

Translation of the Toofut ul Kiram A History of Sindh

By Lieut. Postans - 1845



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Sani H. Panhwar

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Translation of the *Toofut ul Kiram*, a History of Sindh.¹

By Lieut. Postans.

Introduction.

The following translation of the most succinct, consistent, and continued history of Sindh, which I have yet met with, has been made under the idea that, intimately connected as we have become with that country, its history cannot be otherwise than highly interesting, and that there are many who may desire information on the subject. The author of the "*Toofut ul Kiram*," has in his 3rd vol. collected materials from the best authorities; I have only omitted legends and stories, which have been given elsewhere, (Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,) as also the histories of holy Seers, Sheikhs, and Seyuds, they being alone interesting to the followers of the prophet; for the rest I believe it to be nearly a literal rendering of the text into English, with a few explanatory notes. I regret, that want of time, and emergent public duty, will not allow me to do more at present.

It will be seen that, with the exception of a very short period prior to the Mahomedan conquest by Bin Cassim, in the first century of the Hejira, we have no account of the country under its Hindoo rulers; and I regret to say, that all efforts to procure any information on the subject have hitherto proved unavailing. Had the Mahomedan historians sought for materials, they might doubtless have been found, and thus the hiatus between the expedition of Alexander, and that of the Khalif Walid, might have been filled up, so as to throw some light upon a portion of the country, rendered memorable by the great conqueror's passage down the Indus. As it is, we have a blank of nearly eleven centuries; and we only know, from the description herewith given of the extent of country tributary to the Sindh Rajahs or Rahis, that they were powerful princes, and that the kingdom of Sindh possessed in their time a degree of importance which declined after its subjugation by the Moslems, when it became dismembered, and fell a constant prey to succeeding conquerors.

From the period of the Mahomedans entering Sindh to the accession of the present family of Talpúr chiefs, the chronological order of its various rulers may be thus briefly given, and the number of dynasties during a period of about 1200 years, affords a curious instance of eastern revolutions. From Bin Cassim downwards, Sindh has fallen to the arms of the greatest conquerors of the East.

¹ Taken from the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" Vol. XIV Part I January to June 1845.

Taken by the Khalif Walid.

Beni Oombae	H	93
Falls to the Abbasides	H	133
Subdued by Mahomed of Ghuzni	H	416
Tribe of Sumrahs usurped the authority	H	446
Invaded by Jengiz Khan	H	610
Tributary to Delhi	H	694
18 Jams of the tribe of Súmah	H	752
Conquered by Shah Beg Arghún	H	927
Divided between the Arghúns and Tirkhans	H	950
Conquered by Akhbar under the Khan Khanam, and ceases to be independent	H	999
Invasion of Nadir Shah, and annexation to Persia	H	1149
Kalora Chiefs rule in Sindh, tributary to Cabul	H	1166
Kaloras overthrown by the Talpúrs	A.D.	1799
Talpúrs cease to be tributary to Cabul	A.D.	1839 ²

The downfall of the Kaloras during the time of Sir Afraz Khan (where the manuscript ends,) and the rise of the present Talpúr family, have been so fully given elsewhere, that I do not annex the account to this translation.³ Of the languages of the country the Sindee has been described by Mr. Wathen, and an excellent grammar, written by that

² To this list we may now add, "Conquered by Sir C. Napier, and annexed to British India, by Lord Ellenborough, - A.D. 1843. - EDS.

³ See Dr. and Sir A. Burnes, and Sir H. Pottinger.

gentleman, published by Government.⁴ The Persian language is used by the higher classes, and is that in which all the State correspondence and revenue accounts are kept; most of the Hindoos of Upper Sindh speak it fluently, the result of their intercourse with the natives of Affghanistan. A slight knowledge of it will be found of very considerable service to individuals stationed in the country.

As connected with this translation, I would beg to refer all those desirous of obtaining information on the inhabitants, cities (ancient and modern), and divisions of the country of Sindh, to the admirable papers published in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society, and written by the late Capt. Jas. McMurdo, " An account of the country of Sindh, with remarks on the state of society, manners, and customs of the people, &c."

J. POSTANS,
Assistant Political Agent.

Shikarpore, 5th July, 1841.

Sindh is one of the sixty-one divisions of the world, situated in the four first climates, belonging chiefly to the second, and is in the same region as the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; the river of Sindh rises in the mountains of Cashmere, another joins it from the mountains of Cabal, in Multan it is met by the river *Sibine*, and there proceeds to the sea. Its water is very clear and cool: in the language of the country it is called *Hichrand*; all the rivers of Sindh flow towards the south, where they empty themselves into the sea, such as the waters of *Pitab*, *Chinab*, *Sehae*, *Sultanpur* and *Bajawareah*. The climate of Sindh is delightful, its morning and evening cool: the country to the north, hotter than that to the south; its inhabitants intelligent, and of large stature.

Authors of Sindh histories.

Let it not be concealed, that whilst the people of Sindh were formerly ignorant of the Persian and Arabic languages, no account as a compilation existed of those countries; but in the year 613 H., *Alli Bin Ahmid*, *Bin Alli Bukur Kufi*, an inhabitant of Ooch, wandered to this valley, and arrived at the cities of Bakur and Alor, where he saw the families of the great men and descendants of the Arabs, and searched for accounts of the conquest of the Moslems in all its particulars; he also became acquainted with *Cazi Ismail*, *Bin Alli*, *Bin Mamomed*, *Bin Moussa*, *Bin Jahir*, and saw in the possession of that great man a description in Arabic, written by his ancestors, of the conquest of Sindh: this he translated into Persian. After him, Meer Masoom Bukeri, and after him Meer Mahomed Jahir Massiani, in the times of Akbar and Jibangir, composed works, and also the "*Urghim Nameh*," "*Jukhar Nameh*," and "*Byler Nameh*" were compiled. Subsequent to

⁴ A vocabulary by Capt. Eastwick, and a grammar and vocabulary of the Brahoi and Beloochi languages, by Major Leech, have also been published in our Journal. Eqs.

these no clear account existed (or no one was acquainted with affairs) up to my own time; by abbreviating and selecting from various books, and by recording some new events, I trust it will be found acceptable to all men.

The work known as the Chach Nameh, which brings the history of Sindh down to about 16 A.D., was written by Meer Migawar.

Let it be understood, that according to what has been previously mentioned, the province of Sindh was so called from "*Sindh*" (the brother of Hindh, the son of Hoh) whose descendants from generation to generation governed in that country, and tribes without number came forth and ruled, whose accounts are not recorded. From amongst these the tribe of *Nubuja*, the men of *Jak*, and the tribe of *Momid* ruled in their turn: of these there are no detailed accounts, so that they pass on to the last of the Rahis; and after that they relate the histories of other classes. The dynasty of the Rahis had their capital at Alor,⁵ and the boundaries of their dominions and possessions were to the eastward as far as *Cashmir* and *Kimuj*, westward to *Mikran* and the shore of the sea of Oman, *i.e.* at the Boundaries of their port of Derjul, to the south to the confines of the port of Surat, and to the north to Candahar, and Seistan, with the hills of Sulliman, Kirwan and Kaijkanan.

1. Rabi *Diwahij*, a distinguished prince; his sway extended over the boundaries described, and was absolute. The princes of Hind were in treaties of friendship with him, and in all his territories the merchant (Caravans) travelled in safety.

2. When he died, his son *Sahiras* was exalted to the crown, and in the steps of his father he for a long period enjoyed ease and prosperity: after his death, his son.

3. Rabi *Sahasi*, succeeded happily to the high seat of empire and the throne of Dominion; he conducted his affairs prosperously, and successfully followed out the institutions of his predecessors: after him, his son.

4. Rabi *Sahiras* the 2nd, took his place. The king (of) *Nimraz* brought a force against him; on learning this intelligence, he met him in the country of *Kich* and prepared for battle; from morning until noon they were occupied in conflict, but by chance *Sahiras* was wounded by an arrow in the neck and died. The king *Nimraz* despoiled his camp and returned. The army of *Sahiras* agreed together, and placed his son *Sahasi* upon the throne.

5. Rabi *Sahasi* the 2nd, excelled his ancestors in endowments and good qualities; in a short period he consolidated and settled his dominions as far as their boundaries

⁵ The ruins of Alor are still to be seen about four miles from Roree; opinions differ as to the river having at any period flowed in that direction, as stated in the "*Toopatal Kisum*." I cannot learn that there are any traces of Hindoo architecture to be found at Alor.

extended, and remained at his case in his capital. He ordained for his subjects in lieu of tax, that they should fill up with earth (repair) six forts, viz. *Ooch, Matilah, Siwari, Mud, Alor, and Seewistan.*

They say he had a porter named Ram, and a minister named Boidhiman: one day a brahmin named Chach, son of Silabig, distinguished amongst his class, came to Ram, and they became acquainted; the porter was well pleased with him, and took him to the minister, after some time, and when Chach was intimate with the minister, it so happened, that the latter became sick, and the Rahi's order arrived, to call the agents of the provinces together: now since he (the minister) saw that Chach was acute and intelligent, he sent him from himself to the Rahi, who was in the inner apartment of the palace. His wife Rani *Sohindi* wished to draw the veil, but the Rahi said what necessity can there be for a veil before brahmins; and when the brahmin *Chach* entered, *Sahisi* became delighted with his eloquence, and dictated his replies to him; so in time, when the ability of the brahmin became apparent to the Rabi, he directed that in future the curtain should be dispensed with in his favor, and that the necessary affairs of State should be transacted in the inner department of the palace; at this juncture the Rani became enamored of *Chach* to distraction; but notwithstanding she sent messages, *Chach* would not consent to her views, until his affairs prospered, and he had laid all classes under obligations for his favours and wisdom. By the chance of fortune's favours the Rahi *Sahasi* was attacked with a mortal illness. The Rani called *Chach*, and said, "The Rahi has no children or descendants, certainly his relations will become heirs to the country, and it will not remain with you and me; I will therefore devise some scheme, in order that the throne may be secured to you:" to this he agreed. The Rani sent messages in various directions to the intent, that the Rahi *Sahari* had become convalescent, but had not strength to conduct his own affairs, (to rise up); "some time has elapsed, and the affairs of the country were in confusion, now he has directed and given his signet to *Chach*, who is to sit in his place on the throne, and who will demand from you the particulars and accounts of the important business of the State, wherefore by all means let all of you be present:" all the rulers and great men, in obedience to the summons, presented themselves, and made their obeisance and bowed the knee to *Chach*. A short time after the Rahi died; the Rani's first care was to conceal his death, and having separately called those of the relations of *Sahasi* to the palace, who had claims (on the succession,) under the pretence of explaining the late Rahi's will, she imprisoned (chained) them; then calling their poorer connections, she said - "I have arrested these claimants to the throne on your account, each of you having his enemy here should precede the assembly and kill him, and having taken possession of his property and riches, let him become obedient to *Chach*; thus will be attain all his wishes." Thinking this the height of good fortune, these people did as they were directed: the period occupied by the rule of the five preceding Rajahs is 137 years, and then it descended to the Brahmins.

1st - Brahmin Chach Bin Silabij. When Chach after the manner described became sole heir to the throne, as advised by the Rani, he opened the doors of his treasury and bestowed largely upon high and low; at length the Rani having accomplished her ends, called together the nobles, head brahmins and great men, &c. directed them to make her lawful (as a wife) with Chach, and they were married, (connected in that knot) accordingly.

The Rana *Mihrut Chitoori*, who was a relation of *Sahasi*, having heard this, collected and brought a countless army by stratagem, and wrote to Chach saying, "What have brahmins to do with rule or government; give me the authority, and you shall be reinstated in your former appointment."

Chach went himself to the Rani and said, "A powerful enemy has come forth - what do you advise?" the Rani said, "War is understood by men, (but) if you will change places and apparel with me, I will go forth and do battle with the enemy;" *Chach* was afflicted and distressed. The Rani, encouraging him, said, "You have treasure, quickly propitiate the soldiers, so that you be victorious." Chach immediately acted on this advice, and bestowed much wealth (on his army) - he thus was prepared. *Rana Mihrut* arrived in the neighbourhood of Alor; when the two armies met, Rana Mihrut came forward, and said to Chach, "We are alone concerned in this quarrel, why should a multitude be needlessly destroyed; advance and let us make trial of our strength:" to this *Chach* replied, "I am a Brahmin, and cannot fight on horseback; descend, and I will combat with you." *Rana Mihrut* alighted from his horse, and Chach directed his groom to bring his horse slowly after him. *Rana Mihrut* being off his guard from this excuse of *Chach*, left his horse behind: they met - Chach sprang swiftly on his horse, and with one blow killed his adversary. The Rana's forces returned dispirited and discomfited, whilst the victorious *Chach* returned to Alor. These affairs occurred about the first year of the Hijera. In short, after the victory over *Rana Mihrut*, Chach took counsel with the minister Budhiman, and appointed his own brother Naib of *Alor* for the settlement of the dependencies thereof. One named *Muttah* was sent to govern Sewistan, and *Akham Lohana*, governor of Brahmanabad, and Basar Bin Kakah having subdued some of the holders of the forts in Sewistan (or Sibi,) as also some tribes of Sewis (the capital of their country being Kaka Raj,) and *Chach* after having passed 40 years prosperously died, his brother *Chundur Bin Silabij* was vice-regent of the empire. *Muttah*, the governor of Sewistan, went to the Rahi of Kunnuj, reporting Chach's death, and saying, "His brother is now lieutenant of the empire, if you attempt it the possession of the country will be an easy affair." The Rahi sent his brother named *Basahis* to Mattah; and Chundur immediately on hearing this prepared to oppose his enemy, and pursued Mattah and Basahis through various portions of his dominions up to the vicinity of Alor; they tried various schemes, but at last failed. In short, he (*Chundur*) ruled prosperously, until the 8th year, when he died. After him, his nephew, 2nd - *Dahir Bin Chach*, adorned the throne; his brother Dahir Sin he sent to Brahminabad as governor. One day he inquired of the astrologers as to his fate; they told him there was no bad omen in it, "but with

whomsoever your sister marries he will succeed to Alor, and rule the country." Through fear of losing the country, Dahir contrived and married his own sister. His brother *Dahir Sin* was vexed at this intelligence, and prepared a force, and in time arrived at *Alor*, but died from small-pox; Dahir caused him to be burnt, and proceeded to Brahmanabad, where he married his wife (brother's) the daughter of Akham Lohana, and remained there one year; and having appointed the son of Dibir Sin, named Chach governor of Brahmanabad: he returned to Alor, where he repaired the fort, which had only been half completed by his father, and arranged that four months of the cold weather should be passed in Brahmanabad, and four months of spring at Alor. In this way he occupied himself for eight years, and by degrees the affairs of the State were settled satisfactorily.

In short, having fixed the boundaries of his dominions to the east, he planted two cypress trees as a mark on the confines of Cashmere, and returned.

Accounts of the joining (assembling) of the Allafi Arabs.

The learned in such matters relate, that during the time of the Khalifat of *Abodal Malk Bin Mirwa*, when Hijjaj was governor of the Iraks, and his designs were directed towards Sindh and Hind, he sent a Seyud to Mikran, who killed *Siffooi Bin Lam Himami*; *Abdullah Bin Abdul Rihem*, and *Mah Bin Mokawyah* called together the Arabs of Beni Asamab, and represented, that "the Siffooi, who was one of our tribe and people, has been killed unjustly; we must assemble and revenge him."

In short, they acted on this suggestion, and killed the Seyud and took possession of *Mikram*; after some time they fled through fear to *Kharassan*: *Mujahameh Bin Seyud* came to *Kirman* to conquer *Kharassan*, and sent forward *Abdyl Ruhman*, *Bin Ashahas*. The *Allifis* laid wait for him, and killed him; they fled to Sindh and came to *Dakir* who, thinking them well adapted for the police and protection of his country, took them into his own service. The above mentioned *Allafis* were in Sindh until the coming of Bin Cassim, and the conquest of that country, when having procured a promise of pardon, they joined Bin Cassim. At length the princes of Hind having learnt the absolute dominion of Dahir, agreed together that previous to his attempting their conquest, they should take an army and conquer his country, and according to the agreement of the *Rahis*, *Raki Ra Mal*, governor of *Kunnuj* collected a large force, and advanced upon Dahir and surrounded Alor; Dahir was afflicted by his enemy, and asked advice of the minister *Budhiman*, who said, "The Arabs are expert in battle, entrust the affair to them." Dahir came to Mahamed Allafi, and sought his friendship (assistance); the latter said, "Be satisfied, bring not your forces, and direct that a deep ditch be dug to the length of a fursak; cover it over with grass, and leave it; after that, do as I direct." When Dahir had thus done, *Mahamed Allaf*, with 500 Arabs and *Sindees*, picked men, made a night attack on the troops of *Ran Mal*: these being taken by surprise and awaking confused, fell on each other and destroyed themselves, and the illustrious Mahamed *Allafi* gave the signal for flight; the enemy, when they learnt that so small a force had attacked them, pursued and fell into the ditch; now Dahir himself with his force came out and took 80,000 men prisoners, and 50 war elephants: according to the directions of *Budhiman* the minister, he set them all free. *Budhiman's* wisdom was proved, and Dahir lavished his favors on him, and according to his entreaty, directed his name to be struck on one side of the copper coins.

From this victory Dahir's position became strengthened, but the surrounding provinces and states were dissatisfied, and nourished more rebellion and sedition. He conducted the affairs of his country prosperously for 25 years, when his punishment was the loss of his kingdom, as will be related with other circumstances.

Account of the capture of the Slave Girls of Sirundip.

They relate, that the country of Sirundip⁶ is of the ruby islands; from this had been sent some Abyssinian slaves with many valuable jewels and curiosities for the Khalif and Hijjaj, in the care of confidential servants in eight boats; by chance these were driven by a storm to the port of *Diwal*,⁷ in the sea of *Oman*; robbers belonging to that place, of the tribe of Nikamrah, seized these people, and the representations of the agents of the king of Sirundip, that they were presents to the Mohamedan Khalif, had no effect. They said, "If your story is true, pay a ransom and procure release." In that assemblage were certain women in the purity of Islamism, who had intended making the Haj, and seeing the capital of the Kalifs; and Hijjaj, one of these, cried out thrice, "Oh Hijjaj! hear our complaints."

This intelligence was conveyed to Hijjaj; when he heard that the women had complained thrice in his name, he replied, three times, "I attend," and prepared to remedy the affair.

Account of the death of Bazil.

When Hijjaj Bin Yusaf prepared to release the Moslem captives, he represented to the Khalif, and sent a messenger with threats to Dabir; the Khalif was unconcerned in the matter, and Dahir said, "I am ignorant of the affair, these robbers do not acknowledge my authority, they may have done so or not; but you must judge." On the receipt of this answer, *Hijjaj* again represented to the Khalif, and obtained the required permission. He appointed *Abdul Allah Sullimah* to Mikran, and ordered Bazil that when he arrived at Mikran, he should collect 3,000 men and advance on Sindh. Bazil arrived at the Fort of *Neirun*, and threatened *Diwal*; Dahir having learnt this, sent his son *Jaisih* with a large force to *Diwal*; from noon to night they contended. Bazil, after the utmost resistance, was killed, and many Moslems were captured. They say the governor of the Fort of *Neirun*,⁸ who was named *Samani*, became terrified, and said to himself, "I guard the pass of the Arab forces into this country, they (the Sindees) have thus opened the road of revenge to the Arabs, it may not be that I should be crushed between the parties (hereafter):" accordingly he sent a confidential agent to Hijjaj and proffered his obedience, and obtained pardon. *Amur Bin Abdullah* said to *Hijjaj*, "Commit this momentous business to me, and I will proceed to Sindh and Hind;" but he was refused. Hijjaj said, "I have consulted the astrologers, and they report that Sindh and Hind will fall to the hand of *Mahomed Bin Cassim*. In short, the period has now arrived for the setting of the star of the unbelievers, and the ascendancy of the religion of the prophet

⁶ Ceylon, thus proving a traffic between that place and Damascus.

⁷ Is called from the *Diwala*, a temple for which it was famed. See Capt. McMurdo, Transactions of R.I. Geog. Society.

⁸ Neireunkote, site of the present capital Hyderabad; this latter was founded by Gholam Shah Kallorah.

in those countries; this affair is more important than former undertakings, and must be intrusted to Bin Cassim." It shall soon be related from first to last.

Here I proceed to relate the extraordinary birth connected with the name of *Jaisisih*. They say the Rahi Dahir was one day hunting, suddenly a tiger sprung from the jungle, Dahir stopped those who were running away, and himself prepared to attack the beast. His wife at this time had been pregnant ten months with *Jaisisih*, and being very fond of Dahir, and learning this she cried out and swooned; at length Dahir killed the tiger and returned unhurt, but he found his wife dead: seeing the child moving in her womb, he ordered her to be opened, and they brought out the child; and this name, which signifies "the hunter of tigers," was given to him, and indeed when he became of years he was renowned for his courage and intrepidity.

Accounts of the arrangement and arrival of the Moslem army for the conquest of Sindh.

In true histories it is related, that during the *Khalifat* of the chief of the true believers, *Umar Bin Khotah*, (God's approval be on him,) when *O'man Bin Hás* was appointed governor of *Barin*, who having arrived at Oman, sent some vessels properly equipped under *Mughirah Bin Abul Has* to Diwal; at that time the brother of Chach, named *Samami Bin Salabij*, was governor of the place; he opposed the Mahomedans, and after a great deal of slaughter *Múghirah Bin Abul Has* was killed, with many others, also many prisoners were taken. *Aba Mússa Ashghuri*, who ruled in Mikran, reported this circumstance to the Khalif, and wished to apply some remedy, but was prohibited from collecting troops; again at the time of the *Khallifat* of the chief of the believers, *Ashman Bin Hassan* (may God's approval be towards him) *Abdullah Bin Amir, Bin Rubialy* became governor of Mikran, it was ordered that a confidential agent should be sent to Sindh, to spy into and discover the state of affairs. He sent *Hakim Bin Hulliyah* with directions to make himself well informed of everything and report thereon; the Hakim said, that the water was black, the fruits were sour and poisonous, the ground stony, and the earth saline. The Khalif asked, what he thought of the inhabitants; he replied, "They were faithless." Thus the preparation of a force from that quarter (Mikram) was abandoned. Then in the *Khalifat* of the chief of the true believers, *Alli*, a force passed from Mikram, and victorious and successful arrived at the hill of Kag-Kaman, which is one of the boundaries of Sindh, 20,000 hill men opposed theirs; the Moslem army calling on the Most High, began the attack, the noise of the shouts terrified the enemy, who cried for quarter, whilst others fled. From that time on occasions of conflict, the Moslem noise of calling on the Most High is heard in those hills. The news of the death of the Khalif arrived, add any farther advance was stopped. The force above mentioned returned to Mikram. When *Mokawiyah* obtained sovereignty, he appointed *Abdullah Bin Sawad* with 4,000 men for Sindh; by chance they arrived at the bill of Kag-Kaman, and were defeated by a large force of the unbelievers, and at length returned and arrived at *Mikram*; at that juncture, *Zyad* was governor of the Iraks on the part of *Mohawiyah*, who

wrote to him to send *Rashid Bin Oomur* to Sindh, and he took possession of the hill of Pageb, taking also the whole of the property found there.

Thus he also possessed himself of Kag-Kaman: he arrived at the hills of Mamzur and Bihung; the hill men, to the number of 50,000, assembled, and took possession of the passes; from morning to evening they fought desperately, *Rashid* was killed, and the Moslems defeated. The repairing of this affair was deputed to *Rashid Bin Salim*, he defeated the men of Kag-Kaman, and arrived in the territories of *Budyha*, where he was killed. Then *Munzir Bin Harut*, *Bin Bashar*, became governor of these provinces. He fell sick at *Purabi*, and died: at this time also *Mobawiyah* died, and *Mirwan* succeeded him; in his time no one was deputed to his enterprise until the time of *Abdul Malk*; he gave the governorship of the Iraks to *Hijjaj*, who sent the *Seyad* to *Mikram*; he, it so happened, was killed by the *Alleifis* as has been before related, whereupon *Hijjaj* sent *Mujjah* to *Kirman*, to take revenge upon the *Allafis* of Sindh; he died there in the distractions of these times. *Abdul Malk* the Khalif died, and *Walid* succeeded him, sending *Mahomed Bin Haris* to *Mikram* to settle the affairs of *Hind* and the *Allafis*; he killed one of the *Allafis*, and in the space of five months settled the country of *Mikram* satisfactorily, and took possession of various districts. After that the circumstances of the death of *Bazil* occurred as related, which increased the desire of revenge in *Hijjaj*, and it was settled to send *Bin Cassim Sukifi*, as will be related.

Relation of the arrival of Bin Cassim in Sindh, and account of the victories which he there achieved.

After the circumstance of the death of *Bazil Hijaj Bin Yusof*, it was represented to the Khalif that in Sindh insolence had obtained such ascendancy, and punishment was so loudly called for, that he must issue his order for remedying these things, as also for the release of the Moslem prisoners, and taking revenge for the rebellion of those unbelievers, so that the country might be conquered. The Khalif replied, "The country is distant and unproductive, the expence of collecting forces will be ruinous, and only accomplished by oppression; it is better to abandon the project, and pass it by." *Hijaj* continually represented, that by the permission of the Most High, and the protection of the religion of the prophet, the infidels would soon be subdued, and the prisoners of the faithful who, for so long a period had been confined there, would be released, whilst the outlay for collecting an army should be paid over and doubled by those who were its causes. The Khalif being without option issued the order, and in the 92nd year of the Hijera, *Mahamed Bin Cassim, Bin Akib Sukfi*, cousin and son-in-law of *Hijaj Yasaf*, and 17 years old, made exertions, and they collected and sent with him 6,000 men from Sham and Irak. They arrived at Shiraz, where they made the necessary preparations. *Hijaj* then sent five battering rams with the equipment for breaching forts, in boats, in the care of *Mugheriah* and *Khizam*, with a select party. Thus they arrived at the port of Diwal, where they afterwards joined him (*Bin Cassim*). In short, *Bin Cassim* with all his previous and present forces, mustered 6,000 horse and 6,000 camels (of the class known as "*Bukhti*") to carry his baggage, and set out for Mikran, and *Mahamed Harun*, notwithstanding the infirmity of his health, accompanied him; when they arrived at *Mapilah*, *Harun* by the decree of the Almighty died, and was buried there. They relate, that at that time *Jaisisih* the son of *Dahir*, was in the fort of *Neirun*, and wrote to his father the intelligence of the arrival of *Bin Cassim*: he consulted the *Allafis*; they said, "The cousin of *Hijaj* is coming with a large army, do not oppose him." *Bin Cassim* subdued *Arman Bilah*, and proceeded towards Diwal; in the mean time *Mugheriah* and *Khizan* with their party had arrived at Diwal, where they joined him. *Bin Cassim* threw a ditch round and encamped; he wrote intelligence of his arrival to *Hijaj*. They say, that the news reached *Hijaj* in seven days, for such was the swiftness of the messengers, that the intelligence of seven days' date, from and to, was daily received by each party. It is said, that in the fort of *Diwal* was a temple (place of idols) 40 guz in height, and in it a dome 40 guz high, and on the top of the dome a silken flag with four ends. The infidels in fear and dismay made no preparation to fight: after some days a brahmin came out from the fort and asked for safety; he presented himself to *Bin Cassim*, and said, "I learn from my books that this country will be conquered by the Moslems, and the time has arrived, and you are the man. I am come to show you the way: those before our times have constructed this temple as a talisman; until it is broken your road will not be opened; order some stratagem, so that the banner on the dome may be thrown down."

Mahamed Bin Cassim bethought him how he should accomplish this; the engineer with the Catapulta said, "If you give me 10,000 dirhems I will agree by some means or another to bring down the banner and dome in three blows, if not I will have my hand cut off." *Mahamed Bin Cassim* having obtained permission from *Hijjaj*, ordered the Catapulta to be used, and by the help and power of the Almighty, in three blows the work was accomplished, when the army of Islam getting into ranks and order attacked the fort, and the infidels being confounded were powerless and begged for quarter. *Mahamed Cassim* directed, that none should be given, but to deliver up the place. The governor threw himself from the breastwork, and fled, and the people of the fort being helpless opened the gates: for three days there was a massacre; they then brought out the Moslem prisoners, and captured immense treasures and property; they destroyed the temple of idols, which was called Diwal after the place, and built a masjid. A man named *Kikilak*, one of the infidels, was the keeper of the Moslem prisoners; when these were brought out it was discovered that he had exerted himself greatly in their behalf, and was overjoyed at their release as well as the victory of the army of Islam: *Mahamed Cassim* called him and pressed him to embrace the true faith, and he became a Moslem. After many honours and favours, he shared with *Ahmed Bin Darak Nijdi* the governorship of that place. At length, having satisfactorily arranged the affairs of that quarter, and placed his battering rams in boats, he started them by the river Sakurah to Neirun, and he himself proceeded by land in the same direction. They say that the son of *Dakir*, *Jaisisih*, was formerly at Neirun, but after bearing of the victory at Diwal, Dahir called him to *Brahamanabad*, and *Samani* the former governor of Neirun, who had procured a certificate of pardon from *Hijjaj*, as before mentioned in the account of the death of Bazil, was with Dahir. Now when Mahamed Cassim after seven days arrived in the vicinity of Neirun, the defenders of the fort fastened the gates. The army of the Moslems were much distressed in the neighbourhood of Neirun for water, by reason of there being no inundations; Mahamed Bin Cassim made applications to the Most High, and they were immediately succeeded by a supply of rain, and the springs and tanks of that part of the country overflowed like fountains; still there was a deficiency of forage: by good fortune, *Samani* arrived at Neirun, and sent his confidential agents with the certificate of pardon to Bin Cassim, and said, "I am the slave to be obedient, the reason of this omission is, that during my absence the people in the fort have closed the gates; I wish if you will pardon the fault and warrant my safety to come and kiss your feet." *Bin Cassim* having paid due attention to those who had been sent, ordered "That it was necessary to punish those who had guarded the gates, but since you have interceded, come have an interview, and open the gates." *Samani* having done so, took the keys with suitable presents, and made his obeisance; he was favored, and provided everything that was required. At length the army of Islam entered the fort; they destroyed the temples, and built musjids and minarets in their stead, Mouzzins and Imams were appointed, and Shanbeh was made governor of the place. Taking *Samani* with him, Bin Cassim advanced; when they had proceeded some distance from *Neirun* at the place called Mauj, *Samani* sent a letter to *Bicharah*, son of *Chundur*, governor of Sewistan, thus: "We are not the men to bear force; this Arab army is all powerful; there is no use in

opposing them; it is necessary to look after the interests of yourself and people, come and proffer your obedience, the word of *Bin Cassim* is powerful, undoubtedly this is the best policy." Bicharah refused to accede to submission, but prepared for battle. Thence the Moslem troops having advanced, reached the fort of Sewistan; one week was occupied in laying siege and attack; until at length Bicharah becoming dispirited, fled and went to *Búdyah*; *Bin Kakah*, *Bin Kotak*, who was governor of the castle of *Sim Mahamed Cassim* entered the fort of Sewistan,⁹ and took possession; he favoured such persons as were brought to him by *Samani*, and then started for *Sim*. The forces of *Budyah* and *Bicharah* prepared for opposition. The infidels went to *Kakah*, *Budyah's* father, and requested permission to make a night attack. *Kakah* said, "I know from the astrologers that the army of Islam will conquer this country, and that the time has now arrived; do not entertain such ideas." They would not be restrained, but prepared for a night attack; it so happened that they lost the road and dispersed into four parties, and although they wandered all night, they found themselves in the morning near the gate of the fort of *Sim*. Being afflicted they became penitent, and went to *Kakah Chanah* and stated their case. He said, "Do not think me less valiant than yourselves, but I know for certain that there is no use in contending with these men." In short, *Kakah* went himself and proffered his obedience; he was received with favour, and obtained safety for his followers. *Mahamed Bin Cassim* sent with him *Abad al Mulk Bin Kies Aldaki*, and ordered them to bring all who would be obedient (to his sway,) and to punish all who resisted. The Almighty gave them daily victories over the infidels, and at last these being frustrated, fled to the forts of *Bultur Saluj* and *Kandail*, when they solicited promises of safety and pardon, and, agreeing to pay tribute, departed to their own country: at this time an order arrived from *Hijjaj*, that *Mahamed Bin Cassim* should return to *Neirun* to prepare to cope with *Dahir*, and cross the river *Mikran*.

It is related that the tribe of Chanah, which at that time was a large clan, collected from various places, and sent a person to bring intelligence (of the Moslems); he arrived when the forces of the Arabs were arranged behind, *Bin Cassim* engaged in prayer, and in their devotions obeying the postures of the Moollah, he reported to his tribe, that those who could by thousands be made to obey one man, it would be futile to oppose. Thus they determined to declare allegiance to the Moslems, and after sending suitable presents they arrived when *Bin Cassim* was at table, who said "This tribe is fortunate," and they were ever after styled the tribe of '*Chanah Mirzook*,' or 'fortunate;' they then proffered their obedience and assistance of tribute, which was accepted, and they departed, and it was decreed that the land on that side of the river in the possession of the tribe of Chanah, should be taxed at a tenth, the same as that at *Neirunkot*, where the people had voluntarily tendered their obedience. In short, pursuant to the orders of *Hijjaj*, *Bin Cassim* returned, and having crossed the *Mihran*, arrived at the fort of *Rawur* and *Jeyur*, where he sent an order to the governor *Múkih Bin Bisayah* to come and proffer his obedience. He replied, "If I do so I incur the displeasure of *Dahir*; in a certain

⁹ Sewiston always means the modern Sehwan.

place at uncertain time, I will come forward with a certain number of troops; direct your men to attack me, and I will appear to oppose them, and then allow myself to be taken prisoner." Thus did Mukih at that place become obedient, and was taken into great favor: he shewed the road (to conquest.)

They relate that the *Raki Dakir*, hearing of the power of the army of Islam, prepared with a large force to oppose the passage of the river. A party of the Moslems were crossing, Dahir himself killed one with an arrow. He left *Jahamin Budah* there, and himself retired; *Jahamin* took such strong possession of the passage of the river, that it became difficult. At this junction *Chundram Halah*, who was formerly governor, seized Sewistan from a party of horsemen of the Moslems who were left at that place. Mahamed Cassim on hearing this, despatched *Usrúb Bin Abdul Rahim* with a thousand horse and 200 foot to Sewistan. *Chundram* prepared to oppose them, and was defeated: he wished to escape to the fort, but the fort gates had in the mean time been closed, and he being frustrated, fell into the hands of the Moslems and was killed, (sent to perdition.) The Moslems then surrounded and took the fort, whence they rejoined Bin Cassim: *Rahi Dahir* sent his son Jaisisih to the fort of Bât, to stop the road of the army of Islam; about 50 days were thus passed, and the Moslems began to suffer want, such horses as died of starvation were eaten. Dahir sent a messenger saying, "The state of your army is thus reported: if you wish well to yourselves I shall not oppose, but will perform my service (become obedient,) and you had better return." *Mahamed Bin Cassim* replied, "By the will of the Almighty, this country shall be a Mahomedan country, and until you come and proffer obedience and pay the tribute of several years, I will never abandon my intentions respecting you." (I will never take my hands from you.) They say that *Hijaj* in bearing the news of the loss of the horses, despatched 2,000 others with strict injunctions not to delay in the important affairs of Dahir, but to pass the river quickly and settle them first. On the receipt of these injunctions, *Mahamed Bin Cassim* having arrived at Jahum, directed them to collect boats for the passage of the river, and to make a bridge. *Múki Bin Bisayah* collected several boats, and filling them with sand and stones, and fastening them with wedges, made them firm one to the other. On this intelligence Dahir wrote to his son to arrest *Múki* by some means for his evincing such audacity. *Rail* the brother of *Maki* was with *Dahir*, and having formerly been an enemy to his brother, said, "Entrust this order to me, and I will go and bring my brother; I will moreover pledge myself to prevent the passage of the river." At this time, by the help of God, the army of Islam having prepared the boats began to cross, and with showers of arrows dispersed the Infidels who dared to oppose them on the opposite shore. A large party arrived on the other side, and having cleared the shore of their enemies, took up a position, until the rest of the army should have passed safely. It is said, that swift horsemen of the unbelievers, by travelling all night, conveyed the news to *Dahir* early the next morning: he was still asleep when they announced it; the groom roused Dahir, who, when he awoke from a tranquil sleep, was so much annoyed that he struck the messenger on the face so heavily with his slipper, that he died immediately. In short, Dahir being astonished and dismayed, knew not what to do: when *Mahamed Cassim* had

crossed the whole of his army, he proclaimed to his troops" The river is in our rear and the enemy in front: whoever is ready to yield his life, which act will be rewarded with eternal felicity in such a cause, let him remain and have the honor of conflict; and any amongst you who, on second consideration, does not feel able to oppose the enemy, let him recollect that the road of flight is not open - he will assuredly fall into the hands of the Infidels, or else be drowned in the river, and thus suffer disgrace, which is the worst of all evils in religious or worldly matters; but still, let these now take leave, for brave men determine either to conquer or die." Of the whole force only three persons, one under a pretence of an unprotected mother, another of a motherless daughter, and a third of want of means, left; the rest declared they were only anxious for battle.

At length Mahamed Bin Cassim perceiving the unanimity of his troops directed a march from that place, and from the fort of *Bat* arrived at *Rawur*; he arrived at a place called Jeyur. Now between Rawar and Jeyur there was a bay, on passing which they came in sight of Dahir's forces; Mohazar Bin *Sabit Kisi* with 2,000 and Mahamed *Ziad Abdi* with 1,000 troops, were directed to oppose them: they drove the enemy back. At this time, Dahir called Mahomed *Haris Allafi* and represented, "For advice in such a day as this have I protected you; now you must exert yourself and take charge of the advanced party." Mahomed *Haris* replied, "Indeed I acknowledge that I ought to exert myself to the utmost, but there is the necessity of opposing Mahomedans, and to become renegade, sell my religion for gold, to have on me the blood of Mahomedans, and when I die to go perdition; spare me, I pray you, the performance of these tasks: any other duty I will perform with my life." Dahir was disconcerted, and remained silent. He sent *Jaisisih* with a large party of troops to oppose the enemy, but after the loss of the greater portion he was defeated and returned. The next day the brother of *Múki* was appointed, but he secretly sent a message saying, "Take me in battle as you have done my brother:" and they did so. Thus for ten days in this way the Infidel forces came out to battle, and, being defeated, returned.

In the meantime the victorious Moslems besieged Dahir in his own stronghold, and on the 11th day, which was Thursday the 10th of the month Ramzan in the 93rd year of the Hejira, Dahir notwithstanding the prohibitions of the astrologers came out himself with a powerful force; he had 10,000 horse with armour, and 30,000 foot with many war elephants, (on one of which) *Dahir* was seated in a howdah with two beautiful girls handing him wine, and fanning him. They contended fiercely from morning until night, and the Moslems so plied their rockets and arrows that it could not be exceeded.

At first the army of Islam became confused; *Mahamed Bin Cassim* became alarmed, and offered up prayers to the Most High, who favored him, and gave him at length the victory. They relate, that *Bin Dahir* had at all times during the battle an iron mace in his hand, with which he cleft the head of every horseman against whom he launched it; but at length on the approach of the Arabs, when he wished to leave the battle, the war elephants became frightened at the rockets of the Moslem troops, and fell amongst their

own soldiers, who were thus destroyed. A party of the Infidels demanded quarter, and said "The army of Dahir is now confident and careless; give us troops and we will take them in the rear, and break their pride and strength." In this way the ground was cleared and the enemy broken.

By the power of the Almighty an arrow struck *Dahir* in the neck and killed him; they drew his elephant to the rear, but by chance the elephant stuck in the mud of the river, and they all tried to conceal the King's position. The army of the Infidels being defeated, the Moslems so guarded all the approaches that a bird could not have flown past. The Brahmins fell into the hands of *Keiss*, and to preserve their own lives reported the death of *Dahir*. At this time the two daughters of Dahir were captured by the Moslem troops. *Mahamed Bin Cassim* fearing lest *Dahir* should escape, caused a proclamation to be issued, that they should close to the rear to prevent the concealment of the enemy. *Keiss* hearing the proclamation called aloud on the Most High after the Mahomedan fashion, and the whole army taking it up, *Bin Cassim* became aware of the death of Dahir. He came with some of his warriors to the edge of the mud, and on the testimony of the Brahmins took the polluted body out; he cut off the head and stuck it on a spear, shewing it to the daughters for their confirmation (of his death). He then directed, that the army should occupy itself all night in prayer and thanksgiving for the Divine favour, and in the morning of Friday he sent *Dahir's* head with his two daughters to the gate of the Fort. The defenders of the garrison declared it was false. *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir*, having from the top of the palace seen the head of her husband, became insensible, and uttering a loud cry, threw herself off (the palace:) in short, the people in the fort opened the gates, and the Moslem army entered, and having erected a sort of pulpit in the temple, performed the prayers of Friday. They then took possession of the riches and property of every kind, and constituted *Keiss* the keeper of these. In the beginning of the month Shawal after the settlement of all that territory, they sent the head of Dahir with his daughters, the prisoners, and the wealth with 40 horsemen accompanied by *Keiss* to the Khalifat capital. The period of the rule of Dahir was 33 years, and the whole time occupied by the dynasty of the Brahmins was 92 years.

It is related, that after the death of Dahir the men of Samah from the neighbourhood of *Thurri*¹⁰ having collected, came with tabours and clarions and proffered their allegiance, and began to dance: *Mahamed Cassim* asked who they were, and what they were doing. They replied, "This is our custom, that when a Monarch is victorious, we thus testify our joy." They returned. And the *Bhattias*, *Lohanas*, *Sakutaks*, *Jundurs*, *Machees*, and *Kurejurs*,¹¹ introduced by *Alli Mahamed Bin Abdul Rihman*, came to pay their respects, with bead and feet bare. After their pardon had been pronounced, it was decreed that whenever any of the Mahomedans should come from the Capital of the Khalifs or go in that direction, these tribes should be their guides and be answerable for their safety.

¹⁰ Thurro Thulli the little desert separating Sindh from Cutch.

¹¹ These last are *Jhutts*, the cultivators of the soil and rearers of cattle in contradistinction to the Beloochees who are foreigners; they are doubtless the aboriginal Hindoos converted to Islamism.

Then *Mohamed Bin Cassim*, with the sanction of *Hijaj*, took to wife the sister of *Dahir*, (whom the latter had married through fear of losing his country,) and proceeded to acquire other territories. At this time at the commencement of the year 94, it was announced that the sons of *Dahir* had possessed themselves of the fort of "*Sikundar*," and had assumed independence. *Mahamed Cassim* proceeded in that direction, and endeavoured to reduce the fort; after many engagements he took complete possession, destroyed the temples, and laid the foundation of Musjids, and directed certain punishments to be inflicted on the inhabitants. He also in the same way subdued Barhamanabad; they say that one day *Mahamed Cassim* was sitting, when an assemblage of Brahmins, about 1,000 in number with their heads and faces shaven, came into the camp. On enquiring their case, he learnt that they were mourning for their chiefs as is their custom. Having called them, on the advice of *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir*, he sent them all as formerly to be collectors in the districts. In their helplessness they represented that they were a class of idol worshippers, and belonged to idol temples: "Now we have accepted obedience to you, and acknowledge our amenability to tribute, you must give us leave to erect our places of worship elsewhere, and to pray for the prosperity of the Khalif." *Mahamed Cassim*, after having represented the case to *Hijaj*, who reported it to the Khalif, gave the permission required, that they should act according to the usages of their ancient faith. He then ordered that, to distinguish them from other Hindoos, they should carry in their hands a small vessel of grain as mendicants, and should beg from door to door every morning. This custom still remains, and all the Brahmins carry the khulsal.

It is related, that when *Hijaj* heard of the conquest of the fort of *Sikundar* and Barbamanabad, he wrote to *Mahamed Cassim*, "Since by the blessing of the Almighty, *Dahir* and his country had been taken, you must also take the Capital city; and not rest satisfied with that, but turn to the east and proceed towards Hind, and by the blessing of the Mahomedan religion it will everywhere protect the Moslems. On this order, *Mahamed Cassim* set about the settlement of *Alor*. In the disorder of affairs, news arrived that a son of *Dahir* was strong at *Alor*, having denied the death of *Dahir*, and reporting that he was only lost from his troops, and had gone towards Hindostan whence he would soon arrive with an army and take revenge. So implicitly did he believe this, that whoever mentioned the killing of his father to him, was destroyed. Thus few alluded to the subject in his presence. He called to him his brothers *Jaisisih* and *Wukiah*, who in the tumult of affairs had been dispersed. Bin Cassim proceeded in that direction, and besieged the fort of *Alor*; he sent *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir* to the gate of the fort, in order that she might explain the death of *Dahir*. They called her a liar and stoned her, saying "You have become one of the eaters of cows." The siege was prosecuted, and the inhabitants of *Alor* soon began to suffer for want of food; they meditated surrender, *Fufi* began to think that there was no chance of his succeeding, but a false hope prevented his withdrawing. They say, that there was a sorceress in that place; they requested her to give them intelligence of the death of *Dahir*. This woman, whose name was *Jokiú*,

asked for one night's delay, and after that she came into the presence of *Fufi* with two green branches of *Jow* and *Filful* trees and said, "I have searched every span of earth from *Sirundip*, and have brought this reply, that if *Dahir* were alive I should certainly have seen him; do not entertain the idea, and do not heedlessly and unprofitably doom yourself to destruction." When *Fufi* knew for certain from the sorceress, and became convinced of the death of *Dahir*, he left the fort at night and fled to his brothers whom he had called to him, but who had not yet arrived. In the morning the *Allafis* sent the intelligence by letter to *Mahamed Cassim*, and called for a promise of pardon for themselves; they directed the holders of the fort to open it, and *Mahamed Cassim* with his victorious army entered the city. He saw a large assemblage of the people prostrating themselves in the place of worship; he asked what they were doing, he learnt that they were paying adoration to an idol, and entering the temple he saw a well-formed figure of a man on horseback: he drew his sword to strike him, but those who were near him cried out, "It is an idol and not a living being." Making way for *Mahamed Cassim* he advanced to the Idol, and taking off one of his gauntlets he said to the spectators, "See in the hand of the Idol there is this one gauntlet; ask him what he has done with the other." They replied, "What should an Idol know of these things." *Bin Cassim* said, yours is a curious object of worship, who knows nothing even of himself. They were ashamed at this rebuke. In short, after the capture of *Alor* which was the capital of the country, the rest of the dependencies became tranquil, all the inhabitants were grateful to *Bin Cassim*,¹² and pursued their former avocations. He appointed *Hurún Bin Keiss*, *Bin Rowah Assidi*, to the governorship of *Alor*, and the rank of *Cazi* be conferred on *Mussa Bin Yakrib*, *Bin Tahi*, *Bin Nishban*, *Bin Ashman Sakufi*, and he appointed *Widah Bin Ahmid al Nijdi* to the command of *Barhamanabad*, and *Nobah bin Daras* to the fort of *Rawur*, and the country of *Korah* be gave to *Bazil Bin Hillazuwi*. Then he turned towards *Multan*; and in the course of the journey, at the fort of *Bahiyah*, *Kulsur Bin Chundur*, *Bin Tillabij* a cousin of *Dahir*'s, who had been at enmity with *Dahir*, and was remaining at that place, came out and tendered his allegiance. After that, they conquered the fort of *Sukkur*, and *Atta Bin Jamahi* was left there as Governor, and having seized *Multan* with its dependencies and fortified places, *Khazimah Bin Abdul Mulk*, *Bin Jumim* was left at *Mahpur*, and *Daud Bin Mussarpur*, *Bin Walid Himmani*, was appointed to *Mullan*. *Mahamed Cassim* then proceeded towards *Dibalpur*, and he had at that time nearly 50,000 horse and foot under his banners, independent of his former regular army; in short, he conquered as far as the confines of *Kunnoj* and *Cashmir*, and saw those two cypress trees which had been placed by *Dahir*.

Everywhere he left trust-worthy agents and returned to *Yassur*¹³ where it was decreed by fate that his life should terminate.

¹² There is an apparent inconsistency in our author here, for he tells us that *Alor* was taken by *Bin Cassim* when *Dahir* was overthrown, and does not account for the *Kajah*'s sons getting possession of it, and its being necessary to recapture it. *Bin Cassim* had otherwise proved himself too good a General not to have provided for the security of the Capital of the country when once in his power to reader its falling into the hands of the enemy at all likely.

¹³ In the *Chach Nameh* "Hadapoor."

Account of the circumstances attending the death of Mahamed Bin Cassim.

Thus, when the two daughters of Dahir, Pormal Deo and *Suruj* Deo, who were on the howdah with him, arrived for the service of the Khalif, he saw that they were extremely beautiful, and appropriated them to himself; still, in order to dissipate their shyness and distress, he committed them to the care of the keepers of the Harem, and after a time called one to his bed. Now since the death of their father had sorely afflicted them, she said, "I am not for the Khalif, for *Mahamed Cassim* took me to himself for three nights." The Khalif on hearing this was enraged, and at once wrote an order himself and despatched it, to the intent, that on seeing that order, he, *Mahamed Cassim*, should cause himself to be enclosed in a raw hide and sent to the presence of the Khalif. This order was received by *Mahamed Bin Cassim* at *Yasur*; sufficient was it that the order was from the potentate, to which there is but obedience; he was sewed up in a raw hide and sent off: on the third day he died; they put his body in a box and took it to the Khalif, who immediately called the two women and said, "See how absolute is my power." They laughed and said, "In the accomplishment of the wish of the Khalif there is no wavering; but in justice and wisdom there is neither foresight or discrimination, seeing the man, who treated us as if he were our father and brother, on our simple words, longing as we do for revenge, without enquiry into the truth or falsehood, has been destroyed: our wish was retribution for our father's death. *Mahamed Cassim* moreover was deficient in wisdom; he should according to the order have started on his journey, but have delivered himself from the hide after one day, and have arrived alive: we have undoubtedly told the truth in our evidence, and we resign our lives." The Khalif was ashamed, and ordered them to be tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the bazar and burnt.

The Khalifs of Bini Oomai and their Deputies.

After the conquest of Sindh by Bin Cassim, according to what has been related, *Harraf Bin Keiss Bin Rawah Assadi* remained in charge of Alor, and the individuals before mentioned were governors as appointed. After them the people of Hind became rebellious, and from the confines of Dibalpur to the sea, remained in the hands of the Moslem deputies. After a time *Abu Hifaz, Bin Kutibah, Bin Mussilim* arrived from *Hijjaj*, and punished those who had not embraced the true faith: the (Hindoo) deputies being helpless, fled to Khorassan. About that time *Jamin Bin Zeid* also arrived from *Hijjaj*, and on the part of the Khalif *Suliman Amin Bin Abdullah*, openly obtained the government of Sindh; and in the year 100 H. *Oomur Bin Abdul Aziz, Bin Umeer, Bin Muslim* came to conquer Hind. He took some of those countries, and made some of the tribes of Sindh Mahomedans; but in the time of the *Khalif Hasham*, they seceded. *Suliman Bin Hashan*, as is related in the first vol., fled from the army of *Mirwan* and came to Sindh, where, intent on rebellion, he remained until *Soffah* obtained the Khalifat; he then embraced the service of *Saffah*: also *Abul Khitab* arrived on the part of *Mirwan*.

The period of the government of the deputies of the Khalifs of *Bini Oomai* extended from the year 93 until 133 H. All this period from the commencement of the 93 H. until the period mentioned, is 40 years. Since the government of the deputies of the Khalifat of the house of *Bini Oomai* was as described, now it is necessary to relate the government of the deputies of *Bini Abbas*. Still there are a few circumstances connected with this period which must be related, and which I shall compress as briefly as may be.

Let it not be concealed, that when the deputies of *Bini Oomai* took *Sindh*, some of the dependencies of the country were yet disobedient to the great authority (of the Khalife.) In short, *Dihi Rahi*, descended from the *Rakis*, was in the city of *Dahir* a place of renown, and *Bimhul Rahi* was at *Bhunbur*, which city he had founded.

Account of the Deputies of the Khalifs of Bini Abbas.

When *Saffah*, who was the first Khalif of *Bini Abbas*, came to the throne, in the year 133 H., he sent a force under *Da'ud Bin Alli*, and the government of Sindh was taken from the deputies of *Bini Oomai*. After four years *Abu Jaffir Mimsur Abbasi*, ordered and prepared an army for Sindh and Hindoostan: in the time of *Harun Reshid*, *Moussa* the brother of *Fazil* came from Mecca to the governorship of Sindh, but, giving away all he obtained, he was dismissed. *Alli Bin Isa*, *Bin Haman* came in his place; at this time the fort of *Tibm*, an impregnable fortification near *Sahurah* and the city of *Bakar*, and other places in that vicinity, westerly from Sindh, were in the hands of *Sheikh Abdul Tihrah*, whose tomb with those of other holy men (martyrs) are still places of pilgrimage to true believers, and on the top of the dome it is written, that he died in the year 171 H. The city of *Bhunbur* having been destroyed, they proceeded elsewhere. At length *Abul Abbas* arrived as governor of Sindh, and remained there a long period. In the time of *Mam'on*, some further portions of Hind were added to the possessions of their deputies. After him, other individuals were appointed from Bagdad to the governorship of Sindh, until during the Khalifat of *Abdul Kadir Billah al Abbas*, when *Ahmed Assak*, *Bin Akmukhtidar Allah*, was appointed. In the middle of the month Ramzan 416 H., Sultan Mahmud Ghazi arrived at Multan from Ghuzni, and having captured *Ooch*, drove out the deputies of *Abdul Kadir* from the country of Sindh. The period of the government of the deputies of the Khalifs of *Bini Abbas*, from the commencement before mentioned is altogether 283 years.

The tribe of Sumrah had 200 years previously taken possession of certain portions of Sindh, but as they had paid tax and tribute, and had been obedient to the Moslem governors, no mention has been made of them: but after having related the dynasty of the deputies of Ghuzni, and considered the emperors of Delhi, we will relate the rule of some of the above-mentioned tribe.

List of the Deputies of Ghuzni, and narrative of the Emperor of Delhi.

As before mentioned, *Abdul Rizak* the minister of *Sultan Mahmud Ghazi*, in the year 417 H. having taken *Bakkur*, arrived at *Sewistan* and *Tattah*, and the governors of *Bini Oomai* and *Bini Abbas* had not remained there, except a small portion who had formed connections, and were encumbered with families: they were men of note, and received stipends from the government.

From amongst these were 18 families, the heads of generations. Briefly: the *Sukufis*, a family of *Cazis* originally of *Bakar* and *Alor*, from the descendants of *Mussa Bin Yakub*, *Bin Tahi*, *Bin Mahamed*, *Bin Skiban*, *Bin Ushman Sukufi* who, with the *Cazi Ismail*, *Bin Alli*, *Bin Mussa*, *Bin Taki* were the first relaters of the conquest of *Sindh* in *Arabia*, and their great grand-father *Mussa Bin Yakub*, was confirmed by *Bin Cassim* as *Cazi of Alor* after the conquest of that fort: and the "*Tamims*" and "*Hal Mogheirals*," (which term became slightly changed to *Hal Tuhim* and *Ibn Soriah*,) and the *Abbasis* and *Sadike*, *Farukians* and *Ooshmamans*, who up to this present time are to be found in all *Sindh*; and the *Phonwarans* descended from *Haris* and the tribe of *Mungi*, a branch of the *Tamins*, the family of *Jubiriah*, of whom *Sheikh Taki* in the account of *Hullani* will be mentioned; and the family of *Bini Assad*, of whom is *Sheikh Mirtah*, will be alluded to at *Fattipur*; the family of *Hal Hutbeh* of whom is *Cazi Bahran*, he also will be referred to at *Fattipur*; the family of *Benwabi Sufian*, of whom are some *durveshes* of *Rahib*; the family of the tribe of *Bajur*, governor near *Jehanker*, the descendants of *Jaremah Jusari*, of whom is the tribe of *Sapiah*, who are the possessors of *Sewistan*; and the *Jhutts* and *Beloochees* are originally from *Harun Mikrani*, and it will be more convenient to relate the genealogies of the *Beloochees* and *Jhutts* without delay.

Origin of the Jhutts and Beloochees.

Mahamed Bin Harun Mikrani, who has been mentioned in the account of the officers of *Mikran*, and who came with *Mahamed Cassim* at the time of the conquest of Sindh as far as *Armanbihah*, where he died and was buried, is the son of *Mahamed Haban*, *Bin Abdul Rahim*, *Bin Hamzeh*, *Bin Abdul Mathab*. Once, when *Meer Hamzah* (may God approve him) went out to hunt in a country far in the desert, he became alone there, and, according to the favour of the Most High who is always propitious to good and great men, a good genius or fairy appeared to keep him company; by the Divine will he embraced her, and she became hidden from his sight: afterwards she brought forth *Abdul Rahim*.

In short, *Mahamed Bin Haran* had fifty-two sons by seven wives. Thus, one: *Isa*, *Mikran*, *Hijaz*, *Satak*, *Bikram*, *Rustum*, and *Jillah* from one mother named *Hamira*; *Zumal*, *Mazid*, *Radah*, *Buhlal*, *Shahbab*, *Nizam*, *Julal*, *Marid*, from one mother named *Hamiri*; *Roedin*, *Mussa*, *Noki*, *Noh*, *Mundah*, *Raza-al-din*, from *Miriam*; *Jullal* from *Hashiat*; *Adam*, *Kumal*, *Ahmed*, *Humad*, *Hamud Said*, *Marud*, from *Murma*; *Mudi*, *Shir*, *Koh*, *Babund*, *Kark*, *Nowar al din*, *Hussan*, *Hasein*, *Suliman*, and *Abraham*, from *Fatimah*; *Alim*, *Alli*, *Tirkush*, *Buypad*, *Teghzan*, *Mubarik*, *Türk*, *Tallah*, *Arbi*, *Shiraz*, *Taj-al-deen*, *Takht*, *Gulistan*, and *Bürk* from *Khwah*. When, according to the order of *Hijaj* as related, *Mikran* was cleared, that land with others was appointed into two shares, and one share was given to the descendants of *Jallal al deen*, and they came to *Sowah* and *Kich*,¹⁴ and their descendants are to this day scattered in great numbers all over Sindh. The tribe of *Lodah* also called *Lulian*, have their origin thus. The illustrious *Suliman* sent familiar spirits in the shape of men to purchase slave girls at *Rúm*. On their return, one of these had connection with one of the women; *Suliman* gave her to him, and a boy was born: afterwards his descendants mixed with the Arabs, and came to Sindh at the time of the conquest, or before.

¹⁴ Kich Mikran.

Account of the origin of the tribe of Sumah.

The narrative of these people, as is necessary, will be fully told in the course of this history. *Sam*, who is said to have been the son of *Amúr*, the son of *Sham Bin Abal Suhub*, and again the son of *Umar Bin Akrameh Bin Alu Jahul*, or the son of *Akrameh Bin Abul Hisam, Bin Abbu Jihil*: there are, however, various reports, of which the following is the most consistent. That they were descended from *Jamshid*, whence they took the title of "*Jam*," with which they were distinguished; or else they were from *Sam* the son of *Noh*: he had four sons, the first *Budha*, (his descendants were *Budh, Sodah, Sittah, Ahkil, Ootah, Amiah, Hazir*, and in short there were sixteen sons generally known by the title of *Rathur*;) and the second *Sankah*, the third *Hami*, and the fourth *Bhakirat*. This *Bhakirat* had a son called *Dusrut*. Now *Dusrut* had three wives, one named *Kila*, the second *Kuliah*, and the third *Simah*: from *Kila* there were two sons, one named *Ram*, the other *Lukhman*; from *Kuliah* one son *Barat*; and from *Simah* one son *Chutur Kim*. To *Sunkah* the son of *Sam* there were also descendants, and also to *Hami*; they were called *Judur*. *Barat* the son of *Dusrut* had descendants called *Purhur, Jansipar, Gorijah, and Rakih Chatar Khan*; the son of *Dasrat* had descendants, called *Charah, Lukhman*, son of *Dasrat* had no children; *Ram* had one son, who had a son called *Tawakus*, who had a son called *Tatal*, who had a son called *Nirkanat*; his son was called *Kin*,¹⁵ (the city of *Kin* is so called after him.) The son of *Kin* was entitled *Sambat Rajah*. *Sambat Rajah* had four children: 1, *Sam Bir Kirarah*, also called *Sham*; 2, *Nihrat*; 3, *Dakhan*; and 4, *Madah*. In short, *Sam* the son of *Sambat Rajah*, had a son called *Jadim*. *Jadim* had four sons: first, *Habit* whose descendants are the *Sumahs* of *Sindh*; the second *Kajbit*, whose descendants are the *Chughdah*; the third *Buhobut*, his descendants are the tribe of *Bhati*; the fourth *Chira Sumah*, of his descendants is *Raki Diach*, the governor of *Kurnal*, a fort situated in the land of *Soorteh*: he became a martyr, and the tale of the love and devotion of his wife is well known. *Habit* the son of *Jadim*, the son of *Sam*, the son of *Sambat Rajah*, had a son named *Rubdari*; he had a son called *Mijat*, he had *Nootyah*, he had *Udha*, he had *Udheh*, he had *Lakyah*, and he had *Lakah*. *Lakah* was a sovereign, and married into the *Bhati* tribe: he had four sons. Thus, first, *Udhuh* without children; *Udhuh*, which was his place of abode, is called after him. Second, *Makir*, who had four sons: 1, *Sitah*; 2, *Waditar Patheria*; 3, *Wirkah*, without children; and 4, *Sand*, also without children. They say that the above-mentioned *Lakah* married again in his old age, and had four sons. First, *Oomur*; second, *Jeyur*, (his descendants are *Babrahs, Dukemehs, Kulah*;) third, *Phul Lakah*,¹⁶ (the *Philani* are known as his descendants;) fourth, *Munayah*. *Oomur* the son of *Lakah* had a son named *Lakah*; he had a son named *Sumah*, who had two sons, one named *Kakah*, and the other *Jikroh*. *Kakah* became a ruler, (the place called *Kakah* is so called after him;) he had two sons,

¹⁵ "Kin and Kashmir," as they are called in *Sindh*, on the southern confines of the *Seikh* territories; they formerly belonged to *Sindh*, but now belong to *Multan* and the *Seikh* government.

¹⁶ "Laka *Philani*," an heroic *Rajput* prince, well known in *Cutch* traditions; the *Jhareejahs* of *Cutch* date their origin from the *Sumahs* of *Sindh*, (see *Mrs. Postans's "Catch,"* or the traditions of "Laka *Philani*."

one *Palli* and the other *Raydin*, from the descendants of *Palli*. *Musruk Sumah* became a governor, and *Reydin* had nine sons. Thus: first, *Sumal*, the *Samijaks* are his descendants; second, *Notyar*, all the *Nouts* are his descendants; third, *Lakak*, his descendants are *Lanjar*, *Muldoom*, *Sihar*, *Lanjar*, (God's mercy be on him) of whom mention will be made in the account of the Sheikhs, belongs to him; fourth, *Abrah*, whose descendants are *Dood*, *Zahir Nayah* and *Fal Neyah*; fifth, *Nayah*; sixth, *Chamir*; seventh, *Munhayah*; eighth, *Korish* (the descendants of these three last tribes are the *Mundrah*;) ninth, *Palli* who was a chief and had two sons, first *Oodah*, whose descendants are the *Bariah Oodejah* (also called *Gordrah Putrak*;) and second *Saud*, who was the chief of the tribe. *Saud* the son of *Palli* had seven sons: first, *Kakah*, whose descendants are the *Kahejah Putrah*; second, *Jarak*, who had descendants the *Jakiejahs*; third, *Waderah*; fourth***; fifth, *Hingarak*, his descendants are *Hodejab*, *Juksia*, *Wurha* and *Hingoja*; sixth, *Dirah*, his descendants are *Dirah Sumah* in *Cutch*; seventh, *Jam Hoti*, who had five sons; first, *Halah*, his descendants are known as the *Halah*; second, *Hingorah*, his descendants are *Bumian*, *Ruhuriak*, *Hingorah*, and they founded the places thus mentioned; third, *Sahi*, his descendants are *Sahir Sumah*; fourth, *Chalidriah*, his descendants are well known as *Nihirah*; fifth, *Jam Hapur*, who had two sons; first *Raojah*, second *Jam Jumer*, who had a son *Kirraha*; he had three sons: first, *Saudh*, whose descendants are *Raoma*, *Lakayat* and *Jekrah*; second, *Sumra*, who had no children; third, *Lakah Jan*, who had one son *Kalah*, who had a son called *Lekah*; after whose death he had another called *Brekanak*, he took the name of his father. *Lakah Bin Kahal*, the brother of *Nahah*, had twelve sons: thus, first, *Jam Jumur*, from whom are descendants the *Sumahs*, the rulers of Sindh residents of *Sanuir*, who will be mentioned in their proper places; second, *Oomur*, who ruled in *Buhriah*, he had no children; third, *Palli*, whose descendants are *Palli Sumah*; fourth, *Kahah*, his descendants are *Sodiari Sumah*; fifth, *Hoteh*, his descendants are *Sahib Sumah*, *Hoteh Sumah*, and *Sehawuttch Sumah*; sixth, *Jeysur* (or *Jeyur*;) whose descendants are the *Beyah Parya*; seventh, *Mangur*, without children; eighth, *Abrah*, whose descendants are the tribe of *Abrejahs*; ninth, *Hingorah Konur*; tenth, *Sultan*; eleventh, *Rayidam*; twelfth, *Lakah*. In short, *Hingorah Konur* had three sons: first, *Deysur*; second, *Minayah*; and third, *Miradeyah*. *Deysur* had five sons; *Kah*, *Halah*, *Rukun*, *Hingorah*, and *Jonah*. *Jonah* the son of *Lakah*, above-mentioned, had five sons: first, *Khoresh*; second, *Tajiah*; third, *Abrah*; fourth, *Belock*; fifth, *Babniah*. The account of the descendants of *Babniah*, who ruled in Sindh, will be mentioned in the dynasty of the *Sumahs*.

Let it not be concealed, that according to what has been related, the descendants of *Sumah* are to this day the principal natives of the countries of Sindh and Guzerat, and Sindh was previously cultivated and inhabited by them. Besides this tribe, the *Jhutts* and *Beloochees* and the descendants of others as alluded to, were from the older time inhabitants of that country: others might also be enumerated in addition to these, but since it was not intended in this work to make other than an abbreviated account, and to adhere to a few events which are most interesting, if any one should require further particulars let him look for them (elsewhere.) In short, after the deputies of Sultan *Mahmud*, those of Sultan *Masud*, Sultan *Modud*, then of Sultan *Mahdud*, then of Sultan

Kutub Aldin, then the deputies of Sultan *Aram Shah*, all of whom are mentioned in the 1st and 2nd vols., as connected with Sindh, came to that country, and during the time of the Sultanut, it was divided into four portions; Multan, Ooch, and the whole of Sindh fell to the government of *Nasir Uldin Sibajah*, and at that period seven Rajabs in Sindh from the places which shall be mentioned, paid tribute to Multan. First, *Rana Bhansur Satah Rathur*, residing at *Zihrah*, belonging to *Dirpilah*; second, *Rana Sami*, son of *Dimach Kirechah* of the tribe of *Sumah*, belonging to Turk in the territories of *Rupah*; third, *Jeysar*, son of *Hijah Machee Solanki*, inhabitant of *Maunktan*; fourth, *Wakijah*, son of *Panun Chunun*, belonging to *Dirah Siwe*, fifth; *Chunun*, son of *Dehtuk*, of the tribe of *Chund*, inhabitant of *Bukkni*; sixth, *Zeyah*, son of *Durya*, inhabitant of *Julan* (viz. *Hami Kot*); seventh, *Jiswad Dirhan Agrah*, inhabitant of *Min Tukar*, belonging to *Bhanirwah*. In short, when Lahore was taken by the deputies of *Taz-ul-din Yeldus*, the prince *Nasir-ul-din Kibajih* retired to Multan, and at the end of the year 623 H., *Mulk Khan Khilzye* and his followers took possession of the town of *Sewistan*. Sultan *Itimus* sent his minister *Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mahamed Bin Assad*, to besiege *Ooch*, and he himself proceeded to Delhi. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* in the year 625 H., took *Ooch* by negotiation, and proceeded towards *Bukkur*; *Nasir-ul-din* fled and died, Sultan *Shums-ul-din* became master of Sindh. *Noor ul-din Mahamed* in the year 630 H., was governor of Sindh; and in 633 Sultan *Itimus* died, and *Massud Shah* was his heir. In the confusion of events, a Moghul army crossed the river of Sindh and besieged *Ooch*; but, being defeated by *Sultan Mussud*, fled to *Khorassan*. Sultan *Mussud* sent *Mulk Jullah-ul-din* in the place of *Noor-ul-din* as governor of Sindh, and at this time *Masir-ul-din Mahamed*, uncle of Sultan *Massud*, became heir to the throne and crown, and in the year 649 having passed through Lahore, Multan, Ooch and the whole of Sindh, he gave that country to *Mulk Sunjur* and returned; and in the beginning of the year 663, Sultan *Ghias-ul-din* succeeded to the throne of Delhi, and gave the government of Lahore, Multan and Sindh to his son Sultan *Mahamed*, and after three years he returned to the service of his father at *Delhi*, and returned again after a year. In the year 683 H., Sultan *Mahamed* was killed by the troops of *Jenghiz Khan*, and his son *Key Korún* succeeded him. Sultan *Julal-ul-din Khiljy*, in the year 693 H., arrived at Lahore, and gave Multan and Ooch in charge to his son *Arkuli Khan*, and *Nusrat Khan* remained to govern Sindh. In short, in the year 695 H., Sultan *Hullaw-ul-din* sent his brother *Shah Khan* to drive out *Arkuli Khan*; but *Nurut Khan*, as formerly, with a force of 10,000 retained possession of Multan, Ooch, *Bukkur*, *Sewistan* and *Tattah*. In the beginning of the year 697 H., there was a report of the march of a Moghul force from *Seeistan* to *Sewistan*, and it (*Sewistan*) was captured. *Nusrut Khan* released himself. At the close of the rule of the Sultan. *Hillaw-ul-din*, *Ghazi Mulk* was sent with 10,000 Sowars to *Dibalpur* to drive out the Moghuls of *Jenghis Khan*. Multan, Ooch, and Sindh were made over to him as a *jahgir*, but in the revolution of events *Kosún Khan* usurped the throne from his father. *Ghazi Mulk* taking the army of Multan, Ooch and Sindh, overthrew *Korún Khan* and took the throne, and he was styled Sultan *Ghias-ul-din*. At this time the men of *Sumrah* came forth and took possession of *Tattah*. Sultan *Ghias-ul-din* sent *Mulk Jaj-ul-din* to Multan, *Kwajeh Khatria* to *Bukkar*, and *Mulk Haleshir* to *Sewistan*. After a time when *Mulk Kush-hoo-Khan* became rebellious in Multan, Sultan

Mahamed Shah, the son of Sultan *Ghias-ul-din*, in the year 723 H., came to Multan and subdued him; then having placed confidential servants at Bukkur and Sewistan, he returned. In the year 751 H., *Jaghi Ghullam* having arrived at Tattah from Gujrat, Kach, and other places, pitched at Jahir on the edge of the river; but being annoyed with fever, he marched from thence and came to *Kandul*, where he recovered, and returned to Tattah; from which he remained and surrounded Tattah on four sides, but he died of the same complaint as above-mentioned. *Sultan Feiroz Shah* then possessed the throne. *Jaghi* was at *Jattah*, and hearing of his death he attacked the men of *Sumrah*, the *Jharijahs* and *Sumahs*, and was defeated. The Sultan in the beginning of the month of Safar of the above year, marched from the neighbourhood of Jattah on the river *Sankrah*; he directed a fort to be built. *Ami Nasur* remained there with 1000 horse; he built a city called *Nusurpur*, and he appointed *Mulk Bikram*, chief magistrate in those districts; he built *Bikrampore*, and *Mulk Allishir* and *Mulk Jaj Kafuri* were left at Sewistan as governors. He then proceeded to Bukkur. *Mulk Kuknahdin* and *Mulk Abadul Aziz* were appointed Naib and Dewan, with a party of trusty men as guardians of the fort; and *Mulk Kuku-ul-din* had the title conferred on him of *Ikhlas Jani*, and was made governor of all the country of Sindh. The Sultan then returned to Delhi. After this, in the year 773 H. having determined to take Nuggur Kot, he came to Jattah; *Jam Kheir-ul-din*, the governor of Jattah, defended himself in the fort, surrounded by water, and to the Sultan by reason of the want of grain and the abundance of musquitoes, returned to Jattah. *Jam Kheir-ul-din* being promised pardon, preferred his service; he took with him all the zumeendars to Delhi, but when they reached Sehwan it was discovered that the Jam meditated escape; he was chained and imprisoned. After a time *Jam Junur*, son of *Jam Kheir-ul-din*, was invested with the governorship of Jattah, and in the year 790 H. Feiroz Shah died, and Sultan *Jughluk Shah* succeeded him; after him, Sultan *Abu Bukur*, then Sultan *Mahamed Shah*, then Sultan *Sikundur Shah*, then Sultan *Nasir-ul-din*, came to the throne of Delhi: he sent *Sazang Khan* to take possession of Dibalpur, Multan and Sindh; and in the year 800 H., *Mirza Pir Mahamed Nezah*, a noble of *Timúrs*, crossed the river of Sindh, and invested the fort of Ooch. *Mulk Alli*, who on the part of *Sazang Khan* was in that place, resisted for a month. *Sazang Khan* sent *Jaj-ul-din Khan* with 4000 men to assist him; he released *Mirza Pir Mahamed*, and defeated *Sazang Khan*: he invested Multan, and after six months *Sazang Khan* became obedient and delivered up Multan. At this time *Sahib Karan* in the year 801 H., descended on Multan: from this period the Sultans of Delhi lost dominion in Sindh over the governors in that country, who themselves obtained power.

The Tribe of Sumrah.

Some of this tribe ruled in parts of Sindh, as has been mentioned, previous to this. Thus the whole time that their authority extended was 550 years; and therefore, after the descendants of *Jamim*, the last of the deputies of *Bini Abbas*, seeing their power, the narrators of history began to make mention of them; at that time, as will be mentioned, the government of Sindh passed to the *Ghoris* and *Ghuzmiris*, and this tribe of itself became powerful, as will be related.

And now the origin of this tribe is not clearly traced; but they were evidently old inhabitants of the country, and they are apparently connected with the descendants of "Sindh." In short, according to what has been previously related, when in the year of 720 H. *Ghazi Mulk* collected the army of Sindh and Multan, and took it to Delhi and subdued *Khosrow Khan*, he succeeded to the throne; and Sultan *Ghias-ul-din, Jughluk Shah* was his title: whilst he was occupied with affaire in that quarter, the men of *Sámrah* collected from the vicinity of *Jhuri* and placed a man named *Surmah* in the governor's seat, and, having possessed the country, he espoused the daughter of a zameendar named *Saud*, who was of power and rank: by her he had a son, named *Bangur Khan*. *Sumrah* died, *Bangur* succeeded him, and his son *Dodah* took possession of the country to *Nusurpar*; he had a son named *Sungar*, a minor, and the government of the country came to *Jaree*, daughter of *Dodah*; and when *Sungur* became of years he succeeded to the governorship, and proceeded towards *Catch* and subdued the country to the river *Manak*. As he had no children, his wife *Heimus'* brother was appointed governor of the city of *Toor* and *Thurri*. After a short time *Dodah Sumrah*, who was governor in the fort of *Dahak*, collected his tribe from the surrounding country, and extirpated the brother of *Heimus*. At this time *Dodu* and *Phatu*, descendants of *Dodah*, came out with a large force, and gave him the chieftainship; he ruled for some time, and after him *Kheira* took possession of the country; then *Armil* succeeded to it, but being an oppressor, the men of *Sumrah* collected and killed him; this was in the year 752 H.: but the beginning and end of this tribe as rulers is by others otherwise related. Thus in the *Muntukkib al Juwarikh*, when Sultan *Abdul Rashid, Bin Sultan Mahamed Ghazi*, succeeded to the throne, his imbecility caused the inhabitants of Sindh to be rebellious, and in the year 445 H., the men of *Sumrah* collected near *Thurri*, and placed a person named *Sumrah* in the governship. *Sumrah* possessed his elevation for a long period, and had a son *Bangur* by the daughter of a zumeendar named *Saud*, and died. *Bangur Bin Sumrah* ruled for 15 years; in the year 461 H., he died: after him *Dodah Bin Bangur* governed for 24 years, and in the H. 485 he died. After him *Sungar* for 15 years; after him *Hufif* 36 years; after him *Oomur* 40 years; *Dodah* the second 14 years; *Phutto* 33 years; *Kheysurah Dodah* third 14 years; *Jahi* 24 years; *Chamí* 18 years; *Bangur* second 15 years; *Hafif* the second 18 years; *Dodah* the fourth 25 years; *Oomur* the second 35 years; *Bangur* third 10 years: after him *Hamir* succeeded to the government, but being a tyrant, the tribe of

Sumah overthrew him, which will be mentioned in the course of the history of that tribe. *Oomur Sumrah* founded the fort of *Oomur Kot*; *Dilu Rahi*, son of *Dilu Rahi* before-mentioned, governor of *Dilu*, was a tyrant and given to infamous practices: to his tyranny and oppression is ascribed the destruction of Alor.

Account of the destruction of the City of Alor.

It was a custom of that unjust tyrant to take half the property of every merchant who arrived from Hind as duty and tax, and he seized the wives of the inhabitants. A wealthy and influential merchant who had the title of *Seif-ul-Mulk*, and a few other princes with him dressed as merchants, but who were on pilgrimage to Mecca, being ignorant of that villain's proceedings, entered his capital: the merchant had with him a beautiful woman named *Budeh-al-Jumal*; at that time the river Mihran ran close to Alor. Hearing of the beauty of *Badeh-al-Jumal*, *Dilu Rahi* became anxious to possess her, and wished to arrest the merchant under the pretence of his intending to smuggle his goods. The unfortunate merchant for three days tried to persuade the tyrant, and vented his complaints mightily to the Most High; and as the supplications of the afflicted are accepted, he was inspired with a dream, that in the morning he should conceal himself, and taking a party of stone-cutters famous as *Firkad*, and having bribed them well, during the following night cut a passage through the hills for the passage of the river, large enough for a boat, and on the other side erect a strong embankment. Although both these appeared impossible tasks, yet by the help of the Almighty they were accomplished. The merchant with his boats passed safely by that road; and the river Mihran, quitting its former passage, took the course which it now takes. In the morning the people told *Dilu Rahi*, but all his efforts to repair the calamity were unavailing against the decree of fate. The ruin of Alor is dated to have commenced from that day. They say that *Seif-ul-Mulk* with his beloved *Budel-ul-Jumal*, when they returned from the pilgrimage to the *Kaabah*, arrived and lived in the country between *Derah Ghazi Khan* and *Sitpur* and died. *Budeh-ul-Jamal* had two sons, *Jah* and *Chatah*; until now her tomb with those of her two sons, are places of pilgrimage.

Account of the decline of the City of Bhumbur, generally known as Brahmanabad.

They relate, that Dilu Rahi after the rain of the city of Alor came to the latter place to reside; he had a brother *Choteh Oomrani*: in his youth he had been blessed with the true belief, so that leaving that city he had studied and learnt the Koran, and performed the duties enjoined by his religion sedulously. When he returned to the city, his relations pressed upon him the acceptance of the governorship, but he would not accept it: someone jokingly observed, "This Turk has been to the Kaabah, and married the daughter of a certain Arab." By chance in those his younger days he became anxious to perform the Haj; and when he arrived there, he one day saw a woman in a shop occupied in repeating the Koran: he staid to listen. She asked him, why he staid? He said, to hear the Koran." If you will teach me to read, I will be your slave." The woman said, "My instructor is the daughter of a certain person; if you will disguise yourself as a woman and come with me, I will take you to her." In short, in this way he was taken there, and became occupied in reading and meditating on the Koran. It appears, that his instructress was skilled in astrology: one day the woman came to her, and asked after the fortune of *Choteh* in disguise; she said he would be a governor or chief. *Choteh* said, "Since you know the fortune of others, can you tell anything of your own?" The girl said, "You are right; I shall wed with someone who is an inhabitant of Sindh." They asked her, who it was? she said to *Choteh*, "You are the man." In short, concealment was at an end; the girl instructed him after this to go and change his garments, and to demand her in marriage as she was destined for him; she then communicated the case to her parents, and was shortly afterwards married to *Chotch*. He after a time returned to his own country, and took his wife, whose name was *Fatimah*, with him: when he arrived at the city of *Dilu Rahi*, that tyrant had made a practice of seizing newly-married women, and then releasing them. *Chotch* tried to dissuade him from this, but he would not desist, until one day he heard the praises of *Fatimah*. Whilst *Chotel* was from home, *Dilu Rahi* came to see her. *Chotch* suspected his intentions; coming quickly home, he took his wife and left the city, crying out, "This city through the wickedness of its governor will be swallowed up this night; whoever wishes to escape from destruction, has now the opportunity of doing so." Some few believed him. On the first night the city escaped, in consequence of the watchfulness of an old woman at her wheel; on the second, from the working of an oil mill: at length, on the third night, the whole city with its inhabitants was swallowed up and destroyed, and one minaret, as an example and to record the fact, yet remains.¹⁷

¹⁷ Brahmanabad must have been situated in the *Lar*, or delta division of Sindh; its site is not fixed.

Account of the men of Sumrah taking possession of Cutch.

This tribe inhabited the country of Cutch, and the ruler of that province protected and encouraged them. After a time this tribe said, "We are strong and numerous, and we have lived safely under your shadow until we become troublesome: now give us a portion of waste land, so that we may cultivate it and pay tribute." The Rahi of Cutch with kindness gave them broad lands, and taxed them at 500 carts of grass from their crops. The tribe continued to pay the tax, and in a short time became acquainted with the manners and customs of the people and governors; they then determined amongst themselves to acquire possession of the country. Now at the gate of the fort occupied by the governor of Cutch, a brahmin and astrologer was placed, and he permitted all to pass in after he had inquired their business. This tribe had collected their 500 carts of grass, but in the grass of each cart they placed two armed men, and one drove the cart into the city; they say that when the carts came in, the brahmin said "there is the smell of flesh in these carts:" the door-keepers rejected his suspicions, and said, "What can there be in grass?" But some of those present thrust their spears into the grass. They say, that those in the carts wiped the blood of their bodies from the points of the spears, so that they should not be discovered. So the door-keepers accusing the brahmin of falsehood, allowed the carts to pass in, and thus the men took possession of the city, and overthrew the Rahi of Cutch, and became Chiefs of the country; until this time the descendants of the Sumrah are, in various ranks, the governors of Catch.¹⁸ In short, when in consequence of *Dilu Rahis's* tyranny, the river Mihran flowed past Sewistan, and those lands which are now fertile became so; then the land of the men of Sumrah became unproductive, and from inflicting brands and the oppressions of the before-mentioned tribe, complaints were sent to the Sultan, *Hilaw-ul-din* at Delhi; he sent his deputy and chief of his army *Sular Khan*, who coming upon the men of Sumrah, they sent their families in care of the tribe of *Charuns*, which tribe is highly respected by both parties, to *Abrah Abrance Sumah*, the governor of Catch, and prepared to oppose the forces of the Sultan; these latter came upon them like the storm on a vessel - there was a great battle. The son of Sumrah, who was the Chief of all the forces of that tribe, was killed; the rest could not hold out in the city of Joor and fled to Catch. The Sultan's troops pursued their wives and children to Cutch, and every night when they halted they threw a large ditch round the camp to prevent a night attack; and these ditches are still to be seen, and very deep. When they reached Catch, *Abrah Sumah* attacked the Sumrahs in conjunction with the Sultan's troops. In short, after the fall of the tribe of Sumrah the tribe of Sumah became the possessors of those countries, and the city of Mahamed Joor was destroyed by the troops of the Shah; and the city of Samwa was founded, and other new districts cultivated. The country of the city of *Joor*, which is

¹⁸ The ruins of Goomtee in Cutch are in the traditions of that country, the scene of the exploit of the Sumrahs.

situated near the pargunnah of *Darah*, being through ill fortune abandoned, they founded another *Jooreh* as shall be mentioned.

The Dynasty of the Jams of Sumah.

The origin of this tribe is traced to *Ahrumek Bin Hassan, Bin Abi-Jihul* as has been mentioned; but according to what has been related, at the time of the arrival of *Mohamed Bin Cassim*, this tribe had embraced *Islamism*, and the account of it is given by *Meer Massum* in the "*Chach Nameh*." Thus, the descendants of *Akrumeh* about the year 93 H., the whole of this tribe entered the Mahomedan faith, and collected together from distant places in this country, and *Akrumeh* at or near that time was a governor, and he is connected with *Sam Bin Oomur, Bin Hassan, Bin Abi Luhab*, but I do doubt if this is correct.

They are also said to be descended from *Jam-shid*; hence their title of "Jam," and this appears the most probable. From some great man it is related, that they are descendants of *Sam Bin Noh*, and thus they are styled *Sumah*. God knows.

1. *Jam Oonur Bin Babinch*. When they were released from oppression of the tribe of *Sumrah*, the men of *Sumah*, who before were cultivators of gardens, collected and styled him "Jam;" they constituted him chief and leader. It was thus in the year 752 H., and in a short time this *Jam* obtained complete power; *Mulk Ruttun* overthrew the remainder of the *Turks*, who were governors in *Sewistan*, and after three years and six months, he died. They relate also, that *Kahah Bin Tamachi* his vakeel, brought *Ferroz* and *Alli Shah* from *Bakkar* to *Birhampur*, where they killed him; and after three days the men of *Oonur* killed *Malk Ferroz*.

2. *Jam Junur Bin Babineh* succeeded his brother; he crossed over from *Tulhati*, and ravaged and pillaged the towns and villages; he left *Bukkur* in charge of the *Tirks*; after this he became powerful in *Sindh*, until *Sultan Hullaw-ul-din* sent his brother *Alif Khan* to *Multan* and its dependencies; *Mulk Taj Kuffuri* and *Tatar Khan* were sent to *Sindh* to oppose *Jam Junur*; previous to that *Jam Junur* had died: his reign extended for 13 or 14 years. The *Shah's* army took *Bakkur*, and looked towards *Sehwan*. After *Jam Junur*.

3. *Jam Tamachi Bin Jam Oonur* succeeded to the seat of government; the *Sultan's* army took him and his family prisoners to *Delhi*. The tribe of *Sumah* went to *Thurri*, and for 15 years.

4. *Jam Babinch Bin Jam Oonur* ruled over them, according to the account of *Meer Massum*.

5. *Jam Kheir-ul-din*, son of *Tamachi*, after the death of his father (according to the order of the *Shah*) came from *Delhi* to *Sindh*, and took possession. *Sultan Mahamed Shah*, pursuing *Taghi Ghullam* as before mentioned, arrived in the vicinity of *Tattah* and died, and *Sultan Ferroz* succeeded him. He went to *Delhi*; *Jam Kheir-ul-din* pursued him to the

territories of *Sin*; after some engagements returned, ruled his subjects justly, and in peace. After *Kheir-ul-din*, his son, *Jam Babineh*.

6. *Jam Babineh* second, succeeded him; Sultan *Ferroz Shah* came over, but returned, and coming again took him prisoner. After a time when he had experienced his services he conferred the government of Sindh upon him, and he ruled for 15 years and died: he founded the city of Samwi; some say it was founded by *Payeh Bin Oomur*, but this is wrong.

7. *Jam Tamachi* second, his brother, succeeded, and ruled peaceably for 13 years: then his son, *Jam Sullah-ul-din*.

8. *Jam Sullah-ul-din*, who after settling his own country proceeded to Cutch, and returned victorious: after 11 years he died.

In the praise of *Sheikh Himar Jumali* (may God's mercy be towards him) it is written, that *Jam Junur* sent *Jam Tamachi* and his son *Jam Sullah-ul-din* to Delhi, and they being released by the Sheikh above-mentioned from Hind returned to Sindh, and overthrew *Junur*, taking possession of the country; first the father, and then the son ruled: but this differs with the first account of *Meer Mussum*. But God knows.

9. *Jam Nizam-ul-din*. In short, after *Sullah-ul-din*, *Jam Nizam-ul-din* succeeded to the government, and released his uncles.

Note from the editors of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
1845

The Editors at first hesitated to publish this article, fearing that their readers might consider it almost a reprint, or an amplification of the former paper by the same author, "On the early history of Scinde from the 'Chuch Namah,' &c.," as it in fact at first sight appears to be. But Lieut. Postans himself in his introduction has, they conceive, assigned the best reason why it should not, even at the risk of some repetition, remain unpublished, namely, that "the author of the *Toofat ul Kiram* has collected his materials from the best authorities." And this is of more importance than it at first sight appears to be, for it implies that the author, who like our own early chroniclers was living in part of the times of his own history, was like them also near enough to the epochs embraced in it to exercise his discretion in the choice of the matters to be chronicled; and this doubtless founded on research amongst documents, and histories, and men now long passed away and numbered with the dead. And the known customs of the Oriental writers of history, of publishing their works only after reading them to circles of the learned, would have furnished him with many facts, illustrations and corrections, which oral tradition had brought down, and which the stores of written knowledge then undoubtedly existing at all the courts of the Kalifat probably contained.

Our readers will thus, we hope, agree with them in their judgment that, as an historical reference, this translation is alike curious and useful, and they could not have given it otherwise than by printing it entire.

EDS.