn and Daybul at three days. Ibn-Hauqal who seems to be more accurate observes that Nerūn was nearer to Mansūrah than Daybul. He further adds that at the present day the most direct route via Nasarpur the English officials do the distance in three days journey averaging 16 to 17 miles per day. Thus as regards the distance between the given points the identifications are quite consistent with the data supplied.”⁶⁵

M.R. Haig has therefore left no room for further argument and hence it is proved beyond doubt that the site of Bhīro are the ruins of the Arab capital of Sind, al-Mansūrah and the ruins of Depar Ghānghro are those of Brahmanābād.

The identification of the site of al-Mahfūzah to the south east of al-Mansūrah by H. Cousins seems to be incorrect. Al-Mahfūzah as reported by the Arab historians may be traced on the other side of the river bed towards the north east. M.R. Haig is correct in assuming the possibility of al-Mahfūzah having occupied a position opposite to the northern face of al-Mansūrah.⁶⁶ This fact is further confirmed by the actual visit of the ruins of al-Mansūrah. From the western bank of the river bed to the north east a site of a comparatively small town is visible. Most of the ruins are now submerged under the sands but the pieces of pottery and other articles found from the site clearly show that the town which once stood on the site was inhabited principally by the Arabs and does not show any sign of its being a Hindu town. The bricks are also of the same thin and small type used in the site of Bhīro.

Perūn Fakir⁶⁷ told us that this site has also yielded coins identical to those found at al-Mansūrah. Henry Cousins who had identified the south eastern portion of the ruin of Bhīro as the site of al-Mahfūzah might have based his belief on the version of al-Balādhurī who says that the town of al-Mahfūzah was situated on the other side of the lake,⁶⁸ which he identified with a fairly large plain dividing the great site of Bhīro. But it is curious to note that the bed of the mighty Mahrān runs to the north east of both these sites, and hence it can fairly be concluded that the south eastern portion of the ruins may have been the site of a satellite town of al-Mansūrah. This new town, which may have been an addition to the city of al-Mansūrah, might have been built in the period of al-Mansūrah's glory, when the land on the island on which al-Mansūrah stood may have been fully occupied. It is also probable that this portion may have been reserved for the occupation of non-Muslims, who had migrated to al-Mansūrah after the depopulation of Brahmanābād. This is clear from the accounts of Mr. Henry Cousins and the personal observation of the site. Moreover, al-Mansūrah was built on the western bank of the river Indus⁶⁹ and not on the eastern bank, which was exposed to the attack of the barbarians from the desert known as Meds and Jats.⁷¹

Al-Balādhurī reports that al-Mahfūzah was built on the eastern bank of the river Mahrān facing India,⁷² for the purpose of resisting any possible attack from the eastern desert. It is therefore probable that the site on the other side of the old river bed, which is now mostly under sand, is the ruins of al-Mahfūzah, the first settlement of the Arabs founded during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī.

Notes and References

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2. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
3. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 216.
4. Qazvīnī, p. 83.
5. Ibn al-Wardī, p. 62.
6. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
7. Ibid., p. 177.
8. Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
9. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448.
10. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448.
11. Ibid., p. 448.
12. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 83.
Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 67.
13. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 55.
14. Al-Berūnī, p. 11.
15. Abu al-Fadl, p. 550.
16. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66.
17. Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 66; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVI, p. 36.
18. Al-Balādhurī, p. 447.
Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 283.
Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 67.
19. Al-Berūnī, p. 11.
20. Yā'qūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 100.
21. Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
22. Al-Berūnī, p. 11; Abu al-Fadl, p. 555.
23. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
24. Al-Qazvīnī, p. 38; Al-Idrīsī, p. 30 & Yā'qūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
25. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 62.
26. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 50.
27. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448; Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 50;
Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 283; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 67.
28. H. Cousins, *Antiquities*, p. 63.

29. Al-Balādhurī, p. 444.
30. Yā'qūt al-Hamavī, p. 177.
31. Al-Istakhrī, pp. 171-73.
32. Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
33. Map of Ibn Hauqal, p. 324.
34. Ibn Hauqal, p. 328.
35. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 34 & 38.
36. Ibid., p. 30.
37. Al-Berūnī, p. 100.
38. A. W. Hughes, *Sind Gazetteer*, p. 126.
39. Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch, calls it Depar Changro; see *Chach Namah*, Sindhi Edition, Hyderabad, 1954, p. 400.
40. Al-Ya'qūbi, Vol. III, p. 62.
41. H. Cousins, *Antiquities*, p. 67.
42. J. Burgess, *Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 89 to 93.
43. A. W. Hughes, *Sind Gazetteer*, pp. 132, 133.
44. H. Cousins, *Antiquities*, p. 67.
45. Al-Istakhrī, p. 174.
Ibn-Hauqal, p. 320; Al-Idrīsī, p. 30.
46. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Al-Idrīsī, p. 30;
Yā'qūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 177; Al-Qazvīnī, p. 83.
47. H. Cousins, *Antiquities*, p. 65.
48. Ibid., p. 66.
49. Ibid., p. 70
50. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 284.
51. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449.
52. Raverty, *Mehrān*, p. 230.
53. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449.
54. Al-Berūnī, p. 100.
55. *Chach Namah*, pp. 198, 199.
56. *Chach Namah*, Sindhi Edition, pp. 496-97 (footnots).
57. Al-Istakhrī, p. 176.
58. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 230; Al-Idrīsī, p. 30.
59. *Chach Namah*, p. 202.
60. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 135.
61. *Chach Namah*, p. 218.

62. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 235.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
64. Raverty, *Mehrān*, p. 197.
65. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 284 & 285.
66. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 29.
67. *Perun Fakir's Version*.
68. *Al-Balādhurī*, p. 448.
69. *Al-Ya'qūbī*, Vol. III, p. 55.
70. *Al-Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 143.
71. *Al-Balādhurī*, p. 449.

CHAPTER VI

Dynasty of Banu Habbār;
Its Origin
The Rulers of the Dynasty.

Contemporary Events leading to the Foundation of the Dynasty

Caliph al-Mutawakkil was the last great ruler of the house of 'Abbas whose assassination in 246 A.H. (861 A.D.) marked the period of gradual decline of the 'Abbasid Caliphate and the disintegration of the empire. The Turkish guards who were originally recruited to curb the ever-increasing power of the Persians and Khurasanians became a source of permanent nuisance to the 'Abbasid State. In the later period of the 'Abbasids hegemony, the Turkish guards usurped the whole power rendering the Caliph totally impotent to deal with any situation. Although the dignity of the Caliph was maintained in highest splendour, his authority was not accepted beyond the city walls of Baghdad. Even in his capital he was as powerless as in his dominion and was chiefly confined to his palace and the harem. The Turkish guards made and unmade Caliphs, appointed and transferred governors and exercised all regal powers.¹ It was during this period of degeneracy and decline that the provinces of Khurāsān and Transoxiana were lost to the Samānids and the Daylamites penetrated into the interior of 'Irāq. North Africa except Egypt was likewise lost to the Fatimids who were now carving a kingdom for themselves in the distant Maghrib. Worst of all were the raids of the Qarmathian heretics who plundered the cities of Basra and Kūfa and threatened to attack the imperial city itself.² In the course of their inroads they captured Mecca, massacred the pilgrims and carried away the black stone, the universal

object of Muslim veneration. This relic of ancient Arabian belief was retained by them for a period of 22 years (317-339 A.H.) and it was only after the intervention of 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdī, the founder of the Fātimid Dynasty of North Africa that it was finally restored to the holy Ka'ba.³

Under these circumstances the most distant provinces partook in the general decline and assumed independence under their respective governors. The country of Sind which extended from Multān to the Arabian Sea, neglected by the Central Government, was divided into several principalities and ruled by various Arab Chiefs independent of each other. These rulers although owing no political allegiance to the Caliph, acknowledged him as their suzerain by reciting his name in the Friday prayers, and by the occasional despatch of precious gifts.⁴

The virtual renunciation of the political control of the 'Abbasids in Sind may be dated from the year 257 A.H. (872/73 A.D.) when Caliph al-Mu'tamid, in order to divert Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Safāri's intentions from attacking 'Irāq, conferred upon him the government of Sind, Balkh and Tabāristān in addition to Kirmān and Seistān with which he was already invested.⁵ Ya'qūb who was reluctant to accept the deal rejected the offer of the Caliph and attacked 'Irāq. He was, however, defeated and forced to flee to Sijistān where he died in the year 265 A.H. (869-70).⁶

Since Ya'qūb ibn Layth was himself involved in ruthless struggle for power, he does not seem to have taken much interest in the affairs of Sind. The two principal kingdoms of al-Mansūrah and Multān being unmindful of the events which took place in Irān (Persia) continued to be governed by their rulers. The kingdom of al-Mansūrah which extended from Aror to the Sea, was governed by 'Umar ibn Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri, who had taken control of the affairs of Sind. His descendants continued to rule the realm till the rise of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who annexed it to his dominions in the year 416 A.H. (1026-27).⁷

It appears that the rulers of al-Mansūrah might have been influenced by the Shī'ite propagandists, whose missionary work in the province of Sind, may be dated as early as 150 A.H. (767-68 A.D.). It is related that 'Abdullāh ibn Muhammad al-Ashtar, a descendant of 'Alī migrated to Sind during the governorship of 'Amr son of Hafs al-Hazārmard al-Muhallabī, in disguise as a trader of horses. He was received by the governor with every mark of respect who, himself being a man of pro-Shī'ite views afforded him adequate shelter. On receiving intelligence of the news, the Caliph al-Mansūr took the governor to task for sympathising with the State enemy and transferred him to the government of North Africa.⁸ He was replaced by Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabī, who killed 'Abdullāh al-Aṣhtar and sent his head to the Caliph along with the family of the deceased Shī'ite leader.⁹

The kingdom of Multān, the boundaries of which extended from Aror to the confines of Kashmir, was held by another Qurayshite, a descendant of Sāmah ibn Lu'ya, who maintained his capital at Multān.¹⁰ Multān was famous for the temple of Sun and its great idol was the object of veneration for the non-Muslims of Sind and Hind, who flocked to it, to offer obedience and tribute. Al-Mas'ūdī who visited the Indus Valley after 300 A.H. reports that Multān still retained the name of Farj Bayt al-Dhahab, the name given to it by the Arab conquerors who found abundant of gold in the temple.¹¹

Origin of the Habbarid Rulers of al-Mansurah

The dynasty of the Banū Habbār takes its name from Habbār ibn al-Aswad, of the Banū Asad tribe, who was notorious for his opposition to the holy Prophet and the religion of Islam. Habbār ibn al-Aswad is reported to have reviled the holy Prophet in public by satirising him and making absurd propaganda against him.¹² His brother Zama'h ibn al-Aswad was one of the chief confederates who fought against the Muslims in the battle of Badr, but was slain along with his two other brothers.¹³ In 2 A.H. while migrating to Madīnah the Prophet's daughter Zaynab was pursued by Habbār ibn

al-Aswad who is reported to have stuck her with a lance. She fell from the back of the camel and was so grievously hurt that it resulted in the death of the child with which she was pregnant.¹⁴

The Habbārids belonged to the clan of Banū Asad, an offshoot of the great tribe of Quraysh and were closely related to the family of the holy Prophet. ‘Abdullāh ibn Zama’h a nephew of Habbār married Zaynab the daughter of Abū Sālmā, whose mother Umm-Salmah was later admitted to the Prophet’s house-hold after the death of Abū-Salmah. Hadrat Khadijah the first wife of the holy Prophet, who had rendered him material and moral help, also belonged to the tribe of Banū Asad. She was the daughter of Khuwaylad ibn Asad (ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā) and was a cousin of Muttalib, the grandfather of Habbār ibn al-Aswad.¹⁵

The Banū Asad tribe held an important position in the administrative machinery of the city state of Mecca before the advent of the holy Prophet. Its representative Yazīd ibn Rabi‘ah held the department of Mashūrah and was consulted on every matter before any decision was arrived at by the Qurayshites. The father of Habbār, al-Aswad ibn Muttalib was one of the outstanding figures among the most influential personalities of Mecca.¹⁶ Another member of this distinguished family Zubayr ibn al-‘Awām, was one of the nearest and most trustworthy companions of the holy Prophet and belonged to the celebrated group of al-‘Ashr al-Mubashirah.¹⁷ Zubayr later fought against ‘Alī in the battle of Jamal (the camel) and died of grievous wounds received while fighting. His two sons ‘Abdullāh and Musā’b distinguished themselves in their struggle with the Umayyads and lived sixty years after Hijrah.¹⁸ One of them, ‘Abdullāh ibn Zubayr had the honour of holding the title of Caliph as a rival to ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān for nine years. He was finally defeated and killed by the famous Umayyad Viceroy Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī in the year 692 A.D.¹⁹

Habbār ibn al-Aswad received magnanimous treatment from the holy Prophet at the time of the conquest of Mecca and

consequently he accepted Islam. His descendants took active part in the administration of the Muslim Empire throughout the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid period and as Ibn Khaldūn reports, one of them Mundhir ibn Zubayr, was at Circassia during the reign of the first 'Abbasid Caliph al-Saffāh.²⁰ According to al-Balādhurī, who is more reliable, this same Mundhir ibn Zubayr came to Sind with Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī,²¹ and the family then settled in Sind.

In the reign of Caliph al-Mu'tasim bi-'Allah fierce civil war broke out among the Arab tribes of Mudar and Yaman which overwhelmed the whole Indus Valley. The governor of Sind 'Imrān ibn Musā al-Barmakī took the side of the Yamanites, who committed acts of great atrocity and vandalism against their adversaries. In this period of chaos 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī who was the leader of the Mudarites attacked the governor and killed him.²² He then took over control of the entire lower valley of the Indus and asked the Caliph al-Mutawakkil to confirm him in the government of Sind. The Caliph, worried and sick of hearing the news of revolts every where acceded to his request and appointed him governor of Sind in the year 240 A.H. (855 A.D.).²³ Though an appointee of an 'Abbasid Caliph, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz later showed signs of independence and taking advantage of the disorders which took place after the assassination of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, he laid the foundation of the Independent Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah.²⁴

Founder of the Dynasty

'Umar ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz

The founder of the dynasty of the Banū Habbār 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, was the fifth descendant of Habbār ibn al-Aswad, a prominent member of the tribe of Banū Quraysh. His genealogy runs like this: 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Mundhir ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Habbār ibn al-Aswad ibn Muttalib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā.²⁵ His grandfather Zubayr is reported to have migrated to Sind during the governorship of Hakam ibn 'Awānah al-Kalbī,²⁶ the founder of the famous township of al-Mahfūzah. The

family then settled in Sind and it was in this country that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was born and brought up. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz may not be confused with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Umavī, the fifth ruler of the Hakamite branch of the Umayyads.²⁷

Early Life and Career

Very little is known about the early life of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, but it is certain that he was born and brought up in the country of Sind. His birth place may have been Bānyah, a small town to the south of al-Mahfūzah, to which he seems to have been greatly attached. This might be imagined from the fact that even after he became the ruler of al-Mansūrah, he transferred his residence to the township of Bānyah. 'Umar started his career from nothing and it was by his merit that he became popular among the Arab tribes of Mudar. He was the leader of the Nizāri tribes in the struggle for power during the governorship of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī. The 'Abbasid governor is reported to have been hostile to the Hijāzī tribes and undertook a policy of repression against them.²⁸ The Yamanites who were the traditional enemies of the Mudarites were allowed to commit acts of vandalism against their adversaries, who were subjected to the severest persecution. In one of the actions that followed 'Imrān ibn Mūsā was overpowered and killed and thus 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was enabled to extend his sway over a greater portion of the Southern Indus Valley.²⁹

'Umar was aware that without the Caliph's recognition he was not destined to survive long in his position and power. He, therefore, sent a petition to the contemporary 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil requesting him therein to appoint him to the government of Sind as a successor to 'Imrān, as he was the only person fit to hold the province of Sind for the 'Abbasids. The letter of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz seems to have brought relief to the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil whose reign was full of turmoil and chaos apart from the natural catastrophies that had grasped the Muslim world in that period. 'Umar received the sanad of appointment

on condition that he would recite the name of the Abbasid Caliphs in the Friday Khutbas.³⁰

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Aziz as King

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz seems to have been well versed in the art of administration and proved worthy of the high office of ruler of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. He does not seem to have severed his connections with the ‘Abbasids, as would appear from the accounts of the Arab historians.

Ibn Khaldūn relates that Caliph al-Mu‘tamid in order to divert the evil intentions of Ya‘qūb ibn Layth al-Saffāri, conferred upon him the government of Sind in addition to various other provinces of the east.¹³ It appears that ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz may have become reconciled to the new Viceroy by submitting to his nominal authority. In 261 A.H. the same Caliph conferred upon his brother al-Muwaffiq the authority to rule over most of the eastern provinces, including Sind.³²

There is no evidence whatsoever from any source to indicate the period during which ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Habbārī was the ruler of the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Evidently he was in possession of the Lower Indus Valley for a considerable time up to 270 A.H. or shortly before that because according to the accounts of Bazurk ibn Shahryār, we find ‘Abdullāh son of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz on the throne of al-Mansūrah.³³ It can be, therefore, fairly concluded that ‘Umar might have reigned up to 269 or 270 A.H. which would bring the period of his reign to nearly 30 years.

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz made al-Mansūrah his capital but transferred his residence to Bānyah, about a days journey from al-Mansūrah. The transfer might have been made for climatic reasons, because al-Mansūrah although surrounded by river was very hot and full of flees.³⁴ ‘Umar pacified the whole country up to the sea and brought about order throughout the territories of al-Mansūrah. His reign on the whole was peaceful and prosperous and the people were content and happy. ‘Umar also seems to have had a great influence

over the non-Muslim rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of India. They were made to feel the weight of his arms and were represented by their envoys at the court of al-Mansūrah. The Muslims of Sind are also reported to have continued their missionary work in India which resulted in the conversion of the non-Muslim rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms. A non-Muslim Raja who had become Muslim during this period presented a chain of emerald to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz to be transmitted to the Caliph al-Mu'tamid who when he received it ordered it to be hung on the wall of the Ka'ba.³⁵

His Achievements

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī is one of the remarkable figures of Muslim History of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and is famous for his signal achievements. He started his life from very humble and inconspicuous beginning and by arduous labours succeeded in making himself the ruler of the great country of Sind, during the most turbulent times of Muslim History. Although the power of the Yamanite Arabs was annihilated the country still required a vigorous ruler, who could maintain the balance of power between the different Arab factions and the subject people who were mainly non-Muslims and who formed the bulk of population of the country. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was a ruler of mild disposition and inclined to justice. He administered the country with a capacity found only in the great leaders of mankind. Such was the fame acquired by this sovereign in the minds of his people that his name was long remembered not only in Sind but even in the distant land of 'Irāq for his generosity and other great qualities.³⁶ It is no mean achievement on his part to become an independent ruler of the 'Abbasid province, but also to found a dynasty of hereditary succession in his family which endured for nearly two centuries. The dynasty was finally extinguished by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah in the year 416 A.H., while returning from the expedition of Somnāth.³⁷

'Abdullah ibn 'Umar al Habbari

'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar who succeeded his father probably in

270 A.H. was the second great ruler of the dynasty of the Banū Habbār. The first years of his reign were troubled by a serious uprising headed by Sāmh ibn Abū Samh a slave of the Banū Kindah.³⁸ The insurgents are reported to have captured the town of al-Mansūrah, which was held by them for some time. The capital city was, however, recovered from the rebels soon afterwards and order restored throughout the territories of al-Mansūrah.

First Translation of Holy Quran

The reign of ‘Abdullāh is celebrated in the annals for the first translation of holy Qurān in to the Sindhī language. It is related that a Hindu ruler of the neighbouring kingdom requested ‘Abdullāh to send him a man who could explain to him the teachings of the holy Prophet and the contents of the holy Book. A resident of al-Mansūrah who was well versed in the religion was sent to the non-Muslim chief who is reported to have been convinced by the teachings of the holy Book and to have accepted Islam secretly.³⁹

Earthquake of Daybul

In Shawāl 280 A.H. the town of Daybul was rocked by a severe earthquake combined with an avalanche, which is reported to have destroyed the whole town. There were in all, five shocks of such a great intensity that most of the buildings perished along with their inhabitants. The official census places the number of the dead to one hundred and fifty thousand souls in addition to those who were injured or saved from the general catastrophe.⁴⁰

Death of Muhammad ibn abi Shorab

Three years later in 283 A.H./897 A.D., the famous Qādi of al-Mansūrah, Muhammad ibn Abi Shorāb died⁴¹ whose family is reported to have held relationship with the rulers of al-Mansūrah.⁴² The duration of his holding position of Chief Qādi of the Habbārī kingdom was six months.⁴³

‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar seems to have reigned until 300 A.H. as would appear from the accounts of al-Mas‘ūdī who visited the Valley of the Indus by 303 A.H./916 A.D. when he came to

Lower Sind, its ruler was 'Umar ibn Abdullāh⁴⁴ who might have ascended the throne of al-Mansūrah, a few years earlier. It is, therefore, presumed that 'Abdullāh might have died in or about 300 A.H./913 A.D. and was followed by his son 'Umar as the ruler of al-Mansūrah.

'Umar ibn 'Abdullah

'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh who followed his father by about 300 A.H. on the throne of al-Mansūrah was the greatest of all the Habbārid rulers of Sind. His reign marked the apogee of the Habbārid sway over the country, as the whole Lower Indus Valley, from Aror to the sea acknowledged his suzerainty.⁴⁵ He was a capable ruler well versed in the art of administration and it was due to his enlightened rule that the country of Sind witnessed a period of general peace and prosperity. He reigned with great pomp and dignity and like all other Muslim rulers of the east he maintained a court of Oriental type. He had a minister to look after the extensive executive functions of the State, while the Judicial functions were conducted by the Chief Qādī of al-Mansūrah, who belonged to the family of Abī Shorāb.⁴⁶ It seems that the family of Abī Shorāb held hereditary claim over the position due to the family relationship existing between the Qādī and the rulers of al-Mansūrah.

Al-Mas'ūdī, who visited the Indus Valley shortly after 300 A.H., gives the following description of the Muslim State of al-Mansūrah in Sind. He says that, at the time of his arrival in al-Mansūrah, its ruler was Abū al-Mundhir 'Umar ibn Abdullāh, and his Vazier was Rayāh. He had two sons, Muhammad and 'Alī. There was in the Court of al-Mansūrah an Arab Chief by the name Hamzah who was one of the kings of the country. He also witnessed a great number of the descendants of 'Alī ibn Abi Tālib, who claimed their ancestry from Muhammad ibn 'Alī and 'Umar ibn 'Alī. The Qādī of al-Mansūrah belonged to the family of Abi Shorāb, who held relationship with the rulers of al-Mansūrah.⁴⁷ Then he continues to give a description of the military might of the ruler of al-Mansūrah and finishes his account with an inter-

esting story about the two elephants of al-Mansurah, Man'arfals and Haydrah.⁴⁸

Muhammad ibn 'Umar

Due to the absence of historical evidence it is not possible to ascertain the exact period of 'Umar's reign, but it is presumed to have extended for a pretty long time. It seems that immediately after his death, 'Umar was followed by his son Muhammad whom al-Mas'ūdī had seen at the court of his father, at the time of his visit to al-Mansūrah.⁴⁹ The period during which he was the ruler of al-Mansūrah is unknown but his coins have been unearthed by Mr. Bellassis from the ruined site of al-Mansūrah.⁵⁰

Another ruler whose coins have been unearthed from the ruins of al-Mansūrah, is Ahmad⁵¹ who might have been the ruler of al-Mansūrah, at some later period.

Al-Istakhri, who wrote his work in 340 A.H. /951 A.D., although giving an extensive account of the condition of the country and its capital, makes no mention of the name of the ruler of al-Mansūrah. He only says that "the ruler of al-Mansūrah is a Qurayshite belonging to family of Habbār ibn al-Aswad."⁵²

Ibn Hauqal who followed him soon afterwards reports that "the ruler of al-Mansūrah is a Qurayshite and a descendant of Habbār ibn Aswad. The Habbārīs are holding the country since the time of their forefathers. The Khutba is, however, read in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph, in the territories of al-Mansūrah."⁵³

In 375 A.H./986 A.D., when Bashshārī al-Maqdisī came to Sind, he found the same family ruling the realm, but the name of the 'Abbasid Caliphs continued to be recited in the Friday Khutbas.⁵⁴ Sometimes the Khutba was recited in the name of 'Adad al-Dawlah, the Buwayhid prince and there was exchange of envoys between the parties. Al-Maqdisī reports that he had seen the envoy of al-Mansūrah at Shīrāz (شیراز) while coming to Sind.⁵⁵

The last ruler of the dynasty is reported to have had the name of Khafīf,⁵⁶ which is also one of the names of the Sūmrah rulers in Sind⁵⁷ who took over the control of the Lower Indus Valley on the decline of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Khafīf had become a heretic and had, therefore, incurred the displeasure of Sultān Mahmūd, who attacked Sind and put an end to the dynasty of Banū Habbār.⁵⁸

End of the Dynasty of Banu Habbar

Ibn Hazm and Ibn Khaldūn, both assert that the end of the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah was brought about by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah,⁵⁹ but no reason has been assigned for the extinguishment of the Arab rule in the country.

Ma'sūmi, a local historian, relates the following story about the conquest of Sind by the Ghaznavid Sultān. He reports that "In the year 416 A.H. Mahmūd set out from Ghazni and after having conquered Multān and Uch, established his headquarter at Multān. From Multān he sent his minister 'Abd al-Razzāq who entered Sind in 417 A.H. and effected the conquest of the country by capturing Bakhar, Siwistan and Thatta."⁶⁰ He further reports that a great number of Arabs were expelled while the remaining people were treated kindly and granted adequate pensions.⁶¹

The historical evidence, however, disproves the version of al-Ma'sūmi, for Mahmūd had no minister by name of 'Abd al-Razzāq. His minister's name was Khwājah Ahmad Hasan Maymandī who had a son called 'Abd al-Razzāq. This 'Abd al-Razzāq was appointed to the government of Seistān, by Sultān Maudūd ibn Mas'ūd, the grandson of Sultān Mahmūd. It was he who relieved 'Abd al-Rashīd ibn Mas'ūd from Habs and brought him to Ghazni, where he was crowned as king in place of his brother 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd. 'Abd al-Razzāq was also the name of one of the sons of Sultān Mas'ūd, the son and successor of Mahmūd of Ghaznah.⁶²

The question now arises whether the rulers of al-Mansūrah were Isma'īlis or Qarmathians, heretics as is generally supposed or whether there were other reasons for the attack of Mahmūd

on their kingdom. It is, however, certain that up to 375 A.H./ 986 A.D., the rulers of al-Mansūrah were Sunnite Muslims, and the Khutba was read in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliphs.⁶³ During the same period at Multān, the Khutba was read in the name of the Fatimids as reported by Bashshārī al-Maqdisī.⁶⁴

As already indicated the influence of Shī'ite propaganda in Sind was as old as the reign of Caliph al-Mansūr in whose time 'Abdullāh al-Ashtar came to Sind. But the Ismā'īlī or Qarmathian influence in Sind may be dated with the rise of Qarmathian movement in 'Irāq or the foundation of the Fātimid dynasty in Egypt in 969 A.D. It is related that during the reign of Caliph al-Mu'iz (952-975 A.D.), there was a mau named Ibn al-Haythām in charge of Ismā'īlī propaganda in Sind, whose conduct and teachings were greatly at variance with the Ismā'īlī orthodoxy taught by the Imam and his close associates. He was, however, not disturbed and allowed to continue with his mission, in spite of the fact that he made many changes in the Ismā'īlī doctrine. He is also reported to have given permission for the observance of un-Islamic practices and relaxed certain statues of Islam, for those who had been Muslims before joining Ismā'ilism.⁶⁵

The Dā'ī of Sind became successful at last and was able to convert the ruler of Multān, who openly proclaimed the suzerainty of the Fātimid Caliph at a very early period. He was followed by Jalam ibn Shaybān, who not only revived the Ismā'īlī orthodoxy but is also reported to have destroyed the idol of Multān, which had survived throughout the period of Arab domination over Sind.⁶⁶

As regards Ismā'īlī missionary influence over al-Mansūrah very little is known, but it seems that the Fātimid influence was prevalent at the Court of al-Mansūrah as early as 375 A.H. when al-Maqdisī came to Sind. There was diplomatic relationship between the rulers of al-Mansūrah and the Buwayhid rulers of 'Irāq, and the geographer had seen an envoy of al-Mansūrah in the court of Adad al-Dawlah at Shīrāz.⁶⁷ The Buwayhids are also responsible for the establishment of the Shī'ah festivals including the public mourning on the tenth

of al-Muharram and the rejoicing (18th Dhu-al-Hijjah) on the alleged appointment of 'Alī by the Prophet as his successor at Ghadīr al-Khumm.⁶⁸

It seems that some years after the departure of the geographer Bashsharī al-Maqqisī, the rulers of al-Mansūrah might have abjured the orthodoxy and accepted the Ismā'īlī Qarmathian doctrine the propagation of which was dominant in the whole of Indus Valley. This step of the ruler of al-Mansūrah might have been taken for political reasons in order to avoid the fury of those fanatics who would have otherwise overthrown his kingdom. Moreover in this period, the Qarmathians had suffered a great reverse at Multān at the hands of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah.⁶⁹ It is, therefore, highly probable that they might have attacked al-Mansūrah and overthrown the Habbārid rule in the Lower Indus Valley.

Farrukhī, the contemporary writer informs us that the ruler of al-Mansūrah whose name was Khafīf fled to the jungles on the arrival of the forces of Sultan Mahmūd and was drowned in the river.⁷⁰ The statement of Farrukhī, is corroborated by Ibn al-Athīr who, however, omits to mention the name of the ruler of al-Mansūrah. He reports that the ruler of al-Mansūrah had become a heretic and the Sultan wanted to punish him by marching to al-Mansūrah. The ruler evacuated his capital on the approach of the Sultan's forces and took shelter in the neighbouring jungles, along with his army. He was, however, pursued by the army of Sultān Mahmūd and in the encounter that followed, a great number of his soldiers were killed and many more were drowned in the river; thereafter the Sultan returned to Ghaznī, by way of Bhātyah.⁷¹

The above accounts leave no room for suspicion about the end of the Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah, which was extinguished by the Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah. Henceforth, the Lower Indus Valley came under the domination of the Ghaznavides, who held the province up to the decline and fall of the dynasty.

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CHAPTER VII

Territorial Limits of al-Mansūrah Kingdom,
its Towns, Currency, Coins, Dress, Language,
Script, Products, Trade Marks, Distances,
General Conditions of People.

Territorial Limits

The territorial limits of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah extended far beyond the boundaries of the present Sind. The kingdom of al-Mansūrah comprised of the modern region of the former province of Sind, Lasbelā State and parts of Makrān before their merger into one single unit for West Pakistan, as would appear from the account of the Arab geographers. The town of Aror, situated three miles south east of the modern town of Rohri is reported to have been on the northern borders of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah, almost at equidistance between Multān and al-Mansūrah.¹ It was due to this reason that the town of Aror was protected by a double wall. The territories north of Aror belonged to the ruler of Multān who was also a Qurayshite and was a descendant of Sāmāh ibn Lū'iyā ibn Ghālib.²

Al-Mas'ūdi, in his description of the river Mahrān (Indus) reports that it was at Aror that the name Mahrān was given to the river by which name it was known throughout the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. He places the fall of the river in the district of Shākrah (possibly Sākro) which was situated at a distance of two days journey from Daybul, a town situated on the sea shore.³ It is, therefore, clear from the accounts that the territory of al-Mansūrah extended from Aror in the north to Sākro, Daybul and the Arabian Sea on the south. On the east, however, then as now, the desert of Rajputānā separated it from the rest of India. The eastern-most town belonging to the kingdom of al-Mansūrah was Fāmhal (or Qāmhal) from which place began the territories of India.⁴ The

town of Fāmhal has not yet been identified with any site although it is believed to have been situated on one of the islands of the Gulf of Cutch. Sir Henry Elliot has identified this town with Anhilwārah.⁵

The next town which came after Fāmhal was Sandān which still exists in the Island of Cutch at a short distance from Māndavi, the principal port of the Island. The town of Sandān was conquered by the Arabs during the governorship of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī and was held by them for a considerable time.⁶ It had a mosque which was built during the governorship of 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī⁷ and which continued to exist up to the 12th century A.D. as would appear from the account of the Arab geographers.⁸

Modern Baluchistān was divided into three principal states of Tūrān, Makrān and Budh or Budhā. The first two were ruled by the Arab Chiefs whilst the State of Budhā was governed by its own native ruler. The country of Makrān comprised of the greater portion of the Sea coast and its capital was Kez (or Kech). It was ruled by one 'Isā ibn Ma'dān during Ibn Hauqal's time who held undisputed and independent sway over the region with nominal allegiance to the 'Abbasids.⁹ The Capital of Tūrān was Kuzdār which lay on the trade route connecting the western world with the Sindhian kingdoms of Multān and al-Mansūrah. Al-Istakhri reports that its ruler was Mughīr ibn Ahmad, whose sway extended in the interior as far as Kizkānān (modern Kalat). The Khutba in the Friday prayers was, however, read in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliphs,¹⁰ whose spiritual authority was still recognised in most of the eastern lands. The most important town which lay on the western frontiers of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah was Armā'il (or Arman Belā) which has been identified with the modern town of Belā, the capital of Las State. The boundaries of the al-Mansūrah kingdom, however, ran far beyond the town of Belā in the interior and by the side of the town of Rahūk, which was within the territories of al-Mansūrah.¹¹

The description of the boundaries which for a considerable time remained under the rulers of al-Mansūrah show that the

former Las State was also included in the territories of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. The unity of this region with Sind proper can be well discerned from the language which is spoken in the Las State. The language of Lasbelā region is still Sindhi, with a Balochi touch and it has also produced some of the best poets of Sindhi literature.¹²

Towns of the Kingdom of al Mansurah

The principal towns of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah were al-Mansūrah, al-Aror, al-Nerūn, al-Daybul, Siwistān, Bānyah, Ballarī, Kallarī, Maswāhī and Fahraj or Bahraj.¹³

Al-Mansurah

Al-Mansūrah, the Arab Capital of Sind, identified with the ruined site Bhīro or Bhambre-jo-Thul (situated at a distance of 8 miles from the modern town of Shahdādpur) was situated on the western bank of river Indus, the bed of which is still existent in the region. It was surrounded by another branch from the river in such a manner that the land on which the town stood looked like an island.¹⁴ In spite of this situation the climate of al-Mansūrah was very hot and unhealthy and was a breeding place for flees.¹⁵

Al-Mansūrah is spoken of as a great commercial city with extensive trade and it was due to this reason that every commodity could be had in abundance at very cheap rates. Its environments were fertile with fields of corn and sugarcane but trees were rare except for the date palms,¹⁶ which seem to have been introduced into this country by the Arabs. The city was well built and populous and had many fields, gardens and recreation centres.¹⁷ The buildings were made of clay, wood and bricks but the chief congregational mosque was built of stones, bricks, and marble.¹⁸ The city of al-Mansūrah had four gates namely, Bāb al-Bahr, Bāb Tūrān, Bāb Sandān and Bāb Multān,¹⁹ indicating the four directions of the trade route by which its commerce was carried on with the neighbouring countries. Fruit was also reported to have been abundant, testifying to the general fertility of the land, although the grapes and apple did not grow there.²⁰ The land produced a fruit called Ambaj (or

Amb: Mango) which was similar to peach in both size and taste. Another variety of fruit called Laymūn (or Lemon) which was extremely sour was also grown in great quantity.

The inhabitants of al-Mansūrah were mainly Muslims, who were polished, generous, hospitable and inclined to religion.²² The commercial class was rich but the people on the whole were prosperous and content.²³ The dress of the people was almost the same as worn in 'Irāq, but the dress of the rulers resembled that of the Indian princes in respect to hair and tunic.²⁴ The current coin of the country was stamped at Qandhār and therefore known as Qandhāriyat. It was equal to five dirhams in weight but Tāhri coin which weighed $1\frac{1}{3}$ of the Qāhri was also used as legal currency throughout the kingdom of al-Mansūrah.²⁵

Al-Ror

The ruins of Al-Ror, the ancient capital of Sind, are situated at a distance of 5 miles to the south east of the modern town of Rohrī near the eastern Nārā supply channel. At the time of the Arab invasion of Sind it was the capital of the Brahman rulers of Sind, whose last king Rājā Dāhir was killed in the battle of Rāwar.²⁶ During the period of the Arab governors in Sind, it had acquired secondary importance and continued to be ruled by its native chiefs who seemed to have been the vassals of the Arab governors of Sind. The Arabs did not give much importance to this town and founded their own colonies and settlements; one such settlement, al-Mansūrah, became the capital of the Arab governors as well as the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah.²⁷

Aror or Al-Ror as it was written by the Arabs, is derived from 'ror' which means stone or noise.²⁸ The reference is perhaps to the stony nature of the country or the thundering noise of the stream which acquires considerable dimension at this point after receiving the gushing waters of the five rivers of the Punjāb. To the Persians, however, it was known as al-Rūd (i.e. the town of the river) and this same name has been mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī²⁹ who visited the Valley of Indus shortly after 300 A.H. The situation of Aror has

been placed on the eastern bank of the river Indus which is reported to have flowed to the west of the town.³⁰

During the old rulers of Sind, Aror was a big populous city and possessed very many fine buildings, palaces, gardens and places for recreation.³¹ Although its importance was eclipsed by the change of government, still it continued to maintain its greatness throughout the Arab period on account of its strategic situation. The Arab geographers report that the town of Aror was as large as Multān in size and was very thickly populated.³² It was a handsome town with many gardens and beautiful surroundings. It lay on the trade route which connected Multān with al-Mansūrah and was a busy commercial town. Due to its trade every commodity could be had in abundance and the inhabitants were wealthy and prosperous. Since Aror was situated on the boundaries of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah, it was a well fortified place being defended by a double wall.³³ Very little is known about the depopulation of Aror and its destruction. A popular version as given in *Tuhfat al-Kirām* ascribes its destruction to a miracle which was sought to save a saintly lady Badī al-Jamāl, from the clutches of the tyrant ruler Dalū Rāi. The town was destroyed by an earthquake, which changed the course of river Indus.³⁴

Daybul

Dev-bel (or Deb-El) identified with the present ruins of Bhambhor (or Vanvahār) was the principal seaport of Sind and the third largest town of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. The Arab geographers have placed its situation at a little distance from the mouth of the river Indus and on its western bank.³⁵ It was a very thickly peopled town although its environments are reported to have been barren and devoid of vegetation.³⁶ It was inhabited mainly due to its commercial importance and as a station for the vessels of Sind and other countries plying on the Indian Ocean. The merchants of Daybul traded almost in every commodity, with great intelligence and acumen. Ships laden with the products of the east as far as China and those of the Muslim world anchored at this port and disposed of much of their merchandise. The inhabitants of

Daybul who are reported to have been very rich purchased these articles at low price, hoarded them in their warehouses and reaped large profits by blackmarketing these goods at a very high rate when these became rare.³⁷ The chief imports of Daybul were silk and silken cloth from China and perfumes and aromatic from India.³⁸ Daybul was also famous for the manufacture of swords, which were celebrated in the Arab world for their sharpness and durability.³⁹ Daybul's greatness and prosperity can be well imagined from the number of people who perished in the earthquake which overtook the town in the year 280 A.H. According to the official estimate the number of the dead persons who were taken out from the debris exceeded 1,25,000.⁴⁰

As to the identification of the site of Daybul an article has been written by Dr. Nabī Bakhsh Baloch⁴¹ which needs no repetition. The port of Daybul was in existence even before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs and, as al-Baladhurī reports, it had a great stupa, over which flew a red flag, pulled down by the Arab soldiery with the help of catapults.⁴² The Arab geographers have described it to be situated on the western arm of the river Indus, at a distance of six miles to the west of Daybul.⁴³ According to al-Mas'ūdi, however, its distance was two days journey from the western-most mouth of river Indus.⁴⁴ Yāqūt al-Hamavī gives its situation at 80-20' west and 20-30' south on the shores of the Arabian Sea.⁴⁵ In another of his works he reports that Daybul was situated on one of the creeks of the Sea Coast.⁴⁶ There are at present only three creeks on the Arabian Sea, from the western-most mouth of the river Indus to Cape Monze, which is the point where the Habb river falls into the Arabian Sea. These are Khadro, Gisrī and Ghāro Creeks and the ruins of Bhambhor are situated on the last of these creeks. The ruins of Wāghūdar and Mārī Moriro, situated on the Khadro and Gisrī Creeks respectively are comparatively too small to be considered the site of the great port of Daybul which was a large town. The site of Bhambhor is, therefore, the only site in the area which can be identified with the ancient Sea port of Daybul. It is reported to have continued to exist

up to the time of Aurangzayb the last great Moghul Emperor and it is also reported to have had pearl mines, and it is still a place of considerable importance.⁴⁷ When Ibn Batūtah came to Sind, Daybul was not in existence. The port of Sind during his time was Lārī or Lāhrī Bunder⁴⁸ the ruins of which are also existent in Sākro Taluka. It seems that the historians of Aurangzayb might have taken Thatta or Lārī Bunder for the site of Daybul.

The excavations of the site of Bhambhor are in progress and it has yielded some valuable articles such as the coins of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī. Recently it was announced by Radio Pakistan that the foundation of a great mosque has been uncovered with an inscription dating back to 294 A.H. and bearing the name of Muhammad ibn⁴⁹ These facts clearly indicate that the site of Bhambhor might have been occupied by the Arabs. No other site in the Delta region has ever yielded such valuable relics or articles which can give proof of its having been occupied by the Arabs. It is, therefore, highly probable that the site of Bhambhor might have been the probable site of the port of Daybul.

Al-Nerun

The town of al-Nerun, or according to al-Balādhuri al-Berūn, is generally identified with the modern town of Hyderābād.⁵⁰ It was situated at 92°-20' by 23°-20', on the western bank of the river Indus, half way between al-Mansūrah and Daybul, but it was nearer to al-Mansūrah.⁵¹ It is reported to have been nearer to Manjābarī, a town where the people coming from Daybul to al-Mansūrah and vice versa had to cross the river.⁵² The Arab geographers who visited al-Nerūn, speak highly of the fertility of its environments and the everyday life of its inhabitants. The commodities were cheap and the people on the whole were prosperous.⁵³ The old town of al-Nerūn seems to have survived the ravages of time and held the same name up to the advent of the Kalhorās. It might have been a small town and in ruins at the time when the Kalhorā ruler Miyān Ghulām Shāh conceived the idea of founding a new Capital which he named Hyderābād, It is beyond doubt that the prince had

to clear an old ruined site before he laid the foundation of the present fort of Hyderābād.⁵⁴

The position of al-Nerūn described by Abu al-Fidā as 25 farsakhs from Daybul and 15 farsakhs from al-Mansūrah, agrees with the less definite statement of al-Istakhri and Ibn Hauqal.⁵⁵ According to Chach Nāmah, Nirān Kot was situated on a hill, and there was a lake or tank in its neighbourhood⁵⁶ of sufficient size to receive the fleet of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. Elliot has identified the town with Jhirk and the lake with Kīnjhar,⁵⁷ but Kīnjhar has no communication with the Indus. Similarly, the distances given by medieval geographers also do not agree with the actual distance between Bhambhor and Jhirk or Jhirak and al-Mansūrah.

The pilgrim Hwen-Thsang who visited Sindh in 641 A.D. and had travelled from Koteswara, the Capital of Cutch, situated at a distance of 700 li (or 119 miles), due north to Pi-to-shi-lo. From here he proceeded 300 li (or 50 miles) to north east to O'fancha, which has been identified with Brahmanābād.⁵⁸ Pi-to-shi-lo which may be read as Patasila (or the flat rock) is an accurate description of the long flat-topped hill on which present Hyderābād is situated. It is said that one of the old appellation of Hyderābād was Patālpur⁵⁹ and its situation is exactly 120 miles to the north of Kotesar in Cutch. The distance between Pi-to-shi-lo and O'fancha of the pilgrim also agrees with the distance between Hyderābād and the ruined site of Brahmanābād. The size of the hill, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length by 700 yards in breadth or upwards of 3 miles in circumference, corresponds very closely with the dimensions of Patasila, which according to Hwen-Thsang was 20 li or $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles in circuit.⁶⁰ At present Hyderābād is situated at a distance of about 44 miles from the ruined site of al-Mansūrah and about 75 miles from the ruins of Bhambhor, identified with those of Daybul. The position of Hyderābād, therefore, corresponds much better with the recorded distances than any other site yet known. Hyderābād is also known as Nirūn jo Kot (or Nirūn ji Tikrī) by its old residents and this would suffice to identify

the site of Hyderābād with that of al-Nerūn in medieval times.

Siwistan

The modern town of Schwan,⁶¹ on the right bank of the river Indus is the oldest extant town in Sind. Identified with Sindimana the capital of Sombos, it is reported to have been the seat of the warlike tribes of the Kirthar mountains during Alexander's invasion.⁶² Alexander is reported to have built a fort which is still cited on the raised ground to the north west of the town. The fort is now merely a ruin of stones, but it affords a panoramic view of the beautiful surroundings. Sehwan was the capital of one of the five provinces of the ancient kingdom of Sind, on the eve of the Arab conquest.⁶³ During the Arab period it was the fourth largest town of Sind. When al-Mansūrah was wiped out, it acquired much greatness and became the principal town of the Sirkār of Thatta during the reign of the Mughul emperor Akbar.⁶⁴ It is still famous as the resting place of one of the greatest Sufi saints Shaykh Uthmān Marwandī, well-known as Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar, who is reported to have died there on 21st Sha'bān, 673 A.H./1275 A.D.⁶⁵

During the dynastic rule of the Banū Habbār, Sehwan was one of the principal stations on the trade route which connected al-Mansūrah with the countries of Tūrān and Budhā. It is also reported to have been a town of springs and canals, due to which the environments were very fertile.⁶⁶ Its trade provided the town with every commodity which could be had at very cheap rates.⁶⁷ The people of Sehwan were rich and prosperous but now they are starving due to their own follies.

Banyah

Bānyah is reported to have been a small town at some distance from al-Mansūrah the capital of the Habbārid kingdom. Bānyah was the official residence of the rulers of al-Mansūrah and hence the principal offices of the administration were located in it. The land was very fertile and every commodity whether native or foreign could be had in abundance and on cheap rates. Due to its commercial

importance the inhabitants of this town were also rich and prosperous.⁶⁸ This town is not in existence now, not even the ruins survive. Elliot has identified it with Bhatiya,⁶⁹ which is, of course, wrong. Bānyah is reported to have been situated in between Amhal (Anhīlwārah) and al-Mansūrah⁷⁰ at a distance of two days journey from al-Mansūrah.

Qamhul

The town of Qāmhal or Fāmhal - Māmhul or Amhul identified with Anhīlwārah in Gujrāt,⁷¹ was a large town situated on the borders of al-Hind (India). It was inhabited by a race of warriors known as Meds. The Meds possessed large flocks of cattle, horses and camels which they grazed on the confines of the desert. They were numerous and were a constant source of nuisance to the settled population of al-Mansūrah kingdom against whom they carried regular depredatory incursions. They are reported to have traded in cattle which carried them farther west as far as 'Irāq and Seistān.⁷² The geographers also report the existence of a great waste i.e. Rann of Cutch which exists between Fāmhal and Cambay, with saltish soil. This clearly indicates that it may have been situated on the northern or western boundaries of the Rann of Cutch. Cunningham, however, identifies this town with Umarkot,⁷³ which is originally reported to have been built by Rana Amar Singh in later times.

Kallari

Kālri or Kallari, identified with a small town of the same name in Nawābshāh district, is reported to have been a well-fortified and beautiful town.⁷⁴ It lay on the trade route which connected Multān with al-Mansūrah, and was situated on the eastern bank of the river Indus. Its situation has been placed to the south of the town of Ballari or Balri, at a point where the river divided itself into two streams. Its distance from al-Mansūrah was round about 40 miles or a days journey to the north⁷⁵ and it was a busy trading centre. The people were prosperous and happy.

Ballari or Balri

The town of Balri is reported to have been situated in

the vicinity of Kallārī, to the north on the left bank of the river Mahrān. This town has not yet been identified with any site, although a town named Būlri exists in Taluka Gūni of Hyderābād District. This town is situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the south of Tando Muhammad Khān and is important due to the resting place of Shāh 'Abd al-Karīm, the grandfather of the famous Sindhi poet Shāh Latīf of Bhīt.

According to the available accounts the town of Ballārī was situated in the north of al-Mansūrah at a distance of three days journey. It is said to have been the juncture where the river Mahrān divided itself into two branches.⁷⁶ The eastern branch having passed by the side of Kallārī and al-Mansūrah, joined the other 12 miles below al-Mansūrah.⁷⁷

Annari

Annarī (or Atarī) a small town, was situated in the vicinity of Kallārī and Ballārī discussed above. The ruins of Annarī, have not yet been identified with any site yet known, although there is a continuation of ruins on both sides of the river bed from Aror to the very confines of Cutch desert.

Manjabari

The town of Manhātārī or Manjābarī which is reported to have been on the west of the river⁷⁸ Indus, appears to have been situated in between Daybul and Nerūn Kot. Al-Idrīsī reports that it was situated at a distance of two days journey from Daybul, but he also adds that it was situated on the road which connected Daybul with Panjgur.⁷⁹ Major Raverty believes that the ruins near Badīn, about 33 miles west of it, may be those of Manhātārī as he asserts that the ruins near Shakrpur 30 miles west of Thatta may be the remains of Nerūn Kot.⁸⁰ Haig on the contrary assumes that Manhātārī may have been near modern Karachi.⁸¹ Elliot has identified it with Thatta which was known as Minnagara i.e. the town of the Min, a people who are reported to have been a branch of Scythians.⁸²

Due to the absence of continuity in historical evidence, as lamented by Mr. J. Abbot,⁸³ it is very difficult to say

with certainty what particular area was occupied by which ancient town. Many sites have been washed away by the wild river and at the same time the geological condition of Sind and the course of the river Indus has also changed greatly. The identification of the different sites is therefore mainly based on assumptions and conjectures, keeping in view the data supplied by the medieval geographers.

The identification of Manjābarī with Thatta by Sir H. Elliot does not appear to be correct, because on the basis of medieval accounts Manjābarī was situated in the neighbourhood of Nerūn Kot.⁸⁴ Moreover it was situated on the right bank of the river, which position Thatta had never enjoyed. In this connection the views of David Ross seem to be in conformity with the available accounts. There is a ruined site in the neighbourhood of the town of Jhirk, which is called by the people as Kafir Kot and is supposed to have been built by Rājā Manjhīrā.⁸⁵ The site also contains remains of Buddhist and Hindu structures, with a very curious inscription in old Indian characters.⁸⁶ The distance between Hyderābād and Jhirk also agrees with the account of al-Istakhri who says that these two towns were two marches apart. If this be true then the ruins near Jhirk are definitely those of Manjābarī.

The Arab geographers have mentioned two more towns of Sind in their accounts. They are Maswāhī and Fahraj, which are reported to have been situated on the west of the Indus.⁸⁷ Fahraj or Bahraj is definitely Baroch, a town in Thana District of the Bombay Presidency. The town of Maswāhī may be Maswiyah of Idrīsī which is spoken of to be situated in India in the neighbourhood of Sind.⁸⁸ It seems that the travellers may have included the names of these Indian towns by mistake. It is also possible that the Arab influence may have been extended to these regions during the Habbārid rule. The Island of Cutch had already been conquered by the Arabs during the governorship of Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Marī who is reported to have penetrated as far as Gujrāt, Ujjayn and Mālwa in the interior of India.⁸⁹ Al-Balādhuri reports that when Hakam ibn Awānah al-

Kalbī came to Sind, the whole country had reverted to idolatry excepting the people of Cutch who remained steadfast in their adherence to the religion of Islam.⁹⁰ This shows that the Muslims considered Cutch as one of their possessions. Earlier the ruler of Cutch is reported to have actively aided Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim in the conquest of Sind.⁹¹

Armail (Arman-Bela)

This town has been identified with modern Belā, the capital of Las State in Baluchistān.⁹² It is situated at 26°-14 north and 66°-19' east, at a distance of about 1½ mile from Porālī river and 116 miles from Kārāchī.⁹³ The town is placed on a considerable eminence being built on a strong and rocky site on northern bank of Porālī. In its neighbourhood to the west are the vestiges of ancient civilization and old Muslim sculptures which indicate its importance in by-gone times. These ruins have also procured coins, trinkets and funeral jars,⁹⁴ which testify to its importance in the antiquity.

Currency

Standing as it was on the international crossway, the kingdom of al-Mansūrah had a variety of coins. Apart from legal currency minted at al-Mansūrah, there were other coins, which due to their long use had become the principal medium of exchange in Sind. These coins were known as Qāhiryat, and the Tātrī Coins. The Qāhiryat "belonging to Qāhirah" seemed to have been the Fātimid coins of Egypt whose Shi'ite Caliphs during the later period of Habbārid rule over Sind had acquired great influence over the destinies of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Qāhri coins were equal to 5 Dirhams but Tātrī (or possibly Tahri coins) weighed 1½ of the home coins.⁹⁵

Ibn Hauqal speaks of a new name for the Qāhiryat and calls it Qandhāriyat which according to one tradition were minted at Qandhār in modern Afghānistān.⁹⁶ He, however, informs that the weight of the Tātrī coin was 1½⁹⁷ and not 1½ of the al-Mansūrah's coins, as reported by al-Istakhri.⁹⁸

Idrīsī who flourished in the later part of the 12th century

does not mention the name of the coin (Qāhiryat) but reports that its weight was five dirhams.⁹⁹

Coins of al-Mansurah

The ruined site of al-Mansūrah was excavated by Mr. Bellassis in 1854 and the following coins directly pertaining to the kingdom of al-Mansūrah have been exhumed:-

1. Silver coin: Size $1\frac{1}{2}$, weight 9 grains

Obverse: legends arranged in five lines

بالله
محمد
رسول
الله
عمر

Marginal lines plain or dotted, complete the piece.

Reverse: Kufic legends in three lines¹⁰⁰

بالله بنو عمرويه منذر


2. Silver coin: Size 2. weight 8.4 grains

Obverse: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Reverse: محمد رسول الله الامير عبد الله¹⁰¹

3. Copper coin bearing similar legends, with the only omission of الامير, which was the title held by the rulers of al-Mansūrah.¹⁰²

4. Copper coin size $3\frac{1}{2}$, weight 18 grains

Obverse: Central devise, the conventional 4 point star like this , around which in a circular scroll may be read لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Reverse: Central device composed of the name of عبد الله the two portions عبد and الله being crossed at right angles so as to form a tughra or monogrammic imitation of the outline of the star with four points of the obverse device. The marginal legend is arranged in the form of square and consists of the words محمد رسول الله الامير¹⁰³

5. Silver coin of 'Abdullāh

Obverse:

محمد
رسول
الله
عبدالله

Reverse:

104 بالله ولي
عبدالله
وملك

6. Copper coin of Muhammad, size 3.

Obverse: absolutely blank**Reverse:**

105 بالله محمد

7. Silver coins of Ahmad

Obverse:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Reverse:

106 محمد
رسول
الله الامير
احمد

1. Coin No. 1 has been wrongly ascribed to 'Umar ibn Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri by Mr. J. Burghess.¹⁰⁷ It originally belongs to the later period and the more correct spelling might have been Banū 'Umar Abu al-Mundhir 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh the third independent ruler of al-Mansūrah during whose reign al-Mas'ūdī, visited Indus Valley.¹⁰⁸
2. Coins No. 2 to 5 belong to the reign of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son and successor of the founder of the independent Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah.

3. Coin No 6 pertains to the rule of Muhammad, son of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh, who seems to have been the eldest of the two sons of the sovereign, whom al-Mas'ūdī had seen during his visit to the Court of al-Mansūrah.¹⁰⁹
4. Coin No. 7, bears the name of Ahmad who may have been the ruler of al-Mansūrah at some later period possibly during the time of the visit of al-Istakhri or Bashshārī al-Maqdisī both of whom did not mention the name of the ruler of al-Mansūrah.

Apart from these coins, the site has also yielded a number of coins dating back to the rule of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr al-Kalbī, who had usurped power in the Lower Indus Valley shortly before the advent and success of the 'Abbasids. The coins of Mansūr ibn Jamhūr are the first of the specimen so far unearthed from the ruins. One of these coins is of copper weighing 33 grains and its size is 6 of the mionnets scale. The year of the mint is not shown.

Obverse:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Margin: Illegible

Reverse:

محمد
♦
رسول الله

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب من بالمنصوره مما امره منصور

(In the name of God this was minted at Mansūrah under the orders of Mansūr).¹¹⁰

Three coins of Abū Muslim ('Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muslim) Khurāsānī, have also been found and added to Mr. Bellasis's collection. One of these coins bears the year of the mint as 133 A.H.¹¹¹ It will therefore appear that Abū Muslim might have been invested with powers to hold Sind on behalf of the 'Abbasids immediately after the battle of Zāb.

Dress

The inhabitants of Sind seem to have absorbed and assimilated the culture of the conquerors by adopting their customs, habits and the dress. The Arab geographers who travelled extensively in Sind during the Arab rule report that the people of Sind wore the same dress as that worn in 'Irāq and the adjoining Muslim countries.¹¹² The ruler's dress was, however, different and resembled the dress of the Hindu kings of India, specially in respect of hair and tunic.¹¹³ This shows that the influence of Sind was also dominant over its ruler who had to adopt some customs of their subject people. There seems to have been no difference between the dress of the Hindus and Muslims who wore the same dress. Due to the extreme heat in the lower part of the Indus Valley the tunic seems to have been a favourite dress of the people which is still worn by most of the people all over Sind. The merchant class, the only exception, used a different costume mostly shirts and cloaks or gowns commonly worn by their co-professionists in Iraq and Persia.¹¹⁴

The use of kurta and shalwar seems to have been universal and continued up to the 12th century A.D. when al-Idrīsī wrote his work. He also observed the above mentioned facts and has given an interesting account of the dress worn by the Muslim rulers of Sind. He says that the rulers of al-Mansūrah allow their hair to grow large and wear rings in their ears, like the Hindu princes of India.¹¹⁵

Both the rulers of Multān as well as of al-Mansūrah were known to the Muslims as Amir whilst the non-Muslims addressed them as Mahārāj.¹¹⁶

Language of Sind

The language of Sind, like its script had undergone various changes in its history. The origin of modern Sindhi is generally traced to the period of Sūmrahs rule in Sind,¹¹⁷ but this is not correct. Sindhi has the distinction of being one of the most ancient languages of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. It appears to be older than Sanskrit itself. When the Aryans came to Sind, its people had a civilization and

culture of their own, which was not inferior in any way to the Aryan Civilization.¹¹⁸ Their original language may have undergone changes after the Aryan conquest and settlement. There are many words in Sindhi language which are not found in any other language of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent.

During the Arab rule in Sind, including that of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah, the language spoken by the masses was Sindhi. The Arab settlers, however, spoke Arabic, which had also become the official language of the State. The Arab geographers who visited the Indus Valley during the medieval period report that both Arabic and Sindhi were in use in the whole of the Indus Valley as far as Multān and its environments.¹¹⁹

Sindhi is considered to be a branch of Prakrit and is closely related with Lahnda spoken in southern Punjab. The Prakrit grammarian Markandeya reports that Apabhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sind was called Vrachada. It is from this that the present Sindhi language is derived.¹²⁰

Various dialects of Sindhi are now spoken in Sind, but its chief divisions are three: Sirāikī, spoken in Upper Sind, Vicholi in Middle Sind and Lārī in Lower Sind. There are other dialects also spoken in the eastern desert known as Thari or Thāreli and Kohistānī spoken in the mountainous regions. The influence of the Sindhi language seems to be dominant in the south in Cutch for traces of it can be found as far as Gujrāt and Kathiawad.¹²¹ Yet another dialect of this language is spoken in Las Belā State which is known as Lāsī.

The Script of Sind

The country of Sind has the distinction of having the first known script of the world, which was developed by its people from picture writing. This script later introduced into Mesopotamia, became known as the Cunciform script and was adopted by almost all the nations of West Asia. The period of its introduction into the Valley of two rivers, has been placed between 4000 to 5000 B.C.¹²² The script may have undergone changes till the introduction of the Alpha-

betical system, which was invented by the Cananites, who were known to the Greeks as Phoinicians.¹²³

Very little is known about the character of the script in Sind, in the centuries before the advent of the Arabs. It is probable that it may have resembled the script of Sanskrit which is considered to be the mother of all the Aryan languages spoken in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. During the Arab rule in Sind, Arabic became the official language of the Indus Valley and hence the script in use was also Arabic. The people of Sind who absorbed and assimilated the culture and institutions of the conquerors began to learn Arabic and its script. This was limited to Muslim Converts,¹²⁴ for the non-Muslims did not seem to have taken much interest in it. The non-Muslims seem to have been well-versed in the Persian language as would appear from the accounts of the Medieval writers. The learned men who went to Baghdād at the invitation of the Barmakides are reported to have translated Indian works, from Hindī to Persian.¹²⁵ The script in use by the non-Muslims was written from left to right in contrast to the Arabic script which was written from right to left.¹²⁶

The author of al-Fihrist, Ibn Nadīm, reports that the script in use in Sind resembled the Arabic script¹²⁷ written in other lands of the Muslim Empire. The numerical figures from 1 to 9 were also written in Arabic form with slight change.¹²⁸ The practice of adding zero was, however, different from that in use today. Instead of placing the zero next to the figure, it was written beneath it like this:

١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ denoting 100, 200, 300 and so on.¹²⁹

Al-Berūnī writing in the 12th century A.D. reports that the scripts in use in Sind were principally three, Ardhnāgrī, Malqārī and Sayandab. Ardhnāgarī which was a compound of Siddhamatrika and Nagara¹³⁰ was in use in Bhatya and some parts of Northern Sind. Malwārī was used in Malwashaṇ, in Southern Sind towards the sea-coast and Sayandab (or Saindhava) was used in the regions of al-Mansūrah.¹³¹

This description clearly indicates that the Arabic script may have been in use as early as the conquest of Sind, side by side with the Wānikī and Nāgrī script. Specimens of writings in both these scripts, have been considered to represent standard dialect in use in Sind.¹³²

Trade Routes

The principal trade routes which connected al-Mansūrah with the western world, were three, two by land and one by sea. The first, which was used frequently came from Iran, by way of the sea coast, through Makrān. It started from Beh (modern Geh) and passing through Band, Qasrqand, Tīz, Kez (Kech), Qanzbūr (Panjgūr), Armā'il (modern Belā), Daybul and al-Nerūn, ended at al-Mansūrah.¹³³ The other route which came from Fahraj through North West Baluchistan, Kizkānān (Kalat), Kuzdār, Gaudāvā and other towns proceeded first to Multān,¹³⁴ and then to al-Mansūrah through Aror, the frontier town of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. The principal port of the Sindhian kingdom was Daybul, which was connected with the port town of Irān, 'Irāq and Arabia on the west and Broach, Cambay, and other coastal towns of India on the east.¹³⁵ A land route also seems to have been frequented by the Arab travellers to India who used to trade extensively with Gujrat and Deccan. The trade with this region received great impetus from the ruling chief of the region known as Balhara, who extended his patronage to the Muslims and allowed them to settle in his country. The Arab geographers who visited this region, have praised Balhara for his tolerant views and report that almost every town of his kingdom possessed mosques for the Muslims who were allowed all concessions in the free exercise of their religion.¹³⁶

Distances

The distances given by the Arab geographers, although vague and inaccurate are not altogether void. The position and situation of different towns, the latitude and longitude, the measurement of the distances which they have recorded, at least give a clue to the identification of the different sites,

which are mere ruins now. Some of these sites have, however vanished from the site due to the ravages of time.

The geographers themselves are not unanimous in their version about the description and the situation of sites and distances which separated them from each other. It is, therefore, very difficult to distinguish, determine and arrive at the correct conclusion on the given data.*

The trade routes which connected Sind with the Arab World as already indicated came through Irān. One of them came by the sea coast, possibly through Tiz (modern Diz) which is still a seaport of some importance.¹³⁷ The first important station on this route was Kiz (modern Keth) and next to it was Armā'il (modern Belā). The distance between both these stations was 6 marāhil¹³⁸ or marches which is equivalent to 72 miles.¹³⁹ The distance between Armā'il and Daybul according to modern calculation is recorded as 6 marches¹⁴⁰ more which will bring the total (from Kech to Daybul) to 142 miles in all.

The second route which came through Fahraj (modern Irānshahr) passed through Dirak (modern Dizak), Tiz (modern Diz), Qanzbūr (Panjgūr) and Mashkai (modern Gajor). This route was followed by Muhammad bin al-Qāsim, al-Thaqafī, on his march to Sind.¹⁴¹ From Mashkai one route went to the south east through Armā'il (Belā) to Daybul and other one proceeded through Quzdār (modern Khuzdār) first to Qandābil (Gandāvā) and thence to Multān. The distances given by the geographers show that Dirak and Tiz were 6 marches apart and that Qanzbūr was 3 marches away from Diz. Quzdār, the Capital of Tūrān, lay at a distance of 20 marches from Multān, 5 marches from Qandābil (Gandāvā) and 13 marches from al-Mansūrah.¹⁴²

As regards the towns of Sind proper, the distance between Daybul, the sea port and al-Mansūrah was 6 marches and the distance between Multān and al-Mansūrah was 12 marches. The route between Daybul and al-Mansūrah passed through al-Nerūn, which was situated in between the two places, but was nearer to al-Mansūrah. The distance between Daybul and

al-Nerūn was four marches and thence to al-Mansūrah, two marches, the total being 6 marches.¹⁴³ The stations on the al-Mansūrah to Multān route were Kallārī, Ballārī, Attārī (Anaarī), Aror and Basmad. The distance between al-Mansūrah to Kallārī was one day's march; from Kallārī to Attārī 2 marches; from Attārī to Aror 4 marches, from Aror to Basmad 3 marches and from Basmad to Multān 2 marches. The town of Ballārī was situated at 4 days march from Kallārī. Bānyah which was the official residence of the Habbārid rulers, was situated between Qāmhul and al-Mansūrah, at a distance of one day's march.¹⁴⁴ According to al-Idrīsī, however, the distance was 3 marches. Al-Mansūrah and Qāmhul were 8 marches apart and the latter was the last town on the borders of Sind. From Qāmhul the trade route went further to Cambay at a distance of 4 days journey from that town. Cambay's situation has been placed on the sea coast, and Sobarah and Sandān were situated at a distance of 4 and 5 days march respectively from there.¹⁴⁵

From the above description it would appear that the distances given by the Arab geographers are based on days journeys. In contrast to the modern system of communication the distances were traversed by camels, horses, asses or on foot. There was no uniform scale of the distances traversed in day-to-day journey. It depended on circumstances and the nature of the country traversed. A day's journey ordinarily calculated at 12 miles¹⁴⁶ extended to over 20 and in certain cases even to 40 miles.¹⁴⁷ Al-Idrīsī, while confirming the version of his predecessors about the distance of one day's journey between al-Mansūrah and Kallārī, reports that these towns were 40 miles apart.¹⁴⁸ This shows that even 40 miles could be traversed in one day but this scale would not serve the purpose. For instance, the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn has been shown as 2 days' march by al-Istakhri and 3 days by al-Idrīsī.¹⁴⁹

If we take the above scale of 40 miles per day, the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn would come to 80 or 120 miles. The distance between al-Mansūrah and Daybul will, therefore, be 240 miles, as both these towns were situated

at 6 days' journey from each other.¹⁵⁰ Neither would the modern scale of 12 miles per day solve the problem because according to this scale the distance between al-Mansūrah and al-Nerūn would be 24 or 36 miles which is not correct. The actual distance from al-Nerūn (Hyderābād) to the ruined site of al-Mansūrah by direct route is about 47 miles.¹⁵¹ In this connection the distance of 15 farsakhs, between al-Nerūn and al-Mansūrah given by Abu al-Fidā¹⁵² seems to be more convincing. M.R. Haig reports that "at the present day the most direct route via Nasarpur, the English officials do the distance in 3 days' journey, averaging 16 to 17 miles."¹⁵³

Products of Sind

Medieval Sind was purely an agricultural country, the prosperity of which depended mostly on the land produce. The principal crop apart from cereals was sugar-cane, which seems to have been the cash crop of the land. The Arab geographers who visited Indus Valley during the Habbārīd rule, report extensive fields of sugar-cane throughout the Indus Valley.¹⁵⁴ The abundance of sugar-cane gave rise to Sugar Industry, the traces of which were found as far as Gandhāva and other barren regions of Baluchistān.¹⁵⁵ The date palms were also common, which seems to have been introduced by the Arabs themselves.

The fruit is reported to have been rare and then as now might have been imported from the North West region. The Arab geographers have complained of the non-availability of grapes, apple, ripe date and wall nut.¹⁵⁶ Two varieties of fruit were, however, plentiful, namely mango and lemon. The lemon was of the size of apple, but was exceedingly sour. The mango is described as resembling the peach in both appearance and flavour. They were so plentiful and cheap that they could be had in abundance at a very low price.¹⁵⁷ Grain was also cheap and plentiful. Bashshārī al-Maqdisī reports that 30 maunds of food stuff were valued at one dirham.¹⁵⁸ Due to the abundance of sugar-cane, sugar was also cheap and such was the state of prosperity that one dirham could fetch 30 seers of pure honey in the open market.¹⁵⁹

Industries

As already indicated sugar industry was the chief industry of the province of Sind during the Habbārid rule. Weaving was another great industry which provided clothing to the populace. Almost every house in Sind had a spinning wheel called *اُت*, which was later introduced by the Arabs into West Asia and Europe. The Arabs also introduced Water wheel which they called Na'ūrā and this became known in Spanish as Nūrya.¹⁶⁰

The country of Sind was also famous for the manufacture of trunks and big boxes. They were built in large numbers for exporting costus, a kind of medicine which was used for curing many diseases. The size and proportion of these boxes was so huge that each one of them could contain 800 maunds of costus.¹⁶¹

There were big factories for the manufacture of swords, one of them was situated at al-Mansūrah and the other at Daybul.¹⁶² The Sindhi swords had made such a name in the Arab world that they became known as *مُسْنَد*,¹⁶³ i.e. belonging to Sind. These swords were famous for their sharpness and durability.¹⁶⁴

Another great industry of Sind was the manufacture of copper goods which were used by the inhabitants of Sind. There were special bazars of copper utensils as well as of ivory goods¹⁶⁵ which were manufactured with great accuracy and workmanship. Ivory bangles were used by women of the middle class who could not afford to have ornaments made of gold and silver.

General Conditions

The Habbārid rule in the lower part of the Indus Valley assured the country of Sind a period of continuous peace for the country was free from internal trouble. Due to the military power of its rulers, it was immune from foreign domination and the people on the whole were content and prosperous.

Politically the kingdom of al-Mansūrah was stronger than its counterpart, the kingdom of Multān which was held by another Qurayshite, a descendant of Sāmāh ibn Lū'yah.¹⁶⁶

Multān was exposed to attacks from India, but the rulers of Multān continued to maintain their hold over the region by a well-thought of stratagem. It is related that whenever Multān was invaded from India, the ruler of Multān caused the idol to be taken out of the temple and exposed to the enemy. The Muslims then threatened to break the idol which obliged the non-Muslims to withdraw.¹⁶⁷

Throughout the period of Habbārid hegemony of Lower Indus Valley, no serious outbreak against the ruling family is reported. It was only once that al-Mansūrah was occupied by a freed slave of the Banū Kindah.¹⁶⁸ He seems to have been supported by the discontent element from among the Yamanites, who hated the rule of the Habbārid family, as they were Mudharites. The Yamanites had been worsted by the Mudharites under the leadership of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbārī and their power destroyed during the rule of the last 'Abbasid Governor 'Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī.¹⁶⁹

There seems to have been no change in the political limits of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah for a pretty long time. Al-Masū'di reports that the rulers of al-Mansūrah maintained a well-disciplined army supported by elephants.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, al-Mansūrah's dominions remained safe from foreign intrusion. Moreover the desert of Thar separated it from the rest of India for a great distance and made any attack if not impossible at least improbable. The territories of al-Mansūrah extended from Aror to the Arabian Sea, Kathiawad, and parts of Lās State (modern Baluchistān).¹⁷¹

The extensive trade which the Arabs carried on with the Arab World, and the lands of the east as far as China, procured every commodity in abundance and at very cheap rate.¹⁷² The land was well-watered and cultivated. It was covered with trees, specifically the date palms.¹⁷³ The Arab geographers speak of the extensive fields of sugar-cane¹⁷⁴ which seems to have been one of the principal crops of the land. The commercial class was very rich and lived a luxurious life due to the lucrative nature of their profession. Since

there was abundance of food and the prices were low, the poor people were also happy and content.¹⁷⁵

It is a well-known fact that Sind of medieval times was totally different from what it is today. It was the granary of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, and was watered by two principal rivers, Indus and Hakro. Hakro has now completely dried up and has given place to another river, the Sutlej, which flows through Bahawalpur Division and falls into the Indus below Panjnad. The dried up bed of Hakro the lost river, is traceable throughout Rajputānā and Thar region of Sind.

The people of Sind during the Habbārid rule may be divided into two great religious groups: the Arabs who were all Muslims, and the natives who were mainly Buddhists.¹⁷⁶ To these may be added a third group which was the outcome of the inter-marriage between the conquerors and the conquered. The toleration which was extended by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim to the people of Sind continued to exist during the Habbārid rule of the Lower Indus Valley. There is not a single instance of any act of vandalism on the part of the Arab Muslims in which any disrespect was shown to the people professing other religions. Nor was any temple or place of worship ever desecrated or destroyed out of religious frenzy or bigotry.

The Arabs who were themselves divided into two groups, could not reconcile themselves to their age-long jealousies and antagonism. Before the establishment of the Habbārid rule in Sind, the Arab tribes were always at daggers drawn with each other which resulted in continued conflict between the two factions, on trivial matters. The consequences of these quarrels led to turmoil and chaos throughout the Indus Valley which the 'Abbasid Governors failed to control.¹⁷⁷ It was the ability of the rulers of al-Mansurah, who maintained the balance of power between the different factions and brought the situation under control.¹⁷⁸ It is really one of the greatest achievements of the Habbārid rule in Sind that tranquility reigned in their dominions at a period when the

whole Muslim World was torn asunder by revolts and disorders of great magnitude.

The inhabitants of Sind are reported to have been hospitable, generous, and polished. They were famous for their inclination to religion which was pure orthodoxy.¹⁷⁹ Bashshārī al-Maqdisī who came to Sind in 375 A.H. relates that no religious controversy existed in Sind and the people were mostly Hanafites. He also adds that he had seen many learned men and theologians at al-Mansūrah. One of them was Abū Muhammad Mansūri, who was the leader of the Dā'ūdī Sect of the Sunnite Muslims.¹⁸⁰

The people of Sind are also reported to have been righteous, unaccustomed to falsehood and always honest in their dealings. They abstained from the vices of adultery and drinking wine and never practised dishonesty in weights and measurement. Most of the Arabs were probably well educated and excelled in intelligence. Their generosity was proverbial and they were always considerate and helpful to the poor and forlorn. The position of women was honourable but they were not allowed to loiter about in the streets. Bashshārī states that he had not seen a single woman outside her house during his stay at al-Mansūrah.¹⁸¹ The non-Muslims, who were mainly Buddhists practised idolatry and worshipped the statue of Lord Buddha. Yet there were others who worshipped stars and fire.¹⁸²

Sources of Revenue

The sources of revenue were mainly four: Kharāj, Khums, Ushr and Jizya. Kharāj or the land tax was levied at the rate of 2/5th of the produce if the land was watered by the public canal. Those lands which were cultivated by lift were charged at the rate of 3/10th. All other lands had to pay 1/4th of the produce. If the arable land was left uncultivated, the holder had to pay 1/10th of the probable produce. This step resulted in the cultivation of all arable lands and consequently the quantity of the food stuffs increased. The uniform scale of 1/3rd was realised on dates, grapes and other fruits.¹⁸³

Khums or $\frac{1}{5}$ th was the share of Bayt al-Māl (the treasury) which was derived from ghanimah or booty. This revenue was available only occasionally during the Habbārid rule in Sind, for there is no evidence of incursions into the enemy territory. Ushr or the tax on merchandise was levied at the rate of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the value of the articles. Jizya or poll tax was imposed on non-Muslims only who thereby came under the protection of the Muslims.¹⁸⁴

Notes and References

1. Ma'sūdi, Vol. I, p. 142; Al-Istakhri, p. 175.
2. Al-Istakhri, p. 175.
3. Al-Mas'ūdi, Vol. I, pp. 141-142.
4. Ibn Hauqal, p. 324.
5. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 115.
6. Al-Balādhuri, p. 451.
7. Al-Balādhuri, p. 451.
8. Al-Istakhri, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322.
9. Ibn Hauqal, p. 325.
10. Al-Istakhri, p. 177.
11. Al-Istakhri, p. 176; Al-Idrisi, p. 38.
12. *Belayin-ja-Bol*, pp. 22-33.
13. Al-Istakhri, p. 171.
Ibn Hauqal, p. 319;
Bashshāri, pp. 476 & 477; Al-Idrisi, p. 26.
14. Al-Istakhri, p. 173; Ibn-Hauqal, p. 320; Qazvīnī, p. 82; Al-Idrisī, p. 30.
15. Qazvīnī, p. 82; Bashshāri, p. 479; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
16. Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Al-Idrisī, p. 31.
17. Al-Idrisī, p. 31.
18. Bashshāri, p. 479.
19. Ibid., p. 479.
20. Al-Istakhri, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178.
21. Al-Istakhri, p. 178; Ibn Hauqal, p. 325; Al-Idrisī, p. 31; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178; Qazvīnī, p. 83.
22. Bashshāri, p. 479; Yaqt al-Hamavi, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
23. Bashshāri, p. 479.
24. Al-Istakhri, p. 177; Ibn Hauqal, p. 321; Al-Idrisī, p. 31.
25. Al-Istakhri, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 321, Al-Idrisī, p. 32; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178.
26. Al-Balādhuri, p. 44; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 258; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 60.

27. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449.
28. Cunningham, p. 258.
29. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 142.
30. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 143; Al-Idrīsī, p. 34.
31. *Chach Namah*, pp. 14 & 15.
32. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322; Al-Idrīsī, p. 34; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 301.
33. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322; Al-Idrīsī, p. 34; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 301.
34. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Vol. III, p. 44.
35. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 142; Al-Istakhrī, p. 177; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 118.
36. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 325.
37. Al-Idrīsī, p. 28.
38. Ibid., p. 28.
39. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
40. Ibn al-Athīr; Vol. III, p. 185; Suyūfī, p. 254.
41. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 35-49.
42. Al-Balādhurī, p. 442; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 258; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 60.
43. Al-Idrīsī, p. 29.
44. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
45. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 118.
46. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXVI, p. 48.
47. Raverty, *Mihran*, p. 319.
48. Ibn Batūtah, Vol. II, p. 7.
49. *Dawn*, March 13, 1960, p. 6.
50. Cunningham, p. 263.
51. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 356.
52. Ibn Hauqal, p. 323; Al-Idrīsī, p. 29.
53. Al-Idrīsī, p. 29.
54. M.R. Haig, p. 45.
55. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 284.
56. *Chach Namah* pp. 124-125.
57. Cunningham, p. 280.
58. Cunningham, p. 270.
59. Burton, Chapter I, Note 7.

60. Cunningham, p. 282.
61. *Sehwan*: In pure Sindhi Sehwan is derived from Siva – Lord Shiva, Wahan—village, settlement or town. It seems to have been a chief centre of Hindu pilgrimage in ancient times.
62. Cunningham, p. 264.
63. *Chach Namah*, p. 15.
64. Minhāj, p. 143.
65. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Vol. III, p. 136.
66. Al-Idrīsī, p. 35.
67. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IX, p. 202.
68. Al-Idrīsī, p. 32.
69. Elliot & Dowson, p. 119.
70. Ibid., p. 115.
71. Elliot, p. 115; its situation has been placed at 2/3 of the distance between Mansūrah and Cambay.
72. Al-Istakhrī, p. 323.
73. Cunningham, p. 290.
74. Al-Idrīsī, p. 34.
75. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 323; Al-Idrīsī, p. 35.
76. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 323; Al-Idrīsī, p. 34.
77. Al-Idrīsī, p. 35.
78. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175.
79. Al-Idrīsī, p. 32.
80. Raverty, p. 229.
81. M.R. Haig, p. 66.
82. Elliot, Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 392-93.
83. J. Abbot, *Unhappy Valley*, p. 43.
84. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175.
85. David Ross, p. 27.
86. Ibid., p. 27.
87. Al-Istakhrī, p. 171; Ibn Hauqal, p. 319.
88. Al-Idrīsī, p. 49.
89. Al-Balādhurī, p. 447; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 64; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 66.
90. Al-Balādhurī, p. 448; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, p. 283; Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 66.

91. *Chach Namah*, p. 166.
92. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 365.
93. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 143.
94. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 365.
95. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173.
Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178.
96. Elliot & Dowson, *Geographers*, p. 45.
97. Ibn Hauqal, p. 321.
98. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173.
99. Al-Idrīsī, p. 32.
100. *Indian Antiquary*, p. 92.
101. Ibid., p. 92.
102. Ibid., p. 92.
103. Ibid., p. 92.
104. Ibid., p. 93.
105. Ibid., p. 92.
106. Ibid., p. 93.
107. Ibid., p. 92.
108. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
109. Ibid., p. 142.
110. *Indian Antiquary*, p. 92.
111. Ibid., p. 91.
112. Al-Istakhrī, p. 176; Ibn Hauqal, p. 324; Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
113. Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
114. Al-Istakhrī, p. 177; Ibn Hauqal, p. 324.
115. Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
116. Al-Istakhrī, p. 177.
117. Advānī, p. 227.
118. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 169-173.
119. Al-Istakhrī, p. 177; Ibn Hauqal, p. 324; Bashshārī, p. 479.
120. *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. VIII, Part-I, p. 9.
121. *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. VIII, Part-I, p. 9.
122. H.R. Hall, p. 174.
123. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 109.

124. Some of the new Muslims acquired such a fame that they even excelled the Arab scholars in Arabic language.
125. Ibn Abi-Usaybi'ah. pp. 32-33.
126. Al-Berūnī. p. 86.
127. Ibn Nadīm, p. 33.
128. Al-Yā'qūbī, Vol. I, p. 96.
129. Ibn Nadīm, p. 84.
130. Siddhamatrika was used in Kashmir & Madhya Pradesh. Nagara was used in Malva - Al-Berūnī, p. 82.
131. Al-Berūnī, p. 82.
132. *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. VIII. Part-I, pp. 99-100.
133. Al-Istakhrī. p. 178; Al-Idrīsī, p. 26.
134. Al-Istakhrī. p. 179; Al-Idrīsī 27
135. Al-Idrīsī, p. 28.
136. Al-Mas'ūdī. Vol. I, p. 210; Al-Istakhrī, p. 176; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
137. Al-Istakhrī, p. 170.
138. Al-Istakhrī, p. 178.
139. A marhalah is equivalent to one day's journey estimated to be 4 farsakhs. A farsakh is equal to 3 miles (Vide *Farhang Anandraj*, Vol. III, p. 259).
140. Al-Istakhrī, p. 178.
141. Al-Balādhurī, p. 442.
142. Al-Istakhrī, p. 179.
143. Al-Istakhrī. p. 178; Al-Idrīsī. p. 29.
144. Al-Istakhrī. p. 180.
145. Ibid., p. 179.
146. *Farhang Anandraj*, Vol. III, p. 259.
147. Al-Idrīsī. p. 35.
148. Ibid., p. 35.
149. Al-Istakhrī, p. 179; Al-Idrīsī. p. 29.
150. Al-Istakhrī, p. 178.
151. Cunningham, p. 272.
152. *Journal of R.A.S.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 284.
153. Ibid., p. 285.
154. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Al-Idrīsī, p. 31; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178.

155. Al-Istakhrī, p. 178; Ibn Hauqal, p. 325.
156. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
157. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Al-Idrīsī, p. 31.
158. Bashshārī, p. 480.
159. Ibid., p. 479.
160. Farā'id, p. 782.
161. Buzurk, 78.
162. Ibn Hauqal, p. 326
163. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
164. Qazvinī, p. 85.
165. Al-Istakhrī, p. 174.
166. Ibn Rustah, p. 135.
167. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142; Al-Istakhrī, pp. 174 & 175.
168. Al-Balādhurī, p. 450.
169. Al-Balādhurī, p. 450.
170. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142 - 43.
171. Al-Istakhrī, p. 176; Ibn Hauqal, p. 323.
172. Al-Idrīsī, p. 29.
173. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
174. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
175. Al-Idrīsī, p. 29.
176. Al-Istakhrī, p. 176; Ibn Hauqal, p. 323.
177. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 117, 118 & 153.
178. Ibid., p. 177.
179. Bashshārī, p. 479; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 151.
180. Bashshārī, p. 481. (Da'ūdī Sect does not mean the Da'ūdī Bohras but it was a Sunnite Sect following Imām Da'ūd Zaharī).
181. Bashshārī, p. 480.
182. Qazvinī, p. 85; Abu al-Fidā, Vol. I, p. 95.
183. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVII, p. 125.
184. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVII, p. 125.

CHAPTER VIII

International Relations, Campaigns & Wars, The Military Might of the Rulers of Al-Mansurah.

International Relations

Very little is known of the international relations of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah, but it is certain that its rulers maintained close contacts and relationship with Baghdād, the seat of the Central Government of the 'Abbasids. The country of Sind, before being split up in two kingdoms of al-Mansūrah and Multān, was an 'Abbasid province, held by their governors up to the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil. The 'Abbasids still considered it as their domain and even the founder of the Habbārid dynasty of al-Mansūrah 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, was an appointee of the 'Abbasid Caliphs.¹

The independence of the Habbārids did not bring a complete cessation of relations with the 'Abbasids, whose temporal sway extended into almost all parts of the Muslim world. Al-Istakhri, who visited the Indus Valley long after the establishment of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah reports that the Friday sermons were read in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph throughout its territories.² Ibn Hauqal who followed him soon after also repeats the same version and affirms the statement of his predecessor.³ The khutbah was still read in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliphs when Bashshārī al-Maqdisī came to Sind.⁴ In Multān, however the khutba during the time of his visit was read in the name of the Fatimid Caliphs. The rulers of Multān recognised the authority of the Fatimids and owed allegiance to them. They were represented by an envoy at Cairo and acted according to the instructions received from the Fatimid Caliphs.⁵

The rulers of al-Mansūrah are also sometimes reported to have mentioned in the Friday sermons the name of 'Adud

al-Dawlah,⁶ who held the position of Amīr al-Umarā', under the later 'Abbasids. The geographer reports that he had seen the envoy of al-Mansūrah to the Buwayhids at Shīrāz,⁷ which clearly indicates the growth of Shī'ite influence at the Court of al-Mansūrah during the later years. It seems that shortly afterwards the rulers of al-Mansūrah might have severed their connections with the 'Abbasids and, like the rulers of Multān, might have submitted to the authority of the Fatimids due to the influence of the Buwayhids.

The relations of the rulers of al-Mansūrah with the neighbouring non-Muslim rulers were cordial and reciprocal, based on mutual understanding. There had been exchange of envoys and gifts based on mutual understanding and friendship.⁸ Sometimes poets, physicians, and men of letters were exchanged and the business community was given every facility for trade and unrestricted movement in their respective territories. These concessions were not limited to the neighbouring territories but also in far off lands such as Kanūj, Gujrāt, Ceylon and the Karomandal Coast of India.⁹ The famous poet of al-Mansūrah who was deputed by King 'Abdullāh to Rājā Mahrūk ibn Rāik,¹⁰ is one of the illustrious instances in the Arab annals, which show consideration and respect of the rights of the citizens of Arab States. Prior to the establishment of the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah, the Arab governors had made a rule for all the natives to receive well and entertain a trader or traveller from the west, for at least three days.¹¹ This practice was continued for the whole period of Arab domination in Sind, including that of the rulers of al-Mansūrah.

The non-Muslim rulers, on their part did not interfere with the authority of the rulers of al-Mansūrah. The covenants and agreements entered into by them with the rulers of al-Mansūrah were respected and not a single instance of violation was ever reported. On the contrary they sent gifts and presents not only to the rulers of al-Mansūrah but also to the 'Abbasid Caliphs at Baghdād. It is said that during the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbāri, a Rājā of the neighbouring kingdom had become a Muslim. The year

of his conversion is given as 259 A.H. He is reported to have sent a chain of gold studded with gems and emeralds to al-Mu'tamid, the 'Abbasid Caliph, as a token of respect for the holy shrine of the Ka'bah. The chain was hung on the wall of the Ka'bah by order of the Caliph.¹²

Army of al-Mansurah

The rulers of al-Mansūrah maintained a large and well-disciplined army for the purpose of both quelling internal disorders and facing external invasions. Very little is known of the army units employed by the Arab rulers of al-Mansūrah. In medieval times, the military organization was based on the time-honoured tactics of left, right, centre etc. The army was generally divided into five divisions of Advance Guard, Right and Left wing, Centre and the Rear Guard. The commander of the forces generally placed himself in the centre to direct the course of the battle. This practice was followed by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind.¹³ The rulers of al-Mansūrah had to fight constantly with the Jats and Meds, a savage people who inhabited the flanks of the desert. They were also numerous in Makrān, Tūrān and the land of Budha.¹⁴ They committed depredatory raids against the fertile regions of Sind, and sometimes the traces of their invasions could be found as far as Khurāsān and 'Irāq. A band of Jats, 30,000 strong had earlier invaded 'Irāq where they are reported to have been defeated by the forces of Caliph al-Mu'tasim.¹⁵ The famous geographer al-Mas'ūdi, who visited Sind during the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh al-Habbārī reports that the ruler of al-Mansūrah had 80 war elephants.¹⁶ Every elephant, according to his description, required 500 armed men to follow it in time of war.¹⁷ According to this calculation, the number of foot soldiers, alone would come to 40,000 men. This may be exaggeration, but the fact clearly shows the military might of the rulers of al-Mansūrah. The awe inspired by the deterrent forces of al-Mansūrah over its non-Muslim neighbours assured the Lower Indus Valley a period of continuous peace and safety.

The rulers of Multān, however, practised a stratagem

which saved their capital from any possible attack from India. It is related that whenever Multān was attacked by the non-Muslims, the rulers of Multān caused the idol to be taken out of the temple. It was then exhibited to the invaders on the fort-wall and the Muslims threatened to break the idol. This trick worked on the mind of the Hindū devouts, who immediately withdrew to their country.¹⁸

Elephants of al-Mansurah

Interesting stories are told about the two elephants of al-Mansūrah. They were known as Man'arfals and Hydrāh and they were famous for their intelligence and other qualities throughout the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. It is said that the trainer of one of these elephants Man'arfals died of an illness, and the elephant was so much grieved that he did not take food for three days. The elephant also wept like a human being by uttering painful cries and shedding tears like a human being.¹⁹

In another incident a woman screamed and fell down unconscious before a horde of elephants led by Man'arfals and Hydrāh on a public road in the city of al-Mansūrah. In her unconsciousness, she became completely nude. In order to protect her from public gaze, the elephant stood in the middle of the road and did not allow any one to pass. With the aid of its trunk, the body of the woman was also got covered by the elephant, who did not move from its place till the woman recovered consciousness, and left the site.²⁰

Mode of Warfare

During war, the body of the elephant was generally covered with heavy armour and the swords tied to its tusks. The duty of the 500 men who followed it was to defend it from enemy attack. The elephants used to attack first, by penetrating into the ranks of the enemy causing confusion, then followed the regular attack by the cavalry.²¹

Defences

The Arabs also built defensive forts for protection in time of war, when the number of enemy forces out-numbered the Muslims. The names of some of these forts have been

preserved for us in the pages of history. They were known as al-Mahfūzah, al-Mansūrah, Baydā, Bānyah, of these some grew into important settlements of the Arab conquerors. One of these forts al-Mansūrah became the capital of the Arab governors and the independent Habbārid dynasty of al-Mansūrah.²²

The period of the Habbārid rule of al-Mansūrah was one of the most peaceful and prosperous periods for the Lower Indus Valley and no serious incident involving the existence of the dynasty ever occurred. It was only once that a freed slave Abū Samh rose against the Habbārid rulers and captured the city of al-Mansūrah by force.²³ He was, however, defeated and brought to severe reckoning. After this incident the rulers shifted their army and offices of administration to the fort of Bānyah which seems to have been the principal cantonment of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Almost all the forts were garrisoned and kept properly repaired. The fort of Alor which was situated on the boundary of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah to the north was defended by a double wall,²⁴ to protect it from any possible attack either from India or the kingdom of Multān. The ruler of Multān was independent of al-Mansūrah, but there seems to have been mutual cooperation between the two kingdoms. There had been no attack from one side to the other or vice-versa during the whole period of the Arab kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Trade flourished greatly between the two kingdoms and there may possibly have been exchange of envoys and gifts.

Diplomacy

The rulers of al-Mansūrah displayed skilful diplomacy to continue their hold over Sind. Although 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz had emerged successful in the struggle of the Mudarites against the Yamanites, he maintained close relationship with the 'Abbasid Caliphs and even received the investitures of his appointment from Baghdad.²⁵ 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz also seems to have reconciled himself with al-Muwaffiq, the brother of Caliph al-Mu'tamid, who was invested in 261 A.H. with the government of all the Eastern provinces including Sind.²⁶ In the same manner 'Umar,

by his diplomacy succeeded in gaining the favours of the redoubtable enemy of the 'Abbasids, Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Saffāri, on whom was bestowed the government of Sind by the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tamid, along with Seistān, Khurasān, Fārs and other Eastern provinces in the year 261 A.H.²⁷

During the period of 'Abbasid decline, when Amir al-Umarā' usurped the power, the Habbārids maintained relations with them and as already indicated, they were represented by their envoy in Shīrāz at the Court of Buwayhids.²⁸ Similarly they did not sever their relations with the 'Abbasid Caliphs, whose names were recited in the Friday sermon as a sign of vassalage.²⁹ The rise of the Fatimids in North Africa and Egypt also brought a change in the relation of the Habbārid rulers of al-Mansūrah to the Caliphs. They, however, did not immediately recognise the spiritual sway of the Fātimids but in order to appease them instituted trade relations with them. They also legalised the use of the Qāhri coins of the Fātimids,³⁰ the use of which became universal throughout the territories of al-Mansūrah.

The rulers also displayed diplomatic skill in dealing with their non-Muslim subjects by adopting some of their customs. The Arab geographers report that the dress of the rulers resembled the non-Muslim rulers of India. They used to allow their hair to grow large and wore rings in their ears. They were called Mahārāj by their non-Muslim subjects.

Notes and References

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 177.
2. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173.
3. Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
4. Bashshārī, p. 485.
5. Ibid., p. 485.
6. Ibid., p. 485.
7. Ibid., p. 485.
8. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 144.
9. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 210; Al-Istakhrī, p. 176; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
10. Buzurk, p. 3.
11. *Chach Namah*, p. 216.
12. Nadvi, p. 190.
13. *Chach Namah*, p. 174.
14. Al-Istakhrī, p. 180; Ibn Hauqal, p. 323; Al-Idrīsī, p. 33.
15. Saracens, p. 283.
16. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 142.
17. Ibid., p. 143.
18. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 142; Al-Istakhrī, p. 322.
19. Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 143.
20. Ibid., p. 143.
21. Ibid., p. 144.
22. Al-Balādhurī, p. 449.
23. Ibid., p. 445.
24. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175.
25. Al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. III, p. 177.
26. Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. III, p. 327.
27. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 343.
28. Bashshārī, p. 485.
29. Ibid., p. 485.
30. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173.

CHAPTER IX

Cultural and Literary Activities

The advent of the Arabs in Sind ushered in a new era in the development of cultural and literary activities in Sind which served as a basis for the later Muslim culture in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. During the period of Arab rule in Sind, the conquerors maintained close contacts with Damascus, Baghdad and other seats of Muslim learning and consequently there was a flow of enlightenment which was destined to illuminate the whole Sub-Continent. Sind has the distinction of serving as the door for Islamic penetration (باب الاسلام) and had throughout the ages maintained those values that are guiding every Muslim as enunciated in Holy Qurān. The people of Sind not only absorbed and assimilated the dominant culture of the age but at the same time made additions to it by contributions which stand unique in the history of human civilization. Building upon its intellectual legacy, the country of Sind has made important additions to the knowledge of humanity in various branches of learning, more especially in the sciences, which reached their culminating point in the 2nd century A.H. due to the labours of the Muslim scholars.

Eastern learning, more specifically of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent received little encouragement during the rule of the Umayyads who manifested great interest in Greek and Roman Culture. Moreover the power of the Umayyads was not stabilized in Sind, due to internal disorders. The natives of Sind hated foreign rule and rose in revolt whenever the opportunity occurred; Sind had to be conquered and reconquered. It was not until the establishment of the 'Abbasid rule in 'Iraq, that some improvement was made and order restored throughout the whole Valley. But the Arab tribes

who had settled in Sind never reconciled themselves with each other due to their belonging to the two different groups of Arab 'Aribah and Arab Musta'ribah, or more precisely the Yamanites and the Mudarites. The constant strife between these two factions, during the later Umayyad and early 'Abbasid period, greatly retarded the growth of literature and culture in Sind.

During the Umayyad rule which was a purely Arab rule, the conquerors were not allowed to mix with the conquered. They established their own colonies and settlements and in old towns, separate quarters were reserved for them. In spite of these drawbacks, religious knowledge and subjects allied to it were taught in the mosque, which served as the great centre of learning during medieval times. The 'Abbasid Dynasty, which was soon to follow was established with the support of the Persians and Khurāsānians who played a leading role in the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty. The international character of the 'Abbasid State afforded an opportunity to both the Arabs and the subject people to mix and have contact with each other. Close acquaintance not only brought understanding between them but also contributed greatly towards the development of learning and culture. The Arabs, as we know, were unaccustomed to the arts of civilized life when they left their desert home for the conquest of the world. The teachings of the Holy Prophet had infused in the Muslims such an urge for the quest of knowledge that they not only became the painstaking pupils of the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Persians and the Indians, but in due course by their original thinking, became the main contributors to the world civilization. Eastern learning more particularly of Indo-Pakistan origin received great impetus from the ruling Barmakide family of ministers who were at the helm of affairs during early 'Abbasid period. By their generous patronage to men of letters they spent large sums for the development of learning in the Muslim world. Poets, physicians, mathematicians, astrologers and skilled artists flocked to Baghdad to vie with one another in the accomplishments responsible for many inventions in various branches of knowledge. During this period the works of Persian

and Indo-Pakistan origin specially of the Indus Valley were introduced into the Muslim world through translations. The eclectic school of popular philosophy known as Ikhwan al-Safa which was established at Basrah, owes its appellation to a story "Kalilah wa-Dimnah,"¹ a work of Indian origin.

The country of Sind had played a leading role in the development of cultural and literary activities in the Arab world and produced some of the leading figures in religious studies and literature. The names of Abū 'Atā al-Sindī and Abū Dila' al-Sindī have become immortal in Arabic literature.

Abu 'Ata al-Sindi

Aflah ibn Yasār, as was his original name, Abu 'Atā was born and brought up in Kūfa in modern 'Iraq. His father Yasār is reported to have come from Sind. He was a panegyrist of the Umayyad Court and fought for them both with his pen and his sword. He had seen the downfall of the Umayyads and the rise of the 'Abbasids, who never patronised his learning. Originally a client of the Banū Asad, Abū 'Atā purchased his freedom by payment of 4000 Dirhams lent to him by his friend and patron Al-Hur ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qarshī. Prolific as a poet, he ranks among the foremost literary figures of the Arabic literature. His poetical talent was admired by people like Nasr ibn Sayyār, the famous Umayyad Governor of Khurāsān, who had great regard and love for him.² He was one of the close friends of Hammād al-Raviyah, the famous authority on pre-Islamic poetry.³

The pages of the *Kitab-al-Aghani* are full of praise for this great poet, who was celebrated for his spontaneity, vigour and eloquence. His poems are quoted in the *Diwān al-Hamasah*, Ibn Qutayba's 'Shi'r-wa-Shu'ara' and other anthologies of classical Arabic poetry.⁴

Abu Dila' al-Sindi

Another great poet of high calibre who made his name in the Arab World was Abū Dila' al-Sindī. He was a

client of Mūsā al-Hādī, the 'Abbasid Caliph, and, according to other writers, a client of the family of Ja'far ibn Abū Tālib, the brother of Caliph 'Alī. He was a great traveller and was an extemporaneous poet. He used to bet on his poems to the tune of 4000 Dirhams. He flourished at Baghdad and died there, perhaps in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He gave vent to his ideas in one of his poems about Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, its products and greatness of the country in all aspects of its life.⁶

Regarding religious studies and literature we may mention the names of world famed Al-Awzā'i and Abū Ma'shar al-Sindī apart from other scholars of lesser importance, such as Abū Nasr al-Sindī, Abū Muhammad, and Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Mansūrī, who were famous for their exquisite knowledge of Qur'ān and traditional sciences.

Al-Awza'i

Shaykh ul-Islām 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Amr ibn Abī 'Amr al-Awzā'i was a great jurist and muhaddith of high repute. The people of Syria and Andalus (Spain), who are reported to have followed his madhhab referred to him concerning decisions on theology and jurisprudence. He was an eloquent man and was famous for his excellence in learning and knowledge of Hadith. He wrote many treatises on jurisprudence, none of them; unfortunately, is extant, but he is referred to by almost every writer of the age. He is also one of the four early authorities on Hadith, the other three are Mālik ibn Anas, Sufyān Thauri and Hammād ibn Zayd. He had answered 70,000 questions on jurisprudence and is considered to have been the Imām of his time.⁷

The origin of Awzā'i is traced from Sind,⁸ wherefrom he came as a slave, but Ibn Khalikān traces his origin from Yaman.⁹ The author of Encyclopaedia on the contrary places his birth place at Ba'albek, where he was born in 88 A.H. (757 A.D.);¹⁰ later he lived at Damascus and finally at Beirut where he died in the year 158 A.H. at the age of seventy.

Abu Ma'shar al-Sindi

Najih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Abū Ma'shar was originally a slave from Sind and was a client of Banū Makhzūm. He was later purchased by Umma-Mūsa daughter of Mansūr by whom he was manumitted.¹¹ A pupil of Hishām ibn 'Urwah (ibn Zubayr ibn A'wwām) Abū Ma'shar was a great Muhadith and is considered as an authority on Maghāzī. His knowledge of Maghāzī is even acknowledged by people like Imām Ahmad ibn Hambal,¹² the founder of one of the four schools (Madhhabs) of the Sunnite Islam. Hailing from Sind, Abū Ma'shar was a resident of Medina and had acquired his knowledge of Hadith and Maghazi from Hishām ibn 'Urwah. He migrated to Darus-Salam (Baghdād) at the invitation of Caliph al-Mahdī, who granted him a handsome pension of 1000 Dinars.¹³ It is said that he used to spend his time with Tāba'in and that he remembered a great number of traditions by heart. He spent the later part of his life in Baghdad where he died in Ramadān of 170 A.H. He had compiled a treatise on the Prophet's wars which is not now extant but is referred to in the writings of the great scholars of medieval times. He had left two distinguished pupils: 'Alī ibn Mujāhid al-Rāzī al-Kindī and 'Alī ibn Muhammad al-Madīnī, both are quoted as original sources on traditions, Maghāzī and the biography of the Holy Prophet. Even Sufyān al-Thaurī and Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Waqidī, the author of "Kitāb as-Sīrah" and "Kitāb Tārikh wa-Maghāzī" are reported to have been inspired by him.¹⁴

Abu Nasr al-Sindi

Originally a slave from Sind Abū Nasr Fateh ibn Abdullāh al-Sindī, was a freed slave. He learnt theology and jurisprudence from Abi 'Ali as-Thaqafi. Like other literary figures who rose to prominence in the Arab World because of their learning, Abū Nasr specialised in scholastic theology. He is reported to have spoken bad Arabic due to his lisping and stammering on account of his native accent.

Once Abū Nasr Sindhi was rebuked for his hauteur in the company of learned scholars, by a high born Arab

who had fallen in the mud due to excessive drinking: "How dare you walk before me, with such a learned following, when I have fallen in the mud." Abū Nasr gave his reply in this memorable phrase:

"You have followed the foot prints of my forefathers while I have adopted the one pursued by your forefathers."¹⁵

Abu Muhammad al-Sindi

Abū Muhammad Khalf ibn Sālim al-Sindī, was another great traditionist of high reputation and was well known at Baghdad for his exquisite learning. Many people have derived from him their knowledge of Hadīth and scholastic theology. He flourished during the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the Abbasid and died at Baghdad in the year 231 A.H. (848 A.D.).¹⁶

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Mansuri

Ahmad al-Mansūrī was the famous Judge of al-Mansūrah who was greatly well versed in Law and Hadith. He wrote a treatise on علم الجدل (traditional sciences) known as Kitāb al-Nayyir.¹⁷

Due to scanty evidence available very little is known about the cultural and literary activities, during the dynastic rule of the Banū Habbār. It is certain that the cultivation of religious studies, and subjects allied to it, was carried on at al-Mansūrah, Daybul, Alor and various other towns, throughout the territories of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. The mosque was, however, the chief centre of learning, where lectures were delivered and classes held. The outstanding achievement of the period of al-Mansūrah kingdom was the first translation of holy Quran in Sindhi language.

First Translation of the Holy Quran

The author of Ajaib al-Hind, relates a very interesting story about the first translation of the holy Book in Sindhi language. He reports that the non-Muslim ruler of the neighbouring kingdom whose name is given as Mahrūk ibn Rā'ik, wrote to Abdullāh ibn 'Umar al-

Habbāri, the ruler of al-Mansūrah, to send him a learned man who could explain to him the religious teachings of Islam.¹⁸ Abdullāh sent to him a new arrival from Iraq, who apart from being a poet, was well versed in the languages of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. He translated the holy Book for the Rājā and used to explain it to him verse by verse in the open court. It is said that, in the process of explanation, when he recited and translated the verse of Surah Yāsin قال من يحيى العظام و هي رميم.....خلق عليم the Rājā alighted from his golden throne, threw off his crown and went into prostration. The king then wept so bitterly that his whole face became covered with dust and he cried, "Verily He is the only God, eternal and the benefactor of the whole world."¹⁹ The poet further reports that the king had built a separate apartment, where he used to go for prayers every day. This occurred in 270 A.H. and the poet remained continuously at the court of the Rājā for three years.²⁰

Al-Bashsharī al-Maqdisī, who visited the valley of Indus shortly after 375 A.H. speaks of other learned men at al-Mansūrah, the most famous among them was Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Sālih al-Mansūrī.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Salih al-Mansuri

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Mansūrī held the post of Qādī at Arrajan in the province of Fars and was renowned for his knowledge of the traditional sciences. Al-Mansūrī is reported to have received his education in Fārs under Abu al-Abbās ibn al-Athrām, as well as at Basrah under Ahmad al-Hizzānī, commonly known as Abū Rawq.²¹ Al-Mansūrī was the author of Kitāb al-Misbāh al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Hādī and Kitāb al-Nayyir²² and was also recognised as Imām of the Madhhab of Imām Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī al-Isfahānī,²³ the famous Imām of the Zāhirī school of thought. He was, however, charged with fabricating hadith,²⁴ which might have helped him in forming a halqa or following of his own.

Abdullah ibn Ja'far al-Mansuri

Abdullāh ibn Ja'far was another distinguished traditionist of al-Mansūrah. He is reported to have been a man of dark complexion and well versed in the science of Hadīth.²⁵ He had the distinction of being a teacher to the famous traditionist al-Hakīm al-Nishāpurī, which shows that he flourished during the fourth century Hijrī.

Muhammad ibn Abi Sohrab

Muhammad ibn Abī Shorāb, the famous Qādī of al-Mansūrah, was one of the few learned men who flourished in Sind during the Habbārid rule of al-Mansūrah. He was known for his knowledge of Muslim Jurisprudence and was of great assistance to the rulers of al-Mansūrah in the judicial administration of the kingdom. Al-Mas'ūdī reports that the Qādī of al-Mansūrah had relationship with the rulers of al-Mansūrah. Muhammad died in the year 280 A.H. after he had held the position of the Qādī of al-Mansūrah for six months.²⁷

Another important centre in which learned men flourished was Daybul, the chief seaport of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Allāmah Sam'anī has given a list of traditionists and other learned men who flourished at Daybul. Among them the names of Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī, Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad al-Daybulī, Ahmad ibn Abdullāh al-Daybulī and others are worthy to be mentioned. They are to be discussed one by one as follows.

Abu Ja'far Daybuli

Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm, well known as Abū Ja'far Daybulī was a traditionist of high repute and is reported to have repaired to Mecca for higher studies.²⁸ He also studied Kitāb al-Tafsīr²⁹ of Ibn 'Uyaynah, under that scholar's disciple Abi Abdillāh Sa'id ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmī³⁰ and Ibn al-Mubārak's Kitāb al-Birr wa'l-Silā³¹ under Husayn ibn Hasan al-Maruzī.³² Abū Ja'far died at Mecca in the year 322 A.H. and left some distinguished disciples such as Abu al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Farras, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Hajjāj

and Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muqrī, who later transmitted hadith on his authority.³³

Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

He was the son of Abū Ja'far Daybulī³⁴ and was a Rawi or transmitter of Hadith, on the authority of Mūsā ibn Hārūn al-Bazzāz,³⁵ Hāfiz al-Baghdādī³⁶ and Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Sāigh.³⁷

Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Daybuli

Ahmad al-Daybulī was a pupil of Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī and is reported to have made extensive tours of Muslim lands. He also visited Egypt where he heard Hadith from 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān and Muhammad ibn Rayan; in Damascus from Hāfiz Ahmad ibn 'Umayr; at Beyrūt from Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhala; at Hārān from Hāfiz al-Husayn ibn Abī Ma'shar; at Basrah from al-Qādī Abu-Khalīfah; in Baghdād from Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Faryābī and various other traditionists of the time. His quest for knowledge drew him to Mecca, where he studied Hadith under his teacher and guide Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī and also under Mu'addal ibn Muhammad al-Janādī.³⁸ He ultimately settled at Nishāpur and joined the khanqah of al-Hasan ibn Ya'qūb al-Haddād and became an ascetic. Ahmad died at Nishāpur in 343 A.H. and was buried in the cemetery of al-Hirah. Before his death, he used to put on a garment made of wool and was often seen wandering in lonely places bare-footed.³⁹

Al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Al-Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn Asad al-Daybulī was famous transmitter of Hadith at Damascus. He claimed a chain of authorities for his isnād going back to Jābir ibn Abdullāh, the companion of the holy Prophet. Tamman and others received traditions from him.⁴⁰

Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

A resident of Daybul, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abdullāh al-Daybulī went to Baghdad, Basra and Faryab, to learn Hadith from famous teachers like Ja'far ibn

Muhammad al-Faryābi, Qādī Abū Khalifa, ‘Abdān ibn Muhammad, Muhammad ibn Hasan Faryābi and others. He later became a Warrāq of Hadith literature and men like al-Hakīm of Nishāpur are reported to have been inspired by him. He died in 346 A.H.⁴¹

Al-Hasan ibn Hamid al-Daybuli

Al-Hasan ibn Hāmid was a trader, who due to his extensive business activities ultimately made Baghdād as his residence. He became a rich man and established an inn or rest house in Baghdād for travellers and also for the poor and indigent. This asylum became known as Khān Ibn Hāmid⁴² and was situated at Darb al-Za’fāni, a locality in Baghdād. He took great interest in religious studies and became an ardent pupil of famous traditionists of Baghdād, namely ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Sa’d al-Mosilī, Muhammad al-Naqqāsh and Abu Abd al-Tumāri. Such was his passion for Hadith, that whenever he would recite any Hadith, he would burst into tears.⁴³ He lectured extensively at Damascus as well as in Egypt. He was also a poet and was acquainted with the famous Arab poet al-Mutannabī, who is reported to have stayed with him when he came to Baghdād.⁴⁴ Al-Hasan ibn Hāmid died at Cairo in 407 A.H.

Khalf ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Khalf was a pupil of ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Daybulī in the traditional science. He later went to Baghdād and delivered popular lectures on Hadith. Men like Abu al-Hūsayn ibn al-Jundi of Baghdād and Ahmad ibn ‘Umayr are reported to have acquired much of their knowledge on Hadith from him.⁴⁵

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Daybuli

Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hārūn al-Daybulī was born and brought up at Daybul, but later repaired to Rayy where he became known as al-Rāzī. He finally settled in Baghdād in the famous locality of Harbiya, and hence he was also called “al-Harbī.” He studied Hadith in Baghdād from Ja’far ibn Muhammad al-Faryābi and Ahmad ibn

Sharik of al-Kūfah. He was also a great Qārī and has left some of the outstanding men in the science of Qira'at as his pupils.

Cultural Activities

Sind was the only region of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent which came under Arab influence as early as the reign of Caliph Umar. Since then the cultural ties with the Arab world became increasingly strong in consequence of its conquest in the year 93 A.H. The Arab governors who owed their appointment and position to the Caliphs, established regular communion with the imperial capitals of Damascus and Baghdād, and hence Sind was the first Indian country to be influenced by the civilization and culture of the Arabs. The country of Sind itself played a tremendous role in the development of medieval Arab culture, which was at its height during the early Abbasid period, due to the patronage of the ministerial family of the Barmakides. The Barmakides are said to have invited scholars, artisans, singers etc. from various countries of the Muslim Empire who brought with them works of their respective regions which were translated into Arabic, the lingua franca of the age. From Sind a deputation of scholars, well versed in various branches of knowledge, waited on the Barmakides and introduced into the Arab world some of the most celebrated works of that time. Among these may be cited the *Surya Sidhanta*, well known as *Sind Hind*, which was translated by Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī. It was from this work that our knowledge of zero was derived for the first time and it was under the influence of this work that al-Khwārizmī, one of the greatest scientists of medieval times was able to compile his famous work "*Hisāb al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābila*".⁴⁷ In the same manner, the first scientific study of astronomy was also begun under the influence of the same work which served as a model for the later scholars. Even the astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī known as *zij* owe their origin to this work, which is also responsible for the introduction of Arabic numerals in the Islamic and western world.⁴⁸

The scholars of Sind and the works of Sind made ample contributions to the science of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, geography and various other sciences, which are attested to and admired by almost all the great writers of medieval times.

Agriculture

The people of Sind, on the other hand were benefited by the Arab rule which made the country rich and prosperous. The Arabs were much more advanced than the natives of Sind in the art of agriculture which they greatly encouraged by the introduction of irrigation system. The digging of numerous wells and canals all over the country gave impetus to agriculture which was chiefly left in the hands of the natives. Further the imposition of light taxes by the Arabs made agriculture one of the most lucrative professions of medieval time. The Arab geographers who visited Indus Valley speak of its fertility and report that the whole country was covered with fields, gardens and trees.⁴⁹ Sugarcane seems to have been the favourite crop of Sind and was sowed in great abundance; due to this reason sugar became plenty and was generally exported outside Sind. The gardens were full of fruits of different varieties, but the lemon and mango were plentiful.⁵⁰ Such was the state of abundance that large quantities of these fruits could be had at very cheap rates.

Commercial Commodities

The Arabs gave impetus to trade by their regular contacts of the Arab world with the west, and the lands of spices on the east. Even before Islam the Arabs were in close touch with the coastal town of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and Ceylon. After the conquest of Sind, they maintained regular caravans which served as the only source through which the commodities of the east could be exchanged with the west. Sind itself produced some of the rare commercial commodities, such as cuscus,⁵¹ swords,⁵² camphor, lemon, mango⁵³ and even indigo,⁵⁴ which were much in demand in all the markets of the

western world. These commodities were not only exported to the west but were also sent to Cutch, Kathiawad and Gujrat in exchange of the commodities of those regions.

This extensive commerce with the different countries of the world made foreign products available in abundance and on cheap rates in Sind.

Animal Husbandry

The Arabs took much interest in the science of animal husbandry and studied the nature, anatomy and diseases of animals. Their main interest lay with the camel, their comrade of the desert, and the horse, their greatest friend in time of war. The Arabs established nurseries and breeding farms to maintain the pure breed of these animals. Since the climate of Sind and its soils resemble that of Arabia, it greatly helped in breeding camels. The famous camel of Sind, named Bukhātī⁵⁵ was celebrated for beauty and other qualities and only princes and amirs in the Arab world could afford to possess one.

The horses were also imported and kept in great number during the period of Arab rule in Sind. The Arabs also took interest in taming elephants, which might have been imported from India. They were of great use in time of war, as they used to attack the enemy first. The ruler of al-Mansūrah maintained a regular stable for elephants whose number is given as 80.⁵⁶ There might have been individuals as well who kept elephants as beast of burden. Another important domestic animal was the buffalo which was kept by every well-to-do person in Sind. They were in such abundance that many had to be exported to the Arab world. They used to lie in rivers and inundated pools all day long and as such river Indus became known as ماء الجواميس 'river of buffaloes'.⁵⁷

The Arabs also established poultry farms which procured hens in abundance. They were even exported to Iraq where one dirham could fetch twenty four hens.⁵⁸ In order to maintain the pure breed of cows and oxen, which were of great use in this country, killing of them was strictly prohi-

bited. Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was the first to issue such a regulation, which saved the animals from complete extinction.⁵⁹

Public Works

None of the public buildings built by the Arab rulers of al-Mansūrah has survived. The period of their hegemony was one of the most peaceful and prosperous. The Arabs built bridges, dykes, wells, tanks etc. They built roads and at certain stages public inns where free food was given to the travellers. They also established a swift postal system by maintaining horses at important stations. For education they built public schools in all the important towns of the kingdom of al-Mansūrah. One such school, with a large gathering of students is mentioned by the medieval writers, being in the charge of Qādī Abū Muhammad al-Mansūrī.⁶⁰ Among the remains of the Arab buildings may be mentioned the tower of the principal mosque of al-Mansūrah, found in the ruins of Bhīro and also the mosque unearthed at Bhambhor, as claimed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of Pakistan.

Notes and References

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5. Ibn Jarrāh, p. 91.
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7. Ibn Hajar, Vol. VI, p. 238; Al-Dhahabī, Vol. I, pp. 168, 172.
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20. Ibid., p. 3.
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22. Ibn Nadīm, p. 306; Al-Maqdisī, p. 184.
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24. Ibn Hajar, *Lisan*, pp. 256, 272.
25. Sam'ānī, pp. 543, 544.
26. Al-Mas'ūdi, Vol. I, p. 142.

27. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VII, p. 191.
28. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 118.
29. Ibn Nadīm, p. 318.
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31. Ibn Nadīm, p. 319.
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33. Al-Sam'ānī, p. 266.
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35. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. IV, p. 118.
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40. Ibn 'Asākir, *Kabīr*, Vol. IV, pp. 355 - 56.
41. Al-Sam'ānī, p. 237.
42. Khātīb, Vol. VII, pp. 303 - 304.
43. Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 82.
44. Khatīb, Vol. V, pp. 113 - 114.
45. Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 333.
46. Al-Yaqūbī, Vol. I, pp. 95 & 97; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 378.
47. Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 378.
48. Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 307, 379.
49. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142; Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
50. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 178.
51. Buzurk, p. 3.
52. Mas'ūdī, p. 142.
53. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320.
54. Ibn Faqih, p. 16.
55. Al-Istakhrī, p. 176.
56. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
57. Al-Balādhurī.
58. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 130.
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CHAPTER X

Present Ruins of Al-Mansurah

Present Ruins of al-Mansurah

The present ruins of al-Mansūrah are situated in Deh 42 J, Taluka Sinjhor, District Sānghar of Hyderābād Division (West Pakistan) at a distance of about eight miles to the south-east of Shahdādpur town. They occupy an extensive plain about a mile long and a mile broad, along the old bed of the river Indus in the immediate vicinity of the left bank of the Jamrao Canal. There are also other ruins in that region known as Dalor, Dufānī, Mutahlo and Depar Ghanghro, the last of which are supposed to be the ruins of ancient Brahmanābād.¹ The site is accessible on all sides, but the most direct route runs through its centre, starting at 44/3 crossing (bridge) over the Jamrao Canal. The first conspicuous place a visitor will come across is the fort wall, which although in ruins is about 20 to 25 ft. high and is spacious enough to permit vehicular traffic over it. The general view of the site on the wall, from which the whole ruins can be seen clearly, greatly impresses a visitor, who becomes wonder-struck at the complete destruction of the town which for a considerable period of time was the flourishing centre of trade and culture, apart from being the metropolis of the Arab Kingdom of al-Mansūrah. Nothing now remains to throw light on the fate of this renowned city except a half damaged huge tower, presumed to be the minaret of the principal mosque of the Arab capital. Besides this tower, which is situated on the raised ground, there is a deep well which has now completely dried up. A few paces away to the north east is the old bed of the mighty Mahrān which once washed the fort walls of al-Mansūrah. From a raised ground on the western bank of the river, to the other side,

can be seen the ruins of another town the most part of which is buried under the sands. Although the roads are jeepable, but to observe the site properly a visitor should be on horse back in order to be able to see every portion of the ruins. From the minaret up to its northern corner, the site is more than half a mile long. In between these two places there is a raised ground with an underground tunnel which supposedly contained treasure, that was dug out and taken away by the Pirs of Luāri. The foundation of the fort wall, which seems to have surrounded the city, is distinguishable and testifies to the superb intellect of its builders. But it is also worth mentioning that this wall runs almost along the edge of the river bed, which also seems to have flowed on all sides of the site and to have surrounded the fort.² The inspection of the site further indicates that the city was well-planned and built of pucca (solid) bricks, but the roofs might have been covered with timber straw and mud³ as no sign of the roof is now existent. Between the debris there are open spaces broad enough to permit modern vehicular traffic, and these may be identified with public roads and crossings. In the south of the site, there is a graveyard and a decaying tomb which is reported to have been built in later times. To the east of this graveyard, there is an extensive plain which seems to have been the bed of a large tank that was possibly used either for the water supply of the town or might have been used as a place of anchorage for the vessels plying on the river Indus. Among the mound nothing could be seen excepting the bones which are found in abundance at some places. On both sides of the open spaces and roads, there are foundations of very small rooms which were either barracks for the troops or the wells.

The construction of the buildings and the plan of the city indicates that, like other Muslim towns of the medieval age, it was a congested city but very thickly peopled. The buildings seem to have been built substantively, as would appear from the foundations of the walls which vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in breadth. Further, it is observed

that almost all the buildings were situated on the raised grounds above the general level of the site and their height varies from 3 to 5 ft. Mr Bellassis is correct when he remarks that, "there is not at present a city in Sind, which if overthrown by an earthquake tomorrow would make such a show of ruins as al-Mansurah."⁴

It is generally assumed that the detached block of the site to the south east of al-Mansurah proper is that of al-Mahfuzah but its minute observation clearly indicates that the ruins on the other side of the river bed, opposite the north eastern corner of the ruins of al-Mansurah, might be the ruins of that town. This fact is further inferred from the accounts of al-Balādhurī who reports that the town of al-Mahfuzah was situated exactly opposite to al-Mansurah on the left bank (i.e. eastern bank) of the river Mahrān.⁵

The fact that Brahmanābād and al-Mansurah occupied one and the same site appears to be untenable, although Elliot and others believe that some parts of the ancient town of Brahmanābād might have been included in the township of al-Mansurah.⁶ Brahmanābād, as reported by al-Balādhūrī was situated at a distance of about 6 miles from the new town of al-Mansurah.⁷ But as it appears partly from the accounts of Abu al-Fadl⁸ and partly from the inspection of the entire region which is covered with extensive ruins, Brahmanābād might have occupied a very large area in between the site of Dalor and the present town of Jhol. The ruins of Dalor, situated in the vicinity of al-Mansurah to the south east might have formed part of the great city of Brahmanābād as it was the official residence of its rulers.⁹

Abu al-Fadl reports that the fort of Brahmanābād had 1400 bastions and that each of these was situated at a great distance from the other. Some of these bastions, however, existed during his time in tolerable condition which testifies to the greatness of the town and the area it might have occupied. The map of Henry Cousens shows the site of Depar Ghanghro to the north east of the

site of al-Mansūrah the western part of which may be considered to be the ruins of ancient Brahmanābād. Al-Balādhurī tells us that Brahmanābād was totally deserted and was in ruins¹⁰ at the time when he was writing his great work on the "Conquest of the Countries". It is, therefore, highly probable that the building material for both al-Mahfūzah and al-Mansūrah might have been derived by the Arabs from the old town of Brahmanābād. There is no evidence whatsoever of the depopulation of Brahmanābād, but it is probable that its desertion was due to the change of the government and the ruthless massacre of its population by the Arabs. It is clear from historical evidence that the town of Brahmanābād was taken by an assault and that a great portion of its population was put to the sword.¹¹ It, however, revived for sometime after the recall of Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī but could not acquire its former greatness and prosperity. Soon after, when the two great towns were being built in its immediate vicinity, this town lost whatever little importance it had and the people began to shift to the new towns, specifically al-Mansūrah, which became the seat of the Arab Government for a considerably long time. But the natives of Sind could not forget the name of their once prosperous and flourishing town and it, therefore, seems highly probable that they began to call al-Mansūrah "new Brahmanābād" in commemoration of the old Hindu capital of Sind. When al-Istakhrī came to Sind, al-Mansūrah was also named as Brahmanābād by the Sindhis¹² and the town retained these names down to the 11th century A.D., as will appear from the accounts of al-Berūnī.¹³

The question now arises, how and when al-Mansūrah was destroyed. The popular version is that it was destroyed by a convulsion of nature in the form of an earthquake. Alternate theories make either the change of the course of river or an invasion from without, as the probable cause of the depopulation of al-Mansūrah and its destruction.

The site of al-Mansūrah-cum-Brahmanābād has been visited by many foreigners including Bellassis, Richardson.

Cunningham, Raverty, M.R. Haig and above all Henry Cousens who has written one of the most informative treatises on the antiquities of Sind. Of these visitors, Mr. Bellassis seems to have been greatly interested in this site which he calls the "Pompei" of Sind.¹⁴ He not only visited the site again and again but carried on observational excavations, the results of which throw much light on the fate of this great town which at one time was the flourishing centre of Arab administration and culture.

M.R. Haig is of the opinion that the destruction of al-Mansūrah was due to the change of the courses of the river Indus.¹⁵ He states that, "Mansurah founded as we have seen probably soon after the middle of the 8th century had comparatively a short life. It is spoken of by Yaqut who wrote his great geographical work in the 2nd decade of the 13th century as still flourishing, but Abu al-Fidā, writing in the first half of the 14th century says that the city with three others of the same name in the different parts of the east, was in ruins. If both the writers are correct, it is probably to be inferred that a great change in the course of Indus took place some time between the middle of the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth century and this caused the ruins of al-Mansūrah."¹⁶

Mr. Haig might have based his theory on the stories current about a merchant Sayf al-Mulūk and others who are reported to have changed the course of the river Indus by artificial and miraculous means.¹⁷ This fact is further inferred from the vestiges of ancient towns found along the old bed of this mad river which due to its changing nature, rendered them desolate and finally ruined. Even in modern times this river is totally uncontrollable and plays havoc with the countryside during the inundation season. Henry Cousens on the contrary, assumes that the destruction of al-Mansūrah was due to foreign invasions mostly from the eastern desert, which resulted in the ruthless massacre of its population and the complete sack of the town.¹⁸ It seems that he might have based his view on the account of the Arab writers who spoke of the marauding attacks of

Jats and Meds, a warlike people who inhabited the flanks of the eastern desert.¹⁹ This fact is further inferred from the sudden disappearance of al-Mansūrah and the advent of a new people, the Sumerahs, who are reported to be of Rajpūt origin.²⁰ Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznah does not seem to have destroyed al-Mansūrah. He only chastised its ruler and then appointed his own governor at al-Mansūrah to replace the rule of the Arabs. It is, therefore, supposed that according to H. Cousens the town of al-Mansūrah might have been destroyed by the Sūmerah Rajputs who attacked Sind during the weak rule of the later Ghaznavids and took over control of the Lower Indus Valley.²¹

Richardson, Bellassis, Cunningham, and Raverty all agree that al-Mansūrah was destroyed by an earthquake²² and this view is more acceptable for the following reasons:

Had the town of al-Mansūrah been depopled by the change of river course, its destruction could have hardly been so complete. Its destruction would have been gradual and the people would have carried everything with them including valuables and coined money, which have been found on the surface of the ruins.²³ At the same time, some of the buildings might have survived up to the present age in some tolerable condition, due to the fact that the buildings in the town were built substantially and on raised platforms. Moreover, the change of the river course could not have had such a great influence over the destinies of a capital town which received the water-supply mostly from the wells. That the sub-soil water did not fail is clear from the presence of a well on the site and the water is tolerably drinkable.²⁴ Further, the observation of the site shows the foundations of numerous wells, the number of which may exceed 2000. The change of the river course would have at the most decreased the commercial importance of the town, the inland trade of which was mostly conducted by boats plying on the river Indus. The excavations have yielded a variety of pottery superior to that found nowadays in Sind, including vessels of china-ware. Pieces of glass and crystal were also found with

fragments of cups, bottles and plates including pretty stones, apart from coins of silver and copper and ornaments were also discovered from the site.²⁵ These things could not have been found, if the city would have been deserted in good order. Moreover the inhabitants would not have left their cattle, horses and beasts of burden behind whose bones have been found in great quantity in the three houses excavated by Mr. Bellassis.²⁶ It was a custom in Sind that the cattle were generally tied within the house premises or in the courtyard, and the practice is continued up to the present day. This shows that the cattle were not removed from the houses when the catastrophe befell the town.

The fact that the town of al-Mansurah was destroyed by an invading army hostile to the Arabs also appears to be untenable. On this, the remark of Mr. Richardson is fully acceptable "Had twenty barrels of powder been placed under each individual building, the ruins could have been hardly perfect; besides whatever mischief the soldiery of the conquering army might have committed on buildings and other property, they would have surely carried away coins and other valuables which are found in infinite numbers on the surface of the site".²⁷ The enemy would not have left a single head of the cattle in their loot, if they intended to destroy the city. There would have been a general conflagration, as was the practice in medieval times and at least half of the city would have been burnt. The observation of the site shows little sign of violence by fire and the charcoal that was discovered was not in any quantity, but as much as may be expected to be used by the occupants of the houses for cooking purposes.²⁸ If there would have been any fire, it would have certainly consumed the women's bangles and bracelets and delicate articles made of glass, ivory and copper which have been unearthed from the ruins. Even harder metal, like iron would have been decomposed and melted away. Moreover the enemy could have destroyed at the most half of the town and the remnant of the population could have very easily revived and rehabilitated it."

Mr. Bellassis says, "we selected for excavation a heap of ruins standing on the verge of the principal bazar or square; we had not commenced many minutes before we came upon the edge of a wall; clearing it we soon came upon a cross and then upon another, until a house with a variety of rooms began first to take shape and disclose its proportions. We had not dug two feet before we came to quantities of bones and at that and greater depths, skeletons were so numerous that it was hardly possible to dig a paucity full of earth without bringing up particles of bones. As far as I could judge many were undeniably human bones and others those of cattle and of horses. The human bones were chiefly found in doorways, as if the people were attempting to escape and others in the corners of rooms. Many of the skeletons were in a sufficiently perfect state to show the position the body had assumed, some were upright, some recumbent with their faces down and some crouched in sitting positions. One in particular I remember, found in a doorway; the man had evidently been rushing out of his house, when a mass of brick-work had in its fall crushed him to the ground and there his bones were lying extended full length and the face downward. Of the bones found many were unquestionably human, others the bones of the camels, horses, oxen, dogs and fowls."²⁹

The description given by Mr. Bellassis clearly indicates the probable fate of the town and testifies to the truth of the popular version of its destruction by an earthquake. The wretched inhabitants were sleeping in their houses as would appear from the discovery of the skeletons in the corners of the rooms in sleeping and sitting position. But before they could come to their senses the roofs and walls fell down burying them under the debris. Further, the human bones on door-ways clearly indicate the attempt of the people to save themselves by rushing out of the houses, from the catastrophe which seems to have overtaken the town unexpectedly and during the odd hours of night. They were, however, not allowed time to leave due to the severity of the tremor

in which everything crumbled down. The bones of bullocks, camels, horses and other animals and birds show that they were not removed from the houses when the earthquake overtook the town. Since the cattle are generally sent out for pasturing during day time, they would not have perished if the catastrophe befell the town during day time.

Further Mr. Richardson's remark that "the remains of the bones were in a very decomposed state so soft as to be crushed to dust in the fingers. It is not probable that the bodies were regularly buried in the places we found them; had they been so the remains in all probability would have been found in recumbent position and not all crushed in a heap as they now appear."³⁰

It is generally questioned why the tower which was mentioned on page 157 and which ought to have come down first was not affected by that earthquake. On this the views of Mr. Bellassis are fully acceptable namely that the solidity and the superior size of this tower enabled it to survive for such a long period, but that is evidently only a small portion of the original edifice.³¹ "In the times of Kalhoras", he says "so much remained that the reigning prince ordered the demolition of the steps leading to the top, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the robbers who used the tower a place of observation from which to watch travellers as a preliminary to plundering." A large portion of the tower without steps was standing till about 1819 A.D. when it fell and has since remained in much the same state as it is now, a mere fragment.³²

The period of the destruction of al-Mansūrah is almost uncertain due to the absence of historical evidence. It was in existence when al-Istakhri came to Sind³³ and was a flourishing town during Bashshari's visit to the Lower Indus Valley (375 A.H.).³⁴ It is spoken of by al-Berūnī as al-Mansūrah Bahmanvā during the eleventh century A.D.³⁵ Mahmūd of Ghaznah who is reported to have put an end to the Arab dynasty of al-Mansūrah did not destroy it but on the contrary appointed his own men to administer the

country. The author of *Tabaqat-e-Nāsirī* reports that when he was at Ucha in 623 A.H./1227/28 A.D., al-Mansūrah was occupied by a band of the Khalj tribe of the Turks, who fleeing from the Mongol onslaught took shelter in it.³⁶ At that period it is reported to have been situated in Nasiruddin Qubaycha's territories and to have been one of the towns of Sīwistān. From this account it would appear that the town of al-Mansūrah which had been the cultural and administrative centre of the Arabs in Sind, might have lost its importance and been replaced by Sīwistān or Sehwan. And as Raverty puts it, "at the time of the advent of Khalj tribe in al-Mansūrah, it may have been deserted and the inhabitants were probably very few"³⁷

Yāqūt al-Hamavī who wrote his great work in the first half of the 13th century A.D. speaks of it as still flourishing,³⁸ but Abu al-Fidā writing in the first half of the 14th century A.D. states that the city with three others of the same name in different parts of the east was in ruins.³⁹ If the version of both the writers is to be accepted then the destruction of al-Mansūrah might have been wrought in the early years of the 14th century A.D. Raverty who accepts the theory of the destruction of al-Mansūrah by earthquake says, "that it can scarcely be supposed that the earthquake which is said to have destroyed Brahmanābād and its inhabitants would not have affected al-Mansūrah, because it was only about six miles in distance from it."⁴⁰

Brahmanābād according to the accounts of al-Balādhurī was in ruins as early as the 9th century A.D.⁴¹ and it is incorrect to assume its destruction at such a late period. It was al-Mansūrah that was destroyed and not Brahmanābād which was not in existence at that time. But al-Mansūrah was also known as Brahmanābād⁴² and it may, therefore, be fairly concluded that the earthquake which is assumed to have overtaken Brahmanābād, had actually destroyed al-Mansūrah and also changed the course of the river Indus.

Henry Cousens who disbelieves the earthquake theory opined that, "earthquake theory a convenient tradition which

had attached itself to many of the oldest towns all over the country was entertained by Mr. Bellassis, after his superficial inspection of the ruins." He really forgets that the earthquake theory which is mentioned in most of the local histories is not an idle fable, although certain stories connected with it may have been fabricated.

The historical evidence testifies to the local version about the occurrences of earthquakes in Sind; one such serious earthquake shook the port of Daybul in 280 A.H., as early as the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil. It is reported to have destroyed a great portion of the port town and its population. But Daybul seems to have revived the shock and to have been restored to its former prosperity due to its situation and strategic position as the principal port of the Indus Valley. It is mentioned in the works of almost all the geographers of medieval times, some of whom had actually visited Sind during the Habbārid rule of al-Mansūrah and have attested to its greatness and prosperity.⁴⁴ It is reported to have continued to exist up to the time of Aurangzayb, the last great Mughal Emperor as would appear from the accounts of *Khulāsāt al-Tawārikh*.⁴⁵

Al-Mansūrah was, however, doomed. It was situated on the banks of the river Indus and in the heart of the desert. It, therefore, could not withstand the onslaught of two calamities at one time, the earthquake and the change of the river course. It could have certainly revived and rehabilitated if the river would have remained faithful. It is highly probable that the remnant of the population might have inhabited the town for sometime, but since its commercial as well as metropolitan importance was lost, they might have abandoned it at some later period, which brought about the complete destruction of al-Mansūrah.

Notes and References

1. Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 66.
2. Al-Mansūrah was situated on an island, in between the two branches of river Indus. Al-Istakhri, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; al-Idrisi, p. 30.
3. The Arab writers report that the roofs were made of wood and straw. Al-Bashshāri, p. 479.
4. Hughes. A.W., *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 138.
5. Al-Balādhuri, p. 449.
6. Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 65.
7. Al-Balādhuri, p. 449.
8. Abu al-Fadl, p. 555.
9. Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 66.
10. Al-Balādhuri, p. 444.
11. Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 71.
12. Al-Istakhri, p. 17.
13. Al-Berūni, p. 11.
14. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 138.
15. M.R. Haig, p. 73.
16. M.R. Haig, p. 73.
17. *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, Vol. III, p. 44.
18. Henry Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 71.
19. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 143.
20. M.R. Haig, p. 73.
21. Ma'sūmī, Part II, p. 60.
22. Raverty, p. 199; Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 135.
23. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 131.
24. H. Cousens, *Antiquities*, p. 70.
25. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 131.
26. Ibid., p. 130.
27. Ibid., p. 136.
28. Ibid., p. 135.
29. Ibid., p. 133.
30. Ibid., p. 137.

31. Ibid., p. 136.
32. Ibid., p. 137.
33. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173.
34. Bashshārī, p. 479.
35. Al-Berūnī, p. 100.
36. Minhāj, p. 143.
37. Raverty, p. 199 (Footnotes).
38. Yāqūt al-Hamavī, Vol. VIII, p. 177.
39. H. Cousens, p. 65.
40. Raverty, p. 200.
41. Al-Balādhurī, p. 444.
42. Al-Istakhrī, p. 171.
43. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VII, p. 185; Suyūfī, p. 254.
44. Al-Istakhrī, p. 173; Ibn Hauqal, p. 320; Al-Mas'ūdī, p. 142; Al-Bashshārī, pp. 479, 480.
45. Raverty, p. 319.

CHAPTER XI

Town of Multān; Derivation of its name; Foundation of the Kingdom of Multān; Rulers of Multān; Idol of Multān, its Importance; Relations of Multān with al-Mansūrah; End of the Kingdom of Multān.

Multan: Derivation of its Name

The word Multān is derived from the Sanskrit term Malisthan¹ (Mali and Asthan) which means the seat of Mali, a very powerful tribe which was settled in the region at the time of Alexander's invasion. Its old name is reported to have been Kasya-papura or Kasyapur, after Rishi Kasya, one of the sons of Manū, the direct descendant of the god Brahma.² Manū had seven sons and they are represented in the heaven by the seven stars of the Great Bear. It may also seem to have derived its origin from Mulasthan (Mul-Asthan) which means the resting place of sun deity.³ Since it was the greatest centre of Buddhist pilgrimage in North-Western India, the last theory about the derivation of the name of Multān for the town seems to be more probable.

Multān is a town of great antiquity and is mentioned in the accounts of Skylax,⁴ the Greek admiral of Kiranda, who was sent by Darius I, the Achaemenian Emperor to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, on a discovery voyage in 515 B.C. Moreover, the description of the city of Kasyapura given by Herodotus and Ptolemy and accounts of its situation, identify it with the site of modern Multān.⁵ Multān was famous for its golden temple of the Sun⁶ to which all the people of this Sub-Continent repaired during the season of pilgrimage and offered gifts and sacrifices.

It is said that the temple was the first ever built for the worship of the Sun by Samba,⁷ the son of Lord Krishna, and therefore was also known as Adyasthana (first shrine). Adya is the corruption of Aditya or the sun, which is usually shortened to adit.⁸ and even ait as in aditwar and aitwar, for Aditya wara or Sunday.⁹ Sun worship at Multan may be very ancient, instituted according to one tradition by the famous Prahlada,¹⁰ the son of Daitya (or Hiranya-Kasipu) who was son of Kasyapa, the son of Manu, as already mentioned.

Multān is mentioned by Huen Tsang as a flourishing city with the temple of the Sun which he writes as U-fa-tsun (Aditya). The name of Multān in his writings is mentioned as Mu-lo-san-po-la (i.e. Mulasthan pura) and he further reports that the image of Sun god was cast out of yellow gold and adorned with every kind of precious stone.¹¹ At the time of the Arab invasion Multān with its temple was the chief centre of pilgrimage in Northern India and its idol was identified by the Arab historians with Job, the Hebrew prophet.¹²

Multān was the capital of one of the provinces of the Hindu kingdom founded by Chach before the Arab invasion¹³ It is reported to have been captured by Chach, the Brahman ruler, after his accession to the throne, which was left vacant on account of the death of Rai Sehasi II, the last Buddhist ruler of the Rai dynasty. It was conquered by the Arabs, under Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī in the year 94 A.H.¹⁴ After its conquest it became a part and parcel of the eastern-most province of the Umayyad and Abbasid empires and was famous with the name of Farj Bayt al-Dhahab,¹⁵ in view of the great quantity of gold derived from its temple.

Foundation of Kingdom of Multan

Due to the absence of historical evidence very little is known about the foundation of the Kingdom of Multān and its founder. But it is said to have been in possession of and ruled by Banū Sāmahas reported by Arab geographers.¹⁶

Sāmāh was the son of Lū'ya ibn Ghālib,¹⁷ a grandson of Fahr, the famous ancestor of the great tribe of Quraysh. Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī had appointed Amir Dā'ūd ibn Nasr ibn Walīd al-Omānī as the governor of Multān¹⁸ after its conquest by the Arabs. It is generally assumed that the descendants of Dā'ūd ibn Nasr might have continued to hold Multān up to the middle of the fourth century Hijrī and founded the Kingdom of Multān.

Multān was one of the important towns of the province of Sind and there is no mention of a separate governor being appointed for Multān during the Umayyad and early Abbasid period. It seems that the foundation of the Kingdom might have been laid during the chaos which prevailed in the Indus Valley during the reign of Caliph al-Mutawakkil by the descendants of Sāmāh ibn Lū'ya.

The Rulers of Multan

Unlike the dynasty of al-Mansūrah, and its founder 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Habbari, the real founder of the Kingdom of Multān is not mentioned in the accounts. Even the names of the rulers are not known. Al-Mas'ūdī, who visited the Indus Valley after 300 A.H., reports that the ruler of Multān was Abu al-Dalhāth al-Munabbah ibn Asad al-Qarshī.¹⁹ Al-Istakhri and Ibn Hauqal, who followed al-Mas'ūdī, did not mention the names of the rulers of Multān but they report that the khutba was read for the Abbasids²⁰ throughout the territories of Multān. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, who visited Sind shortly after 375 A.H., relates that the Friday sermons were read in the name of Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt.²¹ This clearly shows that Multān might have come under the influence of Qārmathians, shortly before the visit of al-Maqdisī. Al-Berūnī reports that Multān was captured by the Qarmathians, under Jalam ibn Sha'ban²² in the year 372 A.H., who put an end to the dynasty of the descendants of Samā ibn Lū'ya. This Jalam ibn Sha'ban is also celebrated for destroying the idol of Multān²³ which was the source of great income to the rulers of Multān. He also closed the

principal mosque of Multān²⁴ built by Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the Arab conqueror of Sind, which according to Jalam was a vestige of the Umayyad period. But he built a new mosque on the site of the temple for the Qarmathian heretics, which was eventually closed by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah.²⁵

Idol of Multan

The idol of Multān, identified with Job the Hebrew prophet by the famous historian al-Balādhurī, was one of the few idols in Indo-Pakistan to which the people flocked, from all over the Sub-Continent. It was the only centre of pilgrimage in Northern India and claimed great antiquity. During the period of the independent Kingdom of Multān, it was the greatest source of revenue to its rulers.²⁶

The idol of Multān is reported to have resembled a man sitting on a chair. Its body was covered with red skin in such a manner that nothing could be seen except the eyes. Its eyes were made of two bright rubies, fixed in the sockets in such a manner that they looked real, and there was a crown of gold on the head. Its hands were placed on the knees and its fingers fixed as if it was counting four.²⁷ Ibn Nadīm relates that, "the temple of Multān is one of seven great temples of India. Its idol is made up of iron and is about 7 yards in length. It is suspended in the middle of the temple by a magnet. There are two other idols also known as "Junbukat" and "Zunbukat", which are carved out of pure stone and are situated at an elevation of 80 yards on both sides of the Valley. They are seen from a great distance and when the pilgrims see any one of them, they alight and proceed to it on foot in reverence." He further reports that gifts were brought to it from a distance of more than one thousand miles. Some people came only to sacrifice their own life for the pleasure of the idol²⁹ whom they considered as God. Shaving of head was, however, incumbent on every pilgrim who was obliged to make seven processions or circumambulation round the idol.³⁰ There were different modes

of offering sacrifice to the idol. Some would take out their eyes and place it before the idol. Others would select a long stick of bamboo and begin to make its one end sharp and pointed. The stick was then fixed in the ground, and the man would place his navel over it. He would then press it in such a manner that it passed through his body and caused his death.³¹

The idol of Multān was of great importance to the Muslim rulers. It not only provided the finances for the up-keep of the royal household and administration but was also valuable for defence purposes. Whenever Multān was attacked by the non-Muslims, the ruler would take out the idol, show it to them on the fort wall and threatened to break it.³² This obliged them to withdraw and thus the kingdom was saved from extinction.

Relations of Multan with al-Mansurah

In the absence of historical evidence, very little is known of the relationship which existed between Multān and al-Mansūrah. The geographers relate that Multān was situated on one of the trade-routes which connected Baghdad with al-Mansūrah. Al-Mas'ūdī visited Multān first and then came to al-Mansūrah.³³ This clearly indicates that there were trade relations between the two kingdoms. Although the rulers of Multān and al-Mansūrah were independent of each other, they seem to have exchanged envoys and gifts. At the same time, there might have been agreement between them not to make an attack on the territories of each other. Thus the boundaries of both kingdoms remained intact and secure throughout the period of Arab domination of Sind.

End of the Kingdom of Multan

Multān was ruled by the Quraishite chiefs known as Banū Munabbih up to the time of Ibn Hauqal's visit who reports that the khutba was read for the Abbasids.³⁴ But when Al-Bashsharī al-Maqdisī came to Sind, he does not mention the rule of Qurayshites or Banū Munabbih over Multān. He relates that the Friday sermons were read for the Fātimid

Caliphs throughout the territories of Multān¹⁵ which clearly indicates that the rule of the Qurayshites was superseded by that of Qarmathians, who owed allegiance to the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt. It seems that the rule of Banū Munabbah was brought to an end by Jalam ibn Sha'bān in 373 A.H., who established the rule of Qarmathians in the Upper Indus Valley.

The Qarmathians maintained their hold over Multān for twenty three years up to 396 A.H., when it was attacked by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah, who incorporated it within his dominions.

Notes and References

1. David Ross, p. 92.
2. Ibid., p. 92.
3. Cunningham, Vol. I, p. 234.
The word Mul in Sanskrit means root or origin, but it also means heaven, ether, space, atmosphere and God. Anyone of these names can be applicable to Sun the lord of etherical space.
4. David Ross, p. 92.
5. Cunningham, Vol. I, p. 234.
6. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 141.
7. Cunningham, Vol. I, p. 263.
8. Al-Berūnī, p. 56.
9. Cunningham, p. 235.
10. Ibid., p. 232.
11. Huen-Tsang, Book IV, p. 152.
12. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445.
13. *Chach Namah*, p. 15.
14. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 258.
15. Al-Balādhurī, p. 445; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV, p. 258.
16. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 82; Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322.
17. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 82.
18. *Chach Namah*, p. 24.
19. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 142.
20. Al-Istakhrī, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322.
21. Al-Bashshārī, p. 485.
22. Al-Berūnī, p. 56.
23. Ibid., p. 56.
24. Al-Berūnī, p. 56.
25. Ibid., p. 56.
26. Al-Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 141.
27. Al-Istakhrī, p. 174; Ibn Hauqal p. 326.

28. Ibn Nadīm, p. 485.
29. Ibid., p. 485.
30. Ibn Rustah, pp. 136.
31. Ibn Rustah, pp. 136-137: *Al-Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 142.
32. *Al-Istakhrī*, p. 175; Ibn Hauqal, p. 322.
33. *Al-Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 142.
34. Ibn Hauqal, p. 322.
35. *Al-Bashshāir*, p. 485.
36. *Al-Berūnī*, p. 56.

EXTRACTS

Baladhūri: Futūh al- Buldan, Cairo 1319 A.H. Pages 448, 449 and 450

وفي ايام نميم خرج المسلمون عن بلاد الهند و رفضوا
مراكزهم فلم يعودوا اليها الي هذه الغاية. ثم ولي الحكم
بن عوانه الكلبى وقد كفر اهل الهند الا اهل القصه فلم
ير للمسلمين ملجأ يلجؤن اليه. فبني من وراء البحيرة مما يلي
الهند مدينة سماها المحفوظة و جعلها مأوى لهم و مباداً
و مصرها. و قال المشايخ كلب من اهل الشام ماترون ان
نسميها فقال بعضهم دمشق وقال بعضهم حمص وقال رجل
منهم سمها تدمر. فقال دسر الله عليك يا احمق و لكنني
اسميها المحفوظة و نزلها و كان عمرو بن محمد بن القاسم
مع الحكم و كان يفوض اليه و يقلده جسيم أموره و اعماله
فاغزاه من المحفوظة فلما قدم عليه وقد ظفر امره فبني دون
البحيرة مدينة سماها المنصورة. فهي التي بنزلها العمال اليوم.
و عسكر عمران علي نهر الرور ثم نادي بالزط الذين
بحضرته فاتوه فختم ايديهم و اخذ الجزية منهم و امرهم
بان يكون مع كل رجل منهم اذا اعترض عليه كلب فبلغ
الكلب خمسين درهما. ثم غزا الميد و معه وجوه الزط فحفر
من البحر نهرا اجراه في بطيحتهم حتي ملح ماء هم و شن
الفارات عليهم. ثم وقعت العصية بين النزارية و اليمانية فقال
عمران الي اليمانية فسار اليه عمر بن عبدالعزيز البهاري
فقتله وهو غار. و كان جد عمر هذا ممن قديم السند مع
حكم بن عوانه الكلبى.

Ya'qūbi: Tarikh al- Yaqūbi, Berinit 1375 A.H. Pages 50, 55 and 177.

فكتب خالد الي هشام ان يولي الحكم بن عوانه
الكلمبي فقدم الحكم و بلاد الهند كلها قد غلب عليها الا
اهل القصه فقالوا ابن لنا حصا يكون للمسلمين يلجأون اليه
فبني مدينه سماها المحفوظه وكان مع الحكم عمرو بن
محمد بن القاسم الثقفي وبني عمرو بن محمد بن القاسم مدينه
دين البحيره سماها المنصوره .

وتوفي هارون بن ابي خالد عامل السند سنه ٢٣٠
وكتب عمر بن عبدالعزيز السامي المنتمعي الي سامه بن
لوي صاحب البلد هنالك يذكر انه ان ولي البلد قام به
ضبطه فاجابه الي ذالك فاقام طول ايام المتوكل .

Al- Mas'ūdī: Murūj al- Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al- Jawahir,
Baghdad 1283 A.H.

Pages- 81, 82, 142, 143.

P- 81

وقد زعم عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ ان نهر مهران الذي هو
نهر السند من النيل و يستدل علي انه من النيل بوجود
التماسيح فيه فلست ادري كيف وقع هذا الدليل وذكر ذلك
في كتابه المترجم بكتاب الامصار . وهو كتاب في نهايت .

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الغثائه لان الرجل لم يسلك البحار ولا اكثر الاسفار
ولا يعرف المسالك والامصار و انما كان حاطب ليل , ينقل
من كتب الوراقين اولم يعلم ان نهر مهران السند يخرج من

أعين مشهورة من اعالي بلاد السند من ارض القنوج الي مملكة يورده و ارض قشمير و القفندار و الطافر حتي ينتهي الي بلاد المولتان ، و من هناك يسمى مهران. و تفسير المولتان رجل من قريش من ولد ساسه بن لؤي بن غالب ، و قوافل منه الي خراسان متصله و كذلك صاحب مملكة المنصورة رجل من قريش من ولد هبار بن الامود و هذا الملك في هولاء و مركب صاحب المولتان متوارثان قديمان منذ صدر الاسلام ، حتي ينتهي نهر مهران الي بلاد المنصورة و يصب نحو بلاد الديبل في بحر الهند

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وكذلك كان دخولي الي بلاد المنصورة في هذا لوقت و الملك عليها ابو المنذر عمر بن عبدالله . و رأيت بها وزيره زيادا و ابنه محمدا و عليا ، و رايت بها رجلاً سيداً من العرب و ملكاً من ملوكهم وهو المعروف بحمزة ، و بها خلق من ولد علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه ثم من ولد عمر بن علي و محمد بن علي و بين ملوك المنصورة و بين أبي الشوراب القاضي قرابه و صله نسب و ذلك ان ملوك المنصورة الذين الملك فيهم في وقتنا هذا من ولد هبار بن الأسود و يعرفون ببني عمر بن عبدالعزيز القرشي وليس هو عمر بن عبدالعزيز الأموي ، فاذا اجتاز جميع ما ذكرنا من الانهار ببلاد مرج بيت الذهب ، و هو الملتان فاجتمع بعد المولتان بثلاثه ايام فيما بين المولتان و المنصورة في مواضع المعروف بدوسات ثم انتهى جميع ذلك علي مقدار يومين

من مدينة الديبل و المسافه من المولتان الي المنصوره
 خمسـه و سبعون فرسخا سـنديـه علي ما ذكرنا ، ولفرسخ ثمانيه
 اميال ، و جميع ما للمنصوره من الضياع والقري مما يضاف
 اليها ثلثمائه الف قريه ذات زروع و أشجار و عمائر متصله ،
 و فيها حروب كثيره من جنس يقال لهم المسند ، وهم نوع
 من السند وغيرهم من الأحابش ، ثم ثغر السند وكذلك
 المولتان من ثغور السند وما اضيف اليها من العمائر و المدن ،
 و سميت المنصوره باسم منصور بن جمهور عامل بني اميه ،
 ولملك المنصوره فيله حربيه ، وهي ثمانون فيلا رسم كل
 فيل أن يكون حوله علي ما ذكرنا خمسـمائه راجل و انه

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يجارب الوفا من الخيل علي ما ذكرنا ، و رايت له فيلمين
 بظمين كانا موصوفين عند ملوك السند والهند لما كانا عليه
 من البأس والنجده والاقدام علي قتل الجيوش ، كان اسم
 أحدهما "منعرفلس" "والآخر" "حيدره" ولمنعرفلس هذا
 اخبار عجيبه و افعال حسنه وهي مشهوره في تلك البلاد
 وغيرها : منها انه مات بعض سواسه فمكث اياما لا يطعم ولا
 يشرب يبدي الحنين و يظهر الانين ، كالرجل الحزين و
 دموعه تجري من عينيه لا تنقطع ، و منها انه خرج ذات
 يوم حائره ، وهي دارالفيله و حيدره و راعه و باقي ثمانين
 تبع لهما فانتهى منعرفلس في سيره الي شارع قليل العرض
 من شوارع المنصوره ففاجأ في مسيره اسراه علي حين غفله
 فلما بصرت به دهشت و استقلقت علي قفاها من الجزع ،

و انكشفت عنها اطمارها في وسط الطريق ، فلما رأي ذلك
منعرفلس وقف بعرض الشارع مستقبلا بجنبه الايمن من وراعه
من الفيله مادفالهم من النفوذ من اجل المرأة و اقبل يشير
اليها بخرطومه بالقيام و جمع عليها اثوابها و يستر منها مابدا
الي ان انتقلت المرأة و تزحزحت عن الطريق بعدأن عاد
اليهاروحها ، فاستقام الفيل في طريقه و اتبعه الفيله .

Al- Istakhri: Al-Masalk wa 'l-Mamalik, Leyden 1927
Pages: 171 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180,

Page 173.

واما مدن السند فانها المنصورة ، واسمها بالسندية
برهمناباذ ، والديبل ، والبيرون ، وقاري واتري و بلري ،
والمسواهي ، والبهرج ، وبانيه ، ومنحاتري وسدوسان والرور
و اما مدن الهند فهي قاسهل و كنبايه و سوباره ، و سندان
و صيمور و الملتان و جندراورو بسمد فهذه من مدن.

والمنصورة مدينة مقدارها في الطول والعرض نحو من
ميل في ميل و يحيط بها خليج من نهر مهران وهي في شبيه
بالجزيرة و اهلها مسلمون و ملكهم من قریش يقال انه من ولد
هبار ابن لاسود تغلب عليها هو واجداده الا ان لخطبة بها
للخليفة . وهي مدينة حارة بها نخيل و ليس لهم عنب ولا
تفاح ولا كشمري ولا جوز ولهم قصب سكر و بارضيهم
ثمرة على قدر التفاح تسمي الليمونه حامض شديد الحموضة
ولهم فاكهة تشبه الخوخ يسمونها الانيج تقارب طعم الخوخ

و اسعارهم رخيصة و فيها خصب و نقودهم القاهريات كل درهم نحو خمسة دراهم ولهم درهم يقال له طاطري في الدرهم وزن درهم و ثلثين و يتعاملون بالدنا نیز ايضا و زبهم زي اهل العراق الا ان زي ملوكهم يقارب زي ملوك الهند من الشعور والقراطق.

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و مدينة الرور تقارب المولتان في الكبر عليها سوران وهي علي شط نهر مهران وهي من حد المنصورة والديبل هي غربي مهران علي البحروهي متجر كبير و فرضه لهذه البلاد و غيرها و زروعهم مباحس وليس لهم كثير شجر ولا نخيل وهو بلد قشف و انما مقامهم للتجارة. والبيرون مدينة بين الديبل و المنصورة على نحو من نصف الطريق وهي الي المنصورة اقرب و منحتري علي غربي مهران و بها يعبر من جاء من الديبل الي المنصورة وهي بحدائها. و المساوي و البهرج و سدوسان هذه كلها غربي مهران و اما انري و قالري فهما شرقي مهران علي طريق المنصورة الي الملتان و هما بعيدتان من شط نهر مهران. و اما بلري فهي علي شط مهران من عربيته بقرب الخليم الذي يتفجر من مهران علي ظهر المنصورة. و اما بانيه فهي مدينة صغيرة و منها عمر بن عبدالعزيز الهباري القرشي جد هؤولاء المتغلبين علي المنصورة.

prge 176.

و اما الراعوق فهي من حد المنصورة وهي مباحس قليلة الثمر قشفه الا ان لهم مواش كثيره وزي المسلمين

والكفار بها واحد فى اللباس وارسال الشعر ولباسهم الازر
والمياز لشدة الحرب بلدانهم وكذلك زى اهل الملتان لباسهم
الازر والمياز ولسان اهل المنصورة والملتان و نواحيها
العربية السندية ولسان اهل مكران الفارسية والمكرية
ولباس القراطق فيهم ظاهر الا التجار فان لباسهم والقمص
والادرية وسائر زى اهل الفارس والعراق .

واما لمسافات بها فمن تيز الى كيز نحو مراحل ومن
P - 178 كيز الى قنزبور مرحلتان ومن كيز الى ارمائيل
٦ مراحل ومن ارمائيل الى قنبلى مرحلتان ومن قنبلى
الى الديبل ٣ مراحل ومن المنصورة الى الديبل ٦ مراحل
ومن المنصورة الى الملتان ١٢ مرحلة ومن المنصورة الى
طوران نحو ١٥ مرحلة ومن قصدار P - 179 الى الملتان نحو
٢٠ مرحلة وقصدار مدينة طوران ومن المنصورة الى اول
حد البدهة ٥ مراحل وتحتاج الى عبور مهران اذا اردت
بلاد البدهة من المنصورة الى مدينة تسمى سدوسان على
شط مهران ومن قصدار الى قنزابيل نحو ٥ فراسخ ومن قنزابيل
الى المنصورة نحو ٨ مراحل ومن قنزابيل الى الملتان مقدار
نحو ١٠ مراحل وبين المنصورة وبين قاسهل ٨ مراحل ومن
قاسهل الى كنباهة ٣ مراحل وبين الملتان و بسند نحو
مرحلتين ومن بسند الي الرور ٣ مراحل ومن الرور الى أترى
٣ مراحل ومن اترى الى قالرى مرحلتان ومن قالرى الى
المنصورة مرحلة ومن الديبل الى بيرون ٣ مراحل ومن
بيرون الي منحاترى مرحلتان ومن قالرى الى بلرى نحو ٣

فراسخ وبانيه" هي بين المنصورة و بين قامهل علي مرحله" من المنصورة . واما انهاها فان لهم نهراً يعرف بمهران و بلغني ان مخرجه من ظهر جبل يخرج منه بعض انهار جيهون فيظهر مهران بناحية" الملتان فيجري على حد بسمد والروور ثم على المنصورة حتى يقع في البحر شرقي الديبل و هو نهر كبير عذب جدا مثل النيل في الكبر و جريه مثل جريه يرتف علي وجه الارض ثم ينضب فيزدغ عليها مثل ما ذكرناه في ارض مصر

Ibn - Hauqal : Kitab Surat al-Ard Leyden 1938.
Pages 317, 319, 320, 321, - 323, 324, 326.

ما بلاد السند وما يقا صيها للإسلام مما جمعه" واما بلاد السند وما يقاصيها للإسلام مما جمعه" في صورة" واحدة" فهي بلاد السند وشيء من بلاد الهند و مكران و طوران و البدهه" و شرقي ذلك كله بحر فارس و غربيها كرمان و مقاره" محبستان و اعمالها و شماليها بلاد الهند و جنوبيها مقازه" ما بين مكران والقفص و من ورائها بحر فارس - و انما صار بحر فارس يحيط بشرقي هذه البلاد والجنوبي من وراء هذه المقازه" من اجل ان البحر يمتد من صيمور علي الشرقي الي تيز مكران ثم ينطف علي هذه المقاره" الي ان يتقوس علي بلاد كرمان و فارس

و هذه صورته بلاد السند P - 319

والذين يقع من المدن في هذه البلاد فبنا حيه مكران والتيز وكيز و قنزبور و درك و راسك وهي مدينه" الخروج

و بند و قصر قند و اصقفه و فهلفرة و مشكي و قنبلي و ارسايل
 و بنواحي طوران من المدن و مجاك و كيز كانان و سيوي
 و قصدار و بنواحي البدهه - فا المنصورة اسمها باير مان
 بالسنديه و الديبل والنيرون و قالري و انري و بيلري و
 مسواهي والفهرج وبانيه و منجابري و سيومتان والرور والجنדרور
 والمنصورة مقدارها في الطول والعرض نحر ميل و P-320
 يحيط بها خليج من نهر مهران وهي في شبهه بالجزيره و
 اهلها مسلمون. ملكها من قريش من ولد هبار بن الأسود وقد
 تغلب عليها اجداده و ساسوهم سياسته أوجبت رغبته الرعيه
 فيهم و ايثارهم علي من سواهم غير ان الخطبه لبني العباس
 وهي مدينه حاره بها نخيل و ليس بها عنب ولا تفاح ولا
 جوز (ولا كشمري) ولهم قصب سكر يعتقد منه القند الغزير
 الكثير و بارضهم ثمره علي قدر التفاح تسمي الليمونه حامضه
 شديده الحموضه و لهم فاكهه تشبه الخوخ يسمونها الانبج
 تقارب طعم الخوخ و اسعارهم رخيصه و بها خصب و نقودهم

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القندهاريات كل درهم منها خمس دراهم. و لهم درهم يقال
 له الطاطري في الدرهم و ثمن و يتعاملون بالدنانير (ايضا)
 و زيهم كزي اهل العراق غير أن زي ملوكهم يقارب زي
 ملوك الهند في الشعور و قراطق .

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و مدينه الرور تقارب الملتان في الكبر و عليها سوران
 و هي على شط مهران ايضا و هي من حمد المنصورة. خصبه

رفهه" كثيرة التجارة. والديبل من شرقي نهر مهران علي البحر

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وهي متجر عظيم و تجارتها من وجوه كثيرة و هي فرضه" هذا البلاد وغيرها و زروعهم مباحس و ليس لهم كثير شجر ولا نخيل و هو بلد قشف و انما مقامهم للتجارة و مشهورة، والنيرون مدينه" بين الديبل و المنصورا علي نحو نصف الطريق و هي الي المنصورة اقرب، و هي مقاربه" في الحال لمنجابرى على غربى مهران و بها يعبر من جاء من الديبل الي المنصورة و هي تجاهها. و مدينه" مسواحي و الفهرج و سدوستان كلها غربي مهران و هي متقاربه" في احوالها، و انرى (و قالرى) قمن شرقي مهران ايضا" علي الطريق المنصورة الي الملتان و هما بالبعد من شط مهران لهما عمل صالح و هما متقاربتان في الحال و الصلاح فاما بلرى فعلي شط مهران ايضا" في غريبه و بقرب الخليج الذى ينفتح من مهران على ظهر المنصورة و هي ناحيه" و مدينه" معتصدة صالحة" الحال و بانیه" مدينه" صغيرة و منها عمر بن عبدالعزيز الهبارى القرشي الجواد الكريم المشهور حاله بالعراق في النبل و الفضل و هو جد المتغلبن على المنصورة و نواحيها و قامهل مدينه" من اول حد الهند .

و زى المسلمين و الكفار بها و احد في اللباس و ارسال الشعر و لباسهم الأزر و الميازرو لسان اهل المنصورة و الملتان و نواحيها العربيه" و السنديه" و لباس القراطق فيهم ظاهر الا التجار فان لباسهم القمص و الأذريه كسائر اهل العراق و فارس .

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و أما انهارهم فاعظمها نهر مهران و مخرجه من ظهر
جبل يخرج منه بعض انهار جيحون و تمده انهار كثيرة و عيون
غزيرة و يظهر على توافره بناحية الملتان فيجری على حد
بسمد و يمر بالرور ثم على المنصورة حتى يقع في البحر شرقي
الديبل و هو نهر كبير عذب جداً و فيه التعاسيم كتعاسيم
النيل و هو كالنيل في الكبر و جريه كجريه بماء الاسطار
الصيفية و يرتفع على وجه الارض ثم ينصب عليه جسا
يزرع بارض مصر.

من قبلى الى الديبل اربع مراحل و من المنصورة الى
الديبل ست مراحل و من المنصورة الى الملتان اثنتا عشرة
مرحلة و من المنصورة الى طوران نحو خمس عشرة مرحلة
و من قصدار الى الملتان عشرون مرحلة و قصدار مدينه طوران
و من المنصورة الى اول حه البدهه خمس مراحل و من كيز
و هى مسكن عيسى بن معدان الى البدهه نحو عشر مراحل
Bashshāri al-Maḡdīsī : Ahsan al-Taḡāsim fī

Ma'rīfat-al-Aḡālīm, Leyden, 1906, Pages 476-485,

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و اما السند فقصبته المنصورة و من مدنها ديبلى، زلدريم
كدارمايل قنبلى و قال الفارسي النيرى قالرى انرى بلرى
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المساوى، البهرج، بانيه، منجايرى، سدومستان، الرور، سوبارة
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كيناى، صيمور. المنصورة هى قصبته السند و مصر الاقاليم
تكون مثل دمشق بناؤهم خشب وطين و جامع من حجر و

آجر، كبير مثل جامع عمان على سوارى ساج لها اربعة ابواب باب البحر باب طوران باب سندان باب الملتان ولهم نهر يحوط بالبلد اهل لباقة ولهم مروة وللإسلام عندهم طراوة والعلم اهلهم كثير والتجارات ثم مفيدة ولهم زكاء وفطنة ومعروف وصدقة والهواء لين والشتاء هين والامطار كثيرة والا ضداد مجتمعة ولهم خصائص غريبة و ثم جواميس عظيمة شربهم من نهر مهران والجامع وسط الاسواق والرسوم تقارب العراق مع وطاء وحسن اخلاق، الا انه شديد الحر كثير البق بلغمانيون الغالب عليهم الكفاز خرب الاطراف قليل الاشراف. و ديبيل بحرية قد احاط بها نحو من مائة قرية اكثرهم كفار والبحر يسطع جدارات المدينة كلهم تجار كلامهم سندی و عربى وهى فرضة الكورة كثيرة الدخل و ثم يفيض مهران فى البحر والجبل منهم على صيحه والبحر يدخل السوق اهل ظرف و تلبس و تنبلى عليها حصن بحرية ايضا قليلة المسلمين والتجار المجهزين.

رخصته الاسمار الخبز ثلاثون منا بدرهم والفانيد ثلاثة

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اسماء بدرهم حسنة تشاكل دور ميراف من خشب الساج طبقات ليس عندهم زنا ولا شرب خمر ومن ظفروا به يفعل ذلك قتلوه او حدوه ولا يكذبون فى بيع ولا يبخسون فى كيل ولا يخسرون فى وزن يحتبون الغرباء و اكثرهم عرب شربهم من نهر عزيز والخير بها كثير والتجارات حسنة والنعم

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ظاهره والسلطين عادلہ لاتري في الاسواق امرأة مقجمله
ولا احداً يحدثها علانية ماغ سري و عيش هنى و ظرف و
مروة و فارسيه مفهومة و تجارات مفيدة و اجسام صحيحه الا
انها سبجہ بليظة و دور ضيقه و هوا حار يا بس و هم سمر

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و سود و مهران لا يحالف النيل في شيء من الحلاوة و الزيادة
و كون التماسيح فيه و خروجه من الناحية التي يظهر منه
بعض شعب جيحون قبل الوخش و يظهر بناحية الملتان حتي
يجري الي حدود المنصورة فيقع في البحر عند الديبل و عليه
مزارع زيادته كما ذكرنا بمصر. ولولايات في هذا الاقليم
مختلفة علي مكران سلطان علي حدة و هو متواضع عادل

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لاتري مشلهم. و اما المنصورة فعليها سلطان من قریش يخطبون
للعباسي وقد كانوا خطبوا علي عضدالدوله و رايت رسولهم
قد وافى الي ابيه و نحن بشيراز و اما بالمتان فيخطبون
للفاطمي ولا يحلون ولا يقعدون الا باسمه و ابدأ رسلهم و
هداياهم تذهب الي مصر و هو سلطان قوي عادل .

Buzurk Ibn Shahriyār : 'Ajā'ib al-Hīnd' Cairo, A.H., 1336,
Pages 3, 4, 78.

P - 3

ثم جمل في الصين والهند ثمانية اجزاء منها و جزعاً
في باقي المشرق (فمما) في الهند ما حد ثنا به ابو محمد الحسن
بن عمرو ابن حمويه بن حرام بن حمويه للنجيرمسي بالبصرة
كال كنت بالمنصورة فسي منه ثمان و ثمانين و مائتين

وحدثني بعض مشايخها ممن يوثق به ان ملك الراء و هو اكبر ملوك بلاد الهند و ناحيته التي هو بها بين قشعر الا علي و قشعر الاسفل و كان يسمى مهروك بن رائق كتب منه بسعين و ماتين الي صاحب المنصورة و هو عبدالله بن عمر بن عبد العزيز يسأله ان يفسر له شريعة الاسلام بالهنديّة فأحضر عبدالله هذا رجلاً كان بالنصورة اصله من العراق حد القريجة حسن الفهم شاعراً قد نشأ ببلاد الهند و عرف لغاتهم علي اختلافها فعرفه مأسأله ملك الراء فعمل قصيدة و ذكر فيها ما يحتاج اليه و انفذها اليه فلما قرئت علي ملك الراء استحسناها و كتب اليي عبدالله يسأله حمل صاحب القصيدة فحمله اليه و اقام عنده ثلاث سنين ثم انصرف عنه فسأله عبدالله عن امر ملك الراء فشرح له اخباره و انه تركه و قد اسلم قلبه و لسانه و انه لم يمكنه اظهار الاسلام

P - 4

خوف من بطلان أمره و ذهاب ملكه و كان فيما حكاه عنه انه سأله ان يفسر له القرآن بالسندية ففسر له قال فانتهيت من التفسير الي سورة يس قال ففسرت له قول الله عزوجل قال من يحيي العظام و هي رميم خلق عليم. قال فلما فسرت له هذا و هو جالس علي سرير من ذهب مرصع بالجواهر والدر لا تعرف له قيمته قال لي اعد علي فأعدت فنزل عن سريريه و مشي علي الارض و كان قد رشت بالماء و هي نديه فوضع خده علي الارض و بكى حتي تلوث وجهه بالطين ثم قال لي هذا هو رب المعبود الاول القديم الذي

ليس يشبهه احد و بنا بيتا لنفسه و اظهر انه يخلو فيه لعمهم
و كان يصلي فيه سرّاً من غير ان يطلم على ذلك احد و انه
و هب له فسي ثلثه دفعات ستمائه منا من ذهب .

P. 78

و حدثني الحسن بن عمرو انه رأي بالمنصورة اهل
قشمير الاسفل و بينهم و بين المنصورة مسيرة سبعين يوماً
في البر ينحدرون في مهران من قشمير و هو يجري كما يجري
دجلة و الفرات في و ت المدور على اعدال القسط و قال لي
انهم يعبون القسط في الاعدال في كل عدل سبعائة
ثما نمائه مناً و يجلدون ثم يجعلون فوق الجلد القار فلا ينفذه
ماء ولا غيره و يقرنون الاعدال و يشدونها و يوطنون عليها
يجلسون فيها و ينحدرون في مهران فيصلون الي فرضه
المنصورة في اربعين يوماً و لم يلحق القسط شي من
الماء البتة

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ذكرت في فصل قبل هذا امر عباد الهند و زهادهم و هم

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و الالهة لما بلغهم خروج النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم
فارسلو رجلاً فيهما منهم و امره ان يسير اليه فيعرف امره
و ما يدعو اليه فعاقب الرجل عواثق و وصل الي المدينة
بعد ان قبض رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم و توفي ابو بكر
رضي الله عنه و وجه القائم بالامر عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله
عنه فسأله ان امر النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم فشرح له و

بس، يرجع فتوفي الرجل بنواحي بلاد مكران و كان مع الرجل غلام له عندي فوصل الغلام الى سرنديب و شرع لهم الامر و ما قفا عليه من امر النبي صلي الله عليه و سلم و ابي بكر رضي الله عنه و انهم وجدوا صاحب النبي صلي الله عليه و سلم عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه و وصف لهم تواضعه و انه كان يلبس مرقعه و يبيت في المساجد فتوصعهم لاجل ما حكى لهم ذلك الغلام و لبسهم الثياب المرقعة لما ذكره من لبس عمر رضي الله عنه المرقمه و صحبتهم للمسلمين و ميلهم اليهم لما في قلوبهم مما حكاه ذلك الغلام عن عمر رضي الله عنه .

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عدت اضاف منهم البيكور و اصلهم من سرنديب و هم يحبون المسلمين و يعملون اليهم ميلاً شديداً

Ibn Hazm: Jamharah Ansab al-'Arab, Cairo, A.H. 1245,
Pages 109 and 110.

فولد الاسود بن مطلب : هبار بن الاسود الشاعر له صحبه و زمعه بن الاسود و عقيل بن الاسود قتلا يوم بدر كافرين فبن ولد هبار بن الاسود : الشاعر بن الاسود ، عمر بن عبدالعزيز بن المنذر بن الزبير بن عبدالرحمن بن هبار بن الاسود صاحب السند ، و ليها في ابتداء الفتنه اثر قتل المتوكل و قد اول اولاده ملكها الي ان انقطع امرهم في زماننا هذا ، ايام محمود سبكتكين صاحب مادون النهر من

خراسان و كان قائدتهم المنصورة ، و كان جده العنذر بن زبير قد قام بقرقيسا ايام السفاح فأسر و صلب و اسماعيل بن هبار هو الذي قتله مصعب بن عبدالرحمن بن عوف و قتل معه قوم غيلة و هبار هذا كان يهجو النبي صلي الله عليه و سلم أيام كفره فلما اسلم محا كل ذلك بمحده و حسن اسلامه و هو الذي نكح زينب بنت رسول الله صلي الله عليه و سلم اذا حملت من المكة الي المدينة فاسقطت جنينا و ولد زمعة بن الاسود عبد الله بن زمعة له صحبة و الحارث بن زمعة قتل يوم بدر كافرًا مع ابيه و يزيد بن زمعة اتشهد يوم الطائف رحمه الله و اما عبد الله بن زمعة فتزوج زينب بنت ابي سلمة من أم سلمة ام المؤمنين . فولدت له يزيد قتل يوم الحرة صبراً .

Al-Idrisi : Nuzhat al-Mushtāq Fi Ikhtirāq al- Afāq,
Aligarh (India) 1954. Pages 26-35

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[الجراء السابيع من الاقليم الثاني]

ان المدائن التي في هذا السبجاء السابيع من الاقليم الثاني هي كيه و كيز و ارمائيل و بند و قصر قند و قير بور و الخور و قنبلي و منجابرى و الديبل و النيرون و المنصورية و وندان و اصقفه و دركب و راسك و ما سورجان و قزدار و كيز كانان و قديرا و بسمد و الطويران و الملتان و الجندور

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و السندور و الرور و اترى و قالرى و بنرى و مسوام و سدوسان

و بانیه و مساهل و کنبايه و سوباره و سندان و سيموز و
اساول و فلفهره و شروسان و كوشه و كشد و سوره و منجه
و محيالك و مالون و قالبيرون و بليين .

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و في بحر هذه الجزء جزيرة ثارة و جبلا كسير و عوير
و الدردور و جزيرة الديبل و فيها مدينة كسكهار و جزيرة
اوبكين و جزيرة العيد و جزيرة كولم سلى و جزيره سندان .
و فى كل هذه الاقاليم امم و عالم مختلفوا (الاديان
واللباس و العادات) و هما نحن لكل ذلك و اصفون و عنه
بماصح من ذلك مخبرون و بالله التوفيق. فنقول ان اول هذه
الجزء باخذ من شرقي البحر الفارسي .

فاما جنوبه فقيه مدينة الديبل و مدينة الديبل كثيره
الناس جديده الارض قليله الغصب ليس بها شجر و لا نخيل
و جبالها جرد و سهولها قشغه عديمه النبات و اكثر بنيانهم
بالطين و الخشب و انما مكنها اهلوها بحسب انها فرضه
لبلاد السند و غيرها و تجارات اهلها من وجوه شتى و اسباب
متفرقة يتصرفون فيها . و ايضا ان مراكب العمانيين تقصدها
بامتعتها و بضائعها و قد ترد عليها مراكب الصين و الهند
بالمشاب والامتع الصينيه والافاويه العطريه الهنديه فيشترون من
ذلك جزافا لانهم اهل يسار و اموالهم كثيره فيمساكونها حتى
اذا سارت المراكب عنهم و خلت السلع اخرجوا امتعتهم و
باعوا و سفروا الي البلاد و قارضوا و تموفوا في اموالهم
كيف شاءوا .

و بين الديبل و موقع نهر مهران (الاعظم سنة اميال
 فى جهة المغرب منها) و من الديبل الي نيرون (فى غربي
 مهران) ثلث مراحل و هي فى وسط الطريق الي المنصورة و
 بها يجوز نهر مهران من جاء من الديبل يريد المنصورة .
 و النيرون مدينه ليست بالكبيرة ولا بالكثيرة الاهل و عليها
 حصن حصين و اهلها مياسير و لهم قليل شجر و منها الي
 المنصورة ثلث مراحل و بعض مرحله.

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و المنصورة مدينه يحيط بها ذراع من نهر مهران و
 يبعد عنها و هي علي معظم مهران من جانب الغربي و
 مهران ياتي من منبعه حتي اذا وصل الي مدينه قلاري التي
 هي فى غربي النهر و بينها و بين المنصورة مرحله انقسم
 قسمين و سار معظمه الي المنصورة و مر الذراع الثاني منه
 اخذاً مع الشمال الي ناحيه شروسان ثم اخذ راجعاً في
 جهة المغرب الي ان يلتصق بصاحبه و هو القسم الثاني من
 النهر و ذلك اسفل مدينه المنصورة و علي نحو اثني عشر
 ميلاً منها فيصيران واحداً و يمر منها الي النيرون ثم الي
 البحر . و مقدار المنصورة في الطول نحو مل في عرض ميل
 و هي مدينه حارة بها نخيل و قصب سكر و ليس لهم شئ

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من فواكه الاثوع عن الثمر علي قدر التفاح يسمونه اليسونه
 و هو حامض شديد الحموضة و لهم فاكهه اخرى تشبه
 الخوخ و تقاربه في الطعم . و مدينه المنصورة محدثه بناها

المنصور من بني العباس في صدر ولايته فنسبت اليه و بنا
هذا الملك الملقب بالمنصور اربع مدن باربعة طوال قدرای
في علمه في ذلك انها لا تخرب ابداً واحد هذه البلاد
الاربعة بغداد في العراق و هذه المنصورة في السند و
المصيصة علي بحر الشام و الرافقه بأرض الجزيرة .

و المنصورة مدینه كبریة فيها بشر كثير و تجار میاسیر
و اموال ماشیه و زروع و حدائق و بساتین و بنأها باللبن
والاجر و الجص و هي فرجه المساكن و لاهلها نزاهات و
ایام راحت و التجار یباعون و الاسواق قائمه و ارزاق دارة
و زیههم و لباس عامتهم زي العراقيين و ملوکهم یتشبهون
بملوک الهند في لباس القراطق و اسبال الشعور و دراهمهم
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بضه و نحاس و وزن الدرهم عندهم خمسة دراهم و ربما
جلبت اليهم الدراهم الطاطرية فيتعاطون بها و یصاد بهذه
لمدينه حوت كثير و اللحم بها رخيص و الفواكه مجلوبة
اليها و بها ايضاً فواكه و اسم المنصورة بالهنديہ باميرمان .
و هي و الديبل و النیرون و يانيه و قالري و انري و
سدوسان و الجندور و السندور و سنجابري و بسمد و الملتان
كل هذه المدن من السند و محسوبة فيها . و أمابانيه فهي
مدینه صغیره كثيرة النعم رخيصه الاسعار و اهلها أخلاط ولهم
رفاهه عیش و كثرة خصب عثي انفسهم و اكثرهم میاسیر .
و من هذه المدینه الي المنصورة ثلث مراحل و منها الي
مامهل ست مراحل و من الديبل الي هذه المدینه مرحلتان

و مدينة مامهل بين الهند و السند و في اطراف هذه المغارة قوم يسمون المييد و المييد قوم رحالة ينتجعون الي اطراف هذه المغارة تتصل مراعيهم و جولانهم الي مامهل و هم قوم عددهم كثير و جمعهم غزير و لهم ابل و اغنام و قد يمتهون في اكثر الاوقات في مسارحهم الي الرور على شط نهر مهران و ربما زادوا فوصلوا اقرب حدود مكران .

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و الرور مدينة حسنة كثيرة الناس حفيلة كثيرة الجمع و عامر الاسواق ذافقة التجارات و هي حصينة عليها سوران و يمر النهر بها من جهة المغرب و اهلها في رفاهة و خصب عيش و هي في قدرها تضاهي الملتان . و من الرور الي بسند ثلث مراحل و كذلك من الرور ايضاً الي اترى اربع مراحل و يتصل بمدينة اترى مدينة قالري و بينهما مرحلتان و مدينة قالري على شط مهران السند في غربيه و هي مدينة حسنة حصينة محاسنها ظاهرة و خيراتها وافرة متاجرها رابحة . و علي قرب منها بجهة المغرب ينقسم نهر مهران

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قسمين فيمر معظمه غربا حتي يصل ظهر المدينة المسماة بالمنصورة و هي في غربيه . و ينزل القسم الثاني مع الشمال و اكثره في جهة المغرب ثم يمر اخذاً في جهة الشمال ثم في جهة المغرب حتي يتصل بصاحبه اسفل المنصورة علي نحو اثني عشر ميلا .

و مدينة قالري مدينة متنجية عن الطريق و قاصدها

كثير لحسن معاملات اهلها و من قالري الي مدينه شروسان
ثلاث مراحل . و مدينه شروسان جليله المقدار كثير العيون
و الانهار و اسعارها رخيصه و نعمها ممكنه و لاهلها كفاف
مال و تجارتهم حسنه و القاصد اليهم كثير و البضائع عندهم
نافقه و منها الي مدينه منجابرى ثلاث مراحل غربا و مدينه
منجابرى مدينه فى و طاء من الارض حسنه البناء بهيجه
الارجاء و لها مزارع و بها جنات و شرب اهلها من العيون و
الانهار و من هذه المدينه الى مدينه فيربورست مراحل و
كذلك من مدينه منجابرى الى الديبل مرحلتان و الطريق
من الديبل الى فير بوز على منجابرى .

Yaqūt al-Hamavī: Muʿjam al-Buldān, Coiro, A.H. 1324,

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[السند] بكسر أوله و مكون ثانيه و آخره دال
مهمله . بلاد بين بلاد الهند و كرمان و سجستان . قالوا السند و
الهند كانا اخوين من ولد بوقير بن يقطن بن حام بن نوح يقال
للموحد من اهلها سندی و المجمع سند مثل زنجى و زنج و
بعض يجعل مكران منها و يقول هى خمس كورفا و لها من
قبل كرمان مكران ثم طوران ثم السند الهند ثم الملتان .
و قصبه السند مدينه يقال لها المنصوره و من مدنها الديبل
و هن على صفة بحر الهند و التتر و هى ايضاً على ساحل
البحر فتحت فى ايام الحجاج بن يوسف و مذاهب اهلها
الغالب و عليها مذهب ابى حنيفه و لهم فقيه يكنى بابى

العباس داوودي المذهب له تصانيف في مذهبه و كان قاضى المنصورة و سن اهلها و الى السند ينسب ابو معشر نجيم السني مولى المهدي صاحب المغازي سمع ناقعاً و نفراً من التابعين قال ابو نعيم كان ابو معشر سندياً و كان الكن و كان يقول حد ثنا محمد بن قصب يريد كعب و فتم بن عبدالله السندي ابونصر الفقيه المتكلم مولى لال الحسن بن الحكم تم عتي وقرأ الفقه والكلام على ابي علي الثقفي و قال عبدالله بن سويد و هو ابن عم زمعة احد بني شقره بن الحارث بن تميم

الاهل الى الفتيان بالسند مقدمي - على بطل قيد هذه القوم ملجم فلما دنا للزجر او رعت نحوه - بسيف ذباب ضربه المتلمم نددت له كفى و ايفنت أننى - على شرف المهوات ان لم اصم

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[المنصورة] مفعوله من النصر في عدة مواضع منها المنصورة بارض السند و هى قصبتها - مدينه كبرى كثيرة الخيرات ذات جامع كبير سواريه ساج و لهم خليج من نهر مهران قال حمزة و همناباذ اسم مدينه من مدن السند سموها الآن منصوره و قال السعدي سميت المنصورة بمنصور بن جمهور عامل بني اميه و هى فى الأقليم الثالث طولها من جهة المغرب ثلاث و تسعون درجة و عرضها من جهة الجنوب اثنتان و عشرون درجة و قال هشام سميت المنصوره لأن منصور بن جمهور المكمل بنى بها فسميت به

وكان خرج مخالفاً لهارون و اقام بالسند و قال الحسن بن احمد المهلبى سميت المنصورة لآن عمرو بن حفص الهزار مرد المهلبى بناها فى ايام المنصور من بنى العباس فسميت به و للمنصورة خليم من نهر مهران يحيط بالبلد فهى منه فى شبه الجزيرة و فى اهلها مروة و صلاح و دين و تجارات و شربهم من نهر مهران و هى شديه الحر كثيرة البق بينها و بين الديبل ست مراحل و بينها و بين الملتان اثنا عشرة مرحلة و الى طوران خمس عشرة مرحلة و من المنصورة الى اول حيد البدهه خمس مراحل و اهلها مسلمون و ملوكهم قرشى يقال انه من ولد هبار بن الاسود تغلب عليها هو و اجداده بتوارثون بها الملك الا ان الخطبة فيها للخليفة من بنى العباس و ليس لهم من الفواكه لا عنب و لا تفاح و لا كمثرى و لا جوز و لهم قصب سكر و ثمره على قدر التفاح يسمونها البهلويه (الليمونه) شديدة الحموضة و لهم فاكهة تشبه الخوخ تسمى الاُنْج يقارب طعمه طعم الخوخ و اسعارهم رخيصة و كان لهم دراهم يسمونها القاهريات و دراهم يقال له طاطرى (طاهرى) فى الدرهم و ثلث ومنها المنصورة مدينه كانت بالطبيعته عمرها فيما احسب مهذب الدوله فى ايام بهاء الدوله بن عضد الدوله و ايام القادر بالله و قد خربت و رسومها باقيه و منها .

Vol. IV, P. 118

[الديبل] بفتح اولد و سكون ثانيه و بـاء موحدة مضمومة و لام. مدينه مشموره علي ساحل بحر الهند والديبل الاقليم الثاني طولها من جهته المغرب اثنتان وتسعون درجة و عشرون دقيقه وهي فرضه و اليها تفضي مياه لهور و مولتان فتصب في البحر الملع وقد نسب اليها قوم من الرواة منهم ابو جعفر محمد بن ابراهيم الديبلي جاور مكه روى عن أبى عبدالله سعيد بن عبدالرحمن المخزومي و حسين بن حسن المروزي و ابنه ابراهيم بن محمد الديبلي يروي عن موسي بن هارون .

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[الرور] براعين مهملتين ناحيه من نواحي الاهواز او اقربها. والرور ايضا ناحيه بالسند تقرب من الملتان في الكبرو عليها سوران وهي على شاطئ نهر مهران على البحر وهي من حدود المنصورة. والديبل وهي متجر و فرضه بهذه البلاد وزروعهم مباخس و ليس لهم كثير شجر ولا نخل وهو بلد قشفي و انما يقيمون به للتجارة و بينه و بين الملتان اربع مراحل بالقرب منه بلديقال له بغرور ذكر في فتوح السند.

Vol. VIII, P. 356

[فيرون] مدينه من نواحي السند بين الديبل والمنصورة على نصف الطريق و لعلها الى المنصورة اقرب بينها و بين الديبل اربع مراحل في الاقليم الثاني طولها من جهة المغرب اثنتان وتسعون درجة و عشرون دقيقه و عرضها ثلاث و عشرون درجة و ثلاثون دقيقه .

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[مهران] بالكسر ثم السكون و راء و آخره نون اسم اعجمي - موضع نهر السند ... قال حمزه و اصله بالفارسيه "مهران رود وهو واد يقبل من الشرق اخذاً علي جهه" الجنوب متوجها علي جهه "المغرب حتي يقع في اسفل السند و يصب في بحر القارس وهو نهر عظيم بقدر دجله" تجري فيه السفن ويسقي بلاداً كثيرة و يصب في البحر عند الديبل قال الاصطخرى و بلغني أن مخرج مهران من ظهر جبل يخرج منه بعض انهار جيحون فيظهر مهران بناحية" الملتان على حد سمندور والرور ثم علي المنصورة ثم يقع في البحر شرقي الديبل وهو نهر كبير عذب جداً و يقال ان فيه تماسيم مثل ما في النيل وهو مثله في الكبير و جريه مثل جريه و يرتفع على وجه الارض ثم ينصب فيزرع عليه مثله ما يزرع بارض مصر والسند روذ - نهر آخر هناك ذكر في موضعه .

Vol. IX, P. 202

[سبستان] بالكسر ثم السكون و فتح الواو و مكوف ليسن الثانيه و تاء مثناة من فوق و آخره نون - كورة كبيرة من السند واول الهند على نهر السند و مدينه "كبيرة لها دخل واسع و بلاد كثيرة و قرى.

Qazvini: Athar al-Bilad, Ustenfeld 1848/50

Pages 62, 63.

السند : ناحيه " بين الهند و كرمان و مجستان . قالوا

السند و الهند كانا اخوين من ولد توقير بن يقطن بن حام بن نوح، بها بيت الذهب قل مسعر بن مهلهل مشيت الي بيت الذهب المشهور بها فلذا هو من ذهب في صحراء يكون اربع فرسخ لا يقع عليها الشالج و يثلج ما حولها و في هذا البيت ترصد الكواكب وهو بيت تعظمه الهند والمجوس وهذه الصحراء تعرف بصحراء زردشت بني المجوس و يقول اهل تلك الناحية "متي يخرج منه انسان يطلب الدولة" لم يغلب و يهزم له عسكر حيث اراد، وحكي ان الاسكندر لما فتح تلك البلاد دخل هذا البيت اعجبه كتب الي ارسطاطاليس و اطلب في وصف قبة "هذا البيت فاجابه ارسطو اني رايتك تتعجب من قبة عملها الاديون و تدع التعجب من هذه القبة المرفوعة فوقك وما زينت به من الكواكب و انوار الليل و النهار و سال عثمان بن عفان، عبدالله بن عامر بن كريز عن السند فقال ماؤها و شل و ثمرها دقل ولصها بطل ان قل جاعوا، فترك عثمان غزوها و بها نهر مهران نهر عرضه " كعرض دجلة او اكثر يقبل من المشرق اخذاً الى الجنوب متوجها نحو المغرب و يقع في بحر فارس اسفل السند. قال الاصطخري نهر مهران يخرج من ظهر الجبل يخرج منه بعض انهار حيثون ثم يظهر لنا حية "ملتان على حد سمندور ثم عالي المنصورة ثم يقع في البحر شرقي الديبل وهو نهر كبير عذب جداً و ان في تماسيح كما في نيل مصر و قيل ان تماسيح نهر السند اصغر حجماً و اقل فساداً و جرى نهر السند كجرى نهر النيل

يرتفع على وجه الارض ثم ينصب فيزرع عليه كما يزرع
بارض مصر على النيل .

المنصورة: مدينة مشهورة بارض السند كثيرة الخير بناها
المنصور ابوجعفر الثاني من خلفاء بني العباس و فيها ينزل
الولاة لها خليج من نهر مهران يحيط بالمدينة وهي في وسطه
كالحجزيره الا انها شديدة الحركة كثيرة البق بها ثمرتان لا توجدان
في مدينة غيرها احدهما الليمو على قدر التفاح والاخرى
الانج عني شبه الخوخ و اهل المدينة موافقون علي انهم لا
يشترون شيئاً من الممالك السندية و سببه ان بعض رؤسائها
من آل مهلب ربا غلاماً سندياً فلما بلغ رآه يومساً مع زوجته
فحببه ثم عالجته حتي هذا و كان لمولاه ابنان احدهما بالغ
والاخر طفل فاخذ الغلام الصبيين و صعد بهما الي اعالي
سورالدار ثم قال لمولاه والله لئن لم تجب نفسك الان لارمين
بهما فقال الرجل الله الله في وفي ولدي فقال دع عنك هذا
والله ماهي الا نفسي و الي لا سمح بها من شربة ماء واهوي
ليرمي بهما فاسرج الرجل و اخذ مديته و جب نفسه فلما راي
الغلام رمي بالصبيين و قال فعلت بك ما فعلت بي و زيادة
قتل الولدين فقتل الغلام با فطع العذاب و اخرج من المدينة
جميع المماليك السندية فكانوا يتداولون في البلاد ولا يرغب
احد بالثمن اليسير في شرائهم بها نهر مهران عرضه كعرض
دجله او اكثر يقبل من المشرق اخذاً جهت الجنوب متوجهاً
الي المغرب حتي يقع في بحر فارس اسفل السند . و قال

الاصطخرى سخرجه من ظهر جبل يخرج منه بعض انهار جيحون ويظهر
بملتان علي حد سمندور ثم علي المنصورة ثم يقع في البحر
وهو نهر كبير عذب جداً يقال فيه تماسيم كما في النيل
و جريه مثل جريه يرتفع علي الارض ثم ينصب يزرع عليه
مثل ما يزرع علي النيل بارض مصر و قال الجاحظ ان تماسيم
نهر مهران اصغر حجماً من تماسيم النيل و اقل ضرراً و ذكر
انه يوجد في هذا النهر سبايك الذهب واثا الموفقى .

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الهند و السند كانا اخوين من ولد توقير بن يقطن بن
سحام بن نوح وهم اهل ملل مختلفة منهم من يقول بالخالق
دن النبي وهم براهمة و منهم من لا يقول بهما و منهم
من يعبد الصنم و منهم من يعبد القمر و منهم من يعبد النار
و منهم من يبيع الزنا بها من المعدنات جواهر نفسيه و من
النبات اشياء غريبة و من الحيوانات حيوانات عجيبة و من
العمارة رفيعة قال ابو الضلع السندى يذكر بلاد الهند و ما
يجلب منها :-

لقد انكر اصحابي و ما ذلك بالامثل
اذا ما مدح الهند و ستم الهند في المقتل
لعمري انها ارض اذا القطر بها
يصير الدر و الياقوت و الدر لمن يعطل
فمنها المسك و الكافور و العنبر و المنديل
و اصناف من الطيب ليستعمل من يتقل
و انواع الافاديه و جوز الطيب و السنبل
و منها العج و الساج و منها العود و الصندل

وان التوتيا فيها كمثل الجبل الاطول
ومنها الببر والنمر ومنها الفيل والدغل
ومنها الكوك والبيغا والطائوس والجوزل
ومنها شجر الرابخ و الساسم و الفلفل
سيوف مالها مثل قدامتغت عن الصيقل
و ارماع اذا اهتزت اهتز بها الجحفل

— فهل ينكر هذا الفضل الا الرجل الاخل —

Ibn al-Athir: Kāmil fi al-Tārikh, Cairo A.H. 1801

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و ولي الجنيد تميم بن زيد القينى فضعف ووهن ومات
قريبا من الديبل وفي ايامه خرج المسلمون عن بلاد الهند
ورفضوا مراكزهم ثم ولي الحكم بن عوام الكلبي وقد كفر
اهل الهند الى اهل قصه فبنى مدينة سماها المحفوظه
وجعلها ماوى للمسلمين وكان معه عمرو بن محمد القاسم
وكان يقوض اليه عظيم الامور فاغراه من المحفوظه فلما قدم
عليه وقد ظفر امره فبنى مدينة سماها المنصوره فهى ينزلها
الامراء واستخلص مان كان قد غلب عليه العدو ورضى الناس
بولايته و كان خالد القسرى يقول واعجبا و ليت فتى العرب
يعنى تميم فروض وترك و وليت ابخل العرب فرضى به .

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(سنه ثمانين وماتين)

وفى شوال انكسف القمر واصبح اهل ديبل والدنيا
مظلمه ودامت الظلمه عليهم فاما كان ثلث الليل زلزلوا
فخربت المدينة ولم يبق من منازلهم الا قدر مائه دار و
زلزلوا بعد ذلك خمس مرار و كان جملة من اخرج من
تحت الردم مائه الف و خمسون الفا كلهم موتي .

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(سنة ثلاث وثمانين و مائتين)

ففي هذه السنة في شوال مات محمد بن ابي الشوراب
القاضي و كانت ولايته للقضا بمدينة المنصورة سنة اشهر .

Kamil Vol. IX, P. 143

وقد المنصورة و كان صاحبها قد ارتد عن الاسلام فلما
بلغه خبر مجي يمين الدولة فارقها و اجتمع بغياض اشبته
فقصده يمين الدولة من موضعين فاحاط به و لمن معه فقتلوا
اكثريهم و غرق منهم كثير ولم ينج منهم الا القليل ثم
منار الى بهاطيه و اطاعه اهلها و دانوا له فرحل الى غزته
فوصلها عاش صفر من سنة سبع عشرة و اربع مائة .

Al-Sayuti: Tarikh al-Khulfa', Lahore AD 1892. P. 254

وفيهما ورد كتاب من الديبل ان القمر انكسف في شوال
و ان الدنيا اصبحت مظلمة الى العصر فهدت ربيع سوداء
قدامت الى ثلث الليل و عقبها زلزلة عظيمة اذهب عامة
المدينة و كان عدة من اخرج من تحت الردم مائة الف و
خمسين الفا .

Al-Berūnī: Kitāb al-Hind, Leipzig AD 1925. P. 11.

دخل محمد بن القاسم بن المنبه ارض السند من نواحى
ميجستان وافتتح بلد بهمنوا (بهمنوا) و سماه منصوره و بلد مولتان
و سماه معمورة واو غل فى بلاد الهند الى مدينة كنوج .

P.55

و من الاعننام المشهورة صنم المولتان باسم الشمس
ولذلك سمى آدت و كسان خشبيا سلبتسا سختيان احمر فى
عينيه ياقوتان .

P. 82

و فی حدود مالوا ایضاً خط یسمی ناگّر لا یفاصل ذلك
 الا بالصور فقط و يتبعه خط یسمی اردناگّری ای نصف ناگّر
 لانه ممزوج منها و یکتب به فی بهاتیم و بعض بلاد السند
 و بعد ذلك من الخطوط ملقاري فی ملقشو فی جنوب السند
 نحو الساحل و سیندب فی (یمهنوا) وهی منصوره .

P. 100

من بزانه فیما بین الجنوب الی لار دیش و قصبتها و
 رهنجور اثنا اربعون و هما علی الساحل عن شرق تانه و من
 بزانه نحو المغرب الی المولتان خمسون و الی بهاتی خمسہ
 عشر و من بهاتی فیما بین الجنوب والمغرب الی الرور خمسہ
 عشر وهی بلدة فیما بین شعبتی ماء السند و الی بمهنوا
 المنصوره عشرون و الی لوهرا نی المصب ثلثون .

Farrukhī: *Diwān-Hakīm Farrukhi Seistānī*; Tehrān AH. 1311.

Page 74.

- (۸) و زان حصار بمنصوره روی کرد و براند
 بران ستاره کجا راند حیدر از خیبر
 (۹) خفیف را سپه و پیل و مال چندان بود
 زوان گذشت و بجوی اندر او افتاد و بحر
 (۱۰) باب شور و بیابان پر گزند افتاد
 بماندش خانه ویران ز طارم و ز طرر
 (۱۱) خفیف را سپه و پیل و مال چندان بود
 که بیش از آن نبود در هوا همانا زر
 (۱۲) نداشت طاقت سلطان ز پیش او بگریخت
 چنانکه زو بگریزند صد هزار دگر

Abū Zayd Sirāfī: Silsilat al-Tawārikh, Paris AD. 1811. Page 77.

و قد كان بالبصرة رجل من قریش يعرف بابن و هب
من ولد هبار بن الاسود خرج منها عند خرابها فوقع الى سیراف
و كان فيها مركب يريد بلاد الصين .

Ibn-Khaldūn: kitāb al-'Ibar, Cairo AH. 1284.

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وهبار بن الاسود بن مطلب بن اسد بن عبدالعزى كان من
عقبه عمر بن عبدالعزيز بن منذر بن زبير بن عبدالرحمن بن هبار
صاحب السند وليها فى ابتداء الفتنة اثر قتل المتوكل و قد
اول اولاده ملكها الى ان انقطع امرهم على يد محمود بن
صبيكتكين صاحب غزنة وما دون النهر من خرامان و كان
قائد تهم المنصورة و كان جده المنذر بن الزبير قد قام
بقرقيسا أيام السفاح فأمرو صلب و اسمائيل بن هبار قتله
مصعب بن عبدالرحمن غيلة و هبار كان يهجو النبى صلى الله
عليه وسلم ثم ابنه عوف اسلم فسدنه و حسن اسلامه و
عبدالله بن زمعة بن الاسود صحبته و تزوج زينب بنت أبى سلمه
من ام سلمه ام المؤمنين و خديجة ام المؤمنين بنت خويلد بن
اسد بن عبدالعزى والزبير ابن العوام بن خويلد احد العشرة
و ابناه عبدالله و مصعب و حكيم بن حزام بن خويلد عاش
ستين سنة فى الاسلام .

Vol. III, P. 66,67

وولى تميم بن زيد العتبي فضعن ووهن و مات قريباً
من الديبل و فى ايامه خرج المسلمون عن بلاد الهند و

تركوا مراكزهم ثم ولى الحكم بن عوانة الكلبى و قد كفر
 اهل الهند الا اهل القصه فبنى مدينه سماها المحفوظه و
 جعلها ماوي للمسلمين و كان معه عمرو بن محمد بن القاسم
 و كان يفوض اليه عظام الامور و اغزاه عن المحفوظه فلما
 قدم و قد ظهر امره فبنى مدينه و سماها المنصورة وهى التى
 كانت امرء السند ينزلونها و استخلص ما كان غلب عليه
 العدو و رضى الناس بولايته ثم قتل الحكم و ضعفت الدولة
 الاسويه عن الهند و تاتى اخبار السند في دولة الصامون .

Ibn al- Wardī; Kharīdat al-‘Ajā’ib. Cairo AH.

Pages 62.

[بلاد السند] فهو اقليم عظيم مجاور للبحرين غربي
 الهند و هو قسمان قسم علي جانب البحر و يقال لتلك البلاد
 بلاد اللان والمسلمون غالبون علي هذا القسم و من مدنها
 المنصورة وهى مدينه طولها ميل في ميل و بها خاق كثير
 و تجار كثيرون والارزق بها دارة و وزن درهم خمسه دراهم
 و ليس بها الا النخل والقصب و تفاح شديد الحموضه وهى
 مدينه حارة جداً و سميت هذا المدينه بالمنصورة لان ابا جعفر
 المنصور الخليفه من بنى العباس بنى اربع مدن على اربع
 طوالع يقال انهم لا يخربون ابدأ الا بخراب الدنيا احدا هن
 المنصورة هذه و بغداد بالعراق والمصيصة على بحرالشام
 والمرافقه بارض الجزيره (والمولتان) و يقال لها الليان وهى
 مجاورة لبلاد الهند وهى علي قدر المنصورة و تسمى فرج بيت

الذهب لان محمد بن يوسف الحجاج وجد بها في بيت واحد
اربعين بهارا من الذهب والبهار ثلاثمائة و ثلاثون مناً و بها
صنم كبير تعظمه اهل الهند والسند و من في اراضيهم و
يحجون اليه و يتصدقون عليه باموال جمه و حلي و جواهر و له
خدم يزعمون ان لهذا الصنم مائتي الف سنه .

M,asūmī: Tārikh M,asūmī. Bombay AD 1938.

P. 32

مورخين چنين تحرير نموده اند كه بعد از خلافت
منتسبان بني اميه گماشتهگان خلفای بني عباس بديار سند و
ملتان آمده ضبط و ربط نمودند . و در زمان هارون و مامون
بعضي از مملكت سند نیز در تحت فرمان روائی ايشان بوده
و انتهاء حكومت گماشتهگان خلفای عباسيه تا زمان خلافت
القادر بالله ابو العباس احمد بن اسحاق بن المعتدر بالله بوده
و چون در منتصف ماه رمضان سنه ٢٠٠٠ و عشرو اربعمائه
سلطان محمود غازي از دارالملك غزنين عزيمت تسخير هندوستان
نموده بخرطه بلده ملتان رسیده ملتان و اوچه را بدست آورده
گماشتهگان القادر بالله را اخراج كرد و عبدالرزاق وزير را از
ملتان با فوجي بجهه تسخير سند تعين نمود . و او در سنه
٢٠٠٠ و اربعمائه خاطر از معاملات بكر جمع ساخته متوجه
سيوستان و تهته شد ، و اكثر مردم عرب را اخراج نموده
جمعی را كه بتيد عيال و اطفال گرفتار بودند و فضيلت و
حالت داشتند مناصب شرعيه ايشان تفويض فرموده و ظايب و
ادارات جمعه معيشت ايشان مقرر نمود .

Minhāj al-Dīn ‘Uthmān : Ṭabqāt Nāsīrī Calcutta 1864 A.D.
P. 143,

در آخر شهر سنه ٦٠٣ ثلث و عشرين و ستمائه لشکر خلیج
از جمله لشکر خوارزمیان بر اراضی منصوره که از بلاد سیوستان
است استیلا آوردند و سر ایشان ملکخان خلیج بود ملک ناصرالدین
روی بدفع ایشان آورد و میان ایشان مصاف شد لشکر خلیج
منهزم گشت .





Ruins of Al-Mansura's
MINARET OF MOSQUE



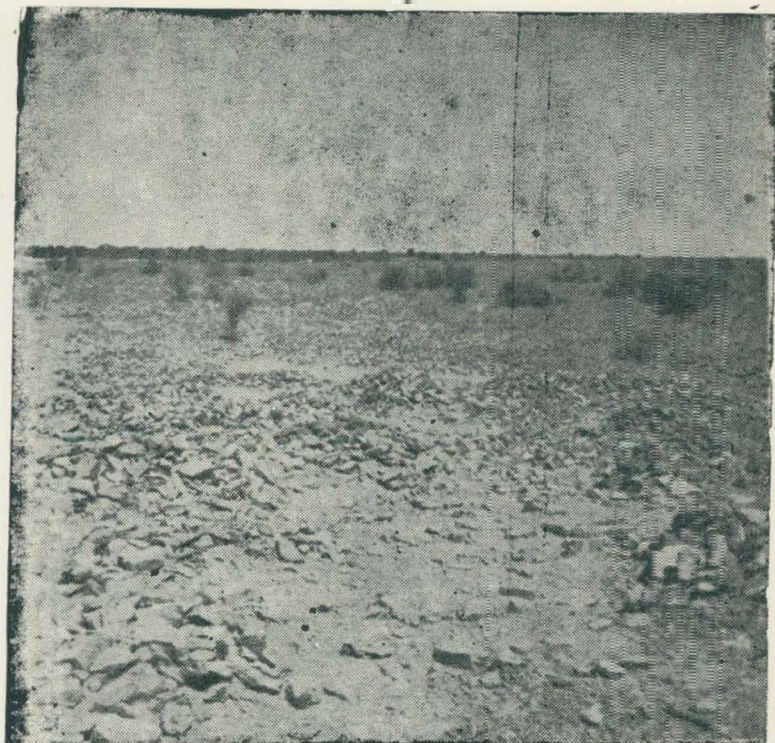
Site of Al-Mansurah
FORT WALL IN RUINS



Ruins of Al-Mansurah
THE TUNNEL SUPPOSED TO HAVE
CONTAINED TREASURE



Ruins of Al-Mansurah
OLD EMBANKMENT



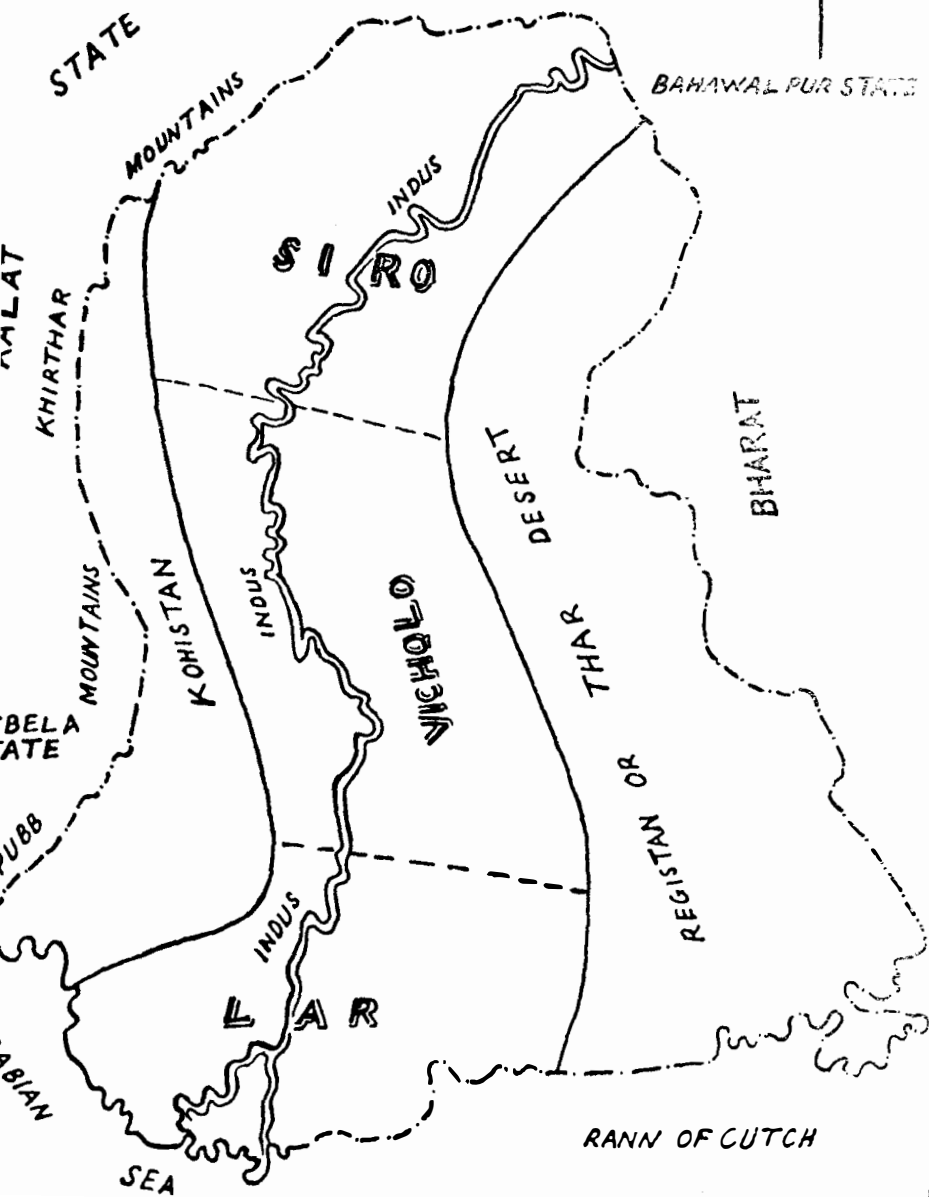
**GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF
AL-MANSURAH**



Site of Al-Mansurah
THE TOMB AND GRAVEYARD

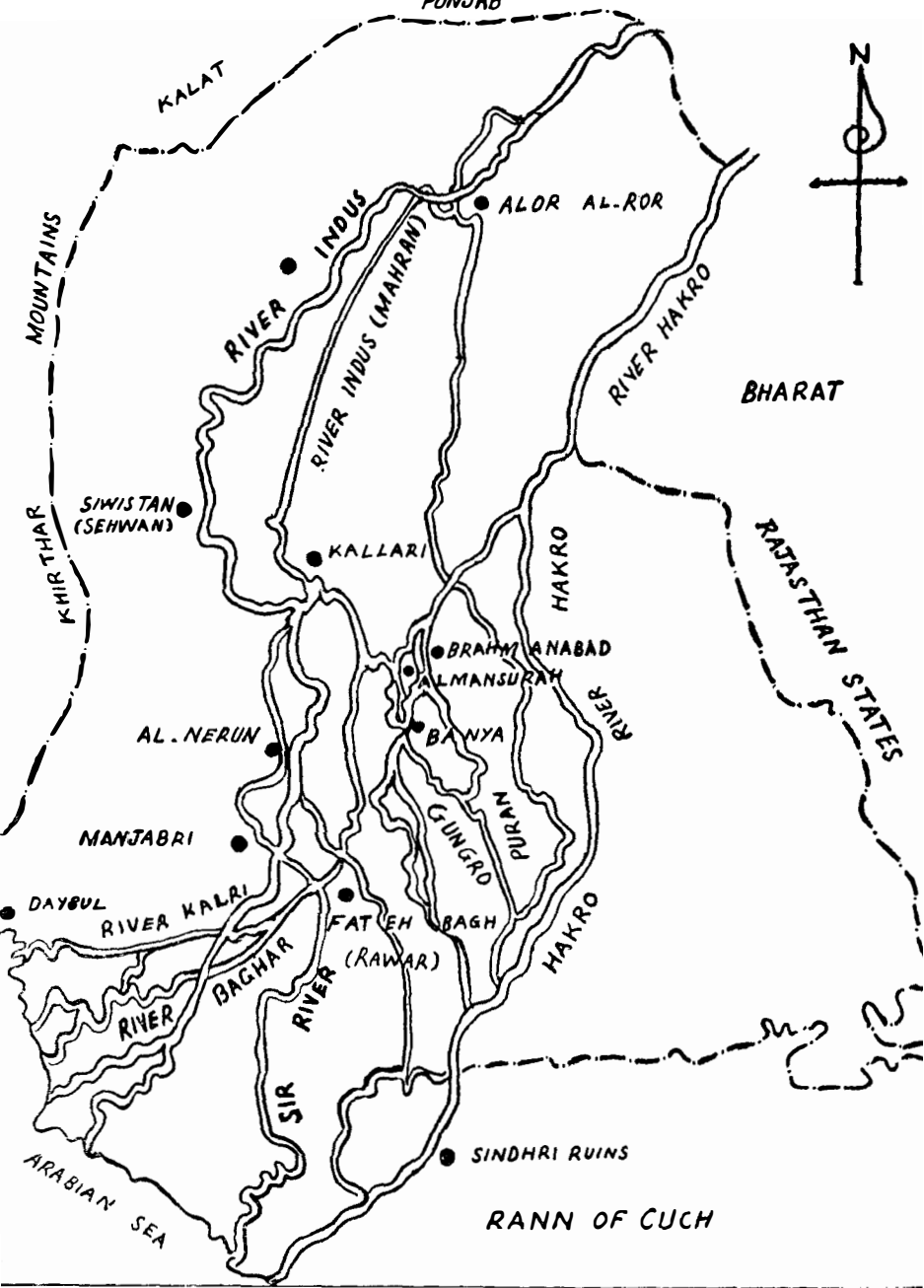
MAP OF SIND.

• NATURAL DIVISIONS
PUNJAB

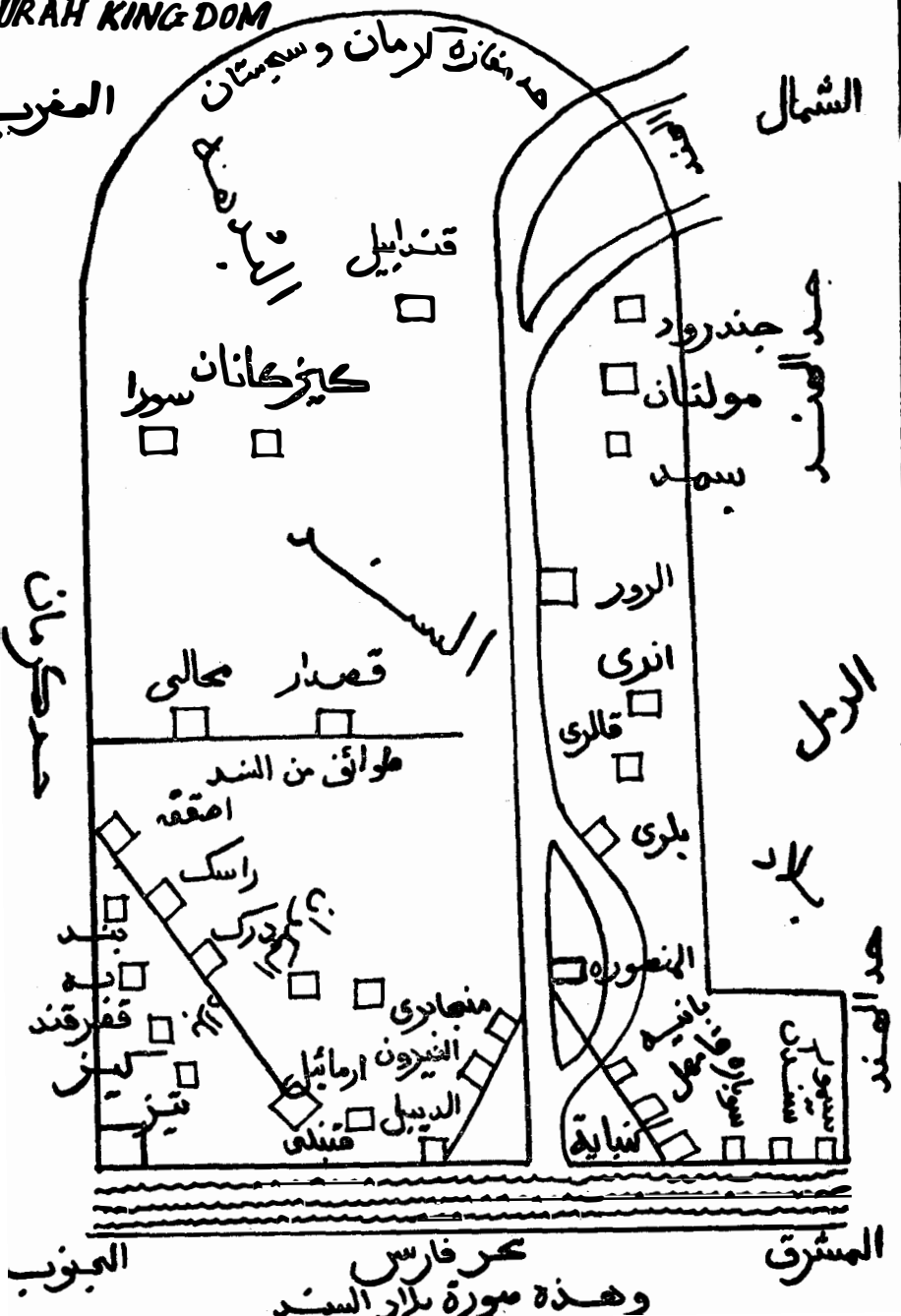


MAP OF SIND

SHOWING THE ANCIENT SITES AND PROBABLE COURSES OF RIVER
INDUS DURING THE ARAB KINGDOM OF AL-MANSURAH IN SIND
PUNJAB



المفرد



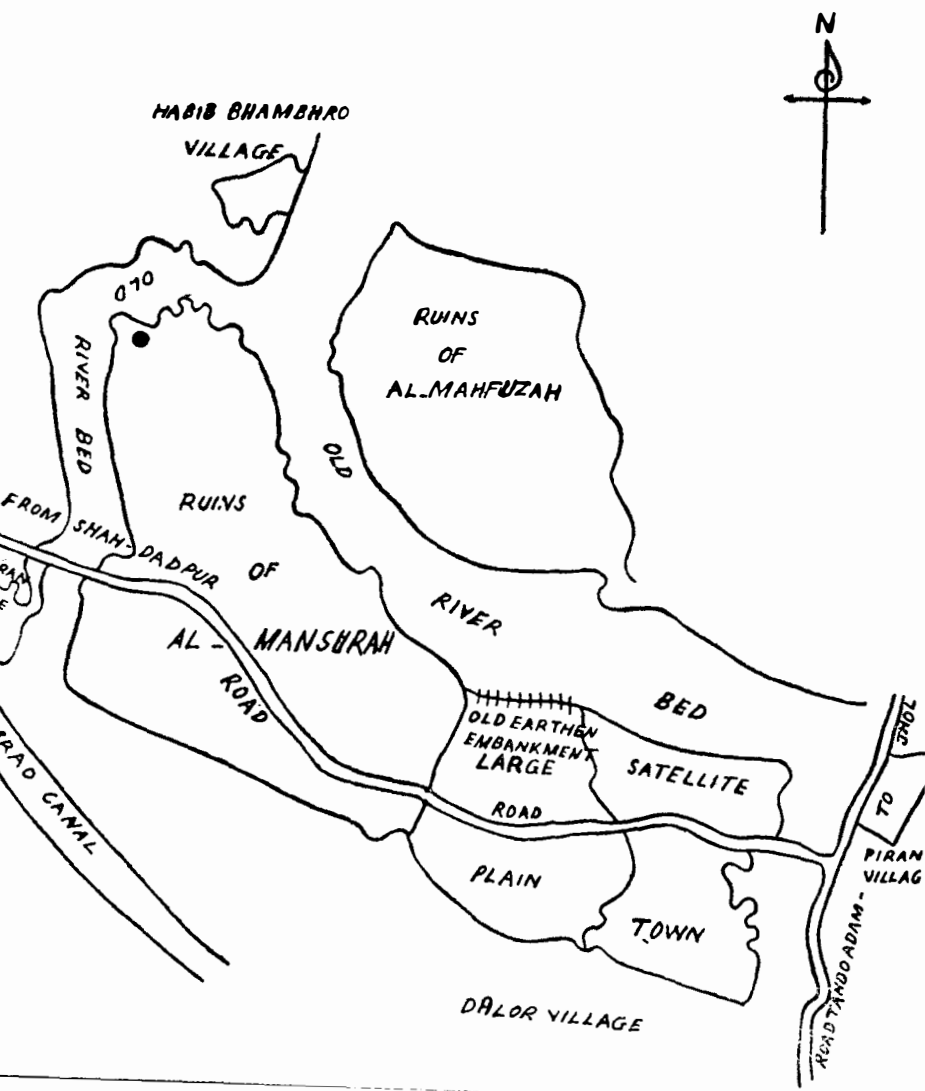
المميز

وهذه صورة بلاد الهند
بحرف فارس

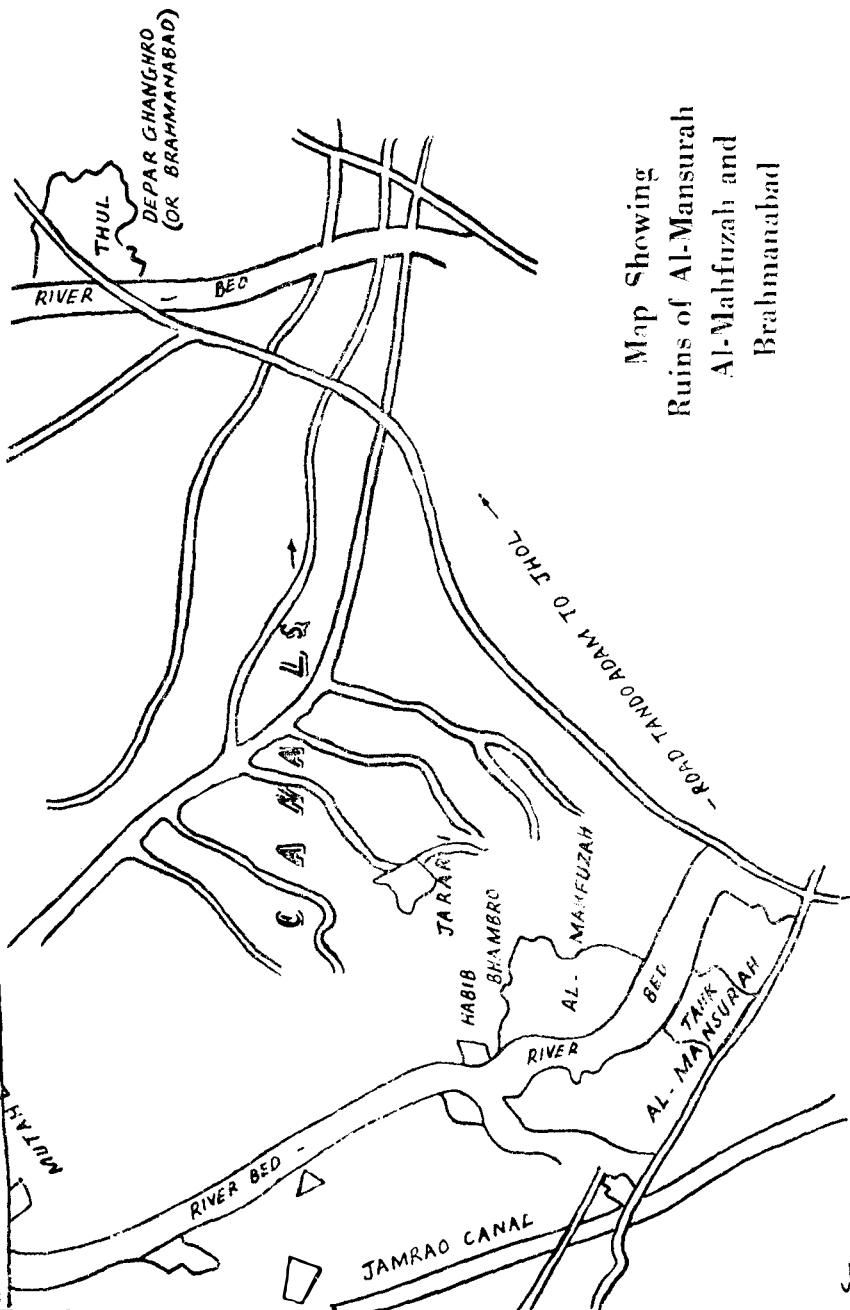
المشرق

MAP

SHOWING THE RUINS OF ALMANSURAH.



Map Showing
Ruins of Al-Mansurah
Al-Mahfuzah and
Brahmanabad

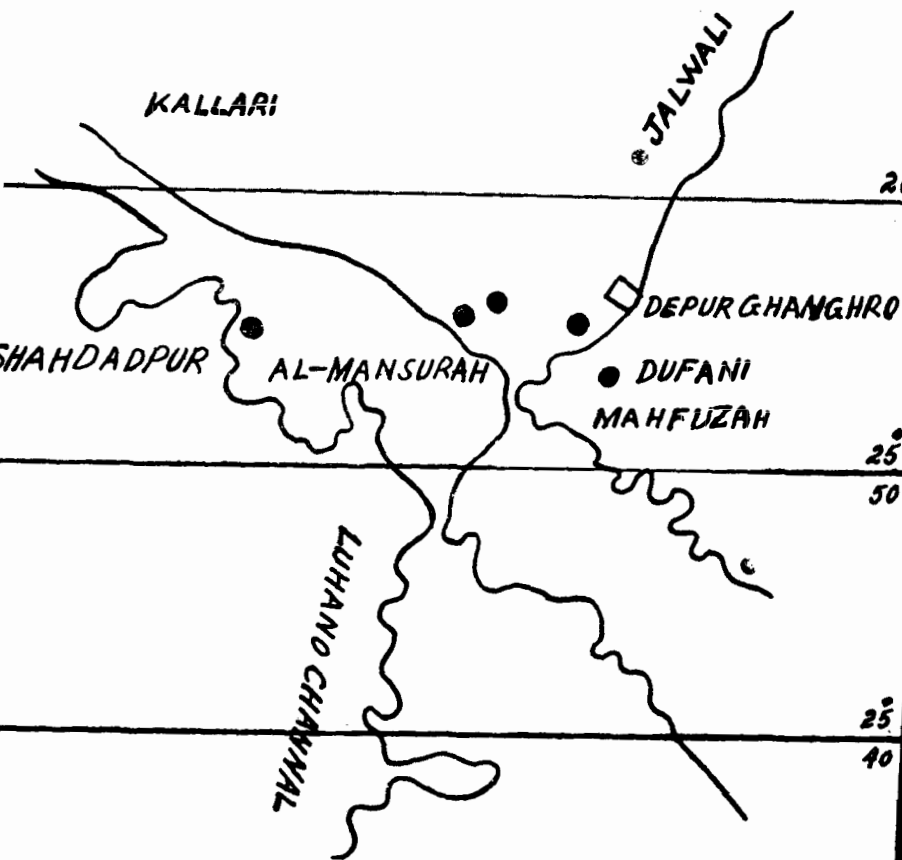


MAP SHOWING THE SITUATION OF THE RUINS OF AL MANSURAH

68°45'

68°

26°



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