CHAPTER I

SIND UNDER THE ARABS

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND AND THEIR RULE:

The penetration of the Arabs in the region and their attacks on the sea coast towns of Sind began as early as in 636 A.D. in the time of Caliph 'Umar, but its systematic conquest took place in 712 A.D. when it was incorporated in the Muslim empire during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph, al-Walid (705-715 A.D.). In 644-45 A.D. during the caliphate of 'Umar the Muslim commander of Makran, Hakam b. 'Amar al-Saghibli, had initiated action against the Sassanid forces in Makran. He attacked and pursued them up to the river (al-Nahr) but did not cross it over and stopped on the other side. While the Muslim army was encamping there, Rāsāl, the Sindi commander crossed the river with his forces and attacked the Muslim camp. As a result of a furious battle, Rāsāl was finally defeated by the Muslims and the Muslim army again advanced up to the River and established itself there. A detailed report was sent to the Caliph about these developments through Suhr al-Abidi. In the light of this report the Caliph decided not to pursue the expedition against Sind any further and one of the commanders, Ḥakam, was directed to stay on.

1. This naval expedition was taken by 'Uṯmān b. Ābā Ṭās, the Governor of Bahrain, who appointed Mughirah as commander and despatched him from Bahrain to Debal. But Balāzūrī (pp. 420-21) says that Mughira was victorious at Debal and that he was alive after the Debal expedition. According to Chach-Namah, Mughira was killed in an encounter at Debal (p. 52).
the other side of the river and not to cross it into Sind. This side was under the control of Chach, the Brahman ruler of Sind. This happened during the very last days of Caliph 'Umar and when he died, Caliph 'Usman considered the possibilities of sending an expedition against Chach to punish him for his role in the battle of Nahr. It was, however, in the year 649-50 A.D. that the Caliph 'Usman finally decided to take action against the Sindian ruler and despatched 'Abdullah bin Ma'amor Tamimi who defeated and destroyed forces of Chach on Makran side of the River and advanced up to the River again.

In the year 658-59 A.D. Caliph 'Ali appointed Saghar b. Zu'ar on the Indian frontier and he achieved memorable victories during the period of four years of his stay there and reached as far as Kiknan in Baluchistan.

2. Chach-Namah, p.34.
3. Tabari I, pp.2829-31. According to Chach-Namah (p.54) and Balaguri (p.421) the Caliph 'Usman ordered Abdullah b. 'Amir, the commander in-chief, to despatch Hukaim b. Jabalah to Sind but after receiving latter's report Caliph directed Abdullah not to send any force against Sind. But this statement is not correct as the detailed report of Tabari would indicate. Actually it was Caliph 'Umar who, had consistently forbidden any military action to be taken against Sind.
In the year 664 A.D. Caliph Mu'awiyah appointed 'Abdullah b. Sawwār as Governor and Commander of the region. 'Abdullah captured Kiknān and sent to the Caliph horses of Kiknān which were known for their excellent breed. According to Balāzuri 'Abdullah returned to Damascus after the initial victory perhaps for reporting about the situation personally to the Caliph. He then went back to the front in Qaiqān where he was killed by the Turks. After assassination of 'Abdullah, Caliph Mu'awiyah appointed Sanān b. Salmah at Makran. After two year he was transferred from Makran. Rashīd b. amr was appointed in his place. While on his way to Sistan, he was ambushed by rebels and fell in the battle that ensued. The region was once more conferred on Sanān.

According to Chach-Namah Ilafi had killed Sāid b. Aslam Kalabi, the Governor of Makran sometime before 704 A.D. Hajjāj b. Yusuf appointed Mujjah as the new Governor of Makran. The Ilafis fled before Mujjah's arrival, and on being pursued they joined Dahar, son of Chach, the ruler of Sind. Mujjah died soon after.

1. Chach-Namah, p.56 Balāzuri records that 'Abdullah b. Sawwār was appointed by 'Abdullah b. 'Amir, the Viceroy of Iraq. Though it further records that according to some he was appointed by Mu'awiyah himself. See Balāzuri, pl 421.


In the year 705 A.D. Muḥammad b. Ḥarun was appointed as the new Governor of Makran and he remained there for five years. During this period he subjugated the whole of Makran, its coastal belt and the hinterland and brought it under his effective control.

Around this a very important development took place which was destined to alter the course of history of the region. The Raja of Sarandip had despatched a number of Muslim orphans and widows living in his territory to Ḥajjāj along with gifts. His purpose in doing so was to establish cordial relations with Ḥajjāj.

As these vessels reached near the coast of Debal some of them were attacked by pirates and looted and the inmates were taken prisoner. These included Muslim orphans and widows. Ḥajjāj sent an ambassador to the Raja of Sind demanding compensation for the outrage and the punishment of the offenders. The Raja replied, that he had no control over these pirates. Ḥajjāj secured permission of Caliph Walid for the conquest of Sind. Ḥajjāj despatched 'Ubaidullah and Budail to Debal and instructed the Governor of Makran, Ḥarun to march with a force of three thousand to assist Budail. 'Ubaidullah reached Debal with the army. Jaisiyah, son of

2. Ibid., p. 64, Ibid., pp. 423-24.
Dahar, came out and offered battle. Budail was killed in this encounter. Hearing this news, Hajjaj wanted to send another commander to Sind. 'Amir bin 'Abdullah offered his services for Sind but Hajjaj selected Muḥammad bin Qāsim for this important assignment. Then Hajjaj directed Khuraim b. Amur to reach the coastline near Debal with a fleet of boats. Khuraim reached near Debal on Friday 19 October 711 A.D. It was 710 A.D. that Muḥammad bin Qāsim had marched from Shiraz to Debal in between the way he halted at Makran. He arrived in the vicinity of Debal, while the boats arrived there on Friday 19 October, 711 A.D. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Hārūn died at the town of Armabel.

As Muḥammad b. Qāsim encamped in the vicinity of Debal, he ordered his men to dig a ditch and build bases for the catapults (manjāniq). The battle which ensued continued for seven days. Meanwhile, a Brahman came out of the fort and informed Muḥammad b. Qāsim about the magic flag of the temple. Muḥammad bin Qāsim ordered his manjāniq master to aim at flag and it was knocked down in three shots. After the fall of the flag, the Arab forces captured the fort. After securing Debal, the army marched towards Nirun (Hyderabad).

2. Ibid., pp. 72-73; Balāzuri, p. 424.
The citizens of Nirun had earlier agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Arabs. Muḥammad bin Qāsim ordered his forces not to molest them. The Buddhist Governor of Nirun was received with great honour when he came to the Arab general and undertook to guide him to Sehwan. The inhabitants of Sehwan were mostly traders and agriculturists. Muḥammad bin Qāsim assured the people that those who submitted to him would lose nothing but his hand would fall heavily on those who will resist. The privileges of the Buddhist and Brahman priests were preserved; the common people were left free to worship as they pleased, provided they were willing to pay to the Arabs the same taxes they had previously paid to Raja Dahar. Bajhra, son of Chander, the Governor of Siwistan, was determined to defend his city, but the Buddhists refused to help him. They sent a message, that "you are secure, while we are open to the invasion of the enemy. We know the Arabs, who are faithful and keep their promises and we are going to make terms with him." Seeing this Bajhra fled after a week, and took refuge with Kaka, son of Kotal, the Samni Chief of Buddhīya. Consequently the Arabs entered Siwistan unopposed.

Muḥammad bin Qāsim appropriated all the silver jewels and cash, but he did not take anything from Buddhists, who had

2. Chach-Nāmah, pp. 88–89; See also Muḥammad Habīb, 'The Arab Conquest of Sind, Islamic Culture, III 1929, pp. 89–90.
made term with him. The Government of the city was placed under the charge of civil officers, and Muḥammad bin Qāsim started for Sisam, after leaving a garrison in the fort. All the Chiefs and headmen of the surrounding places were now willing to submit to Muḥammad bin Qāsim, most probably because they were enemies of Dahar who had put some of their people to death. As a result they revolted against him and sent word to Muḥammad bin Qāsim, agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirhams weight of silver. Ḥādhrul Malīk b. Qays was deputed in the territory to clear the region of all resistance.

Raja Dahar had been passing his days in ease and comfort at Rawar. He might have deluded himself with the thought that the invaders would perhaps retire after capturing Debal and one or two other towns. On returning from Siwistan to Nirun, Muḥammad b. Qāsim received order from Hajjāj to cross Indus and put an end to the power of Raja Dahar who had flatly refused the proposal to embrace Islam and pay tribute. Meanwhile, the chieftain of Bet region and other dignatories came and offered allegiance to the Arabs. Muḥammad bin Qāsim appointed there his officials and he himself marched towards Rawar on the bank of Indus. Moka bin

Baisaya the claimant to the chieftainship of Bet resisted, while the Arab forces were crossing the river Indus. The Arabs captured Moka and brought him before Muḥammad bin Qāsim, who, therefore, conferred the chieftainship of Bet on Baisayah's younger son Mokah, who had become his ally against Dahar. Dahar in his own term, appointed his son Jaisiyah to control the strategic fort of Bet with the instruction not to trust the old chief Baisayah. Later Rāsal seems to have been appointed and hence he came out of Rawar, as the chief of Bet. At last Dahar decided to give battle. Muḥammad bin Qāsim had marched to Bet from the Indus and after depositing his heavy baggage there, moved towards Rawar and encamped at Jewar. The Arabs cut the supplies of Raja Dahar both from Alor and Multan.

The daily skirmishes took place on both sides. Finally on 20 June, 712 A.D. a fierce battle was fought and Raja Dahar fell in the battle.

Jaisiya, son of Dahar, succeeded in taking away his defeated forces to the fort of Rawar and was joined there by

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 99-100
2. Ibid., pp. 110-118.
3. A village between Bet and the fort of Rawar.
many others. He wanted to come out and die fighting like his father, but Sisaker, the minister of Raja Dahar, and Muhammad Ilafi induced him to fly to Brahmanabad. But Bai, the widow and sister of Dahar, refused to accompany him and took the command of the army numbering about 15,000 strong. When the city was about to fall under the Arab pressure, she collected her women in a house and set it on fire. Six thousand fighting men were captured in the fort and put to death. The head of Dahar was sent to Ḥajjāj along with the spoils.

The Arabs then moved towards Brahmanabad but their advance was delayed by the forts of Bahrur and Dhalia, which lay on the route and could only be reduced after protected siege. Jaisiya, decided to remain outside Brahmanabad, which he had placed under the charge of 16 selected officers, four for each gate. Everyday a skirmish took place, but the garrison consisting of 40,000 soldiers defended their city with courage while Jaisiya kept harassing the besiegers by cutting off their supply line. The siege dragged for six months. Muḥammad b. Qāsim asked Moka for help. The peace loving inhabitants of Brahmanabad sent a message to Muḥammad bin Qāsim seeking his protection and they came out from the gate. The Muslims entered the town. Protection was given to

2. Ibid., pp. 149-153.
all except for the fighting people. The fall of Brahmanabad placed the whole of southern Sind in the hands of Arab forces. Hajjaj directed Mohammad bin Qasim to march on Alor and Multan so that he may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. All the tribes and towns on his line of march offered their submission and he halted at various stages to organise the government of the country. At Manbal in the vicinity of Swandi, it happened so that all the merchants and Chiefs were Samanis, while the agriculturists were jats. Muhammad bin Qasim fixed an annual revenue and appointed a man from each tribe as the head of the tribe. The artisans and merchants were not heavily taxed. Those who embraced Islam were required to pay only a tenth part of their produce the land; but those who followed their own faith had pay the usual sum from their income in accordance with the established custom of the country. At Sihta the Chiefs and peasants appeared before him. He granted them protection, fixed the taxes they were to pay, took hostages from their chief and asked them to guide his army to Alor.

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 155-157. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but according to others sixteen thousand were killed and the rest were pardoned.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-66. On Thursday 13 Muharram 94 /9 Oct. 712 A.D. they came in the vicinity of Swandi. The merchants and artisans were not heavily taxed because these were the agriculturist people.

Alor, the biggest city of Sind, had been left by Dahar under the charge of his son, Gopi, who believed that his father was still alive and he had gone to bring an army from Hindustan. Muḥammad bin Qāsim asked Ladi to inform them of the truth. She rode up to the fortifications on the black camel of the late Rai, and after uncovering her face, told them about Dahar's defeat and death. But the besieged cursed her and accused her of having joined the chandalas and cow eaters. However, the inhabitants of the fort began to waver and decided to submit. Gopi fled away on discovering that he had lost all support. The citizens opened the gates on the usual terms - death for soldiers who refused to submit, protection for the civil population and the maintenance of the old taxes and non-interference in religious matters and places of worship.

Muḥammad bin Qāsim placed Alor in the charge of a governor and a qaẓī and then advanced to Batiya, a fort to which Kaksa son of Chander had fled after the battle of Rawar.

1. A widow of Rai Dahar, she had been captured at Brahmanabad along with two daughters of Dahar by another wife. Chach-Namah, p.169.

2. Chach-Namah, pp.169-72 (viz Nao-Bahar in the capital city of Alor, a Brahmin temple.)

3. Rawāḥa b. Asad was appointed as Governor and Musa b. Yaqūb was made the qaẓī of the place.

4. The fort Batiya was situated on the southern bank of the river Beas. Chach-Namah, p. 180. He was from Alor and a learned men of Sind. Muḥammad bin Qāsim invested him with the title of Mubārak Mushir.
Muḥammad bin Qāsim appointed Kakṣa as his counsellor with the office of the vizārat. He proceeded to conquer the fort still held by the princes of Dahār's family. The advance guard of the invading army, led by him defeated the garrison of Askalanda and pressed the siege so vigorously that the Chiefs fled to Sikka, while all others including the artisans and merchants sued for peace.

The old fort of Sikka stood opposite to Multan. It was held by Bajra, who fiercely defended it for seventeen days, during which the besiegers suffered heavy losses and were forced to withdraw to Multan which was commanded by Gursiyah son of Chander. Muḥammad bin Qāsim demolished the fort of Sikka and then crossed the Ravi. The siege of Multan dragged for two months but neither side gained a decisive victory. At last a Multani, showed the invaders a spot where the wall could be mined. After two or three days the wall was broken. Six thousand warriors were put to death. Muḥammad bin Qāsim sent a fifth part of the spoils to the Caliph, and the remainder was distributed among the troops as usual. Besides, an old treasure trove hidden by ancient kings was discovered.

1. Chach-Namāh, pp. 180-81. The fort of Sikka was situated on the southern bank of the Ravi.

2. Their relatives and dependants were taken as slaves, but protection was given to the merchants, artisans and agriculturists. Chach-Namāh, p. 182.
Two hundred and thirty mans of gold were obtained from it as well as forty jars filled with gold dust.

On the day this fabulous treasure was discovered, Muḥammad bin Qāsim received a letter from Hajjāj demanding a sum of 1,20,000 dirhams or its equivalent in kind should be sent to the caliph's court at Damascus as 60,000 dirhams were spent on the preparations of this expedition and Hajjāj had undertaken to remit double of the amount after the accomplishment of the expedition. He was further directed to build mosques and get the Khutba in the name of the Caliph to be read and coins struck.

Muḥammad bin Qāsim laid the foundation of a big mosque and arranged for the repairs of the rempart of the fort. Subsequently, he appointed Daud b. Naṣr b. Walid Ummani as Governor of Multan, while Akrama b. Raiḥān Shāmi was made incharge of the civil administration. A strong contingent consisting of 50,000 horsemen was posted in the fort to defend the newly conquered territory. Muḥammad bin Qāsim sent the treasure to Debal, to be despatched to Hajjāj and he himself

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 182-184. The total weight of these jars was thirteen thousand two hundred and weight of gold. This is the only instance in which Muḥammad bin Qāsim found his way to one of those accumulated hoards of gold and precious stones. See also Balazuri, p. 427; Ibn Asir, Al-Kamīl fil-Tarikh, IV, Dar Sader (ed.) Bāirūt, 1965, p. 539.

marched as far as the boundary of Kashmir where Rai Chach had planted the poplar trees to demarcate the boundary of his territories. But he decided not to advance any further in that direction and turned eastwards, and sent a message through Abu Hakim Shaibani accompanied by ten thousand horsemen to Rai Harchand Sen of Qannauj inviting him to embrace Islam and submission. Rai Harchand rejected the proposal. Muhammad bin Qasim consulted his officers. They advised him to declare war on the Rai. He had already started his preparations for the proposed campaign but the news of sudden death of Hajjaj halted him in his tracks. After 9 months on 23 February 715 A.D. the Caliph, Walid b. 'Abdul Malik, also died and his brother, Sulaiman b. Abdul Malik succeeded him. Relations between Hajjaj and Sulaiman had been far from cordial and Muhammad bin Qasim was aware of it. For some time Walid had toyed with the idea of putting aside Sulaiman's claim to succession and appoint his son instead and Hajjaj had supported him in this endeavour. This proposal failed to come off and Sulaiman continued to nurse a deep sense of injury and bitterness against Hajjaj and all those who were close to Hajjaj were bound to face his wrath.

It was in these circumstances that the new Caliph ordered the dismissal and arrest of Muhammad bin Qasim. According to these orders, he was arrested and sent to the court. Sulaiman ordered him to be imprisoned and, after some time, he died in prison.

Soon after Muhammad bin Qasim's removal from the scene, there was a revival of Hindu power in Sind. Dahar's son Jaisiyah reconquered Brahmanabad. According to Mir M'asam, two years after the death of Muhammad bin Qasim, the people of Hind rebelled against the Arabs, and only the country from Depalpur to the Salt Sea remained under the dominion of the Caliph. Yazid bin Abu Kabsha, the new Governor of Sind, did not live long to be able to do anything in this regard. Then Habib b. Muhallab was appointed as the Governor of Sind in 716 A.D. It was during his tenure of governorship that Dahar's son Jaisiyah revolted and occupied Brahmanabad. Others followed the suit and one after the other most of the conquered areas were recaptured by the former rulers. The situation seems to have

1. It is reported that the Caliph's order of his dismissal was received by Muhammad bin Qasim in Udhampur. Chach-Namah is the only source for this information; no other work has mentioned where the order was served on Muhammad bin Qasim or where he was arrested and taken prisoner. Chach-Namah p. 188.


4. Balazuri, p. 429. He is said to have been in office only for eighteen days.
been very critical indeed. The next Caliph ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul ‘Aziz tried to solve this perennial problem by encouraging these chiefs who were reasserting themselves, to embrace Islam and continue to occupy their territories. Jaisiyah responded to the call and embraced Islam and continued to rule his territories. This arrangement, however, did not last for long and after some time he rebelled again. The next Caliph, Hisham (723-74 A.D.) sent Junaid b. ‘Abdur Rahman to deal with the situation. He not only defeated Jaisiyah but also conquered the neighbouring territories. After consolidating himself there he sent expedition against Ujjain, Malwa and Barwars. During these raids Junaid conquered Bailman and Jurz. These raids are further confirmed by an inscription of the period of Pulkesan (738-739 A.D.). The stone carrying the inscription was laid only 12 years after these raids. Junaid was, however, replaced by Tamim b. Zaid. In 723 A.D. Khalid b. Abdullah, governor of Iraq, recommended to the Caliph two names to be considered to head the administration of Sind. Accordingly, Hakim b. Awana

1. Balāzuri, p.429. Jaisiya was killed by Junaid.


3. The condition of the Arabs during this period was pathetic, they ruled only the right bank of the Indus. Muslims withdrew from al-Hind. Tamim himself fled from Sind to ‘Iraq and died in the way at Maul-Jawamis. Balāzuri, p.429.
Kalabi was appointed as governor and 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim was made his deputy. They proved their administrative competence in Sind and consolidated the Umayyad power in this region. Most of the Arab possessions had by then fallen into the hands of the hostile local rulers. The scattered Arab army was in a pitiable condition. It was during this situation that the new governor built a stronghold, which was named as Mahfuza and put all the scattered army in it. Later on, he built another fortified town and named it al-Mansūra, which was destined to serve as the Arab capital in Sind for many years to come. The success of Ḥakam was, however, short lived; he was killed in 739 A.D. In the same year 'Umar bin Muḥammad was appointed as the Governor of Sind by Caliph Hisham. During this period a new dimension was added to the already confused Scenario of Sind; some powerful Arab leaders like Marwān bin Yazid bin Muhallab had succeeded in establishing their hold in some parts of Sind and had become strong enough to challenge the central authority. At this particular point of time, the above mentioned leaders was up in arms and posed a serious threat to the new governor. However he proved equal to the gravity of the situation and was able to consolidate his position and crush the rebellion. With the death of Caliph Hisham in 743 A.D. the Umayyad Caliphate was thrown into complete confusion and

none of the incumbents who followed possessed the capability to cope with the enormous problems and grave challenges faced by the Caliphate. Mutual jealousies of the tribes, descen-
sions among the ruling elite and emergence of fissiparous
tendencies in the different parts of the caliphate had combined
to create a situation which was difficult to control. And
the Abbasids who have been discreetly and secretely organising
their propaganda for several decades now, were ready to take
full advantage of the situation. The last Umayyad Caliphs who
came in quick succession to each other neither have the incli-
nation nor the capacity to control the affairs of Sind which
were getting out of hand. The last Umayyad governor of Sind
was Yazid bin Arar could not contain the rebellious Arab leader,
Mansur b. Jamhaur Kalabi, who had crossed into Sind. Later on
the governor was defeated and put alive in the wall in 746 A.D.
This marked the end of the Umayyad rule in Sind. After four
years the Umayyad caliphate itself was to crumble before the
increasing pressure of the Abbasids.

In 750 A.D., the Umayyad caliphate was replaced by the
Abbasids with Abul Abbas al-Saffah as the first caliph of the
line. The new Caliph directed Abu Muslim Khurasani the gover-
nor of Khurasan, to adopt necessary measures to meet the
situation in Sind. Abu Muslim sent Mughallab Abdi Sijistani

with a huge army to control Sind. At that time the administrator of Debal, Manzoor, the brother of Mansoor, was ruling over Sind as an independent ruler. After an encounter, Manzoor was killed. Hearing this Mansoor came out from Manṣūra and succeeded in arresting and killing Muqhallas. These developments clearly showed that the situation in Sind was quite out of control and required immediate steps to restore normalcy there. Musā bin Kab, the new governor of the province was sent to Sind to establish central authority there. Mansoor, who had established himself as an independent ruler was not ready to give in easily. A fierce battle was fought and Mansoor was defeated. Finding his position untenable in Sind he fled towards Indian deserts, where he was killed in 759 A.D. by 1 men sent by Musa in his pursuit. Musa continued to administer the region till 758 A.D. In 758 A.D. he left Sind and later on died in 759 A.D. Before leaving Sind he had appointed his son, Aniya, as incharge of the province. During the life of Musa, Aniya continued to rule the province on behalf of the Caliph but after his death he rose in rebellion. Caliph Abu Jāfar Mansūr (754-775 A.D.) appointed Umar b. Haf's, as the new governor of Sind. In this encounter with Aniya was captured and sent to Baghdad but he managed to escape from midway though

2. Baḥā'ūrī, p. 431.
eventually he was killed. It was during this time that the Shias started to come and settle in Sind and began their propaganda against the 'Abbasids.

The next governor was Hisham b. 'Umar Saghlibi who was appointed sometime in 768 A.D. In the meanwhile the situation in the region had continued to drift and deteriorate turning it into a hotbed of all kinds of adventurers from the main lands of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. This kind of situation seems to have specially attracted the Yamanis and Hijazis who found it difficult to pursue their rebellious activities in their own respective regions because of the strict control of the 'Abbasids there. It would seem that during this period the Indian part of the Caliphate had become an open arena for the tribal conflicts. The influx of this kind of people with such propensities had created an extremely chaotic situation in the region and it was not easy for hopeless governors to control the situation. The situation in Multan seems to have particularly taken a bad turn and got out of control. Taking advantage of the situation, some Arab adventurers succeeded in establishing an independent Arab emirate there.

3. Yaqubi, II, p.99; Magadasi, p.485. Later on the areas of Sind and Multan came to be divided into three independent kingdoms. The southernmost was an independent Arab state

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But this independent emirate was not destined to last for long. Hisham, the new governor of Sind was a capable and energetic person. In a hotly contested battle, he defeated the ruler of Multan and brought back Multan under the dominion of the Caliph 771 A.D. He consolidated his control over the territories of Sind and Multan and gave peace to this region long torn by strife. The Caliph was so much impressed by his ability both as a general and administrator that he placed the region of Kirman under his control. In 772 A.D. he left for Baghdad and was succeeded by Mabad bin Khalil.

The situation in Sind was fairly stable and under control when caliph Abu Jafar Mansur, the real founder of the Abbasid Caliphate, died in 774 A.D. and was succeeded by his son al-Mahdi. Al-Mahdi was a mild ruler and after the strict-rule of Mansur for about a quarter of a century, the state control

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with Mansura as its capital, while the Central territories with Alor as its capital were entrusted to Hindu rulers. In the north was the Arab state of Multan. Both the Arab emirates were independent of each other in their internal affairs, but had declared their allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphate, until the time they were occupied by the Ismailis.

2. Ibn Asir, VI, p.12.
3. Ibid., p. 13.
seems to have been somewhat relaxed. Malcontent elements in Sind seem to have taken advantage of the changed situation and once more unrest began to raise its head in the region. The new governor sent by al-Mahdi was Ruh bin Hātim in 776 A.D. During his tenure Jats rose in rebellion. This rebellion was crushed but it disturbed the peaceful atmosphere in the region. On a closer scrutiny of the situation prevailing in Sind during the period 777-780 A.D. it will be discerned that unrest was seething in the region and the general condition was far from peaceful. This is apparent from rapid transfers of the governors towards the end of Mahdi's reign. Laṣī bin Turaif who was sent there as governor in 780 A.D. succeeded for the time being in controlling the situation but his request to Mahdi in 782 A.D. for strong reinforcements would suggest that the situation in Sind was not fully in control. Between Mahdi's death in 785 A.D. and Harun's accession in 786 A.D. Musa Hadi was a weak ruler and his reign was also very brief. During this period, he seems to have been so much pre-occupied with his plans to eliminate Harun from the line of succession, that he could not devote his attention to any other problem. The situation in far flung regions like Sind was bound to deteriorate.

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1. His transfer was not an act of punishment but his brother was the governor of Africa. After his death the Caliph transferred him there. Ibn Asir, VI, pp. 42, 48, 55, 114.
2. Ibn Asir, VI, p. 83.
Harun was a very capable and energetic ruler. His reign is acclaimed as the glorious period of the Abbasid Caliphate because of the general peace and prosperity prevailing throughout the length and breadth of the empire. The worsening condition of Sind and the growing conflict among the Hajazis and Yamanis could not have possibly escaped his attention. It would have also not remained hidden for his discerning eyes that taking advantage of this strife among the Arab tribes the malcontents among the local population were resorting to rebellion whenever an opportunity arose. Harun seems to have decided to bring the situation in Sind under full control. For this purpose he sent governor after governor but they failed to bring Sind back to an even keel. The situation continued to be tricky till Daud bin Yazid bin Hatim Muhallabi took over the governorship of the region. He dealt with the recalcitrant elements with a very heavy hand and was able to crush their resistance. Many of them were killed in the grim struggle that ensued between him and the rebels. Many more were exiled and expelled from Sind. In this way he was able to establish peace in the region. The fact that he left behind a number of buildings is a testimony that he had succeeded in reasserting the Abbasid authority. When al-Māmūn established Baitul Ḥikmat, a number of Sindhis were employed there. During the last illness of Harun, among

1. Ibn Asir, VI, p.184.
others, a Sindhi Vaidya Manka was sent to Baghdad. It is a
token of extraordinary administrative capability and
ocumen of Daud that even after the death of Harun in 809 A.D. when
the Abbasid Caliphate had plunged into a devastating civil war
between al-Amin and al-Mamun, Sind continued to enjoy a
measure of peace and stability. Daud Muhallabi continued to
head the administration of Sind till 820 A.D. This would
suggest that he enjoyed the confidence of Mamun who had assumed
the Caliphate after the deposition and killing of al-Amin in
814 A.D.

In 820 A.D. Daud died. He was succeeded as the Governor
of Sind by his son, Bashar, who seems to have followed
his father's footprint and managed the region. But the long
hold of the family over the affairs of Sind appears to have
misguided him and created false hopes of independent control
of Sind. In 828 A.D. he revolted against the control of Abbasid
government. However, he seems to have grossly miscalculated
and highly overestimated his own capability as he found
himself, to his utter dismay, in a hopeless position against
the forces sent under the leadership of Ghassan to quell the
rebellion. He was defeated and arrested along with his entire
family and sent to Baghdad. Mamun, however, treated him

1. Ibn Abi Usaiba, 'Uwān al-Amba fi Tabaqāt il Atibba, ed.
A. Mukhler, Cairo, 1882, p.33.
graciously, freed him and his family members and invested him with royal gifts and favours.

New governor was Musa bin Yaḥya Barmaki. This would suggest the importance Mamūn attached to Sind as a province of his vast Caliphate. Musa bin ʿImrān was a scion of the great family of Vazīrs and administrators, the Barmakis. He administered the province well and consolidated his control so well that the Kharāj increased and he was able to spare his energies to tackle some of the neighbouring powers which had been causing problems for the government of Sind. One of such rulers was captured and killed. During this time the Kharāj touched the figure of ten lac dirhams. At the time of Mamūn's death in 834 A.D. Musa was still ruling Sind but he was not destined to last long. He also died in 835 A.D.

The new Caliph, Mutasim Billah, confirmed the post of governorship to the son of Musa Barmaki. In the same period the western region of Sind was disturbed by the Jats. Kikan was the centre of these recalcitrant Jats. ʿImrān son of Musa, the new governor, captured the region and laid

1. Ibn Asir, VI, pp. 409, 420.
2. His name was probably Bala Chander who was a non-Muslim ruler in the environs of Sind. Balāzuri, p. 431.
foundation of a military headquarter as a permanent abode of the army and named the new city al-Baiza. ʿImrān collected the Jats and revived the old custom which stipulated that the Jats were the lowest people of the society and it was their duty to collect the firewood for the kitchen of the nobles. Further, they used to be accompanied by a dog when they should go out of the house. This was the tribal symbol of the Jat tribe. This custom was initiated by Chach.

ʿImrān made preparations for crushing the revolt of Meds and Jats and for the purpose he took help of other Jat tribes. He, however, could not succeed due to the mutiny of the local Arab tribes of Sind. These Arab tribes were fighting with each other. In his encounter with the fighting Arab tribes ʿImran, the Governor of Sind, was assassinated by the Nazaris. The leader of the Nazaris was ʿUmar b. ʿAbdul ʿAziz Ḥabbari, the founder of the Ḥabbari dynasty of Sind. Anbah bin Ishaq was appointed as the new governor. During the same period Caliph Mustasim Billah also died.

1. According to Balāzuri (p.432) the city was still surviving in 893AD and its principal inhabitants were Muslims.
2. Balāzuri, p. 432.
4. Balāzuri, describes it in the period of Muṭāsim but, Yaqubi records it in the period of Al-Wāsiq. Most probably these developments took place during the last days of Muṭāsim and the early days of Al-Wāsiq.
The new Caliph Al-Wasiq Sillah confirmed Anbah in his post. Anbah was a good administrator and succeeded in improving law and orders position in province. He reconstructed the ruined Buddhist temple of Debal and converted it into the central jail. In 848 A.D. he also repaired the rampart of Debal and its inhabitant places.

In 846 A.D. Caliph al-Wasiq Sillah died. His successor Mutawakkil had his own ideas about the administration and made wholesale changes in order of the governors and high officials. Sind did not remain unaffected. Anbah was dismissed and Harun bin Abu Khalid was appointed in his place.

Harun reached Sind in 850 A.D. He exerted himself to control the situation in Sind and check the activities of the Hijazis but they were so powerful that they killed the governor in 855 A.D. The leader of the Hijazis was Umar Habbari. He sent a petition to the Caliph requesting him that the province of Sind be assigned to him. As the situation in Sind was quite out of hand by this time the Caliph wanted to make as good of a very bad situation as possible and acceded to his request.

HABBARI DYNASTY:

The Habbari family was one of the most important Arab tribes who have left their mark on history in the field of

political and intellectual activities. According to Ibn Khaladun this family was always employed in the government both by the Umayyads and Abbasids. This family is said to be an offshoot of the celebrated Arab tribe of Quraish. One of the members of the family, Manzar b. Zubair, migrated to Sind during the governorship of Hakam b. 'Awwana in 738 A.D. A grandson of this Manzar was Umar b. Abdul Aziz Habbari, who managed to establish his independent rule over Sind in 854 A.D. He, however, continued to recognise the Abbasid Caliphs and recited Khutba in their name.

During this period the province of Sind was regarded as a dependency of the Abbaside Caliphate. In 870 A.D. Caliph Mutamad appointed Yaqub b. La'ış Saffari, as viceroy of Sijistan, Kirman, Turkistan and also Sind. In 874 A.D. Caliph Mutamad assigned the territories of the eastern provinces of his dominions to his brother Muaffiq. The province of Sind was also placed under his jurisdiction. This would clearly suggest that though Sind had become independent for all

3. 'Umar son of 'Abdul 'Aziz son of Manzûr son of Zubayr son of 'Abdûr Rahman son of Habbar son of Aswad.
5. Ibid., III, p. 326.
practical purpose, Umar continued to recognise the suzerainty of the Abbasids. Umar died in 884 A.D. Unfortunately, sources do not provide much information about his life and career.

'Umar was succeeded by his son, 'Abdullah Habbari. Except for few incidental information in the source much is not known about him. During his tenure a serious revolt took place in which capital Mansura was lost to him. But he soon recovered it. Buzurg b. Shahariyar has cited an interesting piece of information about Abdullah's relation with the neighbouring Hindu King. On Raja's request, 'Abdullah sent an Arab poet to teach Quran in his court in Sindi language. He is reported to have translated a portion of the Quran in Sindi language which is counted among the earliest translations of the Quran. The poet returned from the Raja's court in 857 A.D. and informed 'Abdullah that the Raja had accepted Islam and become a true Muslim. During the reign of Abdullah a serious earthquake struck the region in 894 A.D. Its severity may be gauged from the fact that about one lac and fifty thousand people perished in its wake.

Ibn Asir also informs us about the appointment of Muhammad bin Abi Shawarib as qazi of Mansura. It is reported that he was sent from Baghdad in 896. If this

4. Ibid., VII, p.484.
information is true, then it suggests very complex relationship between the independent Habbari state and the Abbasid Caliphate. It is, however, not possible to venture any conclusion on the basis of this solitary evidence. The matter needs further investigation.

It is not known how long Abdullah ruled. Masudi mentions in the account of 915 A.D. that Mansura was ruled by Abul Manzar Umar bin Abdullah who is reported to have two sons, Muhammad and Ali. It is not possible to determine the date of the commencement of his reign. Apparently his father Abdullah is Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz, the previous ruler. About Mansura of this period Masudi has to say this: "The territories of Mansura were big one with fertile land. It had 3 lac villages. The main inhabitants of this region were Meds. They were fighting with the ruler."

He further informs us that the army of the ruler consisted of forty thousand soldiers and five thousand horsemen and eighty elephants. These elephants were used not only in the war but also for carrying loads and to draw chariots.

No information is available about the life and rule of his sons.

Muhammad and 'Ali. Maqadasi has also words of praise for the 1 Habbari rulers.

Yaqut compiled his book Mu1ma-ul-Buldan in 987 A.D. In this book he writes that the ruler of Mansura and Multan at that time was Yahya b. Muhammad and the Khutba was read in the name of Ummayyid (sic) Caliph. Most probably this Yahya b. Muhammad was the son of Muhammad b. Umar son of Abdullah b. Abdul 'Aziz Habbari. From the foundation of this dynasty i.e. 862 A.D. to its downfall in 1026 A.D. at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazna two hundred years had elapsed. During this long period many rulers of the family must have ruled over Sind. But unfortunately only this much information is available which leaves big lacuna in our knowledge about the history of the region during this period.

THE BANU SAMMAH RULERS OF MULTAN:

The family of Sammah b. Luwayy, was an important Arab tribe, which had carved out a niche for itself in the history of the region and specially Multan. This family is reported to have belonged to Quresh. One of the scions of this family,

1. Maqadasi, pp. 480, 85.
2. In this period Umayyids, were replaced by Abbasides, Yaqut, V, p. 419.
Samah b. Luwayy migrated from Mecca and settled in ‘Amman where he succeeded in establishing his control over the political as well as administrative apparatus of the region. In the same period several revolts were launched by Kharijites, Shias, and Isma'ilis against the Abbasid Caliphate. ‘Amman had turned into a hot-bed of such activities and the Abbasid forces were unable to curb these elements. The Abbasid Caliph Mutazid (892-899 A.D.) therefore decided to appoint Muhammad b. Qasim Sāmi to suppress the subversive elements. The new governor set about the task with determination and tactfulness. He defeated and expelled the Kharijites from the region, and entire ‘Amman was restored to the Abbasid allegiance again.

During the same period Muhammad b. Qasim established his rule in Multan. Ibn Rustah records that Multan was under the rule of the scions of Samah b. Luwayy. Although he does not mention any other details, including the name of the founder of the dynasty. It can safely be said that Muhammad bin Qasim Sāmi established his rule some time by the end of 892 or the beginning of 893 A.D.

2. See for detail Ibn Khaldun, IV, p. 93.
Masudi visited Multan after twenty three years of Ibn Rustah. He records the name of the ruler of the place as Abul Lahab Munabbah b. Asad Qureshi. This statement reveals that within a short span of time at least three rulers of the dynasty had already ruled the region. After about forty years of Masudi's visit, Istakhrī came to Multan. He found the Kingdom very prosperous. He records that the Arab rulers of Multan had adopted the ideal culture of the Sindi rulers, especially their dresses and ornaments. They wore ear-rings and allowed their hairs long. They had built a residence outside the city, it was their residence as well as the military camp. The rulers visited the city riding on elephants on every Friday to offer congregation prayer in the Jama Mosque. The above evidence reveals the process of the assimilation of the Arab rulers in the local Sindi culture. If investigated further, fascinating details may come to light.

According to these authorities, Multan was well populated and the inhabitants led a happy and prosperous life. The majority of the Multanis were traders and businessmen, and the administration was generally in the hands of the Arabs. Multan was an important commercial centre where trade was brisk, commodities were cheap, people were happy, hospitable, honest and well-behaved. The main source of income was the

1. Istakhri, p.104; See also Yaqūt, V, p.227.
trade and offerings of different kinds of the sun-temple. The temple had a considerably big organization, administered with the help of a band of caretakers. Multan was known as Bait-uz-Zahab or House of Gold. The vast territory of the region with its capital consisted of more than one lac twenty thousand villages, besides bigger towns, like Barar, Durwin, Barid including Qannauj, and formed the biggest of the Arab state in the region. Its boundaries reached in the south to the kingdom of Mansura and in the west to the Makran and compare that it was equal to the Mansura. While the Istakhri says that it was half as large as Mansura and the provisions were cheaper there than the capital of the Ḥabbāris. The buildings were as beautiful as those at Siraf. They were built in teak wood and had several stories. According to Istakhri, the market complex of Multan was very spacious and crowded. In the centre there was a big temple, which was covered by the arcades of shapes dealing in artifacts made of ivory and bronze. The Jami mosque was situated in the neighbourhood of the temple. The hundred years rule of the Banu Munabbah, brought

4. Istakhri, p. 103.
6. Istakhri, p. 103.
not only material prosperity but also political and social stability. The Sami rulers extended their territory by reduc-
1 ing Qannuaj which was also a centre of religious piety. The impact of the Arab culture on local people was so deep that, for example, the Hindu and Buddhists spoke Arabic along with their mother tongue. The Arab rulers also adopted many local traits. They did not only speak the local languages, but also adopted local dresses and other aspects of the social life.

Evidently the rulers of Multan were Sunnis. They practiced and established religious law according to the Qur'an and Sunnah. They paid their allegiance to the Abbasids as is evident from the inclusion of the names of the Abbasid Caliphs in Friday and Ids Khutbas.

KHARIJITES SETTLEMENT IN MULTAN

The stability of the Abbasid Caliphate was seriously undermined by the activities of the Kharijites and Ismailis. These unhealthy activities were one of the main causes of the decline of their political power though in theory it continued to exist for many more years. The far off centres of the Caliphate were most affected by these developments. Sind and Multan could also not remain unaffected. A

1. Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi, "Muslim Colonies in India Before the Muslim Conquest." Islamic Culture XVII, 1934, p.613; See also Islamic Culture, 1935, p.438.
2. Istakhri, p. 103.
large number of Kharajites had settled there and had, gradually, acquired influence and clout in the local politics. The rise of these elements in Sind and Multan was connected to the early days of the Abbasid caliphate. Ibn Khaldun records that Abdur Rahman 'Alavi, a descendent of 'Umar-b-Abi Talib, revolted in 824 A.D. against Caliph Mamun in Yaman. The Caliph deputed his slave, Dinar, to suppress the revolt. Abdur Rahman surrendered and submitted to the Caliph. But, this was only a part of temporary strategy. He secretly started his mission and selected some far off places for his dawat (mission). Later on, his successors moved to Sind, Mansura and Multan, to propagate his dawat. Within a short span of time, they became an influential section of the society and purchased big landed property. During the time of Masudi's visit of Multan in 916 A.D. the 'Alavis were leading a prosperous life. They exercised much influence on both social on religious matters of the region.

Ibn Khaldun provides an interesting account of the arrival in Multan of an 'Alavi, Abu Abdullah Jafar b. Muhammad who arrived here along with his family and a large number of his supporters with full pomp and show. On this occasion, the

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1. Ibn Khaldun, IV, pp. 10; Masudi, I, p.168.
local 'Alavis gathered around them and brought them to the city in a big procession. The markets and streets were decorated with flowers. He gradually entrenched himself in the power structure of the region and the people gave him the title of Malik. Secretly, he continued his missionary work among the local people. This piece of evidence provides us with an inkling in the methods adopted by these people and the way they wormed themselves in the confidence of the local people. They learnt their language and tried to convert them to their own faith. All the said, they were extremely careful about their clannish superiority; they never entered into matrimony relations with the local people. The leader of this dawat in Sind ultimately became a religio-political personage of Sind.\(^1\)

Another energetic da'i (propagator) al-Hashim was sent to Sind by Abul Qasim Hasan b. Farah b. Haushab from Yamen some time in 883 A.D.\(^2\) It is reported that Abu 'Abdullah

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1. Ibn Khaldun, IV, p. 10.
started the Ismaili movement in Yemen and created a nucleus there in 881 A.D. After two years of propagation, he despatched his da'is to Bahrain and Sind etc. These da'is were instrumental in spreading this dawat and ultimately overthrowing the Sunni rule of Banu Munabbah.

Banu Sammah rulers were quite capable of suppressing these elements but they did not do anything to check this rapid erosion of their political base. They not only tolerated the activities of the Ismailis but virtually allowed them to do as they pleased in the territory. Even though it was a fact that these Ismailis were their old and professed enemies, who had always tried to belittle and discredit them and seriously harm the cause of Islam and Islamic dominance. This attitude defies comprehension and no reasonable explanation seems possible. Apparently, this can be termed only as death wish on their part.

**ISMAILI RULE IN SIND**

As a result of assiduous and diligent propaganda spread over a long period of time, the Ismaili dawat made deep inroads in Multan region and ultimately succeeded in capturing the political power in Multan. Their missionary zeal, systematic and methodical style of their work and the inexplicable tolerance of Banu Munabbah for their anti-state
activities were mainly responsible for bringing about this situation. When Muqadasi visited Multan in 985 A.D. it was under the rule of a Ismaili dāī and most of the subjects were Shias. They recited the Khutbah in the name of Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. It is to be noted that Ibn Hauqlal was the last Arab traveller who mentions the rule of Banu Manabbah in Multan in 968 A.D., after which Muqadasi gives details of the Ismaili rule in 985 A.D. It would suggest that sometime during the span of seventeen years, i.e. between 968 and 985 A.D. the Ismailis had replaced Banu Samah. However, in the absence of evidence no firm date of the establishment of the Ismaili state in Multan can be fixed. This Arab traveller also recorded that the Multanis were using the formula "hayv ala Khair-il-amal" in the azān and the Khutbah was read in the name of Caliph al-Muizz (952-975 A.D.).

Information provided by Muqadasi is further confirmed by the anonymous author of Hudūd-al-ʿAlam (compiled in 982 A.D.).

Ismaili sources confirmed that the religio-political affairs of Multan, were dominated by the Fatimid Caliph of

1. Muqadasi, p. 481.
2. Ibid., p. 481.
3. Ibid., p. 481.
Egypt. The Ismailis had succeeded in establishing their influence not only on the local people but also succeeded in converting one of the local princes to their faith. Multan was named as dar-al-Hijra and the practice of the new faith was initiated there. An interesting aspect of the Ismaili doctrine as practiced in Multan was that the local people converted to the Ismaili faith were allowed to retain and practice many of the rites of their old religions. This was probably done with a view to attract more people to their fold. Some of these activities were not approved by the Fatimid Caliph Muizzuddin who appointed a new dai for Multan but before he could take over the old dai died. The name of the new dai was Jalam b. Shaiban.

The new dai was charged with the responsibility of reforming the religious abuses of his predecessor. Detailed description of his rule is available in the 'Uyun-al-Akhbar and Kitab-al-Musayarat, in which some letters exchanged between Jalam-b. Shaiban and Caliph al-Muizz have been reproduced. These letters reveal that the new dai has firmly

1. Numah b. Muhammad, Kitab al-Majalis wal-Musayrat (1315 A.D.)
   The relevant passages of the original text have been published by S.M. Stern, Islamic Culture, 1934, pp.304-307; and also see Idris, Uyun al-Akhbar (1290 A.D.).


established his control over the affairs of Multan. He used to seek guidance from the caliph on every important matter of the province. The Caliph was satisfied with the performance of Jālam. The dā'ī did not only eliminate the bad influence of the former dā'ī, but also consolidated the Fatimid power in Sind. The province of Sind became a regular part of the Fatimid Caliphate.

Jālam b. Shaiban destroyed the famous idol of Multan for which he had previously asked the Imam's permission. He constructed a mosque on the site and is said to have closed the earlier mosque built by Muhammad bin Qasim. No further details of the rule of Jālam b. Shaiban are available from the contemporary or latter sources. It is recorded by the contemporary historians of Sultan Mahmūd that the 'Ismaili rule in Multan was brought to an end by Sultan Mahmūd. In 1006 A.D. the Sultan captured the 'Ismaili ruler whose name was Abul Fath Daud b. Nasr. In 1010 A.D. Sultan Mahmud occupied Multan and thus brought to an end to Ismaili rule in the region.

2. 'Uyun-al-Akhbar, quoted by S.M. Stern Islamic Culture, p. 301.