

# Sindh in The Mughal Empire (1591-1740)

## A Study of its Administration, Society, Economy and Culture

By

Amita Paliwal



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AMITA PALIWAL**

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## ABSTRACT

Sindh in medieval India was one of the very few geographically distinct regions of Indian subcontinent comprising the lower Indus Basin, Baluchistan Hills and Thar Desert, in its east and west, and the Sukkur gorge providing practically the only opening from the north. Although sequestered in the extreme western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, and thus to some extent, enjoyed a peculiar aloofness from the developments, that were taking place in the neighboring regions. However, its position as junction of land and sea routes, made it accessible to the major changes that were taking place in Central and Western Asia.

The geographical features of Sindh put it in the category of the great river-desert basins as of the Oxus, Helmund and Nile. Before the present canal system it had a fairly narrow agricultural zone, which resulted in an interaction throughout its history between sedentary population, and nomads of the desert and steppes, on its east and west. This aspect of Sindh is very well covered in the seventeenth century gazetteer *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* written by Yusuf Mirak in the year 1634.

The present thesis is divided into eight chapters, which deals with administration, society, economy, and culture. Introduction covers topography; which includes major physical features of the region of Sindh. In this, the first part covers the physical division of Sindh, including its main hills, desert, rivers, and *doab*, along with the description of its soil, main crops, mines, and minerals. It also covers the political boundaries of Sindh, and major shifts within it under different regimes. The second part deals with the Argun and Tarkhan regime, who ruled Sindh prior to its annexation by the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The third part deals with the contemporary sources, which comprise official histories, or private accounts, and some private documents and numismatic evidence.

The Chapter I focuses mainly on the attempts for introducing the centralized Mughal Imperial administration in Sindh. It also discuss the policies during the transitional phase immediately after the conquest, when the erstwhile ruler of Sindh, on accepting the suzerainty of Akbar was given a *manyab*, and taken into Mughal nobility, and was even made nominally the Governor of *suba* Multan comprising Sindh. But its ruler was not allowed to exercise real power, and was not even allowed to visit Sindh. He was practically was detained at the court. The imposition of centralized administration, with the appointment of Imperial officers in Sindh, is dealt in part third of the chapter. An attempt is been made to show that despite Sindh being a peripheral region, centralized Mughal administrative pattern was fully in vogue here, with the presence of all the Imperial officers as in other provinces of the Empire.

Chapter II deals with the fiscal system, which is divided into two parts again. The first, deals with rural taxation and land revenue; mode of assessment, magnitude of state demand, and its realization through the intermediaries. The salaries and perquisites of the intermediaries have also been discussed. Interestingly enough the Mughal administrative machinery functioned in the same manner in Sindh, as in the other parts of Mughal Empire. The second part deals with the urban taxation; which includes custom duties (*dharat*), town tax (*misri*), taxes on merchants, and on trade as boat tax (*chahal-yak*), and other taxes as *zakat* (toll tax), *muhri* ( for fixing the seal) as well as mariners' share, and seigniorage at mints.

Chapter III covers the agrarian society of Sindh under the Mughals, here *zamindars* and Peasants have been discussed separately. The first part deals with the landed potentates i.e. the *zamindars* and their relation with the Mughal State, their contribution in rural economy is been discussed in detail. The peasants, their stratification, and their relations with the *zamindars*, are discussed in second part. Agrarian society of Sindh seems to have a unique feature, where the peasants and the *zamindars* often belonged to same clan, which sometimes created trouble for the Mughal administration. These problems have been dealt in detail.

Society of Sindh during the period under study, had a population comprised of tribes, some of whom were nomads, and others sedentary. The tribes of Sindh, their organization, territorial division, and their occupation have been dealt in Chapter IV. Their relations with the Imperial authorities and with the sedentary population have also been studied here.

Sindh was an important trading centre and Chapter V, deals exclusively with the important towns and ports of Sindh. It covers their strategic location, main products, and their contribution in the urban economy, as Sindh was an important trading centre. The emergence of the new towns and consequent decline of the old ones, and the factors responsible for it, has also been discussed.

Trade, commerce, currency and exchange mechanism is covered in Chapter VI. This Chapter has two parts; in first part trade, commerce, major export and import items, have been discussed. The establishment of the Mughal mints, and their share in the currency circulation, regional currency (of lower intrinsic value), and the exchange mechanism in Sindh, has also been included in this part. The second part covers trading classes, and instruments of trade. It also discusses the inland and overland trade routes, and mode of transports. The rivalries between the Portuguese, English and Dutch have been discussed. The establishment of English Factories in different parts of Sindh, the Portuguese monopoly prior to the English, and the Dutch attempt to establish Factory in Sindh, is also covered.

Chapter VII covers the aspect of architecture of Sindh, which has two major divisions. In section first, major buildings of Sindh built during the Mughal Empire, has been covered. The second part is assigned to find the differences, and similarities between the classical Mughal architecture, and the buildings of Sindh built during the Mughal period. Here an attempt has been made to find the assimilation of Mughal architectural pattern on Sindh buildings, and the extent to which these buildings had incorporated the Mughal Imperial features, or they remained regional in character.

The development of regional poetry, literature and high culture are major thrust areas in Chapter VIII. Royal patronage given to the men of erudition, skills during Arghuns, Tarkhans, and Mughal period, famous academic institutions, have been discussed here. Besides this, contribution of previous rulers for the development of regional poetry, impact of Mughal court language, of *bhakti*, and *sufi* movements on it, along with the champions of regional poetry, have also been discussed in detail. The contributions of Sindhi calligraphers to Mughal buildings, and of writers to court histories and the regional histories, with the consequent growth of high culture in Sindh has been studied here.

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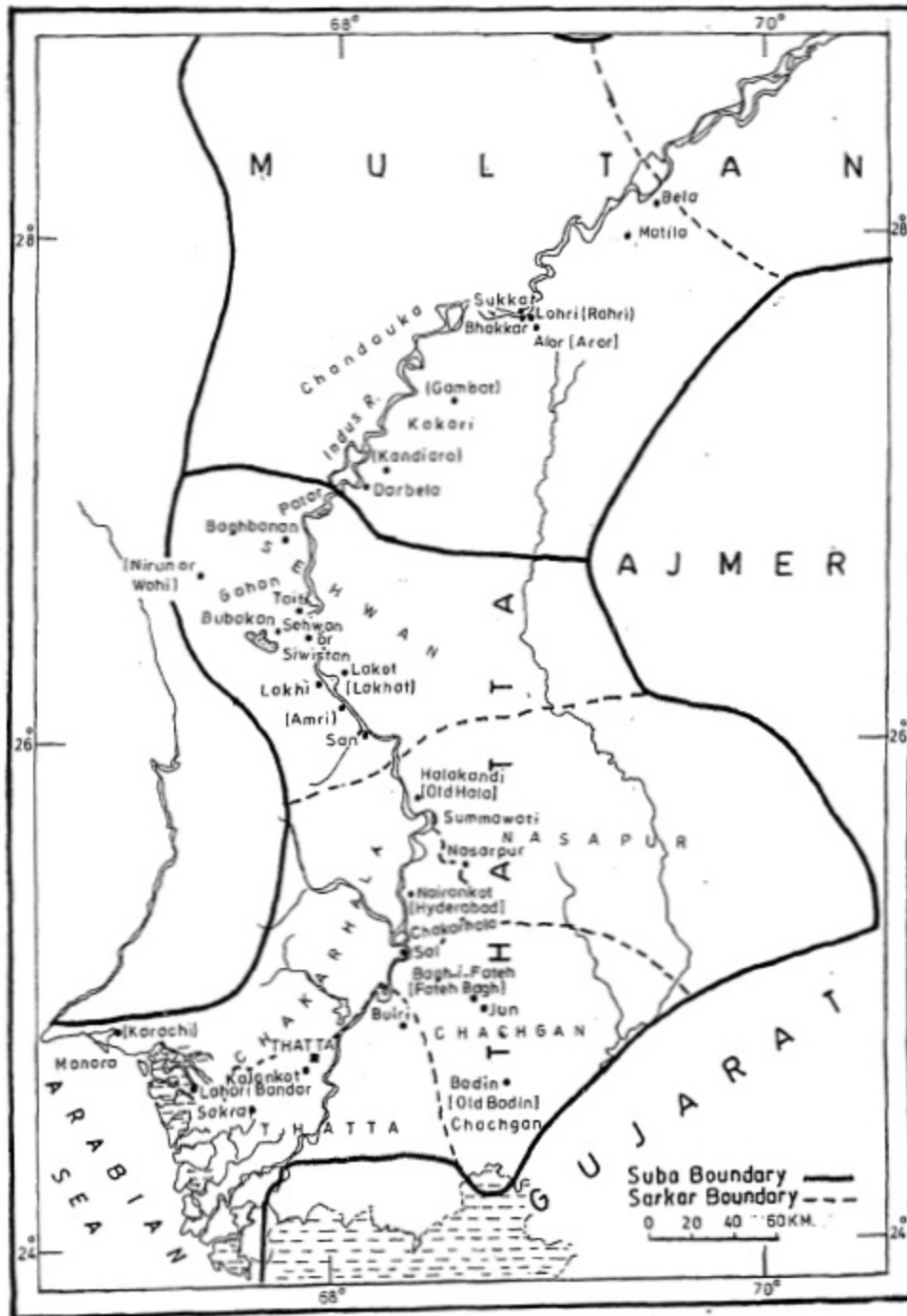
## ABBREVIATIONS

1. *Ain:* *Ain-i-Akbari*
2. *AN:* *Akbarnama*
3. *Tuzuk:* *Tuzuk-i-Jandngiri*
4. *M.U.* *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*
5. *Z.Kh.* *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*
6. *Addb:* *Adab-e-Alamgiri*
7. *E.F.I:* *English Factory Records*
8. *JESHO:* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
9. *IESHER:* *Indian Economic and Social History of Review*
10. *PIHC:* *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*

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# SIND 1595



## INTRODUCTION

### 1: Sindh and its Geography

Sindh is one of the very few geographically distinct regions of Indian subcontinent comprising the lower Indus Basin, with the Baluchistan Hills, Thar desert, pressing it closely from east and west and the Sukkur gorge providing practically the only opening from the north.

The geographical boundaries of Sindh extend from the lower half of the Indus valley. From Bhakkar down to the Arabian Sea, and from Kirthar Hills in the west to the desert of Thar in the east.<sup>1</sup> It is situated in the second climate and lies in the longitude 102° 30' and latitude 24° 10'.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1.1 Topography of Sindh:

On the basis of topography Sindh region may be divided into three major and seven minor division:

1. Western highlands: a. Kirthar, b. Kohistan
2. Lower Indus valley: a. Western, b. Eastern, c. Delta
3. Desert: a. Pat, b. Thar

**Western Highlands:** Giving the description of hills of Sindh region *A'in* tells "in the north of Thatta the mountain form several ranges, one extends to Qandahar, and the second from sea coast to the town of Kohmar (also known as Ramgar), and terminates in Siwistan (Sehwan), where it is known as Lakhi. A third range runs from Siwistan to Siwi, and this called Khar or Kirthar. The fourth mountain chain touches Kachh on one side and the Kalimati territory (Lakhi hills) on the other, and is known as Karah. From the boundary of Multan and Uchh, in the north towards Thatta, there is an existence of high mountain range; while in the south from Uchh to Gujarat, there are a chain of barren sandy mountain tract, and also from Bhakkar to Nasarpur and Amarkot."<sup>3</sup> Kohistan mainly consists of accurate mass of tertiary, forming low scraps, hogbacks and plateaus of which are the most prominent are associated with the massive Kirthar limestone. The Lakhi hills are considered the highest, having an elevation at 1500 and 2000 feet.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Fazl, *A'an -i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore ed. Lucknow, n.d. vol 11, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Aitken, *Gazetteer of province of Sindh*, Karachi, 1907, vol A, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *A'in*, vol II, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India on North-West including Sindo, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab and the neighbouring states*. New Delhi, 1994, vol. II, p 208.

### Lower Indus Valley.

The western valley section is formed mainly of older alluvium. The Kalat and Kirthar are flanked by alluvial fans on which *rabi* and *kharif* crops are cultivated, then it loses itself in desolate clay deserts (*pat*) between Jacobabad and Sibi.<sup>5</sup>

Western valley also comprises the Hala, or Baluchi Mountains, stretch with diminished heights, to the bank of river at Sehwan, and southward of these range is most western.<sup>6</sup> Towards the south, the soil is comparatively better, with many lakes; fertile in itself. It has Nari river, Nara in the west, and the Manchhur lake.<sup>7</sup>

The Eastern valley has a range of hills stretching from Rohri towards Jaisalmer and the *Gunjah hills*, east of Indus reaching 400 feet on which Hyderabad is built.<sup>8</sup> The valley is a great *doab* of recent alluvial sands and clay, falling from 250 feet to 50 feet in 200 miles, and has long narrow depressions (*dhoros*).<sup>9</sup> It has eastern Nara, and along it are small alkaline lakes (*dhands*). It was an extensive alluvial region stretching eastward of the fertile tract along the Indus, but being now generally deserted by water of the river, it has become a desert; with a scanty pasture to camels or homed cattle, or wild ass.<sup>10</sup>

Along the sea coast and for several miles inland delta is one of the most miserable countries in the world unlike that of Ganges delta. A section of banks of the river shows a continued succession of earth, clay and sand in layers, parallel to one another; and deposited without doubt, at different periods. One eighth of the delta may be occupied at beds of rivers and inferior streams.<sup>11</sup> The base or seaward line of the delta of Indus measures from the *Garrah* mouth, in lat 24° 43' long 67° 9' to the Sir mouth, in lat 23° 55', long 68° 15', about one hundred and twenty five miles. If it be regarded as having the shape of the triangle, the perpendicular measured from the sea shore near Thatta, where the great branches of the Indus; the Sata or eastern, the Baggur or western divaricates, is about fifty miles, and its surface is about three thousand square miles: but as the river has in some degree deserted a considerable portion of the south-eastern part, the present delta does not contain probably more than two hundred five thousand square miles.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learnmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, Great Britain, 1967, p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 207; O.H.K. Spate and Learnmonth, p. 507.

<sup>7</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165. It says, "Manchhur lake is near Sehwan, is two days journey in length, with artificial islands that have been made by fishermen, who dwell on them."

<sup>8</sup> Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 207

<sup>9</sup> O.H.K. Spate and Learnmonth, p. 507.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 205.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Alexander Burnes, *The Travels into Bokhara: Together with a narrative of a voyage on the Inches*, London, 1973. 3 vols, vol. III, p. 250.

<sup>12</sup> Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 204. *The delta was in the form of a triangle, with Hyderabad, Kori creek and Clifton providing its three points.* M. R. Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, London 1887, p. 7.

### **The desert:**

It lies in the desert belt of the tropics. On the north east is the Pat or desert of the upper Sindh, lying between that town of Shikarpoor and the Bolan Pass, and consisted of the clay deposited by the Bolan, the Nari and the torrents, which flow down from the Hala Mountains; and which are lost in this dreary tract. It is about ninety miles across and in some places resembles "the dry bed of salt lagoon in an interval between, spring tides".<sup>13</sup> In the eastern part, within a reach of twenty miles is *Thar*, which is quite similar to *Pats*, but much sandier, extensive tracts being covered with sea hills, varying and shifting.<sup>14</sup> The sand hills continuing from Rohri and Alor bent southward separating the Hakrah and the Indus valley.

### **1.2 Climate:**

The climate of lower Sindh is sultry and disagreeable. According to Abu'l Fazl, "in the winter season, there is no need of *poshtins* (fur lined coats), and the summers heats are moderate, except in Sehwan."<sup>15</sup>

The climate of Sindh is distinguished by great extremes of temperature, and by scantiness and capriciousness of the rainfall. The atmosphere of the coastal regions is comparatively moist, and within the range of sea breezes, which prevail for about four months, weather is comparatively cooler. The south-west monsoon brings little rain over the coast from June till September.<sup>16</sup> The coastal regions were also susceptible to hurricanes and earthquakes. A great hurricane was reported in Thatta on 15 August 1637, which increased level of Indus River and thus caused destruction. Many men, buildings, cattle perished and one thousand ships were wrecked.<sup>17</sup> An earthquake was also reported in the year 1668, in the province of Thatta, especially in Samawani (under the jurisdiction of Lahari Bandar), which resulted in its sinking down along with the thirty thousand residents.<sup>18</sup> While upper Sindh had very hot weather, which continues for full seven months, and had a scanty rainfall, generally violent and of short duration. On the basis of a popular geographical notion especially climate, this region can be divided into three main divisions:-

1. *Siro* or the upper country,
2. *Vicholo* or the middle country,
3. *Laru* or the lower country.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 206.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165

<sup>16</sup> H.T. Lambrick, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Inayat Khan, *Shajjahannama*, tr. and ed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, New Delhi, 1990. pp. 211-222.

<sup>18</sup> Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*; ed. Mualvi Agha Muhammad Ali, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1871. pp. 83-4.

<sup>19</sup> M.R. Haig, *op. cit.* p. 1.

The upper Sindh was situated north of about 27° N Lat., forty miles above Sehwan; central Sindh was the tract between that limit and Hyderabad (old Nairun Kot). The lower Sindh area is sloping or ascending to the sea, and is extended from Hyderabad to the sea; and was better known as delta country.

### 1.3 Rivers:

The main river of Sindh is Indus.<sup>20</sup> River Indus was main source of water and form a delta of rich alluvium. At a distance of sixty miles from the sea, and about five miles below the city of Thatta, this river divides in to two branches; the right arm is named Baggaur, and the left Sata.<sup>21</sup> The eastern branch of Sata, is larger of the two and below the point of division, is one thousand yards wide.<sup>22</sup> It expedites its water into the sea by its seven mouths, within the area span of thirty-five miles. The western arm, Baggaur, flows into one stream past Peer Putta, Bohaur, and Darajee, to within five or six miles of the sea, when it divides itself into two navigable branches, the Pittee and Pieteanee, which fall into ocean about thirty-five miles apart from each other.<sup>23</sup> The Indus has eleven mouths namely Pittee, Pieteanee, Jooa, Reechel, and Hujamree, Khedywaree, Gora (the largest mouth), Khaer, Mulla, Seer, and Koree.<sup>24</sup>

#### Nari or Narvi River:<sup>25</sup>

This river flowed near Ganjaba under Siwi. When it took a tract Sarvo of marshland, it was called *Dhand*.<sup>26</sup> Its overflowed water converts into a channel called river Nari,<sup>27</sup> then joins Manchhur lake. A part of this channel called by the name western Nara.

#### Murah River:

Another important river was Murah.<sup>28</sup> The modern name of this river is Mula.<sup>29</sup>

#### Sawa River:

It was actually a *nala*, flowed from the hills during rainy season, and from Manchhar lake upward during inundation, through *parganas* Kahan and Bubakan.<sup>30</sup> Its modern name is Gaj River.

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<sup>20</sup> It was called Sindhu or Mihran. *A'in*, vol. II p. 163; *Chachnama* (tr.), Mirza Kalich Beg Fredunbeg, as *The Cahachnama; An ancient history of Sindh*, reprint Delhi, 1979, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Burnes, vol. III, p. 228.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 235, 236, 237, 238.

<sup>25</sup> Yusuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i-Shshjahani*, ed. Syed Pir Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad-Sindh, 1962. Vol. II, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, (henceforth will be called An Atlas) Delhi, 1982. P. 15, sheet 5 b.

<sup>27</sup> *Mazhar-i- Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 26, 203.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>29</sup> *An Atlas*, p. 15, sheet 5-b.

<sup>30</sup> *Mazhar-i- Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 207.



### **Hakra River:**

The Nar of Hakra or Ghaggar, and Sankara river; the head channel running past Alor has dried up. It was also known by the name of Wahind and Wahan.<sup>31</sup>

### **Sultana River:**

It ran past Kandiaro.<sup>32</sup>

### **Ren or Raini River:**

It was a large river, running from Indus river to Badin past Jun. It was called Nullah.<sup>33</sup> It was not more than forty yards wide in places, with steep banks, some fifteen to twenty feet high.<sup>34</sup>

The hydrological changes in the courses of these rivers, caused the birth of new places and ports in Sindh; affecting political and economic spheres of life besides affecting social life of the habitants. The first noted change could be seen in the birth of Bhakkar, caused by a shift in the course of Hakra river,<sup>35</sup> which flowed past Alor at the time of Arab invasion, changed its course, and then flowed to north-west of Alor. Again it changed its course to southwards, deserting Alor, inclining to within about four miles of Alor, on the north cutting its way through rocks and finally forming a loop channel around present Bhakkar;<sup>36</sup> converting it into an island. Around 1300 AD, the Indus shifted its way from north of Makli hills and Bhambhore, and started flowing to the south of the Makli hills (situated between Thatta and Karachi), resulting in the desertion of an ancient port Debal, and the emergence of Lahari Bandar, as a new and main port.<sup>37</sup> In the year around 1648-52 AD, again the change in the Indus caused shoaling of entrance of this port, and it ceased to be navigable due to sand accumulation.<sup>38</sup> The traffic was now shifted to a new port Aurangabandar or Dehrajamka.<sup>39</sup> An English agent Richard Davidge has informed its location to be some forty *kos* to the north-east of

<sup>31</sup> Sayyed Muhammad Tahir, *Nisyanī, Tarikh-i-Tahri*, ed. Nabi Baksh Baluch, Hyderabad-Sindh, 1964, p. 25; this channel also known as eastern Nara and it used to run twenty miles north of Rann of Cutch. M.R. Haig, *op.cit.* p. 2

<sup>32</sup> William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1646-1650* (henceforth E.F.J.), London, 1906, p. 151.

<sup>33</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahanī*, vol. II, p. 203.

<sup>34</sup> H.T. Lambrick, p. 31.

<sup>35</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*; p. 25. According to Mirza Kalich Beg, this change in the river course was caused by an earthquake in the year about 962. *Chachnama* (tr.), p. 10n.

<sup>36</sup> Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sindh with historical outline*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 149. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* assigns this change to be work of some merchants who wanted to teach a lesson to tyrant Samma ruler Dalu Rai. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p.p. 25-26; while Eastwick assigns yet another legend to it. E. B. Eastwick, *Dry leaves from young Egypt*, London, 1851, p. 40.

<sup>37</sup> William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Diewal-Sindh (Pakistan), in the 17th and 18th centuries*, Islamabad, 1993-94. This port could accommodate one thousand ships at a time. (Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama*, tr., p. 212.)

<sup>38</sup> Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, sec. ed. William Crooke, New Delhi, 1917, vol. I, p. 10; E.F./1651-54, pp. 10, 11, 1 In.

<sup>39</sup> During this time (1651-52) Aurangzeb was the Governor of Multan and Sindh, it was the time when part of Kakralah came in *suba* Thatta. *An Atlas*, p. 14. On it situated the new port of Aurangabandar or Dehrajamka. Edward Thornton in his *Gazetteer* mentions this port with this name. Vol. II, p. 182

Lahari Bandar.<sup>40</sup> Aurangabandar is also mentioned as new port of Chuckerhallah.<sup>41</sup> This port was situated in latitude 24°10', longitude 67° 46', between *suba* Thatta and Cutch, on the delta of the river Indus, consisted of fourteen small vessels, each being of forty tons.<sup>42</sup> Later this port became less important again due to change in Indus, and it was shifted to Shahbandar.<sup>43</sup> During the last quarter of eighteenth century Shahbandar harbour got blocked resulting in the shifting of its trade and population to Karachi. The harbors stretching 2 miles northward from manure head [against Arabian Sea] to the narrows of Layari River.<sup>44</sup> The town of Karachi was founded by the Kalhora chief in the year 1729; after the blockage of the Kharak harbor.<sup>45</sup> We hear of Karachi by its present name in *Tufat'ul Kiram*, when Nadir Shah in 1742 A.D. ordered Muzaffar Ali Khan Bayt Beglarbegi to bring ships built at Surat, which came to Thatta *via* Karachi port.<sup>46</sup> Karachi port, unlike its predecessors remained firm to its position under the colonial rule, and even today.

Thus, the shift in the course of river Indus also caused shift in economic centres; and also in the establishment of new town like Karachi and Hyderabad. Until 18th century, the west in Sindh region was the main centre of maritime activities and agriculture, but with the change in Indus course, Hyderabad towards east became important, and main agricultural land also shifted from west to the east. Nairun Kot in *sarkar* Sehwan, served as a site for the modern city of Hyderabad which was founded in 1768-69.<sup>47</sup>

#### 1.4 Soil:

Sindh region posses mainly four types of soil;

1. *Pakki* soil or *rezani* land
2. *Wariasi*
3. *Kalar*
4. *Kacho* soil or *Barani* land

##### 1. *Pakki* soil or *rezani* land:

This is actually old alluvium in tracts once watered by river channels or overflows had compact grounds, and is distinguished only by its comparatively light colour from *kacho*

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<sup>40</sup> *E.F.I. 1651-54*, pp. 10, 11, 11n. An English Factory was established here as *Sindh Gazetteer* mentions shifting away of English Factory from Aurangabandar to Shahbandar. Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 183; *E.F.I. 1651-54*, p. 10n.

<sup>41</sup> *E.F.I. 1651-54*, p. 118.

<sup>42</sup> Edward Thornton, *Gazetteer*, vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*; H.T. Sorley has mentioned Aurangabandar as an inferior sub port of Shahbandar. H.T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, London, 1940, p. 89.

<sup>44</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Karachi to Kottayam, Oxford, 1908, vol. XV, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Indu Banga, *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 338. At that time it was called Kalachi Kun. see H.T. Lambrick, p. 123.

<sup>46</sup> *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol. III, part 1, p. 452.

<sup>47</sup> *An Atlas*, p. 14, sheet 5-a.

soil.<sup>48</sup> This type of soil does not need deep ploughing. There was ample of *rezani* land on the banks of lakes in *pargana* Lakut (*sarkar* Sehwan), which was so rich that it did not need ploughing, just simple seed sprinkling was enough to grow barley.<sup>49</sup>

## 2. *Wariasi*:

It is loose grey sand and of texture so fine that they disintegrate virtually to powder, but it could only produce shrubs. The most characteristics shrub of the sandy tract were *kip*, *twiggy*, *phog* and *ak* bush.<sup>50</sup>

## 3. *Kalar*:

This type of soil is very characteristics of Sindh, as it contains an excessive proportion of salt. Its composition has nearly forty percent of sodium sulphate. This soil is black in colour, and does not produce anything, but darkish brown medium *kalar*, produces several variety of *salvador*, *khobar* in lower Sindh and wild indigo in northern region.<sup>51</sup> If irrigated with canal water, the soil may be prepared for rice cultivation. But it is only when the salts are present to such a greater depth, that there is no process of reclamation.

## 4. *Kacho soil or barai land*:

This soil is the best in productivity. It is light loam, resulting from recent inundation. During the rainy season, when the water flows from the hills, the land is covered with alluvial deposits; and produce very good crop of millet, and sesame in *khariif* and mustard seed in *rabi*.<sup>52</sup> These were generally located under the hills, irrigated by rain fed streams.<sup>53</sup>

## 1.5 Irrigation:

Not only the towns and sedentary population was benefited with the Indus water, but agriculture got most of its benefit. Here cultivation also depended on river.<sup>54</sup> Sehwan, Bhakkar and Thatta had a very fertile land, because of the presence of lakes in them, and also because of the presence of *doab*. Though for the cultivation in the plains, irrigation mostly depended on rainfall,<sup>55</sup> besides digging of canal for the purpose is also recorded.<sup>56</sup> The rain irrigated villages followed *ghalla-bakhshi* as Ararah in Akbarabad

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<sup>48</sup> H.T. Lambrick, *op.cit.* p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 86, 204. Pargana Kahan and Bubakan of *sarkar* Sehwan also had some villages which had *rezani* lands.

<sup>50</sup> H.T. Lambrick, p. 16.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16; Inayat Khan mentions that the rising level of Indus caused deposition of salt in soil and made it impregnable. *Shahjahanama* (tr.), pp. 211, 212.

<sup>52</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 205.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 137, 205.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26. Cultivation in Ganjabah (Bhakkar) depended firstly on the river Mauzahi, which emanated from the hill, secondly on the river Nari.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 26, 196.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 191.

Wahi in Sehwan.<sup>57</sup> Though for the cultivation in the plains, under the old system of irrigation natural channels of the river Phuleli, Guni, Purar, Nara, Arul and Baggaur etc, were used along with the artificial canals, dug by the rulers to carry the inundation waters, which facilitated canal irrigation in this region.<sup>58</sup> Irrigation was also carried through wells by *charkhi*, *moki* and *bori* methods. In *charkhi*, the Persian wheel (known as *naru* or *hurlo*) was used to convey water to the lands situated at a higher level. *Chahi* (well) irrigation was generally practiced in the areas, which was closer to river, for this purpose wells were dug, and water wheels were installed. When the *charkhi* was driven with the help of camels, it was known as *naru* or *na'uria*; but when the bullocks were employed to rotate *charkhi*, then it was known as *hurlo*.<sup>59</sup> When Shah Beg Arghun had attacked *pargana* Baghbanan (*sarkar* Sehwan), he captured one thousand camels which used to work the Persian wheels in gardens (*charkha-i-baghat*). Yusuf Mirak also records the irrigation in village Nar of *pargana* Bubakan (*sarkar* Sehwan) on the pattern of Afghanistan.<sup>60</sup> Even the *zamindars* for the cultivation of their holdings used to dig the canals for the purpose of irrigation.<sup>61</sup>

## 1.6 Crops:

*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* gives a detailed list of *rabi* and *kharif* crops of the region Sehwan, which included Indian millet (*jawari*), nachni and ragi (*mandwah*), rice paddy (*shali*), cotton (*panbah*),<sup>62</sup> melon (*kharbuzah*) watermelon (*tarbuzah*), sesame (*kunjid*), common millet (*argan*), kangani (*gal*), tag san or Bengal san, urd (*mash*), mung (*mung*), sugarcane (*nayshakar*), dilpasand (*kachrah*), indigo (*nil*), among the *kharif* crops whereas *rabi* crops included wheat (*gandum*), barley (*jau*), Bengal gram (*nakhud*), Mustard seed (*sarshaf*), khardal (*ahuri*), common millet (*arzar*), tagsan or Bengal san, mung (*mung*), chickling vetch (*masang*) lentil ('*adas*), cumin (*zirah*), fennel (*badyan*), garlic (*sir*), hemp (*bhang*), opium poppy (*kuknar*), and tobacco, (*tambaku*). There is also mentioning of *khaliha*(?) as *rabi* crop. Besides these, in the *pargana* of Nairun of *sarkar* Sehwan (earlier known as *Kulab-i-Manchar*), some aquatic roots and seeds were also produced, called *biha-kumah* or *lura* or *napah* (lotus seeds), *budi*, roasted root of *deri*, a reed Which grew there along the river banks, and used in weaving mats.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 155.

<sup>58</sup> Khanwah canal in Thatta was built by Darya Khan for irrigating the *pargana* of Sakurah and the plains near the hills in Chakarhala. Mir M'asum, *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, ed. U.M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938, p. 113; *Tarikh-e-Tahiri*, p. 58; Mir Abrah had also dug a canal in the *pargana* Chanduka of *sarkar* Bhakkar, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>59</sup> Reference of use of this Persian Wheel is found in the verses of famous Sindhi poet Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit. S.M. Jhangiani, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and His Times, 1690- 1751*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 123.124. "It was put over a vertical wheel over the well. This was connected with another wheel on the same axel, whose cogs engaged with the cogs of a third, horizontal wheel. This last was rotated by oxen going round, and the movement was transferred by gearing to the well-wheel, which too thereupon rotated." Irfan Habib, *Technology in Medieval India c. 650-1750*, New Delhi, 2008. P. 11.

<sup>60</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 212.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, p. 191.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*. pp. 24, 25. In Kur, Zamin and Chhatar, dependencies of Siwi, the cotton plant measured upto jujube tree in height.

<sup>63</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 69-71.

### 1.7 Mines and Minerals:

Besides the agriculture being main source of income, the country also abounds in mines and minerals. In Thatta, salt pits, mines of yellow stone and iron mines were present.<sup>64</sup> Alexander Hamilton had recorded some other minerals like saltpetre, salt armomack, borax opoponax, asafetida, goat-bezoars, and some semi-precious stones like lapis tutie, and lapis lazuli.<sup>65</sup> Anunbela situated in the hills of Sehwan had copper and antimony mines.<sup>66</sup>

### 1.8 Political Geography:

Although sequestered in the extreme western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, and thus to some extent enjoying a peculiar aloofness from the developments taking place in the neighboring regions. The territorial boundaries of Sindh were subjected to the political development. A cradle of the great Indian civilization which came into contact with the Aryans; and thus Indo-Aryan culture was first witnessed here. Later this region also nurtured Buddhism, the archaeological remains of which are still evident, though with the coming of Arab in eight century, Buddhism could not sustain itself and became extinct. Thus gates of Islamic contact with India were opened, which facilitated the growth of Indo-Islamic culture.

During the seventh century, prior to the advent of Arabs, the frontiers of Sindh touched the boundaries of Kashmir, the borders of Kirman and included some portions of Makran and Rajasthan.<sup>67</sup> It seems that during the Sammah rule, the western boundaries of Sindh extended from the Makran to the desert of Siwi (Sibi).<sup>68</sup> It also appears that the eastern frontiers were fixed from the province of Bhakkar, and borders of Jaisalmer to Umarmkot and Wange; while Nagar Parkar, and Suleman Nagar (Cutch) were not a part of Sindh.<sup>69</sup>

During the Arghun period in 1557-8, Shal, Mastang and Siwi were included in the west, while Uchch, Jujunwahan, Bhattiwahan and part of Multan to the north Sindh.<sup>70</sup> After the death of Shah Hussain Arghun, the territories lying above the Lakhi hills<sup>71</sup> belonged to Sultan Mahmud (of Bhakkar) and those to the other side of Lakhi hills went to 'Isa

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<sup>64</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, reprint, New Delhi, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 126-7.

<sup>66</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 232.

<sup>67</sup> *Chachnama* (tr.), pp. 10, 30, 37, 38.

<sup>68</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 104; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 240.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 24, 223. In the year 1557-58 Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari brought these territories under his sway.

<sup>71</sup> The Lakhi range is an offshoot from the Kirthar which separates Sindh from Baluchistan. *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

Tarkhan.<sup>72</sup> After the Mughal conquest of this area (in the year 1574 A.D.), Bhakkar came under the Mughal sway and became a *sarkar* of *suba* Multan; while rest of the Sindh later came under the *suba* of Multan. After the conquest of Sindh, 'Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan sought permission of Emperor Akbar to extend its boundaries to Cutch and Makran, which Akbar denied saying these lay on the frontier of Safawid Emperor Shah Abbas, since the relation between the two were cordial, Akbar did not want to ruin it.<sup>73</sup> After the death of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan in 1612 A.D. Thatta being a larger *sarkar* was converted into *suba* of which the first indication came early in Shahjahan's reign<sup>74</sup>, while Bhakkar continued to be a part of *suba* Multan, extending its boundaries upto Darbela and Chadukah.<sup>75</sup> Now the Sindh region was divided into two; the upper Sindh situated to the upper side of Indus and lower Sindh included *suba* Thatta. After the invasion of Nadir Shad on Sindh during the reign of Muhammad Shah in the year 1739-40, the region was again divided into three parts by Nadir Shah; the districts of Thatta with its dependencies were conferred on Mian Noor Muhammad Khan of Khodabad [Shah Quli Khan]; the hilly part of the country was handed to Baluchi chief Mahabat Khan, while Shikarpur,<sup>76</sup> Surkana, Siwistan and Karachi including town of Chotu, were given to Daudpotas.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> In the year 1554-5, Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar and 'Isa Tarkhan signed this agreement, but they remain loyal to Shah Husain Arghun. It was only after his death in 1555 A.D. that this agreement came into effect. *Terikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 190, 191, 192, 193, 221.

<sup>73</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*; vol II, p. 28.

<sup>74</sup> Revenue statistics in, *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*, MS I.O.828, ff 180a. (Rotograph no. 194, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University)

<sup>75</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 193; Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1873-87. vol. III. pp. 635-42; *A'in*, vol, II, p. 163; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 10, 15, 16. During the seventeenth century the English traveler assigned its boundaries in the east till Ajmer, in north till Multan, to the south, a desert and the Indian Sea, while to the west Makran and Siwistan (Sehwan). John de Thevenot, *Relation de Indostan 1666-67*, tr. by Lovell, reprint by S.N. Sen as *The Indian travel of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949. pp. 74, 75.

<sup>76</sup> Shikarpur was built in 1617 A.D. and is situated in upper Sindh, north-west from Indus at Sukkur, some 40 miles from Carkana, and 36 miles from the edge of the deserts at Rojlana, which separates upper Sindh from Cutch. See R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sindh*, Lt. T. Postan, "Miscellaneous information related to the town of Shikarpur, "first pub. 1855, reprint, New Delhi, 1993.2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 87, 88. Also see Shahmet Ali, *The History of Bhawalpur*, London 1848. p. 25.

<sup>77</sup> 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi, *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, ed. Pir Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad- Sindh. Vol. III, part I, pp. 449-452.

## 2: Sindh under the Arghuns and Tarkhans

The history of the Arghun-Tarkhan principality of Sindh dates back to 1520-92 A.D. In the sixteenth century, the Arghuns took possession of Bhakkar. The Arghuns had been in the service of the Timurids in Khurasan since the time of 'Abu S'aid Mirza.<sup>78</sup> Amir Zunnun, father of Shah Beg Arghun was a noble under Sultan 'Abu S'aid Mirza. He spent some time at Herat in the company of his father Mir Hasan Basil., under Sultan Yadgar Mirza. After some time in exile he came back to Khurasan, where Sultan Husain Mirza took him under his patronage and made him Governor of the *vilayat* of Ghor and Dawar<sup>79</sup> under Amir Zunnun, Arghuns had established themselves at Qandahar. In 1519-1520, the Arghun ruler Shah Beg,<sup>80</sup> was forced to move towards Sindh, being hard pressed by the Safawid ruler Shah Ism-all on the one side, and Babur at Kabul on the other.<sup>81</sup> Firstly, he occupied the fort of Siwi, and then moved towards Fatehpur, 50 *kos* towards Sindh, where he had a fight with the sons of Pir Wali Barlas and the Baluches; and after defeating them he returned to Qandahar.<sup>82</sup> But his entrance into Sindh was not easily achieved;<sup>83</sup> he had a fight with the Sammah ruler of Sindh Jam Firuz,<sup>84</sup> in which Sammah forces were defeated. An agreement was reached between the two parties;<sup>85</sup> and a division of Sindh took place, according to which the territories from Lakhi Hills down to Thatta were left under the jurisdiction of Jam Firuz, while from Lakhi upward (Including Bhakkar) the territories to be governed by Shah Beg.<sup>86</sup> After making this arrangement Shah Beg went to Qandahar. At this juncture realizing the strategic importance of Bhakkar which not only commanded the route between Sindh and the Punjab, but could also served as a secure post for meeting any invasion from the northwest down to Bolan pass; that Shah Beg Argun sent his foster brother Sultan Mahmud Khan Kokaltash,<sup>87</sup> popularly known later as Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari (Sultan was a part of his name and not a title), to charge of the expedition against Bhakkar

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<sup>78</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 80.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama*, tr. Annette Susannah Beveridge, first pub. 1922, reprint, Delhi, 1970, vol. p. 429.

<sup>82</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 104-5. See map 5 A in *An Atlas*. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Baluches had emerged as a formidable power in Multan and in Sindh. In 1519, Babur has mentioned them as far north as Khushab and Bhira. *Baburnama*, vol. 1, p. 382.

<sup>83</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>84</sup> According to *A'in*, Jam Firuz of Sammah dynasty ruled Sindh from 1492 to 1520, for almost a period of eight years. *A'in*, vol. II, pp. 168-9. In 1522, when Shah Beg Arghun finally established his authority in this region, Jam went to Gujarat.

<sup>85</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 113-4.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 0.218. His father Mir Fazil Kokaltash, was in the services of Shah Beg Arghun, and his mother was an Afghan from Shal and Mastang; *Tarkhannama*, tr. by Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Lucknow, n.d. vol. I, p. 321.

which he duty captured.<sup>88</sup> He took the help of the Sayyeds of Bhakkar, to successfully subdue the Dharejas.<sup>89</sup>

In the year 1521, after the death of Shah Beg, his son Shah Husain a favorite of Babur,<sup>90</sup> succeeded him.<sup>91</sup> It was during his reign that Emperor Humayun fleeing from Sher Shah entered Sindh in 1541. Sultan Mahmud was asked to pay homage to the Emperor Humayun, but he refused saying, "unless my master [Shah Husain] orders we to do so, I cannot move, as then I will not be true to my master's salt."<sup>92</sup> It was only after Shah Husain ordered him to provide provisions to Humayun and welcome him, that he obeyed his master's orders.<sup>93</sup> But he would not agree to Humayun's demand that he should surrender the fort of Bhakkar, in lieu of which he was offered Chachgan in southern Sindh.<sup>94</sup> This led to conflict, and in 1541-43 the Mughal forces made fertile attempts to capture Bhakkar, but Sultan Mahmud was able to repulse both the Mughal commanders sent against him, Taimur Sultan, and Shaikh 'Ali Beg Jalair, the latter being killed.<sup>95</sup>

In the year 1543-44, Shah Husain entrusted the charge of Siwi (Sibi, below the Bolan pass) to Sultan Mahmud, where he successfully subdued the Baluch;<sup>96</sup> and attempted to impose tribute on the nomads<sup>97</sup> throughout the reign of Shah Husain, Sultan Mahmud enjoyed his confidence, so much so that he was even given the charge of the real (*muhr*) of Shah Husain.<sup>98</sup> The Governor of Thatta, 'Isa Tarkhan approached Sultan Mahmud, in

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<sup>88</sup> Sultan Mahmud showed much courage during Shah Beg's invasion of Sindh. He came to Bhakkar with just seventy men. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 219; *Nusratnama-i-Tarkhan*, Ansar Zahid Khan, Karachi, 2000. It is based on the unique manuscript in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Lytton Farsiya Akhbar, no. 156. P. 233.

<sup>89</sup> Though Sultan Mahmud praised these Sayyeds before Shah Husain, yet the Sayyeds wished to migrate to Rohri, as they were apprehensive about the fact that their influence in Bhakkar might not be liked by the Arghun ruler. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 122-3; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*; pp. 6-7. These Dharejahs evaded the payment of revenues to him and twice attempted to expel Mahmud Khan from Bhakkar and capture the fort. But Mahmud Khan subdued them, and captured their forty chiefs out of them twenty-seven were executed by the orders of Mahmud Khan, and rest were executed by the orders of Shah Beg. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 122-23.

<sup>90</sup> *Baburnama* (tr.), vol. I, pp. 429-30.

<sup>91</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 127. Shah Husain swore allegiance to the descendents of *Sahib-i-Qiran* (Amir Timur), and declared Babur as the Emperor. The *khutba* was also read in the name of Babur. P. 142.

<sup>92</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh* p. 170; *Akbarnama*, vol. 11, pp. 173-74.

<sup>93</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 170.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 174-76. Humayun wanted this fort for his ladies, who could safely dwell there, while he himself planned to go to Gujarat.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, p. 220; *Tarkhannama* (tr.), p. 318. It is surprising that during the entire siege of the fort of Bhakkar, Nizamuddin Ahmad nowhere mentions the name of Sultan Mahmud, though separately he has mentioned him as a tyrannical Governor of Bhakkar. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, ed. Brijendranath De, Bib. Ind. 3 vols, Calcutta, 1913, 1927, 1931, and 1935, vol. II, pp. 202-07, vol. III, p. 521.

<sup>96</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 220; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 32.

<sup>97</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 27. These Baluches belonged to Nuhmardi clan, and dwelt in Kirthar range, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi. They maintained three thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry. *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>98</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 91.



the year 1554-55, to come to a secret agreement according to which, after the death of Shah Husain, they would divide the territory of Sindh between themselves, whereby the territories lying above the Lakhi Hills were to belong to Sultan Mahmud and those the other side of Lakhi Hills, were to go to 'Isa Tarkhan.<sup>99</sup> But they more to remain loyal towards Shah Husain, so long as he was alive.<sup>100</sup> Sultan Mahmud apparently concurred. After the death of Shall Husain early in 1555, this arrangement came into effect, whereby Sultan Mahmud started ruling Bhakkar<sup>101</sup> almost like an independent ruler, and 'Isa Tarkhan started similarly ruling Thatta.<sup>102</sup> Sultan Mahmud even stuck coins in his own name, and had his name included in the *khutba* (Friday sermon).<sup>103</sup> He subdued the recalcitrant Baluch and Samejahs.<sup>104</sup> He dealt very harshly with the malcontents. When in 1558-59 Nahar Khan of Sitpur (on the Panjnad south west of Multan) tried to defy the orders of Sultan Mahmud, he laid siege to the fort of Sitpur, and was only after the payment of four lakh *laris* as indemnity that Sultan Mahmud went back to Bhakkar.<sup>105</sup> In the year 1557-58, he brought the territory of Uch, Jujuwahan and Bhattiwahan (now in Bhawalpur Territory) under his sway.<sup>106</sup>

Sultan Mahmud maintained very cordial relationship with the Safawid ruler, Shah Tahmasp. In 1557-58, he was granted a flag, kettledrum, robes and ten thousand *togh* [yak tail standard].<sup>107</sup> They frequently exchanged embassies also.<sup>108</sup> Shah Tahmasp also gave him the title of "Khan-i-Khanan."<sup>109</sup> The *Munshat-i-Namkin*, a massive collection of documents of Akbar's reign, contains one of Shah Tahmasp letters of Emperor Akbar, in which he recommended Sultan Mahmud for the title of Khan-i-Khanan and *Sipahsalar*.<sup>110</sup> It is almost certain that Shah Tahmasp was anxious that the title having been given by him to Sultan Mahmud Khan should be confirmed by Akbar, so as to

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 190-91, 221; but according to the author of *Tarkhannama*, it was Sultan Mahmud who approached Mirza 'Isa Tarkan for this alliance. *Tarkhannama* (tr.), pp. 321-22; the Tarkhan family had become powerful in lower Sindh in around 1520. (*A'in*, vol. II, pp. 168-69.)

<sup>100</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 190-91.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 102-3, 221. Shah Husain died from paralysis at Alipur on Tuesday 12th Rabi'ul Awwal, 962 A.H. (4th February, 1555).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, p. 207. It was during his rule that the Portuguese attacked Thatta and taken it by surprise. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 111-14.

<sup>103</sup> Nawab Samsamud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan and Abd'ul Hayy, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1888, 3 vols. Vol. III, p. 245.

<sup>104</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 221.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 223-4. The siege continued for two months, and after the intermediation of Khwaja Kalan, 'Abdullah Mufti, and Mir Yar Muhammad Sadi, Nahar Khan sued for peace.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p. 225. In the year 1561-2, an envoy of Shah Tahmasp, Haq Burdi Beg came to Bhakkar with many costly presents, and he stayed there for one year. Next year, he was sent back with Abu'l Makram, an envoy on behalf of Sultan Mahmud Khan. Haq Burdi Beg was sent once again to Bhakkar by Shah Tahmasp.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>110</sup> I.A. Zilli, *Early correspondence between Shah Tahmasp and Akbar*, in *The Islamic Heritage in South Asian Sub-Continent* ed. by Nazir Ahmad and I.H. Siddiqui, Jaipur, 2000, vol. II. This volume contains the translation of three letters written by Shah Tahmasp and Emperor Akbar. pp. 230-42.

establish the latter's consent to Bhakkar passing under Safawid influence. Akbar's reply indicated his reluctances to meet the Shah's wishes, through the reason given was that Humayun had already conferred the same title upon Munim Khan.<sup>111</sup> Shah Tahmasp had also recommended for an enhancement in the rank of Sultan Mahmud.<sup>112</sup> It is really surprising that the Shah should have made such a recommendation, since the official chronicler Abu'l Fazl does not even include Sultan Mahmud in the list of nobles of the Empire.<sup>113</sup> Yet curiously enough, Akbar's reply to Tahmasp implies that he considered Sultan Mahmud Khan as a grander of his Empire, Abu'l Fazl in fact mentions that in his conflict with the Tarkhans of Thatta, Sultan Mahmud Khan drew on the assistance of the Mirzas of Qandahar, who had charge of that fort on behalf of Shah Tahmasp<sup>114</sup> and this, again suggests that, rather than being a grander or subordinate ruler of the Mughals, Sultan Mahmud was including towards the Safawids. Sultan Mahmud however did not wish to the Mughals unnecessarily whenever any Mughal noble passed through his territory, he treated him very well.<sup>115</sup> To please the Mughal Emperor, he even imprisoned the fugitive Mughal noble, Shah Abu'l Ma'ali, for a period of seven months in Bhakkar in 1556, and it was only after the *farman* was issued to send Abu'l Ma'ali to the royal court, that Sultan Mahmud released him and sent him by way of Multan.<sup>116</sup> Similarly in 1560, Sultan Mahmud denied passage to Bairam Khan, desirous for going to *haj* pilgrimage, for few that his receiving Bairam Khan might among Akbar, who had dismissed Bairam Khan.<sup>117</sup>

Sultan Mahmud, entrenched at Bhakkar, also thought to keep the Tarkhans of Thatta at bay, by interfering in their internal matters. In 1565-66, Sultan Mahmud not only entertained at Bhakkar certain Argun readers whom Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan had driven out, but sent his troops to help them besiege Siwistan (Sehwan), an enterprise in which success eluded him.<sup>118</sup> Previously in 1561-62, Mirza Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan after having some tension with his father and brother Mirza Muhammad Salih, took shelter

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, p. 236. Akbar also said that Sultan Mahmud had been given the title of Itibar Khan.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, p. 242.

<sup>113</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, pp. 160-65. Even Nizamudan Ahmad has not treated Sultan Mahmud as a Mughal noble describing him rather as a tyrannical ruler of Bhakkar. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. III, p. 521.

<sup>114</sup> Baqi Tarkhan, son of 'Isa Tarkhan, complained to the Emperor Akbar about the high handedness of Sultan Mahmud in which he mentioned Sultan Mahmud's alliance with the Mirzas of Qandahar. Ultimately a *farman* was issued to Sultan Mahmud. *Akbarnama*, vol. II, pp. 278-79; 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Taweirikh* ed. Ali Ahmed and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1864-9. 3 vols, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>115</sup> In the year 1556, while Bahadur Khan, Qubad Khan, Yaqub Beg, Shah Tardi Beg' Muzaffar Khan, and Tarsun Muhammad Khan, were returning from Qandahar, Sultan Mahmud Khan entertained them very well. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 221.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>117</sup> In 1560, Sultan Mahmud was alarmed by hearing the news of the journey of Bairam Khan to Mecca via Bhakkar. He directed that *chaharbagh*, where Humayun had stayed in the neighborhood of Bhakkar, be laid waste, so that Bairam Khan might not think of staying there, when Bairam Khan come to know of this, he changed his route and went to Gujarat via Pattan. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 224. This was despite the fact that just one year earlier, Sultan Mahmud had married Gauhar Taj Begum, daughter of Shah Tardi Beg, a relative of Khan-i-Khanan Bairam Khan. P. 223

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 225-26.

under Sultan Mahmud, who intermediated and asked 'Isa Tarkhan to forgive his son so finally in 1562-63, Baqi was sent back to his father.<sup>119</sup> Baqi Tarkhan succeeded his father after his death. An important event took place when the widow of Shah Beg, Mah Begum<sup>120</sup> died in the custody of Baqi Tarkhan. Nahid Begum, the daughter of Mah Begum approached Sultan Mahmud to punish Baqi Tarkhan. Sultan Mahmud, thereupon, asked them to obtain a *farman* from the Emperor Akbar. After obtaining a *farman* she along with her husband Muhib 'Ali,<sup>121</sup> and Mujahid Khan<sup>122</sup> came to the vicinity of Bhakkar to take his help. But at this juncture Sultan Mahmud declined to extend any help.<sup>123</sup> Shocked by his treatment the Mughal nobles along with the Arghuns decided to laid siege to the fort of Mathila (north-east of Bhakkar); thereafter they captured it,<sup>124</sup> from the governor Mubarak Khan;<sup>125</sup> a slave of Sultan Mahmud in the year 1572-73. After this Mubarak Khan also joined hands with the Mughal forces, but, along with his son Beg Oghali was soon after killed.<sup>126</sup>

In the year 1572-73, Akbar confirmed the governorship of Bhakkar on Sultan Mahmud and sent a *farman* with Mirji Tawachi to the effect; he also withdrew Muhibb 'Ali and Mujahid Khan from there.<sup>127</sup> At this juncture, Sultan Mahmud fell ill, suffering from dropsy. He wished to surrender the fort of Bhakkar to Emperor Akbar, provided Akbar sent another agent.<sup>128</sup> Akbar agreed, but Mujahid Khan and Muhibb 'Ali Khan went on with the siege. The siege was still being conducted when Sultan Mahmud Khan died on 8 Safar 982 A.H. (30 may 1574). The garrison in the fort contained to resist, till Gesu

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 224-25; *Tarkhannama* (tr.), pp. 324-25.

<sup>120</sup> Mah Begum, was the daughter of Muhammad Muqim (brother of Shah Beg), who was captured in a battle with Babur in 1517. Babur married her to one of his nobles Qasim Koka, and Nahid Begum was born to them. Later on by the efforts of Shah Beg, Mah Begum escaped from Kabul, leaving her daughter there. Mah Begum being a widow now married Shah Beg. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 103-07.

<sup>121</sup> Muhibb 'Ali, son of Mir Khalifa, was a *mansabdar* of 1000 (*A'in*, vol. I, p. 160). He gave up military service and lived in retirement. Emperor Akbar now gave him the territory of Multan. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 227.

<sup>122</sup> Mujahid Khan, was the grandson of Sa'id Khan Mughal, the Governor of Multan. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* vol. II, p. 134.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*. Badauni says, "because Sultan Mahmud did not trust Muhibb 'Ali, therefore, he asked them to go via Jaisalmer, then only he will help them otherwise not." But Ma'sum Bhakkari says, "because Nahid Begum, Muhibb 'Ali, and Mujahid Khan brought those Arghuns, whom Sultan Mahmud had ousted, this infuriated Sultan Mahmud and he refused to help them. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 237.

<sup>124</sup> Mathila was a *mahal* in the *sarkar* of Bhakkar, with a total revenue of 1,35,3713 dams. *A'in*, vol. II, p. 163. For the details regarding the siege of the fort of Mathila see *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 228-9; *Akbarnama*, vol. II, pp. 362-64; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 135.

<sup>125</sup> Mubarak Khan was a slave, purchased by Sultan Mahmud for two hundred black *laris*. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 232; *Mazhar-i-Shashjanhni*, vol. II, p. 31.

<sup>126</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 230-33.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 234-35.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*. Abu'l Fazl says, "Sultan Mahmud wanted to present this fort to prince Salim. *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 91; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 235-6. According to Badauni, "Akbar sent Mir Gesu Bakawal Begi to examine the affairs of Sultan Mahmud, and to guard the fortress of Bhakkar." *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 186.

Khan sent by Akbar arrived (3 August 1574) and, dispersing the besiegers, took Bhakkar on behalf of Akbar.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, Bhakkar finally came under Mughal sway. Bhakkar became a *sarkar* of the *suba* of Multan, with 12 *mahals*, and a total revenue of 1824497 dams, and 2,82,013 *bighas* of measured land.<sup>130</sup> Banwali Das was appointed the *karori* (revenue collector) of *sarkar* Bhakkar.<sup>131</sup> The name of Tarsun Khan,<sup>132</sup> son of Shah Muhammad Saiful-Mulk, was proposed for the governorship of Bhakkar. But senior nobles requested Akbar not to appoint a son of Saiful-Mulk to such frontier territory. As a result Tarsun Khan was recalled to Agra;<sup>133</sup> and in his place Mir Sayyed Muhammad, *mir-i-adl* (judge) of Amroha a personal friend of Badauni, was appointed as a *hakim* (commandant) of Bhakkar; with a raised *mansab* of 1000.<sup>134</sup> The entire administration of Bhakkar was now set up according to the standard of Mughal pattern, with its commandants (*hakims*) continuing to be transferred after every two to three years.

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<sup>129</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>130</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, pp. 163-4.

<sup>131</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245; M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus*, p. 40.

<sup>132</sup> Tarsun Khan was a mansabdar of 5000. *A'in*, vol. I, p. 160.

<sup>133</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245. According to Abu'l Fazl, "The government of Bhakkar was entrusted to Tarsun Khan who hastened to that province." *Akbarnama*, vol. III, 91-2. M. Athar Ali has also mentioned Tarsun Khan as *hakim* of Bhakkar; probably he relied on *Akbarnama*. (*The Apparatus*, p. 4)

<sup>134</sup> Badauni writes that, "Mir Sayyed Muhammad, *mir-i-adl* of Amroha, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar in the year 984 A.H. (1575-76)." While Ma'sum Bhakkari says that he arrived at Bhakkar on Ramzan 11, 983 A.H. (14th December, 1575). *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245-46.

### 3: An Analysis of the Contemporary Sources

The political history of Sind in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is well illuminated by a number of detailed chronicles, beginning with Mir Muhammad Purani's *Nusratnama-i-Tarkhan*,<sup>135</sup> written before 1562-63, and followed by Mir M'asum's *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, written in 1599-1600,<sup>136</sup> *Idraki Thattavi's Beglarnama*, written in 1608-09.<sup>137</sup> Tahir Muhammad Nisyani's *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, completed 1620-21;<sup>138</sup> and Mir Sayyed Muhammad's *Tarikhannama* written in 1651.<sup>139</sup> The *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* of Yusuf Mirak, written in 1634, gives a description of Sindh, in the form of a very detailed administrative gazetteer. Furthermore, a large number of documents on Sindh are preserved in a unique collection titled *Jamm-i-Badi*, though belonged to a period between 1710-33 A.D., compiled by Jan Muhammad Munshi Thattavi, in 1733-34.<sup>140</sup> Besides Q'abil Khan's *Adab-i-'Alamgiri* and documents in such earlier collections as *Nigarnama-i-Munshi* of Malikzada and *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*,<sup>141</sup> which give valuable information about Sindh. Then there is another Persian source which belongs to late eighteenth century *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* written in 1766-7,<sup>142</sup> and *Muqalat-i-Shu'ara* in 1760 by 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi in 1767-68,<sup>143</sup> and 1760-61 respectively. It provides valuable information about Governors of Sindh in addition to detailed list given by M. Athar Ali in *The Apparatus of the Empire*, and of Nadir Shah's invasion and subsequent division of Sind and also biographies of saints and literary persons of Sindh.

*A'in-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnama* of Abu'l Fazl remained an incomparable source which is quite rich in information about the topography, economy, administration, and administrative division of the region of Sindh. For the coming of Arghuns in Sindh, *Baburnama* provides detailed information about Arghun lineage, whose information is further corroborated by the regional histories of Sindh. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* further enriches information after Akbar, and then for Shahjahan's reign, I have mainly relied on Lahor's *Badshahnama* and *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*.

<sup>135</sup> Recently published, ed. Ansar Zahid Khan, Karachi, 2000. It is based on the unique manuscript in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Lytton Farsiya Akhbar, no. 156.

<sup>136</sup> Ed. U.M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938.

<sup>137</sup> Ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1980.

<sup>138</sup> Ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1964.

<sup>139</sup> Ed. Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad, Sind, 1965.

<sup>140</sup> *Kitab-i-Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 28b, 30a-b. Transcribed, no. 124, Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University. These documents are titled *Jamm-i-Badi*, compiled by one Jan Muhammad Munshi son of Muhammad Arif presumably after 1733-34 A.D., these documents dates between 1703-04 to 1733-34 A.D.

<sup>141</sup> *Bayaz-i-Khushbui* MS 1.0.828, ffl80a. (Rotograph no. 194, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University)

<sup>142</sup> Ed. Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1971.

<sup>143</sup> Ed. Husamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1957.

Besides these, other sources shedding light on economic and other aspects of history of Sindh region, such as English Factory Records, Petition of John Spiller in Sloane collection, and Travelers' Accounts, Numismatic and Epigraphic evidence is also forthcoming. For the architecture of Sindh, I have mainly relied on the Archaeological Survey Report by Henry Cousens' *Antiquities of Sindh*, and A.H. Dani, *Thatta-Islamic Architecture*, while for the topography; I have mainly consulted Gazetteers, H.T. Lambrick's *Sindh - A General Introduction*; M.R. Haig's *Indus Delta Country*, and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* by Irfan Habib.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE MUHGAL STATE IN SINDH

#### 1.1: The Conquest of Sindh by Akbar

The conquest of Sindh as mentioned earlier, began in 1574-75, with *sarkar* Bhakkar coming under Mughal sway and being made a *sarkar* of the *suba* of Multan. Banwali Das was appointed the *karori*, (Revenue Collector) of *sarkar* Bhakkar in 1574-75.<sup>144</sup> The name of

Tarsun Khan,<sup>145</sup> son of Shah Muhammad Sa'iful Mulk, was proposed to be a commandant of Bhakkar. But senior nobles requested Akbar not to appoint a son of Sa'iful Mulk to such frontier territory. As a result Tarsun Khan was recalled to Agra,<sup>146</sup> and in his place Mir Sayyed Muhammad, *Mir-i-'Adl* (judge) of Amroha, a personal friend of Badauni, was appointed as the commandant of Bhakkar in 1576; with a raised *mansab* of 1000.<sup>147</sup> The entire administration of Bhakkar was now setup according to, the standard Mughal pattern, with commandants or sub-governors (*hakim/faujdar*) usually transferred after every two to three years.

After Mir Sayyed Muhammad, his son Abu'l Fazl, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar<sup>148</sup> in the year 1576. But he was soon replaced by Phul Malik, entitled Itimad Khan, a eunuch, in Feb 1578.<sup>149</sup> After his assassination by a party of soldiers, the Emperor assigned the territory in *jagir* to Fath Khan Bahadur, Raja Parmanand, and Raja Todar Mal.<sup>150</sup> After two year, Parmanand was recalled,<sup>151</sup> and his *jagir* was added

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<sup>144</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 254; M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire*, (will be referred as The Apparatus ) New Delhi, 1985, p. 40.

<sup>145</sup> Tarsun Khan was a *mansabdar* of 5000 ( *A'in*, vol, I, p. 160). When Bhakkar fell to Mughal forces, firstly it was decided that Tarsun Muhammad Khan will be given the charge, but then he was called to Agra, and in his place Mir Sayyed Muhammad *Mir-i-'Adl* of Amroha, a personal friend of Badauni, was appointed as hakim with a raised *mansab* of 1000. Since Mir Tarsun Muhammad Khan was a nephew of Saiful Mulk, the ruler of Gajristan region of Khurasan under Safawids. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245; *Muntakhab-ul-Tawdrikh*, vol. II, p. 210, vol. III, p. 6.

<sup>146</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh* p. 245. According to Abu'l Fazl, "the government of Bhakkar was entrusted to Tarsun Khan who hastened to province." Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*; Bib. Ind, ed. Calcutta, 1873-87. Vol. III, pp 91, 92. M. Athar Ali has also mentioned Tarsun Khan, as Hakim of Bhakkar in 982 A.H.; probably he relied on *Akbarnama*. (The Apparatus, p. 4).

<sup>147</sup> Badauni writes that "Mir Sayyed Muhammad, Mir-i-'Adl of Amroha, was appointed to the government of Bhakkar in the year 984 A.H." 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 76. While Ma'sum Bhakkari says that "he arrived at Bhakkar on Ramzan 11, 983 A.H. (14th December 1575), *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>148</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 246, 247; The Apparatus, p. 5.

<sup>149</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 247; The Apparatus, p. 6. Mir Ma'sum depicts him as a cruel man, who did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants and nobles. (*Tarikh-i-Sindh*, P-247)

<sup>150</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 246-47. M. Athar Ali has mentioned Fath Khan as Faujdar of Bhakkar. (The Apparatus, p. 7.)

<sup>151</sup> That makes it 1580 A.D. (*Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 246-47).

to that of Fath Khan, with an increased *mansab*.<sup>152</sup> His agent (*wakil*), Shahab Khan, a *zamindar* of Samana,<sup>153</sup> was an inexperienced man. Due to wrong advice from him, Fath Khan carried out a raid on the people of Khan Nahar, and led a force against the fort of Kin- Kot which was in the hands of Ibrahim Nahar.<sup>154</sup> In a battle, Fath Khan suffered heavy losses. When Emperor came to know of this reverse, he immediately resumed Fath Khan's *jagir*, and assigned it to Nawwab Muhammad Sadiq Khan;<sup>155</sup> who was entrusted with the task of annexing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday, Feb, 1586.

Meanwhile at Thatta, Mirza Baqi Muhammad Tarkhan had killed himself with a dagger in the year 1585.<sup>156</sup> There were two claimants to the throne, Mirza Payandah Muhammad, and Mirza Muzaffar Muhammad. But finally the son of Mirza Payandah Muhammad, Mirza Jani Beg, seized the throne.<sup>157</sup> He was still busy with the affairs of restoring law and order in the country in 1586, when Akbar entrusted Muhammad Sadiq Khan with the task of invading Thatta;<sup>158</sup> Muhammad Sadiq marched towards Siwistan (Sehwan). He overthrew a Tarkhan army at Patar,<sup>159</sup> in Sehwan; and won it. Shaban Quli Arghun, who was the commander of Tarkhan forces, was taken prisoner and twelve *ghurab* (war boats) were also seized.<sup>160</sup> After this victory Sadiq Khan laid siege to the fort of Sehwan.<sup>161</sup> At this juncture, Mirza Jani Beg was keen to show his friendly attitude towards Emperor Akbar; so he responded immediately to his farman.<sup>162</sup> According to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "Mirza Jani had even prepared his brother Mirza Shahrukh to be sent to the court with presents."<sup>163</sup> But siege of Sehwan continued. The besieged led by Bulbul Khan. Mulla Gada 'Ali, Bhai Khan [son of Mehtar Kariya Lahana],<sup>164</sup> who were inside the fort, however continued to resist. Sadiq Khan was ultimately forced to retreat.<sup>165</sup> At the same time Mirza Jani Beg also arrived at Sehwan, and when Sadiq Khan passed by the Lakhi hills, Mirza Jani opened fire on him.<sup>166</sup> In the

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247; *The Apparatus*, p. 10.

<sup>156</sup> Tahir Muhammad Nisyan. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1964. p. 155-158. In order to improve relations with Mughal Emperor, Mirza Baqi Tarkhan had sent his envoy including Sayyed Jalal Mirza Salih and Khwaja Amir Beg (the *Diwan*), and even sent his daughter and Sindhi Begum to Emperor Akbar, but Akbar had refused the offer. (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 148-50).

<sup>157</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 160-68.

<sup>158</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 247; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 169.

<sup>159</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 247.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248; *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 495.

<sup>162</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 170-71. In this *farman* Mirza Jani Beg was asked to pay homage and struck Akbar's name in the coins, and to recite the *khutba* in Emperor's name.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>165</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 248.

<sup>166</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 248. Jani Beg's army comprised local tribes like, Samejahs, Sammah, Sumrahs, Ghors [or Kahars], Palejah, Nakamarah, Samejah Dal etc; who used to attack imperial army at night. (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*. p. 172.)



meantime an imperial *farman* arrived, to the effect that Mirza Jani Beg was held to have dutifully submitted with a suitable tribute to the court; and so Sadiq Khan was ordered to return back to the court.<sup>167</sup>

In February 1588, Bhakkar was given in *jagir* to Isma'il Khan, and his son Rahman Quli Beg.<sup>168</sup> But soon after the *jagir* was transferred to Shiroya Sultan. In the beginning of November 1588, he came to Bhakkar.<sup>169</sup> And yet shortly thereafter, Bhakkar was again given in *jagir* to Muhammad Sadiq Khan; and his son Mirza Muhammad Zahid, came to Bhakkar in the year 1589.<sup>170</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, the historian, was Sadiq Khan's *wakil* or agent. His second period of assignment was marked by a drought and high food prices. Meanwhile Emperor Akbar, had moved his court to Lahore.<sup>171</sup> But Jam Beg did not pay his homage, and pretended to be independent.<sup>172</sup> As a result 'Abdu'r Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, was sent to Thatta to conquer it, and to chastise the Baluchis.<sup>173</sup> Abu'l Fazl tells us that 'Abdu'r Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in fact modified his plans, "Khan-i-Khanan's appointment as a Governor of Multan, was made for the Qandahar expedition, and he was ordered to march via Baluchistan. But he opted for easier gains at Thatta than that of Qandahar, and preferred to march *via* Bhakkar."<sup>174</sup> The poet Abu'l Faiz Faizi, has described the well prepared march in his words as '*Qasd-i-Thatta*' i.e. "Expedition to Thatta."<sup>175</sup>

Khan-i-Khanan arrived at Bhakkar before November 1590, and marched towards Sehwan. He held counsel with his nobles whether to march towards Thatta or to besiege of Sehwan.<sup>176</sup> All agreed to besiege Sehwan, since it was on the direct road and, so it was better to secure it first.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp 248-249; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 173. Sayyed Jalal was sent as an envoy of Mirza Jani to imperial court. *Akbarnama*. Part III, p. 509. Hakim 'Ain-ul Mulk was sent with his ambassador. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 372.

<sup>168</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*. p. 249.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*. p. 250.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>172</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 250; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 374. The author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* place Jani Beg responsible for this because after sending a letter through his brother Shah Rukh, he was satisfied and did not do anything till the imperial forces entered into Sindh. (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 174, 175.)

<sup>173</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh* p, 251; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II p. 374. Nizamuddin Ahmad gives a detailed list of amirs who accompanied Khan-i-Khanan, as Shah Beg Khan Kabuli, Faridun Barlas, Sayyed Bahauddin Bakhtiyar Beg, Qara Beg, Muhammad Khan Niazi and Ma'sum Bhakkari. Ma'sum Bhakkari was assigned *parganas* of Darbela, Gagri and Chanduka of *sarkar* Bhakkar in *jagir* to him (*Tarikh-i-Sindh* p. 251).

<sup>174</sup> Abu'l Fazl, *Maktubat-i-Allami*, C.f. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, "The Mughal Annexation of Sindh - A diplomacies and Military History," in *Akbar and his India*, ed. by Irfan Habib, Delhi 1997. p. 38. For the arrival of Khan-i-Khanana, see *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 186.

<sup>175</sup> *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 374.

<sup>176</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 251; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 181.

<sup>177</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252. According to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "this area was inhabited by tribes like Baluch, Nahmardi, Jokia, and Jats, extending towards Kuch, Makran and Umarmot, who never acknowledge the master. (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 182)

As decided, the Indus River was crossed and batteries were raised to secure a passage above the river.<sup>178</sup> But when he came to know about the arrival of Jani Beg towards them with all the *zamindars* of the country, many *ghurabs* and boats and well equipped artillery to oppose him, he abandoned the siege, and went forward.<sup>179</sup> He selected Shah Beg to act against the fort of Shahgar in the province of Nasrpur, where Abu'l Qasim resided. Another party was told to march against the fort of Nairun Kot.<sup>180</sup> Jani Beg encamped himself at the bank of river near village Bohri above Nasrpur.<sup>181</sup> When Khan-i-Khanan came nearby Jani Beg, he sent hundred and twenty armed *ghurabs* and many boats under the command of Khusrau Khan; along with army to make an attack on Khan-i-Jahan from both the sides.<sup>182</sup> Mirza Jani Beg announced to his soldiers whoever will bring the head of enemy, will get 500 *kabars* as *in'am*.<sup>183</sup>

Khan-i-Khanan had placed his battery fortification under the command of Muhammad Muqim Khan Bakhshi, 'Ali Mardan Khan, Murid Khan Sarmadi and Ma'sum Bhakkari.<sup>184</sup> Khusrau Khan had to pass this point. Khusrau Khan's boats arrived in the evening of 23rd July 1591.<sup>185</sup> But the guns in imperial fortification were placed too high, that the balls passed over the *ghurabs* and fell on imperial army, which was sent to other side.<sup>186</sup> The muzzles of the gun were then placed accordingly, and it targeted nine boats of Khusrau Khan.<sup>187</sup> After sometime, Sindhi war boats started to retreat; Khusrau Khan's boat was also burnt, along with the boats which were carrying Portuguese.<sup>188</sup>

After this the Imperial forces proceeded towards the encampment of Jani Beg. But here Mirza Jani Beg blocked supply of provision of Imperial forces.<sup>189</sup> At this time Khan-i-Khanan changed his route towards Jun, and lifted siege, and divided his army to march in different directions, one proceeded towards Sehwan another towards Thatta, and other towards Badin and Fath Bagh, and Jun, and Shah Beg towards Shahgarh,<sup>190</sup> which

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<sup>178</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 82. Tahir Muhammad tells that Jani Beg realized that "he had committed a great fault of generalship by not taking any measures to defend the pass."

<sup>179</sup> *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 375.

<sup>180</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 183.

<sup>181</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252.

<sup>182</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252. At this juncture Khan-i-Khanan was provided financial help from Emperor Akbar, and artillery also. He also sent Rai Rai Singh, who was having a *mansab* of 4000, by way of Jaisalmer. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 375.

<sup>183</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 183. According to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "the exchange value of *kabar* was, 1 *kabar* = 12 *nuns*, 72 *nuns* = 1 *muradi tanka*."

<sup>184</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*. p. 253

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*. But Jani Beg's boats had party of carpenters also, who immediately repaired it.

<sup>188</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 185; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 253. These *firungis* were Portuguese, and one of them was chief of the Portuguese settlement of Hormuz, whose name was Charkas Daflir, who used to come yearly from Hormuz to Thatta. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 185.

<sup>189</sup> *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 376; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 254.

<sup>190</sup> *Tarikh -i-Sindh*, p. 254.

had been built by Shah Qasim Khan Arghun. Sayyed Bahauddin, and Mir Ma'sum went to Sehwan.<sup>191</sup> Mirza Jani also marched towards Lakhi hills with ten thousand horses, ghurabs with cannon numerous body of infantry and archers.<sup>192</sup> Khan-i-Khanan sent Bakhtiyar Beg, Hasan 'Ali 'Arab, Jani Beg, Maqsud Beg for assistance.<sup>193</sup> Mirza Jani also sent reinforcement under Muhammad Khan Niazi, Bahadur Khan and Daulat Khan.<sup>194</sup>

A bitter encounter took place, as a result the forces of Jani Beg suffered and took to flight,<sup>195</sup> and retreated to Unarpur; which was again besieged by Khan-i-Khanan.<sup>196</sup> Jani Beg tried for negotiation and offered to surrender thirty *ghurabs* and fort of Sehwan to Imperial authority.<sup>197</sup> Khan-i-Khanan overruled them, but made his own terms, which were conveyed to Jani Beg, the proposal included a *mansab* of 5000 for Jani Beg.<sup>198</sup> He departed with Mirza's envoy Rifaqat 'Ali Kabuli.<sup>199</sup>

After this settlement Mirza Jani Beg retreated towards Thatta, where he was joined later by Khan-i-Khanan, twenty *kurohs* from Thatta at the river of Fath Bagh.<sup>200</sup> After Akbar took charge of the province which now became part of the Mughal Empire.

Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, having submitted to 'Abdu'r Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, accepted the suzerainty of Emperor Akbar. The submission involved, as a *farman* of Akbar made clear, the secession of *sarkar* Sehwan or Siwistan and the port of Lahari Bandar to the Imperial administration.<sup>201</sup> Technically, Mirza Jani Beg became *jagirdar* of the remaining portion of his original principality, against which he received a rank of 3000 (presumably *zat* and *sawar*, since the latter rank was introduced only after A.D. 1595).

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, p. 255

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*, p. 254.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, p. 255.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*. Now Jani Beg's army suffered so much due to shortage of supply that his men killed their horses and camels every day and ate their flesh. (*Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 377)

<sup>196</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 255. While *Tabqat-i-Akbari* say that, "the terms demanded fort of Sehwan, Jani Beg's daughter to Khan-i-Khanan's son Mirza Irij, and twenty *ghurabs*." (*Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 377).

<sup>197</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 256. The envoy reached in front of Mirza Jani Beg who was wearing blue garment at that time, mourning his dear ones (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 197).

<sup>198</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 199. Mirza Jani's noble were already secretly corresponding with Khan-i-Khanan. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 159.

<sup>199</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 256.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid*, p. 256.

<sup>201</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 91.

## 1.2: The Transition of Sindh to a Mughal Province

The conquest of Sindh by 'Abdu'r Rahim Khan-i-Khan an (1590-91 A.D.), extended Akbar's control to the mouth of the Indus. Its erstwhile ruler Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, on accepting the Mughal suzerainty was granted a *mansab* of 3000, and was thus reduced to a position of Mughal *mansabdar*. But Akbar as an Emperor was not satisfied with just the political conquest of the new region; rather he wanted to make it a part of the Mughal Empire. Therefore he very diplomatically made this region a part of *suba* Multan and did not give it the full status of *suba*, then in order to keep its ruler in good humour, he made Mirza Jani Beg the *subedar* of Multan, while Mirza Shahrukh was given Thatta in *jagir*. The real motive behind this action was to remove Jani Beg from his seat of power in order to lessen his influence and undermine his power. But this action of Akbar was resented by the people of Thatta, who out of resentment started emigrating from there through Lahari Bandar. *Akbarnama* records ten thousand emigrants' men and women of Arghun tribe crossing through river in boats which created trouble for the riverine traffic.<sup>202</sup> To solve the matter Akbar restored the *jagir* of Thatta to Jani Beg, but considering the importance of port area in overland movement and to bring it under immediate central command he incorporated Lahari Bandar into *khalisa* and gave Sehwan in *jagir* to Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman to govern,<sup>203</sup> as this *sarkar* was a gateway to lower Sindh; its control was also necessary. Thus apparently Jani Beg was holding Thatta as his *jagir* in lieu of his salary without its two strategically important territories and thereby, assuring the Mughal control over this region.

Under previous dynasties Thatta had been ruled independently, maintaining a status of a separate province, yet when *A'in* mentions it, it places Thatta under *suba* Multan, reducing its importance to a sub-*suba* a position quite similar to that of Orissa.<sup>204</sup> The Mughal administration very cautiously made this region subordinate to *suba* Multan by including it as a *sarkar* designated Thatta of *suba* Multan; despite the fact that this very *sarkar* itself comprised of four more *sarkars*, as Abu'l Fazl in his chapter the 'Account of Twelve Subas' in the *A'in* explicitly says that, "this territory is fourth *sarkar* of *suba* Multan, comprising of five *sarkars* (namely Thatta, Chachgan, Siwistan, Nasrpur and Chakarhala)."<sup>205</sup> Lately even during Jahangir's reign, though *sahib-subgi* (Governorship) was given to the officers of high rank and they were being designated *subedars*, yet for

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<sup>202</sup> *Akbarnama*, vol. III, pp. 637, 642.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, Though Yusuf Mirak in the seventeenth century mentions that along with Lahari Bandar, Sehwan was also incorporated into *khalisa*. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, p. 91. This *sarkar* was transferred from *suba* Thatta to *suba* Multan sometimes before 1656, when it appears on the revenue list under Multan and not under Thatta. *Dastur-i-'amal-i-Shahjahani* (1701-2), Br. Mu., Add. 6588, ff, 26b-28b. (Rotograph No. 56, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University)

<sup>204</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, pp. 47,62. Orissa was a sub- *suba* of the *suba* of Bengal having five *sarkars* within it.

<sup>205</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, pp. 163-4.

Thatta Jahangir uses the term *vilayat* and not *suba*.<sup>206</sup> It is, therefore, surprising to note that in some of the modern works, Mirza Jani Beg and his son Ghazi Beg are designated as Governors of the *suba* of Sindh,<sup>207</sup> which is definitely not corroborated by any of the contemporary sources. In fact, no separate *suba* of Sindh was constituted during this time, the very first reference of Thatta as *suba* comes only during Shahjahan's reign, when its revenue figures appeared separately in 1628-29, under the heading of *suba* Thatta and not under *suba* Multan.<sup>208</sup> The fact that both *Akbarnama* and *Tuzuk* used the term hakim of Thatta for Jani Beg and Ghazi Beg, and *Akbarnama* mentions Jani Beg as the *subedar* of Multan in 1592, and the term hakim of Thatta in 1593.<sup>209</sup>

It seems that Jani Beg on surrendering to Mughal authority was awarded, not only his *mansab* was increased to 5000, but also prince Khusrau, Akbar's grandson was betrothed to Jani Beg's daughter.<sup>210</sup> According to Badauni, Jani Beg, tried hard to win Akbar's favour, by accepting *Din-i-Ilahi*,<sup>211</sup> yet he could not gain the total confidence of the Emperor, who never allowed Jani Beg even to go back to Thatta. He was obliged to run its administration through deputies, who transmitted him, the revenues from his *jagir*.<sup>212</sup> He did not come back to his *jagir* during the rest of his life and died at Burhanpur on 1 February, 1601, Akbar however, permitted his burial in town of Thatta.<sup>213</sup>

After the death of Mirza Jani Beg, his seventeen years old son Ghazi Beg, was conferred *farman* and *khilat*, and was also given the responsibility to manage the affairs of Jani Beg's *jagir*.<sup>214</sup> For two years Ghazi Beg on the pretext of being occupied and burdened

<sup>206</sup> Jahangir, *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, (henceforth called *Tuzuk*) ed., Syed Ahmed Khan, Ghazipur, 1864. pp. 156, 196.

<sup>207</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Mughal State-Structure or Process', IESHR, XXIX, (3), 1992, p. 310, f.n. 42, and its criticism by Sunita Zaidi, 'Akbar's Annexation of Sindh', in *Akbar and his India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 31.

<sup>208</sup> Revenue statistics in *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*, MS I.O.828, ffl80a. (Rotograph no. 194, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University); even Lahori in *Badshahnama*, first time used the term *suba* for Thatta in 1629, when Amir Khan, son of Mir Qasim Khan Namkin was appointed its *subedar*. Lahori, *Badshahnama*, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin, and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1867-8, vol. I, p. 287.

<sup>209</sup> *Akbarnama*, vol. III, pp. 637, 642; *Tuzuk*, pp. 33, 63, 110. Though, Jahangir in *Tuzuk* for the first time use the term *suba* for Thatta when prince Shahryar was made its *subedar* in 1625. *Tuzuk*, p. 397. Thus it can safely be said that perhaps Thatta got the full status of *suba* somewhere between 1624-29, much after the death of Ghazi Beg.

<sup>210</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 8; Mulla Abd'al Baqi Nihawandl, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. 3 vols, Calcutta, 1910-31. vol. III. pp. 342, 348; Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawdrim*, ed. Sayyed Moin'ul Haq, 3 vols, Karachi, 1961-1974, vol. I, p. 37.

<sup>211</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 304. Badauni goes to the extent of alleging that Jani Beg and some others gave in writing that they have renounced Islam religion followed by their forefathers and have joined the *Din-i-Ilahi*. (notably one of the rare contemporary references of the order established by Akbar as *Din-i-Ilahi*.)

<sup>212</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 202.

<sup>213</sup> *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 783; his body was brought to Thatta by Khwaia Muhammad Qur Begi on the imperial orders; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 208.

<sup>214</sup> There is a large variation in the contemporary sources regarding this confirmation of the government of Thatta on Mirza Ghazi Beg. *Akbarnama* says that after the death of Mirza Jani Beg, "a farman and khilat was sent to Mirza Ghazi Beg, in his absence;" while according to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, after the death of Jani Beg it was decided that his son Ghazi Beg should succeed to the government of Thatta ... and Baba Talib Isfahani came from the capital [Agra]

with the internal problems, and with the assistance of Talib Isfahani remained busy in restoring the administration in Thatta. According to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "Baba Talib was sent as an envoy from the capital [Agra] to Thatta, where he stayed for two years as Mirza Ghazi was busy with the internal matters."<sup>215</sup> The considerable delay by Ghazi Beg in personal appearance before the Emperor to pay his obeisance, made the Emperor doubt his intentions and therefore Sa'id Khan Chaghtai was ordered to bring the young Mirza from Thatta to the royal court.<sup>216</sup> Mean while Abu'l Qasim Khan Namkin was also ordered to escort Mirza Ghazi to the royal court, who arrived at Nasarpur with a large force; and sent ahead one of his servants Mir 'Ata Allah Mashhadi as a messenger to Ghazi Beg.<sup>217</sup> On hearing the news of the arrival of imperial officers along with the force, Mirza Ghazi wrote to Abu'l Qasim Khan. "I submit to the orders of Emperor. You go back, and I shall follow you."<sup>218</sup> But his request was not acceded to, Sa'id Khan and Abu'l Qasim Khan ensured that Ghazi Beg accompanies them to Agra adhering to the *farman*. He was accordingly brought to Agra where the court then was.<sup>219</sup> At Agra Ghazi Beg was received in a friendly manner, his fathers' *jagir* and *mansab* were conferred upon him by Akbar along with gift of fine sword.<sup>220</sup> Ghazi Beg remained there and was apparently not allowed to go to Sindh. This continued till the accession of Jahangir in 1605. On the request of Sa'id Khan Chaghtai,<sup>221</sup> Ghazi was allowed by the Emperor Jahangir to go back to Thatta, and later "a portion of *suba* Multan", and Qandahar was also added to his *jagir*, in addition to Thatta with the rank of 5000/5000.<sup>222</sup> The fact that Manohar, the court painter of Jahangir made portrait of

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as an envoy to Ghazi Beg and stayed with him while he was busy dealing with the internal challenges. "Yet it does not verify to whether he was confirmed on his fathers jagir or not. The only reference of conferring the responsibility of government affairs through a *farman* of Akbar comes from *Tuzuk* only [even before his formal submission to the Mughal Emperor at Agra] *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 783; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 210, 239; *Tuzuk*, vol. I, p. 109.

<sup>215</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 239. In Thatta Ghazi Beg's succession to the throne was opposed by Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan II, son of Mirza Jan Baba, brother of Muhammad Baqi; grandfather of Jani Beg. But Jani Beg's *wakil* Khusrau Khan Chirkas supported Ghazi Beg and 'Isa Tarkhan II was compelled to leave Sindh. From there 'Isa Tarkhan II went to kiss the feet of the Emperor Akbar. Later on during the period of Jahangir, he was given high rank and was appointed to Deccan. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, pp. 380-381; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol. II, pp. 210-11.

<sup>216</sup> According to *Tuzuk*, "Sa'id Khan who was at Bhakkar was ordered [by the Emperor] to console Mirza Ghazi, and to bring him to the royal court." *Tuzuk*, vol. I, p. 109; but according to *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, "to capture Mirza Ghazi, Akbar had bestowed the region of Bhakkar and Siwi in *jagir* to Sa'id Khan, who came to Darbela for the same." *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 112.

<sup>217</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 112. This time Mirza Ghazi was dealing with a local *zamindar* Jam Dadu when news of the arrival of Sa'id Khan came in the ears of Ghazi Beg, and he was shocked to hear that. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 239-40

<sup>218</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 112.

<sup>219</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol. I, p. 190; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>220</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 242.

<sup>221</sup> He developed fatherly attitude towards Mirza Ghazi Beg, and his son Sa'dullah also became a close friend of Mirza. It was owing to this friendly relations that Sa'id Khan pleaded for Ghazi Beg's release to go back to Thatta. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 241-242; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, vol. I, p. 190.

<sup>222</sup> *Tuzuk*, vol. I, pp. 8, 33. In *Tuzuk*, Jahangir says that, "I will allow Mirza Ghazi to leave [the court], only after the engagement between Khusrau and Ghazi's sister materializes." May be Jahangir wanted to tie Mirza's hand

Ghazi Beg suggests that he was among the notable nobles of Jahangir. He is shown wearing *du-patka* (double waist-band, a typical dress code of Jahangiri nobles (plate I)).<sup>223</sup>

Jahangir's consent to Ghazi Beg for leaving the court and going back to his *jagir*, though a reversal of Akbar's policy, who did not allow Jani Beg to leave the court even after his submission was a sign of Mughal administrative assessment that by now Sindh had been fully assimilated in the empire and no apprehensions of Ghazi Beg, thus, was allowed to exercise full authority as a Mughal *subedar* over the region. This was because there was no other Mughal official in the region who could claim with him the responsibilities of government. Consequently, he started behaving almost like an independent ruler.

In Thatta at the initial stage, Ghazi Beg faced some internal problems, his father's ministers 'Arab Koka, Mulla Gada 'Ali and Bhai Khan Lutfullah neither paid respect to him nor cooperated with him,<sup>224</sup> according to the author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "Bhai Khan and Mulla Gada 'Ali, whom the late Mirza [Jani Beg] had sent from the Deccan, making them his agents, did not even properly attend on the young Mirza out of pride and arrogance."<sup>225</sup> Ghazi Beg, at this stage, showed wisdom and administrative skills by appointing Ahmad Beg Sultan as his main deputy (*wakil-i-kul*), on the recommendation of Bhai Khan. This to some extent won Bhai Khan to Ghazi Beg. Ghazi Beg gave Ahmed Beg Sultan control over administrative and revenue matters, and also bestowed the title of 'Itimad Khan on him.<sup>226</sup> Ghazi Beg while made some concessions to in the older ministers but also and appointed new officers of his choice.<sup>227</sup> Mullah, a Hindu from Alor, son of Mehta Koriya was appointed by him as chief accountant, or *diwan*, and was given the title of Hindu Khan.<sup>228</sup> When Ghazi Beg had succeeded to government, Koka Lang who was his main counselor or *ataliq*, would not obey his orders and even the robes of honor Ghazi Beg gave. Ghazi Beg now turned upon Koka Lang, and gave his *jagir* to Mulla Yaqub, who had been the prayer leader at his *madarsa*.<sup>229</sup> A protocol for the court was also ordained by which the *mansabdars* up to the rank of 1,000 were ordered to stand with folded hands while those above it could sit at a distance in a

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through this matrimonial alliance as happened with the Rajputs. It is not clear from the sources whether this marriage was materialized or not, but Ghazi Beg was finally allowed to go back to his territory.

<sup>223</sup> S.C. Clark, *Indian Drawing; The school of Jahangir*. 'Thirty Mughal Paintings, New Delhi, 1983. Plate 11, no. 13.

<sup>224</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 215; Ghazi Beg had appointed Lutfullah as his *wakil* (he was son of Khusraw Khan Chirkis) and even given him the title of Bhai Khan. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, Vol. II, p. 23, though *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* does not corroborate the fact, inspite it says that he was appointed *wakil* by Jani Beg. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 215.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid*, p. 215.

<sup>226</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 215-216, 260; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 166.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*, p. 216; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 166.

<sup>228</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 166. It is to be assumed 'Qani was drawing this information from an earlier source; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin* says that Hindu Mula was given the title of Hindu Khan. *Zakhirat- ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 26.

<sup>229</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part 1, p. 166.

respectful manner.<sup>230</sup> It seems that official hierarchy of Ghazi Beg's nobles was entirely subjected to his discretion.

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<sup>230</sup> *Tarkhannama*, cf. M. Saleem Akhtar, *Sindh under the Mughals*, Karachi, 1990. P. 84





Plate I  
 Painting of Mirza Ghazi Beg by Manohar

Ghazi Beg, with the help of his new *wakil* Ahmad Beg, made changes in the internal administration of Thatta; firstly to reform the existing system, and secondly to break the powers of the old officials by promoting those who helped him in his work and undermining those who went against his wishes.<sup>231</sup> When the old minister Bhai Khan, in order to win support of the officials, increased pay, stipend, grants and daily allowances of the officials and soldiers,<sup>232</sup> hoping that thereby the entire administration and finances would be adversely affected, while he would himself gain widespread support. Ahmad Beg adroitly turned the tables on him and the other older officials, by increasing the *jam'a* of the *jagirs* to accord with actual receipts (*hasil*) which he got investigated, and thus resolved the increased pressure. Rather, the officials turned now to Ahmed Beg Sultan, since he had the control over their income.<sup>233</sup> Ahmad Beg also replaced the revenue-collectors (*shiqqadars*) and record-keepers (*karkun*) in the *pargana* of Ghazi Beg's *khalisa*, and thus managed to increase its revenue.<sup>234</sup> He thus improved the finances by expanding the size of Ghazi Beg's *khalisa* at the expense of the revalued *jagirs* and increasing its revenues. He also made provisions for the cash salaries (*naqdi*) while resuming the *jagirs* into *khalisa*.<sup>235</sup> Ghazi Beg now proceeded to replace the old officials with his own nominees. He ordered the replacement of Khusrau Beg of Thatta with Hindu Khan [actual name Sa'indinah], and gave the charge of Nasrpur to Shahbazi, who was an attendant of his pigeons and dogs, after giving him the title of Shahbaz Khan; he replaced the sons of Qasim Khan Arghun.<sup>236</sup>

Ghazi Beg, while displaying his excellent administrative capabilities, tried each and every thing to keep his subjects comfortable and satisfied. Jahangir in the *Tuzuk* praises his administrative skills;<sup>237</sup> he even referred Ghazi Beg as *farzand*,<sup>238</sup> infact in his letters and *farmans* Jahangir refers him as, "worthy and eminent Baba Ghazi Beg Bahadur Tarkhan,"<sup>239</sup> and not even at a single place makes any remark against him. Rather, in the year 1606-1607 A.D., he was given the charge of Qandahar, in addition to Thatta, a single token of confidence.<sup>240</sup> Earlier also, he was entrusted with the task of relieving Qandahar which was threatened by forces of Husain Khan Shamlu, the Persian governor of Herat. He maintained a good relationship with Shah Abbas of Persia, who

<sup>231</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 221-22.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*, p. 221.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 221-22.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223.

<sup>236</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 41-42; he took this step when he was subedar of Qandahar in 1606-7; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 166.

<sup>237</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 63.

<sup>238</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 22.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, though as a person Farid Bhakkari does not place him on high platform, he had depicted Ghazi Beg as a lecherous person who had relations with almost all the young females of Thatta. See pp. 27-28; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 240.

<sup>240</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 63.

sent him several *khilats*,<sup>241</sup> along with the royal *farmans*. Mirza Ghazi Beg even sent him embassy and entered into direct diplomatic relations with Shah of Persia. Mirza even composed verses in praise of Shah Abbas.<sup>242</sup>

In the meantime Ghazi Beg's was bestowed with other favours, now he had the whole of Thatta and Qandahar, (an undesignated part of Multan) and Siwistan (Sehwan) in his *jagir* along with *khilats*, *naqqara* and jeweled *shamshir* (sword) by the Emperor himself.<sup>243</sup> Despite Ahmad Beg's excellent administration in Sindh,<sup>244</sup> Ghazi Beg's expenses were so great that he was always in debt.<sup>245</sup> Ultimately, to overcome this problem Ahmed Beg was persuaded to dismiss his officers like Khusrau Khan and Fathullah, son of Bhai Khan Lutfullah, and resumed their *jagirs* in Sindh in Ghazi Beg's *khalisa*, in order to increase his income.<sup>246</sup> He died at a very early age of twenty-five, in the year 1612 A.D., while he was returning from Qandahar.<sup>247</sup>

With the death of Ghazi Beg, the rule of Tarkhans came to an end in Sindh, after almost one hundred years.<sup>248</sup> When Ghazi Beg's death was reported to Jahangir, it seems that he initially played with the idea of continuing the Tarkhan regime in Sindh, and for this purpose actually summoned Ghazi Beg's *bete noire*, but kinsman 'Isa Tarkhan II, and now a member of the Mughal nobility from the Deccan "to arrange about the business of Thatta;<sup>249</sup> but apparently, he decided against the headache of a Tarkhan feud of Sindh. He had already sent 'Abdu'r Razzaq Ma'muri, one of the central *bakhshis*, "to settle the country of Thatta,"<sup>250</sup> and now deferred his final decision. Ultimately, Jahangir decided to dispense with the practice adopted up till now of continuing Thatta as a Tarkhan principality under the guise of a *jagir*. He now chose Mirza Rustam Safawi, a

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<sup>241</sup> See Blochmann's biography of Ghazi Beg, in his translation of the *A'in*, vol. I; *A'in*, Eng tr. by H. Blochmann, ed. Lt. Col. D.C. Phillot, New Delhi, 1977, p. 392

<sup>242</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 23. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 262.

<sup>243</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 262.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*, p. 260; for the period when Ghazi Beg held the charge of Qandahar for a second time. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. 11, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>245</sup> In the year 1606, Mirza Ghazi was ordered to go to Qandahar as the head of Mughal army, to help its commandant Shah Beg who was fighting with the Qizilbashs in Bast. Complying to the imperial orders Ghazi Beg left Thatta with Qara Beg, Tukhtah Beg. Khwaja Aqil as *bakhshi*, Naqdi Beg and Qilich Beg without much money and men power. Therefore Mirza had to take loan from the *bakhshi* (*Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 828; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 254-55-56; *Tuzuk*, p. 33; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, Vol. II, p. 22; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 113; similarly when Ghazi Beg entered Qandahar on 10 Feb 1607, the situation of his army was so verse due to meager resources that according to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, "his men(Ghazi Beg's soldiers) were eating flesh of the dead horses and camels, and Mirza had to borrow money from Sardar Khan and Mir Buzurg." (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 257; *Tuzuk*, p. 41.)

<sup>246</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 163-4.

<sup>247</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 63; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, pp. 23-24. According to Farid Bhakkari, "people doubted Bhai Khan for giving poison to Ghazi Beg, to which he swore in a meeting by taking Holy Quran in his hand that he did not do it but Mirza died by taking overdose of liquor." Also see *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 346.

<sup>248</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>249</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 110. Earlier Jahangir thought of assigning the government of Thatta to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan II, but then he decided against it and instead appointed 'Abdu'r Razzaq Ma'muri. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 211.

<sup>250</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 110; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 24; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 42.

man of the Timurid clan, to be the *subedar* of Thatta by raising his rank from 5000/1500 to 5000/5000 to equal that of Ghazi Beg.<sup>251</sup> But he was to be no autonomous ruler. Rai Dilip (promoted to 2000/1000) was sent with him in an undesignated position.

But the changed nature of affairs in Sindh was now manifested. Rustam Safawi was replaced in 1614-15 by Taj Khan Afghan with a rank of only 4000/3000, but he died soon afterwards. He was replaced by Shamsheer Khan, who again in 1616-17 was transferred, to be succeeded by 'Abdu'r Razzaq Ma'muri. A year later Shah Beg Khan was appointed.<sup>252</sup> Clearly, *sarkar* Thatta had just become an ordinary *jagir* to be transferred from one noble to another. The Tarkhan establishment must have been thoroughly dismantled or dispersed as a result. Since Thatta was a large distinct region, the second natural step was taken, and that was to make Thatta into full fledged *suba*, and the political situation was changed. Thus it appeared as *suba* in Shahjahan's reign.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 128.

<sup>252</sup> *The Apparatus*, entries nos. J.399, J.412, J.470. J.481, J.628, J.629, J.745.

<sup>253</sup> *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*, ff. 180

### 1.3: Provincial Administration

The conquest of Sindh was followed by the penetration of the Imperial administration into this region and, it also ensued the continuity of standard Mughal provincial administrative system, in which the entire Sindh as designated was divided into two parts; northern Sindh and southern Sindh. Northern Sindh included two important *sarkars*, *sarkar* Bhakkar, and *sarkar* Sehwan; of which *sarkar* Bhakkar was placed under *suba* Multan.<sup>254</sup> Sehwan was given in *jagir* to be administered by Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman while Lahari Bandar of southern Sindh was directly taken under *khalisa*.<sup>255</sup> On the other hand, in southern Sindh, Thatta earlier designated as *sarkar* was converted into *suba* only during Shahjahan's reign.<sup>256</sup>

As discussed earlier, Akbar after the conquest of Thatta, appointed Mirza Shahrukh as the hakim, a step which was resented by its residents, which led Akbar to avert his policy and made him to continue with its erstwhile rulers, but curbed their powers by keeping them at court. However after Akbar's death, Jahangir did not follow this policy as he allowed Mirza Ghazi Beg to go back to his territory. However, after the death of Mirza Ghazi Beg, he discontinued the Tarkhan rule and resumed its governance through Imperial administrative machinery, following the set standard Mughal provincial system. Thus the provincial administration followed the division of *suba* into *sarkars*; *sarkars* into *parganas/mahals* and *parganas* into *mauzas*;<sup>257</sup> The *suba* was apparently under Governor, whose post was indeed an important one. He was known by different names as *sahib-i-suba*, *nazim*, *subedar*, *hakim*, *faujdar*. An analysis of the table provided in the Appendix A makes it very clear that in the appointment of *subedars*, the Mughal court did not approve of long terms of Governors with some exceptions.<sup>258</sup> Their appointment was made very carefully as they were the strong pillars of ruling bureaucracy. They were either Prince or officers holding the higher ranks. When this appointment was held by a member of royal family then an additional appointment of *hakim*, or of *naib subedar* was made to help the absentee Prince in running its administration, as is evident in the appointment of Zafar Khan in 1651-52 as *naib subedar* when Prince Aurangzeb was its *subedar*, and of Muhammad 'Ail and Sayyed Ibrahim when Sultan Sibir Shikoh was its *subedar* in the year 1657-58.. The imperial concern while appointing these governors and other officials in the far western region is amply clear from the list given in Appendix-A, who were being transferred frequently.

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<sup>254</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 163.

<sup>255</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, pi 65; *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 642; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>256</sup> *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*, f. 180a

<sup>257</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*; vol. II, pp. 208, 210. *Pargana* Haweli Sehwan had fifteen *mauzas*. The author clearly says that a *pargana* is comprised of some *mauzas*.

<sup>258</sup> Izzat Khan served in Sindh for more than ten years. See Appendix A.

This region was an important trading centre with main port Lahari Bandar; its importance can be judged by its immediate incorporation into *khalisa*, and the sailing of royal ships from here to Red Sea.<sup>259</sup> However an interesting document (translation given in Appendix-B), has come to light showing how the Mughal administration functioned in provinces, especially in port town where Governors' authority seems to be undermined. This document is in form of a petition in Persian in the British Library, London, Sloane collection, 80b (2) exists, written by the English factor John Spiller, though undated belonged to 1646-47.<sup>260</sup> He refers his petition to Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik, the second principal minister in the Mughal administration, in charge of the army, posting and intelligence. Though the name of the minister is not given, a conventional piece of courtesy, he is likely to be Asalat Khan who was Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik from 1644-1645 to 1646-1647.<sup>261</sup> Apparently, he was being written to, because Mirza Momin, the Shah Bandar, doubling as *bakhshi* of Thatta was his subordinate, which clearly manifests the continuation of Mughal official hierarchy. The *bakhshi* was a separate department, in fact the *bakhshi* kept a check on the *jagirdars* regarding their troops, delay of payment to the army, and the security of the borders after the transfer of the *jagirdar*.<sup>262</sup> Then law and order was apparently under a *faujdar* (governor or commandant) referred to as the *hakim*, and not under Shah Bandar. The *hakim* was a subordinate of the provincial Governor, thus the allegation that, by disregarding the Governor's decision, the Shah Bandar was insulting the *suba* Governor. The Shah Bandar obviously derived his powers over merchants on account of his control over the maritime activities, which gave him sufficient powers to harass the English on account of the complaint that they had killed the alleged thief, and so compensation or *qasas* could be due from them. Clearly the Mughal administration had a mix of jurisdictions, and while the officials were required to sit together in the *kachehri*, the *Shah Bandar* was clearly no subordinate of the governor, nor seemingly bound by the *qazi*'s finding.

Since Thatta and rest of the Sindh region was depended upon water transportation besides land transportation, the superintendent of boat department i.e. *mir bahar*'s presence was must, but we do not find any reference of him during Mughal period, though we have references of presence of *mir bahar* during the rule of the Tarkhans.<sup>263</sup> Similarly the information about the *mutasaddi*, an important official in other Mughal ports, is not well recorded, only at one place we find the reference of *mutasaddi*, but here also his name is not recorded.<sup>264</sup> The Governor of Sindh was generally burdened with extra responsibility, as this area was infested with recalcitrant; tribes, who were

<sup>259</sup> Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and trade in Mughal India*, New Delhi, 2008. pp. 251-52. These ships were built at Lahore as Thatta could not provide sufficient timber for its manufacturing.

<sup>260</sup> Professor Shireen Moosvi obtained and brought a Xerox copy of it. Since it is in *shikasta*, I am indebted to Professor Irfan Habib for having deciphered it for me. The translation of the document is given in the Appendix B.

<sup>261</sup> *The Apparatus*, p. 193.

<sup>262</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 190. The first reference of *bakhshi* in Sindh comes during the period of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, who had appointed Amir Beg as his *bakhshi*. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 241.

<sup>263</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 112, 130. When Portuguese attacked Thatta in the year 1554, *mir bahar* was present there.

<sup>264</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff, 43a-44a

constant source of trouble to the administration. To control them, the Governor authorized his subordinates to build a *thana* (smaller administrative unit) and appoint *thanadars*, along with armed men to maintain law and order in a *pargana*<sup>265</sup> The total strength of all these *thanas* was 650 horsemen and 325 matchlockmen, 100 horsemen, and 50 matchlock men from the *hakim* of Bhakkar, 200 horsemen and 100 matchlockmen from the *subedar* of Thatta, and 350 horsemen and 225 matchlockmen from the *jagirdar* of Sehwan.<sup>266</sup>

However, as in other provinces of the Mughal Empire, in Sindh too the financial department was headed by *diwan*, who was direct subordinate of *diwan-i-'ala*, and was not under the Governor, and the name of *diwans*, are generally available in our sources, though the information is scanty. The tenure of only four *diwans* is been recorded in *suba* Thatta. The presence of *diwan* is also recorded by the historians during Tarkhans, prior to the Mughals.<sup>267</sup> There were other officials attached to *bait-ul-mal* (treasury), who used to send a monthly report of the accounts of *bait-ul- mal* to the court.<sup>268</sup>

Besides *diwan*, presence of *amin* (imperial auditor) was another important check on *jagirdar*. *Amin*'s, presence was to ensure that *jagirdars*, *qanungos*, *arbabs*, do not demand more than what is allowed from peasants, and also from traders or merchants. To discharge his duties in proper manner, it was ensured that he should not be given any other responsibility.<sup>269</sup>

An independent judiciary was also present,<sup>270</sup> as the *qazis* and *sadrs* were appointed at *sarkar* and *pargana* level, which was again a transferable post. They were under *sadr-us-sudur*. An Interesting set of documents of eighteenth century *Jamm-i-Badi*, throws important light on the duties and functioning of the office of *sadr* and *qazi*.<sup>271</sup> There are

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<sup>265</sup> Settlements of Nuhmardis were also called thanahs, Mir Qasim Khan Namkin referred as Pir Ghulam in *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, was given Sehwan in jagir (except Kahan and pargana Khittah) had appointed strong thanahs on the frontiers. He also built a fort in Winjarah and another in village of Dehi, situated in pargana Haweli Sehwan, and also established thanahs there. Abu'l Baqa, the jagirdar of Halahkandi set up a thanah here, comprising 300 horse, and 150 matchlockmen and archers. See *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 41, 88, 108-9.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.* p. 201

<sup>267</sup> Mulla Raju Kamboh (1615-16) was the *diwan* of Shamsheer Khan, the *jagirdar* of *sarkar* Sehwan; when Murtada Khan Husam-al-Din was the *subedar* of Thatta, Muhammad Rida Beg was *hakim*, and Ibrahim Beg was sent as *diwan* in the year 1628-29, see *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 142, 154; The post of *diwan* was recorded even during Tarkhans; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 155; according to *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, "Ghazi Beg had appointed a Hindu called Mullah his *diwan* and also given him the title of Hindu Khan" *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 166.

<sup>268</sup> *Kitab-i-Jamm-i- Badi*, ff 28b, 30a-b. Transcribed, no. 124, Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University. These documents are titled *Jamm-i-Badi*, compiled by one Jan Muhammad Munshi son of Muhammad Arif presumably after 1733-34 A.D., these documents dates between 1703-04 to 1733-34 A.D. Here a *parwana* is addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Muqilm; an officer attached to *bait-ul-mal*, and he is been asked to sent a monthly report of the accounts of *bait-ul-mal* to the court.

<sup>269</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 187-88.

<sup>270</sup> Shah Husain appointed *qazi* Shukrallah as Shykh-ul- Islam, and also the *qazi* of Thatta. *Tarikh-i-Tahri*, pp. 14, 15; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 196-97.

<sup>271</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 32b-33a.

references of one person holding both the post of *sadr* as well as *qazi* simultaneously. There is a *parwana* of *sadr-us-sudur* (chief *sadr*) Muhammad Amir Khan Bahadur. (1708-09), addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Waris, the *sadr* of *sarkar* Bhakkar, to take care of those who held *madad-i-ma'ash* grants, in accordance to imperial *farmans*, *nishans* and *isnad* issued by the proper authority, should not be harassed by the officials and their grants be restored to them.<sup>272</sup>

It seems that the *sadr* was sometimes involved in illegal exactions from the scholar gentry, while inspecting their *madad-i-ma'ash* holdings, by raising certain false objections.<sup>273</sup> There are three *farmans* addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Waris, for his appointment to the office of *sadr* of *sarkar*, Sehwan, after the transfer of Shaikh Yahya. The second *farman* appoints him *qazi* of *parganas*, *qasbas* (towns), and villages in *sarkar* Bhakkar, in addition to the office of *sadarat* of *sarkar* Bhakkar. While the *sadr* dealt with the *madad-i-ma'ash* grants, *qazi* dealt with criminal jurisdiction,<sup>274</sup> but all the documents of *qazi* were subjected to the scrutiny of Governor.<sup>275</sup> However the *qazi* had power to appoint his *naib* (deputy) from amongst his scholars,<sup>276</sup> or sometimes *qazi* sent his son as deputy.<sup>277</sup> During their proceedings in *kachehri*, *qazi's* were ordered to write down all the descriptive rolls of the complainants, and then sent them to Emperor,<sup>278</sup> *qazi* could directly sent the papers to Emperor.

The effective espionage system under *bakhshi*, was sufficient enough to keep a check on the powers of *jagirdars*, and *faujgars* of the region. With the presence of *dak chawkis*, and *waqia nawis*, the official news and messages and information were sent to the court, according to imperial rules and regulations. In fact, we find constant reports from the *waqia nawis* of Sehwan to the imperial administration.<sup>279</sup> The duties and functions of the superintendent of *dak* and *sawanih nigar* (news reporter) of Thatta were combined together under the supervision of a *darogha*.<sup>280</sup> The document says that *daroghah* of *dak*

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<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.* ff2 6a-28b.

<sup>274</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 32b-33a.

<sup>275</sup> As mentioned in the petition of John Spiller, see Appendix B.

<sup>276</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 26a-28b.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid*, ff 72b-73a. In this document *qazi* Nasiruddin, the *qazi* of *sarkar* Sehwan, and *sadr* of *sarkar* (Bhakkar?) had left his son Shaikh Abul Ma'ali as his deputy in Siwistan (Sehwan) on a daily allowance of one rupee from the imperial treasury at Bhakkar.

<sup>278</sup> When Mir Qasim Khan Namkin was the hakim of Bhakkar, people of Bhakkar had lodged a complaint against him before *qazi* Abdul Hayy, the *qazi* of the camp. He summoned Mir Qasim, but Mir did not appear before him. The *qazi* represented the matter to the Emperor. Then Mir on the advice of Shaikh. Ma'aruf, the *sadr* of Bhakkar, won over all the complaints by paying them money, and sent them to Bhakkar. Now it was said that the *qazi* had made a false report, and *qazi* in spite of all efforts could not produce any of the oppressed. From that day it was decreed that *qazi* should write down all the descriptive rolls of the complainants and sent them to Emperor. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, vol. III, pp. 75-76.

<sup>279</sup> Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, vol II, p. 114.

<sup>280</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 74b-75b. When Ahmad Khan was the *faujdar* of Sehwan, the reports of his tyrannical manner reached to imperial court through Abu'l Qasim Tabataba, the *waqia nawis* of Thatta, and Man Singh, the *waqia nawis* of Bhakkar. Relying upon their information Ahmad Beg was immediately transferred and sent to Multan, and



and *sawanih nigar*, in discharging his duties he was required to be accurate, honest and also very efficient so that, in the delivery of letters and other official messages, there should not be any delay and any concealment. The imperial regulations and orders which were issued to the *mutasaddi* of that place were to be delivered to them carefully; the petitions and daily news (*waqai*) were to be sent to the court according to the regulations with a separate list thereof. He was to take an undertaking (*muchalka*) from *mewrah* (the couriers) who worked under him, that except for *nalwas* (bamboo tubes) of official papers, they would not carry letters of others; and that they should carry the royal post (*kar-i-badshahi*) according to the regulations of the *kachehri*, to one *kuroh* (on each run). They were not supposed to levy any exaction which was held to be prohibited, and not to harass inhabitants of villages and towns and travelers. He was to dispatch the record (*siyaha*) of *dakchauki*, and proceedings of *qazi*'s court, description of the prisoners in the fort, *kachehri* and at *chabutra kotwali*, and the reason of their imprisonment, the particulars of prisoners, the statement of account of the treasury and artillery stores were to be dispatched every month.<sup>281</sup> The rivalry among the officials sometimes led to the wrong reporting by the *waqia nawis*. It happened when *waqia nawis* of Bhakkar, was asked by Ibrahim Khan, the bakhshi, to write a hostile report against the *amils* of *pargana* Mathila, and *pargana* Jatoi (of sarkar Bhakkar, sub a Multan). And the *waqia nawis* without any care about the truth dispatched the report to the court.<sup>282</sup> Sometimes *waqia nigar/waqia nawis* intervened into the problems regarding the payment of official salaries, as there arose confusion between *qiladar* of Sehwan and Thakur Das, the deputy *faujdar* of the *sarkar* Sehwan; over the payment of their salaries. The matter was reported to the royal court, but realizing the gravity of situation Sayyed Inayatullah, the *waqia nigar* provided them their salaries by borrowing it from *sarrafis*.<sup>283</sup> As the royal mints were established at Thatta, Bhakkar and Lahari Bandar, there worked a whole team of officials. The in charge of royal mint was called *daroghah-i-darb khana*. At Thatta, Mir Gharuri was *daroghah-i-darb khana*, during the period of Akbar.<sup>284</sup>

In addition to *thanahs*, for the maintenance of law and order at local level, *kotwalis* were established in big cities as Thatta.<sup>285</sup> The police station (*chabutra-i-kotwali*) was headed

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in his place Dindar Khan was given the charge. Though it is really surprising, that as a punishment he was given a better place to govern. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 164, 165. After Shahjahan became the Emperor Ahmad Beg was made *faujdar* of *sarkar* Sehwan along with the *mansab* of 2000/1500 and later on *naib subedar* of Multan in 1631-32. *Ma'asir-ul- Umara*, vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>281</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 74b-75b.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, ff 41a-42b. Ibrahim Khan, the bakhshi during Aurangzeb's reign, put an allegation against Abid, the amil of *pargana* Mathila, and Muhammad Qasim, amil of *pargana* Jatoi (*sarkar* Bhakkar), that they are involved in improper act and are dishonest, and *waqia nawis* without inquiring into matter reported same.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, ff 73a-b.

<sup>284</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, Karachi, 1980. p. 332.

<sup>285</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 53. There is no reference of the presence of *kotwal* during Tarkhans, but under Arghuns they were definitely present and had significant role to play in party politics; it happened when *kotwal* of Bhakkar tried to organize a conspiracy against Shah Hasan. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 185-87; there is a reference of presence of *kotwal* in Darbela. E.F.I., 1647-1650, p. 118.

by a *kotwali* (city magistrate),<sup>286</sup> who kept a strict watch over criminals, realized fine from criminals according to *shari'at-i-bayda*, and carried out imperial orders in the city. The *kotwal* assumed lots of powers as the duty of guarding the proper functioning of the markets was also entrusted to him; such as no alteration to be done to the weights and measurements, lowering of the prices of commodities etc.<sup>287</sup> During the reign of Akbar the post of *kotwal* carried a lot of responsibilities. During the Shahjahan's reign, for its better and impartial working it was requested that the post of *kotwal* should be transferred under khalisa charge.<sup>288</sup> Obviously the region got an elaborate system of administrative mechanism for smooth conduct of administration besides keeping it firmly under the imperial control.

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<sup>286</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 53

<sup>287</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, pp. 197, 198.

<sup>288</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 53.

APPENDIX-A<sup>289</sup>

LIST OF GOVERNORS OF THATTA

Year	Name	Source
1592	Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan*	A.N. II,637, Z .Kh, 7(a)
1601-02	Sa'id Khan Chaghtai**	A. N. III, 809
1615	Arslan Beg Shamsher Khan Uzbek	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 131
1616	Arslan Beg Shamsher Khan Uzbek	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 156; <i>Z.Kh</i> . II, 301
1616	Mir Abdur Razzaq Khan Ma'amuri, Muzaffar Khan	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 156
1617	Shah Beg Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 196
1618	Shah Beg Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 234
1619	Shah Beg Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 266, 275
1619	Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 305
1621	Mustafa Khan	<i>Tuzuk</i> ,
1625	Shaharyar, Prince	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 397; <i>Qazwini</i> , 131(b)
1627	Abu Sa'id g/o 'Itimad-ud-daula	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 419
March 1627	Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan	<i>Lahori</i> , 1, 78, 181, 230
May 1628	Khwaja Baqi Khan Sher Khwaja	<i>Lahori</i> , I, 181.
4 June 1628	Husamuddin Anju, Murtaza Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , 1, 200.
1629	Mir Husamuddin Anju Murtaza Khan s/o Mir Jamaluddin	<i>Lahori</i> , I, (b), 296.
1629	Amir Khan s/o Qasim Khan Namkin	<i>Lahori</i> , I, 287
1633	Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashqandi	<i>Lahori</i> , I, (b), 101
1635	Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashqandi	<i>Lahori</i> , I, (b) 101
1635	Daulat Khan (Dowlett Ckaun)	<i>E.F.I.</i> VI, 21; <i>M.U.</i> 11,24.
1636	Daulat Khan, Khwas Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , I. (b), 101, 207; ; <i>Qazwini</i> , 345(b)
1640	Daulat Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , II, 187.
1640	Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , II, 198.
1641	Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , II, 225, 723
1641	Shad Khan	<i>Lahori</i> , II, 225, 244.
** He was subedar of Multan.		
** He was also subedar of Multan and not of Sindh.		

<sup>289</sup> This list is based on *The Apparatus*, with some modifications and additions as *The Apparatus* ends with the end of Shahjahan's reign, but afterwards until Muhammad Shah's reign, the work is original and based on the contemporary Persian sources and private documents.

Year	Name	Source
1642	Shad Khan	Lahori, II, 244s
1643	Shad Khan	Lahori, II, 303
1643	Amir Khan s/o Qasim Khan Namkin	Lahori, II, 302
1648	Amir Khan	Lahori, II, 641
1648	Mughal Khan	Lahori, II, 641
1651	Mughal Khan	Waris, 110(b), 116(b)
1651-52	Zafar Khan. <i>Naib Subedar</i>	Waris, 169(b)
1651	Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur	Waris, 136(b)
1652	Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur	<i>Adab</i> , 8(a)
1652	Sardar Khan	<i>Adab</i> , 8(a)
1653	Sardar Khan	Waris, 148(a)
1653	Zafar Khan	Waris, 148(a)
1656	Zafar Khan	Waris, 213(b)
1657	Sultan Sipir Shikoh s/o Dara Shikoh	Inayat Khan. 512; Waris 219(a)
1657	Muhammad 'Ali Khan, <i>Naib Subedar</i>	Waris, 219(a)
1658	Muhammad 'Ali Khan	Waris, 253(b), 262(b)
1658	Sayyed Ibrahim	Waris, 253(b)
1659	Nawab Qabad Khan	' <i>Alamgirnama</i> , 217, 282, 290, 485, 623; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 329
1660	Nawab Lashkar Khan. Yadgar Beg	' <i>Alamgirnama</i> , 485, 877; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> 111, 334
1664	Nawab Ghaznafar Khan	' <i>Alamgirnama</i> , 864, 1048; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 334
1667	Nawab Sayyed Izzat Khan	' <i>Alamgirnama</i> , 1048; <i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> 173; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 334-35
1673	Nawab Sayyed Izzat Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 336
1679	Nawab Khan-azad Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 336
1684	Nawab Sardar Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 337
1688	Nawab Murid Khan, Muhammad Mohsin	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> , 407; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 337
1689	Nawab Zabardast Khan	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> , 432, 440; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 339
1690-91	Nawab Abu Nusrat Khan	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> , 440; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 339
1691	Nawab Hifzuliah Khan	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> 440; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 339
1701	Nawab Sa'id Khan /Khanazad Khan	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> , 470; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 343
1702-03	Prince Muizuddin, Mir Amir'ul Din Khan Husain; Subedar and Naib Subedar	<i>Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri</i> , 470, 497; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 345.

Year	Name	Source
1703	Nawab Yusuf Khan Tirmizi Naib Subedar	<i>Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri</i> , 470, 497, <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111, 348
1704	Ahmad Yar Khan Naib Subedar	<i>Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri</i> , 470, 497; <i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , 111,
1707-09	Nawab Sa'id Khan Bahadur	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 352
1709-11	Nawab Muhim Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 352
1711-12	Nawab Shakur Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 353.
1712	Nawab Khwaja Muhammad Khalil Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 358
1713	Nawab 'Atar Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 361.
1713-16	Mir Lutf 'Ali Khan (Shuja'at Khan)	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 361
1716	Nawab Azam Khan bin Saleh	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 365.
1719-21	Muhammad Qazim Mahabat Khan s/o Mahabat Khan Khan-i-Khanan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 370.
1721-24	Mahmud Khan s/o Muhammad Qazim Mahabat Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 371
1724-30	Nawab Saifullah Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 373.
1730-32	Nawab Diler Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 377
1732-36	Nawab Himmat Diler Khan S/o Nawab Diler Khan	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 379
1736-37	Nawab Sadiq 'Ali Khan S/o Nawab Salfullah Khan*	<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i> , III, 383.
<p>*The last Mughal Governor could not maintain himself out of the revenue from the area under his control. He handed over power to Khudayar Khan, better known as Miyan Nur Mohammad Kalhora. (<i>Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram</i>, vol. III, part I, p.p. 385,386.)</p>		

## HAKIMS OF SINDH

DATE	NAME	PLACE	SOURCE
1575-76	Mir Sayyed Muhammad	Bhakkar	A.N . III, 158; Badauni, II, 210
1577-78	Phul Malik, 'Itimad Khan	Bhakkar	A'in , 1,225; T.A . II, 437; M.R II, 341; ZKh , 40(b); M.U . I, 88
1758-79	Fateh Khan	Bhakkar	A.N. III, 249; Badauni, II, 161.
1585	Sadiq Muhammad Hirati	Bhakkar	Badauni, II, 347; M.U . II, 724-9
1593	Mirza Jani Beg	Thatta	A.N ., III, 642
1593-94	Mir Abu'l Qasim Khan Namkin	Bhakkar	T.A . II, 455
1605	Mirza Ghazi Beg	Thatta	Tuzuk , 33
1607	Mirza Ghazi Beg	Thatta and Qandahar	Tuzuk , 63
1612	Mirza Rustam Safawi	Thatta	Tuzuk , 101
1612-13	Tash Beg Qarchi Taj Khan	Bhakkar	Tuzuk , 110
1614-15	Tash Beg Qarchi Taj Khan (died)	Bhakkar	Tuzuk , 131
1619-20	Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari	Bhakkar	Tuzuk , 305
1638	Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashkandi	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 128.
1638-39	Kamaluddin Husain Jan Nisar Khan	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 128
1638-39	Kamaluddin Husain Jan Nisar Khan(died)	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 131, 725
1638-39	Waqas Haji Shah Quli Khan	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 131
1640-41	Waqas Haji Shah Quli Khan	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 221
1640-41	Waqas Haji Shah Quli Khan	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 220
1640-41	Shad Khan	Bhakkar	Lahori, II, 227
1647-48	'Abdullah s/o Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung	Bhakkar	Waris, 9(b)
1649-50	Zabardast Khan(died)	Bhakkar	Waris, 262(a)
1640	Asaf Khan	Lahri Bandar	E.F.I VI, 275
1640	Mir Zafri Fidai	Lahri Bandar	E.F.I VI, 276
1640-41	Mir Zafri Fidai	Lahri Bandar	Lahori, II, 201
1641-46	Hakim Khushhal Khan(died in 1646)	Lahori, II, 299	
1638-39	Yaktaraz Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 157
1639-40	Qazzaq Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 150-1
1641-42	Qazzaq Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 234
1641-42	Amir Khan s/o Qasim Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 234
1642-43	Shad Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 303
1645-46	Zabardast Khan	Sehwan	Lahori, II, 480
1649-50	Zabardast Khan Khan (died)	Sehwan	Waris, 262(a)
1649-50	Nur'ul Hasan	Sehwan	Waris, 88
1653-54	Mir Abu'l Ma 'all	Sehwan	Waris, 185(a)
1655-56	Mir Abu'l Ma 'all	Sehwan	Waris, 236(b)
1655-56	Muhammad Salih s/o 'Isa Tarkhan	Sehwan	Waris, 236(b)
1709-10	Thakur Das	Naib Faujdar of Sehwan	Jamm-i-Badi, ff. 73 a-b

## OTHER IMPERIAL OFFICERS OF THE REGION OF SINDH

YEAR	NAME	PLACE AND POST	SOURCE
1615-16	Mulla Raju Kamboh	<b>Diwan</b> of Sehwan	<i>Mazhar</i> , II, 142.
1628-29	Ibrahim Khan	<i>Diwan</i> of Thatta	<i>Mazhar</i> , II, 154
1652	Mirza Qabad Beg	<i>Diwan</i> of Sindh	<i>E.F.I.</i> IX, 119
1654-55	Mir 'Abdul Hayy s/o Mir Muazzam	<i>Diwan</i> of Thatta	Waris, 214(b)
1656-57	Mir 'Abdul Hayy	<i>Diwan</i> of Thatta (appt. ceased)	Waris, 248 (b)
1656-57	Mir Jalal	<i>Diwan</i> of Thatta	Waris, 248 (b)
1705	Mir Muhammad Mehdi	<i>Diwan</i> of Thatta	Farman of 'Alamgir*
1710	Asad Khan	<i>Diwan-i-'Ala</i>	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 72b-73a
1635	Aga Afzal	<i>Bakhshi</i> of Thatta	<i>E.F.I.</i> V. 127
1646-1647	Ibrahim Khan	<i>Bakhshi</i> of Sehwan	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 41a-42b
1651-52	Khuda Banda	<i>Bakhshi, waqia nawis</i> of Thatta	Waris, 146 (b)
1644-47	Mirza Momin	<i>Shah Bandar/Bakhshi</i>	Petition of Jonn Spiller, 80b (2), Sloane Collection.
1710	Muhammad Musa	Daroghah of Dak/Sawanth Nigar	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> . ff. 73a-b
1574-75	Mir Gesu Bakawal Begi Gesu Khan,	<i>Qiladar</i> of Bhakkar	<i>Z. Kh</i> ; 27(b)
1658	Muhammad Salih Tarkhan	<i>Qiladar</i> of Sehwan	Saqi Musta'id Khan. 09
1709-10	Nihal Beg	<i>Qiladar</i> of Sehwan	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 73a-b.
1574-75	Banwali Das	<i>Karoi</i> of <i>sarkar</i> Bhakkar	<i>M.R.</i> , II, 11, 340
1593-94	Shaikh Ma'aruf	<i>Sadr</i> of Bhakkar	MU. II, 75
1703-04	Shaikh Muhammad Muqim	<i>Sadr</i> of Bhakkar	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 26a-28b
1707	Shaikh Yahya	<i>Sadr</i> of Bhakkar	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 26a-28b
1708-09	Shaikh Muhammad Waris s/o Shaikh Muhammad Muqim	<i>Sadr</i> of Bhakkar	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 32b-33a.
1710	Qazi Nasiruddin	<i>Sadr</i> of Bhakkar	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 72 b-72a.
1628-29	Man Singh	<i>Waqia Nawis</i> of Bhakkar	MS. II, 164-65
1628-29	'Abul Qasim Tabataba	<i>Waqia Nawis</i> of Thatta	MS. II, 164-65
1710	Sayyed Inayatullah	<i>Waqia Nawis</i> of Sehwan	<i>Jamm-i-Badi</i> , ff. 73a-b

\* Cf. N.A. Baloch, *Studies Sindh Historical*, Sindh, Pakistan, 2003, p. 336. This *farman* is dated 1705 and is related to zammdari grant to Shahdad Baloch of pargana Halakandi.

## APPENDIX-B

English translation of the document goes like this:-

*The petition of John Spiller, Englishman.*

After salutations the humble well-wisher, John Spiller, Englishman, submits to the Excellency the *Bakhshi'ul Mamalik*, the Khan of good fortune, that since his Excellency has been favourably disposed towards us, we, relying upon his patronage, come from distant lands and countries, for our own profit and the financial advantage of the Imperial [Mughal] Government to the ports of Surat and Lahari Bandar and other ports. Previous to this every Shah Bandar [of Lahari Bandar] who came [to occupy the office], treated us with respect. When Fidai Khan, was here, he too did so. *Hakim Khwushhal* was a very sagacious and earnest person; seeing our labour, he repeatedly encouraged us. Unfortunately, the *hakim's* death occurred in the manner known. Now, from the merchants' ill-luck, the charge of this port rests with Muhammad Momin, the *bakhshi*. Your Excellency, his conduct with regard to us is revealed in the following manner. Earlier, person of the names of Waraya, Nizam, and Sharif had committed theft in our house [i.e. factory ]. When the truth of their crime was discovered, Sharif took to flight. Waraya and Nizam were with their families in their houses. When they saw that the matter has been discovered, Nizam killed himself in his own house. When this case was taken, on the *kachehri* day, to the court of the *qazi* and officials, it was established that Nizam had killed himself and the penalty (*qasas*) for it thus fell on himself. Three copies of the judgement (*taqirir-nama*) were issued under the *qazi's* Seal, one taken by the Governor (*hakim*) and the second by the said *bakhshi* [Muhammad Momin]; and one has been given to us by way of certificate. Before this incident the said *bakhshi* had taken *suqarlat* [broadcloth] etc., from us to the agreed value of Rs. 700. Now, summarizing us in this matter, he told us to remit him that amount by way of bribe; or he would undo us. When I gave him the frank answer that "First, we lost our goods by theft, now we have to pay a bribe; what kind of fairness or justice this is?" from that time onwards, he has become an enemy to me and has become so unkind that the few words your Excellency wrote on my behalf have proved ineffectual. Your Excellency, now out of our stolen goods, one *jamdhar* dagger has been recovered from the said Waraya, and earlier some silver utensils had also been recovered from him. When we took Waraya to the *kachehri* and established the truth of the commitment of theft by him, Mirza the *bakhshi*, was present there. On the basis of his previous enmity, he took the part of Waraya the thief, and kept him with himself. Our *wakil* protested, "what cruelty this is that is being inflicted on the merchants' interest and the proved matter is being sought to be wished away? After all, this is a city and country of the Imperial Dominions". Thereupon the said *bakhshi*, in the presence of the Governor and all other officials, told his men to beat up my *wakil*. Afterwards returning to his house, he summoned my



*wakil*. When we sent our *wakil*, he had him bound, and had him whipped a hundred times, so that he nearly died. Thereafter he set his man upon our house (*haveli*), asking them to bring the English and their *wakil*, tied and bound. When we sent another *wakil* to him, he said, "tell the English to quit this city". Your Excellency we are a company (lit. partners or brothers) who, due to His Excellency's strength, make purchases at Thatta, Nasarpur, Siwistan [Sehwan] and other places and so contribute to the income of the Imperial Government. Except your Excellency's person, we have no protector. Therefore, we have conveyed our distress to you. So long as the *bakhshi* is the Shah Bandar, merchants will remain distressed on account of him.

Your Excellency, a letter of our Captain [president] has come from Surat. In this it has been written that it was his desire to send a ship [to Lahari Bandar]. However, French Pirates in four ships are roaming the seas to commit piracy. For this reason, he is sending us a *ghurab* (galliot), loaded with that cargo, and well-prepared [for fighting?]. Since the navigation and voyaging over-seas depends upon good intelligence (*akhbarat*), it was necessary for us to communicate this news [of the French pirates] to the Imperial officers so we went to the *kachehri* and informed them of it. Every year, two or three Imperial ships set off from this port. If they do not set off now with costly cargo, it would be better. We have always shown similar concern for Imperial interests. Thus when Mir Zarif had come here, the Imperial order had been issued that the English should convey him to Moccha and Jedda. For this purpose, I allowed our trade of about one lakh of cartloads of goods to be disrupted, and let our own trading season pass, in order to put the said Mir [Zarif] aboard our ship and have him safely conveyed to Mocha and Jedda. This truth is known at the Imperial court.

Your Excellency, we are always, day and night, ready for service and obedience to the Imperial Government. Strange That Mirza Momin the *bakhshi* does not realize the extent of labours and treats us in this manner. In short, he does not properly treat the *sahib-i-suba* [Governor of the Province], and ill treats (other) merchants. If he writes of these matters in a different strain, this should be attributed to his pursuit of self-interest, which has led him to become such an enemy of ours. Although it is not fitting for persons like us to write in praise or give true exposure of a person. Yet since we have a relationship of service to you, when oppressing passed all limits, this petition is being submitted to you. May your Excellency's shadow protect all his servants.

## CHAPTER 2

### FISCAL SYSTEM

#### 2.1: Land Revenue and Rural Taxation

The land revenue had been a major source of income for the vast structure of the Mughal Empire, which was standardized in almost all the parts of the Mughal Empire by Akbar and the region of Sindh being no exception.

Bhakkar which was the first *sarkar* to be annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1574-75, witnessed the attempt at standardization of land revenue between 1574-98. When Mir Sayyed Muhammad<sup>290</sup> was appointed *hakim* of Bhakkar, he unsuccessfully tried to impose a system of uniform rate of assessment of five maunds per *bigha*, by way of *kankut* as Yusuf Mirak calls it, irrespective of the quality of crop. He deployed his managers (*sahib-i-ihitam*) all over the cultivatable land, who meted out very harsh treatment to the peasants.<sup>291</sup> But this was greatly resented by the Magnejahs (peasant tribe) who inhabited *pargana* Kakri, for it increased the burden of taxation on the peasants. Later, when Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari, came to this region in between 1593-98,<sup>292</sup> he applied the *dastur-ul-'amal* for *zabt*. He reduced the burden of taxation and to further placate the peasants, instructed his *amils*, to record only cultivated land in their *khasras* for purposes of revenue assessment.<sup>293</sup> Thus, all the eight *parganas* of *sarkar* Bhakkar were brought under *zabt* system with permanent *dasturs* for the crops and the state share was fixed at one-third of the produce.<sup>294</sup> Thus it took almost twenty years to impose *zabt* in northern Sindh uniformly. However in *sarkar* Sehwan, *ghalla bakhshi* and *zabt* existed side by side in the seventeenth century.<sup>295</sup> Under *ghalla bakhshi* the imperial demand was half of the produce.<sup>296</sup> Bakhtiyar Beg, the *jagirdar* of Sehwan (1593-99), exacted half of the harvest, but in some less fertile region, the state share was one third, or two fifths, or even one fourth of the produce only.<sup>297</sup> However, the *dasturs* recorded

<sup>290</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 9. He was a personal friend of Badauni, and was sent to Bhakkar, after the appointment of Tarsun Muhammad was cancelled. See *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, p. 471; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245.

<sup>291</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 9, 10; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245.

<sup>292</sup> The inscriptions on buildings, which he constructed in this area corroborate this date. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, p. 471; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245.

<sup>293</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 11, 12, 13. Due to this method and relaxation given by Mir Ma'sum, in the *pargana* of Darbela, the cultivated land has increased from 500 *bighahs* to 50,000 *bighahs*; which may be an exaggeration. Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari had introduced the *zabt* system in Bhakkar.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* in gazetteer form, is the only source which gives a vivid description of the region of Sindh, therefore in this chapter, for the information about the agrarian sector I have mainly relied upon it. Vol. II, pp. 18-25, 203, 230.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also p. 123. Father of the author Mir Qasim Khan Namkin, had made similar arrangements.

in *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, for the various crops in *sarkar* Sehwan (list given in Appendix A and B) were fixed both in kind and cash, where the revenue figures are stated both in *muradi tanka* and *dam*. The *zabt* rate was recorded per *pukhtah bigha*, out of which two *biswas* were remitted to the peasants irrespective of whether the crop was good or bad. This was over and above land remitted under *nabud* (barren), *tukhmzadah* (having drains) and *shurah* (having mines), and the remissions were granted after the inspection at the time of recording the *zabt*.<sup>298</sup> But in case of *pargana* Baghbanan (*sarkar* Sehwan), the remission was increased from two to three *biswas*, and a rebate of a quarter of a rupee per *bigha*, on the rate of grain was also granted.<sup>299</sup> The Tarkhans, who held Thatta in *jagir*, did not take more than a half of the produce from the peasants, and in some places, a third or a fourth part as state share.<sup>300</sup> During Tarkhans, under Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan, Qasim Khan, an officer, had carried out a survey of cultivated land of three *parganas* of *sarkar* Sehwan, where revenue was collected in form of grain (a form of *kankut*).<sup>301</sup> The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* even goes on describing the method of land measurement for *zabt*. He also instructs that at the time of land measurement, "a *jagirdar* should ensure that the *tanabkashan* (surveyors) use the *jarib* properly, and *karkun* (accountant) record the productive and unproductive land, only after a great deal of the spot investigation."<sup>302</sup> In *zabti* areas, the peasants had to part with about half of his produce to satisfy the land revenue demand. The author again points out that in the arid climate of Sindh, crop sharing was the best mode of assessment. The magnitude of the state demand though fixed as in *ghalla-bakhshi*, the imperial demand was half of the produce.<sup>303</sup> According to him, "the region of Thatta could become prosperous, if under crop sharing the *jagirdars* do not take more than half of the produce."<sup>304</sup> For the region of Sehwan he recommended still lower rates,<sup>305</sup> as this area was mainly inhabited by the recalcitrant tribes who often destroyed the crop and prevented the revenue collector and landed intermediaries from peacefully collecting the revenue. However, in places peasants were submissive and not exposed to raids from the hills, he recommended the state share to be half the produce.<sup>306</sup> The *diwan* of *khalisa* in *sarkar* Bhakkar states, "Three kind of revenue arrangements are prevalent in the whole empire including Multan, Thatta, and Siwistan (Sehwan); *dastur-ul-'amal* (official rates) *kam-dastur* (concessional rates), and *batai* (crop sharing)."<sup>307</sup> In revenue arrangement concessional rates and reduction of state share in crop sharing were the usual devices to encourage cultivation. Another form of revenue realization which prevailed was *ijarah* (rack-renting) which

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid*, p. 182.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*, p. 203.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>301</sup> Idraki Thattavi, *Beglarnama*, ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad-Sindh, 1980, p. 182.

<sup>302</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid*. He used the same suggestion for *sarkar* Bhakkar "the greatest favour to the peasants will be demanding nothing more than what is required by *dastur-ul-'amal*" p. 14.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 204, 207, 214-16, 219, 225, 229, 230.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 209-10, 220, 223, 227.

<sup>307</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff. 42a-b.

the author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* explicitly condemns in no uncertain terms.<sup>308</sup> According to him, "*ijdrahdari* not only corrupts the *arbabs* (village headmen), but also, leads to the oppression of the peasants and can result in their flight and desertion of the villages." He advises that for the betterment of the country of Sindh, the *jagirdars* should stick to *dastur-ul-'amals* and they should not demand anything from the peasants beyond the assessment regulation. In revenue arrangement concessional rates and reduction of state share in crop-sharing were the devices to encourage cultivation.

The lowering of the rate of state share was deliberately done by the imperial authorities to improve the cultivation, and to improve the position of the peasants against the defiant nomads. The imperial authorities offered inducements to officials who lowered the demand to one fourth of the gross yield as revenue.<sup>309</sup> The other example comes from Sehwan, when its *jagirdar* Dindar Khan (1629-33) lowered the state demand to one fourth for the Lakahs of the *pargana* Lakut, to strengthen their position against the Samejahs;<sup>310</sup> who paid one third of the produced, as revenue demand. The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, expectedly exhorts that the officials should not take more than what is authorized, and that they should not burden the peasants with their own exactions. The Mughal officials followed this policy throughout the Mughal rule in Sindh, to encourage *ahsham-i-ra'iiyyat* (submissive peasant tribes), who in turn provided helping had to the administrative machinery against the recalcitrant tribes.

There were mainly three modes of assessment that were practiced in Sindh; *ghalla bakhshi*, *zabt* and *kankut*. Among these, the traditional mode of assessment that is crop sharing or *ghalla bakhshi* was widely prevalent in Thatta.<sup>311</sup> It suited the peasants, for the state shared the risks in production with the peasants on the equal basis, it also suited to the arid climate of the region and provided some security to the peasants under uncertain natural conditions. Besides *ghalla bakhshi*, *kankut* and *zabt*, there existed other methods of assessment, as *muqtai*.<sup>312</sup> The *muqtai* was generally imposed on tribesmen whose assessment could not be done without force, or their nomadic ways made the assessment completely impossible like Nuhmardis of Sehwan, Panni Afghans of Siwi, Jokia, Kalimati Baloch (of Thatta), and Samejahs.<sup>313</sup> Functionaries from Bhakkar used to

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<sup>308</sup> The Sanaraya tribe, paid *muqtai*, on the pattern of revenue farming (*batariq-i-ijarah*). *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 80. Also see pages 120, 121 and 171, for the author's disliking for *ijdrahdari*, and suffering of peasants due to this system.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*, p. 216.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*. pp. 204, 229-30.

<sup>311</sup> Abu'l Fazl explicitly records in his account of Thatta that it was under *ghalla-bakhshi*. *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>312</sup> The term *muqtai* is mentioned in *A'in-i-Akbari*, which was abolished by Sher Shah along with crop-sharing. It meant a fixed demand, See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, p. 273.

<sup>313</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 28, 29, 50, 69, 85, 90, 134-35, 210, 221, 240.

go to Siwi, for the collection of *muqtai* from the Panni Afghans,<sup>314</sup> and this *muqtai* was always collected in kind.<sup>315</sup>

As regarding the land revenue realization, the *dasturs* represented the tax claim by the state on the peasants, while the *jama'* represented the assessed revenue. But in the region of Sindh we find that due to the presence of nomadic population, the revenue realization was being done in kind also. There were other types of revenue realization in kind on annual basis, which were called *falsanah* and *salami*, categorically assigned to nomads of the hills. This *falsanah* often used to be in the form of camels and goats.<sup>316</sup> While in other areas the realization was made in cash. *A'in* gives revenue of *sarkar* Bhakkar as total of 18, 424, 947 *dams*, of *sarkar* Thatta 25, 999, 891 *dams*, *sarkar* Chachkan as 11,784,586 *dams*, while *sarkar* Siwistan (Sehwan), and *sarkar* Nasarpur's revenue was 15, 546, 808 *dams*, and 7, 834, 600 *dams* respectively.<sup>317</sup> Chahar Gulshan gives the revenue statistics of *suba* Thatta from 1594 to 1720, stated in rupees as follows:<sup>318</sup>

**Table 1**

YEAR	JAM 'A
1594	16,56,285 rupees
1648	20,00,000 rupees
1654	22,30,750 rupees
1665	23,20,750 rupees
1695	23,74,250 rupees
1697	60,02,000 rupees
1700	17,20,025 rupees
1707	22,95,420 rupees
1720	17,32,938 rupees

*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* tells that, "*suba* Thatta had four *sarkars*, and had fifty seven *parganas*, out of which every year 7, 49, 76, 900 *dams* were collected as revenue."<sup>319</sup> *Bayaz-i-Khushbui* gives the revenue figures of *suba* Thatta in 1628-29 as 41, 51, 08, 990 *dams*.<sup>320</sup>

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>315</sup> The Baluch of Barejah, who dwelt in the hills of *pargana* Bubakan, on every harvest, used to give certain members of camels and sheep to the *jagirdar* as state share of revenue. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 1 34.

<sup>316</sup> It was called *peshkash-i-falsanah*. Nuhmardis of Sehwan used to give *falsanah* in the form of goats and camels. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 124. The Chandukah Baluch and Nuhmardis both belonged to *salami* category and paid *falsanah* from their belongings as camels, horses and goats. Also see pp. 50, 90.

<sup>317</sup> *A'in*. vol. II, pp. 163-4.

<sup>318</sup> Jadunath Sarkar, *India under Aurangzeb*; with extracts from *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and Chahar Gulshan, Sanyal, 1906, pp. lxx, lxxxi. However it does not include Sehwan in *suba* Thatta in the revenue statistics of 1665.

<sup>319</sup> *Vide Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 386 n.

<sup>320</sup> *Bayaz-i-Khushbui*, ff. 180a

Table -2<sup>321</sup>

YEAR	JAM'A IN DAMS
1595-6	5,06,06,585*
1628-36	41,51,70,790
1633-8	9,01,20,000
1646-7	9,23,40,000
1646-7	8,00,00,000
1638-56	9,20,00,000
1638-56	9,28,00,000
1638-56	9,20,00,000
1638-56	9,49,70,000
1638-56	9,20,00,000
1638-56	9,18,00,000
1646-56	9,28,00,000
1667	7,49,86,900
1687-91	6,88,16,810
1687-95	6,88,16,810
1701-02	6,01,01,988
1709	6,88,16,800
1709-11	8,92,30,000
*Minus <i>jam'</i> 'a figures of <i>sarkar</i> Sehwan	

The revenue officials who were involved in the collection of revenues, included *karoris*, *amils*, *shiqqdars*, *qanungos*, *karkuns*, *arbabs*, *muqaddams*, *patwaris* and *zamindars*. While describing the duties of *amal guzar* (the revenue collector), *A'in* also discusses the duties of *karkun*, *muqaddams* and *patwaris*. It states, "as *karkun* (registrar of collection) sets down the transactions of the assessment, the *muqaddam* (chief village revenue officer/headman), and the *patwari* (land- steward) shall keep their respective accounts. The collector shall compare these documents, and keep them under his seal and give a copy thereof to the clerk. When the assessment of the village is completed, he shall enter it in the abstract of the village accounts, and after verifying it a new, cause its authentication by the *karkun* and the *patwari*, and this document he shall forward weekly to the royal presence, and never delay it beyond fifteen days."<sup>322</sup> In *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* there is a record of the in 'am or dues of *arbab*, *muqaddam* and *qanungo*, out of revenue collection. While Yusuf Mirak describes the duties of revenue functionaries and the ways to keep a check on them; he says, "a *jagirdar* should ensure that the *tanabkashan* (surveyors) use the *jarib* properly, and *karkun* (accountant) record the productive and

<sup>321</sup> Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, p. 459.

<sup>322</sup> *A'in*, vol I, p. 199.

unproductive land, and only after a great deal of spot investigation. After the *jambandi* (revenue-assessment), the *shiqqdar* (rent collector) of every *pargana*, settles the account of every peasant (*asamiwar*) in his presence, so that the *arbabs*, *ra'ises*, and *qanungo*, do not burden the peasantry with their own exactions.<sup>323</sup> He also says that, "the *qanungo*'s descriptive roll (*tauji*) should also be scrutinized."<sup>324</sup> Probably there were other illegal exactions made by these revenue officials which compelled the writer to record these instructions. As even the *jagirdars* were imposing taxes, which had already been abolished by the royal decree. A tax *gaw-shumari* as mentioned in *A'in-i-Akbari*,<sup>325</sup> was already abolished by Jahangir, but was being collected in Sehwan by Ahmad Beg Khan (1628-30) who introduced branding of cattle to levy tax on cattle.<sup>326</sup>

Regarding the salaries of these officials or their share in the land revenue, as the *jam 'a* not only indicate the total revenue realization or assessed taxation, but also allowances from collection drawn by others.<sup>327</sup> According to *A'in*, "The share of *qanungo* and *patwari* was one percent, while *shiqqdar*, *amin*, and *karkun* received one *dam* per *bigha* for measurement, the *zabitana* for the agents like *shiqqdar*, *karkun* and *amin*, was fixed five or six *dams* provided in every *rabi* crop they measure at least two hundred *bighas* of land, and during *kharif* crop at least two hundred and five *bighas*."<sup>328</sup> According to *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, "during the tenure of Bakhtiyar Beg (1593-99) in Sehwan, the *in' am* rate of *arbab* and *muqaddam* was five percent. Later during the tenure of Shamsheer Khan Uzbek (1615-1616), these were lowered down to two percent.<sup>329</sup> However, *qanungo*'s cess was one percent, which they realized directly from the peasants.<sup>330</sup> Despite these written shares of officials it seems from the account that the revenue officials were involved in some unlawful exactions as well. The author expectedly exhorts that the officials should not take more than what is authorized, and that they should not burden the peasants with their own exactions. For improving conditions of cultivation, and for increasing the area under cultivation, these officials were also rewarded by the imperial administration. When Dindar Khan, the *jagirdar* of Sehwan, gave villages of Amiri (*pargana* Sann) in *jagir* to Sayyed Yusuf an *arbab* of Sann, who repopulated the village.<sup>331</sup> Similarly *arbab* Baha-al-Din Pahawar, and his tribesmen, paid one-third of the produce, while others paid four-ninth of the produce as state share.<sup>332</sup>

<sup>323</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p, 18.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51.

<sup>325</sup> According to *A'in*, " whoever does not cultivate land liable to taxation but enclose it for pasturage the collection shall take for each buffalo six dams, and for an ox three dams yearly." *A'in*, vol. I, p. 199.

<sup>326</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 155.

<sup>327</sup> Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire - A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987, p. 126.

<sup>328</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, p. 209.

<sup>329</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 1 86.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>331</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 166, 224.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid*, p. 216.

One notices a change of attitude among the imperial officials after the death of Aurangzeb as far as the revenue administration was concerned. Rivalries among the local officials and routine dispatches of spurious reports to the court seem to have been a common feature of the time. The writer of *Jamm-i-Badi*, says, "the cultivation has now declined, because the land revenue is increased by imposing again what was remitted to the peasants earlier, as a relief against the natural disaster, the *kamdasturs* were also declared illegal and full share of the state without any concession was demanded along with the due arrears."<sup>333</sup> Further, the *arbabs*, *muqaddams* and *patwaris* of the *pargana* (of sarkar Bhakkar?) were being forced to falsely record the large payments made to *amils*, due to *diwan's* enmity towards the letter.<sup>334</sup> The *mutasaddi* of sarkar Thatta clearly states that "they have nothing to do with the properly of the peasants or region, they are only interested in raising money by false means."<sup>335</sup> As a result of these corruption, and rivalries among the officials the land revenue of sarkar Thatta and also of other parts had declined considerably, since peasants deserted cultivation and thus fled their lands unable to bear the oppression of the state functionaries, but these incidents are recorded in the first half of the eighteen century, though earlier also there were evidences of desertion but those were either caused by the presence of a turbulent tribesmen or later adoption of *ijarahdari* system. In Sindh, generally the Mughal *jagirdars* had adopted very accommodating attitude towards the peasants, be it in the form of concession, or lowering the state demand, or adopting the mode of assessment as per to demand of the peasants, yet the exploitation was unavoidable which resulted in desertion of villages, and decreasing jam 'a of the province, and the absconding of the peasants.

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<sup>333</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff. 40a-b.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid*, ff. 43a-44a.



## APPENDIX: A <sup>336</sup>

### *Dasturs of sarkar Sehwan*

Crop	Rates in cash	In kind
<b>KHARIF CROP</b>		
JAWARI (MILLET), RAGAMANDWAH), SHALI (RICE PADDY)	1 MURIDI TANKAH AND 35 ½ DAMS PER BIGHAH	33 ½ KASAHS PER BIGHAH
PANBAH (COTTON), KHARBUZAH (MELON), TARBUZAH (WATERMELON), TARKARA VEGETABLES), KUNJID (SE SAME), TURB (RADDISH), ARZAN (COMMON MILLET), GAL (KANGAN1), TAG SAN OR BENGAL SAN	25 MURADT TANKAH AND 29 1/4 DAMS	
ZARDAK (CARROT)	35 MURADI TANKAH PER BIGHAH	
MASH (URD), MUNG	14 MURIDI TANKAH AND 2½ DAMS PER BIGHAH	
NAYSHAKKAR (SUGARCANE)	72 MURIDI TANKAH PER BIGHAH	
DILPASAND (KACHRAH)	6½ MURIDI TANKAH	
NIL (INDIGO)	35 MURIDI TANKAH	
<b>RABI CROP</b>		
GANDUM (WHEAT), JAU (BARLEY)	1 MURIDI TANKAH AND 35½ DIMS PER	33½ KASAHS PER BIGHAH
NAKHUD (BENGAL GRAM)	45 DAMS PER BIGHAH	
SARSHAF(MUSTARD SEED)		28? KASAHS TOYAHS PER BIGHAH
AHURI(KHARDAL)	35 DIMS PER BIGHAH	28½ KASAHS PER BIGHAH
ARZAN (COMMONMILLET), PIYAZ (ONION),	25 MURADT TANKAH	29½ KASAHS PER BIGHAH
MUNG, MASANG (CHICKLING VETCH)	14 MURADT TANKAHS AND 2 1/4 DAMS PER BIGHAH	
ADAS (LENTIL)	28 MURADT TANKAHS AND 31 DAMS PER BIGHAH	
ZEERAH (CUMIN), BADYAN (FENNEL), GUL-I-MU'ASFAR (SAFFLOWER), AJWAD (PARSLEY)	48 MURADT TANKAHS AND 37½ DAM PER BIGHAH	
SIR (GARLIC), BHANG (OPIUM), KUKNAR (OPIUM POPPY), TANBAKU (TOBACCO)	2½ RUPEES OR 60 MURADI TANKAHS	

## APPENDIX B

### *Dasturs of crop-sharing in Sehwan*

1/2	OUT OF EVERY TWO KHARWARS, ONE GOES TO PEASANT AND ONE IS RESUMED BY THE STATE
1/3	OUT OF EVERY THREE KHARWARS, TWO GO TO THE PEASANTS AND ONE IS RESUMED
1/4	OUT OF EVERY FOUR KHARWARS, THREE GO TO THE PEASANTS AND ONE IS RESUMED
1/5	OUT OF EVERY FIVE KHARWARS, FOUR GO TO THE PEASANT AND ONE IS RESUMED
2/5	OUT OF EVERY FIVE KHARWAR, THREE GO TO THE PEASANT AND TWO ARE RESUMED
4/9	OUT OF EVERY NINE KHARWARS, FIVE GO TO THE PEASANTS AND FOUR ARE RESUMED

<sup>336</sup> This list is based on the information given in *Mazhar-i-Shahjehani. Mazhar-i-Shahjehani. vol. II, pp. 183- 185.*

## 2.2: Urban Taxation

Apart from a sizable income coming to royal treasury in the form of land revenue from agrarian sectors, urban centers also contributed to *bait-ul-mal*, by imposing certain taxes, which were generally levied in the form of custom duty, *chahalyak* (boat tax), *muhri* (tax on clearance seal at *ghats*), *misri* (town tax), *dharat* (custom duty imposed on grain), *jaziya* (tax on non-Muslims), *zakat* (toll tax), and *rahdari* (road tax).

*Dharat*, was a major levy, and was imposed on grains; indigo, tobacco and cloth.<sup>337</sup> It was quite a burdensome tax and amounted to a quarter of the value of commodity. On very *kharwar* (ass-load), one *toyah* (weighing unit equivalent to 1½ Jahangiri *ser*) was realized from the buyer,<sup>338</sup> as *dharat* (A detailed list of taxes is provided in the Appendix-A). But when Dindar Khan became the *jagirdar* of Sehwan (1629-33), his *wakil* Qadi Pirah contrary to the regulations, levied it on the seller also. On every maund of indigo, he demanded three rupees, out of which two rupees were taken from the buyer and one rupee from the seller.<sup>339</sup> The rate of realization was generally two and half percent of the value of commodities, but the author criticizes *wakil* of *jagirdar* of Sehwan for levying more than what is authorized.<sup>340</sup> Thus, while earlier one *toyah* or one and half *ser* was demanded as *dharat*, during the tenure of Dindar Khan (1629-33), it was increased and also during the tenure of Ahmed Beg Khan (1627-29) but the author does not tell the amount.<sup>341</sup> Screevener, the English factor at Thatta, reported that the rate of *dharat*, "for the buyer was three fourth pice per rupee, and for the seller it was one-fourth pice per rupee, while in kind one *ser* on each *kharwar* was realized."<sup>342</sup>

Another important and traditional tax, which was levied on boat at the rate of one-fortieth of the value of commodities, was known as *chahal-yak*, also called *dastur-i-kishti*;<sup>343</sup> collected by a superintendant known as *daroghah-i-chahalyak*.<sup>344</sup> During the reign of Akbar, this tax was imposed at the rate of one-fortieth of the value of

<sup>337</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*. vol. II, pp. 172, 186.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid*, p. 172. One *kharwar* = 60 *kasahs*. 1 *kasah* = 6 *sers*/4 *toyahs*. That makes 1 *toyah* = 1½ Jahangiri *ser*.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>340</sup> Out of 60 *kasahs* of grains, 2 *kasahs* were charged. On every maund of indigo which was 20 rupees per maund, 3 rupees were charged. On every maund of tobacco 7 *dams* were charged, while one maund of tobacco was sold for 8 *tankahs*; which makes this tax to be more than two and half percent. See *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 172, 186. Before this also the tax was increased by Sher Khwaja. pp. 146-147.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 158, 186. The author complains here that this tax is in violation to the royal orders, and that the amount thus collected should be resumed and returned to the people.

<sup>342</sup> *E.F.I.*, 1634-1636, pp. 132, 133. According to him, "this tax was imposed by the governor of Thatta, on the selling and buying of all sorts of cloth."

<sup>343</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 186.

<sup>344</sup> *E.F.I.*, 1646-1650. p. 118; *E.F.I.* 1655-1660, pp. 79, 81.

merchandize loaded in a boat.<sup>345</sup> At the time of Jahangir this tax was abolished along with *dharat*, yet it was illegally being levied upon the merchants in kind.<sup>346</sup> This tax was gradually increased and began to be realized in cash. During the tenure of Shamsheer Khan (1614-1616 A.D.), every boat loaded with merchandize had to pay *chahal-yak* of ten *muradi tankas*, at a flat rate irrespective of the value of cargo, but later on during the tenure of Dindar Khan (1629-33) it was doubled to twenty *muradi tankas*,<sup>347</sup> for all boats reaching Thatta. However the boats going towards the port Lahari Bandar, were charged one rupee per boat as *chahal-yak*.<sup>348</sup> In 1635 A.D. this charge was increased to six rupees, on every boat carrying merchandize of weight upto hundred maunds. The tax varied in other parts of Sindh, and in Bhakkar and Darbela, the boat tax was three-fourth of a rupee,<sup>349</sup> and in Nasarpur it was two and half percent;<sup>350</sup> but a merchant paid an additional six rupees as the dues of the concerned officer; besides *darogha* also demanded an additional sum of eighty-eight rupees with the option that the English then do not have to pay *chahal-yak*.<sup>351</sup> Boats coming from Lahore, *via* Multan towards Qandahar and Thatta paid two and a half percent as boat tax, with the additional four percent as *ghat* charges.<sup>352</sup>

It appears from the Factory Records and Mazhar-i-Shahjahani that the imperial officials were charging extra money from the merchants for their personal benefits. In Sehwan merchants were charged in excess of their dues, and in case of non-payment, the boatmen and the merchants were beaten, and detained at check-post.<sup>353</sup> In Bhakkar and Darbela, the English were exempted from *chahal-yak* after bribing *daroghah-i-chahalyak*.<sup>354</sup> Not only officers, but sometimes their relatives also harassed the merchants with their coveted demands.<sup>355</sup> While bribery and corruption was common, there were honest

<sup>345</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 1 86.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.* During the second tenure of Mir Qasim Khan Namkin, this tax was being levied in kind, and from every boat (laden with goods) half a *ser* of *nabat* (white sugar) was charged.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, also see *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, pp. 131, 139; Asaf Khan, *hakim* of Lahari Bandar, had remitted half of the extra ordinary taxes that prevailed in Lahari Bandar.

<sup>349</sup> *E.F.I.* 1655-1660, pp. 79,81.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 81. This demand was made to Scriverer and his companions. They were given the option of paying *chahal-yak* along with the bribe of rupees eighty-eight, or just pay rupees eighty-eight and then exemption from *chahal-yak* was guaranteed. Besides this they paid eighteen rupees more at Darbela [*jaggat*?]. It was owing to these illegal exactions that Multani and Thatta merchants had started moving out of this place.

<sup>352</sup> *E.F.I.* 1657-1641, pp. 135-136.

<sup>353</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p, 172. The merchants were asked to pay rupees thirty-fourty in additional to the tax.

<sup>354</sup> Scriverer had made payment of eighty-eighty rupees, to the *daroghah* at Bhakkar, and eighteen rupees more at Darbela [*jaggalt* ?]. See *E.F.I* 1655-1660, p. 81

<sup>355</sup> There is record of a dominant wife of Governor of Thatta, who constantly troubled the merchants by demanding commodities, and in return does not even pay half the value of their merchandize. *E.F.I.* 1655-1660, p. 79. Similarly Mirza Yusuf, brother of Ahmed Beg, the *faujdar* of Sehwan made the merchants pay him a considerable amount on every boat at ferries on account of *dastak* issued by him. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 155-56.

officials as well. Alexander Hamilton, who visited Sindh sometimes around 1699 A.D., was greatly welcomed by the Governor, and was exempted of all the custom duties on imports and exports.<sup>356</sup>

Another tax collected in urban centres, was *misri* (town or city tax), realized at the rate of one rupee on every maund of goods; the rate is noted by the *English Factory Record* on goods taken by merchants from Sann and Bubeka to Thatta.<sup>357</sup> Then there are references to *rahdari* tax, which was abolished by Jahangir, but it was still realized from the English merchants illegally not only in Sindh, but in Dholpur also.<sup>358</sup> The amount recorded was rupees one thousand on the boats, going from Thatta to Multan, weighing above five hundred to two thousand maunds. The English Factory Records of the year between 1646-1650, show that this tax was renewed for the English traders.<sup>359</sup> Besides this, the merchants paid rupees twenty as *chaukidari* (to the soldier for its guard), and ten to twelve rupees to the mariners.<sup>360</sup> Then there was another tax called *muhri*, which was collected at *ghats*, for fixing a clearance seal on the goods of the merchants. Then, there was custom duty which was originally three and half percent of the value of goods at Thatta.<sup>361</sup> In Sehwan it was six rupees on hundred maunds, while in places other than Sehwan, it was eighteen to twenty rupees, on every hundred maund.<sup>362</sup> From this custom duty the share of the Governor was also deducted; on all sort of cloth brought from other places and sold in the city, his share amounted  $\frac{3}{4}$  pice per rupee from the buyer and  $\frac{1}{4}$  pice per rupee from the seller, while on grain his share was realized in kind as one *ser* on each kharwar.<sup>363</sup>

There was *mahasil-i-ushur-i-banadir*, which was two and half percent custom charge at the sea port; but this was abolished by Shahjahan.<sup>364</sup> During his reign Aurangzeb reimposed *jaziyah* on Hindus, and the superintendents were appointed for its collection, who were called *daroghah-i-jaziya*.<sup>365</sup> Another very important levy was *zakat* (toll tax collected at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent), which is also known by the name of *kharaj*, *tamghah*.<sup>366</sup> Jahangir at the time of his accession had remitted *zakat*, *tamghah*, and other cesses also.<sup>367</sup> It remained abolished even during the reign of Shahjahan.

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<sup>356</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 122.

<sup>357</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, pp. 136-37. Here the rate is given against indigo which was coming from San and Bubeca. *Jamm-i-Badi* also record this tax, however it does not speak of the amount (ff 38b-39a).

<sup>358</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, pp. 13, 136.

<sup>359</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 120.

<sup>360</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, pp. 135-36. The English got their *dastaks* renewed, so that they could be exempted from *rahdari* tax. Set *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 120.

<sup>361</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 224.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, p. 129.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*, p. 133.

<sup>364</sup> Ansan Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, p. 172.

<sup>365</sup> 'Ali Muhammad Khan. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Calcutta, 1928, 2 vols and supplement, vol. I, p. 313.

<sup>366</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, supplement, p. 183. Emperor Akbar had abolished *baj* and *tamghah*, though at some distant places it was being collected at the rate of two and a half percent. *A'in*, vol. I, pp. 291-2. During the Sultanate

There were other realizations also as the mints of Thatta, Bhakkar and Lahari Bandar also contributed to the urban taxation. Though no contemporary source on Sindh contains any account of the administration of these mints, yet it may be presumed that these functioned according to the imperial rules and regulations; a regular staff of *darogha*, *sarraf*, *amin*, *mushrif*, *gargir* (treasurer), *tarazukash* (weighman), *garazgir-i-kham* (melter of the ore), and *waraq-kash* (the plate maker), as described in *A'in*.<sup>368</sup> As the Mughal system was one of the open or free coinage, any individual could bring the precious metals (gold, silver, and copper) to the mint, and could get the coin struck in the imperial mint after paying the seigniorage of five and half percent of the value of the metal,<sup>369</sup> which was deposited in the treasury.

The officials also fined the offenders to increase their income. There is a reference of fine of rupees one lakh on Bumbai brothers (?), which were imposed by Emperor Shahjahan, the reason being unidentified in the source. This fine, they were supposed to deposit at Thatta, in addition to rupees fifty thousand, which were taken by the princes and other officials.<sup>370</sup> During the middle of eighteenth century, there are lots of illegal cesses, being imposed by the *ulema*, under the pretext of Islamic laws or *sharkat*. Earlier while a loaded camel carrying goods from Alor to Bhakkar was charged six dams only, it was now being charged thirty-six dams, under the command of the *ulema*.<sup>371</sup> Then there were other taxes as *muhaselana* (fees of the bailiff), *daroghana* (fees of superintendency), and *chaukidarana* (fees of custom watchman).

The corrupt practices of the officials affected the trading activities and the amount reaching the Imperial treasury. These officials were making great fortunes at the expense of both the merchants and the imperial court.

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period *ushur* or 2½% *zakat* was charged from the Muslim merchants and 5% was charged from the *zimmis* in accordance with the *shari'a*; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1958, pp. 98-9.

<sup>367</sup> *Tuzuk*, pp. 5, 208. Tax *dharat* was also abolished by him. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 186.

<sup>368</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, pp. 10-12.

<sup>369</sup> Shah Purshah Hurmasji Hodivala, *Historical Studies in the Mughal Numismatics*, Bombay, 1976, vol. II, p. 131; *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118.

<sup>370</sup> It's not clear, why these brothers were imposed such a heavy fine. *E.F.I.* 1640-1650, p. 119.

<sup>371</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 38b-39a.

## APPENDIX -C

### *Custom duties and different taxes in Sindh region as recorded by the English Factories*

	Date	Charges	Weight	From	To
C-Custom duty R- Randari G- Governor's share T- Town tax, CY-Chahal yak. Z-Zakat	Nov 10th 1623 AD	The English were permitted free trade by Jahangir in Surat Cambay, Goa, Sindh and Bengal			
	1634- 36	CY-1 rupee	Per boat		
	Dec 18 <sup>th</sup> , 1635	G.1 One quarter pice per rup[ee] or one <i>seare</i> (seer) G.2 On cloth buyer pay 3/4 pice per rupee G.3 1/4 pice per rupee] [seller has to pay] G.4-6 rupees 18 to 20 rupees 5-CY- 6 rupees (increased) 6-CY-3/4th of a rupee. 7-CY 1/2%	On each good. On each corwar (ass- load) On all sorts of cloth On 100 maunds On a boat carrying 100 maunds or more. On every boat.	Thatta Sehwan In Sehwan. Other than Sehwan	
	May 1st 1636 A.D.	Originally the custom duly remained 3 1/2 % but as in Thatta the governor has estimated the prices of commodities at double rate, so, practically custom duty also got doubled.			
	March, 1639 A.D.	G-4 rup[ees] T-1 rup[ees] C- 2 1/2 % + 1/4 % more Ghat charges R-1000 rup[ees] 10 or 12 rupees to mariners and 20 rupees to the soldier for guarding the boats. Asaf Khan remitted in Thatta half of the customs that prevailed in Lahari Bandar (for the English)	Per sear on indigo Per <i>maen</i> on indigo Per <i>maen</i> on indigo on boats Per <i>maen</i> on boats 500 to 200 <i>maens</i> .	San Bubeka San Bubeka San Bubeka Multan Multan Multan Thatta	Thatta Thatta Thatta Qandahar + Thatta Qandahar + Thatta Thatta Multan

### *As recorded in Persian Sources*

Date	Tenure	Charges	Weight	From	To	Source
	Mid 17th c., imposed by Qadi Pirah [wakil of Dindar Khan]	D. Three rupees; rupees 2 from buyer, rupees 1 from seller; while the price of indigo was 20 rupees; 2 kasahs; 7 dams; thus of all the three, tax worked out more than 2.5%.	On every maund of indigo or grain On every maund of tobacco. On every kharwar Per maund of tobacco	Sehwan	-	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani</i> . p.172
1590s		Z- 2.5%				<i>Ain, vol 1, p .p. 291-2</i>
Before 1614-16.	17T, c. [tenure of Shamsher Khan]	CY-a sir of candy [ <i>nabat</i> ]	On every boat	Sehwan	-	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani</i> . p.144.
	Qasim Khan Namkin	CY-Half a ser of white sugar [ <i>nabat</i> ] [in kind]	On every laden boat	Sehwan	-	<i>Mazhar-i-Shehjahani</i> . p.186.
1614-16.	1st term of Shamsher Khan Second time of Shamsha Khan [1616- 1616]	CY-The price of one ser of white sugar i.e. 10 <i>Muradi</i> Tankas the tax [boat] was doubled to 20 <i>Muradi</i> Tankas	One very laden boat		-	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani</i> . p.186,

## CHAPTER 3

### AGRARIAN SOCIETY

#### 3.1: Landed Aristocracy: The *Zamindars* and their relations with the Mughal State.

The presence of *zamindars* in Sindh, is well recorded in the seventeenth century. We have Persian chronicles, as well as *farmans*,<sup>372</sup> that attest to the presence of *zamindars* in Sindh.

The *zamindars* of Sindh, were generally tribal chiefs, who were established in particular territories, with their armed retainers. There is evidence to show that the landed potentates enjoyed their privilege either owing to their hereditary claim, or as a favor from the Emperor. The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, mentions old chiefs who caused troubles to the administration, being removed from the place, which they held for centuries, and been replaced by the obedient chiefs. As happened when Amir Shah Beg Arghun, replaced the troublesome old chiefs of Baluch tribe in Jatoi *pargana* of *sarkar* Bhakkar, and replaced them with Mahars (another tribe), by establishing them in the regions.<sup>373</sup> It is interesting to note that in Sindh, *zamindars* and peasants often belonged to same tribe similarly as elsewhere in Mughal India the peasants and the *zamindars* belong to same caste. During the course of annexation of Sindh, the local *zamindars* were subdued by Qara Beg [when he proceeded towards Manchhur lake], and he obtained a large booty from them.<sup>374</sup> These were probably the local tribal chiefs. Similarly *zamindars* of *pargana* Chandukah (*sarkar* Bhakkar) belonged to Abhira, Sangi and Bukiyah tribes.<sup>375</sup>

The author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* refers to *zamindars* inter changeably with *arbabs*, and he speaks of two sides of these *zamindars/arbabs*, who act as subordinates, and also as rulers. According to him, "when they work under the supervision of *jagirdar*, they act as subordinate officials of the state. However, an autonomous *zamindar* acted as ruler, refusing to obey the *jagirdar*." Under *ijarahdari* these *arbabs* used to agree to take *ijarah* on very high sums, but when demands of *ijarah* exceeded the paying capacity of peasants, these *zaminadrs/arbabs* absconded from the village and took to flight, since they themselves were not very well off, and therefore failed to meet their financial

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<sup>372</sup> There are six *farmans* of Aurangzeb (1704-1705), Farukhsiyar (1716-1717) and Muhammad Shah (1722), which speaks of renewal of *zammdari* of one Mir Shahdad Baluch. These have been translated and published by. Prof N.A. Baloch, *Sindh Historical Studies*, Karachi 2007, pp. 335, 337, 339, 341, 345, 349.

<sup>373</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 14-15.

<sup>374</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245

<sup>375</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 13, 17, 18

commitments. As a result peasants too usually took to flight afraid of the reprimand by the Mughal official as well as of *arbab*.<sup>376</sup>

We come across another term, *bhumias* which was a synonym for *zamindars*,<sup>377</sup> who are mentioned in *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*. In Sindh the term *bhumias* is used for Nuhanis, [the Baluch], who were living at the hilly pass of *pargana* of Bubakan (in *sarkar* Sehwan), and were engaged in cultivation, and assisted the Mughal administration in assessing and collecting the revenue of the *pargana*. They paid a cess called *muqta'i* to the Mughal officials placed at Sehwan.<sup>378</sup> Later, due to the short sightedness of *jagirdars*, a large number of them were killed by the imperial forces. As a result they joined hands with Nuhmardis, and in defiance caused destruction of the *pargana*.<sup>379</sup> Since the *zamindars* belonged to same tribes, as a peasants and their interest lied in continuation of cultivation, they are reported to have opposed the destruction of peasants.<sup>380</sup>

From time to time, *jagirdar* often sought their opinion while dealing with the local tribal population. These *zamindars* also acted as mediator between the imperial officials and the defiant nomads; and helped in running the administration peacefully.<sup>381</sup> The *jagirdar* trusted them and took their advice sincerely: he could count upon *zamindars* as his own people.<sup>382</sup> Since they were helping in realization of revenue, their remuneration was to be paid by the *jagirdar* from his *khalisah*.<sup>383</sup> The *zamindar*, was at liberty to allow his retainers to any portions of the land they proposed to cultivate, but he was always held individually responsible for the revenue of the entire *pargana*. The servants and craftsmen of the village were paid in grain, even the carpenter who mended the wooden plough or the *patwari* who weighed the grain at the time of *batai*.<sup>384</sup> Dindar Khan followed a very prudent policy with the *zamindars*. He bestowed a village on every *zamindar*, who could muster some strength,<sup>385</sup> for the maintenance of law and

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<sup>376</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>377</sup> These *bhumias* were "allodial proprietors," whom Colonel Tod identified with the *zamindars*. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 177. Irfan Habib says, "a *bhumia* is said to have been a real counterpart of *zamindars* in Rajasthan." p. 172; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* also records the presence of *bhumias*. p.56.

<sup>378</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, pp. 135-136.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid*. The reason behind this was, that some *zamindars* of Sehwan, who had an enmity towards them, instigated Shamsheer Khan, the *jagirdar*, to lead an expedition against them, despite the fact that these Nuhanis *bhumias* were very cooperative with the administration. As a result of which, their chief Natalah was killed along with his twelve sons, and sixty other kinsmen. As a retaliation these *bhumias* joined hands with Nuhmardis, and became the guide of Nuhamardi army.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131. When Shamsheer Khan planned to attack and kill Samejahs of village Dira'un (Halakhkandi), it was opposed by some *zamindars* of Sehwan.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 132-33. This happened when Shamsheer Khan, the *jagirdar* of Sehwan had captured Husrah boatmen, who were troubling travellers, along with the Samejahs. Due to the intermediation of *zamindars*, not only captives were released, but Samejahs had promised to be obedient to the administration.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid*, p. 107. Bakhtiyar Beg, during his tenure in Sehwan, counted upon these *zamindars*, and did not tax them with oppressive exactions.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20

<sup>384</sup> T. Postans, *Personal Observations on Sindh*, p. 238. Cf H.T Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, London 1940, p. 156.

<sup>385</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 164.



order, and also when need arose at the time of collection of revenue. In order to improve cultivation in their area, these *zamindars* or chiefs dig canals out of their own share without any help from the administration,<sup>386</sup> or adopted other irrigation devices as erecting a Persian wheel. They also repopulated the deserted villages, for this they were rewarded also. Dindar Khan, *jagirdar* of Sehwan, gave the village of Amiri in *jagir* to Sayyed Yusuf, and *arbab* of Sann, and village Thatta to Sayyed Jung, Sayyed Hasan of village Lak'alwi as a reward,<sup>387</sup> and ensured the safety of the roads, by keeping away the disturbing elements.<sup>388</sup> But there were other times when these *zamindars* themselves created problem for the administration. The *zamindar* Rana Rukun of Lahari Bandar violently confiscated the property of certain merchants. As a result Zafar Khan, sent son of Amir Khan, serving in that province, against Rana Rukun, and by 7th September, 1655, this rebellious *zamindars* were severely dealt with.<sup>389</sup> In another instance, the *arbab* of *pargana* Kabar, due to his differences with *shiqqdar* of Halah Kandi, absconded, and joined hands with Samejah Unars, attacked the town of Halah Kandi and caused the death of *shiqqdar* and the destruction of the town. At that time Husam-al Din Murtaza Khan II was *subedar* of Thatta. He sent his son Sam-Sam al-Daulah. He then imposed heavy indemnity on *arbabs* of *pargana* Halah Kandi and Samwati, and obliged them to execute *tamassukat-i-sh'aria* (legal bonds). Unable to fulfill their obligation, they extracted money from the poor, peasants.<sup>390</sup> However, Mughal Emperors instead of taming them sometimes followed the policy of appeasement towards these chiefs, by granting them *juzwi mansabs* (petty *mansab*), and restoring *zamindari* to them on the condition that, they will be a helping hand for the governor.<sup>391</sup> There were other *zamindars*, who had *ta'luqa zamindari*, and at the same time were rank holders also: whose *zamindari* was renewed from time to time. Mir Shahdad was the *zamindar* of Abreja of *pargana* Hala Kandi, and maintained two hundred and fifty foot and sixty horses. A revenue order of Aurangzeb dated 1705, confirms the *ta'luqa zamindari* of Shahdad Baloch in Pingharo of Gambat circle, *pargana* Halah-Kandi.<sup>392</sup> It is already stated that the appointment of *zamindars* by grant from the court was a practice, which comes into particular prominence during Aurangzeb's reign;<sup>393</sup> he was largely motivated by the desire to establish loyal supporters, in order to counterbalance the power of the old and potentially seditious *zamindars*.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 13, 17-18; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 113; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 58. The *arbabs* of Sann and Bubeka planted Persian wheel to improve cultivation of indigo. E.F.I. 1646-1650, p. 119.

<sup>387</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 167, 224

<sup>388</sup> N.A. Baloch, pp. 315, 316.

<sup>389</sup> Inayat Khan, *Shahjahnama* (tr), p. 509

<sup>390</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid*, p. 34. Emperor Jahangir gave these *mansabs* to Jam Hala and Rana Umar of Kihar and Nakamarah clan, who were involved in robbery.

<sup>392</sup> N.A. Baloch, pp. 315-328. Mir Shahdad was the ancestor of Talpur Mirs, Mirs who ruled Sindh after the invasion of Nadir Shah. He was confirmed this *zamindari* along with the additional cultivated area, but with the condition that he will guard the safety of *ta'luqa zamindari*, and also of highways from Samejah dacoits. After the death of floor Mohammad, his son Mir Shahdad became *zamindar* of the area. See Lieutenant Hugh James, Report on the *Pargana* of Chandookah in upper Sindh, in R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sindh*, Delhi, 1985, vol. II, p. 712.

<sup>393</sup> Irfan Habib, *op.cit.* p. 386.

There were another category of *zamindars*, the religious persons who were granted lands as *madad-i-ma'ash* which became a *zamindari* tenure over a period of time. Captain F.G. Goldsmith (1854), records the presence of Sayyed *zamindars* of Roree (Rohri), who had *farmans* of Emperor Shah 'Alam (A.D. 1709), granting the *zamindari* rights to them. They were substantial proprietors, whose grants renewed with the conditions that they will clear the roads of robbers, will bring waste land under cultivation an offer prayer for the royal prosperity and permanence.<sup>394</sup> The *arbabs* and *muqaddams* were also *zamindars*. These *zamindars* never waited upon Emperor Akbar, or Emperor Jahangir. They had obtained *musammati farmans* in time of Jahangir by which, they had secured control over the productive tracts of land; which were cultivated by the peasants, without any help from the *zamindars*. They were among the fourth category of a '*immah* class.<sup>395</sup> The *zamindars*, were effectively the rulers of rural Sindh. Their position was founded on wealth from their estates but there was more to it than that. Such a *zamindar* earned his initial state through the traditional authority his family had built up over the generations, and maintained respect through his personal regulation. His power over the peasants (*ra'iiyats*) or the landless cultivators was visible and immediate: a word from him would turn out a whole village to repair a bund (embankment) or to pursue incalcitrants and the robbers.

The *zamindars* who were really cultivating the land, suffered sometimes at the hands of tyrant *jagirdar*. This happened when *wakil* Qadi Pirah, *wakil* of Dinaf Khan, forcefully took on undertaking from the *arbabs* (*zamindars*), to cultivate two to three times more than previous year in the *khalisa* villages under *faujdar* Dindar Khan. At the time of harvest, he demanded the amount double of the estimate, and under pressure *arbabs* and *muqaddams* agreed to pay *ijarah*, and charged the entire amount from the peasants, leaving aside their own cultivation.<sup>396</sup> In this situation while some *zamindars* used to abandon the place (along with the peasants of their *zamindari* area) while other joined rebel groups, which happened in *pargana* Bubakan, Kahan, Patar and Akbarabad.<sup>397</sup> Thus the peasants and *zamindars* together joined hands, who belonged to same clan, with the rebels against Mughal *jagirdars* oppression.<sup>398</sup> As a remedy it was recommended that imperial army should put fear in their heart, so that if they harbor rebels or insurgents, they will be dealt in the same manner as the imperial officials deal

<sup>394</sup> Captain F.G. Goldsmith, Memoir on the Syuds of Roree and Bukkur, in R. Hughes Thomas, Memoirs on Sindh, Delhi, 1986. vol. I, p. 80; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 191-192.

<sup>395</sup> This class often bribed *jagirdar*, if they even try to investigate into the condition of a '*immah* class, this class of *zamindar* came forward, paid them bribe and the same amount they recovered by imposing equal cess. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 191-92.

<sup>396</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 171-72. This atrocity were conveyed to the royal court by some Hindus of the town of Bubakan, under the leadership of Parbat, as a result a *firman* was issued prohibiting *ijarah* system and re imposition of *ghalla-bakhshi*.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 163, 172, 177, 198.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 244, 245.

with the recalcitrant.<sup>399</sup> However, there was still a large number of local *zamindars*/tribal chiefs, who would not be supplanted altogether.<sup>400</sup> It was really important for the imperial administration to control these feudal lords, in which they succeeded to some extent because in Sindh generally the farmer was at the mercy of the *zamindars* or *arbabs* and therefore, he followed his lord, and any revolt by *zamindars* meant the revolt of his dependent farmers. They would not dare to oppose them.<sup>401</sup> The only option left to them was to take flight from their location. In fact these tribal chiefs or *zamindars* were the real land potentates, who were an important part of rural social structure of Sindh. Their contribution made a village prosperous and peasants happy, but their oppressive attitude, either deliberately, or under circumstances, led to the misery of peasants and destruction of villages. Their importance can be realized from the fact that the future ruling dynasty of Talpur Mirs was from the *zamindar* class itself. The nineteenth century British reports also speak of *zamindars* as *wadero*, which Robert Giles, the acting commissioner in Sindh, described as, "a title of respect given to large *zamindars*. It could not be conferred upon lesser man. The *wadero* already recognize their responsibility in regard to crime and assistance to government, while in no way regarding themselves as government servant." These *waderos* were unwilling to accept the village headman ship as they feared that they had to recognize British overlord ship by that.<sup>402</sup> However the position of small land holders was shaken, as they were unable to make a living from their shriveling holdings, and were forced to mortgage their property to *bania* moneylenders. Gradually their land passed to their creditors,<sup>403</sup> which was unthinkable during pre-British period joining agrarian society with these mercantile communities agrarian relations also changed, because earlier when in the rural sector of Sindh kinship ties played important role, exploitation was less required. But with changed relationship the mechanism also changed and therefore, the presence of *haris* (landless labourers), and the increased dependency of landed class upon them increased in the nineteenth century. They could not mortgage, sell or otherwise transfer their property as they wish unlike that in Mughal period. Since mostly the moneylenders belong to Hindu community as Muslims were forbidden by *their* religion to lend money on interest these financial affairs were taken up by the *banias* of Hindu community they were mostly a part of landed aristocracy. According to an investigation in 1896, Hindus held twenty eight percent of the occupied area in 1895-96 half a century before, they virtually had nothing.<sup>404</sup> But Richard F. Burton blames the extravagant lifestyle of *zamindars* for their loss of land to merchant-moneylenders. The *zamindars*, maintained a lavish lifestyle, and borrowed money from *banias* to retain their luxurious

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 197, 198.

<sup>400</sup> Bakhtiyar Beg had subdued such six Unar chiefs; Pariyah, Badlah, Mahmud, Farid, Jayundah and Judah. *Ibid*, p. 94; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 125.

<sup>401</sup> During the *faujdar* of Ahmed Beg, the Pahawar chief Baha-al-Din, revolted against him in retaliation to the imposition of *gawshumari* tax and branding of cattle, and when other chiefs supported Ahmed Beg, the rebels killed them. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 155.

<sup>402</sup> David Chessman, p. 110.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid*. p. 162.

<sup>404</sup> David Chessman, Table. 8. p. 145.

lives. As Richard F. Burton has recorded in 19th century, "As long as the *zamindars* could procure his daily bread and dose of *bhang* [opium], support a wife or two and possibly a dancing girl, wear a sword and ride a horse, he would rarely, if even, concedes end to think or care about his property."<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Richard F. Burton, *Sindh and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus*, London.

### 3.2: The Peasantry: Peasants' relationship with the Zamindars and Jagirdars.

The fact that peasantry in Sindh was highly stratified as elsewhere in the Mughal Empire is evident in the seventeenth century gazetteer *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* which uses various terms for the peasants such as *ra'iiyyat-i-khalis* (pure peasants) *ahsham-i-ra'iiyyat* (peasants of submissive tribes), and *ra'iiyyat-i-rezah* (petty peasants), for the peasants in Sindh. There were other peasants also who were called *mawajibi*.<sup>406</sup> The first two categories of peasants are generally consists of tribal people, who had taken up cultivation, got settled at one place, and were acting as owners of land chiefs/*zamindars*, while the latter category was of those peasants, who have means of cultivation i.e. land, cattle and tools, but they were small peasants and often belong to same clan, as their *zamindars*. There were agricultural labourers, who being landless were cultivating the lands of others. They were called *haris*.<sup>407</sup> They were actually agricultural proletariats, who earned their livelihood by working in the field of landholders. They grew in large number, as the pastoral communities were turning into cultivators; the demand for these agricultural labourers also grew. In rural society of Sindh, the kinship ties played very important role, besides their functional relations. These kinship ties becomes evident at the hour of crisis; it was due to this bonding that, in spite of much of oppression, the peasants of Sindh never revolted against their *zamindars*, but against the arbitrary rule of *jagirdars* against whom the headmen *zamindars*, and peasants often stood together.<sup>408</sup> Moreover, besides being point of the expediter class, these *zamindars* themselves harmed their peasants, it was either owing to the disinterest of the *jagirdars* in their territories and thereby adopting *ijarah* that caused oppression of the peasants by the imperial revenue machinery, or due to the constant raids of the nomads, or the

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<sup>406</sup> *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp.2 0, 28, 103. There was a village Kahi Majubi, in Sehwan towards the Lakki mountain. Since it was situated at a very dangerous path, some to attacks of hill insurgents and Samejahs, the peasants of this village were given *muwajibi* (a sort of pension) for keeping the path to Lakki mountain open. This reward was adjusted against the revenue demand during the days of Tarkhans. However, Qasim Khan Namkin adopted the same policy, and Nut Bandah Baluch, who were living in the village Lak. 'Alwi of San *pargana* [*sarkar* Sehwan] guarded other side of the path and in lieu of this, they were not charged with revenue demand, and whatever they cultivated was given in *in'am* to them.

<sup>407</sup> There is no mentioning of term *haris* in the Mughal period, but the colonial records frequently mention the presence of *haris* and the dependence of the *zamindars* on them. David Chessman, Landlord power and rural indebtedness in Colonial Sindh 1865-1901, pp. 12-73. Though *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, also refer to these agricultural labourers, who worked in the fields of landholders, and got share in the produce, against their labour. May be these *haris* can fall under the category of *pai'kasht* peasants. For the definition of *pai'kasht*, see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 130. Some *haris* were nomads, while some belonged to a settled population, who did not leave there own abode until there was a more suitable reason. This happened when in 1872-73 hundreds of *haris* left Sukkur and Rohri, where water supply was undependable, and came to places where supply from desert canal was offered. The desert canal supply was so abundant that *haris* could pick and choose, where they would work. (David Chessman, pp. 74-75). But they were definitely the share croppers, as they have their cattle and ploughs as mean of cultivation.

<sup>408</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 244-45.

inter-rivalries between *ahsham-i-mardum* (tribal people), and *ahsham-i-ra'iiyyat*. Whatever was the case in fact the peasants remained the sufferers.

Yusuf Mirak often interchanges chiefs with peasants, and chiefs with *arbabs* and *muqaddams*,<sup>409</sup> which clearly reflects the upward social mobility of the tribal people, who had settled as peasants, and being the chief of their clan,<sup>410</sup> they acquired larger landholdings and became a part of landed aristocracy. These chiefs provided safety to the peasants at the time of cultivation and patronized a class of agricultural labourers.<sup>411</sup> These *ahsham-i-ra'iiyyat*, were paying the revenue to the imperial officers, and due to their subservient and cooperative nature, they cooperated with the *jagirdars*, and other revenue officials. Since their vested interest now solely lie in the cultivation; its security and improvement became their prime aim. They acted as informer, of about the possible raids of the hill tribes, and time to time informed *jagirdars* about it.<sup>412</sup> In return, the *jagirdars* also awarded them with the reduction in revenue demand, and by giving *in'am* in form of land,<sup>413</sup> or they were given new lands to settle down.<sup>414</sup> The big peasants, who became the part of revenue collection mechanism, benefited by the share in the produce, but the peasants who were cultivating lands for others were also benefited by their share in the produce of the land. Sometimes their share for their labour amounted to more than its holder.<sup>415</sup> Similarly, the peasants who were living in the hill, the raids prone area, were supported further with suitable revenue demands, as the peasants of Jankar, Bazaran, Kachi, and of *mauza* Nar of *pargana* Bubacan, who were constant pray to the raids of Chandiyah Baluch and Nuhmardis were assessed on the basis of *ghalla-bakhshi*, in which share of 5/9 was settled i.e. five with peasants, and four part taken as revenue while the peasants of Kahi Maju'bi were exempted from revenue.<sup>416</sup>

The peasants, who were working in fields of others, were given aid, and irrigational facilities by the landowners,<sup>417</sup> but the cultivation was done as per the requirement of

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<sup>409</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 20-21, 103, 155.

<sup>410</sup> Tribal called *ra'iiyyat*. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 162. The Samejahs had also taken up cultivation in area especially of Sehwan. pp. 95, 96, 130-131.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid*, p. 199. The peasants of *pargana* Darbelah [*sarkar* Bhakkar] cultivated their fields, while the Sahtahs chiefs guarded them with their army, from the fort of Karank against the Samejahs.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 151, 153, 196-197.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 167, 213, 224, 229, 230.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66. The Pahawar peasants replaced the Machchis of Nairun Qalan. This arrangement was basically to get revenue out of this area, as Machchis were defiant and were not paying the revenue.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid*, p. 215. The peasants who were cultivating the *in'am* lands of the Sayyeds of village Tiri [in *sarkar* Sehwan], were taking four share, out of five, leaving only one share with the Sayyeds.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid*, p. 213. They were remitted one extra share so that they arm themselves against hill tribes of Nuhmardis and Chandiyah Baluch of *sarkar* Sehwan.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid*, p. 191. The *arbabs* of Sann planted Persian wheels as the irrigation device in their fields for the better produce of indigo. See *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 119. Since water lift irrigation devices and digging of canal, were expensive ones, therefore the small peasants depended upon the *zamindars* and *jagirdars* for these facilities. See also *Tarikh-i Sindh*, p. 113, *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, p. 58.

the landholder. But there are instances which show that small peasants, were cultivating the *jagirdar's khalisa sharifa* [probably without any share],<sup>418</sup> but they were provided assistance in cultivation by the *ai'mmah* class.<sup>419</sup>

The peasantry of Sindh mostly suffered at the hands of was two classes; firstly by those who did not have their vested interest in the cultivation especially the hill nomads Nuhmardis and Chandiyah Baluch, who were pure pastorals and often indulged in rapine, plunder, and abduction of men, and cattle. While they were doing it for their benefit by abducting peasants, their children and cattle, and selling them;<sup>420</sup> there was another class, of imperial officials, who got benefited by the soil, but did not care about the land and its people; and instead their arbitrary behaviour forced the peasants to sell their children, women and cattle.<sup>421</sup> The author constantly reminds that peasants are the real treasures, and they were friends of the Emperors and nobles, but they are suffering, while the Emperors, and officials [especially *amils*] are passing their time in luxury; luxury which they acquire out of the peasants earning in the form of revenue, without undergoing any toil or drudgery themselves.<sup>422</sup> As it has been discussed by Irfan Habib that the frequent transfer of the *jagirdars* led to the exploitation of peasantry.<sup>423</sup> This exploitation by *jagirdar* or by his officials was carried out mainly in three ways; firstly by the imposition of illegal cesses, secondly, by the imposition of *ijarah*, and thirdly, imposing *zabti* on the rain irrigated villages, where keeping in view the arid climate of Sindh generally *ghalla-bakhshi* was preferred. As regarding the illegal cesses, in *Jamm-i Badi*, author says that, "they [the imperial officials] have nothing to do with the prosperity of the peasants or region, they are only interested in raising money by wrong means."<sup>424</sup> There is another evidence of imposition of illegal cesses by the *jagirdars*; it happened when Ahmad Khan became the *jagirdar* of Sehwan (1628-29), he imposed *gaw-shumari* (cattle tax), which was already abolished by Jahangir and was still banned, when Ahmad Khan imposed it.<sup>425</sup> The author of *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, is often found saying that the officials should not demand anything other than the, legal demands.<sup>426</sup>

In regard to the method of assessment, except the *barani*, and *sailabi* lands which have alluvial deposits or the places, where artificial irrigation devices were being used by the peasants, the peasants of Sindh generally preferred *ghalla-bakhshi* as in this they shared the burden with *zamindars*, and in case of failure of crop they shared risk with the state, and in crop sharing they cultivated low yield areas also, but whenever the *zabt* was

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<sup>418</sup> *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 180.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1 80.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, p.p. 17, 133. The hilly people Chandiyah Baluch, raided the *parganas* of Baghbanan, Kahar and Akbarabad, captured peasants and sold them as slaves.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

<sup>422</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*. p. 244.

<sup>423</sup> Irfan Habib, *op.cit*, p. 369.

<sup>424</sup> *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff. 43a-44a

<sup>425</sup> *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 155.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51. There he says that the excessive exactions of *Jagirdar* should be abolished by a royal decree.

imposed on them even in the rain irrigated area,<sup>427</sup> either their rebellion<sup>428</sup> broke out, or their condition totally deteriorated; to meet the revenue demand thus imposed, they had to sell even their means of cultivation;<sup>429</sup> and their destruction further progressed by the raids of opponent tribal group. Their troubles further accentuate by the *jagirdars* with the imposition of *ijarah*. The *ijarah* system was being practiced, due to the frequent transfer of the *jagirdars*, they instead of collecting revenue through their agents; generally farmed out *jagirs* to *arbabs*, and *muqaddams*, and thus caused the suffering to the peasants. Yusuf Mirak states that, "this suffering was twofold: since the *arbabs* and *muqaddams* in Sindh were also not very rich,<sup>430</sup> and by succumbing to *ijarah*, they did not pay their own share of revenue and even exempted portions of their relatives, and shifted entire burden on the poor peasants. But after sometime, when paying capacity of the peasants totally declined, these *arbabs* fell short of the *ijarah*, and to avoid the arrest as a punishment, they rebelled and abandoned their homes and ran away. As a consequence of their flight, the peasants also fled from the area.<sup>431</sup> The author also mentions that in Bhakkar, because of the imposition of *ijarah*, and the demand of revenue irrespective of the deaths (*fauti*), and flights (*farari*), had driven the peasants of Chandukah, Matilah and Takar into rebellion, after their *arbabs* were imprisoned by Hakim Salih.<sup>432</sup> Here, the peasants supported their chiefs against the *jagirdar*, the tribal ties perhaps being one of the reasons for this alliance. *Sarkar* Sehwan suffered much of destruction of its peasantry at the hands of Mughal *jagirdars*.<sup>433</sup> Being unaware of the peculiarities of the region, they did not understand the problems and basic requirements of the peasants. Some of them were so tyrant that they did not even allowed the presence of *waqia nawis* (news reporter) in Sehwan. During his tenure, Dindar Khan (1633-34 A.D.) did not accept *waqia-nawis* Na'imatallah who came from Bhakkar, and second time Abd'al-Baqi, sent by Man Singh from Bhakkar.<sup>434</sup> Similarly he also did not bother to send his *qanungo* to the court [with bailiff], when asked to produce account of *dehsala*, and reason for the desolation of his areas.<sup>435</sup> But the *jagirdars* who belonged to Sindh as Mir M'asum Bhakkari, Qasim Khan Namkin, and Abu'l Baqa,

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid*, p. 155. Ahmad Beg imposed *zabt* on rain irrigated villages like Ararah in Akbarabad Wahi of *sarkar* Sehwan.

<sup>428</sup> The Magnejahs of *parganah* Kakari of Bhakkar *sarkar* revolted against, the imposition of *kankut* by Mir Sayyed Muhammad, Mir 'Adi of Amroha (posted as *hakim*), and fixing the quota of five mann per *bigha* irrespective of good or bad quality of crop. See *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 9; *Tarikh-i Sindh*, p. 245.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 146-147, 205-206. The peasants of Kachi village of *pargana* Kahan and Bubakan were provided with reduced share in crop-sharing during the period of Shamsheer Khan Uzbek, but after his tenure, the *jagirdars* of that area imposed *zabu*, in some parts while in some parts their demand was fixed, which proved detrimental peasants.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 244- 46. Jallo, the *arbab* of *pargana* Matilah, Siddiq and Shah Beg, the *arbab* of the *parganah* Chandukah, were imprisoned by Hakim Salih. However, they could not capture Abd'al Wahid, *arbab* of *pargana* Takar; who was helped by the Samejahs. As a retaliation of the capture of their *arbabs*, the *arbabs* killed Dayal Das, a relative of Man Singh, the *diwan* of Bhakkar.

<sup>433</sup> Yusuf Mirak even goes on saying the peasants [of Thatta] were better and prosperous during the days of Tarkhans; when peasants were happy and were provided with better conditions. p. 52.

<sup>434</sup> Nai'matallah was slain under the Sehwan fort but the administration did not bother. *Ibid*, p. 177.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid*.



they tried to improve the conditions of peasants of their area. M'asum Bhakkari, when appointed as a *jagirdar* of Darbela *pargana*, in the first year of his tenure, according to recorded evidence, only five hundred *bighas* of cultivated land, belonged to peasantry and *ai'mmah* class. To improve the cultivation he gave encouragement to the peasants, and by the next autumn crop (*kharif*) the cultivated land in his area rose to fifty thousand *bighas*.<sup>436</sup> He also instructed his *ra' iyyats* to not to clear off forest while looking for cultivable land,<sup>437</sup> which suggests that land was in abundance, and he had encouraged the peasants to bring new area under cultivation. He had also got canals excavated from the river to plains, in order to provide better irrigational facilities.<sup>438</sup> Similarly, when Mir Abu'l Qasim Khan Namkin was given Sehwan in *jagir*, except *pargana* Kahan, and Juneja and some parts of Khittah, the first thing he noticed was the abandoned villages. He summoned his *qanungos*, and asked for the list of the villages in the area. He called the absconding peasants and settled them in the villages, the peasants of Lak'alwis of Sann, were also resettled by him;<sup>439</sup> the peasants of Kahi Ma'ujubi, were called from Bhakkar, and were resettled, similarly Nut Bundah Baluch peasants were got resettled in Lakki mountain towards *pargana* Sann, and their produce was given in *in'am* to them.<sup>440</sup> He started *madad-i-ma'ash* grants to the scholars.<sup>441</sup> But there were other *jagirdars* also, who in order to save their territories from the raids of tribesmen, promoted submissive peasant tribes. As Lakah peasants were patronised and also the Pahawars.<sup>442</sup> Dindar Khan also partially rehabilitated Lakahs and Korejahs (submissive tribe peasants), in village Adarbeli of *pargana* Sann.<sup>443</sup>

Despite this fact, the tyranny of these *jagirdars* remained due to constant transfers, they did not have any affinity with the peasants and the land, and they knew that they will be given another *jagir*, they did not care much sometimes even they were given better *jagirs*.<sup>444</sup> As regarding the peasants though the peasants had their affiliation towards the kinsman *zamindars*, yet whenever other clan, dominated the area, they did not have any

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<sup>436</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>437</sup> *Zakhirat-ul Khwanin*, p. 205. Since there was a willingness of the state to recognize the peasants' right of occupancy, and its anxiety to prevent him from leaving the land were both natural in an age where land was relatively abundant and peasants scarce.

<sup>438</sup> *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 73, 108.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 215-216.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid*, p. 121.

<sup>442</sup> To reduce the oppression of Lakah peasants, by the Samejahs, Dindar Khan reduced the state share to 1/4th for lakahs, the policy which was followed by Shamsher Khan Uzbek but after them *jagirdars'* oppressive nature again revealed. *Ibid*, see p.p. 229-30 for Lakahs, pp. 205-206 for their oppression, and pp. 66, 75-76 for the promotion of Pahawars.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid*. pp. 74-75.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid*, p. 177. Ahmad Beg Khan, whose arbitrary regime reminded the author of the tyranny of Al Hijaj was simply transferred from Sehwan to Multan, even when the Emperor (Jahangir) received lot of complaints against him.

other option, but to succumb to new chiefs' wishes.<sup>445</sup> They sided with the *zamindars*, who were strong and also patronized by the imperial officers. But when these *zamindars* also oppressed them due to greed of *jagirdars*, these peasants took to flight or sometimes became rebellious. And joined hands with defiant groups like Samejahs, Nuhmardis etc,<sup>446</sup> and sometimes they took to armed revolt.<sup>447</sup> These types of revolts not only cause the destruction of villages, but increased the strength of the defiant groups, and thus increased the problem of administration. Since the *zamindars* were their kinsmen, sometimes, when *jagirdar* in order to control the defiant tribes had decided to take actions against one or two of their groups, who had surrendered and taken up cultivation; the *zamindars* did not agree to the wrong and inhuman deeds of the *jagirdar*.<sup>448</sup> They showed their affinity towards these peasants; which suited to their interest.

Thus, the oppressive tendencies of the *jagirdars* and revenue machinery in Sindh caused much destruction to the peasants. Not only the peasants, but sometimes the *zamindars* also suffered under their oppression. These two classes of rural society mostly belonged to Muslim faith,<sup>449</sup> the Hindus were mostly engaged in trade but in the later part of the nineteenth century. They intiated into agrarian relations; and became a part of the ruling class of rural Sindh. During the latter half of the seventeenth century the peasants suffered the wrath of Mughal *jagirdars*,<sup>450</sup> not only the peasants, but smaller *zamindars* also suffered, and those who survived, later in the nineteenth century came under the clutches of *bantias* and *sahukars* (money-lending merchants) because of their monopoly of rural credit system; and thus their entry into Sindh agrarian society. Thus was called "The curse of the cultivators."<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> *Ibid*, p. 80. In the *parganah* Lakut of Sehwan, the Lakahs were the dominating the area, who were revenue payers, and were patronized.

<sup>446</sup> Baluch of *pargana* Babkan, who were quite submissive, joined hands with Nuhmardis. Similarly peasants of *pargana* Khittah, Sann and Juneja [*sarkdr* Sehwan] joined hands with the Samejahs, and abandoned their homes and fields. *Ibid*, pp. 135-36, 229-30.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9. The Magnejah peasants of Kakari *pargana* of Bhakkar *sarkar* went into rebellion against the imposition of *kankut*.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131. When Shamsheer Khan Uzbek planned to attack and kill Samejahs of village Diraun (Halahkandi), who had given up their arms and taken to cultivation, was opposed by some *zamindars* of Sehwan.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242. See also David Chessman, p. 162. He says that *zamindars* were mostly Muslims.

<sup>450</sup> Yusuf Mirak, clearly states that, "people of Thatta were happier under Tartans, than the Mughal *jagirdars*, and Sehwan had become the land of forsaken of the cruel and of the helpless [peasants] through the oppression of the *jagirdars*." (*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 52, 173-74).

<sup>451</sup> David Chessman, p. 163.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE TRIBES

#### **Their Conflict with the Sedentary Population, and with the Imperial Officials**

The geographical features of Sindh put it in the category of the great river-desert basins as of the Oxus, Helmund and Nile. That is, before the present canal system it had a fairly narrow agricultural zone, which resulted in an interaction throughout its history between sedentary population, and nomads of the desert and steppes, on its east and west. They had attracted attention of almost all the contemporary accounts of Sindh region, but *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* (1634 A.D.) provides a more 'intensive description of them, mostly as trouble makers; whose main source of sustenance was pastoralism.

However, the contemporary evidence depicts a somewhat different pictures of them, because here they did not remain pure pastorals (except Nuhamardis), some of them took the occupation of peasants along with pastoral traits, and came to be called *ahsham-i-ra'iyyat*,<sup>452</sup> and some became pure peasants (*ra'iyyat-i-khalis*), while some of them were involved in trading activities also. They were indeed an integral part of the agrarian society of Sindh, and had permanent territories, pertaining to their jurisdiction. Their tribal structure was still functioning even under the Mughal rule; they had their own chiefs, their own armed retainers, and most importantly their own particular territory. In fact the geographical features of Sindh determined the socio-economic pattern of these pastoral communities. Those who remained in hills adhered to their pure nomadic life, while those who moved towards desert area like Pat and Thar became *ahsham-i-ra'iyyat*, and ones who inhabited river plains of lower Indus valley, became pure peasants (*ra'iyyat-i-khalis*).

Amongst the nomads, Kihar (Arghuns) and Nakamarah clan of Meds<sup>453</sup> Mandarah, Kalimati, Jokia, Chandiyah, Nuhani, Babar, Lasharis, Magasis, Dardasht, Lorai, Shar, Delkini, Katuhar, Bulidi, Dinaris and Rind clans of Baluch and other like Nuhmardis, Shurahs, Lakahs, Samejahs, Paha wars, and Panni Afghans dominated the region.

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<sup>452</sup> In fact, they were *ra'iyyat-i-khalis* or pure peasants; but *ahsham-i-ra'iyyat* was used even for those, who'd partially adopted the manners of peasants; and submitted the Mughal officials, posted in that region; e.g. the Mandaraha of *sarkar* Chakarhala, Mughal officials, posted in that region; e.g. the Mandaraha of *sarkar* Chakarhala, and the Sanarayah (Samejah) of Sehwan. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 35. For the physical division of Sindh see, O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan*, pp. 504-5.

<sup>453</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 34. The Nakamarah were a subdivision of the Meds, who inhabited the entire coastal belt from Kathiawar to Makran, and were notorious for their piracy at sea. See R.N. Saletore, *Indian Pirates*, first pub. Delhi, 1978, p. 21. These Kihars are also mentioned as Ghurs, who were probably Sammah in origin. *Tarikh-i-Tahri*, pp. 239-40.

### The Kihars and Nakamarahs:

They were present in sarkar Thatta.<sup>454</sup> Before the Mughal rule in Sindh, the Tarkhans had subdued them. Since robbery was their sole occupation,<sup>455</sup> and they could be a constant trouble to the inhabitants of port town, therefore, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir had followed a policy of appeasement towards them, and had even granted *juzwi mansab* to their chiefs Jam Halah and Rana Umar.<sup>456</sup> As a result of which, they submitted to the Mughal authority, and even provided military help to the Thatta Governor whenever required.

### Baluch:

The Baluch were quite dominant in the area of upper Sindh especially Bhakkar and Siwi. They even had control over several forts in this area, prior to the Mughal rule.<sup>457</sup> Besides this, they inhabited *sarkar* Thatta, Nasrpur, Chachkan, Chakarhala of *suba* Thatta, and *parganas* like Baghbanan, Bubakan and Haweli Sehwan of *sarkar* Sehwan. A mid-nineteenth century records mentions Baluchi tribal structure as: "Their ignorance and the uncivilized state in which they live, renders it difficult to reduce them to obedience and discipline! Each clan obeys only its chief; but if danger threatens anyone, messengers on camels and horses are dispatched in every direction to summon all that can bear arms ...."<sup>458</sup> The seventeenth century Persian records show a number of Baluchis present in Sindh; Kalimati and Jokia Baluch, whose combined armed retainers numbered three thousand horse and foot.<sup>459</sup> The chief of Jokia was Bajal Jokia.<sup>460</sup> Though they offered a regular *falsanah* to *sahib-i-suba*, yet the Mughal *subedar* always maintained a regular *thana* in the fort of village Narelah<sup>461</sup> of sarkar Thatta to keep a check on them. They had an open hostility with Nuhamardis of Sehwan but due to larger strength of Nuhmardis, the Kalimati and Jokia Baluch remained inferior. Other tribes were Mandarah Baluch of Chachkan, and Babar Baluch of Chakarhala. The Mandarah Baluch of Chachkan, had taken up cultivation, and were defiant,<sup>462</sup> but

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<sup>454</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 34.

<sup>455</sup> These Nakamarahs had looted the boats carrying the gifts of the King of Sarandeeep (Sri Lanka) to Al-Hijaj. They were residents of the port Debal. Chachnama (tr.), p. 70.

<sup>456</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 34.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid*, p. 32. They were subdued by Sultan Mahmud Khan, during the Arghurn rule, and wrested many forts from them. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 220

<sup>458</sup> Leopold von Orlich, *Travels in India including Sindh and Punjab*, tr. from German by H. Evans Lloyed, first published, London, 1845, sec. pub. New Delhi, 1998, vol. I, p. 94.

<sup>459</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 50-51.

<sup>460</sup> He lived near Thatta. His son had a clash with the son of Governor of Thatta, Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari. Which was the only incident, where they had clashed, otherwise they were always subservient to the Mughal authority. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 50-51. Alexander Burnes records that, "these Jokias are the descendants of the Suma[Sammah] Rajpoots, who governed Sindh in former years. They became converts to the Mohammedan faith when the Hindoo dynasty was subverted, and still retain the Hindoo name of their tribe, and claim consanguinity with the Jhareja Rajpoot of Cutch. They can bring 2000 men into the field." Sir Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara*. vol. III. p. 252.

<sup>461</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 50-51.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid*. p. 35.

during the Governorship of Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri, they were subdued, and obeyed the orders of *jagirdars* by paying land revenue on time.<sup>463</sup> The Babar Baluch of *sarkar* Chakarhala were more defiant but, they also were subdued by the strong governors like Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri, and Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari.<sup>464</sup> The local chiefs in Bhakkar were still Baluch, because of their age old hold in this area; they belong to different tribes of Baluch such as Jatoi, Bulidi, Kurai, Dardasht, Lorai, and Shar.<sup>465</sup> In Siwi, some of Baluch tribes had taken up cultivation such as Lasharis, Magasis, Katuhar, Dubinki, Dinaris and Rinds, who were quite submissive to the Mughal authorities.<sup>466</sup> Here perhaps, they were involved in trading also, which dealt with hilly items like *zahri* horses, chequered carpets, *sanjari* rugs, mountain camels and goats.<sup>467</sup> While some had local posts also, as of *ijarahdar*, and *arbab*.<sup>468</sup>

Among the notorious Baluchs name of Chandiyah Baluch is very prominent: who inhabited *pargana* Bubakan, and *pargana* Haweli Sehwan of *sarkar* Sehwan.<sup>469</sup> Nicholas Wellington, who had visited Sindh in 1614 A.D., had identified them (Baluch) as robbers on highways and river pirates.<sup>470</sup> They were the real trouble makers for the administration. They belonged to the salami category, prior to the Mughal rule, and used to accompany previous rulers in their military campaigns.<sup>471</sup> They were divided into two faction; *Gora* (white), and *Kara* (black).<sup>472</sup> their armed retainers numbered 1,000 horse and foot.<sup>473</sup> They were partially involved in cultivation, but their involvement in mischievous deeds like cattle lifting, abduction of human beings (*adam-duzdi*) and sale of free born people (*hurr-firushi*);<sup>474</sup> was to its full. They used to capture peasants of this area and sold them as slaves.<sup>475</sup> The Mughal officials showed no mercy in dealing with them. They were completely subdued during the tenure of Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman in

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.* During the Governorship of Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri, Abu'al Baqa, who was *jagirdar* of Badin (brother of Yusuf Mirak, the author), had subdued them.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47, 49, 50. Mir Abdur Razzaq Ma'amuri or Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri was a *subedar* of Thatta twice during Jahangir's reign and once during Shahjahan's reign with a rank of 2,500/1000. *The Apparatus*, pp. 60, 68, 116. While Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari had appointment in Thatta twice, as a *subedar* of Thatta in the years 1619-1620, 1621-1622 A.D., respectively, with a rank of 2000/1, *The Apparatus*, pp. 74, 80.

<sup>465</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 15.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31. Except at one place when Quch 'Ali, the then *jagirdar* of Siwi besieged the fort of Kuhyar, and the Baluch chief Ibrahim Khan had a fight with him, but he ultimately sued for peace.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>468</sup> Ibrahim Baluch, who was *ijarahdar* of Samitani mauza had even purchased qazi of that village for 100 rupees in gold (*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*. vol. II, p. 158). The reason of this sell is not mentioned by the author.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 90, 99, 100, 101.

<sup>470</sup> Nicholas Withington, *Early travels in India*, ed. William Foster, First pub., London, 1921, First Indian edition, New Delhi, 1985, p. 212; Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 115.

<sup>471</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 86, 87, 90.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. A nomad Baluch called Chandukah had two sons; Gora and Kara. Their descendants are known as Gore Baluch and Kare Baluch.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 86, 87, 146.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 133. They were also responsible for the destruction of *pargana* like Baghbanan, Kahan, Patar, and Akbarabad.

Sehwan (1593-98). He along with Mirza Anwar of Bhakkar,<sup>476</sup> and submissive nomads as Pahawars, Korejahs, and (surprisingly) with Samejahs, led an expedition against them. The *jagirdar* had appointed a *shiqqdar* amongst them for the regular realization of revenues from them.<sup>477</sup> Among the Baluches, there were some who provided helping hand to the administrative machinery in running the administration smoothly, and in controlling the recalcitrant; Nuhani Baluch were one of such, who lived 14 *kurohs* from Sehwan.<sup>478</sup> They were engaged in cultivation, and paid part of the revenue of *pargana* Bubakan. The *jagirdars* of Sehwan were very much impressed by their bravery.<sup>479</sup> Bakhtiyar Beg had even bestowed honors on them, and entrusted them with the responsibility of safeguarding the passes lying towards the villages of *pargana* Haweli Sehwan, in order to check the Nuhmardis raids on the villagers.<sup>480</sup>

### Samejahs:

The Samejahs' dwellings were in *sarkar* Nasrpur, *pargana* Baghbanan, Kahan, Bubakan and Haweli Sehwan of *sarkar* Sehwan, while Chanduka, Takar, Matilah and Alor *pargana* of *sarkar* Bhakkar. The Samejahs are divided into twelve clans; which are Bukyan, Tibah, Junejah,<sup>481</sup> Pariyah, Dal, Kibarah, Utah, Lakiyar, Rajpal, Bihan, Mangiwanah and the Unar. The Unars are further divided into five factions which are Rahas, Dahiri, Sand, Sanarayah and Kiriyah. The Sanarayahs again were further divided into four *jama'ats*; namely Darejah, Rahujah, Manahijah and Firuzjahs. Tibahs, Dais, Unars and Sanarayah were the most troublesome, who had 5,000 to 6,000 armed retainers horsemen and foot.<sup>482</sup> They were very defiant. Their arrogance perhaps emerged out of their close relations with the earlier Arghun and Tarkhan rulers,<sup>483</sup> but in spite of this, they did not even hesitate in creating troubles for them.<sup>484</sup> They were pastorals, but were having agricultural pursuits also. They were even holding the posts

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid*, p. 99. Mirza Anwar was the son of Khan-i-Azam Mirza Kukah, who was the *jagirdar* of Bhakkar. But he had sent his son to Bhakkar in his place.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid*, p. 135. They were divided into two: Nuhanis of Ka'i spring and Nuhanis of Ni'ing spring. Natalah was the chief of Ni'ing clan.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 97, 135. They had accompanied Bakhtiyar Beg, Qasim Khan Namkin, and Shamsheer Khan in their Military expedition.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid*, p. 97.

<sup>481</sup> The Junejahs were descended of Arabs, who resided in Sehwan, Bhakkar and Thatta, ever since the time of UmmaTyyads and Abbasids. Other tribes, who were also descended from the Arabs are Baluches, Pahawars, Abirahs, Korejahs, Halah potrah, Palli, and Lakahs. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part 1, pp. 55-57.

<sup>482</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 104. They had enmity with Halahs of Halahkandi [*sarkar* Nasarpur], Korejah and Pahawars of *pargana* Juneja, and the Sahtas of *pargana* Darbela (*sarkar* Bhakkar), Lakah and the Halahpotras from the *parganas* of Lakut and Khittah, and amongst the sand hills of Jaiselmer, the Rajputs. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>483</sup> Paraya Samejah, one of the chiefs of Samejah Unars, was brother in law of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, and they even had their kinship with Qasim Khan Arghun who was hakim of Nasarpur. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 117, 126, 188. The Samejahs had played very important role during the reign of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan (1565-1585), by lending support to his brother, who aspired for the throne. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>484</sup> They were responsible for killing the wife of Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan, Ra'ihah Begum; daughter of Nahid Begum. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 90.

at local levels like that of *arbabs*.<sup>485</sup> The crop they generally grew was that of millet and barley, but the revenue that they paid, was in the form of camels and goats, which sometimes led to their clash with the imperial forces, due to putting higher prices on these cattle.<sup>486</sup> They were quite often blamed for stealing the cattle of peasants. Their constant raids had destroyed *pargana* of Samwati and Halahkandi in *sarkar* Nasarpur; and thus causing a total loss of six million dams to Mughal exchequer.<sup>487</sup> After the theft and raids, they often used to retreat towards the neighboring areas like sand hills of Jaisalmer from Sehwan, or towards Nasarpur from Sehwan.<sup>488</sup> Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman, (*Jagirdar* of Sehwan), led an expedition against them in *pargana* Lakut, and after imprisoning their six chiefs namely Pariah, Bodlah, Mahmud, Farid, Jayundah and Judah, imposed a fine of 24,000 *laris*, and warned Qasim Khan Arghun (*hakim* of Nasarpur on behalf of Mirza Jani Beg), not to give asylum to them.<sup>489</sup> He had appointed his own *shiqqadr* in the *tappah* of Unars, for the regular realization of revenue from them, like other peasants.<sup>490</sup> Officials had built forts and established strong *thanas*, in village Winjarah, of *pargana* Halahkandi and in village Kajran of *pargana* Baghbanan, which he named Jahangirabad,<sup>491</sup> so that they can check their raids on one hand, and stop the Samejahs to cross the frontiers on the other.

These Unars patronized every kind of mischief: they along with Husrah boatmen ambushed travelers along the river routes;<sup>492</sup> and would loot them. Another clan of Samejahs, who were engaged in mischief, was of Sanarayah, whose armed retainers numbered 5000 in *pargana* Lakut.<sup>493</sup> They owned five villages in *pargana* Lakut, where they were engaged in cultivation, namely Dira'un, Katirah, Winjarah, Sabih and Paryari;<sup>494</sup> but they did not pay revenue either in cash or kind, instead compromised for *ijarah* on a negligible fixed amount. But the mode of payment was horses, camels, cows and donkeys.<sup>495</sup>

The Samejahs too maintained their tribal structure. Each clan had its own head, own armed retainers, and whenever trouble came, they united irrespective of the

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid*, p. 38. Yusuf Samejah was the *arbab* of *pargana* Kibar.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid*, p. 118. Abu'l Baqa (*jagirdar* of Sehwan) had chastised them along with imperial forces, when they crossed Sankirah river and went towards sand hills of Nasarpur, and to Jaisalmer. The imperial forces had killed their chief Talib along with 1200 Samejahs in the fort of Sadgar.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid*, p. 95.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid*, p. 96.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 139-40, 110, 119.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 129-30, 131. The merchants were not able to pass their territory without a strong guard. *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 137. A Samejah named Rahujah Arabi, was a ruthless robber in Sehwan. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 167.

<sup>493</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 84.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 85- 86.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid*.

responsibilities they were given at village level.<sup>496</sup> Their defiance had caused a great trouble for the administration. For their own sustenance, they had taken cultivation, yet their occupation of robbery, and stealing of cattle were not given up, which caused a loss to peasants who coexisted with them.

### **Nuhmardis:**

The only clan which retained its true pastoral character was that of Nuhmardis.<sup>497</sup> They inhabited the hilly area of *sarkar* Chakarhalah. These shepherds were constantly on the move in search of good pastures. They owned lot of cattle, and their armed retainers numbered 6,000 on horse and foot. The finest breed of camels (*shuturan-i-rangin*) was found with them.<sup>498</sup> They were divided into four *tarafs* (sections): namely the *taraf-i-kanbo*, the *taraf-i-harun*, the *taraf-i-choti*, and the *taraf-i-lashkari*.<sup>499</sup> Their means of livelihood involved cattle rearing, cattle stealing, plundering, and barter trade. A caravan of theirs comprising between 4,000 to 5,000 camels regularly came to the city of Sehwan, and traded mountain products like chequered carpets, camels, horses, goats, rugs for grain, arms and cloth.<sup>500</sup> They generally avoided clashes with the imperial forces, and troubled mostly the peasantry, whose cattle they used to steal. Except one or two incidents, their *thanahs*<sup>501</sup> were never invaded by any of the *jagirdars*. Shamsheer Khan had even patronized Murid, one of the chiefs of Nahmardis, and gave him Tihni (in *pargana* Bubakan), in *jagir*, whose income amounted to Rs. 2,000 to 3,000.<sup>502</sup> They even regularly paid the *falsanah* in the form of camels, horses, and goats.

### **Shurahs:**

The Shurahs inhabited *sarkar* Chakarchala of *suba* Thatta. Even since the days of Tarkhans, Shurahs were defiant and dominant in the region. Their hold in this region was so strong that, that the high Mughal officials were seeking their favour in solving their personal matters.<sup>503</sup> Another chief Da'ud Shurah, who lived in the Khasa-i-Shurah, commanded a large number of Husrah river pirates, who threatened both land and

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<sup>496</sup> *Ibid*, p. 38. Yusuf Samejah, who was the *arbab* of *pargana* Kibar had sided with Unars against Mughals.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90. The Nahmardis dwelt in Khattar (Kirthar) range, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi. *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

Originally the Nuhmardis were Samejahs who belonged to the salami category during Arghuns and Tarkhans.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid*, p. 88.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 111, 124, 239.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid*, p. 88. Whatever place they settle in, they call it *thanah*.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid*, p. 136. The reason behind this was their military assistance, which they provided to the *jagirdars* at the time of need. The Nuhmardis were actually located in Sehwan. but since *sarkar* Chakarhala shares a boundary with Sehwan, so, after the extermination of Shurahs, Samejahs and Babur Baluch, they got control over this region, and *jagirdar* of Chakarhala gave few villages in *jagir* to them. p. 50.

<sup>503</sup> Khusrau Beg, hakim of Thatta, was suppose to be replaced by Sa'idinah, by the orders of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, but Khusrau Beg, instead of complying to the orders, (after getting the news of death of Ghazi Beg) sent Ismail Shurah, one of the chiefs, who assailed and looted the property of Sa'idinah. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 41-42.



river routes.<sup>504</sup> But they were subsequently subdued by the strong Mughal Governors like Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri, Sayyed Bayazid Burkhari, and Sher Khwaja.<sup>505</sup>

### **Panni Afghans:**

They were settled in Siwi, and maintained 2,000 to 3,000 armed retainers.<sup>506</sup> They were brought under jurisdiction by Mir Qasim Khan Namkin, during the reign of Akbar, and *ijarah* was imposed upon them in cash as well as in kind.<sup>507</sup> But they continuously caused trouble for the administration, even during the period of Jahangir. At the time when Quch 'Ali Kurd was the *faujdar* of Bhakkar, the Panni Afghans had tried to wrest the fort of Siwi, but in vain.<sup>508</sup> With the arrest of their leader, they were suppressed to some extent. Besides these troublemakers, and recalcitrant's nomads, there were others, who were submissive throughout the Mughal rule in Sindh, and behaved like *ra'iiyyat-i-khalis* (pure peasants).

### **Pahawars<sup>509</sup> and Korejahs:**

The Pahawars were docile peasants; who inhabited the river plain area and had a hold over fertile lands. Yet they had their tribal traditions within themselves. The *jagirdar* of Sehwan Bakhtiyar Beg, had made them settled at Nairun Qalah and named it Akbarabad.<sup>510</sup> All the four streams of this region were taken as territory of four of their clans, headed by their four chiefs<sup>511</sup> namely Musa Pahawar, 'Isa Pahawar, Da'ud Pahawar, and Jalal Pahawar. They maintained their own armed retainers who were around 4,000 to 5,000 including that of Korejahs'.<sup>512</sup> Due to their open hostility with the Samejah Unars, on the issue of acquiring fertile lands, which were under the possession of Pahawars whenever imperial army went against Samejahs; the Pahawars and Korejahs helped the imperial army.<sup>513</sup> Sometimes they even acted as mediator or negotiator between defiant clans and administrative machinery.<sup>514</sup> It was probably

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<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.* p. 43.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47, 48. Ismail Shurah's son Jungar Khan died in captivity in Thatta, and the remainders submitted, while Da'ud Shurah got settled at Bela (*sarkar* Chachkan) and became submissive.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29, 30.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. Later on even during the tenure of Sayyed Bayazid Bukhari, these nomads tried to raise their heads but were again suppressed and their chief Jangi Khan was arrested and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66. The Pahawars called themselves Qurayshi, and trace their descent to Bibi Halimah, the foster mother of the Holy Prophet.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 66, The original inhabitants of Nairun Qalah were *Macchis* (fishermen).

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76, 103, 104. Samejah Unars of *parganah* Kahan (*sarkar* Sehwan) had set fire to Pahawar and Korejah villages and plundered it. In retaliation, they helped *qanungo* of Sehwan Jaisar Hindu, to defeat Samejahs, under the leadership of their chief Baha'al-din Pahawar.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133. When Chandiyah Baluch attacked *parganas* of Baghbanan, Kahan, and Akbarabad, Samsher Khan, the then *jagirdar* of Sehwan rode against them; they approached Pahawars of neighboring area to act as mediators and on their intercession the agreement took place between the two parties.

owing to this reason that many of them were holding the post of *patwaris*, *qanungos*, *arbab* and *muqaddam*.<sup>515</sup>

### **Lakahs:**<sup>516</sup>

Another nomadic group which remained submissive to the Mughal administration, was that of Lakahs who inhabited *parganah* Lakut side by side with Samejah Unars.<sup>517</sup> A open hostility existed between the two; as a result of which Lakahs were always a favorite of *jagirdars* of Sehwan. They openly assisted the Mughal officials in military expeditions against the Samejah Unars.<sup>518</sup> They also acted as an informer to the administration.<sup>519</sup>

### **Darejahs:**

The Darejahs mainly inhabited the region Bhakkar especially Alor, Siwi and Fathpur, and were a constant source of trouble. These Darejahs had twice evaded the payment of revenues to Sultan Mahmud Khan Kokaltash of Bhakkar and even attempted to expel him from Bhakkar.<sup>520</sup> But with the assistance of Sayyeds of Bhakkar, Sultan Mahmud subdued them; and captured their forty chiefs, and executed twenty-seven of them.<sup>521</sup>

### **Magnejahs:**

They inhabited *pargana* Kakari of *sarkar* Bhakkar.<sup>522</sup> They had taken up cultivation. Except once their clash with the Mughal officials,<sup>523</sup> they were submissive and obedient. Other tribes which are noted in the region were of Sahtas.<sup>524</sup> Pallis, Jajars and Korejahs (in *pargana* Sann of *sarkar* Sehwan ).<sup>525</sup>

### **Sahtas:**

They inhabited *pargana* Darbela of *sarkar* Bhakkar and had a control over the fort of Kamak, but due to their animosity towards Samejahs they cooperated with the *jagirdars*; and in reward they were considered for concession in revenue demand.

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<sup>515</sup> *Ibid*, p. 156.

<sup>516</sup> They were originally Arabs. See *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 55-57. But in *Chachnama*, Lakahs and Sammahs are mentioned as Luhanas, who were Hindus originally. *Chachnama* (tr), p. 170.

<sup>517</sup> They also inhabited *pargana* Sann, again sharing it with Unars. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 74, 79, 80. They are included in the list of eighteen original Arab tribes, who inhabited Sindh. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 55-57.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 74, 79, 85.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid*, p. 79.

<sup>520</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 122-23. Darejahs are included in the list of *sarkar* Bhakkar as the *zaminadrs* of Alor, Siwi and Fathpur. *A'in*, vol. II, pp. 163, 164.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid*. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 8.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>523</sup> When Mir Sayyed Muhammad. Mir Adl of Amrohah, became *hakim* of Bhakkar, he imposed *kankut* on peasants which was resented by peasants including Magnejahs. Sayyed Abu'l Fazl son of Mir Adl of Amroha chastised them, and subdued them. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 9-10; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 245-256.

<sup>524</sup> They inhabited *pargana* Darbelah of *sarkar* Bhakkar. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*. vol. II, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 77

### **Jats:**

The Jats were treated very harshly during the reign of Rai Chach. They were basically guides of the travelers and caravans. Though they were acting as headman and were referred as *ranas*, yet they could never ride horses.<sup>526</sup>

Burnes mentions other tribes as Mooana and Shaikh Lobana. The Mooanas basically inhabited the different banks of the rivers, and adopted the occupation of waterman. They emigrated from Punjab, and were employed in navigating the boats; or fishing in the sea or river.<sup>527</sup> The tribesmen of Sheikh Lobana, also migrated from Punjab, who were engaged in making reeds and mats. They also killed wild animals, but not held in high esteem by the rest of the people.<sup>528</sup>

Definitely the presence of pastoral communities in Sindh, demarcated its population, from the other sub as of Mughal Empire. They remained dominant in agrarian society; and made their presence recorded in almost all the contemporary chronicles. Their internal structure remained same, even their living conditions also remained like that of pure nomads. Nicholas Withington had recorded that, "Their houses were like beehives, made of straw, and mortar; whenever Mughal officials chased them, they burnt their houses and used to run to the mountains."<sup>529</sup> But the houses of their chiefs were rather roomy and ornamented with carpets.<sup>530</sup> The Balooches of Sindh, were generally armed with a long matchlock, saber, shield and bows and arrows;<sup>531</sup> which was their constant companion. Since many had taken up cultivation as a means of sustenance, their hold in agrarian section became so strong that sometimes they were at par with the *zamindars*. Their deep roots in the soil of Sindh, was even realized by the Mughal officials, who often sought their cooperation and assistance. By taking advantage of the open hostility that existed among them, the Mughal officials followed the policy of checks and balances, by promoting some, and by suppressing some; which was essential for the smooth functioning of the political as well as revenue administration.

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<sup>526</sup> *Chachnama* (tr), pp. 170, 171. The Jats even fought in the army of Dahar against Muhammad Bin Qasim's army. Muhammad Qasim had imposed punitive tribute on them. However Sir Alexander Burnes mentions them as, "erratic tribe in the Delta of Indus," Alexander Burnes, vol. III, p. 251.

<sup>527</sup> Alexander Burnes, vol. III, pp. 251, 252.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>529</sup> Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India*, ed. William Foster, First Pub. London, 1921, First Indian ed. New Delhi, 1985, pp. 209-10.

<sup>530</sup> Leopold Von Orlich, vol. I, p. 95.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 5

### THE TOWNS

The medieval Sindh besides having agricultural zones, and rural population had big towns, and a large number of sedentary population; which contributed to its polity, economy and culture. All the major towns of Sindh, were located along the river Indus, which controlled maritime commercial activities, and made communication and travel very convenient and speedy.<sup>532</sup> Therefore to control and secure river routes, from north to south, was the first and major priority of the Mughals.<sup>533</sup> The prosperity and decline of these towns, also depended upon the river course. 'The destruction of old town of Alor, and the birth of new towns like Bhakkar;<sup>534</sup> shifting of the centre from Nasarpur to Hyderabad<sup>535</sup> are examples of effect of change in river course on towns' socio, economic and political life.

Among the famous towns of Sindh, were Thatta, Lahari Bandar, Bhakkar, Sukkur, Sehwan, and Nasarpur. The first among these was Thatta, which was the capital city and a great emporium of trade. It was generally referred as Debal<sup>536</sup> in chronicles. The town was three miles long, and one and half mile broad.<sup>537</sup> The city was situated north of the river, to its south, at a distance of three *kos* was the Khanwah canal which was built by Dariya Khan.<sup>538</sup> This canal before entering the sea joined *Nar* more than ten *tanab* wide, and one could navigate it till Thatta.<sup>539</sup> It is quite surprising that Thatta being the chief city did not seem to have a very strong fort,<sup>540</sup> as firstly during the Arghuns' attack, and secondly during Portuguese attack, the fort could not defend the

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<sup>532</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 148, here is a reference of ferry check post and querying of boats; the problem which was solved by Sher Khwaja, *jagirdar* of Sehwan, which gives a picture of busy maritime activities. Also see, Alexander Hamilton, vol. 1, pp. 123-24.

<sup>533</sup> Probably that was the reason that immediately after Mughal occupation of Sindh, Akbar secured port of Lahari Bandar, and taken it under *khdlisa-i-shanfa*. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>534</sup> Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sindh*, p. 76; J. A. Abbott, *Sindh- A reinterpretation of the unhappy valley*, first pub. London 1924, reprint Delhi, 1992, pp. 60, 66.

<sup>535</sup> M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, p. 4; Henry Cousens, p. 167. Also see. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 15. sheet 5B.

<sup>536</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 6, 8. Jam Nanda bin Babiniya laid the foundation of Thatta city. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 52, 53.

Arab chroniclers had frequently mentioned Debal as ancient port of Sindh. *Chachnama* mentions it as a port town here mainly merchants resided, and had a big idol temple of 40 cubit high and its dome also 40 cubit in height.

*Chachnama* (tr.), pp. 57-8, 81.

<sup>537</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 115. While according to Henry Pottinger it was nearly six miles in circumference. See Henry Pottinger, *Travels in Baluchistan and Sinde*, reprint. Karachi, 1986, p. 351.

<sup>538</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 113; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 58. Mir Tahir had referred to this canal as Nara-i-Barikh.

<sup>539</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, p. 136.

<sup>540</sup> Though the author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, refer it as small but strong, fort situated towards Multan. Another fort was situated on a hill, at a distance of two *kos* from the city called Tagharabad and Kalankot. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 33. This fort of Taqhrabad was built by Jam Tughrur of Samma dynasty. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 52.

city very well.<sup>541</sup> The fort was so much disliked by Dara Shikoh, that he had almost burnt it.<sup>542</sup> However, this fort had a palace for the Nababs (governor) and could lodge 5000 men and horse.<sup>543</sup> In seventeenth century Thatta was a famous centre of learning in Theology, Philology and Politics, and there were four hundred colleges for training up youth in these parts of the learning.<sup>544</sup>

The inhabitants of the city included nobles, men of learning, poets, merchants (foreign as well as Indian), bankers, calligraphers, artisans, soldiers, weavers and dyers.<sup>545</sup> Its' population was probably more than 80,000.<sup>546</sup> When Nadir Shah had entered Thatta in 1742 A.D., there were 40,000 weavers, 20,000 other artisans, and 60,000 dealers in various departments of the city.<sup>547</sup> Probably most of its population was Muslim,<sup>548</sup> but Hindus, were also present, and enjoyed religious freedom.<sup>549</sup> Foreign merchants were welcomed in the city and the administration took care of them, and they were provided comfort and religious freedom.<sup>550</sup> As the city economy was mainly trade oriented, besides it being a fertile agricultural zone, and producing minerals like saltpetre, borax, opoponax, asafetida, lapis lazuli, goat bazaar etc.<sup>551</sup> After its annexation to Mughal Empire, a Mughal mint was also established, which minted silver, as well as copper coins.<sup>552</sup> The English had opened a factory here, where their chief factor used to reside,<sup>553</sup>

though the Portuguese had already established themselves at Thatta, ever since the days of Tarkhans.<sup>554</sup> The foreign merchants' interest in this city was mainly because of its excellent cotton textiles, which were in fact, better than the Gujarati textiles.<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>541</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 114, 184; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 111, 114.

<sup>542</sup> When Dara had come to Thatta during his flight, he did not like the average appearance of the fort and ordered it to be burnt down. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 331-34.

<sup>543</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 115; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 33. The fort which had residence of governor was other than Tagharabd. Da Laet has also recorded that, "the governor of the province of Sindh lived in a well fortified citadel." Da Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Bannerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 68. He also states that, "the journey from hence to the capital Lahore takes two months, but the reverse journey only one Insects are here far less of a pest than in the other Indian ports, especially Surat." This fort is even mentioned in *Chachnama*, which was under the command of *malik* (governor) of Sahiras (son of King Sahasi Rai). *Chachnama* (tr.), p. 12.

<sup>544</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 127.

<sup>545</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 33; For the presence of bankers see *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 131.

<sup>546</sup> Alexander Hamilton, had recorded, "due to severe plague above 80,000 died .... And above one half of the city was deserted and left empty." vol. I, p. 122.

<sup>547</sup> Henry Pottinger, p. 352.

<sup>548</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 33.

<sup>549</sup> Alexander had described the celebration of Holi though he had called it Wooly. Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>552</sup> Nelson Wright, *Mughal Emperors of India*, Oxford, 1908, vol. I, pp. 1XXX1X, 1XXX.

<sup>553</sup> *E.F.I.*, 1634-1636, v. 132.

<sup>554</sup> For the coming of Portuguese see. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>555</sup> Francisco Plesaert, *The Remonstrantie*, tr. By W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl as Jahangir's India, Delhi, n.d, p. 32; *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 312.

Thatta being the chief city, had a famous port, Lahari Bandar, which was situated in the bank of western branch of river Indus, Baggaur, some 28 miles south-east of Karachi, and 40 miles from Thatta.<sup>556</sup> Ibn Battuta in the 14 century had found it to be a fine town on the sea coast, possessing a large harbor, visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia and other countries and yielded in tax (probably custom duty) a large amount (6 million dinars or silver *tankas*).<sup>557</sup> Abu'l Fazl includes it in the *sarkar* of Thatta with a total revenue of 55, 21, 419 *dams*.<sup>558</sup> The 18th century *Mirat-ul-Hind* shows Lahari Bandar as a separate sarkar, comprising two *mahals* only.<sup>559</sup> Its possession was so important that Akbar took it under direct administration (*khalisa*). During Shahjahan's reign it was said in hyperbole to be so a big port that it could accommodate 1000 ships at a time.<sup>560</sup> Ships of up to 200 and 300 ton burden called here.<sup>561</sup> Royal ships used to sail from here to Red Sea.<sup>562</sup> This port city was so far inland that it took three days to reach Lahari Bandar from Thatta.<sup>563</sup> Large vessels and ships used to anchor at Lahari Bandar, and after unloading the cargo, the merchandize were brought to Thatta in small boats up to river,<sup>564</sup> and by the land on packed animals. Lahari Bandar had a strong fort, which had four to five guns mounted on it.<sup>565</sup> Whenever any ship entered the port, a gun was fired to inform the local merchants and inhabitants of the towns of its arrival. They used to approach the ship, in small boats (*ghurabs*) to negotiate terms. If the ship did not belong to the port, it was not allowed to anchor inside the channel, but had to anchor in the roadstead off coast. From there, its cargo was transferred to small boats, and sent to the city Thatta.<sup>566</sup>

Besides these maritime activities, a brisk traffic went on between Thatta and Lahari Bandar, Hamilton records that a place four miles from the port towards Thatta, contained a fort called dung-bam It was used as *sarai* and twenty cottages around the building served as the breeding centre of fowl, goat and sheep, supplying the needs of

<sup>556</sup> Edward Thornton, vol. II, p. 16.

<sup>557</sup> Ibn Battuta, Al-Rahela, tr. by H.A.R. Gibb, as Travels of Ibn Battuta 1325-1354 A.D., New Delhi, 1993, vol. III, p. 602; cf p. 599 and n. Though Alexander Hamilton records Lahari Bandar as a village of 100 houses built of crooked sticks and mud. Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 114

<sup>558</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>559</sup> Irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 14, sheet 5 A col (b).

<sup>560</sup> Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama*, tr. p. 212. Instead of Lahari Bandar, Inayat Khan has mentioned Thatta as the port.

<sup>561</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 114

<sup>562</sup> Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and trade in Mughal India*, pp. 25 1-52. These ships were built at Lahore as Thatta could not provide sufficient timber for its manufacturing.

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>564</sup> Francisco Pelsaert, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>565</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol I, p. 114.

<sup>566</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 114. For the navigation the localities used vessels called *kishftes* of several sizes. "The largest could carry a burden of 200 tons, which were flat bottomed, and each side had cabin built from stern to stem, that overhang about 2 foot, and in each cabin, is a kitchen, and a place for exoneration." Alexander Hamilton, vol. I p. 123; Am mentions that at least 40,000 boats were present in Thatta. Vol. II, p. 165.

those passing through.<sup>567</sup> Thevenot, who wrote his account of Sindh in the 1660s mentions Lahari Bandar, as a great centre of trade providing better harbor for ships, than any other place.<sup>568</sup>

A silver mint was established here by the Mughals.<sup>569</sup> This confirms the presence of official staff of mint, bankers, foreign<sup>570</sup> as well as Indian merchants, governor, administrative officials, artisans, and soldiers, amongst the local population. But during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the position of Lahari Bandar and Thatta as great centres of trade, started declining, partially because of the blockening of the port due to salt siltation, and partially due to the loss of Hormuz to the Safawids. Though in 1652, Aurangzeb tried to replace this port, with that of Kakralah,<sup>571</sup> but to no avail, and the end of the 18th century, the port shifted to Karachi. Thatta also remained the capital city of Sindh till the Amirs built the fortress of Hyderabad, and removed their court thither.<sup>572</sup>

Another very important urban centre of Sindh, was the transitional principality of Northern Sindh 1555-74, an offshoot of the Arghun State, which for nearly two decades maintained an autonomous existence by balancing itself between Safawid Empire and the Mughals, and between the Tarkhans of Thatta, and the Mughal court. Its capital was Bhakkar, a rocky island, with the archipelago of rock of Gibraltar, lat. 31° 37' 1" long 71° 4' on the Indus between Sukkur and Rohri. It had an ideal situation for a secure fort; not only it commanded the route between Sindh and the Punjab, but could also serve as a secure post for meeting any invasion from the north-west down the Bolan pas. For these reasons, it was frequently mentioned in Sultanate, and Mughal chronicles. It was sometimes mentioned as Beghrur<sup>573</sup> and Bakar.<sup>574</sup>

The birth of this island was caused by an incidental change in the eastern branch Hakrah<sup>575</sup> of Indus, which caused the desertion of an old town Alor, and the birth of Bhakkar, Sukkur and Rohri. It seems that Bhakkar existed before Sukkur, as it was known as Sukkur *qadim*<sup>576</sup> and also as Mansurah.<sup>577</sup> Sukkur was situated to its north,

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<sup>567</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, pp. 1 17-18.

<sup>568</sup> Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendra Nath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 75.

<sup>569</sup> Nelson Wright, vol. I, pp. IXXXIX, IXXX.

<sup>570</sup> The Portuguese had built a church here and Christian missionary also lived here. See Nicoloi Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. by William Irwine, as *Mughal India*, Calcutta, 1965, vol. I, p. 60.

<sup>571</sup> *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118.

<sup>572</sup> Henry Pottinger, p. 351.

<sup>573</sup> Al Baladhuri, *Futuh-i-Buldan*, tr. by Elliot and Dowson as, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, Allahabad, n.d. vol. I, p. 122.

<sup>574</sup> Alauddin At'a Malik Juwaini, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, tr. J.A. Boyle, A history of the world conqueror, Manchester, 1958, vol. II, p. 414. It states, "Qubacha fled to Akar and Bakar, two forts on an island."

<sup>575</sup> H.T. Lambrick, *Sindh - A general introduction*, p. p. 172-196. River Hakrah is mentioned as Wahind and Wahan by Tahir Muhammad Nisyani. See *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 25. Mir Tahir narrates an interesting folklore behind this shift in river course.

<sup>576</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p.b.

while Rohri was situated towards south.<sup>578</sup> Rohri or Alor was the capital city of Sindh in the period when Arab army invaded Sindh (712-714A.D.). According to Chachnama, "the town of Alor was the capital city of Hind and Sindh. It was adorned with various kinds of royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows, and trees, and was situated on the bank of river called Mihran (ancient name of river Indus)."<sup>579</sup>

Bhakkar had a very strong fort, which was reconstructed by Shah Beg Arghun, using the bricks from the Alor fort, and from the houses of Turks and Sammah people in the suburb of Bhakkar.<sup>580</sup> The fort was oval in shape measuring 800 x 300 yards and was made of burnt bricks.<sup>581</sup> During the flight of Humayun, he wished to stay in the fort but considering the importance of the fort, Sultan Mahmud Kokaltash (who was made in charge of the fort by Shah Beg Arghun) declined the offer.<sup>582</sup> He had added an outer enveloping wall to the fort and constructed two gardens inside the fort; namely Nazrgah and Guzrgah.<sup>583</sup> After Bhakkar came under Mughal Sway, a number of buildings were added to the town.<sup>584</sup>

To the west of the fort situated another hillock known as Sadh Bela which was an abode of *baniyas* of Hindu caste.<sup>585</sup> Since Bhakkar was located on important strategic point, its economic importance was also significant. Even prior to Thatta and Lahari Bandar, a Mughal silver mint was established in Bhakkar in the year 1574 A.D.<sup>586</sup> Bankers were present here as Bills of exchange (*hundis*) were very popular in Thatta and Bhakkar, most probably due to security reasons. These bills were generally drawn on Ahmadabad.<sup>587</sup> The presence of Multani merchants are also recorded.<sup>588</sup> Very good

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<sup>577</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 160.

<sup>578</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 74. While Manucci places their location as in east and west. See *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 310.

<sup>579</sup> *Chachnama* (tr.), p. 11.

<sup>580</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 124; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 5. Earlier Jam Nizamuddh of Sammah dynasty had left this fort under the custody of his slave Dilshad after filling the fort with all kind of provisions. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 73.

<sup>581</sup> A. Bumes, *Travels into Bokhara and a voyage on the Indus*, vol. II, pp. 270-271. While according to Manucci "the fortress was nine hundred and seventy five pace long, and five hundred and fifty three broad." Niccoloi Manucci, vol. I, p. 310.

<sup>582</sup> In its place he offered Chachgan in southern Sindh to Humayun. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 170.

<sup>583</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 144.

<sup>584</sup> Mir Qasim Khan Namkin had constructed a quadrangular platform with minarets and called it *Suffah-i-Safa*, while Mir Ma'sum, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, had constructed a green dome *sitasar*, and a ship like mosque on top of the hill. See *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, pp. 3, 4. Mir Ma'sum had also constructed a minaret at Sukkur. Henry Cousens, p. 151; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 77; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwarim*, vol. I, pp. 198, 199.

<sup>585</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 4. For the hold of *baniya* caste see Richard F. Burton, *Sindh, and the races that inhabit the valley of Indus*, London 1851, reprint, N. Delhi 1992. Burton calls it "pure forest", while Eastwick calls it "island of seven virtuous Damsels." Eastwick, *A Glance at Sindh before Napier/Dry leaves from young Egypt*, p. 39.

<sup>586</sup> R. B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, oxford, 1914, vol. II, p. 39.

<sup>587</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 131; *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 101.

<sup>588</sup> Manucci, vol. I, p. 427. These merchants of Khatri community are mentioned even in East India Company records. H.T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, pp. 103-104.



quality of swords were also manufactured here, which were in great demand,<sup>589</sup> besides its textiles. It commanded inland trade route to Qandahar, and also towards Jaiselmer and Uchch; besides supplying camels on lease to those going towards Jaiselmer, Qandahar and Multan.<sup>590</sup>

Thus it seems that Bhakkar's population was generally composed of Mughal officials, merchants, bankers, scholars, artisans and soldiers, men of learning, and renowned scholars were living in large number ever since the days of Arghuns.<sup>591</sup> There used to be a great annual fair on this island, because of the shrine of Khwaja Khizr, attended by both Hindus and Muslims, but after the two having quarreled, the Hindus got themselves established at Sukkur.<sup>592</sup> Here also men of learning came and settled down.<sup>593</sup> Rohri, which is also adjacent to Bhakkar, stands on a hill, opposite of the river from Sukkur; and came into being during Mughal period.<sup>594</sup> Here are some mosque buildings which date back to sixteen, seventeen and early eighteen century. Its population mostly included merchants who dealt in merchandize *viz* cotton cloth, indigo etc.<sup>595</sup>

Another very important city of Mughal Sindh was Sehwan, which is situated on the bank of river in lower valley, especially in the western valley section of Sindh, to the east of Manchur lake.<sup>596</sup> Although Indus had changed its course many times, but from Sehwan its movements became very limited. The hills in Sehwan were mainly the abode of nomads. Lakki mountains, which originates from seacoast and ends at Sehwan, was inhabited by the Kalimati Baloch tribe. Another range is Kirthar, which runs from Sehwan to Siwi, and was an abode of Nuhmardi tribe.<sup>597</sup> It is also famous for its excessive heat which records 126°f (52.2°c).<sup>598</sup>

It was called by different names in Mughal Chronicles as Siwistan (Sehwan), while Cunningham mentions its old name as Sadustan.<sup>599</sup> With the establishment of Mughal rule in Sindh, *sarkar* Sehwan was taken direct administration.<sup>600</sup> This was probably due to its important strategic location as a gate to Lower Sindh, which is why Abdur Rahim

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<sup>589</sup> Henry Cousens, p.p. 143, 144.

<sup>590</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 5.

<sup>591</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, p. 262.

<sup>592</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 148.

<sup>593</sup> Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari got settled in Sukkur, and so also Shah Khairuddin, who had spent his youth in religious studies at Baghadd, visited Mecca and Madina, then he got settled at Sukkur as a religious teacher. Henry Cousens, p.p, 153, 154.

<sup>594</sup> When seventeen hundred families of Sayyids deserted the fort of Bhakkar during the siege, and migrated towards Lohri hills and established a new town called Rohri. Henry Cousens, pp, 155, 156.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.* p. 158.

<sup>596</sup> O. H. K. Spate and A. T. A. Learnmonth, p. 504.

<sup>597</sup> *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>598</sup> O. H. K. Spate and A. T. A. Learnmonth, p. 588.

<sup>599</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *The ancient Geography of India*, ed. S.M. Mojumdar, Calcutta, 1924. p. 302.

<sup>600</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 91.

Khan-i-Khanan tried to secure it first before going towards Thatta.<sup>601</sup> But towards the second half of the seventeenth century (sometimes before 1656 AD) Sehwan was transferred from Thatta to Multan *suba*;<sup>602</sup> when it appears on a revenue list under Multan and not under Thatta.

The fort of Sehwan was located on the north side, while population lived on the southern side.<sup>603</sup> It was called *qlla-i-kafir* by the locals, mud built, measuring approximately 400 X 200 yards, and about 60 feet high.<sup>604</sup> Since it was nomad infested area, therefore to ensure its security, Mirza Yusuf, brother of Ahmad Beg Khan the *jagirdar* of Sehwan, ordered a wall to be constructed around the city.<sup>605</sup>

It was also a great centre of trade. Its excellent cotton textiles were in great demand,<sup>606</sup> nearly once thousand families of weavers used to live here.<sup>607</sup> The maximum production of indigo in Sindh, used to be in Sehwan, amounting to 2000 maunds per year.<sup>608</sup> Other cash crops that this town produces were tobacco and cotton.<sup>609</sup>

The trade was carried through river rine traffic, in boats<sup>610</sup> and barter trade was generally in vogue in this town. The nomads of Nuhmardi tribe, visited regularly the town of Sehwan, comprising 4,000 to 5,000 camels, and traded mountain products for grain, arms etc.<sup>611</sup>

Its population comprised Mughal officials, merchants, scholars, *sufis*, singers, weavers, boatmen, washermen and soldiers. People of all the religion had freedom to celebrate their festivals. *Urs* and *Shivratri* were celebrated with same zeal and grandeur.<sup>612</sup> This town was also famous for the shrine of famous Lal Shah Baz Qalandar, which existed to the extreme south of the city,<sup>613</sup> who was worshipped both by the Hindus and the Muslims equally.

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<sup>601</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 252.

<sup>602</sup> *Dastur-i-Amal-i-Alamgiri* vide irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, p. 13, sheet 5-A. Chahar Gulshan mentions *sarkar* Sehwan of *suba* Multan, with 21 *mahals*, 347 *mauzas* and with a revenue of 1,26,29, 600 *dams*. J. N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 130.

<sup>603</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 57.

<sup>604</sup> Henry Cousens, pp. 138, 139. Even Yusuf Mirak had mentioned this fort as old and dilapidated. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 57.

<sup>605</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 158.

<sup>606</sup> Irfan Habib, 'Indian textile industry in the seventeenth century,' Essays in the honour of prof. S.C. Sarkar, section III, New Delhi, 1976, p. 1 87.

<sup>607</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid* p. 129.

<sup>609</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 183, 184, 185.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 156-57. Between Bhakkar and Sehwan, to the eastern side is Khyrpur river, which is navigated by the light boats during rainy season. See Henry Pottinger, p. 35.

<sup>611</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. III, 239.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid*. p. 59.

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57. Saints' real name was Shaikh Usman Manwandi, who came to Sehwan and spent the rest of his life here. He died in the year 1274 A.D. Henry Cousens, p. 139.

Another important trading centre and town was Nasarpur. It was one of the four *sarkars* of *suba* Thatta,<sup>614</sup> and was situated on the river Sankara.<sup>615</sup> The size of the town was as big as Thatta;<sup>616</sup> during the Arghun period also, it was one of the important six *sarkars*.<sup>617</sup> The city was founded by Amir Nasr, an officer of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq;<sup>618</sup> but the buildings were mainly added by the Tarkhans.<sup>619</sup>

The town became one of the important centres of textile industry whose weavers along with Thatta numbered three thousand.<sup>620</sup> The textiles were exported largely to Cango, Basra, Persia and Turkey market.<sup>621</sup> An English factory was also established here, along with a subordinate to the chief factor;<sup>622</sup> which shows the economic importance of this town which it retained till river Sankara deserted it.

Besides these, there were other important towns, which were either trade centres or military centres, like Darbela, Kandiaro, Halahkandi, Sann and Bubeca noted for their excellent textile and indigo production;<sup>623</sup> while Mathila (to the NE of Bhakkar) was noted for its important military fortification.

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<sup>614</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 33.

<sup>615</sup> It was change in this branch of river westward towards Hyderabad (old Nairun), which led to the prosperity of the new town, and the decay of old. See Henry Cousens, p. 167; M.R. Haig, *The Indus Delta country*, p. 4. The name Sankara was applied to the western branch of eastern Nara. See *An Atlas*, p. 15. Sheet 5B.

<sup>616</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>617</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 2.

<sup>618</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 147. It was here that the coronation of Shah Husain Arghun took place. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 126, 127.

<sup>619</sup> *Tuhfat ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 45, 50.

<sup>620</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid*, p. 132. Niccoloi Manucci, vol. I, p. 60. Also see Manrique, vol. II, p. 233.

<sup>623</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 136; *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, pp. 136, 137, 163.

## CHAPTER 6

### URBAN ECONOMY

#### 6.1: Trade and Commerce: Major Export and Import Items

Situated on the lower side of river Indus, Thatta had been an important trading centre, with its port Lahari Bandar on the bank of western branch of river Indus, Baggaur. Ibn Battuta in the 14th Century, had found it to be a fine town on the sea coast, possessing a large harbor, visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia, and other countries.<sup>624</sup> Its possession was so important that Akbar took it under direct administration (*khalisa*).<sup>625</sup> During Shahjahan's reign, it was said that it could accommodate 1000 ships at a time.<sup>626</sup> Ships of up to 200 and 300 tons burden called here.<sup>627</sup> It took almost three day to reach Thatta from here.<sup>628</sup> Larger vessels and ships used to anchor at Lahari Bandar and after unloading the cargo, the merchandize were brought to Thatta in Small boats up the river,<sup>629</sup> and by the land on packed animals. Whenever any ship entered the port, a gun was fired to inform the local merchants and inhabitants of the town, of its arrivals. They used to approach the ship in small boats (*ghurabs*) to negotiate terms. If the ship did not belong to the port, it was not allowed to anchor inside the channel, but had to anchor in the roadstead off the coast. From there, its cargo was transferred to small boats and sent on to the city (Thatta).<sup>630</sup>

The major items exported from here were textile, indigo, leather, saltpeter, butter and ivory products to Congo, Basra, Persia, Masqat, Hormuz, Portugal. The textiles of Sindh were in great demand, which were mainly used for trading purpose rather than home consumption. Thatta, Nasarpur, Sehwan, Kandiaro and Darbela were the main centres of cotton textiles,<sup>631</sup> especially Thatta and Nasarpur, where three thousand families of weavers used to live, whereas Sehwan accommodated one thousand families of weavers.<sup>632</sup> Most of the weavers used to weave checkered *alegias* (silk cloth), which was

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<sup>624</sup> Ibn Battuta, *Al-Rahela* (tr), vol. III, pp. 599 n, 602.

<sup>625</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>626</sup> Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama* (tr.) p. 212. Instead of Lahari Bandar, Inayat Khan has mentioned Thatta as a port.

<sup>627</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *The New Account of East Indies*, vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>629</sup> Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonslrantie* (tr), pp. 31, 32.

<sup>630</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahri*, p. 144.

<sup>631</sup> Irfan Habib, 'Indian textile Industry in the Seventeenth Century.' p. 187. In Kur, Zamin and Chhatar, dependencies of Siwi, the cotton plant measure up to a jujube tree in height and people used to pluck cotton on horseback. *Mazhar-i-Shdhjahani*, vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>632</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, pp. 128, 129. While mentioning plague of 1680s in Sindh, Alexander Hamilton recorded death of 80,000 cotton and silks manufacturers in Thatta. Alexander Hamilton, *op cit*, vol. I, p. 122.

exported mainly to the Persian and Turkey market.<sup>633</sup> A large quantity of these clothes was sent to the port of Congo and Basra by the merchants of Thatta.<sup>634</sup>

Another type of Sindhi textiles were *joorie* (striped), *jamawars*, *cutburges*, *cambooles* (mixture of silk and wool), *dustars*, *armeniaes*, *duster gullames*, *cannikins*, *alaboolaes* or red *joories*, *semavars* (wrought silk cloth) and a coarse sort of gingham called *seriaes* (made of double thread) was also manufactured here.<sup>635</sup> The *joories* and *chhints* manufactured here were very soft, and used mainly for bed covers;<sup>636</sup> of these *comboolies* (wool+silk), and *alachas* (cotton+silk), *cuttanee* (cotton+silk), were mainly exported to Portugal, where its demand was much higher.<sup>637</sup> Not only this, but embroidered calico and silk were also demanded by the English for export to Europe.<sup>638</sup>

While comparing cotton textile of Sindh with that of Gujarat calicoes, Palsaert gives weightage to Sindhi calicoes; despite the fact that Gujarat textile was higher in price.<sup>639</sup> Its demand was so much that the English had invested rupees seventeen thousand alone in Thatta calicoes with a total quantity from 5000 pieces to 20,000 at a time.<sup>640</sup> Thatta alone had two thousand looms, whose woven cloth was very fine and exported largely, while silken *taffeta* and *taffseales* were praised highly.<sup>641</sup> It seems that *joories* were liked most by the English, due to which English factors were ordered to sent 2000 pieces of *joories* per year to England;<sup>642</sup> but due to weavers' engagement in other types, European merchants had to buy it from other centres as well to fulfill their demand.<sup>643</sup> But still, five thousand to twenty thousand *joorie* pieces were bought every year by the English merchants.<sup>644</sup> Cloth was also dyed and printed [block printed]. Shah Abdul Latif in his poetry refers to the hand printing of bed sheets.<sup>645</sup>

The textile industry of Sindh had passed many ups and down, which can be seen in its price fluctuation. English factory records reports about the increase prices of piece goods, owing to large investment for Basra;<sup>646</sup> and it was hoped that price will again fall, so that supply to England can be enhance to meet demand at home. Again in 1656,

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<sup>633</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 130.

<sup>634</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 130, 133.

<sup>636</sup> Alexandar Hamilton, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 125. *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 130.

<sup>637</sup> John Irwin and P.R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indian- European textile*, Ahmedabad, 1966, p. 24

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>639</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 312

<sup>640</sup> Pelsaert *op. cit.* p. 32

<sup>641</sup> Fray Sebastein Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastein Manrique (1629-1643)* tr. by Lt. Col. C. Eckford Ward, London, 1926, vol. II, pp. 238-239.

<sup>642</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1642, p. 312. *Joorie* was 432 inches in length and 27 inches in width; *E.F.I.* 1634-1634, p. 130.

<sup>643</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 130

<sup>644</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 312; *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>645</sup> S.M. Jhangiani, *Shah Abdul Latif and his times 1690-1751*, p. 155. For printing cloth *punhu* (wooden stamp) was used.

<sup>646</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 163. This rise in price was reported in March, 1644 A.D.

prices rose at Nasarpur (*suba* Thatta) as large quantities were sent to Basra by Thatta merchants.<sup>647</sup> One main reason behind the increasing demand of Sindh textile was a terrible famine of Gujarat in 1630 A.D., which mainly affected the weavers, washers and dyers of Broach, hence attention of the buyers turned towards Sindh as a substitute. Thus, rising demand also led to speedy and expanded production, leading ultimately to the fall in quality. Because of this in the second half of the seventeenth century, the English factors reported about the deteriorating quality of cloth;<sup>648</sup> perhaps the weavers could not cope up with the quantity and quality simultaneously. To solve this problem, English buyers had asked Nasarpur weavers to alter their looms in the year 1647, and instead of weaving cloth of 600 yams in a warp, they were asked to use 700 yarn.<sup>649</sup> But the increasing fall in quality led to decreasing demand of Sindhi textile.

Another industry which flourished in Sindh and attracted European merchants was indigo.<sup>650</sup> Indigo was mainly used for dyeing clothes, and, this was one of the main agricultural produce of *suba* Thatta, grown especially in Sehwan, but it was not that good as of Bayana and Sarkhej, yet it was exported to Basra and England.<sup>651</sup> Producers of Sehwan were mainly depended on Thatta dyers, because they were their chief customers and main exporters also. These dyers used to pay 41½ rupees per *maund*, and rupees 3 were taken as extra charges.<sup>652</sup> In total, they were paying 44½ A rupees for per *maund* indigo, while indigo seller at Thatta used to buy indigo from Bubeca and Sann for rupees 21 or 22 per *maund*, with the condition that they could not buy less than 100 *maunds* at a time.<sup>653</sup> There are reports that show that cost of indigo was cheaper at Sehwan than at Thatta,<sup>654</sup> yet the Thatta dyers were not at loss because weight differs at both the places. In Sehwan *man-i-Jahangiri* was prevalent [which was lb 33.19] while Thatta had a use of *man-i-Shahjahai* [Ib 36M].<sup>655</sup> Finally the English factor at Thatta had fixed its price to rupees 40 a *maund*.<sup>656</sup> Indigo which was found in Sindh was obtained from two wild species of Indigofera i.e. *Lordifolia*, Heyne, and *Paucifolia*, Delisle, but the cultivated plant was *Tinctoria*,<sup>657</sup> It was mainly consumed by dyers. The process of dyeing a cloth, required to first dip into mordant of glum, gum and fullers earth, and then it was dyed into colour of choice. Portuguese and other merchants of the city

<sup>647</sup> *E.F.I.* 1656-1660, p. 80.

<sup>648</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 312; *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, pp. 129, 130; *E.F.I.* 1655-1660, p. 81.

<sup>649</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, pp. 227-232.

<sup>650</sup> The English were granted permission for indigo trade with Sindh through a *nishan* of Dara Shikoh in 1644 A.D., who was the then Governor of Thatta, and John Spiller was the Chief factor of Thatta factory. D. Pant, *The commercial policy of Mughals*, reprint, Delhi, 1978, p. 196.

<sup>651</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 277.

<sup>652</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 203

<sup>653</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, pp. 136, 137.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>655</sup> Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India, 1556-1707 A.D.*, pp. 374, 376. lists of weights is given in Appendix 'B'

<sup>656</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 203.

<sup>657</sup> George Waft, *A Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Calcutta, 1890, vol. IV, p. 410.

bought cloth, and used to dye it in deep blue for export to Basra.<sup>658</sup> Indigo dyed cloths were very wide; it was either *bafftas* or *chhints*.

Thus indigo cultivation in Sindh had two main markets, firstly at home, and secondary at foreign land, mainly in England, Hormuz, Italy and Turkey. From time to time, the English merchants had reported indigo as dear commodity, whose cultivation was limited due to scarcity of means, and cultivators were also resistant to grow this crop.<sup>659</sup> Thus adulteration was great, and at the time of sell, sand was mix within it.<sup>660</sup> Yet its production in Sindh had the fourth highest rate of revenue payment i.e. 35 *tanka muradi* per annum.<sup>661</sup> Its maximum production was in the *sarkar* of Sehwan, amounting to 2000 *maunds* per year.<sup>662</sup> But lately the English records show the scarcity, that by the second half of the seventeenth century, the total production of indigo in Sindh, was not more than 800 *maunds*.<sup>663</sup> In quality, albeit it remained inferior to Sarkhej, but the produce of Muda Nar in *pargana* Haweli Sehwan, was superior to Bayana indigo.<sup>664</sup> But with the opening of indigo trading with West Indies by the English, West Indies became the main supplier, and Indian indigo trade suffered out of it.<sup>665</sup> Except indigo, another thing which was used for dyeing was fawn or Masseidt, which gives red colour. This was imported from Iran through the Isfahani merchants.<sup>666</sup>

The third major export from Sindh was leather. This region abounded in cattle especially buffaloes, which resulted in a great export of their hides through ships. Sindhi manufacture a very fine quality of leather, which Portuguese styled as Sindhi leather, mainly exported to Arab and Persia.<sup>667</sup> It was not a plain preparation, rather decorated with black stitch work, and fringes of silk at the corners; horse trappings, stitched quilts and excellent mattresses called Sindhi mattresses were the main items.<sup>668</sup> Linschoten says "They were excellent leather, cunningly wrought with silk of all colours, both flowers and personages."<sup>669</sup>

Other items which were included in the list of export items were wheat and Ghee for Masqat,<sup>670</sup> wine for England,<sup>671</sup> locally manufactured desks, draught boards, writing

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<sup>658</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 243.

<sup>659</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 203. The cultivations were hesitant as it affected the productivity of soil.

<sup>660</sup> D. Pant, *op. cit.* p. 196.

<sup>661</sup> Dasturs given in *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* mentions its rate as forth highest. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 183-4.

<sup>662</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 129.

<sup>663</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 203

<sup>664</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, p. 160.

<sup>665</sup> The total input of indigo in the year 1782, into England was lb 64,309 from West-Indies, while entire Asian export was only lb 25,535. George Watt, *op cit*, p. 461.

<sup>666</sup> Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 32.

<sup>667</sup> Fray Sebastien Manrique, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 239n.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid*, vol. II, pp. 234, 238.

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid*, p. 239n

<sup>670</sup> Niccolo Manucci, *Storia do mogor 1653-1708*, tr. Willian Irwine, first pub. 1907-1908, reprint Delhi 1990, vol. II, p. 401.

cases, inlaid with ivory and ebony, exported in large quantity to Goa and other coastal towns.<sup>672</sup> Saltpetre, which was of a fine quality, and exported mainly to England, priced rupees 6 per *maund*,<sup>673</sup> and in one time 50 tones of saltpetre was sent.<sup>674</sup> One more commodity chiefly exported to China, was the wood *ligna dulics*, grown at Sindh. Its root was called *Pitchock* or *Radix dulics*, served as a main ingredient in making perfumes. It was exported to Surat and from there sent to China, where it fetched a very good price<sup>675</sup>. Besides it, asafoetida to England,<sup>676</sup> and a sweet flavored fish called *pala*, was also exported to England after making it dry,<sup>677</sup> and its oil was used mainly in ship building.<sup>678</sup>

As far as import is concerned, Sindh mainly imported precious metals like silver and gold from outside world, and commodities for daily consumption were chiefly imported from other cities of India. This inter-regional, and intra- regional trade was generally of barter nature. As Sindh imported sugar, sugar candy, *naushader*, ginger from Lahore, in exchange for pepper, tin, lead, spices, broad clothes, dates, coker milts.<sup>679</sup> It also imported tobacco from Gujarat.<sup>680</sup> From outside India specially from Arab and Persia, dates, horses, seed pearls, pearls, incense, gem mastic, senna leaves, and Jew's stones, were imported, in exchange for white and black sugar, butter, silver oil and cocos.<sup>681</sup>

As far as import items from Europe are concerned; in exchange for *bafta* and cotton textiles Sindh mainly imported precious metals and spices, and especially silver. Between 1586-1590, Portuguese exported 50-45 metric tons of silver to Sindh and Gujarat.<sup>682</sup> Sindh also imported silver from Middle East by overseas route.<sup>683</sup> Silver and gold coins especially Lari, Reales of eight, Abbasis, gold ducats were also imported from Asia and Europe.<sup>684</sup>

<sup>671</sup> *E.F.I.* 1656-1660, p. 333.

<sup>672</sup> Pelsaert, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>673</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 130, *E.F.I.* 1661-1664, p. 108; Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 12; according to *A'in*, "in Thatta Saltpetre was found in abundance." *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165. List of prices of different commodities is provided in the Appendix. A.

<sup>674</sup> *E.F.I.* 1656-1660, p. 310.

<sup>675</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 126.

<sup>676</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 191.

<sup>677</sup> Jadunata Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzeb*, p. IXXII; Durate Barbosa, *An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and, their inhabitants*, London, 1918, vol. I, p.p. 189, 223. According to *A'in*, "*pala* fish is found in abundance in *sarkar* Thatta." *A'in*, vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>678</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>679</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 244. Lead was imported into Sindh from England. *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 85.

<sup>680</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 60.

<sup>681</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 58

<sup>682</sup> Najaf Haider, 'Precious metal flows and currency circulation in the Mughal Empire'. *JESHO*, London, August 1996, vol. 39, part 3, p. 315

<sup>683</sup> Aziza Hasan, "Mints of the Mughal Empire: A study in comparative currency output"; *PIHC*, Patiala, 1967, part I, Section II, p. 324.

<sup>684</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, pp. 42, 133; *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118.



During the latter half of the seventeenth century Sindh witnessed a decline in trade and its reflection can be seen in stagnation of money circulation, due to decline in mint production. Clearly the long term trend could have had little to do with such local problems, as the blockening of Lahari Bandar by sand banks,<sup>685</sup> or the final seizure of Qandahar by the Safawids in 1648-49 Reading to fell of Elormuz; though these were undoubted irritants. The English factors were continuously complaining of the scarcity of rupees and also of difficulty in obtaining even previously issued rupees.<sup>686</sup> So, the English found it very difficult to continue trade with Sindh.<sup>687</sup> This scarcity became so adverse that a person who wished to make a long distance remittances from Bhakkar, found it very difficult to have it done directly from Bhakkar to Akbarabad (Agra), or Kannauj. This is strongly brought out in letters written by 'Abdu'l Bilgrami, an official posted at Bhakkar. In 1708, he explained his son the difficulties in remitting money to Bilgram (near Kannauj), it says "in Bhakkar, there is no banker (*mahajan*) who can draw a *hundawi* on Akbarabad (Agra) or Kannauj. The *hundawi* from here is drawn on Multan; from Multan on Lahore; from Lahore on Akbarabad, and from thence on order for payment in *chalam*(current rupees) is issued on Kannauj. In such circumstances, one has to get a *hundawi*, written out at four places carefully; ensuring specification of rupee, mintage and year of issue (in which payment is to be made)." He, therefore, advised his son to try to have a reverse *hundawi* (*hundawi-i-jawabi*) discounted by a *mahajan*, drawn upon him at Bhakkar, so that presumably all the successive stages would be managed by *mahajans* discounting it at each stage.<sup>688</sup> Clearly none of the great bankers at Agra or Delhi, cared to have agents or correspondents at Bhakkar or even Multan, and this would only be when the trade between upper Sindh and the core of Mughal Empire, was not a scale sufficient enough to provide for the profitable establishment of a direct credit and exchange mechanism.

The conquest of Sindh by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the year 1591-1592 A.D. led to the establishment of Imperial mints in that region, and thereby unifying the monetary system of Sindh with the rest of the Mughal Empire. Bhakkar in northern Sindh had been annexed to Akbar's dominions earlier in 1574; and in the A'in-i Akbari, Abu'l Fazl has mentioned the name of Bhakkar amongst the list of twenty-eight towns, where only copper coins were struck.<sup>689</sup> After the annexation of whole of Sindh eighteen years later, imperial mints were also established, at Thatta, and at Lahari Bandar, which were exclusively silver mints.

<sup>685</sup> William floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Deiwel Sindh (Pakistan) in 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>686</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, pp. 73, 101, 102.

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>688</sup> *'Abdul Jalil Bilgrami's letters*, Persian text on even and translation on odd pages, Oriental Miscellany, Calcutta, I, 1978, p. 156. See also pp. 274, 276, 278, 282.

<sup>689</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, p. 19. But Lahore Museum has a specimen of a silver coin dated 1585-1586 A.D. 1985 A.H., issued from the Bhakkar mint. Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore; R.B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, vol. II, p. 39.

Under the previous rulers of the Arghun and Tarkhan dynasties, the rulers did not seem for a long time to have minted their own coins. Foreign coinage like Persian *lari*<sup>690</sup> and Portuguese *Xeraphin'* or *Ashrafi [Begi]* were apparently used<sup>691</sup> for transactions. The use of *laris* was obviously the result of Sindh's regular trade with Hormuz. It was only the Tarkhan rulers who issued copper coins of very small denomination. First there was the 'Isai, which was issued by 'Isa Khan Tarkhan I (1565-66).<sup>692</sup> *The miri*, a copper coin, also called *postani*, was also issued during the reign of Jani Beg Tarkhan 1584-1599. There was another larger coin called the *kabar*.<sup>693</sup> Tahir Muhammad Nisyani, in Jahangir's time has recorded the exchange value of these coins as 1 *kabar* = 12 *miris*, 72 *miris* (or 6 *kabars*) = 1 *tanka*, 24 *tanka-muradi* - 1 rupee.<sup>694</sup> Thus one silver Mughal rupee was equal to 1,728 *miris* and 144 *kabars*.<sup>695</sup> It is not clear whether by *tanka muradi*, Tahir means the double-dam of Akbar or the earlier bullion *tanka* of the Lodis. With the full imposition of Mughal authority over Sindh, the right of minting the coins was taken from the Tarkhan, Imperial mints were established at Thatta and Lahari Bandar, besides Bhakkar.<sup>696</sup> The silver rupee and copper dam were now sought to be established standard currency. None of the contemporary sources on Sindh contains any account of the administration of these mints, yet it may be presumed that these functioned according to the imperial rules and regulations; a regular staff of *Darogha*, *Sarrafi*, *Amin*, *Mushrif*, *Gargir* [Treasurer] *Tarazukash* [weighman], *Garazgir-i-Kham* [Melter of the ore], and *waraq-kash* [the plate maker], as prescribed in the *A'in-i Akbari*.<sup>697</sup> As the Mughal system was one of open or 'free' coinage, any individual could bring the precious metals gold, silver and copper to the mint, and could get the coin struck in the Imperial mint after paying the seigniorage of 5½ percent on the value of the metal.<sup>698</sup> At the Thatta mint, according to a report of mid-1640's, coins were struck only once in a week, and most of the minting was done for the state treasury by *diwan*,<sup>699</sup> which sometimes made the transaction difficult for merchants due to their inability of obtaining the coins at the

<sup>690</sup> The frequent use of *Lari* in Sindh can be judged by the fact that when in 1558-59, Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar laid siege to Sitpur [on Punj-nad], south-west of Multan, to punish the rebel Nahar Khan. Nahar Khan offered 4 lakh *laris* to Sultan Mahmud in order to ward off the danger. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 221-232. The importance of *lari* continued even during the Mughal Period, but at that time, they were restruck.

<sup>691</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 183

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>694</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 185.

<sup>695</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 183.

<sup>696</sup> The Bhakkar Mint was probably established after the year 1574-1575, when Gesu Khan occupied Bhakkar or behalf of Akbar. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 235, 236. See also catalogue of the coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta; Nelson Wright, *Mughal Emperors of India*, Oxford, 1908, vol. I, p. xxxv. Mints at Thatta and Lahari Bandar were established directly after its conquest in 1591-92 A.D., because the first specimen of square rupee of the *Ilahi* type belongs to the year 1592-93 A.D./1001 A.H. Nelson Wright, vol. I, pp. lxxix, lxxx.

<sup>697</sup> *A'in*, vol. I, pp. 10-12.

<sup>698</sup> Shah Purshah Hurmasji Hodivala, *Historical Studies in the Mughal Numismatics*, Bombay, 1976, vol. II, p. 131; Foster *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118.

<sup>699</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 101.

needed time.<sup>700</sup> However, the mints of Sindh issued sufficient amount of currency to claim a noticeable share in the total issue of silver coins of Mughal Empire.<sup>701</sup> As a result, during the seventeenth century, the earlier regional currency of Sindh was totally replaced by the silver rupee and copper *tankas* and *dams*. The land revenue rates, customs, revenue realization (*hasil*), everything was being recorded either in silver rupee, or in copper *tanka* or *dam*.<sup>702</sup> Our Tables 'A', 'B' and 'C'<sup>703</sup> bring out some long term shifts in Sindh's mint production. It was because of the steady mint production that the *rupiyah* and *dam* or *tanka* totally replaced the regional currency, while at the same time obtaining a rising share in the total north Indian mint output of Mughal Empire.

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<sup>700</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 73, 101, 102.

<sup>701</sup> Aziza Hasan, p. 324.

<sup>702</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahanl*, vol. II, pp. 36, 37, 171, 172, 183, 184. The *jama'* of *pargana* Samwati and *pargana* Halah Kandi of *sarkdr* Thatta is stated as 4 million dams, and 2 million dams respectively; while the custom duty on indigo is recorded as 3 rupees per man, tobacco 7 dams per man, and sold for 8 *tankas*.

<sup>703</sup> These tables are based totally on Museum's Collections and U.P. Hoard reports, Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum Nagpur; V.P. Rode, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors, Bombay*, 1969 Part I; Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta; H. Nelson Wright, *Mughal Emperors of India*, vol. I; *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore; R. B. Whiteland, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1914, Part II; *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow*; C. J. Brown, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1920, 2 vols; Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, ed. Reginard Strart Poole, London, 1892; C.R. Singhal, *Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the State Museum*, Lucknow, 1965; A.K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh*, State Museum, Lucknow, 1980, Vol. I.

**TABLE A**  
**RUPEES FROM THATTA MINT 1591-1708**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Number of Coins (Museum collection)</b>	<b>Number of coins (U.P.Hoards)</b>
1591-1592 to 1603-1604	155	165
1606-1607 to 1627-1628	136	95
1628-1629 to 1657-1658	148	151
1659-1660 to 1707-1708	99	45
Total	538	456

**TABLE B**  
**RUPEES FROM BHAKKAR MINT, 1575-1684**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Coins (Museum collection)</b>	<b>Number of coins (U.P.Hoards)</b>
1575-1576 to 1576-1577	4	3
1630-1631 to 1651-1658	49	36
1660-1661 to 1683-1684	13	44
Total	66	83

**TABLE C**  
**RUPEES FROM LAHARI BANDAR MINT, 1595-96**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Coins (Museum collection)</b>	<b>Number of coins (U.P.Hoards)</b>
1595-1596 to 1598-1599	3	2
Total	3	2

During the seventeenth century Thatta had *hundis* (bills of exchange) drawn upon it from Ahmedabad, and vice-versa with a common discount of 1¼ and 1 percent.<sup>704</sup> Lack of safety on the route through Cutch could be one reason for resort to such bills.<sup>705</sup> Merchants did not want to take the risk of carrying coins.<sup>706</sup> In the years between 1586-1590, Portuguese exported 50.45 metric tons of silver to Sindh and Gujarat.<sup>707</sup> Sindh, therefore, drew to itself especially *lari*, *Reales* of eight, *Abbasis* and gold *Ducats*.<sup>708</sup> These were melted and re-minted as rupees in the imperial mint.<sup>709</sup> It was because of this influx of silver during the 17th century, that the output of Thatta mint was highest in the decade 1598-1636, when it contributed 21.8% of the total number of coins issued in entire North India.<sup>710</sup> Even, the output of Bhakkar mint was also much higher during these decades, though not single specimen of Jahangir's reign is found from Bhakkar mint. But in the same period i.e. between 1607-1616, the output of Qandahar mint was the highest counting by decades, being 13.9 percent of total North Indian output.<sup>711</sup> One may infer that when Qandahar was under Mughal control, as it was during the larger part of Jahangir's reign the silver coin and bullion received overland from Iran coined there; when it went out of Mughal hands, it was the Bhakkar mint which performed the same function. Thus during Shahjahan's reign Bhakkar mint again became very active, and total number of silver coins reported from it between 1630-1631, 1651-1658 numbered 85.<sup>712</sup> But with the decline of trade of Sindh in the latter half of the seventeenth century the credit and exchange mechanism also suffered out of it.<sup>713</sup>

<sup>704</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 131. In this letter of December 18th, 1635, the English factory has mentioned that the bills of exchange issued from Thatta for Ahmadabad are generally for sixty days, and these days encashment of bills at Ahmadabad entitled to a loss of one percent. See also *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, pp. 60-61. Here the factor records the promise of Shah Bandar to the English, regarding payment on bills of exchange.

<sup>705</sup> N. Withington, pp. 190, 213, 214.

<sup>706</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 131.

<sup>707</sup> Najaf Haidar, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>708</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, pp. 42, 133; *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118. The exchange value of these foreign currencies is as follows; 1 *abbasi* = 100 rupees, 1 *venetion sequin* or *ducat* = 12 3/8 rupees, 100 *reales* of eight = 205½ rupees, and 112 totals of silver in bullion = 100 rupees. *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 134.

<sup>709</sup> *E.F.I.* 1651-1654, p. 118.

<sup>710</sup> Aziza Hasan, *op. cit.* p. 324.

<sup>711</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 334, 335.

<sup>712</sup> See table B.

<sup>713</sup> William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Diewal Sindh (Pakistan) in 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 23, 24

## APPENDIX-A

### Prices of Different Commodities as Recorded by the English Factories

Date	Commodity	Price	Weight	Place	Source
DEC 4,1635	Hen	4 Pice	Per Hen	Lahari Bandar	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1634-1636, p.124
	Sheep	1 Rupee	Per Sheep	Lahari Bandar	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1634-1636, p.124
DEC 18, 1635	Salt petre	6 Rupee	Per <i>maund</i>	Thatta.	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1634-1636, p.130
MAY 1, 1636	Indigo	61 Rupees (actual price but Governor selling for 110 rupees)	Per <i>maund</i>	Thatta	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1634-1636, p.244
MARCH, 1639	Narrow baftas or joories	17 to 18 Ru[pees]	Per cor[ge] 7½ s[ee]r	Darbelah	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
	Oil and butter	1 Rup[ee]	Per piece, 2 covet shorter than Nasarpur [Which is 16-17 great covets] Per maund [the great maund] Per maund.	Bhakkar	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
	Sehwan joories	¾ to 1¼ Rup[ees]	"	Sehwan	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
	Bayana indigo	85 Rup[ees]	"	Multan	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
	Sugar candy	15 Rup[ees]	"	Multan	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
	Sugar	10 Rup[ees]	"	Multan	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.136
DEC 29,1640	Indigo	70 Rupees [highrate probably due to failure of crop]	Per double maund of Surat [equal to 73 1/21b]	Sindh	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1637-1641, p.274
MARCH 26, 1644	Narrow bafta or joories	55 Rupees [This time high prices prevailed dueto large investment for Basra]	Per double <i>maund</i>	Kandiaro + Darbelah	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1642-1645, p.163
NOV 28, 1644	Narrow joories	Price rose 5 to 6 Rupees (inspite of bad quality) but due to large investment for Basra	Per corge	Nasarpur	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1642-1645, p.203
NOV 28, 1644	Indigo	41½ Rupees besides 3 Rupees custom charge	Per <i>maund</i>	Sindh (in area around Sehwan)	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1642-1645, p.203
SEPT 8, 1647	Indigo	Price rose (?) [ due to absconding of dyers]	Per <i>maund</i>	San	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1646-1650, p.151
FEB, 1659	Cotton goods	Price rose(?) [due to many buyers from Thatta]	Per <i>maund</i>	Nasarpur	<i>E.F.I.</i> , 1656-1660, p.222

### As Recorded in Persian Sources.

Source	Commodity	Weight	Price	Place	Date
Mazhar-i-Shajahanl; vol. II, pp. 171-172	1. Indigo	Per maund	20 rupees	Sehwan	Mid 17th c.
	2. Tobacco	Per maund	8 tana	Sehwan	Mid 17th c.
	3. White Sugar [Nabat]	Per ser	10 muradi tanka	Sehwan	1615-16

## APPENDIX-B

Weights Prevalent in Sind as Recorded in the Persian Sources, and the English Factory Records of Seventeenth Century

Weights	Source
1 Kharwar = 60 kasahs (assload)	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, vol. II, p. 182</i>
1 Corwarf [kharwar] = 8 Man-i-Jahngiri	<i>E.F.I. 1634-1636, p. 133</i>
5 Kasah = 30 Jahangiri sir	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, vol. II, p. 145</i>
or	
1 Kasah = 6 Jahangiri sir	
1 Kasah = 4 toyah	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, vol. II, p. 182</i>
1 Toyah = 1½: Jahangiri sir	<i>Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, vol. II, p. 145</i>
Man-i-Jahangiri <sup>714</sup>	<i>E.F.I. 1634-1636, p. 133</i>
[Prevalent at Sehwan]	
Man-i-Shahjahani	<i>E.F.I. 1634-1636, p. 133</i>
[Prevalent at Thatta]	

<sup>714</sup> Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 429. According to him "The approximate weight of *Man-i-Jahangiri* should have been 33.19 lb avdp. (15.07 kg), while that of *Man-i-Shahjahani* should have been 36.88 lb. (16.74 kg).

## 6.2: Trading Class and Instruments of Trade in Sindh

The overseas trade, indeed appreciate the importance of the individual and the power of the specialized local network within the interlocking mechanism, which kept the trade going; one of such mechanism was the networking of indigenous and foreign merchants in Sindh.

Sindh's geographical position enabled it to serve as a junction of routes, connecting Western and Central Asia with India on one hand, and European and African countries on the other, which helped to attract attention of merchants within India and outside also. Its sea ports played an important role in breaking its isolation and linking it to far off countries. These promoted the commercial activities and developed its culture, and provided opportunities to assimilate the bits of foreign culture within its fold.

Thatta being the chief port city of Sindh was a central place for the foreign merchants to settle in, and to carry on their commercial activities. Ibn Battuta had mentioned its port Lahari Bandar visited by merchants from Yemen, Persia, and other countries,<sup>715</sup> so a brisk traffic went on between Thatta and Lahari Bandar, so much so that Hamilton records that a place four miles from the port towards Thatta, containing a fort called *Dungbam*. It was used as a *serai*, and twenty cottages around the building served as a breeding centre of fowls, goats and sheep, supplying the needs of those passing through.<sup>716</sup>

Before the establishment of an English factory here, the Portuguese alone represented the European element.<sup>717</sup> They asserted their monopoly of the trade here, and did not allow any other foreign merchants to come. Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived at Lahari Bandar, somewhere before 1614, was harshly treated by them and even his house was set afire.<sup>718</sup> Consequently the attention was shifted to the neighboring entrepots of Cambay, Surat and Hormuz. In 1623, 54 ships are recorded having called at Hormuz from Gujarat, and Sindh ports, of which eight were from the mouth of Indus.<sup>719</sup> Ships from Basra, Gombroon, Hormuz and Masqat used to visit very often, and *cartas* [passes] were issued to them, and to the local merchants by the Portuguese;<sup>720</sup> and the dues from outgoing and incoming vessels was collected by their agents. The main comptroller of

<sup>715</sup> *Al-Rahela* (tr.), vol. III, pp. 599n, 602.

<sup>716</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, pp. 117, 118.

<sup>717</sup> Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 32. For the coming of Portuguese and sack of Thatta see *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 111, 112. While fighting with the imperial forces, war boats were carrying Portuguese, and one of them was chief of the Portuguese settlement of Hormuz, whose name was Charkas Daflir, who used to come yearly from Hormuz to Thatta. (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 185)

<sup>718</sup> N. Withington, *Early Travels in India*, p. 212.

<sup>719</sup> Ashin Das and M. N. Pearson, *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, Calcutta, 1987, p. 98.

<sup>720</sup> *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, pp. 12, 181; *E.F.I.* 1630-1633, p. 207 n.



the port, *shahbandar*, often secured the revenue of the port on farming basis (*ijarah*) and, therefore, he was always afraid of the loss of trade and revenues, and, therefore tried to keep the Portuguese in good humor. What they brought to him was estimated at rupees one lakh.<sup>721</sup> In other words in the early years of seventeenth century, the interest of the Portuguese became identical with that of the Mughals. The continuation of this highly advantageous position and their complete monopolization of trade allowed them to have control over the ports of the Mughal Empire, including those of Sindh. This control was so deep that the English and the Dutch attempts were deliberately made futile to enter into port.<sup>722</sup> But despite Portuguese attempts, the English succeeded to send a broker from Surat via land route, along the Rann of Cutch to procure some goods from the region of Sindh.<sup>723</sup> This land route was followed from Gujarat to Cutch, to Badin, and thence to Thatta. But finally with the loss of Hormuz,<sup>724</sup> Portuguese negotiated with the English in 1635 A.D. which was initiated by the English factor Methworld, and this led to the lifting of their monopoly by the Portuguese.<sup>725</sup> Originally three English factories were suggested, one at Thatta, second at Nasarpur and third at Sehwan.<sup>726</sup> To run the administration of these factories, arrangements were made, according to which a chief factor was to be appointed at Thatta, and one subordinate at the other two factories, with one penman, one cashier, one packer, and one keeper of petty customs to be appointed accordingly.<sup>727</sup> English dealt mainly in cotton clothes, indigo and saltpetre;<sup>728</sup> and in return they were bringing largely silver,<sup>729</sup> and sometimes carried gold also with themselves.<sup>730</sup> It seems that during the initial phase, the administration had adopted a strict policy towards the English, may be because their relation with the native merchants had not been smooth, because once a cargo carrying Sindhi merchants with the cartas [issued by the Portuguese to them to trade at the port of Masqat] was looted by the English merchants.<sup>731</sup> To punish them, Governor

<sup>721</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, p. 190; W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>722</sup> N. Withington, pp. 188, 233.

<sup>723</sup> *E.F.I.* 1630-1633, p. 35; N. Withington, pp. 188, 233.

<sup>724</sup> At the time when Hormuz was under Portuguese, ruler of Houmuz, maintained his factor at Thatta, namely Georges Brown. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 256. This factor named Charkas Daffir helped Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan's forces against Mughal forces during siege of Sindh in 1591. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 185; *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 253.

<sup>725</sup> W.H. Moreland, *op.cit.*, pp. 41, 42. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir permitted free trade to the English in this region. *E.F.I.* 1613-1615, p. 309.

<sup>726</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 132; Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 191.

<sup>727</sup> Niccoloi Manucci, vol. I, p. 60 ; Fray Sebastien Manrique, vol. II, p. 233 One chief factor who had succeeded Scriverener, was accused of keeping accounts in his hands against the rules. *E.F.I.* 1661-1664, p. 116.

<sup>728</sup> The English were granted permission for indigo trade with Sindh through a *nishan* of Dara Shikoh in 1644 A.D., who was then governor in charge of Thatta, and John Spiller was the chief factor of Thatta factory. *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 215; *E.F.I.* 1642-1644, pp. 227, 232. From time to time instructions were issued to the chief factor to maintain a steady supply of these items. See also *E.F.I.* 1661-1664, p. 78.

<sup>729</sup> Aziza Hasan, '*Mints of the Mughal Empire: A study in comparative currency output*', p. 329

<sup>730</sup> Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, ed. by William Crooke, reprint New Delhi, 1977. p. 10

<sup>731</sup> Asaf Khan, the then Governor of Thatta had charged English behind this loss. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, pp. 181,267. While the English had claimed that the Dutch were behind this loss. Om Prakash, *The Dutch factories in India, 1617-1623 A.D.*, N. Delhi, 1984, p. 192.

Asaf Khan threatened the English to return goods to the Sindhi merchants, or else the matter will be reported to the Emperor Jahangir.<sup>732</sup> This cargo was estimated worth rupees 8 million.<sup>733</sup> As a result the English trade with Agra was also checked; perhaps the matter was solved because the later records do not show repetition of the incident.

In some ways trade at Lahari Bandar was considered to be freer than at Thatta. The English factors reported in 1636, that at the latter place "the will of the Governors is a law; so that he sets what prices he pleaseth on commodities," while at Lahari Bandar "it is not so, for there the prizes [prices] are known and set down in a rate book not to be innovated or altered at every covetous or unjust Governor's will."<sup>734</sup> The English were so much assured of their profits that the chief factor John Spiller and Scrivener carried their private business as well, in cooperation with local traders, Bumbamal and Navaldas, who had a share in the profits.<sup>735</sup> Earlier the factors' salaries were low i.e. £ 50 per annum, but even after an increase in their salaries, their private trade continued.<sup>736</sup> Asaf Khan remitted half of the custom duties for the English merchants in Lahari Bandar.<sup>737</sup>

The English did not always trade in exchange of bullion, but practiced barter trade also. While following the land route from Lahore to Multan and then to Thatta; they carried sugar candy (*nabat*), in exchange for pepper, tin, lead, spices, broad clothes, dates and other commodities.<sup>738</sup> Merchants coming from Persia and Arab exchanging dates, horses seed pearls (*Algofrees*) pearls, incense, gymnastics, seena leaves, and jews stones (*Lapis Judicus*) for white and black sugar, butter, cocos (called *Nos Indica* or Indian nut), white linen and printed cloth.<sup>739</sup> Isfahani merchants were also visiting Thatta for the sale of their silk, especially after Portuguese lost Hormuz.<sup>740</sup>

After the Portuguese, the English had tried to monopolize the trade with Sindh by adopting unfriendly attitude towards other competitors from Europe; for example, the Dutch traders against whom the English joined hands with the Portuguese: and the English even pleaded the local merchants, to not to welcome the new ones. The extent of their unwillingness went so far that they contacted a local sea pirate Rasy Rana (perhaps a Med) to attack Dutch Cargos.<sup>741</sup> Since the Dutch had already established

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<sup>732</sup> *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, pp. 181,267.

<sup>733</sup> Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623*, p. 192. See also *E.F.I.* 1622-1623, pp. 78, 90, 91.

<sup>734</sup> *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 244.

<sup>735</sup> H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, p. 103; William Floor, *The Dutch East India Company (VOC) and, Diwel Sindh (Pakistan)*, p. 39.

<sup>736</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, pp. 13n, 132. John Spiller's salary was increased to £133. 6s 8d.

<sup>737</sup> Sorley, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>738</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 102.

<sup>739</sup> *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, pp. 227, 232.

<sup>740</sup> Manucci, vol I. p. 58.

<sup>741</sup> Pelsaert, pp. 37, 32.

their factory in Iran,<sup>742</sup> in 1623 A.D.; their trading with Sindh was probably through Iran via Makran, they now wanted to open a factory in Sindh also. An attempt was made in 1652 A.D. by Director Pelgromscent Pieter De Bie.<sup>743</sup> They, however, continued to trade for few years, but due to the constant danger of pirates and nomads, who threatened the safety of trade routes, the Dutch withdrew their efforts. From the side of Baluchistan the Baluchi chiefs, while Rajasthan border was inhabited by the Samejahs, who from time to time made the route uncomfortable for the merchants. Although the Mughal administration in Sindh, subsequently tried hard to clear the route for which at one instance, the *zamindar* Rana Rukun in the year 1655 A.D., was even attacked by the Mughal forces under Zafar Khan for having looted the property of the merchants.<sup>744</sup> The administration had even tried to keep check on these pirates, by promoting other recalcitrant or by pleasing them; as a pirate was being paid to clear the sea from Sangani (Cutchi) pirates, and an annual payment was forwarded to Rasy Rana, and a Baluch chief to check them from doing wrong with the merchants.<sup>745</sup> Previously, in the year 1613 A.D., an English traveler, who was coming by way of Radhanpur and Nagar Parkar, from Ahmadabad to Thatta, with his fellows, was attacked and looted by a local chief (probably a nomad from the hills), some merchants were even killed also.<sup>746</sup> Apart from expansion of trade around this time, it seems that owing to constant apprehension of nomadic attacks, and lack of safety in transit routes that bills of exchange (*Hundis*) became very popular in Thatta and Bhakkar. These bills were generally drawn on Ahmadabad.<sup>747</sup> There is a reference when a bill was issued from Bhakkar to be drawn on Multan, from Multan on Lahore, from Lahore on Akbarabad (Agra), and from there, on Kannauj.<sup>748</sup> With this the risk of carrying coins, and unsafe trade became lesser to some extent. Ensuring a safe passage for the merchants through this region, was a constant goal of the Mughal administration.

Although the European merchants remained dominant in the region, yet the *bania* (caste of Hindu), and the *khatri* communities of this region carried brisk trade with Iran,<sup>749</sup> generally known as Multani merchants. These traders were so powerful that even the East India company agents relied upon them, and their names are casually mentioned in the East India company records, for e.g. Navaldas, who financed commerce between

<sup>742</sup> William Floor, *op. cit.* p. 10. Besides English, the Portuguese had also threatened the Governor of Thatta, that if the Dutch were allowed to trade, the Portuguese fleet would attack the town. *E.F.I.* 1630-1633, p. 207n.

<sup>743</sup> William Floor, *op. cit.* pp. 9, 10.

<sup>744</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>745</sup> Inayat Khan, *Shahjahama*, tr. p. 509.

<sup>746</sup> William Floor, *op. cit.* p. 11 Raja Rana, who was settled in the Indus delta was being paid Rs. 12,000 to 14,000 annually, and Baluch chief was paid Rs. 10,000 to 14,000 annually.

<sup>747</sup> N. Withington, p. 191. See also pp. 212, 214, 220 for other incidents of plundering and murdering of merchants.

<sup>748</sup> When the bill was issued from Thatta to Ahmedabad it was at one percent loss, with a limitation of payment within 60 days, and at a interest rate of 1¼ and 1 percent. While if the bill was issued from Ahmadabad and drawn at Thatta it would gain 2 percent. *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 131; *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 101.

<sup>749</sup> It was because there was no *mahajan* (banker) at Bhakkar. See 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrami's letters, Persian translation on even and translation on odd pages in *Oriental Mescillany Calcutta*, I (1978), p. 156. See also pp. 274, 276, 278, 282. There could be much loss in discount (*hundyavar*).

Sindh, Multan and Lahore; and Bumbamal, who made large payments to the Mughal officers out of his own wealth.<sup>750</sup> With the help of these merchants, a coastal trade was carried out, outside India, with the ports of Basra, Gombroon, Masqat, Congo, Bahrein, and also with the Indian ports of Cambay and Surat. Several hundred maunds of silk were brought to Sindh every year by the Lohanis, chiefly from Bokhara and Turkistan.<sup>751</sup> The indigenous merchants shared the trade with their foreign counterparts at these places. The land route followed the export from Thatta to Khorasan via Bhakkar, Multan, Qandahar, and Persia through caravans.<sup>752</sup> An annual caravan left Bhakkar for their kingdoms carrying textiles and other things.<sup>753</sup> These caravans were generally dominated by the Multani merchants.<sup>754</sup> *Banias* of this place also gave impetus to trade with Afghan via Bolan Pass. Lohanis used to visit Multan every year, chiefly from Bokhara, and Turkistan, carrying silk with them.<sup>755</sup> Not only the urban traders were involved in commercial activities, but at a local level, nomads also participated to internal trade, nomads of Sehwan especially Nuhmardis, used to sell livestock including camels, horses, goats, cows and asses; along with carpets and rugs, in exchange for grains, clothes and arms.<sup>756</sup> But this type of trade did not amount to much revenues for the Mughal Empire, and was much local in character.

The geographical position of Sindh benefited merchants to carry overseas trade through Indus to Persian Gulf and Red Sea, and for inland trade, they generally followed route from Bhakkar to Multan to Lahore to Qandahar and thence to Persia: another one through Rann of Cutch to Jaisalmer, and from there to Agra. The administration also provided religious and civic liberties to foreign merchants.<sup>757</sup>

As far as the mode of transport is concerned, the merchandise were either carried on camels, horses and pack oxen<sup>758</sup> on land routes or through small boats.<sup>759</sup> Ships up to 200 and 300 tons of burden used to anchor at the port and after unloading the cargo, the

<sup>750</sup> Jean de Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>751</sup> G. T. Vigne, *A personal narrative of a visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, London, 1840, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>752</sup> H.T. Sorley, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>753</sup> Travemier, vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>754</sup> Fray Sebastien *Manrique*, vol. II, p. 59.

<sup>755</sup> Above twenty thousand Multani merchants were noted in Persia. See Sir John Chardin, *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and East India*, London, 1686, vol. II, pp. 98-100.

<sup>756</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 111, 124, 239. During the tenure of Qasim Khan Namkin as a *jagirdar* of Sehwan, these Nuhmardis has promised a safe conduct in lieu of which they were granted permission for trade. A caravan of their, comprising 4,000 to 5,000 camels regularly came to the city of Sehwan for trading purpose.

<sup>757</sup> Manucci, vol. I, p. 60.

<sup>758</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 5, 26, 111.

<sup>759</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 115. Apparently the carts were not employed. Nomads of Alor as Pahawar possessed a large number of camels and supplied them on lease to Jaisalmer, Multan, and Qandahar. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 5

merchandise were brought to Thatta in small boats up the river.<sup>760</sup> A cargo capacity of one hundred maund procured Rs. 250.<sup>761</sup> Generally the boats were of four types *dundi*, *dunij*, *dahra* and *ghurab*.<sup>762</sup> Alexander Hamilton has described these boats in detail which was used by the merchants frequently within Sindh region.<sup>763</sup> Among these, the officials at Sindh generally kept *ghurabs* (war boats), for commanding riparian traffic, as most of traffic was centered on different channels in Sindh.

The petition of John Spiller, shows how the Mughal administration functioned, and how difficulties arose between the local officials and the English,<sup>764</sup> which is addressed to the *Bakshiu'l Mamalik*; is, in fact a bitter complaint against the *Shahbandar* (who was also the *bakhshi* of *suba* Thatta). This document also throws light on the corrupt practices that were practiced there, which caused difficulty for the English merchants. The English factory records do not directly reveal any such incident, but in a letter of 11 February 1647 to Surat, a reference is made to "dealing with that *Shahbandar* about their broadcloth,"<sup>765</sup> which may be the same transaction as the sale to the Shah Bandar of the broadcloth worth Rs 700, mentioned in our document. Also in November 1647, Spiller did in fact reported a great French ship engaged in piracy which may be related to reference of French pirate ships in our document.<sup>766</sup>

Apparently the matter was solved, otherwise the English records would have contained constant complaints over the nonpayment of the price of their broadcloth by the vexing Shah Bandar.

Despite, one or two of such incidents, Mughal administration tried to keep these foreign merchants in good humor, as they were given certain concessions from time to time by the Imperial authorities; either by minimizing the custom duties, or abolition of illegal cesses by the Emperor. The Governors even attended some of them personally. Despite this apparent condescending attitude of the Imperial authorities, it seems that certain geographical changes in the latter half of the seventeenth century possibly led to the decline in the trade, and trading activities in Sindh.

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<sup>760</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 114. There were some 40,000 boats small or big lying in the sarkar of Thatta. Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India 1556-1707*, p. 70n. Pelsaert, pp. 31, 32. In Sehwan also small boats of ferries used to bring merchandise. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 157.

<sup>761</sup> *E.F.I.* 1637-1647, p. 41.

<sup>762</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 114. While for the crossing of river *pulla jar* and *mussuks* (inflated hide) were used; Edward Thornton, vol. I, p. 208. The boatmen of *pargana* Nairun used reed woven boats, the smaller one called *taro*, and bigger ones *madd* in Sindhi language. (*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 69.)

<sup>763</sup> For the navigation the localities used vessels called *kishfies* of several sizes. "The largest could carry a burden of 200 tons, which were flat bottomed, and each side had cabin built from stem to stem, that overhang about 2 foot, and in each cabin, is a kitchen, and a place for exoneration." See Alexander Hamilton, vol. I p. 123. *A'in* mentions that at least 40,000 boats were present in Thatta. Vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>764</sup> Sloanne collection, 80 b(2). A translation of this document is provided in the Appendix B of chapter one, part three.

<sup>765</sup> *E.F.I.* 1646-1650, p. 102.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 7

### ARCHITECTURE

#### 7.1: Major Buildings; Built during Mughal Era

Sindh had an interesting architectural history, reflecting changes in the political power and artistic tradition. These changes depicts the influence of the introduction of other regional architectural features on Sindhi building, as a result of Mughal occupation on Sindh. The Mughal officials, who came here,, and constructed buildings, carried with them the different styles of architecture.

Buildings which were constructed during the Mughal period were mainly categorized into two: (1) Mosques, and (2) Tombs. While the mosques were erected in Rohri, Sukkur and Thatta, the mausoleums were generally confined to graveyard of Makli hills; which according to Alexander Hamilton, "looks like a small town of Tombs; and the tombs in it numbered forty-two."<sup>767</sup>

The buildings are generally made of two types of materials; either they are made, of yellow colour sand stone (which was locally available to them), or of the finely backed red bricks being made of best pottery clay. The previous types have carvings on stone for decoration, while the latter have decoration of glazed tiles; which were locally manufactured.<sup>768</sup>

#### The Mosques:

In upper Sindh, the mosques of Mughal period are present in Rohri and Sukkur. In Rohri, there are two *Qazian* mosques, one was built by Aminuddin Husain in A.H. 1062 (1651-52 A.D), as corroborated by chronogram,<sup>769</sup> and is situated near the end of Lansdowne bridge, while the other Qazian mosque was built by one Muhammad Umar in A.H. 1114 (1702-1703 A.D.).<sup>770</sup> Besides this, other mosques which were noted by Henry Cousens during his survey, were '*Idgah Masjid* built by Sayyed Mir Ma'sum in 1593-94 A.D.,<sup>771</sup> the *Dinpanah Masjid* build by Khwajah Muhammad Husain during

<sup>767</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, pp. 120-121. "In traveling from Dungebam [situated between Thatta and Lahari Bandar] towards Thatta, about four miles short of the city, on smooth rising ground there are forty two fine large tombs, which from the plain appeared to be a small town. These are the burial places of the Kings of Sindy."

<sup>768</sup> Hala, thirty five miles north of Hyderabad, still manufacture these kind of tiles; though at Nasarpur the tiles were also manufactured (and also in Multan), but the tiles of Hala were the best. Henry Cousens, *Antiquities of Sindh*, p. 1 13. The Mughals patronized this industry and tiles were exported to different parts of India. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Society*, 1990, vol. XXXIII, part III, p. 252.

<sup>769</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 157.

<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>771</sup> East Wick, *Dry leaves from Egypt*, pp. 43, 44. This mosque has following inscription, "in the time of *khilafat* of great Shah Mohammad Akbar — this building was erected for good purpose by the noble Muhammad M'asum of

'Alamgir's reign in 1684-85 A.D., Khwajah Salih's mosque built in 1710-1711 A.D., and another *masjid* built in 1698-99 A.D., by Shaikh Muhammad during 'Alamgir's reign.<sup>772</sup>

At Sukkur, Mir M'asum Bhakkari had built many buildings during the reign of Akbar. He had constructed a mosque which was a ship shape on the top of a hill on the bank of river,<sup>773</sup> with a flight of stone stairs which descended to river for people to perform ablution. Henry Cousens records this mosque having an inscription dated 1597-98 A.D.<sup>774</sup> The inscription also refers to a pleasure house and the garden of Iram. The pleasure house was probably *Sitasar*, which had a green dome and served as a beautiful recreation spot.<sup>775</sup> During the survey of Sukkur by Henry Cousens, this building with an octagonal dome was noted, which gives the date of 1595-1596. It was built of brick and coloured tiles and has four arched entrances; east and west have carved stone windows (oriel) above the entrance. It had glazed windows and glazed doors. About fourteen feet from the floor inside is a gallery running round the walls, above which is written an inscription with *Quranic* verses, and it gives the date 1595-1596 A.D. As far as garden of Iram is concerned, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari informs that, "Mir M'asum had laid out a garden in twenty-*bigha* plot a land, and had planted trees of fruits and flowers."<sup>776</sup> He had also constructed a tall *minar*.<sup>777</sup> It was built of brick, but had a thick layer of building material (plate II). Its lantern top is surrounded with an iron cage, which gives it an appearance of light house. A spiral stair case was also constructed in the centre of *minar*. It's total height is about hundred feet, and circumference at the base is eighty four feet, the date of its construction is A.D. 1594. It was probably started by Mir M'asum, as the inscription on the door gives this date, while date of completion is A.D. 1618. Its inscription was composed by Mir Buzurg (son of Mir M'asum), which suggest that the minaret was probably completed by his son.

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Bhakkari, son of Sayyed Safa, for the common benefit of all *Musalman* — in 1008 A.H." Shaikh Farid Bhakkari informs us of one *'Idgah masjid* built at Sukkur and one at Rohri, by Qasim Khan Namkin. He also constructed a *Jam'i* mosque in Sukkur. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, pp. 198-199.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid.

<sup>773</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahanni*, vol. II, p. 4; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 203. He had built a *Jam'i* mosque at Sukkur. P. 201.

<sup>774</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 154.

<sup>775</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 4. It states that, "at a distance of half a kuroh, there used to be a small hillock in the middle of the river. During the summer when water subsided it became visible whereas in flood season it disappeared, consequently boats coming downstream ran it were ship wrecked and sunk. Mir M'asum Bhakkari caused a ship laden with stones to be at that place, and upon it constructed a green dome, naming it *Sitasar*, which has developed into a beautiful recreational spot. This was also called Gumbadh-i-Dariya as the charonogram suggests. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 327, while *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, gives the date 1593-94. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 203.

<sup>776</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 204. However it does not tell about the layout of the garden, whether it was based on *chaharbagh* pattern of Mughals or not.

<sup>777</sup> This *minar* was visible from twenty *kos*. See *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 204. See also Henry Cousens, pp. 150-151.

In lower Sindh i.e. in Thatta, there are three notable mosques, even present in the modern days. According to *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, two mosques in Thatta were built by Abul' Baqa or better known as Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan,<sup>778</sup> during Shahjahan's reign. The first mosque is situated in Mahalla Bhai Khan (plate III).<sup>779</sup> The inscription on southern wall of the mosque gives the date of its construction 1039 A.H.-1040 A.H. (i.e. 1629-30-1639-40 A.D.)<sup>780</sup> While the northern wall gives the name of Amir Khan. This mosque is made of unglazed cut and rubbed red baked bricks, and is a single domed square structure, measuring 23'6" externally and 16'3" internally.<sup>781</sup> Its main entrance is towards the east. The eastern wall had three arches inside rectangular frames, of which central *pishtaq* is higher and has carved stone door jamb. The central *pishtaq* has arcuate and trabeate style. Their decoration has almost vanished, but inscription in Arabic are still there. Similarly chevron pattern are visible in the tympanum of the arch. The walls have blue enamel frieze. The prayer chamber is surmounted with a conical dome, which rests on circular drum, again decorated with blue glazed tiles arranged horizontally, and deep blue tiles in vertical *guldasta* form against white background. Upper frame has same pattern but bigger in size, and had white and blue colour against red bricks. The dados have panel decoration which have the design of blooming flower plants, fruit vases, *guldastas* designs made out of glazed tiles, the ceiling also have tile decoration.<sup>782</sup> Since the structure is of bricks, the only decoration could be done was with tiles.

### **J'ama Mosque:**

The i of Thatta was built on the orders of Shahjahan and probably Amir Khan was made in charge, because *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* mentions the construction of one *J'ama masjid* by Amir Khan, built on the orders of Shahjahan.<sup>783</sup> The inscription on the southern wall of the mosque, gives the date of starting of construction as 1644 A.D., and completion date 1647 A.D.<sup>784</sup> But the floor was laid later, as its inscription gives the date 1657 A.D.<sup>785</sup> Its total cost is said to have amounted to six lacs rupees, given from the royal treasury.<sup>786</sup> Probably this was the first grand and expansive building of Sindh. The mosque is made of red bricks with tiles decoration, and is built upon a stone plinth with heavy square

<sup>778</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vol. III, part I, pp. 325, 326. He was the brother of Yusuf Mirak, author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, and the son of Mir Qasim Khan Namkin. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 121-22. He held the *mansab* of 2500/1500 during the time of Jahangir but had a raise of 500 and became *mansabdar* of 3000/2000 at the time of Shahjahan. He was also governor of Thatta twice from in 1629, and again from 1643-47. Lahori, *Badshahnama*, vol. I, p. 287; vol. II, pp. 302, 641; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I. pp. 172-74.

<sup>779</sup> Amir Khan had named the locality as Amirabad. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 325, 326n.

<sup>780</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>781</sup> Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Thatta Islamic Architecture*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 1982, p. 190.

<sup>782</sup> *Ibid*, p. 190.

<sup>783</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 326n, while Michael Barry says that the construction of mosque began by Shahjahan, but completed by Aurangzeb after he overthrew Shahjahan. Michael Barry, *Colour and symbolism in Islamic Architecture*, France, 1996, p. 300.

<sup>784</sup> Amir Khan also died in the year 1647 A.D. See *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vol. III, part I, p. 325. The eastern wing was added later in 1658-59 A.D. by Aurangzeb, (Henry Cousens, pp. 120, 121)

<sup>785</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 121.

<sup>786</sup> *Ibid.*



piers and walls. It's in the form of a great quadrangle, the prayer chamber occupying the western side. A corresponding block of building on the eastern side from the entrance with long corridors on the north and south sides, connecting these, close in great oblong courtyard which measures 164' X 97" while the whole building covering 305' X 170".<sup>787</sup> The longer side being east to west; with the *liwans* on western, northern, and southern sides (plate IV). The western *liwan* is four bay deep, while those of northern and southern sides are only two bays deep.<sup>788</sup> Each bay is covered with a low dome, which makes the roof composed of no less than ninety three domes,<sup>789</sup> (the multiplicity of domes was first introduced in India by Firuz Shah Tughlaq), three of which are principle ones i.e., on western, northern, and southern arches, which are much larger than the rest. In the western side, the view of main dome is completely blocked by the height of central *pishtaq* which opens in the projected rectangular frame [plate V], having an Arabic inscription on stone, while the entire facade is decorated with the glazed tiles. The spandrels of the central *maqsura* have a lovely scroll in white and other floral patterns in blue, and the main motif in light blue, on tiles. The phase of transition is quite visible in the main *mihrab* chamber, in interlacing of the arches. The main *mihrab* is made of white marble, which has a marble lattice window, contained within a series of frames; rectangles, and arches. Each frame is demarcated by glazed material, blue opposite to red or deep blue against light blue, and a peculiar honey comb vaulting. The main *mihrab* is flanked by two arched latticed window, opening in deep alcove. The northern arch is again accompanied by *mimber* of four stairs. The dados have floral motifs, set within a horizontal band of white and deep blue tiles, alternating with horizontal band of white, deep blue and light blue glittering linings. At the ceiling, the side arches have interlaced arches, and chevron pattern in red, blue and white, while the rectangular frames of all the three arches have Arabic inscription in red against the blue.

Right opposite the central *mihrab*, there is a domed monumental entrance on the east. Inside of which has a flight of stairs that goes up. There is another additional door complex in the east, with one high arched entrance, in the middle, and a smaller arched entrance on either side. These allied entrances led to a central square courtyard having ablution pond in the middle, unlike that of conventional mosque, in which main courtyard has ablution pond.

The eastern facade has three arches within a rectangle frame; the central one being higher than the side ones, each one is half domed. The central arch is closed by a modern wooden door due to the presence of a grave (built later probably). The side arches provide the entry whose spandrels have glazed decoration with lobed oval

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid*, p. 121.

<sup>788</sup> A.H. Dani, p. 192.

<sup>789</sup> In the mosques built during Firuz Shah Tughlaq period, bays are generally roofed by a cup shaped dome; a feature which is dominant in *Kali Masjid* (Delhi, 1370 A.D.), *Begumpuri Masjid* at Jahanpanah (1370 A.D.), the *Khirki Masjid* at Jahanpanah (1375 A.D.). Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic period), Mumbai, 1956, p. 24.

design and small floral decoration in light blue, dark blue and white, opposite the red (plate VI). Behind this high projected frame, rises the white plastered dome crowned with inverted lotus finial. The ceiling of the dome has glazed tiles of blue, white and yellow arranged in concentric circles, around the central flower motif, accompanied by stars,<sup>790</sup> in white on blue background.

There was another Jam'i mosque in Thatta, built by Mir Farrukh Arghun, whose description is not available; may be it perished with the passage of time and therefore could not be recorded.<sup>791</sup>

### **Khirki Mosque:**

Another mosque, which is situated in Thatta and went unnoticed by Henry Cousens,<sup>792</sup> is Khirki mosque which is situated inside the Shahi Bazar locality of Thatta. This building is also a brick structure, and is decorated with glazed tiles. According to inscription on its mihrab, it was built by Nawab ' Abdur Razzaq Muzaffar Khan in 1613 A.D., before he became the governor of Thatta.<sup>793</sup>

The mosque consists of a rectangular prayer chamber measuring 53' each side. The main entrance to which is provided in south east corner of the courtyard, having a high enclosure walls. The western *liwan* has series of seven arches, decorated with glazed tiles of deep blue, light blue, and white colour. The western *liwan* has conventional three domes view of which is obstructed by the high eastern facade. The eastern facade has three arches set within rectangular frame, the central one higher than the flanking ones, opening under high alcoves. These arches have total six nook shafts, the flanking arches having one on each side, while the central *pishtaq* has two extra to it. The spandrel have a floral motif of blue set within lobed oval motif of white tiles.

The prayer hall is divided into three bays; the central one is bigger and square and has lateral arches on north and south, while the side bays have recessed arches on east and west to make the room square. The central square chamber is converted into octagonal with the use of squinches and pendentives. The main *mihrab* has three latticed windows, while the side bays have single *mihrab* and single latticed window. Decoration on the dadoes has totally gone, which was again of glazed tiles, but still some glimpses of it are

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<sup>790</sup> The star and chevron patterns are also found in Mughal buildings, a design which is borrowed from central Asia. Chevron pattern is found very commonly on Mughal buildings, as on Taj Mahal (1634), and Jam'i Masjid of Agra (1648), and so the star pattern which is found on the spandrels of main gate of Humayun's tomb. Percy Brown. Plate LXXXVI; W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Taj Mahal, the illuminated tomb, London, 1989 Plate 21. For star pattern see Janya Rama Nathan and D.N. Dube, Monuments of Delhi, Delhi, 1997, pp. 100-101.

<sup>791</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahri*, p. 111. When Portuguese attacked Thatta, many of the inhabitants had taken shelter in this *Jam'i mosque*.

<sup>792</sup> Although Henry Cousens gives a detailed description of all the monuments of Thatta, yet this mosque is not taken into notice by him, but A.H. Dani gives the description of this mosque. A. H. Dani, p. p. 186-187.

<sup>793</sup> Nawab 'Abdu'r Razzaq Muzaffar Khan Ma'amuri came to Sindh, when Mirza Rustam Safawi was the governor of Thatta in the year 1616-1617. *Tuzuk*, vol. I, p. 110; vol. II, p. 156; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 378.

remaining. There is another *masjid*, *Dabgir masjid*, which was built by Khusro Khan Chirkis in 1588 A.D., prior to the Mughal occupation of Sindh.<sup>794</sup> There is a reference of another mosque of Sehwan, for whose maintenance land was granted, but again I am unable to locate it.<sup>795</sup>

### **Tombs:**

Among the tomb building at Sukkur, first is the tomb of Mir Muhammad M'asum Bhakkri, his father and other members of the family on a raised platform (plate VII), which are in the form of open canopies, the roof of which is supported on carved stone<sup>796</sup> pillars, some of which are square, and octagonal. The roof has battlemented parapets and three domes at the top, with central one being larger in size with crown finials. The shafts of the pillars are covered with Persian writing in relief and other ornamental tracery. Mir M'asum's grave is dated 1605-06 A.D., and that of his father, which has several inscription bears the date 1583 A.D.<sup>797</sup> Since he himself was a very good calligrapher, Farid Bhakkari tells that he himself did epigraphic calligraphy on his grave [and probably of his father], and on sarcophagus of his grave, he had inscribed, ninety nine names of god.<sup>798</sup>

Then there is a tomb building of Mir 'Abdul Baqi Purani, situated to the south-west of collector's house; whose chronogram been composed by Shaikh Qazi Shah Muhammad and it gives the date 1610 A.D.<sup>799</sup>

Another building which was made during the Mughal period was Suffah-i-Safa (the platform of purity); which was a quadrangular platform, with a minaret on every corner of it, built by Qasim Khan Namkin where he used to have meetings with learned persons.<sup>800</sup>

The tombs of ruling dynasties of Thatta are confined to Makli hills, which looks like a small town of grave.<sup>801</sup> The material used for the construction of these tombs is yellow tome stone or fine baked bricks.

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<sup>794</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 122.

<sup>795</sup> There is a reference of this *Jam'i mosque* in *Jamm-i-Badi*. It says, in the *Jam'i mosque* of Siwistan (Sehwan), Sayyed Mahmood, and Sayyed Rahim were imam and *khatib*, who had daily allowance (*wajah-i-yaumia*) of 7 *annas* and 5 *annas*. In addition to this some land was also granted to meet the expenses. *Jami-i-Badi*, ff 73a-74a.

<sup>796</sup> This form of tomb is called Chaukbandi. *Zakhirat-ul-Kkwanin*, vol. 1, p. 204.

<sup>797</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 152.

<sup>798</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 204.

<sup>799</sup> Henry Cousens, pp. 153-154.

<sup>800</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 3. Although Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, and Mir 'Abdul Hayy identified it as his mausoleum, where he was buried. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 77; *Zakhirat-ul Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 199. This building was probably not surviving when Henry Cousens had made his survey of Sukkur buildings.

<sup>801</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, pp. 120-121.

### Tombs of Jani Beg and Ghazi Beg Tarkhan:

The important tomb in the Makli hill, built during Mughals especially during Akbar's period, is of Mil Beg Tarkhan.<sup>802</sup> The inscription provides the date of his death A.D. 1601.<sup>803</sup> The main octagonal tomb building stands on a stone plinth (plate VIII), within an enclosure measuring 78' 6 "x 71' 9". This enclosure has an entrance to the east, and a *mihrab* on the west, made of stone, set under a high arch, and has two small carved brackets on each side and also a decorated niche (plate IX). The *mihrab* has carved pillarate on each side, (a typical Sindhi style) the *mihrab* forms a half octagon, and has profuse carving of rosette and other motifs. The rectangular frames at cornice level has Arabic inscription, while the side niches have oval lobed motif with rosette carved in low relief, while the rosette above it, and above the rectangular frame of main arch, have been carved in high relief.

The tomb is made of superior brick work, with pointing of sunken stripes of white enamel along the edges of each brick. The joints are so fine, that a knife blade can hardly be inserted between the bricks.<sup>804</sup> The octagonal tomb has eight lateral arches set within rectangular framework divided by eight piers. While the arches at the corner are closed one, the arch on north east has grilled window and Arabic inscription above it in blue and white. This grilled window opens under a high lateral arch set within rectangular frame. Only opening is from southern arch, made of arcuate and trabeate combination, and has a latticed window set above the door level. While the rectangular frame has Arabic inscription set in blue, while against the red.

The interior of the tomb is in the form of square chamber, and decorated with glazed tiles at the spandrels of the squinches, above it is a series of arcaded zone, and at the top is inter lacing of arch; everything is decorated with dark blue, light blue and white tiles, in vertical, horizontal bands and floral, and geometrical motifs on the floor. In the chamber lies three graves, the cenotaph of the two graves is made of marble. The dome of the tomb is low, rests on circular glazed red brick base, from which lotus petals are springing, encircling the dome. Its' finial is, however, missing. The tomb of Ghazi Beg is however recorded neither by Henry Cousens, nor by A.H. Dani. But Alexander Hamilton gives the account of Ghazi Beg's tomb building. According to him, "I went into the largest [tomb], which is built in the form of a cupola, and in the middle of it stood a coffin-tomb, about three foot high, and seven foot long, with some others of a lesser size. The materials of the cupola were yellow, green and red porphyry, finely polished, and the stone set in regular order in chequered way the tomb is about ten yard high and seven in diameter."<sup>805</sup> Tuhfat'ul Kiram also tells that, "Ghazi Beg, after his

<sup>802</sup> Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan had got his tomb constructed during his life time. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 165.

<sup>803</sup> *Ibid*. The date is given as 20th Rajab 1009 A.H.

<sup>804</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 119.

<sup>805</sup> Alexander Hamilton, vol. I, p. 121. He further says, "I was told that it's the burying place of the last king of the country, who was robbed of his sovereignty by Jehangir, grandfather to the famous Aurangzeb in the beginning of the seventeenth century .... He had built this tomb, which costed him two lacs of rupees or twenty five thousand

death in Qandahar was brought to Sindh, and his body was buried in the neighborhood of his father; and do not have any inscription.<sup>806</sup> Keeping in view all these description, there is one unidentified tomb building near Jani Beg's tomb, which is probably tomb of Ghazi Beg. This building is situated to the south of Jani Beg's tomb, and is twelve pillared pavilion covering a grave with a ruined brick *mihrab* beside it. This pavilion is 14'x 6" rectangle stands on raised plinth of three feet and four inch high. The dome's ceiling has a chevron pattern made of tiles, and interlacing of arches, similar to that of Jani Beg's tomb. But its dome is made of corbelling technique.

### **Tomb of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan;**

The largest mausoleum in Makli Hill is of 'Isa Tarkhan II, built in between 1627-28 - 1628-29 A.D.<sup>807</sup> The tomb is made inside an enclosure; which has closed arcaded zone, eastern side of which has an opening entrance. This entrance is in the form of a high *pishtaq*, which is a lateral arch and a semi dome set within a rectangular frame. The central *pishtaq* is flanked on each side by oriel windows. The inner side also has an arcaded zone. The western enclosure wall has a raised plinth, having a *mihrab* in the same level, while north-west and south-west have separate platform, but these platform, have graves on it. The main tomb is square and double storied situated on a square plinth, which is approached by steps of three in the middle of each of the four sides. The plinth has carving of rosette within carved arch. The main hall is square domed hall, supported on square pillars, and surrounded by pillared galleries on all the four sides. The rows are double, and each side has ten pillars, the centre of which has three arched openings (plate X), which leads inside the galleries. On the eastern side, both the sides of arch opening provide stairs to go to first floor.

The central chamber on the first floor is also a pillared hall, with twenty pillars standing on the four sides on which the weight of the dome rests. These pillars are closed by curtain wall which is profusely carved but in a low relief. There is a stone balustrade added to upper story on all the four sides. The triple arches have spear headed fringes carved out of stone and has Arabic inscriptions on rectangular panel above the spandrels. While the stone pillars of upper story have floral motifs carved. The curtain wall has lobed oval motif, and rosette carved in low relief. The roof has multiple domes, which are shallow inverted cup like domes, while the main dome rests on the octagonal

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pound sterling." Here he is probably taking about Ghazi beg Tarkhan. But the amount he is telling may be an exaggeration.

<sup>806</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 188.

<sup>807</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 191. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan II, was the son of Jan Baba son of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan I, who entered into service of Akbar in 1603-1604 A.D. During the reign of Shahjahan, he was made *subedar* of Thatta after his posting to Gujarat. He was *mansabdar* of one thousand. After his death in 1651-52 A.D., he was hurried in his tomb at Makli hill, which he had constructed during his life time. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 347, 348, 349. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* tells that in the year 1642 A.D., when he was the governor of Gujarat he had reached the rank of 5000/4000 *du aspah sih aspah*. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 487; but according to Mirat-i-Ahmadi, he was *mansabdar* of 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar* with 2500 *sawar* being *du aspah- sih aspah*. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, vol. I, pp. 227-8.

stepped carved base, and has vertical flutings, but these flutings are not smooth, these are sharp flutings. The finial is broken, but the inverted lotus is clearly visible. The lower pillars have honeycombed capitals (plate XI). There are six graves of which four are situated in west the fifth grave on eastern side is grave of Mirza 'Isa, and had the inscription with the date of death and his name on it. The tomb of 'Isa Tarkhan II, is made of yellow stone locally available, and has lot of Gujarati influence on it.

### **Tomb of Jan Baba:**

Another tomb which has Gujarati influence on it is tomb of Jan Baba built in 1608 A.D.<sup>808</sup> The tomb is in enclosure, with closed arcaded zone, and is rectangular in plan; measuring 48' x 34" internally, with a pillared porch in south measuring 25' 6" x 20' 2", having an arched entrance which is the main entrance with battlemented parapets at the top. North-east corner of the tomb has a *zanana* (ladies) enclosure measuring 11' 3" x 10' 8" approached from south. The western wall of the enclosure has a highly ornate *mihrah* projection.

In the middle of the large enclosure, there is a raised platform on which stand three pillared pavilions, which had three domes, but today only the central one is remaining. The pillars are square and have molded capitals.<sup>809</sup> The western *mihrah* is very ornate, it opens under an outer arched frame having two pillarette, and rosette motif on the spandrels. The extrados of arches have laced stone work. The door entrance to the south is fronted with the pillared porch behind which, is an entrance fitted within rectangular frame carved in local style, and is topped over by a raised rectangular frame fronted by carved *chajja* (drooping eaves) on brackets. The raised frame is crowned by a series of pointed merlons, decorated with framed star pattern the door frame and has series of rosettes within geometrical designs.

### **Tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan:**

The tomb of diwan Shurfa Khan is the best preserved brick building of Makli hill, constructed in 1638 A.D.<sup>810</sup> It's a massive square structure standing on a platform, thirty-eight feet square, and has a series of open arches at all the four sides with heavy round towers at the corners; in place of arched alcove; containing staircase to go to rooftop (plate XII). The rooftop has a high circular drum on which rests the pointed dome, which had tile decoration, mainly blue in colour, but now only some of it is remaining.

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<sup>808</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 349. Jan Baba, who was son of 'Isa Tarkhan I, was murdered by his cousin Baqi Beg Tarkhan. See *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 138-139.

<sup>809</sup> A.H. Dani, calls it honeycombed. In fact the capitals are molded, but the honeycombed design in low relief is below the capitals. A. H. Dani, p. 136, and plate No. 104.

<sup>810</sup> Henry Cousens, pp. 1 17, 118. This tomb was built during the lifetime to Shurfa Khan, who was the grandson of Mir Arghun, and minister to Nawab Amir Khan in 1644 A.D.

The mausoleum was enclosed from all the four sides, but presently only the original western wall is remaining, which has a *mihrab*, decorated with blue and white tiles, and is flanked on either side by four closed arch panels within a rectangular frame. The flanking arches are smaller in size as compared to central *pishtaq*. These arches and their spandrels are decorated with blue and white coloured tiles, set in geometrical patterns.

The tomb has four arched entrance, opening under a high arch. These entrances are combination of arcuate and trabeate style, with lattice work above the beam. Only the southern arch is fitted with stone door frame, and had Quranic verses above its spandrels. The main chamber was also a square one, but it had been converted into an octagon with the help of *squinches*. The ceiling has a chevron pattern, with a light blue lining.

The floor has seven graves. The main grave cenotaph has a tall headstone, which is divided into stepped platform, filled with arched panels, flower motifs, rosette motif, chain motif, and Quranic verses, with the inscription in Persian, and, engraving of *kalimah*. The chain bands separating the smaller panels on the headstone are very effective.

#### **Tomb of Tughril Beg:**

There is another tomb in Makli hill built, during the Mughal period is of Tughril Beg; which was built in 1649 A.D.<sup>811</sup> The tomb building is twelve pillared pavilion, built on high platform, and is sixteen feet square. These pillars are made of stone, richly carved, and have honeycombed capitals. The western side has sculpted *mihrab*. The central arch flanked on each side by two smaller ones, within rectangular frame,<sup>812</sup> with battlemented parapets at roof level. At both the ends of this western wall rests high turrets. The arches on the western wall are carved out in low relief. The pavilion has four pillars on each side. Above these at roof level rests drooping eaves, and slightly above them are battle mented parapets. The dome is preserved, but the finial is missing.

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<sup>811</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 119.

<sup>812</sup> Ibid, plate no. LV.



**Plate II**  
**Octagonal Tomb Building and Minar at Sukkur, built by Mir M'asum.**



**Plate III**  
**Mosque at Thatta built by Amir Khan**





**Plate IV**  
*Ja'mi Mosque at Thatta; Northern Liwan*



**Plate V**  
*Ja'mi Mosque at Thatta; Western Liwan*



**Plate VI**  
*Ja'mi Mosque at Thatta; Tile Decoration*



**Plate VII**  
**Mausoleum of Mir M'asum at Sukkur**



**Plate VIII**  
**Mausoleum of Jani Beg**



**Plate IX**  
**Western Mihrab Mausoleum of Jani Beg**



**Plate X**  
**Mausoleum of 'Isa Tarkhan II**



**Plate XI**  
**Front view of Mausoleum of 'Isa Tarkhan II**



**Plate XII**  
**Mausoleum of Diwan Shurfa Khan**

## 7.2: Resemblance and difference between the classical Mughal architecture, and Sindh architecture

During the period, when Mughals were setting trends of imperial architecture in India, Sindh was developing an independent style of its own. When the region was incorporated into Mughal Empire, Sindh had already assimilated trends of Arabic art, and Persian, in its architectural decorative patterns; but to a limited extent. The buildings which were constructed before the Mughal rule in Sindh, were generally of stone and bricks and the decorative patterns included arabesque, engraving of *Quranic* verses, pilarette, rosette and other lower relief carving on stone of geometrical patterns. The buildings of bricks, was encouraged by the alluvial formation of the country, but engraving was not possible for decorative purpose, and moreover, the vast plain needed a colour scheme, therefore custom of decoration the building with glazed tiles, was introduced, which was definitely a Central Asian influence.<sup>813</sup> But before the coming of Mughals, there was no such grand buildings existing in Sindh, as were introduced during the period of Shahjahan, as Thatta *Jam'i Mosque*, and tomb of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan II, during Akbar and Jahangir's period. The buildings, which were constructed during Mughal period were, Sitasar,<sup>814</sup> mosque, minaret and 'Idgah and mausoleum of Sayyed M'asum Bhakkari in Sukkur and Rohri, Suffa-i-Safa by Qasim Khan Namkin, tomb of Mir 'Abdul Baqi Purani, and tomb of Jan Baba and Mirza Jani Beg, and Ghazi Beg. These buildings were all constructed on high stone plinth to avoid salt erosion. These are all made of stone, and one does not find any similarity between Mughal architecture and Sindh architecture. The only building which has some similarities of stone buildings of Akbari period especially that of Fatehpur Sikri, is tomb building of Jan Baba, and of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan II, which was made during Shahjahan's period. The dominance of pillars in these buildings reminds a person of the dominance of pillars in the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri, which were made of monolith stone, and had carvings on it, similarly the pillars in the tombs of Jan Baba, and 'Isa Khan Tarkhan II are made of single monolith stone, and floral and geometrical carvings are done in low relief. Especially the carving and tracery of Fatehpur Sikri, do have some similarities with these pillars. The only thing missing here is the use of struts of various verities. The general character of the structure has much of the temperament of Akbar's capital, and this specially applies to the low relief patterns, with which all the surfaces are profusely adorned. But with the tiles this carving a not a servile imitation.

The tomb of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan II, was built in 1644 A.D., by himself, and his fathers' in 1608 A.D., the similarities of these tombs to that of Mughal architecture in stone is quite

<sup>813</sup> This method of ornamentation was probably first introduced by Arabs, was later revived by its intercourse with Persia. See Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, ed. by Sir Richard Burn, New Delhi, 1963, VI. vols, vol. IV, p. 569.

<sup>814</sup> According to *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, "this was Satiyasar", (vol. II, p. 328); while *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* and *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin* calls it Sitasar. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 4; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, pp. 198- 199.

visible, but the multiplicity of domes of 'Isa Khan II's tomb and the oriel windows<sup>815</sup> are borrowed from Firuz Shah Tughlaq, and Sher Shah Sur's architecture. The tomb of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan II, have similarity with the Gujarati architecture, as here the use of double pillars, one on the top of other, is a Gujarati feature, which is perhaps the influence of his stay in Gujarat as its governor.<sup>816</sup>

The building of tomb within the enclosure one find very common is Mughal tombs, whether it's of Humayun, Akbar's tomb, Jahangir's tomb, or the Taj Mahal. But in Sindh, this practice, started only after its annexation to the Mughal Empire. All the tombs which were made afterwards have walled enclosure; but they are missing the *chahar bagh* (garden divided into four, a typical Timurid architectural pattern). May be because of the arid climate, they did not go for this type of garden. But in Sukkur, Sayyed M'asum Bhakkari had constructed buildings with gardens.<sup>817</sup> There is one more reference to *chaharbagh* present during Humayun's visit to Sindh, at *mauza* Babrulu near Rohri (Alor).<sup>818</sup> This was probably built by the Arghun rulers who had carried Timurid traditions with themselves.

But the building which has evident Mughal influence is Jam'i mosque of Thatta. Firstly, since it was built on the orders of Shahjahan, a huge amount was spent on it.<sup>819</sup> It is one of the largest buildings in Sindh and decorated with the finest type of coloured glaze tiles.<sup>820</sup> Though unlike other imperial mosques of Sikri, Agra, Delhi and Lahore, which are built in stone, this mosque goes back to past tradition of Thatta of making buildings in brick; which endured the phase of building in stone. The grandeur of the building, and the symmetrical placement of lateral arches in western *liwan*, dado decoration definitely owe its lineage to Mughal architecture. Besides this, in decorative pattern, the introduction of star motif, which replaces the rosettes of the other buildings situated on Makli hill.

These stars are used dominantly on the ceiling made of tiles with, extensive use of colours like light blue, dark blue and white, arranged generally in circle around the

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<sup>815</sup> The oriel windows are visible on the arched entrance of the enclosure of 'Isa's Tomb. See A.H. Dani, p. 104, Plate No. 38.

<sup>816</sup> *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p.388. 'Ali Sher 'Qani states that, "the stones for his tomb building was brought from Gujarat." *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vide A.H. Dani, p. 141. But this can't be true as the building material of the tomb is yellow limestone, which was locally available.

<sup>817</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin* informs us of garden of *Iram*, in twenty *bigha* plot of land, by Sayyed M'asum Bhakkari. But It does not inform us about its pattern. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 204.

<sup>818</sup> In 1560, Sultan Mahmud was alarmed by hearing the news of the journey of Bairam Khan to Mecca via Bhakkar. He directed that *chaharbagh*, where Humayun had stayed in the neighborhood of Bhakkar, be laid waste, so that Bairam Khan might not think of staying there, when BaTram Khan come to know of this, he changed his route and went to Gujarat via Pattan (*Tarih-i-Sindh*, p. 224).

<sup>819</sup> According to Henry Cousens, "six lacs of rupees were spent from the royal treasury." Henry Cousens, p. 121.

<sup>820</sup> While describing the great glazed tiles of central Asia, Middle East, and India, the description of *Jam'i mosque* of Thatta, and it's tile work, finds a place in Michael Berry's *Colour and symbolism in Islamic Architecture* line, pp. 245, 300.

central motif, which gives the effect of a starry sky. In the Mughal buildings, these stars are used in spandrels, and on the floors (as evident in Humayuns' tomb). But the tile decoration in these buildings is indigenous and is linked to tile decoration are of Samarqand, Bokhara and Heart;<sup>821</sup> the type still practice restoring the technique of haft rang (seven colours) in *kashi* style. This method of decoration introduced in Sindh probably by the Arabs and was revived with is contacts with Safawids.<sup>822</sup> In Sindh these enameled tiles are always laid in flat surfaces upon one level, but in Multan and Lahore, they are sometimes laid on raised and sunk platform alternatively.<sup>823</sup> For the tile decoration mainly two types of tiles were used; one was rectangle in shape and has single glazed colour, and the second was square in shape with geometrical or floral design in shades of blue, against white or sometimes blue background. The second were also glazed tiles. The floral motifs were probably hand painted, and it needed skill to join the pieces together to form a particular design, which was done (probably) with the help of prepared graph of a particular pattern. But with the coming of Mughals, the Sindh tiles travelled farther afield than Sindh itself. They are used in dado decoration in gallery, and near the altar on either side in the old ruined church of the Jesuits at Bassein, near Bombay. They have been sparingly used in some of the old buildings at Bijapur, and the whole front of the old *madarsa* at Bidar.<sup>824</sup>

Besides this, the use of pilarette on the gates use of rosette, pavilion type of tombs, are typical of indigenous style of Sindh. They larger buildings were generally of two distinct styles of work. In the one, they were constructed, of cut stone (yellow limestone locally available) covered with carved surface tracery similar to Akbar's capital buildings, while in others they were built of brick work, all except the plinth, on which they stand, and depend for their decoration upon a lavish use of enameled tiles. This brick work was very superior; especially the surface bricks (due to erosion) were made of best pottery clay, perfectly formed and dense, raving cleanly cut sharp edges, and of rich dark red. The enameled tiles of blue and, white colours were placed on outer surface.

The indigenous style remained dominant in the latter buildings (buildings made of bricks), while the stone buildings had Mughal impact on it. Besides the Mughal, the features of 'Alai architecture i.e. spearheaded fringes on the intrados of arches; of Firuz Shah Tughlaq's architecture i.e. multiplicity of domes; and of Sur architecture i.e. oriel windows, were also mixed with the native style. However, the decorative motifs especially oval lobed motif, star, *guldasta* form, fruit vases, lattice work, is Safawid influence, while the tile decoration and carving on stone remained indigenous.

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid* ; p. 273.

<sup>822</sup> Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, vol. IV, p. 569.

<sup>823</sup> Henry Cousens, p. 113.

<sup>824</sup> *Ibid*. In Hala, thirty-five miles north of Hyderabad, and in Nasarpur, the tile making was still present, when Henry Cousens did survey of Sindh.



## CHAPTER 8

### DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL POETRY, LITERATURE, AND HIGH CULTURE

With the arrival of Arabs in Sindh, the doors of Islamic learning, education and literature had already been opened. This form of learning reached its highest point during the Sammah rule, especially during the period of Jam Nizamuddin, who invited scholars from outside India.<sup>825</sup> During his period Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Muinuddin, the two disciples of Maulana Jalal Muhammad, came and settled at Thatta.<sup>826</sup> With the establishment of Arghuns in Sindh, the horizon of learning widened, as the political instability in Central Asia, and of North India, let the scholars to come and settle in Sindh, where the royal Patronage was provided to them. Shah Beg himself was man of learning; and sought pleasure in the company of learned men.<sup>827</sup> Sindh became the seat of many renowned scholars as Abd'al Aziz Abhari, Makhdum Fakhr-i-Putrah, Makhdum Bilal, Qazi Ditah Siwistani, Shaikh Abdullah Muttaqi, Qazi Qazan, Makhdum Yusuf Tayunah, Makhdum 'Arabi of Halahkandi and Qazi Shukrallah.<sup>828</sup> Qazi Ditah Siwistani, was well known for his knowledge of numerology and astrology.<sup>829</sup> There were others also who were famous for their command over Arabic and Persian language of these Maulana Maslika-al-Dub Lari, was an expert in Arabic language, but he wrote in Persian also as *Sharah-i-Shumail-i-Nabawi*, *Hawashis-i-Tasir-i-Baydawi*.<sup>830</sup>

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<sup>825</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 75.

<sup>826</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>827</sup> *Ibid*. pp. 102, 127-128.

<sup>828</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 76, 117, 197- 200, 202, 204. Also see p. 142. When Shah Beg conquered Thatta in 1519, Sayyed Shukrallah Shirazi, and his son Sayyed Zaheeruddin 'Jadum', along with some Mashaikh (Sawed Manba, Sayyed Kamal and Sayyed 'Abdullah of Qadiri *silsilah* ) accompanied him to Thatta. Shah Husain conferred upon him the office of *Shaikh-ul Islam* and also appointed him the *qazi* of Thatta because of his erudition and scholarship. Mir 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi was sixth of his generation. *Tuhfat'ul Tahirin*, ed. Badr-i-Alam Durrani, Hyderabad-Sindh, 1966, pp. 146-47; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 14-15; 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi, *Muqaldt-us Shu'ara*, ed. Pir Husammuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1957, p. 571; Qazi Ditah Siestani was a disciple of Makhdum Fakhr-i-Putrah, who was settled at Kahan. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 198, 199; Makhdum Shaikh Bilal was the most perfect saint of Bubakan. who had called Mirza Shah Husain a despot, because he ill treated the family of Makhdum Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya at Multan. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, pp. 177. Qazi Qazan was a Mahdavi by faith and was appointed *qazi* of Bhakkar. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 114, 123, 200, 201. His grandson Mian Mir introduced *sufi* tradition to Dara Shikoh. See Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of Great Mughals*, Delhi, 2004. p. 252.

<sup>829</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 199-200, M'asumi himself was his disciple who decimated *Safinat-ul-Aulia* to his pir. His grandson Mian Mir introduced *sufi* tradition to Dara Shikoh. see. Annemarie Schimmel, p. 252

<sup>830</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 204.

Shah Husain himself was a great poet, and wrote in Persian and Turkish with the pen name of Sipahi<sup>831</sup> Maulana Fakhri Harwi, who wrote *Rawadat-al-Salatin* in 1554 A.D, was a great scholar who was given patronage by Mah Begum (wife of Shah Beg Arghun).<sup>832</sup>

Sultan Mahmud Kokaltash also patronized men of learning as Mir Muhammad Purani, Mir Abu'l Makarim and Maulana Yar Muhammad Yari were present in his court, and received royal patronage.<sup>833</sup> Besides Arghuns, the Tarkhans also patronized men of erudition in different fields of knowledge as Mirak Abd'al Rahman son of Shaikh Mirak Purani, who had a great knowledge of geometry, during the period of Tarkhans.<sup>834</sup> Except Baqi Tarkhan, who kept the scholars at margin, and instead patronized local *qazis* and *ulema*.<sup>835</sup> With the accession of Jani Beg to the throne, the literary activities got an impetus and the old traditions were revived, he himself was a poet and Hatimi was his *nom due plume*. His poetry was very famous among the *qawwals*.<sup>836</sup> His son Mirza Ghazi beg also received education in different secrecies out, use of arms and in affairs of government.<sup>837</sup> Mirza Ghazi also got pleasure in the company of learned men and had the company of scholars like Mulla Murshid Yazdjardi, Talib Amah', Mir Niamat'ullah Asiti, and Mulla Asad.<sup>838</sup> It was during his period when Faghfuri Gilani had come to Qandahar at his court, and Ghazi Beg received him very well.<sup>839</sup> Mirza Ghazi himself was a great poet and wrote a *diwan* with a penname of Waqari.<sup>840</sup> He was also an unequalled singer and especially sang *raag todi* and played tambour, in fact he would play all the instruments.<sup>841</sup> It was owing to his love for poetry and literature, that almost

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<sup>831</sup> *Ibid.* p. 195. *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 129.

<sup>832</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 127, 128; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>833</sup> Mir Muhammad Purani was from Hormuz and was settled at Bhakkar. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 238-239, *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram* vol. III, part I, pp. 130-131. Sultan Mahmud had sent Mir Abu'l Makarim on embassy to Shah Tahmasp Safawid. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 239; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vol. III, part I, p. 127. Besides Qazi Uthaman, was also a famous scholar, who had predicted the victory of imperial army under Khan-i-Khanan over Jani Beg. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 240; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 179. For Maulana Muhammad Yari, see *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 111, 191.

<sup>834</sup> Mirak Abd'al Rahman son of Shalkh Mirak Purani, had a great knowledge of geometry, and he said to have invented new figures in geometry. *Tarikh -i-Sindh*, p. 215; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vol. III, part I, p. 213.

<sup>835</sup> He had asked these scholars to stay outside the town. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 116, 137, 138. But he patronized Darwesh Da'ud. He remitted the revenue of the land. Darwesh Da'ud's *madrasah* accommodated five hundred students and they were provided free lodging boarding and dress to the students. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 36; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>836</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 206.

<sup>837</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwarim*, vol. I, p. 181; vol. II, p. 29.

<sup>838</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 20

<sup>839</sup> *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, PP- 347-8. Mulla Murshid was a port in the court of Ghazi Beg. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 224-25, 346; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram* vol. III, part I, p. 189.

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>841</sup> *Tuzuk*, p. 63; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 29; *Ma'asir-uk-Umara*, vol. III, pp 382-3; *Tuhfat' ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 188.

<sup>842</sup> *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 347; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 29; *Tuhafat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 191.

all the officials including soldiers of the army, started composing verses, in order to gain attention and reward from him.<sup>842</sup>

The coming of Mughals in Sindh led to the flourishing of high culture because of the political stability provided by the imperial rule. The Mughal officials during the time of Emperor Akbar, especially Mir Abu'l Qasim Khan Namkin paid daily allowances (*ruzinah*) to most of the scholars, and even paid them fare to meet Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, and gave each one of them his own recommendations.<sup>843</sup> The imperial tradition of awarding the scholars, and *ulema* with the revenue free lands (*madad-i-ma'ash*) was also started in Sindh, firstly in Sehwan by its *faujdar* Abu'l Qasim Khan Namkin.<sup>844</sup> In order to ensure the patronage given to scholars and men of learning Akbar appointed *sadr-us-sudur*, *sadr*, *mir-i-'adl*, and muftis in the region.<sup>845</sup> He even invited one of such grant scholars poet Niyazi at imperial court.<sup>846</sup> The royal patronage given to these scholars are well recorded, Sayyed Abu'l Makarim was given stipend by Emperor Jahangir.<sup>847</sup> The scholars were even given important posts by the Emperor; as Mahmud Beg, son of Makhdum Talib Allah Mudarris received a reward of *dirhams* as and a daily stipend of one rupee<sup>848</sup> from Aurangzeb. Other learned person of Sindh in different field such as calligraphy, were also given them due importance. Sayyed Muhammad 'Ali was a famous calligrapher of Thatta, his son was received with a great favor at the court of Aurangzeb.<sup>849</sup> Mir 'Ata Allah Mashhadi, was outstanding in the excellence of his poetry and calligraphy.<sup>850</sup> Some of the Mughal officials of Sindh were also noted scholars, Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari was a good poet scholar and calligrapher, who belonged to Tirmizi Sayyeds, was a very famous poet wrote under a penname of Nami, and also very good calligrapher, whose inscriptions are found over royal buildings like Fatehpur Sikri, Agra fort, and Mandu fort etc.<sup>851</sup> Abu'l Baqa had a good command over Persian language, and he could from sentences instantly with including words which caused

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<sup>842</sup> *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 13.

<sup>843</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, p. 121.

<sup>844</sup> *Ibid.* In the village Lak'alwi, he even reduced the share of Sayyeds, the descendant of Hazrat Miyan Sayyed Abu Bakr to  $\frac{1}{4}$  in *ghalla-bakhshi*. p. 216.

<sup>845</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 245, Also see provincial administration of chapter one in this book.

<sup>846</sup> Famous poet Niyazi, came to Thatta, during the period of Shah Beg Arghun, and settled there. He was also patronized by Mir Baqi Tarkhan. Emperor Akbar had invited him to the court but Niyazi's death obstructed his way to the court. *Muqala-us-Shu'ara*, pp. 821-22.

<sup>847</sup> His ancestor had come to Sindh. He belonged to Qadiri Silsilah. He was even appointed trustee of *J'ama Masjid* of Thatta. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 35; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sindh*, p. 332.

<sup>848</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sindh*, p. 332.

<sup>849</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>850</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>851</sup> He was *mansabdar* of 250, as given in the list of *manaabdar* in *A'in*, but later his rank was increased to 1000, and he was sent in an Embassy to the court of Shah Abbas I, of Safawid dynasty; where he was received very well. After returning from there in the year 1606-07, he was given title of *Amin-ul-Mulk*, and was appointed *amin* of Sindh. *A'in*, tr. Blochmann, vol. I, pp. 560, 578-79; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 327; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. I, p. 203. According to Farid Bhakkari, "he was a good calligraphist, "starting from Erevan, Nakhjiwan, Tabriz and Isfahan to Qandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, India and Deccan, wherever he went, he composed verses for inscription and carved them out of stone. "

him stammer.<sup>852</sup> Similarly Abd'al Karim was noted for his best chronograms during the reign of Aurangzeb.<sup>853</sup> Mir Gharuri Kashani was a very good poet, who wrote *masnavis* and a *diwan*. He was *daroghah-i-darb* khana (incharge of royal mint).<sup>854</sup> Another person, who had good command over algebra and mathematics, was Mulla Muhammad who became *sadr-us-sudur* in Jahangir's reign.<sup>855</sup> Another learned person from Sindh was Shaikh Sa'adullah Surti who was an accomplished scholar, perfect in esoteric and ritual sciences. He made a comparative study of different religion, and was highly venerated by Aurangzeb, who wrote letters to him.<sup>856</sup> According to 'Ali Sher 'Qani, "he was a voluminous writer and composer of following treatise; *Hashra-bar Hikrnat, Risala Kashful Haq, Risala Sitbuti, Mazhabi Shi 'a Risala, Tuhfat'ul Rasait, Risala-i-Chahal Bayt Masnavi*."<sup>857</sup>

Besides imperial patronage to individuals the centre of religious learning i.e., *madarsas* were also given patronage. Some of the famous *madarsas* of the period were *madarsa-i-Mirzai* at Rohri, the *madarsa* of Makhdum Usman at Darbela, *madarsa* of Miyan 'Abdu'l Rahim, Makhdum Abu'l Qasim and Makhdum Rahmat Allah at Thatta.<sup>858</sup> Hamilton records four hundred of such institutions of learning in Thatta alone.<sup>859</sup>

As a result of this patronage, writing of Arabic and Persian texts, and histories in court style became evident and sixteenth and seventeenth century. Qazi Muhammad Zahir of Thatta, wrote *Fatawa-i-Zahiri*.<sup>860</sup> Sayyed 'Ali Thani Shirazi wrote *Adab-al-Muridin*;<sup>861</sup> (a book on *sufi* practices) Miya Ziya'al-din who was a great scholar and poet wrote *Hirz-al-Bashar*, he was also known as Mir Lutf Allah.<sup>862</sup> Maulana Shakibi, who was in the time of Jam Beg, wrote *Saqinama*, a full poem on conquest of Sindh by the Mughals. For this Khan-i-Khanan gave him the award of one thousand *muhr*, while Mirza Jani Beg, gave him the award of one thousand *ashrafis*.<sup>863</sup> Besides, these, the out of writing regional history in personalized Way also started in Sindh. As a result of which Idraki Beglari's *Beglarnama*, Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari's *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, Ma'sumi also wrote a short treatise on medicine *Mufridat-i-Ma'sumi*.<sup>864</sup> He also helped Nizamuddin Ahmad in the compilation of *Tabaat-i-Akbari*, Sayyed Muhammad Tahir Nisyahi's *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Yusuf Mirak's *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi's *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, and

<sup>852</sup> *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>853</sup> *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 325, 326, 327.

<sup>854</sup> Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 332. He came to Thatta, during reign of Baqi Tarkhan. *Muqalat-us-Shu'ara*, pp. 465-66.

<sup>855</sup> Mullah Muhammad was a teacher of Asaf Jahan. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, pp. 373, 374. He was put to death by Mahabat Khan.

<sup>856</sup> Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, "'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi's life and contribution to the history and culture of Sindh". PIHC, Delhi, 1992, section II, pp 321-331.

<sup>857</sup> *Muqalat-us-Shu'ara*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>858</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 170, 240; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>859</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *A new account of East Indies*, vol. I, p. 127.

<sup>860</sup> He also wrote hawashis on Arabic textbooks. *Muqalat-us-Shu'ara*, p. 381.

<sup>861</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 215-16.

<sup>862</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 3 II.

<sup>863</sup> *Ibid*, p. 292.

<sup>864</sup> *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, pp. 326-7.

*Muqalat-us-Shu 'ara* in late eighteenth century are some of the examples of such writings. A part from it biographies of nobles, scholars and saints were also produced notably, *Muqalat-us-Shu'ara* (1761), is the best literary production of 'Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi. It is the first biography of Sindhi poets in Persian. Besides the poets of Sindh, he mentions the names of other poets who migrated to Sindh from abroad and made various cities, towns and places of Sindh as the theme of their poetry, though before him Sayyed Abdul Qadir Thattavi wrote *Hadiqat-ul-Awliya* a biographical sketch of Sufis of Sindh, and *Rawdat-al-Salatin* by Fakhri Harwi,<sup>865</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin* by Shaikh Farid Bhakkari (in three volumes), which not only deals with the nobles of<sup>866</sup> Sindh, but also of Mughal court. He also wrote *Tarikh-i-Hadrat-i-Shahjahani*, *Tuhfa-i-Sarandaz*. The Sindhi scholars also contributed in great historic work of Aurangzeb's reign i.e., Abu'l Khayr and Makhdum Nizam'al Din Thani, contributed in the compilation of *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*.<sup>867</sup> Arabic and Persian *lughats* (lexicons) written by Abdul Rashid known as *Farhang-i-Rashidi*.<sup>868</sup>

Another field of literature, which was quite flourishing in Sindh was poetry: which had lot of Persian influence in it, more than Arabic, and was, sometimes inspired by the *sufi* philosophy because Sindh was the home of several skilled exponents of *sufi* thought during the middle ages. The Islamic idea of music as part of the service of god has also played some part in shaping of Sindhi poetry. The chief kinds of serious poetical composition cultivated by the Sindhis have been *Madahs*, *Munajats*, *Marsiyahs* and '*Kowars*' or '*Lariats*'.<sup>869</sup> The first are praises of God, the prophet and Saints. The second are the religious hymns. The third are elegies generally concerned with the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the fourth are composition which deal with the moral virtues and vices of mankind. While the lighter form of composition include songs of victory, eulogy, *kafirs* or *wais*, a form of amatory verse, *bayt* (couplets) and *sanyoras* or love messages, which was based on Persian models but possessed a local character. In context of its richness in poetry, and other form of literature, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari calls Thatta second Iran.<sup>870</sup>

Among the literary society, poetry was given a special place in Sindh. Among the Arghuns, Shah Husain, not only patronized it but himself was interested and used to write with the penname of *Sipahi* the Tarkhans also provided royal patronage to this branch of literature. Poetry was patronized by Mirza Jam Beg who wrote with the

<sup>865</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 206, attributes it to Shah Hasan Takduri; *Tuhfat 'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 210, for Sayyed Abdul Qadir Thattavi, see, p. 216.

<sup>866</sup> In this Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, had put in writing the names of each and every member of the family of Itmad'ud daula (father of Nur Jahan). *Zakhirat-ul-Kkwanin*, vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>867</sup> Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo- Persian Literature*, Delhi, 1995, p. 35.

<sup>868</sup> A Persian into Persian dictionary being a critically revised and corrected version of the contents of *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* and *Majma'ul furs*, dedicated to Emperor Shahjahan, and completed in 1654. See D.N. Marshall and D.B. Taraporevala, *Mughals in India*, Bombay, 1962. p. 11.

<sup>869</sup> H.T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, p. 240.

<sup>870</sup> *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, vol. II, p. 31.

penname of *Halimi* whose *ghazals* were quite famous among the *qawwals*, while Mirza Ghazi wrote with the penname of *Waqari*. He had written an entire *diwan*, *Diwan-i-Waqari*. He had patronized many poets like Taliba Mazandarani, Shalda Isfahani, and ten other renowned poets of the time.<sup>871</sup> Mulla Murshid Yazdjardi was a famous poet in the court of Mirza Ghazi.<sup>872</sup> Amongst the Tarkhans, Mirza Jani Beg, Mirza Salih Tarkhan, 'Isa Tarkhan II, were also good poets, while Baqi Tarkhan had patronized poets like Gaznafar Beg, Firaqi and Rangin.<sup>873</sup>

Under the patronage of Mughal officials certain local folk lores were also turned into poetry; Idraki Beglar adopted this style, who under the patronage of Mir Abu'l Qasim Sultan (1601-1602 A.D.) wrote *Chanesarnama* or *Waqia-i-Chanesar wa Leila*, while Mir M'asum Nami wrote *Husn wa Naz* (story of Sassi and Punnu)<sup>874</sup> and *Pari Surat*. He wrote a *Diwan*, and *masnavi Mada-ul-Afqar*, in an imitation of *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* of Nizami. While Mulla Muqim converted story of Mumal and Mendra into Persian poetry, with the title of *Tarannum-i-Ishq*.<sup>875</sup> With these Mir Ma'sum Nami introduced writing of *Khamsah masnavi* in Sindh, in fact it was he, who introduced the trend of writing poetry based on popular folk lore. Similarly *Masnavi-i-Mazahir 'ul Asar* was written by Shah Jahangir Hashmi in 940 A.H., and *Masnavi-i-Mehawa-Mah* by Ata Thattawi.<sup>876</sup> Another form included was satire, which was written by Zafar Khan Ahsan with the name of Ata Thattawi.<sup>877</sup> A form, which derives its origin from the Arabs flourished during this period, was *qasidahs*, a form marshaled by Shah Jahangir Hashmi and Fakhri Harwi, 'Abdul Hakim 'Ala.<sup>878</sup>

There was another form of poetry also which was influenced by *Sufi* and *Bhakti* Movements in Sindh. The main exponent of this form of poetry, were Qazi Qazan (1463-1551), Pran Nath (1618-1694), Sachal Sarmast (1739-1829), and Shah 'Abdul Latlf of Bhit (1689-1752). Out of these Qazi Qazan, who was the *qazi* of Bhakkar, made experiment with prevailing poetic Hindi form of '*doha*' by changing its rhyming scheme and

<sup>871</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29; *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 188

<sup>872</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 189.

<sup>873</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 134, 135, 135.n3, 52n.l; for Jani Beg see. *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin* vol. I, p. 181. See also vol. II, p. 29. (for 'Isa Tarkhan II, see p. 212 of vol. II).

<sup>874</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol. III, pp. 76, 203, 204; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, p. 347; *Zakhirat-ul-Khwarim*, vol. I, pp. 200, 203; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. III, p. 327.

<sup>875</sup> *Ibid*. p. 49. See A'in tr. Biochmann, vol. I, p. 579.

<sup>876</sup> *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 76,367. See the Persian texts list given at the end for *Masnavi-i-Mazahir* by Shah Jahangir Hashmi, His collection of verses is known as *Diwan-i-Hashmi*. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, p. 205.

<sup>877</sup> He was from 'Alamgir's reign to Muhammad Shah's reign. (1063-1130 A.H.) *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, pp. 423, 424, 425. Some other poets of *masnavi* included Muhammad Taqi Khan who wrote with a pen name of Aashiq, and Muhammad Mohsin, who were at Thatta. *Tuhfat'ul-Kiram*, vol. III, part I, p. 377.

<sup>878</sup> *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 205, 206; *Muqdlat-us-Shu'ara*, pp. 185-86, 442-43, 487, 844-89. There were others like Muhsin Thattawi who wrote *qasidah* for Nadir Shah, in one of his twenty six couplets. He was during Aurangzeb's reign and was a much renowned poet even known in Thatta. He died in 1749 A.D. *Tuhfat 'ul Kiram*, vol. III, part, pp. 377, 456, 457, 458.

number of lines, and produced a new form i.e. *bayt* (couplet).<sup>879</sup> While Pran Nath was the first person who introduced *Sagun Bhakti* in Sindhi poetry,<sup>880</sup> Sachal Sarmast, was the rebellious *sufi* poet of Sindh, whose real name was Abdul Wahab,<sup>881</sup> while Sachal/Sachu was his pen name. He wrote in Sindhi, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic and Punjabi. He for the first time introduced *ghazal* in Sindhi poetry. His *kafis* are also very famous among the local people of Sindh.

The most famous poet of eighteenth century was Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, who wrote *Shahjo Risalo*.<sup>882</sup> He was a grandson of Shah 'Abdul Karim of Bulrri (1536-1625), a much revered mystic poet of Sindh. His style is harmonious and happy blend of Sanskritized vocabulary and Persian and Arabic phraseology; his lyrics are music oriented. He had written poems like *Sur Sorath*, *Sur Asa*, *Sur Suhini*, *Sur Sarang*, *Sur Kedar*, *Sur Maizuri*, *Sur Rip*, *Sur Dahir*, *Sur Yaman Kalyan*, *Sur Kalyan*, *Ramkati* and *Masnavis*.<sup>883</sup> There was another, who had mastered in music like Mir Miran Sani Amir Khan, who was present in Sindh during the late seventeenth century.<sup>884</sup> It is said that he had one thousand disciples in entire Hindustan. Thus it can be said that, while the rich trends of learning were initiated by the Arghuns, and were taken to higher steps by the Tarkhans, who gave lot of patronage for learning. With the coming of Mughals, Sindh experimented Persianized style of writing whether it was histories that were written, or poetry. The poetry of Sindh of sixteenth, seventeenth and mid eighteenth century, combines the Indo Persian style, imbibing in itself the cultural movements of the period; which was patronized by the Mughal court, and by the Mughal officials who were present in Sindh at that time.

The effect of Mughal rule on Sindhi literary society and culture can be seen in the way the histories and poetry were being written, by adopting the Persian historiography style. Moreover, treatise on medicine was also written. In the buildings, the Mughal style of architecture was evident whether it was a *J'ami mosque* or the mausoleums that were constructed by the Mughal nobles during that period. The Sindhi calligraphist also left their impression not only on architecture of Sindh, but also on royal buildings Agra fort, Fatehpur Sikri mosque, and Mandu fort. Thus with the establishment of the Mughal rule in Sindh, the common man was groomed by the interaction with the royal court and imperial nobles. The literature that was being written, and the balladic

<sup>879</sup> *Medieval Indian literature*, edited by K. Ayyappa Pannikar, Delhi, 2000, vol. IV, p. 374. For Qazi Qazan see *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, pp. 114, 123, 200, 201

<sup>880</sup> *Ibid*, p. 382. He was a disciple of Swami Nijanand, and he wrote over six hundred *slokas* in Sindhi. He was in Sindh between 1667-1668 A.D. Somehow, in his writing, he is influenced by Qazi Qazan. See L.H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi Literature*, Karachi, 1991. P. 58.

<sup>881</sup> *Medieval Indian literature*, p. 442

<sup>882</sup> *Ibid*, p. 386.

<sup>883</sup> Out of these *Sur Asa* deals with oneness of god *Sur Suhini* are love poems, *Sur Sarang* are poems on rain, *Sur Maizuri* deals with union of man with god (*sufi* element), and *Sur Kedar* are the ballad of the sorrow of Muharram. H.T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, pp. 227, 233, 234, 244, 245, 254, 255.

<sup>884</sup> *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*. vol. III, part I, p. 379.

traditions which were orally transmitted, combined together and gave birth to high culture in Sindh, whose effect was felt on scholars', nobles' and artisans' work.



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