

THE GREAT BALUCH

(The Story of Ameer Chakar Rind 1351—1351 A.D.)

BY
MUHAMMAD SARGAR KHAN BALUCHI



THE BALUCHI ACADEMY
QUETTA,

THE GREAT BALUCH

(Life and Times of Ameer Chākar Rind 1454 — 1551 A.D.)

BY

MUHAMMAD SARDAR KHAN BALUCH

B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Alig.), M.R.A.S. (London).

Chairman

BALUCHI ACADEMY

Author of

“History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan”

etc.

THE BALUCHI ACADEMY

QUETTA

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
(All Rights Reserved)

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Rs. 15/-

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Rs. 15.00

p c
95h.7

Mukh G's f

Price
RS. 15/-

Printed by
Lion Art Press (Karachi) Ltd., Frere Road, Karachi-1



The Author
Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch
B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Alig.)
M.R.A.S. (London)

To my great ancestor, Meer Bīvragh, the Grand, (1470-1585 A.D.), who never cracked his duty to his blood, and whose sagacity and sobriety, magnificence and munificence, filed with fidelity, contributed much to the greatness and glory, pomp and parade of the Sardār 'Azam (the great chief) Ameer Chākar, the epical hero of the Baluch Race.

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
I. Babylon to Baluchistan	... 1
II. The character of Baluch race	... 73
III. The Great Baluch	... 113

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A nineteenth century Baluch Chief.
—————
2. An ancient Baluch warrior
(1500 B.C.).
—————
3. A band of Baluch warriors
defending a mountain pass.
—————
4. Typical Baluch method of
roasting meat.
—————
5. Specimen of Baluchi embroidery.
—————
6. Baluchi musical instruments.
—————
7. A famous Baluch Nar (flute)
player.
—————
8. Ruined Fort of the Hot Chief
Punnūn.

9. Baluch Nomad.

10. The Kalāt Meeri Fort.

11. The Sibi Fort.

12. The famous Hīrzai horse breed
of Baluchistan.

13. The historic Bolān Pass.

14. A typical Baluch mountaineer.

15. Chākar's Mausoleum at Satghara.

16. Snowy peak of the Central
Baluch Plateau.

PREFACE

The title explains the theme of the volume. The first two chapters are prefatory to the last one, which fully and faithfully embraces the complete record of our hero. To appreciate the career of the great chief, Ameer Chākar Rind, and the part he played in Baluch annals, we must give a preliminary glance at the condition of Baluchistan, the Baluch people, their character, and the history of their migration to the land which they occupy now. We notice many grave discrepancies with regard to the life story of Chākar as descended to us by oral traditions and ballads, and the author feels his duty to clear out these, lest future writers, might not, unwittingly, help to perpetuate those erroneous theories and stories. Figures and facts are an insult to the Baluch imagination, hence dearth of historical works, blue books, statistics or census, disturbed the author so much that single lines in the book have sometimes cost him hours of work and investigation. In the field of antiquity and traditions, one has to strive with infinite toil and tact to bring history out of legend. After long and patient enquiry, independent and continuous investigation, the author has been able to gather

reliable information which forms the material of the book. Very few events are derived from legendary history which is filled with enthusiasm for its past glories, though different as fact and fiction, while from the present point of view very instructive.

For the subject of the last chapter, we have to depend more or less on traditions, which contain some facts, and in the absence of other information, it is impossible to disregard completely the legends and ballads which have ever been an integral part of the historical and cultural heritage of the Baluchis and serious attempt has been made to deal with them by the ascertained light of historical information that is available. However, an ounce of fact is worth a hundred weight of theory, specially, when theory is supported from narrators, notoriously reckless. The author claims not to have treated the subject altogether on conventional lines, but has made special efforts to dig in the unexploited mines of traditional information represented to us by the ballads, and endeavoured with care and perspicuity to make the general lines of the story familiar to the students of history.

It is a sad instance that Baluchistan and the Baluch people have received, so far, less

attention from the genius of eminent scholars devoted to oriental studies. Few British statesmen and travellers during the nineteenth century, essayed on a small scale to write the history of the land and the race, but they toiled in darkness, and their works are marked with exaggerated and conflicting accounts, and, moreover, regarding many important facts, they have preferred the security of unashamed ignorance. If Baluchistan had no other claim to respect and admiration, at least a homeland of a race that founded the world's first great civilization is a distinction, which, perhaps, none of the countries can claim.

In the absence of any contemporary work dealing with the life and times of Ameer Chākar, the difficulties, therefore, in the completion of this production are obvious, hence any shortcoming will, for this reason, be regarded with leniency, and with this hope, the author leaves the future fate of this volume to the curiosity and candour of scholars.

Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch

P.O. Box 32

Quetta,

26th July, 1965.

CHAPTER I

Babylon to Baluchistan

In the days when scimitars and iron tipped arrows were sharp, the steed fast, chivalry the code of life, the Baluch fierce, and the Baluch fame and name sprawled across vast reaches of Middle East, from prince to prince and place to place. In the dawn of recorded history, man entered a new era of existence, and the momentous advance of mankind concentrated in a few great river valleys, and we find, man pitting his feeble strength and invincible audacity against the forces of nature, to extend his control over it. Religion and philosophy came into being, art and literature were created, political system was newly constituted and developed, commerce and crafts expanded and flourished, cities and villages emerged, and life started to become more complex and rich. During the same age, the Baluchis in their role as the royal house of the Kaldians of Babylon, produced in the Ancient Near East distinguished personalities of unsurpassed greatness and grandeur. Among all the important Semites, i.e. Phoenicians, Akkadians, Arameans, Hebrews, Assyrians, and Babylonians,

occupying the territory stretching from Mesopotamia along the African coast to the western end of the Mediterranean, the Kaldian branch were the master-race responsible for many great achievements in history. The intellectual powers of the Kaldian people have, in ancient ages, equalled the highest standard of human faculties. They tamed nature to a highest degree, agriculture and commerce thrived, an illustrious art flourished, splendid temples and gigantic monuments were constructed, developed and raised culture to civilization, displayed momentous events in history of mankind, and made the Tigris-Euphrates river valley as the cradle of civilization. After two thousand years of advance, when the fate of the Kaldian line was sealed, progress and advancement in the Fertile Crescent levelled off and almost entirely ceased. The Baluchis, in subsequent ages, appear in alien lands in the course of sullen and stormy history as the last representative and sole remnant of the lost Kaldian race,¹ but in art, architecture and administration, they made little splash in the stream of medieval history, and we find no great monument, no great work, attached to their name.

¹ For origin of the Baluchis, the readers are suggested to read, "History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan", by Muhammad Sardar Khan, Chapter I, PP. 1—23.

Among the long list of the Belus (Baluch) Kaldian rulers, the names of Emperor Nimrod (2250 B.C.), Emperor Belus (2130 B.C.), and Nebuchadnezzar (604-564 B.C.), commonly known in the Arabian annals as al-Shaddād shone radiantly as the morning-star on the political horizon of the contemporary world among all the Semitic and Aryan races that ruled Babylon, Assyria and the neighbouring territories.

NIMROD.

Nimrod is described as "the first to be a mighty one in the earth"¹. Skinner in his commentary states Nimrod as "Originator of the idea of the military state, based on arbitrary force". Nimrod was the son of Kūsh, of Holy writ.² The name Bacchus is Barchus, meaning the son of Kus or Kooth, which the Jews held Nimrod was, for, Bacchus is called Nebrodes, which is the same as 'Nimrodes', and that 'he wore a tiger's skin and rode on a chariot drawn by tigers, which animal, both in Hebrew and Kaldi, is named Namur.'³ The actual meaning of Nimrod is Fire-Holder. In the old Testament⁴ Assyria

¹ Genesis X.

² 'Ancient Monarchy', by Rawlinson, P. 148.

³ We have after this name, to this day, a famous Baluch tribe named Namurdi or Numardi or in a broader sense Namrodi, meaning the followers or descendants of Nimrod.

⁴ Micah V. 6.

is called as the land of Nimrod. The majority of the Assyrian rulers were famed for their prowess in hunting and it is, therefore, that Nimrod too was known as a "mighty hunter before the Lord". Jensen and Jirku are of opinion that the name Nin-ib (a name of a Babylonian deity) might be read Namurtu and compared with Nimrod. But Clay suggests that the correct pronunciation of the name is Nin-Martu.¹ Some historians confound Nimrod with Gilgamesh as there is some resemblance of character between the two. The story of Nimrod has been mainly derived from Babylonian records and no like name has yet been discovered from the Kaldian sources. As it happens always that many myths and stories are usually transferred to a central figure as a favourite hero. The same happened to the person of Gilgamesh. The very name Gilgamesh is Sumerian and a part of an ancient Sumerian poem concerning him have been found at Nippur.² He is said to have reigned about 126 years and established himself at Erech. Later on, he becomes a god and plays the part of the sun-god of the spring-time. He

¹ "The origin of Biblical Tradition", P. 22 Seq.

² See Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, P. 468.

was positively a Sumerian Ulysses and wanted to gain immortal life but failed disgracefully.

Nimrod attacked the king of Elam, Humbab, and slew him. He establishes the Kaldian kingdom in 2250 B.C. In the beginning his kingdom comprised of the places Babul (Babylon), Erech (modern Warka), Accad (Agade, the royal city of Sargon I) and Calneh.

He built several cities of whom Nineveh, Calah, Rehoboth-Ir and Resen were most important. Nimrod established the first Kaldian dynasty and eleven Kaldi kings ruled till 1976 B.C. Berosus states that Ilgi, 8th king of Kaldian dynasty ruled Kaldia in 2050 B.C. Under Nimrod art and literature were cultivated, and political administrative developments created the prototype of all oriental monarchies. He was a paragon of monarchy, a model despot who like the eldest son of Fortune turned what he wanted, and desired to stuck all in his will. His veracity and vanity for pomp, plenty and pleasure, tempted him to apotheosize himself as god.

BELUS.

Emperor Belus¹ (2130 B. C.) was the second mighty ruler of his line after Nimrod. His reign was marked with brilliant achievements. Carrying on his rule on the classical tradition of his race, he maintained the Babylonian civilization on a high plan. He bedecked the city of Babylon with magnificent temples and preserved the prestige of his house, staving off attacks from the neighbouring states and other invaders. He was a strong ruler and no hand of flesh and bone could seize the mighty handle of his sceptre, and was revered and worshipped both as a king and god in his life-time. Famed as the preserver, adapter and propagator of the Babylonian cult and culture, the fame and fortune which he commanded in his life-time, he carried it to the grave, and even after his death was venerated as god.²

NEBUCHAD-NEZZAR.

He was the last great representative of last Kaldian dynasty of Babylon. After the death of the Assyrian king, Assur-bani-Pal, his hard-won empire was fast crumbling into pieces. Under his successor, Assur-etil-ilanic, the Scythians made their way into Assyria and started inroads into the territory of the

¹ Rawlinson contends that the name Baluch is derived from 'Belus' king of Babylon. (Ancient Monarchy, I. 148).

² Cory's fragments, P. 65.

Assyrian ruler. The brother of Assur-etililani, Sin-Sar-iskun (Sin-Sarra-uzur), the Sarakos (Saracus) of Berosus was still reigning in his seventieth year when the clouds of misfortune engulfed him from alround. Nabopolassar, the Kaldian, the viceroy of Babylonia, fought against him and was succoured by the Scythian king of Ecbatana, the Cyaxares of the Greeks. Nineveh alongwith other northern cities of Babylonia was captured and destroyed, and thus came to an ignoble end, the fate of the Assyrian empire. The seat of the empire was again transferred to Babylonia. Nabopolassar was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, who made Babylon once more the mistress of the then known world. He ruled from 604—564 B.C. and paved the way for some of the most enchanting and illustrious pages of mankind's history. The Babylonian civilization had its last period of glory under him. He gave to Babylonia another era of brilliance after more than 1,000 years of continuous disaster and weakness following the rule of the Amorite king, Hammurrabi, who was one of the greatest rulers of the ancient world. Supported by his ambition and interest, Nebuchadnezzar freed Syria, from the iron yoke of the Egyptians; ransacked Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and made the Jews

as Captives.¹ Second time after eleven years when the Judaens led a revolt, he razed the city to the ground and Jerusalem mourned in the dust.² Under him, we find a thorough amalgamation of the Kaldians and Babylonians, who had been considered as two kindred branches of the same Semitic stock. Never before in the history of Babylonia, her people had been so prosperous, contented, and well governed. His regime was famed for peace and plenty, pomp and power, truth and terror. His eagle eyes supervised every phase of governmental activity, and assured and acknowledged the dignity and diligence, heroism and honesty of the high officials of the state with substantial salaries regularly paid and suitably secured. He trimmed and dressed his realm, and gave quarter and patronage to the dignified and deserved individuals, and lopped away all superfluous branches from the administrative tree, like a gardener who gives shape to fruit trees by pruning.

ECLIPSE OF CIVILIZATION IN BABYLON.

The history of the Fertile Crescent is a complex account of the rise and fall of various races from time immemorial. In the

¹ Jer. III. 25-30.

² For details see Josephus, *Cont. Apion.* I.19; Eusebius, *Praep.* Evangel. X.

Babylonian history there are archaeological differences between the pre-historic period till the Seleucid age. The first is the pre-historic age, before 3500 B.C.; (2) The early Sumerian period¹ from before 3000 B.C. to nearly 2500 B.C.; (3) the Agade period (Sargon I, the Akkadian²) from 2500 B.C. to 2400 B.C.; (4) Gutium dynasty and the 3rd dynasty of Ur about 2400-2150 B.C.; (5) Isin and Larsa dynasties to the end of the first dynasty of Babylon (Kaldian dynasty), about 2150-1740 B.C. (more accurately according to Rawlinson's Assyrian canon from 2250-1976 B.C.); (6) the Kassite dynasty from about 1740-1150 B.C.; (7) the period of Assyrian domination and the last Babylonian (Kaldian) empire, lasting down to the complete rout of the last Kaldian dynasty by Cyrus in 538 B.C.; (8) the Achaemenian period, down to the defeat

¹ The Sumerians achieved an advanced civilization with magnificent cities, well-organized city-state Government, business organizations, the use of metal and the perfection of a system of writing called cuneiform. They made important progress in mathematics, specially the formulation of the earliest known cubic equation, and lastly, the invention of famous techniques of warfare, specially the military phalanx. The Kaldians, it seems, had been much impressed by the Sumerian civilization. Accordingly in Baluch classical poetry, the name 'Sumeri' had been frequently used implying pomp and parade, pleasure and plenty.

² To this day, we have a most formidable Baluch tribe named Sargāni, meaning the descendants of Sargon.

of Darius by Alexander, the great; (9) the Seleucid age.

We now deal in brief the tale of a colossal dynasty that ends in complete tragedy. A race of rulers overwhelmed suddenly by the cruel dictates of fate. The race that founded and brilliantly inaugurated the world's first great civilization sinks into the nadir of obscurity. The great Kaldians of ancient history, hereafter, passing from turmoil and transition were no more heard by the same name but in intermittent periods of history in alien lands under alien rule were addressed as 'Balus' or 'Baluch' after the name of their patron deity and patent cult, the god Belus or temple of Belus.¹ From the Babylonian civilization, both Europe and the Near East got its alphabet, its temple architecture, and its great literature. With its fall, the scene of culture and creativeness shifts from the Near East to the Mediterranean region—from Babylon to the two cities of the Mediterranean area—Rome and Greece. However, we shift from the shade of political fables to the light of ascertained history. A new dynasty, the Achaemenian, was ready to make a bid for

¹ "History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan", by M.S. Khan, Chapter I, P. 16.

empire which was to give her sole mastery of the Fertile Crescent for generations.

Six years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus (553 B.C.) ascended the throne, only to be driven into exile by a superior hand. He was the worst ruler of his line, prone to brag and stamp. The hearts of princes usually kiss flattery, and he was, therefore, not himself but always led by flatterers, mean men by his gifts were made great, and rich people looked perplexed, in fear to lose what they enjoyed, and the rascals capered to enjoy by his follies and favours. He spent in peace more what his worthy predecessors in wars; the entire realm he had pilled with burdensome taxes, and the masses choked their days with barbarous ignorance. Wearing a golden sorrow, decay and distrust ever hanged over him, the high and low moved the murmuring lips of dissatisfaction. During his reign luxury became prevalent among the idle rich and whole kingdom spent much of their time in idle pastimes. All the Babylonian cities declined socially and economically. Both the cruelty and viciousness of the ruler and the lives of the people, a mixture of luxury, intrigue, and studied vice were unbalanced. Love of splendour and indulgence eclipsed the culture of intellect, art and

administration. Both the ruler and the ruled tended toward excess in almost every thing they followed and did. From every thing evidences of decline became apparent. He left the reins of the Government in the hands of his playboy son, Prince Belshazzar. A chronological tablet dealing with the annals of Nabonidus besides an inscription of the same ruler gives a sufficient information about the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. It was in the sixth year of Nabonidus (547 B.C.) that Cyrus, "King of Anshan" in Elam, revolted against his suzerain Astyages, king of 'the Manda' or Scythians, at Ecbatana. Cyrus came out victorious and establishes himself at Ecbatana and thus the fate of Scythian empire was sealed, never to rise again. The Scythians accepted him as their ruler. An able general with the strength of a giant, Cyrus, in 546 B.C. defeated King Croesus of Lydia. Two years after this event, we find him as the king of entire Persia, establishing his frontier as far as the border of India. Next on his list was Babylon. In 538 B.C. the redoubtable Persian conqueror invaded Babylon. Meanwhile, Nabonidus was at Sippara, a town on the northern frontier of his realm. His son, Belshazzar, commanded the Kaldian army, which was ill-fed, ill-clad, and unpaid. A

battle was fought at Opis in the month of June. The Kaldians were defeated. Nabonidus moved to his capital, Babylon. After few days Sippara surrendered to the invader. On the 16th of Tammuz, two days after the capture of Sippara, the victorious arms of Cyrus entered Babylon without any resistance. He won for his men were vehemently loyal to him whereas the soldiers of Nabonidus were loyal to nobody. Nabonidus was dragged out of his hiding place, and guards consisting of Kurds were stationed on the gates of the royal house, and of the great temple Belus. The entire Kaldian kingdom lay at the proud foot of the indomitable conqueror. On the 3rd of Marchesvan (October), Cyrus himself arrived and made Gobryas as the governor of Babylon. Thus fell Nabonidus, fell like Satan, never to hope again. The unfortunate realm had no resting for his king. He, with his family, was deported to Kirmān and consigned to prison for his pleasures, only to follow the way of all flesh, unheard, unheeded, unhelped and undeplored, for all to see.¹ Babylon remained under the

¹ The siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus has almost attained a legendary form and many interesting stories have been attributed to it. (See the book of Daniel and the 'Cyrropaedia' of Xenophon). For comprehensive account see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. 2, 3 (1887), by H. Winckler; *Records of the Past*, new series, i.p. 22-31 (1888); 'The Higher Criticism', P. 497-537 (1893) by A.H. Sayce.

Persian yoke till the defeat of Darius III by Alexander, the great, in 331 B.C. As time passed the country was left to the mercy and administration of the governor called Ebir-Nari "Beyond the river", and on the death of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, Babylonia, like many other neighbouring provinces revolted against the Persians and had to be reconquered by Darius. Babylonia thereafter remained as a much disturbed province, where chaos and confusion reigned supreme. Coupled with the despotism of rulers was the tyranny of priests. The general atmosphere of the entire Persian realm was one of violence. We have evident signs to note that the Persian rule in the country was unpopular from the time of Darius I, and that by the time of Darius III, the land of the Kaldians had suffered from a terrible religious persecution and several Kaldian and Babylonian tribes deserted their home-land, and parted, hand from hand, heart from heart and tribe from tribe, and migrated towards Aleppo in Syria¹ and northern Persian regions, i.e., Alān, Gilān and Armenia. Long before this, we see Babylonia throwing out emigrants westward into Syria, North-West into Aram about 1600 B.C. The stern monarchy of the Assyrian

¹ The general tradition of the Baluchis speaks of Aleppo as the original homeland of the race.



An ancient Baluch warrior (1500 B.C.)

kings maintained by the wild soldiery was a constant threat to the freedom of the less energetic Semitic tribes. The fate of the neighbouring Monarchies were only marked by the cheerful alacrity of submission or the obstinancy of resistance. Shalmaneser II succeeded his father Assur-Nazir-Pal III, 858 B.C., as king of Assyria. He carried on a series of disastrous campaigns against all the neighbouring nations—the Babylonians, the nations of Mesopotamia and Syria, Cilicia and Ararat. Defeating every thing before him, he besieged the territory of Damascus, the flourishing and populous city was laid waste, her magnificent edifices were given to flame, every house was attacked, looted, and defiled out of all recognition, whatever of grace or grandeur met the eye. The Jehu of Samaria saved his fate and fortune by paying tribute to him. Next he fell upon Babylonia with flame and sword, overturned and sacked the city, and pushed his conquest as far as the marshes of the Kaldians in the south, the Babylonian king was put to the sword. The proud city of Babylon fell from its high estate and put in sackcloth and ashes to mourn its irreparable past magnificence. In 836 B.C. Tibareni (Tabal), Cappadocia and Cilicia followed the

suit.¹ When the Assyrian fury struck these lands, many Mesopotamian tribes during this brazen age fled from their homeland and streamed towards territories lying beyond the influence of the camp and court of this eccentric and cruel ruler who surpassed all the kings of his line in bloodshed and brutality. He was a true and typical tyrant, and against his despotic designs, all decency, prudence, fortitude and forbearance struggled in vain. His throne was cemented with the most innocent and dignified blood of Semites. A horrible injurer of heaven and earth, an ugly fiend of hell, he was damned in the book of heaven. On his bloody forehead always set a naked death, whose function was to see and seek the blood of thousands. The Kaldians who migrated to Armenia, founded a kingdom there and named the land Urartu. Menuas, the son of Ispuinis, the Kaldian, was the mightiest ruler of his house in Urartu (Armenia). Ispuinis was the contemporary of Adadnirari IV of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser III who succeeded to the throne the 25th of Tebet 727 B.C. and kicked up his heels on the 12th of Tebet of 722 B.C.

¹ See V. Scheil in „Records of the Past”, new series, iv, 36—79.

We witnessed how in different periodic eras of internal anarchy and external attack, the Babylonian tribes left their original homeland and made their way towards Syria and northern Persian highlands. The venerable Kaldians after their settlement in northern Persia, merged into a new period. Within few centuries, the entire race forgot their lineal and lingual affinity with the Semites of Babylonia, ceased to remember their historic homeland—Babylon, lost their language, racial name, and their glorious history. In due course of time, they came to be known in future world annals as Baluchis. They lost every thing save their inherent racial blood pride, racial traditions and customs. With all injustice of history they remained a puffed up race with no fortune or future, a proud blood with no capital and means, a brave stock with no leader and state, an innumerable concourse of mounted nomads with no demarcated territory. Throughout their stay in the Persian realm beginning roughly from 500 B.C. till the close of the 15th century, they were a floating populace wandering from place to place in sequestered regions in quest of safety and subsistence. The story of the past twenty centuries is replete with sorrow, misfortune and tragedy for the Baluch people. For centuries the race lived in the hilly regions of

Kurdistān, Gilān, Alān and Armenia. A little before the advent of Islām they were seen scattered over the central parts of Persia. Nothing is known for certainty regarding the period embracing their migration from the northernly Provinces till their settlement in Kirmān province. Probably their migration had been consequent to the invasion of a restless people, famed for their terrible savagery and hideous appearance—the dreadful Huns,¹ who overran Eastern Europe and parts of Asia where riches and booty were plentiful, and razed several seats of learning and culture so completely to the ground that a horse could ride over the sites without stumbling.

Firdausi in his big epical work describes the exploits of Nausherwān as accurately as possible. This emperor was not a mythical personage but the Khusro of classical writers who challenged the legions and regions of the famous emperor Justinian (527-565 A.D.). It is, therefore, that the events of his life come under the attention of recorded history.

¹ They are referred in the Shāh-Nāme of Firdausi as Hayital. The Huns probably belonged to the Mongol or Tartar family and are described as having thick bodies, legs bowed from living in the saddle, flat noses, and small piercing pig-like eyes. For detail account the readers are suggested to read: "Medieval Europe", by Sydney M. Brown, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932, P. 29.

Nausherwān marched against the men of Gilān and Alān, but Firdausi adds Baluchis too, who according to him proved very troublesome, and on one occasion they defeated the army of glorious Ardashīr. The emperor himself led an expedition against the Baluchis and routed them *en masse*. According to Firdausi, few of the Baluchis or none survived, no women, children and warriors were left but all perished by the scimitar. The author further states, that later on, Nausherwān employed Baluchis in his army for they were best fighters, bred to arms. On another occasion, the emperor combed forces from Gilān, Dailamān, the mountains of Baluch, the plains of Saroch and the swordsmen of Koch, and ventured upon Adherbaijān. Nausherwān famed unjustly for his justice, was in fact, a monster who out-Heroded Herod. He made several terrific marches against the tribes of the northern regions, and, perhaps, through fear or favour of the emperor, the Baluchis might have abandoned these hilly regions and moved relentlessly toward central parts of Persia. Despite of the high-handed policy of the emperor, the Baluchis never reconciled to the Persian rule and race. Throughout their stay in Persia the pride and power of the Baluchis was always exposed to an anxious trial and tribulation. The Persians worshipped

authority and power, while the Baluchis enshrined prestige and blood pride. Within the course of past fourteen centuries, the land of Māgi witnessed the ebb and flow of different races with their patent odds and ends; Time has seen the growth and extinction of civilizations and empires, history has recorded the rise and fall of sundry dynasties of heterogeneous lines, multifarious socio-politico and religious changes and movements have come and gone, but the centuries old racial despite between the two great races, i.e. the Persians and Baluchis is distinctly marked even to this day. The Baluchis detest the Persians almost as cordially as they are detested by them. The Persian regards a Baluch as an interloper and stupid, while the Baluch regards him as a plotter and cheat.

The Arabic-writing Persian, Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Belādhuri, mentions an interesting episode relating to one of the Baluch dignitaries during the caliphate of 'Umar, the great.¹ He states that Siyāh al-Sawār, one of the nobles of yezdjird was sent by the latter with few hundred veterans towards al-Ahwāz. He encamped near al-Kalbāniyah where in its vicinity Abu Mūsā al-Ash'ari besieged al-Sūs, ransacked the town, and slaughtered the

¹ Futūh-al-Buldān, P. 373.

Persian garrison to the last man. The power and prestige of the victorious Muslim arms cowed Siyāh al-Sawār, who in deep dismay sent a secret errand to Abu Mūsā, stating: "We are prepared to fight against those who art thine staunch enemies; if some dispute arise amongst thine people, we will be neutral, if they fight against us, thou hast to side us, and we should be given free choice to live in any part of Arabia, we like, and thus league with the tribe we choose, and, moreover, we will be favoured with special favours and fortunes. We want that the above terms should be ratified by thine Supreme Command who hath sent thee." Accordingly, Abu Mūsā conveyed to the Commander of the Faithful all what Siyāh demanded and desired. "Concede to their all demands", was Caliph's reply to Abu Mūsā. Siyāh abandoned the fort, joined the Muslim army, and played a leading role in the conquest of Shustar and its neighbouring territories. When the Arabs overran Persia, Shustar was one of the first victims of their iconoclastic fury. Later on Siyāh proceeded to Basrah and confederated with the tribe of Beni Tamīm. A little later, as chronicled by al-Belādhuri, the Siyāh Baja¹ and Zutt (Jat) tribes joined Siyāh al-Sawār at

¹ Tabari mentions them as Esa Bajah; Aghāni, Esta Bajah, while Ibn Athīr as Esha Bajah.

Basrah. Siyāh Bajā means 'black foot' and Siyāh Pād̄h (black foot) is a big Baluch tribe found in Khārān, Sibi and Sind. Siyāh al-Sawār is mentioned by late Malik Behār, the poet laureate of late Rezā Shāh Pehlavi, in his voluminous work as Siyāh Baluch.¹ The bigoted Persian poet attributes to the evil machination of Siyāh Baluch, the fall of Shustar and its neighbouring fortifications. He bitterly reprimands the Baluch hero's pious fraud, and states that N'umān bin Maqran, the Arab general, unsuccessful in his expedition, sought the help of Siyāh Baluch (Siyāh al-Sawār), whose treachery, finally, succeeded in annihilating the Persians. In frantic frenzy the poet in his epic addresses Siyāh Baluch as a scoundrel, a villain, a circumventive and an insidious person.

During the despotic regime of the Umayyads, the family of Siyāh al-Sawār played a historic role. Marwān I (683-5), the founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad house, a little before when he was overpowered by the proprietor of all, sent Jashi bin Daljah at the command of a Syrian force to al-Madīnah to get submission of the people of the Holy city. The people of al-Hejāz both

¹ See "Shāh Nāmeḥ-i-Nau Bakht".

through conviction and convenience obeyed the authority of 'Abdullah bin Zubayr, the sole claimant to the caliphate after the august house of 'Alī. Ibn Zubayr despatched a force under 'Abbās bin Sahl to curb the Syrian advance. At Rabzah, the rival forces encountered, and Jash, the Syrian general, was struck with an arrow by Zayd bin Siyāh al-Sawār (Siyāh Baluch) and died on the spot. The Syrian army stricken with panic ignominiously turned tail. Zayd bin Siyāh al-Sawār attired in a robe of white, riding on his white Khurāsānian steed, entered al-Madīnah triumphantly, and the Madīnites applauded him to the echo, sprinkled perfumes over him to the extent that his white robe turned black¹.

BALUCHIS IN KIRMAN.

During the caliphate of the pious caliphs, we see the Kirmān province a teeming hive of the Baluchis. Their settlement in Kirmān is a long tale of woe both for the race and the inhabitants of the province. When 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah as-Salūl, the Arab general, conquered the capital of Kirmān in 22 H. (642-43 A.D.), the Kirmānis urged help from 'Kuj' and 'Buluj' (Koch and Baluch) but to no purpose.² Mas'ūdī mentions the name of

¹ Tabari, Vol. II. Part II.

² 'Tārīkh-i-Guzīda', by Hamdullah Mustawfī of Qazwin (Circa A.D. 1340.)

Baluch and Koch as inhabiting the Kirmān mountains. Istakhri who completed his magnum opus in circa 340 H. (951 A.D.), writes that the Baluchis live in the Qufs mountains where none dares penetrate. They own cattle and live in tents. The routes through their country are not safe.¹ Yākūti who completed his geography in 615 H. classified the mountains of Kirmān into those of the Koch, Baluch and Qārān. He writes that Koch (Qufs) were tall and cruel and lived by pillage.

The Belus were formerly the most cruel of raiding tribes but were destroyed by 'Abād-ud-Dowlah Dailami whose unhappy reign saw its beginning and end from 338-372 H. (949-983 A.D.). Ibn Haukal in his celebrated work while describing the boundaries of the Kirmān province states, "to the east lie the land of Makran and its desert and the seas on the border of Belouje, to the west is Faris, on the north desert of Khurasan and Sijistan and on south Persian sea....".² For more than five centuries the Baluchis peopled the Kirmān province, and lived in the hilly tracts well suited to every requirement of nomad existence. Cradled in the invigorating climate of

¹ 'Mordtmann's 'Istakhri', P. 115.

² "Kitāb-al-Masālik-wa-Mamālik," translated by Sir William Ousley, P. 138.

a highland region and schooled for ages by constant war, they proved redoubtable warriors. All the surrounding people dreaded this uncouth and formidable race. Their vicious sword was upon every man's neck and every body's sword was unsheathed against them. Whatever dynasty ruled Kirmān, they set at nought the authority of the ruling head and were a constant threat both to the public and the palace. The invading armies always found them a hard nut to crack. All the territory, roads and caravan routes between Kirmān, Khurāsān and Seistān were unsafe, and even they could not keep their fingers from the caravans of the holy bound pilgrims. The history of the race in Kirmān thrills with horrible events of constant vicissitudes. Many occasions, the imperial court at Isfahān and Ghazni were gravely alarmed about the monstrous atrocities committed by these demons of destruction. The rebellious and marauding propensities of these confirmed freebooters were, probably, due to the life of semi-outlawry which the suicidal policy of the rulers of Kirmān forced them to lead than to any ineradicable mark of vice. Al-Muqaddasi travelled across Kirmān, the desert of Lūt and Makurān, and had been seventy days on the passage across. The entire desert, he states, was terrorized

by roving bands of the Balus (Baluch) tribesmen whose fastness were in Kufs¹ mountains of the Kirmān border. He speaks of the Baluchis—"a people with savage faces, evil heart and neither morals nor manners. None could escape meeting them and when once caught they would stone him to death as one would a snake", putting a man's head on a boulder and beating upon it, till it would be crushed in, and when Muqaddasi enquired why they act so unhumanly, he was answered that was in order not to blunt needlessly their swords.

The province of Kirmān served as a bone of contention between the claimants of the Buwayhid family. The Buwayhid Sultān experienced a long period of hostility and conflict with his discontented relatives who were prone to seek the help of Qufs and Baluchis. However, the stormy prologue ended in a less felicitous sequel. In the year 324 H. (936 A.D.) when 'Alī bin

¹ An eminent scholar, Forlong, states that the sons of Kush (the ancestors of Nimrod) came into Syria and Phoenicia under the titles Kasus and Belus and there they founded many cities. The same Kasus and Belus, probably were addressed by the Arab Chroniclers of 10th century as Kufs and Balus, and by Firdausi in his *Shāh Nāmeh* as Koch and Baluch.

Buwayh and his brother Hasan held mastery over Fārs and Isfahān respectively, the twin brothers agreed to send their younger brother Abul Husain Ahmad to Kirmān.¹ Accordingly they furnished him with 1500 choicest Dailamites, and 500 Turks besides other legions. Abul Husain Ahmad bin Muhammad Rāzī, known as Kor-debir (the blind scribe) the secretary of Abul Husain Ahmad bin Buwayh, accompanied his master. Ibrāhīm bin Simjar Daulati, representative of the governor of Khurāsān, was then besieging Muhammad bin Ilayās bin Alayāsā Sughdī. When he heard about the Dailamite expedition he raised the siege. Muhammad bin Ilayās took time by the forelock and escaped from the fortress of Bamm to be vainly pursued. Abul Husain Ahmad chased him, and succeeded in ousting the intruder, whose prestige was now universally on the decline. Having no stomach for fighting, Ilayās returned to Seistān and vanished without striking a blow. Abul Husain Ahmad left one of his officers in charge of Bamm and himself advanced to Jirift which was the capital of Kirmān. When he reached the place, he was met by an envoy of 'Alī bin Zanjī, Chief of the Baluchis

¹ Ahmad's father was the Chief of a warlike horde consisting of Dailamite highlanders from the mountainous region on the southern shore of the Caspian sea.

and Qufs, better known as 'Alī bin Kallāwaihi, whose ancestors and afterwards himself had made themselves master of those territories. They only paid lip-homage to every Sultān but did not "tread his carpet". 'Alī bin Zanjī offered money to Ahmad bin Buwayh who replied that the decision belonged to his brother 'Alī bin Buwayh, and that he must at any cost enter Jirift and after that he would send message to his brother concerning the offer. In the meanwhile, he ordered Ibn Kallāwaihi to evacuate Jirift. The latter consented and moved to a place at a distance of ten farsang from the town. A series of messages were interchanged and it was decided, finally, that Ibn Kallāwaihi should send a hostage to Ahmad bin Buwayh who assigned the region in fief to him for a payment of a million dirhem annually. An immediate payment of 100,000 was made as a gift but not as a part of the rent to the fief. Ibn Kallāwaihi introduced the name of Ahmad bin Buwayh into the sermon and paid him an instalment of the rent in advance.¹ The slanderous coward, caitiff recreant, swart and prodigious Kor-debīr, suggested to his master a vile strategem. He asked Ahmad bin

¹ "The experiences of Nations", by Miskawayh, translated from original Arabic "Tajrīb-al-Umam", by D. S. Margoliouth, Vol. I, P. 398.

Buwayh to fall upon by surprise Ibn Kallāwaihi as he and his men were relying on the agreement at which they had arrived and the cessation of disputes. Kor-debīr allured his Chief that this adventure would secure for him stores and treasures of Ibn Kallāwaihi besides making him the master of the country of Baluchis and Qufs, and it would be source of fame and fortune which none before had essayed or achieved. A prince of unimproved mettle, hot and full, Ahmad bin Buwayh, bosomed up the criminous counsel of his secretary, and, accordingly, marshalled his troops and started hot-foot on a nightly raid, but did not feel that it was his lot to witness in inglorious activity, the complete overthrow of all his hopes. He expected with the dawn of the day the signal of victory. Light vanity, cormorant and consuming means, soon preys upon itself. His mightiness was soon to meet misery, for violent fires soon burn out themselves, and as a rule he tires betimes that hastens too fast betimes. A man of courage and capacity, and supplied with prudence and industry, Ibn Kallāwaihi, rapidly assembled his men, fortified their minds and bodies for the approaching battle, and posted them in narrow pass between the two mountains which formed the raiders road. In the howe of the night when

Ahmad bin Buwayh with his ostentation of despised arms was in the middle of the pass, the people of Jirift (Baluchis and Qufs) attacked out of the blue and beleaguered them. Valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. The Dailamite army had to run upon the rocks. In darkness, degeneration and disorder, they were surrounded, assaulted and overwhelmed by the daring foe. The entire royal forces faltered under fierce Baluch arms. Woe, destruction, ruin and loss seized them completely. The Baluch sword displayed a lemnian deed, their incessant and heavy blows fell like thunder on the casque of their harmful enemy. The bulk of the army was sworded, many with pale beggar-fear surrendered, and few took to their legs. Ahmad bin Buwayh received severe wounds, lost his left hand and some fingers of right, and fell among the corpses. He was later on, known as 'Aqt'a' or crippled. When the news of this disaster reached Jirift where Kor-debīr and other followers who had not taken part in the battle, fled from the town. Early in the morning Ibn Kallāwaihi and his men made search among the corpses for Abul Husain Ahmad who was found living and all others dead.¹ Abul Hussain Ahmad was taken to Jirift and Ibn Kallāwaihi nursed and

¹ "The experiences of Nations", Vol. I, P. 399.

served him to the best of his means and manners. 'Alī bin Buwayh was severely shocked about all that happened. He was far from eager of war but the pride of the Dailamite house was cut to the quick. He arrested the resolved villain and Carpet-captain, Kordebīr, and despatched Abul 'Abbās and his chamberlain Khutlukh with two thousand men to assemble in Sirjān to look after the remains of the vanquished army of M'uīzz-al-Dawlah, Abul Husain Ahmad bin Buwayh. Ibn Kallāwaihi sent both oral and written communication to 'Alī bin Buwayh apologizing for what had happened, and was wise enough to proffer his allegiance which he declared had never been violated. 'Alī bin Buwayh sent as ambassadors, the Qāzī of Shīrāz, Abul 'Abbās, and other men of blood and breeding like Abul Fadhl al-'Abbās bin Farsanjās to Ibn Kallāwaihi, accepting his apology, ratifying and renewing settlement and the treaty. Ibn Kallāwaihi was not mulcted to any indemnity. He released Abul Husain Ahmad bin Buwayh and with him Ispahdost and other captives with robes of honour and other equipments of comforts.

Abu 'Alī bin Ilayās after the tragic end of Ahmad bin Buwayh, awoke from his inglorious inactivity, his covetousness was

aroused, and the warlike ardour of his army emboldened. Nature framed him for a farmhouse but Fate tossed into a rebellion and revolution. Fooled with ambition, he determined to cross sword with a strong hand. He marched from Seistān encamping in the region named Khunnāb. Ahmad bin Buwayh marched against him and the rival forces grappled with each other in a bloody contest lasting for several days. At length, Abu 'Alī kissed the dust, his forces melted away, and left the field like a bated and retired flood. Flushed with triumph, Ahmad again ventured to pay off old scores on Ibn Kallāwaihi and wanted to teach his enemy a lesson. But it was Ahmad who received the lesson. Without studying the lessons of experience, or the nature of war, he marshalled his forces against the Baluch Chief, not perceiving that he was paving way for the sullen presage of his own decay. Ibn Kallāwaihi was informed about inkling of the ensuing evil. He awoke endeavour for fight, mustered his men, and encamped at a distance of two Farsangs facing the army of Ahmad, who planned to make a nightly attack upon the Baluchis. The Chief of the Baluchis did not wait to receive the blow. He ordered without delay his chevaliers to arms and advanced post-haste to meet the enemy. The rival forces came close to

each other, frowning brow to brow and face to face. The fight, at last, started and the hostile armies mixed so confusingly with each other that they could only be distinguished by their languages. The Baluchis completely paralyzed and hamstrung the Dailamite forces by merciless killing and ravenous plundering, and amidst the rout, they beat a hasty retreat to avoid a lasting campaign. The attempt and desire to teach Baluchis a lesson had brought chaos to the Buwayhid arms. Early in the morning to cover his concealed anxiety and shame, Ahmad bin Buwayh pursued the enemy and slaked his rancour by killing a number of them. He wrote to his brother a letter stating his victory over Ilayās and the ruin of the Baluchis. In reply 'Alī wrote him to stop further advance, and sent Marzubān bin Khusrah, the Jilite, to bring Ahmad to his capital. Ahmad's failures scattered to the winds, his hope of carrying the Baluch territory by a *coup de main*; he only got the hare's foot to lick. He returned towards his brother's capital with half a heart for he sat upon his skirts, and had not fully gratified his malignity against the Baluchis and their chief Ibn Kallāwaihi.¹

¹ "The experiences of Nations", Vol. I, PP. 401-402.

In the year 357 H. (968 A.D.) 'Adūd-al-Dawlah ambitioned to become the sole master of Kirmān. Thirsting for military renown, he determined to subdue all the far-flung districts of the province. In the meantime, disunity occurred between the sons of Ilayās, of whom Ilayāsā fled to Khurāsān soon after his father gave up the ghost. In the year 359 H. 'Adūd-al-Dawlah commissioned Kurkir bin Justam to lead an expedition against Suleymān bin Muhammad bin Ilayās who had been in Khurāsān. The latter urged the ruler of Khurāsān to conquer Kirmān. The Balus (Baluch) and Qufs were already in league with Suleymān, and the ruler of Khurāsān with a good grace assisted him with a strong, well-equipped contingent. Suleymān provoked the Baluchis and Qufs to cast off their allegiance to the head of the Buwayhid house, the Chief Sultān. Kurkir encountered the enemy between Jirift and Bām. After a hot contest of arms, Suleymān's choicest forces sank before the fierce onset of his adversary, and were in full retreat, leaving mass of their numbers on the field. Suleymān with Bakr and Husain sons of his brother Ilayāsā lay dead on the field besides a great number of Khurāsāni officers whose heads were cut off and sent as trophies to Shīrāz whence 'Adūd-al-Dawlah despatched them to his

brother, Rukn-al-Dawlah. The tribe of Manūjān, and the rest of the Baluchis and Qufs among whom was Abu S'aeed, the Baluch Chief with his children, and other tribal chiefs pledged to fight to the bitter end. 'Adūd-al-Dawlah reinforced Kurkir with 'Abid bin 'Alī, and the two generals advanced to Jirift to unthread the rude eye of rebellion. The fight between the rival hosts took place on Wednesday 10, Safar 360 H. (13th December, 970 A.D.). The conspirators fought with foot and horse but were overwhelmed with utter rout and ruin. Five thousand tried warriors lay dead like slaughtered fish. Two sons of Abu S'aeed Baluchi died hard on the fatal day. Abul Fawāris Manūjāni was captured together with his nephew Abal Laith and a great member of other distinguished Chiefs.¹ After securing a great hit, 'Abid bin 'Alī, to rain hot vengeance on rebels heads, marched into the interior of their territory, threatened their entire area and massacred several people. Hurmuz was occupied, Tiz reduced and kej wrested from its previous master. The rash fierce blaze of revolt, thus, subsided completely. Another feat of ferocity which yet needed a head, a stage and scene, was accomplished by 'Adūd-al-Dawlah in person. He was informed that

¹ "The experiences of Nations", Vol. II, P. 320.

the dwellings of some of the Baluchis were behind a mountain and only accessible by a narrow and difficult pass in which a small band can engage with advantage a large well armed party. Difficult to subdue them, 'Adūd-al-Dawlah employed an interesting but a malign strategem. He sent a message to the effect that he was not going to spare them unless they pay tribute to him. The Baluchis replied that they have no money. "You are hunters", he said, "and I want a dog for each tent". The Baluchis thought little of this. He sent an agent to enumerate their tents and take a corresponding number of dogs. Accordingly the dogs were assembled to the pass. 'Adūd-al-Dawlah ordered ring of white Naphtha to be attached to their necks and the Naphtha was put on fire. The dogs were simultaneously released and the army was ordered to follow them. The dogs rushed on, and the people knowing that the army was on the march against them. Immediately they entered the pass to encounter the army. There each dog sought refuge with his master from the burning fire. Each dog rubbed himself against his master and the fire spread from man to man. They evacuated the pass pursued by the dogs. A number of them died and crippled. The dogs flung themselves on the tents, which were quitted by

their owners. They were pursued by the army, only to be extirpated. The general havoc caused a general terror. All the refractory tribesmen offered to surrender their strongholds and promised to remain as peaceful subjects. For a short period people enjoyed the piping times of peace. After an idle rest of few months, the Baluchis, "who are the most courageous, wildest and the most atheistic of these tribes, longed for their habitual infesting of the roads and shedding of innocent blood."¹ They again rubbed up the wrong way and carried terror in the neighbouring places. Panic and ruin siezed the entire territory. All people without distinction of caste or creed suffered alike unbearable vexation from them on all the routes leading to Kirmān, Seistān and Khurāsān. 'Adūd-al-Dawlah assembled forces from various places and on August 26, 971 A.D. started to pit against the rebels. When he reached Sirjān, he was informed that the Baluchis hanged the red flag, made all preparation for a bloody war, and devastated the entire district, under their chieftain, 'Alī bin Muhammad Barizī. He furnished 'Abid bin 'Alī with an invincible army of Dailamites, Jilites, Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Zutt (Jat), and experienced fighters of Saif-al-Dawlah, and

¹ "The experiences of Nations", Vol. II, P. 320.

despatched him against the Baluchis. The latter dispersed far away when they heard the approach of the invading army and took strong position in the narrow paths leading to their mountain strong holds. 'Abid sent his brother with a strong contingent to encircle them in the rear and himself advanced towards the Bariz mountains which formed the resorting place of the Baluchis. He heavily stormed this area and compelled Muhammad bin Barizī to surrender after capturing his son in law, Abu Darim. The Baluchis sent secret patrols and scouting parties to bring them intelligence but the Dailamite General succeeded in arresting all of them. In the meanwhile, the army approached the scene, blocked and bottled the entire mountain passes and outlets. Fight became inevitable, and the Baluchis assembled their chiefest men of sword and discipline and resolved to stand or fall. From sunrise to sunset, attack met counter attack. Death and destruction caught the Baluchis from all sides. After a most obstinate resistance, the rebels, slowly began to give ground. Chagrined and perplexed, their chief, Ibn Abil-Rijāl Baluchi, with other leaders escaped with the skin of their teeth, but were, finally, captured and sabred. Few were capitulated and given

promise of protection.¹ 'Adūd-al-Dawlah's next step was that he removed the Baluchis from Bariz mountains and replaced them with cultivators belonging to various other tribes of peaceful occupations.

More than one occasion the rapacities of the Baluchis drew attention of the Ghazni imperial court. Between Seistān and Kirmān, all the treasons and rebellions contrived and contrived during that period fetched their first head and spring from the Baluchis. Sultān Mahmūd sent presents through his ambassador to the ruler of Kirmān. The ambassador of the Sultān was caught between Tabas and Khābis by a party of Baluch marauders. He and his party were looted to the last man. The ambassador came back and met the Sultān who was on his way to Khawārazm. At Bust, M'asūd, the son of Sultān Mahmūd, while coming from Herāt, met his father. The Sultān sent him with a strong contingent to chastise and supplant these rough rug-headed robbers. He encountered the Baluchis and a hand to hand fight ensued. The latter sustained a serious reverse, forty were killed and an equal number captured. M'asūd returned back with immense

¹ "The experiences of Nations," Vol. 11, pp. 322-323.

booty¹. Sultān sent several expeditions against them but they stuck to their profession as faithfully as one deny the devil. Once when Sultān M'asūd was at Irāq, he was told about the frequent terror caused by the Baluchis, who were soon fated to pay the fine of marauding with a treacherous fine of their lives. The Sultān employed an interesting strategem to root out the infestered highway robbers. A caravan of poisoned apples was purposely sent through Kirmān desert. The Baluchis attacked the caravan and devoured the apples as hungry wolves. The poison acted as an epidemic and exterminated a great number of highwaymen².

KIRMAN TO
SEISTAN,
PERSIAN
BALUCHIS-
TAN AND
MAKURAN.

In the beginning of the tenth century the first great exodus of the Baluchis streamed from Kirmān towards Seistān and Persian Baluchistan. The province of Kirmān had been their chief abode since the conquest of Persia by Arabs till the middle of the 12th century. In Seistān they did not enjoy a monopoly of significant contributions, and disturbed but little the political affairs and peace of the country. In his early career, when Timūr, the Barlās, got the start of the majestic world, he fought several combats

¹ "Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt", by Nūr-al-Dīn 'Ufi, Ed. 11. PP. 193-94.

² *Ibid.*

against the Baluchis of Seistān, and in one of the encounters, he was defeated, and got severe wound on his leg, became permanently lame, and the half conqueror of Asia, whose bend of eye awed the world, was destined to be known in history as Timūr Lang.¹ Al-Istakhri (340 H. 951 A.D.) observes that in his time two provinces of Seistān were known as Baluch country. The famous chronicler 'Uthmān mentions that he halted in a place at Seistān named Gumbaz-i-Baluch.² From Seistān they moved slowly but steadily towards Garmsir territory of Afghanistan and flooded the entire territory of the Helmand valley upto Farrah and even southward to Shorāwak. In the first decade of the thirteenth century, the Koch and Baluch are described as the tribes inhabiting the Garmsir territory, in alliance with Ameer of Hurmuz, Tāj-ud-Dīn Shāhinshāh. The wave of migration flowed northward towards Herāt, Bādghis and Zamindāwār district of Afghanistan, and even beyond they planted a network of colonies in Russian Turkistān. According to M'uīn-ud-Dīn as Zamchi-al-Isfizārī³ (1491 A.D.), the Baluchis formed the bulk of the nomadic and

¹ Vambéry, *Geschichte Bochara's oder Transoxaniens*, Stuttgart, 1872.

² "Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri", by Minhāj-ud-Dīn 'Uthmān bin Sirāj-ud-Dīn.

³ See "Rauzat-ul-Jannat fil-Ausāf-i-Madinat-i-Herāt".

settled section of the population in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the land north of Herāt neighbouring Bādghis. To this day, they form the major section of the population of Herāt, Farrāh, Garmsir, Chakansūr and Shorāwak districts of Afghanistan. The role of the Baluchis in the history of the fourteenth century Herāt was no less significant. Allied with the contemporary Kurt rulers of Herāt, they formed the flower of their soldiery and chivalry, and played decisive role in the wars that ensued between the Mongols and the Kurt rulers.¹ The Baluchis under their chief, Shāh Baluch displayed their mettle against the Mongols who shattered and overthrew the civilization which Islām had crystallized into a splendid form that had endured for over six centuries, and brought to utter ruin mighty nations of the world and ransacked several seats of empires so completely and mercilessly that they never restored to life.

In Persian Baluchistan, the Baluchis scattered over the fertile places, and some of the tribes pushed into Makurān *via* modern

¹ "History of Baluch race and Baluchistan", by Muhammad Sardar Khan, pp. 252-53; cf. 'Tārīkh Nāmeḥ-i-Herāt,' by Saif bin Muhammad bin Y'aqūb al-Haravi, edited by Professor Muhammad Zubair, pp. 696-97.

Prome and penetrated as far as Panjgūr which according to al-Muqaddasi was the capital of the tenth century Makurān. Le Strange dealing with the province of Makurān, quotes the literary geographer al-Muqaddasi as his authority, and states: "Bannajbur (Panjgūr) according to Muqaddasi had a clay built fortress protected by a ditch and town was surrounded by palm-groves. There were two gates of the city Bāb-Tiz opening south west on road to Tiz and Bāb-Tūrān north east on the road to the district of that name of which the capital was Kuzdar. There was a stream to water the city and Friday mosque stood in the market square, though there were really only Moslem in name being savage Balusis (Baluchis) whose language was a Jargon."¹

MAKURAN
TO SIND
AND PUNJAB.

A little later after their settlement in Panjgūr, in 1000 A.D. a host of Baluchis persistently pushed their way into the inviting Sind where the soil was very rich, water plenty, the summer warm, and the winter mild. Henceforth, the Baluchis are constantly fighting their free and frequent passage into the fertile Sind, and found there a better future and fortune as compared to other alien lands where they experienced ages

¹ "The lands of the Eastern Caliphate", by G. Le Strange, P. 329.

of travail, turmoil and turbulence. They entered Sind when it was ruled by Sūmrahs whose details of racial origin are meagre.¹ Who the Sūmrahs are and whence they came is one of the unsolved and insoluble riddles of history. The royal house of the Sūmrahs were experiencing a history of storm amongst themselves whence the nomad Baluchis appeared on their diplomatic stage. We have no contemporary source dealing comprehensively with the rule of the Sūmrahs and their successors, the Sammahs. We follow the account of Meer M'asūm who remarks: "I have not seen any book in which the account of the Sūmrah and the Sammah is well explained. Therefore, I have written their summary"². In the reign of Sultān 'Abdur Rashīd son of Sultān Muhmūd of Ghazna, Sūmrah son of Chundar, a gentleman of his own way, whom nature and fortune joined to make great, was placed by the Sindi nobles on the throne of Sind, and to his hand all classes tendered their commission and submission. After his death, his son Bhugar,³ whose promises were mighty but performance

¹ The readers are referred to read "Arab-wa-Hind-Key-T'aluqāt", by Syed Suleyman Nadvi, PP. 360-70.

² "A History of Sind" by Muhammad M'asūm, translated by Major G. Greville Malet, Resident at Khairpur in 1848, P. 58.

³ The author of "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām" mentions his name as Bhungar.

nothing, mounted the throne of Sind. He was followed by his son Doda I who extended his dominion upto Nasarpur. He was succeeded by his son Singhar, whose pomp and pleasure was but a gloriole against the back-ground of the setting sun. After him Pethū held the sceptre and he was followed by Khairā. Khafīf ascended the throne when Khairā was dropped into the grave. Khairā and Khafīf were both of the same nature, as rain to water. In the reign of Khafīf, the Baluchis in alliance with Sodhās and Jharejās, planned, plotted and raised the standard of revolt. Khafīf, to shock the rebels, marched against the allied tribes, but the Baluch Chief Mehrān, and Runmal Sodhā hoisted the white flag without any show of resistance, and offered great offerings,¹ and the Sūmrah ruler turned his forces from the paltry expedition. Doda II became the master of Sind after Khafīf, and after his expiry, his son, ‘Umar, was invested with the royal purple. This high-blown ruler, whose valour plucked dead lions by the beard, found glory in debauchery and cruelty, and his life of carelessness and pleasure made a rod for his own back. The tribes of Sammah, the Sodhās, the Jats and Baluchis fomented a rebellion. ‘Umar

¹ "A History of Sind" by Muhammad M'asūm, translated by Major G. G. Malet, P. 41.

marched against the hostile combination, and fortunately, succeeded in reducing the revolt more through fortune than by force. He breathed his last at Thure.¹ This event probably happened during the reign of Sultān M'asūd (1030-1041 A. D.). Ferishta states that Doda III son of 'Umar, in the flower of his manhood fled to Ghazni and sought the help of Sultān Mandūd (1041-1049 A.D.) against his regent Chunar, whom he branded with suspicion of plotting to usurp the throne.² The uprising of the Baluchis occurred during the father of Doda III, 'Umar, who was contemporary of Sultān M'asūd.

When the thirteenth century had run half of its course, a stream of Baluch tribes from Sind trickled along Bahāwalpur territory and settled in the neighbourhood of Multān. Between 1280-1287 A.D. during the last years of Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Balban's reign, the Baluchis permanently settled in the vicinity of Multān. In 1328 A.D. in the second year of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign,

¹ "A History of Sind" by Muhammad M'asūm, translated by Major G.G. Malet, P. 44.

² Ferishta, P. 4. Both Ferishta and Meer M'asūm have wrongly written the name of the Sultan as Mandūd instead of Maudūd.

the governor of Multān, Bahrām Aiba,¹ aspiring to seize the moon with his teeth, assembled the Multānis and Baluchis and hanged the red flag. Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq was then engaged in suppressing the rebellion of his cousin, the corrupt and treasonous Bahā-ud-Dīn Gurshāsp. The Sultān steadily steeled his determination to strike the blow in person. He made preparations on a colossal scale, mustered an invincible army, and this mighty host, driven on by Sultān's will proceeded towards Multān to beat the usurping down. After a few days hot and fast march, the Sultān reached the place and unsheathed his sword against the brows of the resisting city. After a war to the death, the vigour of the rebel force melted away and the day ended in their complete disaster. Their leader met a soldier's death, and the citizens of Multān expected their fate in silent despair. The Sultān "ordered to make a river of the blood of Multānis",² but the timely intercession of the reputed spiritual saint, Sheikh Rukn-ud-Dīn, saved the people from the wild rage of the Sultān.

¹ M'asūm in his history on page 32, states the name of the governor as Khusro Khan. Mirza Kalich Beg in his 'History of Sind' page 19, mentions Kishwar Khan as governor of Multan and Sind.

² "A History of Sind", by Meer M'asūm, translated by G. G. Malet, P. 32.

The final scene of the Baluch migration from Kirmān happened in the declining years of the Seljūqs of Kirmān. The historian Ahmad 'Alī Khan states that after Tughral Shāh, Arsalān Shāh and Bahrām Shāh Seljūqs divided the territory. Arsalān Shāh received Bardsīr, Jirift, Sirjān and Khābis and the latter Bām and Makurān. The last Seljūq ruler of Kirmān and Makurān, Muhammad Shāh, went beyond the boundary in 583 H. (1187-88 A.D.). In the reign of Arsalān Shāh, a burlesque ruler, devoid of any princely gifts, the Baluchis under their chief, Ameer Jalāl Khan, assembled from the districts of Sirjān, Khābis and desert Lūt, and, finally, bade adieu to Kirmān and its history of storm. It is from this Chief that the traditional era of the Baluch race begins. The race under him directed their move towards Persian Baluchistan and made Bampūr their traditional headquarter. After a short stay, Ameer Jalāl Khan enjoying idleness with dignity, moved at the head of a mighty conflux consisting of forty four tribes (Bolaks) towards Seistān, the dominion of the Saffari rulers. If we are to believe the Baluch tradition, they were expelled by Malik Shams-ud-Dīn. Probably he is the same ruler recorded in history as Malik Shams-ud-Dīn

of Saffari dynasty.¹ He was the son and successor of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Abul Fath bin Tāhir bin Muhammad, and succeeded to the throne when his father shuffled off this mortal coil in 559 H. He was a prince who played fast and loose with faith and was a blood-thirsty tyrant, hence known as the "Executioner", and also by his nickname of the 'Malik-us-Sais'². His sanguinary disposition and tyranny led him to oppress his family and subjects and is said to have put to death 18 other sons of his father, as well as several high-blooded men of Seistān. He also deprived his brother 'Izz-ul-Muluk of sight. He was the worst prince of the age, his greediness was oppressive, his luxuries corrupt, his autocracy odious, and his innovations were rough, rapid and base. There is no safe and certain foundation set on blood. He that soaks his splendour and safety in pure blood, shall find but bloody splendour and safety. Afterwards he was put to death by his own officers, and his blind brother, 'Izz-ul-Muluk, was enthroned. A little prior to 571 H., his son Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, "assumed the insignia of Royalty on his father's

¹ See 'Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri'.

² Seistan, A memoir on the history, topography, Ruins, and people of the country, by G. P. Tate. M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Survey of India. Parts I to III, P. 27.

death"¹. Due to his prowess as a brave warrior, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn borne the title of 'Harab'. His prosperous reign lasted for nearly sixty years,² and finally, becoming blind Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Harab, appointed his eldest son, Nāsir-ud-Dīn 'Uthmān, as regent. All the Malik rulers before and after Shams-ud-Dīn were benevolent, high-minded and high-principled rulers. It is, therefore, probable, that Shams-ud-Dīn became embroiled with the Baluchis who were forced to leave Seistān. From Seistān, we are informed, they redirected their steps back to Bampūr and settled there. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century the mass migration of the race happened towards Makurān, under one of the descendants of Ameer Jalāl Khan, Ameer Shaihak Rind, father of the Sardār 'Azam, Ameer Chākar Rind.

This is the last great flux of the race from Persian Baluchistan towards the country which bears their name. The mighty Rinds made the town of Kolwā, in Makurān, their head-quarter. The close of the fifteenth and dawn of the sixteenth century saw the entire territory from Makurān to Kachhi plains as a pure Baluch colony. After a lapse of more

¹ See Ms. 'Ihyā-ul-Muluk'.

² 'Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri', translated by Major Raverty, P. 193.

4198

than two thousand years, the vast body of Baluchis, for the first time, unite under the command and caution of one man, Ameer Chākar, who was destined to write his name in the eternal book of History. He besprent the race in every corner of Baluchistan, and in the first decade of the sixteenth century made for Derajāt and Punjāb with a host of Baluch tribes. The long and troublous chapter of the history of Baluch migration, thus, came to its close for ever, and the entire race became free from the ills of nomadic and migratory treadmill which had grappled the race for centuries. In the Age of the Atom, the Baluch race people and occupy a territory stretching west to east from the commark of Kirmān (Persia) to Muzzafargarh (Punjāb) and north to south from Helmand (Afghanistan) to the Arabian sea,¹ an area bigger than Italy, Greece, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, all combined.

THE FIVE CITIES.

The five cities i. e. Babylon, Bampūr, Kech, Gandāwah and Sibi (Siwī) had been closely linked with the stormy story of the Baluch race at recurrent periods of ancient, medieval and modern history. The five cities have been the cradle of the race in respective

¹ See "Persia and the Persian Question", by Lord N. Curzon, Vol. II, P. 255.

times, and the glory which these places once boasted of, constitutes the glorious chapter of Baluch history.

BABYLON.

Babylon was one of the most distinguished cities of antiquity, and is situated on the Euphrates just north of the modern town of Hilla. Under the Amorite king Hammurrabi (1948-1905 B.C.), she became the capital of Babylonia. The history of Babylon is practically the history of Mesopotamia. Throughout ancient history, Babylon was the pride of the Middle East, and served as a paragon for the future seats of civilizations. It was from Babylon that the rich civilization of the Fertile Crescent seeped westward and eastward to help refresh and refine the Egyptian and the Persian civilizations. The historic city was the capital of Sumerian, Akkadian, Kaldian and Assyrian dynasties. Embassies and priests from neighbouring monarchies flocked to the Babylonian capital and were received with all the splendour of a court highly riched and versed in a fantastic and fastidious ancient etiquette. The proud capital of the Semites vividly represented the life and habits, the pomp and parade, the virtues and vices of the rulers and the ruled. Among all the ancient Semitic cities, Babylon, with her large and

imposing edifices, was held as holly of hollies. The proud city fell victim several times to the fiendish rage of conquerors, and their united savagery having been expanded upon its hapless body. Sennacherib, the son of Sargon II, more properly written as Siri-Kipu, the Assyrian king, who was murdered in 705 B.C., was held in great contempt by all the Babylonian tribes because of his vanity and vehemence. His religious and political policy shocked the conscience of the Assyrians and Babylonians, when he sacked and spoiled the city of Babylon and for weeks surrendered it to the violence of his passionate soldiery. Consequently he was murdered by his son on the 25th of Tebet 681 B.C. Nimrod enriched the city with some of its greatest treasures, including the temple of Belus which then stood unsurpassed in its architectural design throughout the ancient world. Throughout the reign of the Babylonian dynasties, the temple of Belus was centre of attraction and the seat of treasure and splendour. The value of gold, as stated by Diodorus, taken from the temple of Belus alone by Xerxes amounted to 7,350 Attic talents, 21,000,000 £ Sterling of money. Besides this, other splendid buildings of the Akkadians, Kaldians and Assyrians costing the mass of royal and public treasury stood as

the marvel of those ages.¹ Nebuchadnezzar added more glory to the grandeur of Babylon. The capital was rebuilt and became the greatest city of its day. Fortifications were built upon a larger plan. He constructed a defensive wall and moats eastwards from the Euphrates which extended to Opis on the Tigris. The extensive use of glaze, precious stones and metals for external decorations became a common sight in the architectural art. Drainage was conducted by large brick conduits. He built for himself an immense palace. Surrounded by walls, the palace towered terrace upon terrace, each bright with masses of fernery, flowers and trees. These roof gardens—the Hanging Gardens—were so imposing and enchanting that they were classed by the Greeks as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.²

BAMPUR.

Between Serbāz and Bam-Narmashīr, the frontier district of Kirmān, lies the considerable district of Bampūr, whose chief city bears the same name. Bampūr has ever been the most important place of Persian

¹ See B. Meissner, *Babylonian and Assyrian* (1920—24, bibl.); *History of Babylon* (1915, bibl.) by L. W. King; *Early History of Assyria* (1928, bibl.) by Sydney Smith.

² "Civilization Past and Present" by T. Walter Walbank and Alastair M. Taylor, P. 85.

Baluchistan, and is supposed to be the *rovpa*, the capital of Gedrosia¹ (Makurān), through which Alexander marched on his way back from India in 324 B.C.² The name of the place occur in al-Muqaddasi's famous work as Barbur.³ The chief feature of the place is a large, well built mud fort, crowning an elevation about 100 feet in height, about three miles north of the Bampūr river, whose waters, regulated by dykes, are flooded over the neighbouring grain producing lands. In the Baluch classical poetry, the name of the place stands on the top. All the incontestable legacies of Baluch traditional history are the child of Bampūr's medieval social life. For the past ten centuries, Bampūr takes the place of Babylon which had been since ages forgotten by the Baluchis. There is such an absolute consensus of testimony on the part of Baluch poets that we are fain to accept that the city of Bampūr well deserved its renown. It was once a rich and crowded mart where the

¹ Makurān has been named by the Greeks as Gedrosia, probably due to the name of one of its numerous contemporary tribes, the Gadrās, who are even to this day known by the same name.

² "Persia and the Persian question", by George N. Curzon. Vol. II, P. 263.

³ "The lands of the Eastern Caliphate", by G. Le Strange, P. 329.

commerce of the entire Baluch world changed hands. The city formed the victualling base for Baluch march further on. In the revival of national spirit that followed after centuries of chaos, Bampūr in the 19th century became again the ceremonial capital of the independent Baluch chiefs. The classification of the entire race into major tribes, and, finally, into clans and sub-clans, took their root from the society that emerged from the socio-political soil of Bampūr. The story of the Baluch exodus from Bampūr towards Makurān is one of the landmarks in the long history of decline. In spite of physical decay, the place is still the largest trading emporium in Persian Baluchistan, yielding supremacy only to a recent developed town, Zāhidān. In the field of cultivation, the modern Bampūr and its rural areas serve as the Ukairine of Persian Baluchistan. A noble belt of date-palms supplies relief to the eye, and a sound living to the people.

KECH.

Makurān is Baluchistan's western gate, and Kech is its key. The history of Makurān is the history of Kech. The medieval Arab chroniclers mentioned it as Kiz or Kej. Kech proper is the narrow tract of country between Sāmi and Nāsirābād lying on both sides of the Kech Khaur and including both

these localities. To this may be added Pidārġ and Bālgattar. On the whole the Kech valley has not much to complain of in respect of water. The entire cultivation is carried by irrigation which is drawn on Kārezes and Kaurjos (water springs). Besides other cultivations, the date-palm which grows in the valley, enjoy the widest reputation. The term Kech is applied in its broad sense not only to the great central valley of Makurān, comprising Mand, Tump, Kech proper, i.e. the country round Turbat, and the basin of Kolwā, but to many localities lying to the north and south of the valley including Buleda, Dasht and Kulānch. This is the Kech-Makurān of history, Kesmacoran of Marco Polo¹ and Kech-Makurān of Ibn Batūtah.² This was so called to distinguish it from Persian Makurān (Persian Baluchistan), the two regions combined were termed by the medieval Arab geographers as Makurānate, comprising an area of ninety five thousand square miles.

Some ancient dynasties have left silent records in shape of mounds and underground water channels known as Kārezes. Two miles west of Turbat in the Kech valley,

¹ 'Travels of Marco Polo', Sir H. Yule.

² Safer Nāmeḥ Ibn Batutah, Vol. II, (Egyptian edition).

there is an old mound, named Bahmani, from Bahman, the son of Asfandiyār, the epical hero of Firdausi. We have in Kech ancient Kārezes bearing the names Kāūsī and Khusrawi after the kings Kāūs and Kai Khusraw. The Khusrawi Kārez is too known as Uzzai. Another Kārez at Kalātuk is famed as S'ad-o-bād, which is to be properly named as S'adābād, which according to the local tradition was excavated during the caliphate of Hazrat 'Umar, the second caliph of Islām, by S'ad bin Abī Waqqās, the conqueror and governor of 'Irāq. The old worn-out mud fort of the Baluch Hot Chief, Punnu, the well known lover of Sasuhī, the Sumrah princess, still stands on the bank of Kech river to meet the challenge of time.

The people of the Kech valley appear to have been endowed with strong commercial instincts, and its merchants trafficked in the splendid wares of the middle east. The mercantile marine and costly wares of Ceylon, Arab Sheikhdoms of the Gulf, and of the African coast were familiar in the waters and markets of Makurān. At the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo writes about the people of 'Kesmacoran', that they "lived by merchandize and industry, were professed traders, and carried on much traffic by land



Ruined Fort of the Hot Chief Punnin

and sea in all directions". Our Chief informant of the 18th century, 'Alī Sher Kanci, states that caravan from Makurān used to penetrate at one time as far as Cutch and Gujrāt.¹ Kech continued to grow in size and importance in the fifteenth century under the benign despotism of the generous Rind Baluchis. The contemporary ballads extolled Kech as the city second to none in the country. In bygone days Kech valley and its neighbouring areas were famed for its candy and sugar.² The implements of tillage were as is today primitive in the extreme. A rude wooden ploughshare drawn by on ox, has but to scratch the surface, on which the seed thrown, produces an unsolicited crop. The needle work and embroidery of Kech has been and still is an indispensable testimony of Baluch art and culture, and it has attained so wide a celebrity that even in western countries its originality and excellence has been much appreciated.

GANDAWAH.

Behind the Kalāt highland, in the Kachhi plain, Gandāwah enjoyed a reputation of great importance both in medieval and modern ages. It experienced an age of stormy

¹ See 'Tuhfat-ul-Kirām', written in 1774 A.D. by 'Alī Sher Kanci.

² See 'M'ujam-ul-Buldān', by Y'aqūt bin 'Abdullah-al-Hamwi.

history. Any political change that happened on its neighbouring western plateau, Gandāwah received the impulse next day. It has ever been an alluring ground for all mountain interlopers. On several occasion, Gandāwah as a punishment for its contumacy, was given to destruction. Of its medieval history, we find references in the works of Arab chroniclers. It had been, however, a capital city, though of a restricted dominion under the Arabs. The 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Mansūr, appointed Hishām al-Taghlabi as governor of Sind. The latter sent Amr ibn Jamāl with a fleet to penetrate into the territories of Hind. He conquered Kashmīr and al-Multān and further mediated and pacified a dissension among the Arab inhabitants of Kandābīl (Gandāwah).¹ Caliph al-M'utasim Billāh appointed 'Imrān ibn Mūsā ibn Yahyā ibn Khālid al-Barmaki as governor of Sind in 221 H. He led an attack against the Kikānites who were Zutt (Jat), defeated them, and built a city named al-Baidā, garrisoned it and made it a military base. Afterwards he advanced to al-Mansūr and thence to Kandābīl which was situated on a mountain, and the ruler of the place was Muhammad ibn al-Khaleel. 'Imrān captured the city of Kandābīl and took its ruler as a

¹ 'Futūh-al-Buldān', by Al-Belādhuri, P. 232.

captive to KUSDĀR (KHUZDĀR).¹ On the north-eastern frontiers of MAKURĀN and close to the Indian border, Ibn Haukal described two districts, namely, TŪRĀN of which the capital was KUSDĀR and Budha to the north of this of which the capital was KANDĀBĪL. He described KANDĀBĪL as a large city standing solitary in the plain, no date palm grew here.² Of its dependencies was the town of KIZKĀNĀN or KIKĀN,³ which from its position is to be identified with the modern town of Kalāt. According to Al-Istakhri, "KANDĀBĪL is a great city It is in the desert, and within confines of Budha".⁴ Al-Idrīsī states, ". . . . from the confines of Nadha to the city of Kir (Kiz) about ten days. From Nadha to Tiz at the extremity of Makran, sixteen days The town which the Nadhas most frequent . . . is KANDĀIL".⁵ Describing the 'Seats of the Arab cantonments in Sind', Elliot observes that one was "Baiza", another "Kuzdar", and another "Kandabil" (KANDĀIL).⁶ Such was the 16th century Gandāwah in the words of Meer M'asūm : "Near to Ganjābah, which is

¹ 'Futūh al-Buldān,' PP. 233—37.

² See 'Al-Masālik-Wa-Mamālik, by Ibn Haukal.

³ Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal gives Kizkanan as a city of TŪRĀN.

⁴ Elliot, Vol. I. Early Arab Geographers, Gupta, P. 37.

⁵ Ibid., P. 116.

⁶ "Indian Historians", by Elliot, Vol. I, P. 465.

one of the dependencies of Sīwī, water gushes up and flows out, in such wise as to inundate a considerable extent of ground, and in this water there are fish. At the skirt of one of the mountains of Ganjābah, a sort of portico juts out, and there they have suspended an iron cage, and it is said that something has been deposited therein, but the hand of no one can reach it. If, in order to attempt to reach it from above, some one should be sent to cast a rope, from the upper part of the mountain, it will be found to be still a long way from it, and the upper part of the mountain is smooth, while the place itself is at a considerable distance from the ground".¹ In Elliot's *Historians*, the above passage has been rendered thus: "Amongst the hills of Ganjāva there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars and the earth recedes."²

During the Arab hegemony over Sind and Makurān, Gandāwah was the connecting military link between Sind and

¹ 'A History of Sind' by Meer M'asūm.

² Vol. I, P. 238.

central Kalāt plateau—the Tūrān of the Arab chroniclers. It was the entrepot of trade between Sind and the rest of Baluchistan, and vied with other districts as a productive land. When the fifteenth century drew to its close, the Baluchis flooded Gandāwah, and the entire Kachhi plain became crowded with doughty warriors whose encampments consisted of white and black tents, and armed for the most part with shaft and arrows, with long curve-edged swords and a smaller circular buckler or target, mounted on fast Arab breed steeds, and prone to their marauding craft, tramped the plain stretching from the fellside of the Kalāt highlands to the verdant meads of Sibi and Dhādar. The thriving city became the relentless scene of many memorable conflicts between the Rind and Lāshār Baluch tribes, and boasted under the Baluch Ameerate of the reputed romance of Sheh Murīd and Cherubic Hāno, the daughter of Mandaw, the remarkable women of her age. Under the Baluch predominance, Gandāwah was famous for silver and golden works (Zargarī). Considering the glowing accounts conveyed to us through old Baluchi ballads, one is forced to form a roseate conception of the 15th century Gandāwah, which today do not transmit any proud record of its past splendour and significance. The perennial

water of the master-spring Mūllā, expands itself with all the luxury of new-found ease in the flat alluvial plain of Gandāwah proper, but the rest of the neighbouring plain extending from the mountain base to the plain of Sind is one of incredible natural fertility, and it is a sad spectacle to see stores of potential wealth lying idle in a land that is ever bewailing its poverty.

SIWI (SIBI).

Who founded Siwī and by what means came about their mutilation and decline, we are furnished with no historical data whereupon to construct a reliable reply, and hence, unable to fill up this neglected page of history, hitherto. Whatever part, myths and legends have played in determining the nomenclature of the place, we need not much admit the same element into a discussion of its real history which yet needs further research. However, it is a place of antiquity, and according to local tradition, it derives its name from Sewī, a Hindu princess of the Sewā race or dynasty, who ruled over this part of the country prior to the era of Arab conquest of Makurān and Sind.¹ Another local version states that a Hindu ruler, Sewā or Schwā, by name, ruled Kalāt and the

¹ Sind was invaded by the Arabs in 93 H. (712 A.D.); cf. Y'aqūbi, Vol. II, P. 346.



The Sibi Fort.

Kachhi plain and that he founded the place. In recent years some old relics have been excavated in Kalāt Meerī fort which show some signs of a Hindu dynasty ruling over this part of the country. Prior to, and at the time of the rise of Islām, according to Sindian annals, there existed an extensive Hindu kingdom on the Indus, which extended on the north as far as the then frontiers of the kingdom of Kashmīr; on the north-east to the frontiers of the state of Kannauj; from Makurān and Karwān or Kardān and Kirkānān or Kikānān, on the west; and Sūrat on the south-east; to the frontiers of Sijistān (Seistān), the southern boundary of the extensive territory called Bālyūs and subsequently Kandahār. But Raverty strongly argues against the existence of a powerful Hindu kingdom surrounded from all sides by mighty Muslim monarchies.¹ He asserts that there is "not a single history or scrap of any record to show that any Hindu kingdom whatever existed in any of the parts", subsequent to the Arab conquest. Several old mounds in the vicinity of Siwī, and in the Kachhi and Bolān pass are attributed by local tradition to a Hindu ruler, Dalūra. We have some references regarding

¹ "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by Raverty, pp. 571-75.

this ruler. The Sindi Historian states that Dalū Rāi was the ruler of Sind, and he fell out with his brother, Chutha 'Amrāni, who fled to Baghdād, embraced Islām, and the then caliph assisted him with a small contingent besides few Syed families. He came back to Sind. Dalū Rāi gave his daughter in marriage to one of those Sayeds.¹ The former, according to traditions, gloried in blood and raised his evils on the graves of respectable men. All goodness was poison to his stomach, and held in chase peoples honour up and down. He would cohabit, as traditioned, with his daughter, and several were the issues of his dear offence from the sin-conceiving womb of his daughter, and thereby incurred the wrath of the Almighty who destroyed his city. The author of Tārīkh Tāhiri states that Chuthā 'Amrāni came back to Sind, died at Siwistān and entombed there.² Few chroniclers have confused the name of Siwī with Sīwistān but this is conspicuously wrong. The little mahāll of Siwī never formed a part of, nor was included in, the extensive Sarkār of Sīwistān of Thathah in Sind. The error occurred because the account of Siwī is much mixed up

¹ "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām", Elliot, Vol., I, P. 344.

² "Tārīkh Tāhiri", Elliot, P. 258.

with the early geographical notices and annals of Makurān, Kandahār, and the territory dependent on Multān, the movements of Baluchis, the Rājputs, Jats, and other tribes of Sind. In the reign of Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kabājah, the Arabic chronicle, entitled the "Fateh Nāmeḥ", or "Chronicle of Victory", known to us from the translation as the "Chach Nāmeḥ", was rendered into Persian, and dedicated to the Sultān's wazīr, the Sadr-i-Jahān and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Husain, son of Abī-Bakr al-Ash'arī, and in this chronicle Siwī and its districts have been mentioned and shown totally distinct from Siwistān. At that time Wakiyā, the son of Punnūn Channūn ruled the Siwī district belonging to Bakhar Sarkār of Multān Sūbah (province). The author of Aīn-i-Akbarī while describing the boundaries of the Sarkār of Kandahār, states: "It extends in breadth from Sind to Farrāh. It has Siwī on the south, Farrāh on the west, and Kābul and Ghaznin between east and north". Nothing can be more clearer than this, that the district of Siwī does not refer to Siwistān. The same author in another place states that "between Bakhar and Siwī there is a great dasht", in which, "for a period of three months, during the hot season, the Samūm blows". This dasht is known to the people

of this part as "the pat", and it is sometime called the "Dasht Bedāri". Bedāri, is a Persian word, meaning 'wakefulness' because travellers crossing this belt of desert were frequently troubled from predatory Baluch bands from the hills to the north.

It is in the chronicle of Istakhri that we here the first mention of Siwī and its district. The district round Siwī was known to the Arab geographers as Balis otherwise Bālish or Wālishtān. The capital city according to Istakhri was Siwī or Siwah but the governor generally resided at al-Kasr (the castle), a small town situated one league distant from Asfanjay or 'Safanjāvi,'¹ the second city of the district; the exact cite of which have not been identified but which lay two marches from Siwī on the road to Banjāway of Rukhaj.²

Owing to the exposed position of Siwī, between the mouths of the Bolān and Harnāī passes, it has suffered from constant sieges. During the earlier part of its history, Siwī followed the fortunes of Sind and Multān rather than those of Khurāsān

¹ Asfanjay or Safanjāvi is the modern town of Sinjāwi, east of Ziarat.

² "The lands of the Eastern caliphate", P. 333; cf. Istakhri.

or Kandahār. Like the rest of Multān province to which Siwī district then appertained, the town too, fell under the rule of Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kabājah. During the disorder and disaffection which prevailed in India previous to the invasion of Ameer Timūr, the Gurgān, in 801 H. (1398 A.D.), the then Jām Fateh Khan of the Sammah dynasty seized upon Bakhar Sarkār of Multān province of which Siwī formed a district. Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn, known as Jām Nandā, succeeded to the rule over Sind in 866 H. (1461-62 A. D.). In the year 1485-86 A. D. Ameer Chākar Rind captured Siwī from Jām Nandā. The Baluch chief held his sway for about twenty five years. Latter on, the town of Siwī surrendered to the Arghūn Chief, Shāh Beg, in 1511 A. D. The latter went the way of all the earth in 1522, and his son Mirzā Shāh Husain bestowed the government of the place on Sultān Mahmūd Khan, son of Meer Fazal, Kokaltash.¹ Meer M'asūm states that Sultān Mahmūd "took several forts which has been held by Baluchis for many years. He severely chastised these vicious people of Kohistān and brought them under subjection".² In 1554, Shāh Husain supped all his porridge,

¹ Kokaltash is a Mughal title.

² See Tārīkh M'asūmi.

his realm was divided between Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān and Sultān Mahmūd. In 1573, the latter submitted his submission to Emperor Akbar, the Mughal, who confirmed to him as a fief, the Siwī district.¹ After the extinction of the Arghūn line, the Panri Pathāns who were since long waiting the upshot of events, took possession of Siwī. Meer M'asūm Bakhari, in after years, was placed in charge of Siwī, and he in 1003 H. (December, 1594 A. D.) captured Siwī from the Panrīs. Meer M'asūm in his history gives a graphic description of the remarkable features of contemporary Siwī and the country round. He states: "Another of the wonders of this part is, that, to the north of Siwī, a gumbaz or dome appears, which, in the Sindi language they call 'marr ogher', but, when any one goes there, nothing is to be seen. It is said that Sultān Mahmūd Khan, on one occasion, assembled together between 2,000 and 3,000 people, and, hand in hand, they proceeded to the summit of that mountain (Range on which it appeared), and not a thing was to be seen, neither did they find any gumbaz. They say it is a talisman which the ancients have there devised, and that a treasure hoard is there buried. On one occasion, a Darwesh did find something

¹ See *Aln-i-Akbari*.

there, after which, great numbers of persons went in hopes of discovering something, but found naught". In the time of Emperor Akbar, Siwī was one of the twelve Mahālls of the Bakhar Sarkār of Multān Sūbah. In one place Abul Fazl states that Ganjābah (Gandāwah) is a dependency of Siwī. Siwī added to the Mughal treasury annually 13 lakhs, 81 thousand, 930 dāms in cash, but nothing in kind, as Kandahār Mahālls paid.¹ After the expiry of Aurangzeb, the central integrity of the empire began to wane day by day. Disintegration, disorder and disaffection became the order of the day. Civil strife, the rising power of the Marhattās, the devastating invasions of Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, the emergence of the British empire, all these combined, chiefly brought about the speedy downfall of the succeeding puppet rulers of the house of Bābar Bādshāh who founded the Mughal empire which was destined to last for more than two centuries. From the second half of the 18th century till the middle of the 19th century, Siwī surrendered her benefits to the Durrānī masters of Kandahār. For another century, beginning from the middle of the 19th century to the fall of the British empire in the Indian sub-continent, the historic town of

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Siwī with rest of Baluchistan became the playground of an Imperial race, the British masters, who ruled the land as Olympian gods, and changed her more than one thousand years old name Siwī to Sibi.

Owing to its strategic position and the fertility and productiveness of its soil, Siwī, figured prominently in the annals of the country both in medieval and modern ages. In a country remarkable for its dead towns, Siwī earns a well merited palm. Heaps of debris, so many structures run to ruin, which were once dwelling-houses are now formless mounds of brick. It has been sacked and re-peopled on more than one occasion and the surroundings of the town once studded with villages and forts, now lay in complete ruins. The remains of ancient sites well depict the splendour and spectacle of a place that lived in sin and died in flame. A little less than a century, the entire Siwī plain stretching eastward was abundantly wooded, but there was no system of science of forestry and owing to the absence of regulation, the supply and growth has been well nigh extirpated.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTER OF BALUCH RACE.

Heredity and environments are main factors which build and determine the character of an individual as well as of a race. By heredity we mean peculiar racial instincts, traditions, customs, conventional laws and rules of honour. As regard environments, the physical and climatic factors, social organisation and social contact are the basic factors that give shape to the character of a certain race. If heredity is less influenced by other factors, the original nature governs the man and he will display and develop those qualities in all parts of the globe where still society is free from unnatural and artificial innovations.

The entire Baluch plateau from Kirmān in Persia to the confines of Punjāb is a mountain-walled bulwark, secure and confident upon foreign attacks, and fit to the requirements of a semi-feudal and turbulent mode of existence. It is a natural fortress built by Nature for herself against aggression and the

hand of war.¹ The physical conformation of the Baluch territories presents the extreme vicissitudes and extreme varieties of scenery, and of climate, corresponding with those of altitude, from the debilitating heat of the plains to the rigour of mountain heights, the racial features and archaic habits of many of its people; nomadism and tribalism (Feudalism), are responsible for phenomenon that has wholly disappeared from the civilized countries and races. Baluchistan has been in the track of invading armies, and as the human tide has ebbed and flowed, it has deposited its virtues and vices upon the Baluch soil. But the Baluchis constituting an enormously preponderant majority have not borrowed the traits of alien races or tribes forming decided majority or decided minority. The Baluch social code ever succeeded the invasion of alien customs. Nomadism or nomadic life every where in the orient exhibits certain common features, independent of race and politics and these features are the outcome of their organisation and character. Nomadic life is full of rubs,

¹ See "Unexplored Baluchistan", by E.A. Floyer (1876); "Von Teheran Nach Beludschistan", by A. Gasteiger (1881); *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii. (1844), Haji Abdus Nabi; "Travels in Balochistan, Afghanistan etc.", (4 Vols. London, 1844) by Masson; *Eastern Persia*, (2 Vols., 1876) by St. John Lovett.



Baluch Nomad.

and the fortune of the nomad always runs against the natural disposition or inclination. The science of defence, artless sincerity, bravery, forbearance, simplicity of manners and hospitality are the virtues which a Baluch masters under the tutorage of Nature in the vast academy of Nomadism.¹ Tribal feeling is strong among the Baluch people. Deference to headmen, of the tribe, clan, village or camp, is universal. Simple-minded and innocent of the villainy and debaucheries of the city life, the Baluchis are free from all blemishes that breeds out of the influence of the court and camp, *i.e.* sedition, greed and opportunism. Rough, ignorant and fierce, little religion is known to them but that of blood, which displays itself in tribal feuds, followed with pitiless ferocity. "The tribes of Balochistan", writes Masson, "hold but an inferior rank in the grand scale of society, whether as regards their intellectual advancement or their acquaintance with the arts of life; yet, with the errors and excesses generally attendant upon ignorance and a savage state, they have some good natural qualities, and many of those virtues which seem to glow and flourish with brighter lustre and strength

¹ See "History of Baluch race and Baluchistan", by M. S. Khan Baluch.

under the shade of barbarian's tent, than under the more costly canopy which civilization expands over the heads of her sons".¹ The Baluchis are amongst the races of men who display the most perfect physical organization, and the Baluch accent upon the physical rather than mental qualities of man proved far more a curse than a blessing to the collective welfare of the race. The loom of time moves step by step with them, and they heed but little for high pressure and the roaring of the wheels. The reprehensible system of feudalism (tribalism) pitted one tribe against another tribe, one chief against another chief, and thus the enmity of both individual and tribes relieved the purse of the chiefs, who can deservedly claim the pernicious distinction in Baluch history of having decimated the vigour and vitality of the race. Nothing can be so welcome to a Baluch chief as a blood-feud, a murder, or a quarrel or dissension within his tribesmen. The tribes, therefore, have been addicted from ages to the simultaneous gratification and exhaustion of their energies in internecine warfare. The chiefs were the main custodian of the Baluch society, and would be the martial, administrative as well as judicial head of the tribe.

¹ "Narrative of a Journey to Kalat", P. 418.

History is replete with instances of the absolute power achieved by rulers who united in themselves both temporal and spiritual offices. Under the feudal system the entire Baluch race suffered from the tyranny of a chiefship which forced complete acceptance of traditional ideas and gave little opportunity for intellectual freedom. As it is, the tribesmen dislike the chiefs, and, when the call comes for their close co-operation, 'To your mountains, O Baluchis' is more aptly to be the tribesman's response. In fact tribalism or feudalism proved a permanent curse for the entire race, because it has distorted and divided them into different hostile camps, and, moreover, it is a system of administration in which every actor, namely, the tribes and the tribal chiefs are, in different aspects, both the briber and the bribed. There is no personal sense of duty or pride of honour, and no mutual trust or co-operation between the tribal chiefs. To strengthen the system, would mean to graft uselessly new shoots on to a stem whose own sap is consumed. The character of the Baluch race to the present day have changed but little, a clear indication of the slow foot with which Time passes over this race and their remote regions. Different races of the world lived, perished and altered but the Baluchis yet remain with much the

same outlook, pride and customs which they had when they were the masters of the Fertile Crescent, Babylon.¹ The proud heritage of the venerable Kaldians still survives with full vigour in the Baluch veins. The present civilization is slowly but steadily laying its crystallising finger on the social structure of the Baluch race, and, we cannot predict, how far, the proud Baluch traditional code will succeed in holding itself against its horrid and odious onset. A Baluch, however, is a noble specimen of his ancient ancestors, the Semites. Sir William Ousley states that in his opinion Baluch are of Hejāzi Arab descent,² and compares their character to those of Hejāzi Arabs and finds them similar, *e.g.* both are warlike, both by no means favourable to fine arts or cultivation, both are robbers and love shedding blood, slaughter and violence. As Ibn-i-Athur calls Hejāzi Arabs Ahl-ul-Hajer, *i.e.*, the people of the rock.³

The Baluchis possess the pride of blood in an extreme degree. In the social register of mankind, a Baluch holds himself on the top. He enjoys and holds the chauvinistic myth

¹ For the origin of the Baluch race, see "History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan", by M. S. Khan Baluch, Chapter I.

² Cf. "Burbān-i-Qāti".

³ "Masālik-wa-Mamālik", by Ibn Haukal, translated by Sir William Ousley, P. 291.

that the Baluchis are a master race, holding master blood. Even an ordinary Baluch of meagre means is so fired with noble self-esteem that on matters of lineal prestige and pride or promise, he is prone to swear on his head with swaggering assertion, as 'Sultānen Sar' (kingly head). He finds his equal or match only in his own blood. Whatever be the merit of their claim, we have to admit and acknowledge that the Baluch people have kept their blood purity and distinction of character to the best of their means and efforts. According to a Baluch, a real regard to the purity of pedigree preserves the harmony of public and private life and the fusion and mixture of foreign blood is the sure source of decay, degeneration, disorder and discord. Genealogy has been and is still their master passion. No race save the Arabs and the Baluchis have raised genealogy to the standard of authentic history. A genuine Baluch is supposed to trace his pedigree back to several generations. They are impatiently and zealously jealous and oversensitive of female honour. The women act as the drudges of the household, and are kept emulously at home, while their gloomy, jealous and suspicious lords, ever on the alert, guard their dwellings and their female honour like a falcon hovering over his nest. Among them,

marriage with the near relations is general and endogamy is strictly practised with its hard and fast rules to an extent that a girl is never allowed to marry out of the family and is fated to become one of the several wives of a near relation or pass her days unmarried. "Divorce is rare among the Baluch as the usual punishment for infidelity is death and it is considered a disgrace to put away a wife for other reasons".¹ Corruption and vices prevail everywhere and in every race, but without any pride and prejudice, it can be positively asserted that the Baluch honour, even in this feministic age, has not tolerated to see public sale of their women's honour in brothel area, as is the case with all other races, and no individual or race can challenge the veracity of this bold and positive assertion. As the descendants of the glorious Kaldians, a race of rulers who deified themselves for centuries and founded the world's first great civilization, the Baluchis precisely conscience of their racial pride, do feel an esteemed race. A Baluch is prone to under esteem all races save the Semites. His bravery, generosity, loyalty, pride and jealousy had been his best and worst qualities. The proverbial arrogance of the Rind tribe has exposed them to the

¹ "Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series", Vol. III, Sibi district, P. 46.

haughty vocation: "A Jām may be Jām but he is a Jadgāl by descent, and therefore is no equal of the princely race of Baluchis".¹ This over-vanity has proved emphatically a permanent curse to every Baluch. In political, social and other fields, he seeks in his own blood, the fittest rival to quench his venom. It is a fact that every Baluch is a permanent danger and a constant threat to another Baluch, or in brief, every Baluch is anti-Baluch. We narrate an anecdote which clearly illustrates the spirit that governed and still governs the Baluch life. In the closing years of the 18th century, seven persons of the Qaisarāni sub-clan of the Buzheri clan of the Gishkauri tribe, once set out on a journey. At night they halted at a place and unloaded their luggage. According to Baluch wont, they carried corn flour in a leathern bag (aphān) made of sheep skin. After taking rest for a while, they decided to bake bread. In the meanwhile, a poisonous snake accidentally crept inside the flour bag to the ignorance of all. One of them asked the other to get flour from the bag. He went near the bag and when put his hand inside, the snake bit him. He drew out his hand without uttering a word, and after a short while,

¹ "Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series", Vol. VII, Makran by Hughes Buller, P. 100.

asked another man to draw flour. The second man when put his hand inside the bag, he was too bitten. He, too, quietly took out his hand without informing any of his companions, and so on, with like spirit of base concealment, jealousy and spleen, when the seventh man was bitten, he cried out and disclosed the evil, and afterward, the other six persons remarked that they had already met the same fatal fate. Consequently all died, and this calamitous incident became proverbial, only to be cited. Similar individual as well as collective curse has injured severely the roots of Baluch unity and hegemony, and, finally, the turn of Fortune's wheel paved the way for the establishment of alien chiefships and phylarchies upon Baluch soil at the expense of Baluch people who accepted their authority unmurmuringly. For example, the Bārakzai¹ chiefship of Bampūr; the Gichki² chiefs of Makurān; the Nausherwāni³ chiefry of Khārān, and the Jāmate⁴ of Las-Belā, besides various other

¹ The Bārakzai line of the Bampur chiefs belong to the Barakzai clan of the Durrāni Afghans of Kandahār.

² The Gichkis of Makurān belong to Indian blood. (See "History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan", by M.S. Khan Baluch).

³ The Nausherwāni chiefs of Khārān claim to be of Persian stock, but they are descendants of the Nikudari section of the Mongols.

⁴ The Jāms of Las-bela are connected with the Rājputis of Nāvānagar.

alien dynasties who had since ages established their hegemony over Baluch tribes, are enough to indicate a history of disorder and disunity, decay and disintegration. Physically, the Baluchis are a strong people who *en masse* appear to be impervious to social degeneration, but politically they are indisputably among the most disunited people that ever history has recorded.

Hospitality and bravery are the heritage of a Baluch.¹ Generosity is the salt of their life, revenge an article of faith, and loyalty the key point of their character. The Baluch character is quite distinct and different from other neighbouring races. A Baluch is brave, firm and fixed, sedate and serene, both in the hour of victory or defeat, in weal or woe. The vices which expose a man when he is lavishly paid, are quite unknown to an ordinary Baluch. History is mute to cite a single instance wherein the Baluchis at the eve of defeat, disaster and dismay, surrendered with disgrace or timidity. For a Baluch to fight and die is death destroying death, while fearing dying pays death coward breath. In the first world war when the world armies joined the blood of bitterness in a vein of

¹ "The Country of Baluchistan", by A.W. Hughes, P. 41;
"Across the Border", by Oliver, P. 25.

league, and launched the mortal combat against Germany, the British government demanded recruits from the Marri tribe but they refused and unclasped the purple leaves of war. The British army consisting of one division, armed to the teeth, under the command of General Hardy besieged the Marri territory. War dragged on for six months and the brunt of the disastrous war brought the tribe to the brink of utter ruin. Several villages were bombed and blown to bits. At length, peace was patched up. At Kāhān, the headquarter of the tribe, a Darbār was held, and the then Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan addressed the leading tribesmen. After the Darbār, the agent to the Governor General pointed towards the Marri Chief, Nawāb Khair Bakhsh Khan, and said: "Well the Marrīs will not dare in future to fight against the British." "Yes Sāhib", rejoined the Nawāb, "the British too, will not dare to ask for recruits."

In 1898, Meer Baluch Khan Nausherwānī declared an open and avowed renunciation of the British imperialism at Makurān. The Baluchis captured the Turbat fort, made an attack on a survey party led by Captain Burn in the Kolwā Hills. Killed many men and looted a large quantity of

the government property. The port of Pasni was sacked, and destroyed the telegraph line between Pasni and Gwadar. Colonel Mayne commanding a strong column of four hundred infantry reached the scene and encountered the Baluchis at the defile of Gokprosh, south of Turbat. The British army completely beleaguered the enemy, and there was not a shadow of hope to escape, but to parley, fight or surrender. Meer Baluch Khan was promised quarter with dignity, in case he surrenders, but he refused expressly, and challenged the British arms to brave his fields. He stood firm and formidable like a mortar-piece to blow the enemy, and preferred to die than be debased. At last, after a bloody contest, he drank the cup of martyrdom alongwith one hundred and fifty of his men, and was entombed on the field with all other martyrs. The fatal field of Gokprosh and the graves of the Baluch heroes, serve to this day an open and bold monument of Baluch bravery and tenacity, and teach a veritable lesson to the future generations relating the peace of heaven to be theirs that lift their swords in such a just war. Likewise, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Baluch Tiberius, the nightmare of Sind, Meer Bijar Dombki, challenged and defied the might and majesty

of the British government, who offered him an extensive jāgīr besides the title of Nawābship, but he refused, saying, "that a hungry lion is well accommodated in the forest than a fox walled within a palace", and fought for the whole of his life against British aggression and injustice.¹

We now give some accounts of Baluchis as given by the English people who lived with, fought against and ruled over the Baluch people in Baluchistan and Sind for about one hundred years. The remarks of the rival camp are usually unbiased and ought bear testimony not far from truth. Their description is not deluded by surface show, all of them impartially stripped the tinsel from the gilt gingerbread. "The Biloch," we are told, "represents in many respects a very strong contrast with his neighbour the Pathan. The political organization of each is tribal which the one yields a very large measure of obedience to a chief who is a sort of limited monarch, the other recognizes no authority save that of a council of the tribe. Both have most of the virtues and many of the vices peculiar to a wild and semi-civilized life. To both hospitality is a sacred duty and

¹ See "Dry leaves from young Egypt", by Eastwick.

the safety of guest inviolable, both look upon the exaction of "blood for blood" as the first duty of man; both follow strictly a code of honour of their own. But one (Baluch) attacks his enemy from the front, the other from behind, the one (Baluch) is bound by his promises, the other (Pathan) by his interests, and Biloch less fanatical than Pathan, he has less of God in his creed and less of devil in his nature. His (Baluch) frame is shorter and more spare and wiry than that of his neighbour (Pathan) to the north. Frank and open in his manners and without servility, fairly truthful when not corrupted by our (English) courts, faithful to his word, temperate and enduring and looking upon courage as the highest virtue, the true Biloch of Derājāt frontiers is one of the pleasantest men we have to deal with in the Punjab....."¹ A prominent British statesman draws a critical picture about the character of the two races, i. e., the Baluch and Pathan, and delivers his glowing remarks as such: "If we take the Afghan or Afridi, as the northern type, and the Rind Baluch (the Arab) as the southern type, then the distinctions drawn

¹ Chapter on "The races, castes and tribes of the people in the report on the Census of Punjab", published in 1883, by late Sir Denzil Ibbeston, pp. 41-42.

by late writers generally hold good. The Baluchi is easier to deal with and to control than the Pathan, owing to his tribal organization, and his freedom from bigoted fanaticism or blind allegiance to his priest. He respects and honours the chief of his clan, who possesses far greater authority in the tribal councils than is the case with the Pathan. The Pathan is a republican of the worst type. He is a law unto himself, and although he is very much under the influence of the Mullah, he has always an eye to business, even in his most fanatical outbursts. Both are warlike and predatory, but their methods of fighting differ essentially, even when engaged in inter-tribal warfare. The Baluch fights openly, and faces his enemy boldly. There is a rough form of chivalry amongst the Baluch warriors, who are in most respects worthy descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia.

The Pathan will make use of any stratagem or subterfuge that suits his purpose. He will shoot his own relations just as soon as the relations of his enemy, possibly sooner and he will shoot them from behind. Yet the individual Pathan may be trusted to be true to his salt and to his engagements. He has his own code of honour, a very crooked code, and one which requires to

be well understood. Physically there is little to choose between the best representatives of either people. It would be difficult to match the stately dignity and imposing presence of a Baluch Chief of the Marri and Bugti clans. When clothed in raiment which is decently clean (which only happens at a Darbar), with his long hair well-oiled and ringletted, and his trappings of war—knives, sword and shield, all well polished and slung easily about—he is as fine a figure of a man as can be found in Asia. His Semitic features are those of the Bedouin, and he carries himself as straight and as lofty as an Arab gentleman of Nejd.”¹ Another British statesman acknowledges in his own imitable way the bravery of the Baluchis: “The third measure of this policy,” remarks Demetrius, “as it may be termed of limited defence, would be to raise a corps of 10,000 Belooches—perhaps the best fighting men in Asia as a set off against the Czars Turcomans.”² The battle of Miāni (February 18, 1843) dawned the Baluch sovereignty over Sind in waves of blood. A desperate fight ended in complete chaos. The ready mounted British cannons

¹ “The Indian Borderland”, by Colonel Sir T.H. Holdich, PP. 184-85.

² “Central Asian questions”, by Demetrius C. Boulger, P. 162.

mercilessly threw forth their iron indignation against the bravest ranks of the Baluchis. In an ill-omened hour the British imperial flag supplanted the Baluch standard on the towers of Hyderābād fort, to the great dismay and misfortune of the Baluch people.¹ After the blood-won victory, the then Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, wrote to the Secretary of State for India: "The army of Sinde has twice beaten the bravest enemy in Asia, under circumstances which would equally have obtained for it the victory over the best troops in Europe....." In the annals of the British conquest of India, the British arms was never put to the touch so severely as they encountered in the memorable battle of Miāni. The unsurpassed bravery of the Baluchis can be fairly judged by the intensely fascinating and well-delineated detail superbly given by Sir William Napier from his brother Sir Charles Napier's account: "The dead level of the plain was swept by the Belooch cannon and matchlock, which were answered from time to time by Lloyd's battery yet not frequently for rapidly and eagerly did the troops press forward to close into their unforeseen foes. Then rose the British

¹ See "History of Sind", by Mirza Kalichbeg, Vol. II.

shout, the English guns were run forward into position, the infantry closed upon the Fullailee with a run, and rushed up the sloping bank. The Beloochs having their matchlocks laid ready in rest along the summit waited until the assailants were within fifteen yards ere their volley was delivered; the rapid pace of the British and the steepness of the slope on the inside, deceived their aim, and the execution was not great; the next moment, the 22nd were on the top of the bank, thinking to bear down all before them, but they staggered back in amazement at the forest of swords waving in their front! Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochs, in their many coloured garments and turbans; they filled the broad deep bed of the Fullailee, they clustered on the both banks and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun, their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures, they rushed forward; and full against the front of the 22nd dashed with demoniac strength and ferocity.....Now the Beloochs closed their dense masses, and again the shouts and the rolling fire of musketry and the dreadful rush of the swordsmen

were heard and seen along the whole line and such a fight ensued as has seldom been known or told of in the records of war. For ever the wild warriors came close up, sword and shield in advance, striving in all the fierceness of their valour to break into the opposing ranks; no fire of small arms, no push of bayonets, no sweeping discharges of grapes from the guns, which were planted in one mass on the right, could drive the gallant fellows back; they gave their breasts to the shot, they leaped upon the guns and were blown away by twenties at a time, their dead went down the steep slope by 'hundreds'; but the gaps in their masses were continually filled up from the rear, the survivors of the front rank still pressed forward, with unabated fury, and the bayonet and the sword clashed in full and frequent conflict.

"Thus they fought in their fearful struggle, never more than three yards apart, and often intermixed and several times the different regiments, aye even the Europeans were violently forced backwards and pushed from the line, overborne and staggering under the might of the barbarian swordsmen. Nearly all European Officers were now slain or wounded and several times the sepoy, wanting leaders slowly receded, but the General



A nineteenth century Baluch Chief.

a skilful horseman and conspicuous from his peculiar headgear, half helmet and half turban, was always at the point of greatest pressure and then manfully the swarthy soldiers recovered the ground.

“Three hours and a half this storm of war continued without abatement and still the Beloochs undismayed at their honour pressed forward the furious force, their number seeming to augment instead of decreasing. As the battle continued with unabated fury Sir Charles Napier.....changed his strategy. He knew that the Beloochs could not be defeated in a frontal attack. So he devised a flanking movement on the right. This wing was lightly defended and so the surprise move proved successful and the Beloochs enveloped from the right were confronted with an attack from the rear. And yet they fought with enhanced ferocity. “A soldier bounding forward drove his bayonet, into the breast of a Belooch, instead of falling the rugged warrior cast away his shield and seizing the musket with his left hand writhed his body forward on the bayonet, until he could with one sweep of his sword, for the Belooch needs no second blow, avenge himself. Both fell dead together”.

"However, the battle was lost and slowly the Beloochs began to retreat, yet not in dispersion nor with marks of fear in heavy masses they moved keeping together with their broad shields slung over their backs their heads half turned and their eyes glaring with fury. The victors followed closely pouring in volley after volley until tired of slaughtering. Yet these stern implacable warriors still preserved their habitual swinging stride and would not quicken it to a run though death was at their heels.

"Two or three thousand who were on the extreme right having passed by the cavalry untouched kept their position and seemed disposed to make another rush. The whole of British guns were immediately turned upon them with such heavy discharges of grape and shells that they also lost hope and went off with the others. Such was the battle of Mianee fought on February 18, 1843. The front of the battle was a chain of single combat where no quarter was given, none called for, none expected: Sepoys and Europeans and Beloochs were alike bloody and remorseless taking life for life, given death for death. The ferocity on both sides was unbounded, the carnage horrible."¹

¹ See also "Cambridge History of the British Empire", by H. H. Dodwell, Vol. IV. P. 537.

A. I. Shand in his biography of General John Jacob gives a true and forcible sketch of the courage, bravery and tenacity of the Baluchis: "All these Belooch, whether they fought on horseback or on foot, were equipped with formidable weapons. All were athletic and muscular men, sun-dried till they carried little but bone and sinew. Their swords broad and short, slightly curved and of the finest temper, had edges almost as keen as that of Saladin's scimitar when he astounded the crusaders by severing the floating veil. Napier asserts that in all their forays they were attended by professional sword-whetters. Be that as it may, they proved themselves terrible antagonists in many a Homeric single combat, and were as dangerous when their wounded strewed the ground as the Dervish swordsmen of the Soudan. They carried matchlocks besides a weapon, which Sir Charles Napier demonstrated a few years later to be infinitely inferior to our old Brown Bess... .. These wild warriors played the game of war well according to their irregular rules; they studied surprises and excelled in ambushes; they fought when all the chances were in their favour, and fled with no sense of shame when outnumbered. But courage was the common quality of all. When cornered, they

fought it out with desperate resolution and died to a man rather than yield."¹ Postans spent several years in Sind and his personal contact with Baluchis of all shades led him to speak of the character of the race in terms of accustomed warmth: "The Bilochis are the dominant party as the latest conquerors of the country and came from mountain regions to the westward; they are feudatory holders of the soil "an indolent and insolent race, before when even the late ruling princes were obliged to quail, for with the arms in their hands, looking upon the country as their own, their chiefs being in a measure elective, they exercised unbound control over the administration of the country, constituting a complete military despotism On any signal for general rising a swift camel carries the news from tribe to tribe and from 20 to 30 thousand armed men could be collected within a few days, every man being at times prepared for war—in practice they have no rules the strongest man is the best soldier Bilochis are expert marksmen and are trained at arm at an early age—but they rely on sword. At Miani they threw away their matchlocks and rushed on the bayonets of our (British) troops. Sir Charles Napier says in his dispatches, "the brave Bilochis

¹ "General John Jacob", by A. I. Shand, pp. 19-20.

first discharging their matchlocks and pistols dashed over the bank with desperate resolution—but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of musket and bayonets.” No man of any rank and no Biloch is considered dressed without his sword—it is as necessary a part of his costume as a cap or turban. The Biloch acknowledges the rights of hospitality and never fails to entertain the stranger and after he has shared every meal, they sit with him (guest) round their blazing fire or under bright moonlight and amuse him with rude songs or wilder tales of predatory deeds. Field sport is the ruling passion of every Biloch.”¹

“The Baloch has”, states McConaghey, “the reputation of being a good fighting man. He is tall and spare in appearance, temperate in his habits and endued with great powers of endurance, being capable of sustaining prolonged fatigue on very poor food.....Until comparatively recent years the Baloch looked upon fighting as their trade and despised agriculture and the arts of peace.....On the whole, the Baloch are easy to manage and are generally well

¹ “Personal observations on Sind”, by Postans (1843), pp. 40-44.

affected. They are a frank, good mannered people and in the characteristics of truth and honour are superior to their Afghan neighbours. To their chiefs they are docile and obedient though their bearing to others is proud and independent. The best characteristics are their fidelity, truthfulness, hospitality and the treatment of their women, and their faults, indolence, pride and perhaps oversensitiveness.....The rule of war was never to molest women or children, and women could go out safely when their male relations were in the midst of war. Boys were considered fair prey as soon as they assumed the toga virilis in the shape of a pair of pajāmas.”¹ The Encyclopaedia Britannica concludes: “The Baluches are a handsome, active race of men, not possessing great physical strength, but inured to changes of climate and season, and capable of enduring every species of fatigue. In their habits they are pastoral and much addicted to predatory warfare, in the course of which they do not hesitate to commit every kind of outrage and cruelty—they are considered to be a hospitable people . . .”² Another reliable resource

¹ “Baluchistan district Gazetteer Series”, Vol. III, Sibi district, PP. 59-60.

² Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, 9th Edition, P. 303.

concludes, "Koch and Baloch are the names of certain races of barbarous people who inhabit the mountains on the border of Kirman. It is said they are descended from Arabians of Hejaz. Their employments are fighting and shedding of blood, thieving and robbing on the roads. If at any times it happens that they cannot find strangers, they murder one another, plundering and destroying each others property. Thus even brothers, near relations and friends quarrel—and they consider this as a pleasant occupation."¹ Centuries of racial, political and social hatred and conflict between the Persians and Baluchis created a wide gulf of enmity between the two races. The Persian never respect the Baluch whom he has been taught to despise. With all the prejudices of their blood and history, little should be expected from the Persian pen to describe the sterling characteristics of Baluch people. Nevertheless, the hyperbolic pen of one of the Persian writers is morally compelled to state the truth. "The Baluchis are veracious", writes Razm Arā, "and honest workers to the backbone. If some valuable article or a document be entrusted to them, they will never misappropriate it and will never spare their lives for its protection and

¹ Burhān-i-Qāṭ'i.

safety. They are uncivilized, but even in that state are contented and proud . . . They are famed for their bravery and martial spirit, as Firdausi in his 'Shāh Nāmeḥ' has compared them to wild ram, for they would be armed to the nail and never turned their back from the battlefield.....The Baluchis treat their womenfolk with justice and equality."¹

Racial instincts and conventions commingled with nomadism and tribalism developed among the Baluchis, the glaring traits of loyalty, hospitality and generosity, which are the common quality of the Baluch of blue blood. "It may be noted", describes Dames, "however, that the Baluch exalts generosity into the first of all the virtues, while greed is condemned as the worst of crimes, entailing the most severe punishment."² A Baluch reckons no other factor or feature but that of generosity to raise an individual to the status of a saint. Almost every village grave-yard having a patron saint, who in his lifetime was a village or tribal elder, and addressed both in his lifetime or afterwards as 'Sakhī' (the generous)

¹ "Jughrāfiya-i-Nizām-i-Irān", by 'All Razm Arā, Chapter V, P. 42.

² "Popular poetry of the Baloches", by M. L. Dames, P. 28.

because of his generosity. The shrines of these departed saints are an object of attention and pilgrimage, and each stone added to the commemorative pile denotes a vow fulfilled. The shrines of such personalities are ubiquitous in the tribes, and, we have, among the Marrīs, Sakhī (the generous) Bahāwalān; the Bugtīs revere Sakhī Suhrī; Sakhī Ghulām 'Alī of the Gishkaurīs; Sakhī Rindhān of the Mazārī tribe; Sakhī Sobdār, the patron saint of the Buledis of Jacobābād, and Sakhī Thangav who is extolled by the Bolān Baluchis and the Kālmātīs of Makurān coast. Sixteenth century Rinds were so famed for their feats of generosity that it became proverbial among the succeeding generations. Every Rind of patrician order vied each other in the field of generosity and hospitality. Nodhbandagh famed for his lavish generosity as 'Zarzwāl' (Gold-Scatterer), would take on his mare a pair of saddle-bags filled with money, and after making a hole in the bottom of the bags, rode in the streets of Dādhar until the bags were made empty. Thus, he would feed, a host of orphans and indigents who followed his track. Once Ameer Chākar sent a professional minstrel (Domb), telling him to demand of Nodhbandagh every thing he had in his possession. The minstrel did so, and Nodhbandagh asked him to lend

him his upper garment (Phushtī), which the minstrel did. Nodhbandagh divided the piece of cloth into two parts, with one of which he clothed himself and with the other his wife; and bestowed the 'Domb' all his clothes and every thing in the house, leaving it completely bare.¹

In Baluchistan wealth in those days was measured in terms of cattle, and the word for war meant a desire for more sheep. The bestowal of herds, flocks, rare steeds, slaves and swords, etc. was a common sight among the proud Rinds. Generosity, hospitality, bravery, horsemanship and loyalty were the main scales by which the pre-eminence of the tribes was determined. Nawāb Jamāl Khan Leghārī (D. 1881), we are informed, was so famed for his generosity that a host of persons from Derājāt and neighbouring territories of Baluchistan, with narrow circumstances at home, sought aid from his bounteous hand. His liberality and hospitality knew no bounds. Hundreds of indigent persons daily hovered round the premises of his house for help and succour. The bestowal of horses and camels to the destitutes annually valued more than one lakh of rupees. Bags of money were poured into heaps on 'Id festivals, only to be distributed

¹ See "Popular poetry of the Baloches."

among paupers. A special staff was appointed to superintend and regularize the accounts and expenses of the guests and keep record of the money, cattle and flocks meant for distribution. His example was enthusiastically envied by other contemporary Baluch chiefs of renown and resources. The guest house of the then Mazārī Chief at Rojhān, provided 200 beds at a time to the guests, and often the guest house would be so crowded, that tents were pitched to accommodate guests. Likewise, the generosity of other Baluch Chiefs varied in degree according to their resources and respect, and everywhere the same atmosphere prevailed. The tribes, not the less, equally shared with their chiefs in liberality and hospitality to the extent of their available means. Each tribe, conventionally either reserved certain share of their produce or permanently gave a part of their cultivated lands to their chief to preserve and promote the prestige and glory of the tribe in the field of hospitality and munificence. "With the Baluch hospitality is a sacred duty", states A. Mc Conaghey, "and may also be considered a part of his religion. A tribesman's door is open to all comers, and an enemy even may not come to his house without

being supplied with the best the host can offer."¹

In the Baluch Code to avenge blood is the foremost of all duties. Blood according to the tribal law, calls for blood. In some cases murder was reckoned up by the usual rate of compensation differing among each tribe which is similar to that of the bloodwite (diyah) accepted by the Arabs. The murder of one man led to internicine blood feuds, lasting for generations. Even a slight inflicted on a neighbouring tribe would raise a feud, a vendetta, which carried on its horrible course through generations blood-feud, murder, plot and plunder, until, the principals having lost, the indirect branches of the families were entangled. No Baluch was so detested as the nefarious sluggish who recoiled from avenging the family feud or honour, even on a remote relative of the first criminal. The spirit of vengeance would be so grave and intense that if all the elder male members of a family were killed then the females of the deceased family taught their children, the name of the murderers to be avenged, whenever, able to do so. Ancient Baluch ballads teem with anecdotes describing inhumane

¹ "Baluchistan district Gazetteer Series", Vol. III, Sibi district compiled by Major A. McConaghey, P. 77.

feats of revenge, which staggers the imagination. Bijār, one of the Phuzh Rind Chiefs of Ameer Chākar's time was murdered by the Buledi tribe, his ribs were roasted and thrown outside to feed crows and kites. Consequently, Bijār's relatives caught the Buledi chief, Haibat Khan, dragged him on a high precipice and was thrown headlong, and to comply with the fury of their blood, severed his head, and skull fashioned into a cup, served Bijār's family as a bowl.¹ Several instances can be cited when the blood of the avenged was sipped by the avenger, his liver and heart were roasted and sent to his family. Bāhar, the father of the grand Bīvrāgh, was killed by Sheh Khatti and his men. Sheh Khatti took strict precautions to protect himself from the long divorce of steel. One day, Bīvrāgh met him alone, and fell on him as confident as a falcon against a bird, sworded his head from his reverent shoulders, and glutting his naturally ferocious appetite, dipped his long moustaches in his hot flowing

¹ According to Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus, the wild Scythian tribes also displayed similar brute scenes of vengeance. (Muratori, *Scrip. Rer. Itab.* tom. 1. 424). In the "days of ignorance," a certain man of the Ghassanid tribe cut off the ears of his enemy and used it as patches set upon the shoes. The contemporary poet, Lubaid, versed this event.

مخفف بالاذان منكم نوالنا - ونشرب كرها منكم في الحجاج

"Ears should be used as shoes and the skull as the wine cup."

blood, sipped it, then came to Chākar and displayed his blooded moustaches in the presence of Rind nobles. Hasan Maulānagh, the cousin of Bīvragh, was murdered in cold blood. His brother, Hārīn, to quench his spleen murdered one hundred men of the enemy tribe, thus computing ten men for his venerable brother's steed, ten for his dromedary, ten for his sword, ten for his shield, ten for the fingers of his hands, and fifty in general. After taking such a great toll of life, his vengeful ire was not subsided, and he expressed his venom in memorable words which became for ever a favourite Baluch adage: "I cannot slaughter the entire world, and peace in no case can be restored, even my enemies flee to Masqat (beyond the sea)".

Treachery is the worst of all crimes to a Baluch. He is a trustworthy individual with all noble qualities of his noble blood. Being as true as the pole-star to the north, he is true to his salt when put to the touch. Betrayal and treachery are the words unknown to his moral code. The grand Bīvragh when abducted the daughter of the king of Kandahār, he took refuge with his arch-enemy, Gowahrām, the Lāshārī chief, who received the dignified couple with open arms, and for seven days the honourable host sumptuously served them with Sicilian dishes.

But Bīvrāgh to the stern amazement of the princess, never tasted the food throughout his stay. When the princess enquired from him about this, he is said to have remarked: "Gowahrām and his tribe is the staunch enemy of Ameer Chākar and the Rinds, if I taste his salt today, never shall I unsheathe my sword against him".

Just like the celebrated Arabs, a Baluch is bound to fight to the death for a person who had taken refuge (Bāot) with him, and so long as he remained under his roof. One of the most spectacular and sanguinary episodes of the Chākarian period, the historic battle of Nalī between the Rind and Lāshārīs was the outcome of the grave affront done to the fair and square lady, Gowhar, who was the refugee of Ameer Chākar. For the honour of their refugee, the venerable and veracious Rinds lost every thing but honour. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Baluch woman, Sammī, famed for her wealth in terms of flocks and herds lived in the neighbourhood of the Buledi tribe who claimed unenviable reputation as adroit and incurable thieves. The predatory bands of the Buledis made things uncomfortable for her. Vexed and worried, she, with a burning shame took refuge with Dodā of the

Gorgezh tribe. The Buledis ever and anon would commit raids on her flocks. Consequently, fight ensued between the rival tribes, and in one of the conflicts, Dodā and his brother together with other men were killed. The enmity became chronic and the brutal clash of arms between the rival camps lasted with fiercest determination for half a century after the death of Sammī, almost with the same fury and fire as it happened on the day when they first came into collision. The 'war of lizard' between two Baluch tribes, Bulfatī and Kalmatī, presents its own special credit of the barbaric sense of honour in protecting the person of the refugee. Few boys of the Kalmatī tribe saw in an open field a lizard, and came hunting it from behind, and it ran into the neighbouring tent of the Bulfatī chief, Shāh Husain, and at the time, none of the male member was present. Bībari, the wife of the Chief, came out of the tent, and with honour and humility addressed the boys: "Boys, leave the lizard alone, it is my refugee; do so much for me for your own name's sake." In spite of her interposition, the boorish boys forcibly entered the tent and killed the lizard with sticks. On her husband's arrival, she narrated the whole story and avowed: "If thou dost not take revenge for the lizard, I am thy sister and thou my brother." He



Specimen of Baluchi embroidery.

replied, "Oh lady, have patience a while, for a little stay, do not speak to me. I will act so on account of this lizard that the ground will be full of blood....." He attacked a neighbouring Kalmatī house and after murdering one man, succeeded in effecting his escape. This quarrel of the few became the business of both the tribes. The quench for revenge on both sides developed into a chronic state and the flames of war enveloped every member of the hostile tribes. Once in a single fight one hundred and ten men from both sides were killed inspite of the continuous reciprocal raiding and plundering. For two centuries the blood of the reverend refugee had been commemorated by occasional encounters between the antagonistic tribes.

The Baluchis follow with greatest stringency certain rules of honour which strongly influence the actions of the tribesmen. The veracity of prestige and status of a certain tribe is known by the degree of their adherence to these rules. Here are the conventional decorum:

(1) To avenge blood is the foremost of all duties. Blood according to the primitive law of the land, calls for blood. Sometimes

the murder may be commuted by the usual rate of compensation differing among each tribe.

(2) To defend to the last property entrusted to him.

(3) To fight to the death for a person who had taken refuge with him. An adulterer was refused any sort of protection.

(4) To be hospitable and to provide for the safety of the person and property of a guest.

(5) To refrain from killing a woman, a minor boy who had not taken to trousers, a Hindu, a minstrel, or menial, in any of the contests where human lives are lost. (Hindus are considered as *hamsāyās* or *Bāot-refugee*).

(6) To pardon an offence on the interposition of a woman of the offender's family, an exception being always made in cases of adultery.

(7) To cease fighting when a Syed (a descendant of the Holy Prophet—may peace be upon him) intervenes between the contending parties.

(8) To punish an adulterer with death.

(9) To refrain from killing a man who had entered the shrine of a saint (Pīr) so long he remained within its precincts.

Generous, hospitable, brave, trustworthy and loyal to family and tribal ties, the Baluchis are altogether free from the vices of both the Pathāns and Persians. In the end, we conclude with a simple but an effective political prescription to be prescribed for the three races, i.e., the Pathān, Persian and Baluch, in order to make them good neighbours. Feed the Pathān, starve the Persian, and honour the Baluch. For a Baluch, his honour is his life, take honour from him, and his life is done. He will sacrifice every thing to shield from soil his honour.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT BALUCH

The sixteenth century gave to the world some of the best rulers, generals, poets, philosophers, savants and scholars. In Baluchistan the same century opens with one name shining under the Baluch firmament. This man was Ameer Chākar Rind, who was the outstanding actor on the stage of his day. How far, he deserved or deserves the endearing reverence of the Baluchis, has been the subject of discussion of late years, for arguments thrive when facts are scarce or unknown. However, in the eye of Baluch tradition, his career rises to the merit of a superb soldier and sovereign. Honour and greatness can only be purchased by worthy actions. Every man has his own shortcomings, besides the august person of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him), the infallible man is yet to be born. Thorns and roses grow on the same tree; rare individuals realise the follies of fame and prosperity and refuse to be blighted. History tells us how many able and distinguished

men have failed for lack of tact and the man who thinks he can stand alone will generally fall, for the wisest make mistakes.

The facts of Ameer Chākar's life are difficult to arrange chronologically on account of lack of any contemporary work dealing with Baluchistan and Baluch affairs. We have to depend much on local traditions and ballads transmitted to us from generation to generation. Positive accuracy cannot be predicted of very few events relating to Chākar's regime in Baluchistan, where the genius of its people has never been trained to express itself in figures or in writing, other than in those of speech. The Baluch people have had no literature and no laws. They have depopulated, not peopled. The trend of events of this nebulous period, therefore, are somewhat tentative, but best efforts have been made with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to derive our information from reliable sources, as an approximation to the truth.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Kolwā, in Makurān, served as the head-quarter, and Kech valley as the resort of

the noble Rinds.¹ The other formidable tribes, the Lāshārī, Hot and Korāī, etc., populated Bampūr, the Kech Valley and Panjgūr side by side with the Rinds. Beyond Kolwā, the entire central Baluchistan highland i.e., Jhālāwān and Sarāwān, yet remained a *terra incognita* untrodden by the Rind horsemen. Ameer Shaihak, the Chief of

¹ According to local tradition the etymology of the term 'Rind' is attributed to Ameer Rind, the eldest son of Ameer Jalāl Khan, the Chief of the Baluchis in Persian Baluchistan in 12th century. After the expiry of Ameer Jalāl Khan, the various Baluch tribes who acknowledged as their sole chief, Ameer Rind, came to be known as Rind. The Rind tribe numerically embraced one sixth of the entire race, and more than one hundred tribes fell strictly under the generic classification of Rind. In the census Report of 1901 Mr. Hughes-Buller says: "it is with the Rinds that all the Baloch tribes endeavour to trace their connection. They are looked up to with deference by their neighbours and all Baloch traditions centre round their hero, Chākar....." Among the Rinds, we have a section known as 'Phuzh' Rind. The word 'Phuzh' in Baluchi language means, a piece of cotton; literary meaning white or pure. The difference between the Phuzh Rind and other Rind Sections, lies in the fact, that Phuzh Rind are the direct descendants of Ameer Rind ibn Ameer Jalāl Khan. The Phuzh are the original Rind foundation with Ameer Chākar at their head. Later on, several branches sprang directly from one root. Many sections of the Phuzh Rind, in subsequent ages, joined with other tribes. Accordingly, the Perozāni, Shambāni and Nuhāni sections, of the Bugti tribe, the Hamalāni and Jindāni clans of Khosagh tribe; the Durrakāni clan of the Gurchānis; the Aliāni, Rustamāni, Sirkāni, Haibatāni, and Remdāni sections of the Leghāris, besides the Dombkis, Bijāranis, Gishkauris and Ghulām Bolak are all Phuzh Rinds.

the Rinds in particular, and of the Baluchis in general, in the very flower and vigour of his manhood, contracted several marriages, but from none he had any issue. At last, nearly at the age of fifty, approximately in 1452 A.D., he married a Phuzh Rind girl of an exalted line, named Khānzādī. She as told, ever seconded and encouraged her husband in the service of God is a steadfast memorial of Shaihak's perfect piety. She did not live on to the advanced age but died at the age of fifty, amidst the splendour of her future magnificent son. Within a period of ten years, two sons and two daughters were born to the exalted and elegant couple. Our hero was the first model of their chaste loves. The younger son was named Sohrāb. The proud progeny of Ameer Shaihak was, thus, restricted to four issues. Two years after the marriage in an auspicious hour, in 1454 A.D. at a village near Kolwā, Ashāl, now in a state of decay, a son was born amidst heart-stirring rejoicings. The proud father solemnized certain rites patent to his house and blood. He placed according to Baluch wont and after the ancient pagan Arab pattern,¹ a sword under the pillow of the babe and operating the

¹ 'Adab-ul-Mufarid Babul Tair Min-al-Jin', P. 80.

umbilical chord of the baby, tied it round the ear of his famous swift steed, praying to Almighty to make his son a selected swordsman and a rider of repute. And the august child in his early years gave ample proof of his future talents and truly answered to the wishes and prayers of his worthy father. On the sixth day after the birth of the babe, he was named, Chākar (servant), and indeed, he proved so, served his blood, and became the hero of all Baluch legends. The majestic father, Ameer Shaihak, arranged a pompous banquet which united all the elements of Baluch grandeur; the Baluch nobles besides a numberless file of all the gentry were invited; feats of wrestling, arrow-shooting and horse-racing enlivened the huge audience and added tone, taste and tune to the ridotto. All this was accomplished with all the extravagant show of a semi-civilized society. The masses and classes offered prayers for the person and prosperity, prestige and power, pomp and peace of their future chief.

Chākar came of a cultured and princely stock and such is his pedigree: Chākar ibn Ameer Shaihak ibn Ameer Ishāq ibn Ameer Kalo ibn Ameer Hanān ibn Ameer Manān ibn Ameer Bīzan ibn Ameer Baluch Khan ibn

Ameer Rind ibn Ameer Jalāl Khan, who lived almost between 1100—1185 A.D., and died at Bampūr in Persian Baluchistan.

We have scant information about the inclinations of this prodigious child in his natal years. However, he was nursed and nurtured with great care till his infant fortune came to years, and his father always fed his minor son with words of sovereignty. As for lessons and schooling, the young lad had from none but his mother who taught him nothing more than preliminary of religion. The noble lady also gave virtuous breeding to her twin daughters. In his teens, Chākar was very fond of hearing adventurous stories and would give patient hearing to the anecdotes of great captains of history.

Among juvenile and manly sports he enjoyed feats of sword fighting and spear-play. Poetship and swordsmanship, he loved, respected and honoured. Archery was extremely popular among the Baluchis and the youthful Chākar was the most skilful archer of the age. The sport of kings i. e. venary and horse-racing were his ruling pleasure and passions. Fond of fighting, he was far-away, the best horse rider of his race. His brain was active and energetic as his body,

which was ever ready to arm, boot and saddle. At the age of twenty he gave evidence of a brilliant career and proved himself a perfect leader and the entire race expected and respected him as their best representative both in camp and court. Ameer Shaihak aspired to accomplish few things in his lifetime. To strengthen the political status and solidarity of his line, he wanted to unite by marriage to the noted nobility of the Phuzh Rind, who in their many branches, were prodigious, and, as we see, they undoubtedly proved the acknowledged sheet-anchor of the Baluch suzerainty amid the storms that assailed the ship of the state. He gave his daughter in marriage to one of the brilliant swordsmen of his age and race, Meer Bāhar Khan, Phuzh Rind, younger brother of Meer 'Alī.¹ From this lady proceeded a unique gem, named Bīvragh, who was destined to undying fame in Baluch annals, and who, for the whole of his life, without fear, without reproach and without spot acted as the right hand of Ameer Chākar, and with unbending and unquestioning loyalty proved himself as true as the needle to the pole. Fifteen years after the

¹ Meer 'Aālī was killed in the memorable battle of Nali. He had three sons, the far-famed Hasan Maulānagh, Muhammad and Hārīn. Hasan Maulānagh and Muhammad were killed in one of the encounters against the Lāshāris.

marriage of his daughter, Ameer Shaihak, as old as an eagle, wanted a select girl to wife for his thirty years old son, Chākar and the benign father, of his own choice, selected from the Rinds, the daughter of Gul Muhammad, Shāhnāz. Marriage celebrations were arranged and completed on a colossal scale patent to the dignity and grandeur of the orient. Various nobles of the Baluch realm presented to the stately pair, finest steeds, rare swords, carpets of exquisite fabric, costly brocades, glittering arabesques of gold and silver, star-stones, and articles of embroidery and ceramic art. Chākar had three sons from this noble lady i.e. Meer Shāhdād, Meer Allahdād and Meer Shaihak, all of whom in Baluch legends gained for them fame and fortune in different spheres of life. Meer Shāhdād was to some degree the model of his father's life and was famed for his piety and beneficence; Allahdād for his bravery and swordsmanship, and the peevish and pampered Shaihak, proud of his superficial vainglory, and as dissolute as desperate, was prone to enjoy the life with unchecked loose cup-companions.

Soon after the marriage of his son, in 1484 A. D., the octogenary Chief, Shaihak, feeble enough to shoulder the responsibilities of the tough and turgid race, determined

CHAKAR
THE CHIEF
OF THE
BALUCHIS.

to give the supreme authority to his illustrious son. He convened a mass-meeting of all the nobles and Umerās, and according to Baluch tradition tied on his son's head the turban of supremacy which answered to the insignia of the Holy Roman empire. All the Baluch Chiefs amidst great acclamations recognized his suzerainty, accepted and declared Chākar as Sardār 'Azam (the Great Chief) of the race. Having assumed the sceptre, the great chief, immediately, aimed at great enterprises, and launched upon his career of conquest. A restless and fearless soul by nature, he was certainly brave, but his inflexible mind, was governed by preconceived notions and decisions. He belonged, as we know, to the school of 'Manoeuvre strategists.' He assembled all the Rind nobles and declared his ardent desire and impatient zeal to subdue the neighbouring territories of Khārān and Las-Bela. All loyally listened and unfeignedly obeyed the call of their prepotent chief, and in no time, thousands of veterans assembled under his proud banner. Yielding to his ambition, he sounded to saddle at the head of his dashing warriors and stormed the entire territory of Khārān like the sweep of a gale. Tribe after tribe fell before his might and impetuosity. Crowned with conquest, he returned to his headquarter.

The warriors of this expedition had not yet fully regained their breath whence he resolved to strike a decisive blow on Las-bela tribesmen. Again the sword, shield and saddle were immediately adjusted. Within few days, he added the frosting to his victory cake by annexing Las-bela after a nominal contest. Several coastal tribes, who already trembled at the precipitate fall of Las-bela, prudently submitted to his arms. Thus, within a month, Khārān and Las-bela came under the wings of the Rind eagle. After a respite of few months, a great change of fortune awaited the fated Baluchis who were since long tired of eventless life. This change was to be initiated by Chākar who literally proved himself a great event of Baluch history.

FAREWELL
TO MAK-
URAN.

Fantastic stories relating to the fertility of neighbouring Sind, the splendour of the court of its Samma ruler; the glowing accounts of the fabulous wealth of India; the superficial munificence of the Langāh ruler of Multān, shown to the Dodāī Baluch chief, Sohrāb Khan,¹ a decade before, and, finally, the barrenness of Makurān, were enough stimulus to stir the inordinate ambition of a headstrong leader of a semi-civilized race to

¹ See "Maathir-i-Rahimi", by Abdul Bāqi al-Nahāwandi.

seek new fields of adventure and exploitation. A new urge and influence was now to call forth all the instincts and power of this rigid race. Makurān had no charm to allure Chākar any more. It was not until he left Makurān, that he became in name what he had been in fact. The sterility of the land with its meagre resources proved a pressing problem for him. There was no rich fodder for the flocks and herds of the nomad Baluch tribes. The whole race with its fast incessant population was practically on the brink of facing a grave economic crisis. The masses tired of unadventurous life, sighed in the indolence of peace and smiled in the anguishes of death, passed their days in discontented idleness. Chākar assembled at Kech, the chiefs of the various tribes, of whom, the Lāshārī Chief, Gowahrām, son of Shādhēn, held a flavour of distinction, as he commanded the formidable tribe next to the Rinds. His opinion was sought and he agreed with a will; the rest of the chiefs, one after the other, surrendered without a murmur to the will of the Sardār 'Azam. Without any delay, doubt and disturbance, Chākar sent couriers to distant tribes to make preparations for general exodus. The decision of Chākar altered the destiny of Baluchis. Tribe after tribe, namely, the Rind, Lāshārī, Jatoī,

Bulfatī, Marri, Bugti, Kalmatī, Rakhshānī, Kobdānī, Mūsiānī, Sanjarānī, Nūhānī,¹ Numardī, Sargānī, Siyāhpadh, Kosh,² Shar, Korāī, Khosagh and Buledi,³ etc., streamed in swarms, and assembled at Kech. The venerable Phuzh Rind under their three magnificent chiefs, Meer Jāro, Meer Bāhar and Meer Bijār left Kulānch and reached Kech before the fixed time. Wholesale preparations were soon made for the general emigration. Thus an invincible host numbering between five to six lakh souls waited impatiently for the final order of the Sardār 'Azam. Ten thousand Rāwachīs (Cup-bearers and slaves, mainly Jats) under their leader Khaweel Jat were on the wings

¹ The Nūhānī tribe is one of the oldest Baluch tribes, and they are fabled to be the descendants of Prophet Nūh (Noah), hence called Nūhānī.

² The Kosh too are one of the most ancient tribes of Baluchis. The tribe is identical to the ancient Kush or Kushites, who ruled according to 'sacred and profane history', through their fabled Eruthrus—their Abraham and Noah—all Arabia, Egypt and the East but dwelt mainly in the deltas of the Euphrates and the Tigris.....The Kushites were descendants of Kush or Kosh, the grandson of Prophet Noah, and the great grand ancestor of Nimrod, the Kaldian emperor.

³ The Buledi is one of the most numerous of Baluch tribes. In ancient times a part of this tribe moved from Syria to Kemis in Egypt, and from there they migrated to Greece, where they were called as Danaides, and they were worshippers of Adorus or Adonis. See "Court of Gentiles", printed in 1669.

to follow the suit. In the spring of the year 1485 A.D., according to Baluch assuetude, in the late hour of the night, the Sardār 'Azam bade farewell to Makurān for once for all, and ever, and left the country almost without a master. For two centuries, henceforth, Makurān invariably changed her masters, and at length, in the middle of the eighteenth century, she disgracefully fell to the mercy and mastery of an alien line, the Gichkīs, whose depraved diplomacy distained the proud Makurānate history, and their chief support during their heinous regime, which can be fairly called as the period of Makurān shame and tribulation, consisted of a servile set of mongrel people known as Nakībs—half-savages, with a marked infusion of negro blood with shining contrast of skin and teeth.

An effecting picture of the Baluch migration from Makurān has been drawn by one of the contemporary ballads, which is rendered into English by Dames :

'The noble Rinds were in Bampūr, in groves of Kech and Makurān, with the Dombkis, the greatest house among the dwellings of the Baluchs.

The Rind and the Lāshārīs made a bond together and said: 'Come! let us leave

this barren land; let us spy out the running streams and sweet waters, and distribute them amongst us. Let us take no heed of tribe or Chief.'

'They came to their houses, the chiefs called to their sales, loose the slender chestnut mares from their stalls, saddle the young fillies—steed worth 9000—drive in the camels from the passes.'

"The warriors called to their wives: 'Come ye down from your castles, pillows and stripped rugs, cups cast in mould, and drinking vessels of Makurān; for Chākar will no longer abide here, but seeks a far land.' 'So the generous Rinds rode forth in their overcoats and long red boots with helmets and arm pieces, bows and quivers, silver knives and daggers—forty thousand of them rode at the Mir's call."

Forty thousand Rind cavalrymen armed to the nail, rode forth as vanguard at the head of this huge horde; fifty thousand red-scabbarded Lāshārīs guarded the right and left flanks; thirty thousand brave Meerālīs¹

¹ Meer 'Aali was the younger brother of Ameer Jalāl Khan, and he was childless. One day some of the boasters passed carping remarks on him in presence of few Buledi nobles, all of whom became annoyed, and replied that, hereafter, the Buledis will address themselves as the descendants of Meer 'Aali, and, thereby, they were addressed as Meerālīs or 'Meerāl Potrav'.

(Buledīs) under their chief, Haibatān, besides ten thousand slaves shielded the Baluch moving city as rearguard. Thousands of camels, mares and mules carried the luggage, women-folk, children, and the aged persons. All classes and all ages were on the march; horsemen and footmen; rich men and poor men, a microcosm of the stately and enchanting oriental world. All this took place to the accompaniment of a species of charm and chant, of clamours, of bell and braying trumpets and drums furiously beaten by colossal slaves presenting somewhat negro physiognomy, added tone to the dignity of pompous march. The whole scene presented a rare pageant so far unheard and unrecorded in the annals of human unrest and emigration. But for lack of political unity, statesmanship, administrative ability, organization, and determination for power and political ascendancy amidst the rank of this foolhardy race, their historic move towards the plains of Sind and Punjāb, have effected but little, the course of Indian history. They lacked unity and discipline but not momentum. After few days journey, the mighty Baluch Caravan struck across the plain leading to Mashkey. In the course of their march, they chastised and cowed into submission and innocence several tribes who were famed as inveterate robbers. From Mashkey

they took the route to Khuzdār. In the way they punished some of the tribes for their contumacy. After a respite of few weeks at Khuzdār, Gowahrām, the Lāshārī chief, in accordance to the will of the Sardār 'Azam, penetrated into the Jhālāwān mountains with his tribe *via* Mūllā pass and found their way in the Kachhī plains, and reached Gandāwah and Gājān after a strenuous march of several days. Few other tribes, namely, the Bulfatī and Kalmatī, too, left the main mass and retroceded towards Las-bela and the coastal territories, conforming to the policy and pleasure of the Sardār 'Azam, for he desired to spread his race far and wide over the remote parts of the country. After setting out from Khuzdār, the Sardār 'Azam with his Rind veterans alongwith remaining tribes marched towards Kalāt highlands and overran the whole territory stretching from Khuzdār to Kalāt. In the way several tribes separately stood, and successively fell. According to authentic tradition, Kalāt was then ruled by 'Umar of the Meerwārī tribe'¹, who

¹ Ms. of Mulla Muhammad Sadīq Shirāzi, P. 2. The Brahui nucleus—the Brahuīs of Brahuīs—is composed of those tribes who by common suffrage are acknowledged to be descended from the original and true Brahui stock, and the other tribes are considered to be aliens who for various reasons, in old times, allied themselves with the Brahuīs. The Brahui nucleus are, the Ahmadzai, Iltāzai, Meerwārī, Kambarārī, Gurgnārī, Samalārī, and Kalandarārī.

remained in constant, though not undisputed, possession of the place. We know but little about the Meerwārīs—a set of people without a history, a literature or tradition, presents a phenomenon in face of which history stands abashed. The town fell after a heroic resistance to the might of Chākar. The conqueror's next move was to subdue the neighbouring tribes of Kalāt, who enjoyed the worst reputation for lawlessness and depredation. He reduced the refractory to submission and purged them of the dross of turbulence. Tribe after tribe surrendered one after the other like ninepins. All the highland robbers were subdued or extirpated. The Baluchis became the unquestioned lords of the territory extending from Kech to Kalāt. From Kalāt, the Sardār 'Azam despatched a small party to reconnoitre the territories lying behind the Kalāt highlands. This party surveyed the territory, traversing deep gorges and gullies by following a route between the prevailing trend of the mountain chains expanding from Kalāt to the Kachhī plains, and entered Bolān pass, *via* Johān, Narmuk, Robdār and Bāriri. Travelling through the bed of the Bolān stream, they reached Dādhar, surveyed its fertile plains and rode straight to Siwī (Sibī), then bulwarked and armed with rising towers. The charms of Siwī, fully charmed

them. Steadily and swiftly, they turned the reins of their horses back to Kalāt by the same route, and after reaching the place, reported in detail everything to their chief, who listened with patience and pleasure all about Siwī, which was soon to become the place of his rise and ruin. The noble Rinds passed the summer at Kalāt. When severe winter approached and shivering cold began to pine the clime, the Rinds found it troublesome to face the crisp chill air of the central highland. Moreover, the Sardār 'Azam in order to associate a fresh glory with his name, determined to move towards the plains of Siwī and Kachhī. In the winter of the same year, the Baluch horde, with the exception of few tribes, folded their tents and sounded their saddles. The Rakhshānī, Sanjarānī, Siyāh Pādī and Kobdānī tribes remained at Kalāt but after a short stay, moved towards Khārān, Nushkī and Ghāgai. The Sardār 'Azam with his 'Kāfilah' (Caravan) slowly crawling at a foot-pace across the vast valleys and rough uneven ways situated between the knotted, rugged and craggy mountain cluster that surrounds the Central Kalāt plateau, entered Bolān pass, and moving from post to post, at length, struck his banner at Dādhar, which though never a lay capital, yet throughout its history played a prominent part in the



ZAMZAMAR GATE, KHELAUT, Siam, 13th May 1884

The Kalā Meeri Fort.

history of the region. From Dādhar, the Sardār 'Azam moved his camp to Siwī and was followed by all the Rind warriors. Meerhān, the cousin of Ameer Chākar, remained at Dādhar and established his chiefry there. The Meerāli (Buledis) pitched their tents on the mouth of the Harnāī pass, near the present villages of Gulūshehr and Bakhro, under their chief, Meer Haibatān. Meer Bāhar and his far-famed son, Meer Bivragh, the grand, with a section of Phuzh Rinds encamped on the western side of Nārī river between Dādhar and Mithrī. Meer Bijār, the Phuzh, established to the east of Siwī, neighbouring the Tallī mountains. The Nūhānīs under their chief, 'Umar, settled near the Nalī pass, bottled within the Gājān mountains. The bulk of the sainted Kahīrīs moved towards Kor-Zamīn and Phuleji plains, but their headman, Sheh Mubārak remained with some of the Rind clans at Shorān. The Korāī tribe shifted to Bhāg, and the Khosaghs stirred their stumps southward and planted several colonies near modern Rojhān and Manjīpur. Thus with boundless audacity the trickle of Baluch invaders and emigrants, soon became a flood and swept swiftly through the entire plateau and plains of the region, bringing their herds and the chivalric age to the country, hereafter, known as Baluchistan.

During the rule of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.), the Sammahs assisted by the Muslims of Sind, extirpated the Sūmrah dynasty and Sind fell under the rule of the incoming dynasty. The two branches of the Sammah tribe held sway over Sind for about one hundred and seventy five years, beginning from 752 H. (1351 A.D.) to 927 H. The founder of the first Sammah dynasty was Jām Unar,¹ who ruled for three and a half years and the last ruler, Jām Karan son of Jām Tamājī, reigned for one and a half day. Most of the rulers of the Sammah dynasty were more or less subject to the throne of Delhi. The founder of the second dynasty was Jām Fateh Khan. The disaffection and disorder that conduced to bring the invasion, in 801 H. (1398 A.D.) of the Delhi Sultanate by Ameer Timūr, the Gurgān, the Sammah Jāms of Lār or lower Sind began to entertain the idea of becoming independent. Consequently, when Mirzā Pīr Muhammad, the grandson of Ameer Timūr, advanced from Ghaznin and passed the Indus, and seized upon Multān and Uchh, the then Jām Fateh Khan, in the confusion and chaos which

¹ Ferishta (Vol. II, P. 317, Niwal Kishor edition) states the name of the first ruler as Jām Afza, and this is positively wrong. His name was Unar. (See Ibn Batutah, and Tārīkh Feroz Shāhi, by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf).

followed, succeeded to appropriate the Bakhar province of Multān, of which Sibī (Siwī) formed a district, as far north as Gandāwah, besides the whole province of Siwistān. At the same time, the Baluchis of Bakhar raised the devil but he soon reduced them to obedience. Sind became free, and Jām Fateh Khan its ruler, subject to nobody.

The origin of the Sammahs yet remains an enigma of history. Many writers have given their bowshot theory regarding their origin but none so far succeeded to lift the curtain of an inscrutable past. Some of the Sindian historians claim them to be of Arab origin, and the later Persian-writing chroniclers traced their origin to King Jamshed of Persia, in view of their title Jām,¹ but both the views are open to doubt. The Western historians claim them to be of Rājput blood, and this seems to be a genuine assertion.² Meer M'asūm states that they came to Sind from Kachh.³ The author of Chach Nāme informs us that the Sammah tribe inhabited Sind before the invasion of the land in

¹ See *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta* and *A In-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl.

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, P. 497; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 25, P. 143, (Edition 11th); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

³ M'asūmi (Elliot), P. 223.

712 A.D. by Muhammad bin Qāsim,¹ and they gave a warm welcome to the Arab general when he entered their territory, and the invader appointed one Arab noble as the chief of the Sammah tribe.² The history of Tāhiri states that the Rājās of Kachh too belong to the Sammah tribe.³

Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn, known as Jām Nandā, assumed sovereignty over Sind in 866 H. (1461-62 A.D.). His dominion besides Sind extended to the edge of Bolān pass. The entire realm he kept in apple-pie order, and his was a long and prosperous reign, and one of the few Sammah rulers who pursued the arts of peace more ardently and diligently than the arts of war. After his expiry, the Sammah house fell from the meridian of their glory, and made haste to their setting. He was contemporary of Ameer Chākar Rind, and touched the pinnacle of his greatness, when the Rind warriors whose might none dared to challenge, began to prove a grave threat to the hegemony of Jām Nandā over

¹ According to the author of 'Jāmi-ul-Tawārīkh', Sind was invaded by the Arabs in 96 H. (714-15 A.D.); Raverty gives the dates as 92 H. (710-11 A.D.). The actual date is 93 H. (712-A.D.), cf. Yaqūbi, Vol. II, P. 346.

² Chach Nāmeh (Elliot), P. 191.

³ Tāhiri (Elliot), P. 268.

Sibī, which was manned by a contingent of Sammah forces. Before rival nations pin-pricks precede cannon shots and two ambitious potentates never fully trust one another. Under all pretexes of diplomatic sympathy and affection, there remains a rind of suspicion and reserve, fraud and fear. Like all heroes of history, Chākar was never content with the defensive, his despotic instincts urged him to give rather than to receive the blow. He decided to take the decisive step to capture Sibī which was surrounded by the vigorous Rinds, the only one against whom Jām Nandā proved a coward. His men commenced to harass Nandā's forces of inferior note who were already cribbed and cabined within the Sibī fort. The might of Chākar cowed Jām Nandā who had neither the force nor the will to meet the fury of the Baluch hero. Disinclined and dispirited to brave the brunt of a brutal broil, he surrendered the town with frown and fear to Sardār 'Azam.¹ This happened in the year 1486 A.D. The same year, a few months before, the very Jām Nandā encountered the army of Shāh Beg and Muhammad Beg, the Arghūns, destined

¹ Chākar's own statement conveyed to us through one of his verses, states:

"For a span, Jām Nandā and I opposed each other, but Jām to avoid a major conflict, yielded Siwī to Ameer Chākar."

for Sibī. Jām Nandā sent his forces under the command of Daryā Khan also known as Mubārak Khan who met the Arghūn army at Jalogeer near Bībī Nānī. The Arghūn army fought with valour but were doomed to defeat. The outcome was a stinging defeat for the Mughal army, and their leader Muhammad Beg fell on the spot.

After surrendering Sibī to Ameer Chākar, Jām Nandā two years later, secretly conferred Sibī to Shāh Beg Arghūn to create trouble for the Baluch sovereign. It is mentioned that the 'Siwī Fort' was conferred as a fief in 1488 A. D. on Shāh Beg, the son of Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn by Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn of Sind.¹

DECAY AND DIVISION OF THE RACE— RIND AND LASHAR FEUDS.

The Sardār 'Azam, Ameer Chākar, became the sole master of Sibī without any loss and without the shadow of a disaster. Jām Nandā never again turned his aspiring eyes upon Sibī and its neighbourhood. But, unfortunately, the glory and greatness of Chākar could not rest for a while when decay and dissension crept into the body politic of the race. On the throne of Sibī, he displayed in short repose his grandeur and power. The dawn of the Baluch golden age was heralded

¹ See 'Ain-i-Akbari', by Abul Fazl.

by cheerless clouds on the horizon. The Baluch suzerainty which he established, cracked during the heyday of its splendour. Jealousy and intrigues took a tenacious hold on the minds of the nobles. The old and typical drawbacks of Baluch social life, with its striking emphasis on individualism, tribalism, and fanatical feuds re-asserted itself when both the dreadful tribes, the Rind and Lāshārīs, secured a repose on the fertile plains of Sibī and Gandāwah. In the beginning, emulation prompted the dignity and valour of the Rinds and Lāshārīs, but soon emulation degenerated into eventful envy and civil strife. Between two jealous and powerful neighbours, the motives of dispute will rarely be wanting. Chākar was intolerant of an equal, and Gowahrām was unconscious of a superior. Neither of them was wholly free from palpable errors. Slowly but steadily, Gowahrām was becoming too powerful for the iron-willed Chākar, in whose influential firmament there could not be two suns. All or nothing would be Chākar's political motto. The numbers of the Lāshārīs and ambitious character of Gowahrām was a grave alarm to Chākar and the sentiment of fear is almost allied to that of hatred. No two men could have been more different. They vehemently disliked one another. Deep malice makes

deep incision. In the unsettled and swelling differences of the settled hate of these two fiery kindled potent souls, death and destruction feasted well for more than two decades. Conscious of deep rooted tribal conflict and distinction, and unconscious of its fatal results, the proud Rinds became in course of time the centre of one political party, and the Lāshārīs of another. Ameer Shaihak and his son and successor, Ameer Chākar, built and based their prestige and power mainly on Rind shoulders. The other tribes besides the Rind, had little or no say in the political affairs of the Baluch realm. The Lāshārīs obeyed or disobeyed the Rind hegemony according to the tide of time. The polarization of the Baluch world in the fifteenth century by this tribal dualism of Rind and Lāshārī became the main instrument of Baluch misfortune, and it proved a potent cause of the decline and decay of the Baluch Ameerate in Baluchistan. The entire territory of Sibī, Dādhar and Kachhi became the scene of relentless warfare arising out of petty things and petty differences patent to the tribal life and organisation. Gowahrām, the Lāshār Chief securely began to defy and detest Ameer Chākar. Intoxicated with power and fired by tribal fanaticism, both these sworn and confirmed enemies, used to fall



A band of Baluch warriors defending a mountain pass.

into scramble for a period of twenty five years. Their fratricidal wars plunged the whole race into a bath of blood and brought the edifice of the Baluch sovereignty crashing down in ruin before the foundation was effectively laid down. Both the tribes never reconciled the tempest of their home-bred tribal hate, and the cream of the Rind and Lāshār society was lost in these tribal broils. None of the Baluch nobles succeeded to bridge the intervals of inaptitude and to bring the long-standing feud between the rival tribes to an end. Endless raiding and counter-raiding, attacks and counter-attacks were followed by two battles, not unworthy of the name, of which the last one sealed the fate of the Baluch race. The Rind and Lāshār wars in and around Sibī felled the pillars of the state and struck the note of doom for Baluch supremacy, never to rise again.

Some of the Lāshārīs stole away camels of Ameer Chākar, and this accident, we are told, became the *casus belli* of the first great battle which probably took place in 1488 A.D. War became inevitable between the two tribes. The Sardār 'Azam gathered eight thousand Rind warriors including the Meerālīs. The rival forces encountered four miles west of present Mithrī village.

The Lāshārīs numbered thirteen thousand, but the Rind had supplied by bravery the want of numbers. Early in the morning the warriors of rival ranks inspired with determined courage peacefully employed in taking their positions. The clangour of the coming battle filled the sky. Trumpets were sounded and with their sounds commenced the battle. Both the hostile forces locked up in a war unto death and the opposing warriors, spurring their steeds into a headlong gallop rushed onward with the demoniac energy of giants. The clash of sword and shield and the whizzing of arrows played its ruinous part. The horrible scene of sword fighting presented a spectacle such as has seldom been witnessed in the depraved world of sin and woe. An awful carnage continued. When the sun declined, the Lāshārīs began to falter. A little before sunset, the reputed bravery and disciplined valour of the Rinds, at length, triumphed over the bigoted enthusiasm and frantic frenzy of the Lāshārs who performed prodigies of valour, and yet lost the battle. Bewildered with terror, in the wildest disorder, the Lāshārīs broke and fled wing-footed. A scene of unimaginable confusion, chaos and horror ensued. In this battle the Kosh section of the Buledī tribe, displayed mighty feats of valour, and

Chākar bestowed a big portion of land and one third of Nārī stream's perennial water to Koshīs, which they owe to this day.¹

THE BATTLE
OF NALI.

Between 1487—1504 A.D., no less than twenty wars to the uttermost resulting from slight and shallow causes, occurred between the two tribes with alternate vicissitude of fortune. In one of the encounters, known as the battle of 'Rekh', the grand Bīvragh was severely wounded, and this battle was a very close call for the Rinds. Meer Rehān Rind, the relative of Sardār 'Azam, and Rāmen son of Gowahrām, the Lāshārī chief, were staunch friends and both of them fell in love at Sibī, with a cobbler's wife whose good looks were everywhere the theme of talk. Famed for her beauty, fashion, and Attic salt, she became the cause of contention between Rehān and Rāmen. The twin friends mutually agreed to decide the romantic issue through a race of their personal famous steeds, the winner to have as prize, the disputed minion. Two judges from the Rinds were appointed. The two horses finished the race neck to neck, but the judges awarded the victory to Rehān. Injustice imparted both to his heart and horse, Rāmen in hot anger returned to

¹ The Kosh are now classified with Khajak tribe of Sibī Tehsil.

Gandāwah. He ordered some of the Lāshārī tribesmen to steal and harm the flocks and camels of Gowhar, of Maheri tribe,¹ a women of fame and favour. She possessed both beauty and wealth, wealth in terms of herds, flocks and camels. This fair lady who wore the rose of youth upon her, lived in luxury and magnificence, her tent-poles were all of gold, her bed-coverings of silk. Great issues hang by weak threads, and the story of Gowhar was destined to play a turning point in Baluch history. In the flower of youth and beauty, she migrated from Persian Baluchistan and came to Gandāwah and settled in the neighbourhood of Gājān, and remained there for a short period, but, later on, the Lāshārīs of and on molested her and her flocks. Afterward she came to Sibī and lived under the protection and patronage of the Sardār 'Azam. Her wealth and beauty became the apple of discord between the Rind and Lāshār. The Lāshārīs, accordingly, attacked her herd of camels, wounded and stole away her best dromedaries. Chākar

¹ We have also among the Arabs, a tribe bearing the same name, al-Mahri. Ibn Shahma Sah Mahri was a friend of 'Amr bin Al-'Aas, the companion of the Holy Prophet (May peace be upon him). See 'Sair Suhābah', Muhājīrīn, Vol. II, P. 150, by Shāh M'oin-ud-Dīn Nadvi.

was informed about the unhappy incident. He called forth all the Rind nobles and took their opinion, but none of them bent his best studies, all sounded a storm in a tea cup; the souls of the majority were topfull of offence, all agreed and resolved to face the purple testament of bloody war. The grand Bīvragh was perplexed to see such fierce order in so moderate a cause. He argued with good reason to avert the coming peril but none breathed his counsel. Those whom God wishes to destroy, he first makes mad. The parochial Rehān who combined the rapacity of a Verres with the cruelty of an Alva, insisted on war, and he, alongwith others, succeeded in blowing the fire that burnt them soon. The chief of the Nūhānīs, ‘Umar, who was held up as a pattern of liberality, persisted not to fight. But Chākar pinned his faith to the ill-advise of his nobles without reserve and resolved to hazard one of the most risky, daring and turning events which Baluch history records. With one thousand of his tried warriors, ‘Umar, joined the Lāshārīs. Fifteen thousand Rind heroes plated in habliments of war, assembled on the wings of the wind at the call of Chākar like a jovial troop of huntsmen, and with the swiftest steeds in the orient, urged their

horses with spurs, causing the earth to tremble beneath their hoofs, to meet the adamantine rival host at Nalī pass near the Gājān mountains. Twenty thousand giant Lāshārīs armed cap-a-pie, assembled under their chief, Gowahrām, at Nalī pass with all deadly weapons of war, and with speed they took advantage of the field, and up higher to the pass, the Lāshārī chief, set forth all his ranks, in best strategic appointment. A little before the fight, the grand Bīvragh requested with specious and strong reasons the Sardār 'Azam, and plucked at his bridle with a grave admonition: "Chākar sheathe thine sword. The Nūhānīs number a thousand crack fighters, and the red-scabbarded Lāshārīs are mighty warriors. Let them attack us in our impregnable castle. To flee is an impossibility for thee, to go forward is death to thee". Some of the braggarts impotent of tongue, broke their silence and passed reviling remarks on Bīvragh: "The milk sucking babe-Bīvragh, shivers from the horror of Rind arrows. He fears from the keen glittering Indian swords and is afraid of the Egyptian steel. He re-collects the wounds received in the battle of Rekh. Fear not, ye Bīvragh, when we unsheathe our swords against the enemy, we will post thee far

off from the range of enemy arrows." In burning fury, Bīvragh let loose the reins of the horse, and warned Chākar that he will repent this day within this day. Knightly clad in arms, and glittering like the god of war, Mīrhān, the Commander and standard bearer of the Rinds, led the attack in a single and solid phalanx. At the first onset the Lāshārīs poured a cloud of arrows, and soon, a terrific dash of their cavalrymen swept the whole of the Rind vanguard, horses and riders, into one hideous mass of death. Mīrhān, the commander of this fatal day, died hard, and the grand Bīvragh received severe wounds, and disabled from fighting, in the heat of the battle, succeeded in taking shelter in the nearest mountain cave, known to this day as 'Bīvragh cave.' Sohrāb brother of Ameer Chākar, who possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero, took the standard, but, he too, fell to his doomed fate. Intoxicated with the wild passions of brute war, thousands of the rival forces, in wild pursuit, intermingled with each in a way that nothing could separate the exhausting, and bleeding combatants. The forces of the rival warriors were involved in a cloud of dust, which could only be dispelled by the termination of the battle. Death, in its highest revolting forms, held

high carnival. Swords, spears and shields were washed with blood. A hand to hand contest ensued where blood bought blood, blows answered blows, challenge met challenge, strength seized strength, fury faced fury and power opposed power. An awful moment reigned supreme over the rival forces. The shouts of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums. The roar and horror of the battle, the wild clamour of the rival hosts, the clash of swords, the shrieks of the wounded and the groans of the dying, demonstrated a scene which this war desolated world has seldom seen. An uninterrupted charge of arrows from the Lāshārīs swept into the faces of Rind warriors a pitiless tempest of ruin and rancour. Horses and riders, struck by the arrows, swords and spears, rolled over each other by hundreds on the sand. The daring Rinds though displayed superhuman bravery and in the frenzy of their fury, rage and desperation threw away their lives with utmost courage and recklessness, yet the event of war is in the hand of an Unseen Power; their ranks were thinned by the sword, spear and arrows. Seldom in Baluch annals, did the flames of war burn with fiercer and destructive rage. The fate of the battle yet hanged in the

balance when the sun crossed the meridian, but the rival forces expected that after one hot contest, out of one side, Fortune shall select her favourite champion, but none knew, to which side, she shall give the day with a blessing victory. The clash of arms lingered on, and a little before sunset, the Rinds again rallied and renewed the charge, and exhausted their strength, strategy, source and self-reliance, and seemed to submit to their fate, which no longer hanged in doubt. In the speedy and successive labours of the battle, the Lāshārīs proved too ready and rude. Chākar's famous mare 'Sangwāth' received wounds, amidst utter confusion, the Sardār 'Azam stood stone-still with mournful eyes red as new-enkindled fire in one corner of the battle-field. Fatigue and grief had prostrated him into the last stage of exhaustion. Prudence, frustration and fatigue compelled him to return to the capital. Nodhbandagh Lāshārī came to him and offered him his swiftest mare named 'Phul', and, thus, he succeeded in effecting his escape from the fateful field. He reached Sibī with a file of warworn soldiers with all the misfortunes of defeat, and felt that he swept along on billows of destiny which he could neither control nor guide. A little later, when the searching eye of

heaven concealed itself behind the globe, the Rind warriors, in the black brow of night, began to measure backward their own ground in faint retire with purpled swords and hands, dyed in the bloody massacre of their sworn enemies. They fought to the last but did not tread the steps of disgraceful flight. Seldom was a day so furiously fought, so fairly lost. The entire plain of Nalī was crimsoned by the blood of the dead. Heaven took the souls of bravest Baluch soldiers from both the sides, and Baluchistan kept their bones, only to monument their misfortune and misdeeds. With much loss and ado, victory played upon the glorious banners of the Lāshārīs. The valour and ferocity of the Lāshārīs had been most cruelly gratified by the slaughter of thousands besides seven hundred and fifty high-born and high-bred Rinds, all of whom lay stark on the fatal field.

Gowahrām and the Lāshārīs gave a cause to Chākar to glorify and shine more, but the defeat at Nalī, taught him to lament the cause. The greatest stroke of fortune fell on his person and prestige. Instead of gaining more fame and fortune, he found a defeat. Time, the devourer of all things, failed him and had set a blot on his pride and power. All his

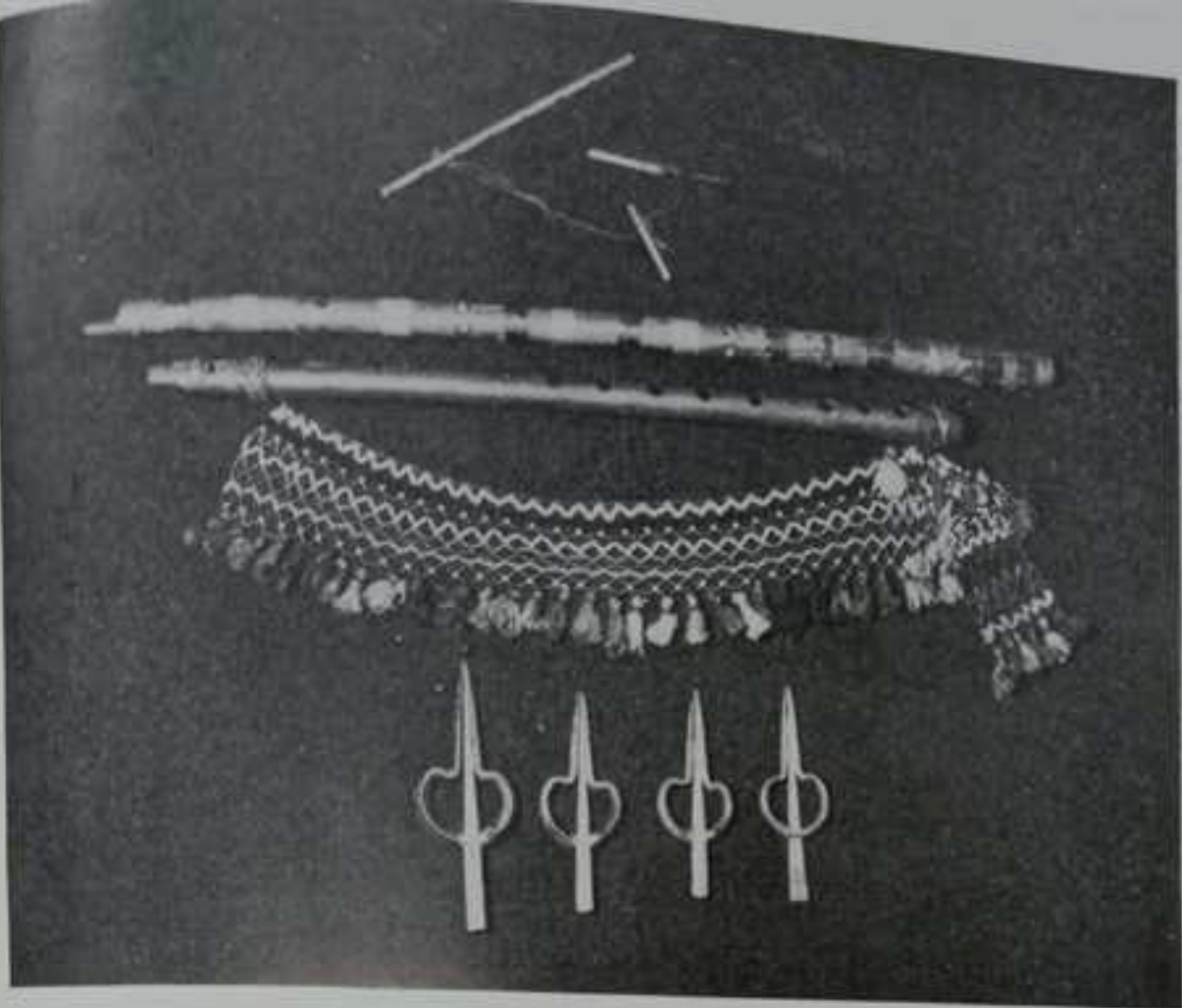
aspiring hopes were chilled by unexpected defeat and disaster. He got the fruits of his vain ambition, lost his brother Sohrāb, lost his famous cousin, Mīrhān, who was cropped just when he came to prime, lost thousands of his bravest men; in the supreme station he injured the remains of his early popularity. The defeat at Nalī shook the very foundation of Baluch Sultanry in Baluchistan, and the Rinds lost the pith and marrow of their blood. The news of misfortune and misery fly with a rapid wing. Chākar was informed that the grand Bīvragh also fell with Mīrhān, and the tidings of their death with a splitting power trembled the strong region of his breast. For two days, he was heavily perturbed under the tide of grief and did not give any audience to any tongue. On the third day, according to common usage, Chākar made preparations for a general funeral feast (āsrokh) for the departed souls killed in the battle. Unexpectedly a man came to him and told him that a few miles away from Sibī, he saw Bīvragh coming towards the capital. In utter amazement, he stopped the funeral feast, in the meantime, Bīvragh reached Sibī, and met Chākar, who in a flood of ecstatic love, embraced him, and covered his forehead with zealous kisses. The Sardār 'Azam abandoned

the idea of the funeral feast, and is said to have stated: "Bīvragh is alive, it matters little, if all Rinds would have perished in the battle". Everybody is wise after the thing is done. In later years, when Chākar advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash decision taken before the battle of Nalī, and did not forget the disastrous peril that enveloped the Rinds, and mourned his date of life out for Mīrhān's loss. The battle of Nalī was the last of the evils which Chākar staged or suffered.

After the calamitous clash of sword in the battle of Nalī, the venom-mouthed poets of Rind and Lāshār tribes gratified their spite and epidemic rage against each other through vitriolic poems full of condign censure, satire and sarcasm, and the same bitter spirit stirred up the passion of Chākar and his adversary Gowahrām, both of whom in rude rancour interchanged carping remarks besmirched with venom in their poems. We reproduce here, two poems rendered into English by Dames:-

"Mir Chākar, son of Shaihak, sings: the King of the Rinds sings: of the Rind and Lāshārī battle he sings: in reply to Gwahrām he sings.

You injure yourself Gwahrām with that enmity, by raising dust among the Baloches,



Baluchi musical instruments.

in that you have bound the name "Nalī" on your waistband, and raised a name like Nodhbandagh higher. For once you were lucky in your game, and killed the Rind's swift mares, whose footprints were clearly marked in the lowlands of the Mullāh; but remember the vengeance for that; how Bangī and Hasan, son of Nodhak, were slain together, Adam and famous Nodhbandagh, Ahmad and lordly Kallo. You left out the flight,¹ like a stampede of wild asses, on the day of the fierce struggle when the Rind arrows devoured them from behind in the fatter spots of their hind parts. You took flight from the fort of Dāb, and drew breath at the mouth of the Mullāh, yet I never made such a mock of you, nor sent a bard to taunt you, reciting a song with twanging of strings in front of your noble face. You did not receive a blow under the ear from my tiger's paw, as you shook your head like a frightened (mare), hiding your head in holes and corners of the world. Half of you passed away to Gāj and Gūjarāt, half went wandering to Phalpur. You come making obeisance to the Rinds, and asking for a measure of grain in the skirt of your white garments; you toil under shameful burdens, and carry the black waterpots on your head! Now you

¹ The word 'fight' has been misprinted as 'flight'.

hide under Omar's protection, I will fall on you as a man slain by his brethren. We are the Rinds of the swift mares; now we will be below you and now above; we will come from the both sides with our attacks, and demand a share of all you have. Much-talking Gwaharām, keep your heart's ear open, make a long journey, perhaps your luck may come back. I will spin the top for a wager, and at the end I will raise a dust as I promised, and drive all fear from my friend's hearts."¹

Gwaharām's Rejoinder to Chākar.

"O my friends, noble in the assembly, come, well-born men of my tribe, come, all ye Khāns and Chiefs of the Lāshārīs, come, and let us form a gathering of brethren.

When I recited a taunt in verse, wind came into Chākar's head; never was there such a ruler as he! But I too am, like him, a man of violence. Let the King but give me an opportunity one day, and I will bring together the Sammāhs and Bhattis, and will pour the armies of Thatha on his head. I will place coals of fire on the palms of

¹ "Popular poetry of the Baloches", by M. L. Dames, pp. 22-23.

my hands and blow upon them like the south wind, and will kindle a mighty fire in the houses of the covetous men, so that the Turks of Delhi shall not be able to put it out!

When I fought with the thick-beards (the Rinds), the Rinds climbed up from below to the cold hill-skirts of Kalāt. On the day when these words were spoken Chākar slaughtered a black cow; Chākar was filled with manly rage. He did not pass by the deep water of Jhal, nor did he saddle his mare Sangwāth, nor did he bring his minstrel Gūrgīn with his tightly-stretched drums. Ha! Ha! what a victory was ours; we struck our foes a blow, and off went the chestnuts, like wild asses, with cup-shaped hoofs. Every mouthful in famous Sibī does Chākar carry off with live-long grief.

Chākar climbs the steep cliff, Mando's beloved son turns back. The weary wolf stands in the dense shade of a tree and looks behind him. He goes off to the country where the wild pistachio ripens, and his mouth and face and curly beard are stained with the milky juice of the ālro.¹ A jamotī women will sing lullabys to the son of a

¹ The alro or "launsh" is a small plant with milky juice.

Baloch woman, his son will be a companion of camelmén and cowherds, his hands will be galled with much digging. He collects measures of corn in the skirt of his white coat, and carries the black waterpots on his head."¹

When the Sardār 'Azam tasted the gall of defeat, misfortunes began to thicken upon him and the race. His only virtue was patience, and hope of revenge his sole consolation. In the merciless account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain; the advantage and the pleasure of the Lāshārīs was momentary. The ruin of the Rinds confirmed but for a short period the peace and comfort of their adversaries. They mourned their ruin, but they determined to seal for ever the fate and fortune of the Lāshārīs. Actuated by cursed spite, Chākar resolved to seek help from an alien power. Shujā'-ud-Dīn Zunnūn, the Arghūn,² appears on the Baluchistan stage. The story of the Arghūns is soon told.

¹ "Popular poetry of the Baloches", pp. 23-24.

² For a comprehensive account of the Arghūn dynasty, the readers are referred to read: 'Tarkhān-Nāmeḥ', by Sayed Jamāl; Tabakāt-i-Akbari, by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad (Elliot and Dowson V.); 'Lives of Babar and Humayun' by Erskine (London 1894); 'Tārīkh-i-Ferishta,' Part IV, Sind; 'The Indus Delta Country' (London 1894) by Haig; 'History of India,' I, Elliot and Dowson.

We frequently hear the name of the Arghūns in old Baluch ballads and poems, and their politic interference with the then Baluch politics is corroborated by historical works. After the death of Ameer Timūr, the firebrand of the universe, whose empire touched the utmost verge of the land, and whose title to universal dominion led his vanity to raze to the ground flourishing cities, marked by his detestable trophies, by pyramids, of human heads, the Tartar empire fell within a short time, a sad victim amongst the various claimants of his house. After many vicissitudes, Sultān Husain Mirzā,¹ the grandson of 'Umar Sheikh Mirzā, son of Ameer Timūr, acquired possession of Herāt in 873 H. (1469 A.D.), and at length, succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne of Khurāsān in the second month of 875 H. (July, 1470 A.D.). He was famed for a prince most prudent, of singular integrity and learning. Ameer Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn²

¹ He bore the title of M'uīz-ud-Dunya-wa-ud-Dīn, Mirza Abul Ghāzi, Sultān Husain, Bahādur Khan, Sāhib-i-Qirān-i-Thāni.

² Zunnūn is a Muslim title, and also used as a man's name. The Arabic word Zu signifies 'a Lord' or 'Master' and Nun means 'a fish'. Zun-Nūn is the same name as the Jonas is known by in the Holy Quran, as he was swallowed by a fish. Zu is commonly used in composition, as in Zu-l-Qadr, "Powerful", Zu-l-Jalāl, "Glorious", etc.

(Zun-nūn) of the Arghūn family¹ had formerly been in Sultān Husain Mirzā's service, but had left it, and had entered that of Sultān Abū S'aeed, Bahādur Khan. At Karā-Bāgh, Abū S'aeed was defeated and put to death by the Turkomans, and Ameer Zunnūn entered the service of his son, Sultān Ahmad, the ruler of Māwar-un-Nahr. After serving for three years this monarch, dispute arose between the Arghūn and Tarkhān nobles, and, consequently, he left the court of Sultān Ahmad and again entered the service of Sultān Husain Mirzā. In 876 H. (1471-72 A.D.), Sultān Husain Mirzā made him governor of Ghor and Zamīn-i-Dāwar. In 884 H. (1478-79 A.D.), Ameer Zunnūn conquered the territories held by the Hazarahs and Nikudarīs. Shortly afterwards, he was made governor of Kandahār and its territory, and soon Farrāh and Sakhar-Tulak were conferred upon him. Subsequently, Shāl (Quetta) Mastung, Pushang (Pishīn) and Siwī (Sibī) with their dependencies were also added to his fief. Ameer Zunnūn never enjoyed an in-

¹ The Arghūns are supposed to be descended from Arghūn Khan, son of Abakae Khan, son of Hulāku Khan, son of Tūlūi, son of Chengiz Khan, the Mongol. (See 'The Encyclopaedia of Islam', edited by Houtsma, etc. Vol. I, P. 166. Leyden 1913). But Raverty states that they are the descendants of Ameer Arghūn, who, for thirty years, ruled Irān Zamīn, and died at Tūs in 673 H. (1274-75 A.D.).

dependent throne as is stated in one of the chronicles.¹ He was always a feudatory to the house of Timūr. The fact of his having been killed in the battle, fighting for his sovereign against the Uzbaks, is a sufficient confutation of the statement. He assisted Mirzā Badi'-uz-Zamān against his father, Sultān Husain Mirzā, on several occasions, and that prince married his daughter. Ameer Zunnūn was killed in battle fought by Mirzā Badi'-uz-Zamān against Shaibānī Khan, better known as Abul-Fath, Sultān Muhammad Shaibānī Khan, the Uzbek sovereign, between Belāk-i-Maral and Rabāt-i-'Alī Sher, near Bādghīs, north of Herāt, in 913 H. (1507-8 A.D.). Shāh Beg succeeded to his father's fiefs. Sultān Husain Mirzā had run his course in 911 H. (1505-6 A.D.), at Babā Ilāhī near Bādghīs. Soon after his death, the complete chaos of his kingdom was rounding into form. His sons, Badi'-uz-Zamān Mirzā, and Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, assumed the joint sovereignty, and during their effete rule, the reins of authority were relaxed. The later expired soon, and the survivor who presented a strange combination of dignity and licence, was deprived of his dominion by the Uzbaks, and the sovereignty of the line of Timūr, in the alternate

¹ 'Tarkhān Nāmah', Elliot's translation, Vol. I, P. 304.

ups and downs of Asiatic fortune, sunk in Khurāsān, no more to rise. Shāh Beg's territory was endangered by two powerful enemies on either side. On one side Shāh Ismā'īl, the Safawī ruler of Persia, who, after defeating Shaibānī Khan, the Uzbek ruler, near Marv, in Sh'abān 916 H. (December, 1510 A.D.), had annexed the entire Khurāsān and occupied Herāt. The other was Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Bābar Mirzā, who after having possession of Kābul and its dependencies in the fourth month of 910 H. (September, 1504 A.D.), was preparing to capture Kandahār.¹ Bābar bore no enmity towards the Arghūn family, but there existed on the whole little friendly feeling. Mirzā Ulugh Beg, son of Sultān Abū S'aeed, ruler of Kābul and its neighbouring territories, died in 907 H. (1501 A.D.), and his minor son, Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, succeeded. In the year 1503 A.D. Muhammad Muqīm, brother of Shāh Beg Arghūn, attacked Kābul, captured him and ousted him from the Government, and to increase his fortunes, married his sister, but soon, he was plucked headlong from the usurped throne. Mirzā Ulugh Beg was Bābar's uncle's son. Bābar considered this Arghūn match as a gross insult to the proud and honoured house of

¹ Lane-Poole, Babar (Oxf. 1899).

Timūr. When Bābar first appeared before Kābul, it was held by Muhammad Muqīm, the Arghūn. According to Bābar's own statement that shortly after the death of Ameer Shujā'-ud-Dīn Zunnūn, he marched upon Kandahār, and both Shāh Beg Arghūn and Muhammad Muqīm came out to oppose him but were repulsed and defeated. Feeling that his dominions were lost beyond recovery, Shāh Beg retired to Shāl, and Muhammad Muqīm to the Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and the place was surrendered on terms. The entire treasures of the Arghūn chiefs fell to Bābar's fate, whereas he remarks, "I never had so much wealth before, and doubt whether so much was ever seen".¹ After appropriating the treasures of the Arghūns, he discontinued the title of Muhammad Bābar Mirzā and adopted that of Bābar Bādshāh. He installed his brother, Nāsir Mirzā at Kandahār and himself returned to Kābul. In the meantime, Muhammad Muqīm, brother of Shāh Beg, moved by the greed of gain, conspired and corresponded with Shaibānī Khan and appealed for help. The Uzbek sovereign like a hurricane appeared before Kandahār. The city was at once given up, but the citadel was defended, however, Nāsir Mirzā agreed to surrender the fort and the place to Shāh Beg,

¹ See 'Tuzak Bābari'.

who, with his brother, was along with Shai-bānī Khan before the fortress. The Arghūns again got possession of Kandahār, and Nāsir Mirzā beat a hasty retreat towards Kābul. Shāh Beg wanted a place of shelter and security for his family and followers, and this urgent need compelled him to take possession of Sibī (Siwī). In 1511 A.D. he launched an offensive of his own and succeeded in capturing Sibī after a hot contest.¹ From Sibī he continued his march towards Fatehpūr, a few miles to the south of Gandāwah, then held by descendants of Pur-Dil, the Barlās. The Barlās chief assembled about 1,000 Daulat-Shāhī horse, Barghadāī, Koriyāī, Noorgāhī, together with Baluch people, to the number of between 2,000 and 3,000 men.² After a little show of arms Shāh Beg defeated them and put them to flight. Fatehpur was occupied. Shāh Beg returned to Sibī, and after leaving a body of his followers at the place, returned to Kandahār with the remainder of his force.

¹ Blochmann in his account of Akbar's mansabdārs, contained in that portion of 'Aīn-i-Akbarī' which he translated, states quoting as authority 'Ma'asir-ul-Umarā', that after Shāh Beg succeeded his father, "he took Sewe in 890 H. from Jam Nizam-ud-Din, king of Sind". This is significantly wrong, the Ma'asir is either incorrect, or has been incorrectly quoted. Shāh Beg's father, Ameer Zunnūn was killed in battle, in 913 H. (1507-8 A.D.) and not 890 H. (1486 A.D.).

² See 'Tārīkh-i-M'asūmī'.

In the year 1514 A.D. Bābar Bādshāh seized upon to move once again against Kandahār, but during the investment, he was attacked by fever and had to abandon the attempt. The same year Shāh Beg again left for Sibī, and from thence despatched 1,000 horse under Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān Muḡhal, into the territory of Sind, and this was the first Arghūn raid upon Jām Nandā's dominions. This force entered Gāhān and Bāghbānān. After this enterprize Shāh Beg again returned to Kandahār. In the year 921 H. (1516 A. D.) disagreement arose between him and his son Mirzā Shāh Husain, who left him, and took refuge under the patronage of Bābar Bādshāh. In the year 1517 A. D. Bābar Bādshāh made a dash upon Shāh Beg's dominion and threatened with formidable pomp of bold invasion. Tired of constant invasions and attacks, Shāh Beg perceived that parley and base truce would avail him no more against the might of Bābar's invasive arms and aims. He overthrew incurable issues and purchased honour and safety at a superfluous rate. He yielded up into Bābar's hand the circle of his glory, and presented the keys to him and evacuated the place of his fortunes and misfortunes. Bābar, thus, won the city without stroke and wound and the fairest part of the country became subject to his laws.

Bereft and gelded of his patrimony, Shāh Beg proceeded to Shāl (Quetta) and took up his quarters at Pushang¹ (Pishān) for two years. From Pushang he came to Sibī. At the end of the year 1517 A. D. Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn was sent to his account with all his glory on his head, and his son, Jām Firoz, a pessimistic prince, naturally born to fears, succeeded him. Behind the artificial glory, which Shāh Beg loved so dearly, lurked an idea of statesmanship. He now determined to undertake the conquest of Sind, a place fit for peaceful reign, and an enterprise which was congenial to the spirit of the age. In the first month of 926 H. (January, 1519 A. D.), he attacked Thathah, the capital of the Sammah dynasty, and by the 20th of the same month, fortune smiled on his arms, captured the historic city, and the vanquished prince and people acknowledged him as the unchallenged master of Sind. The hegemony of the Sammah dynasty, without striking a blow, securely perished. From thence, he returned to Sibī and Shāl, and a little later, made the stronghold of Bakhar, his capital, and to purchase his peace of mind besides as a pleasure of pleasing, he gave, devoted, and

¹ Elliot, in his translation of the "Tarkhān Nāmch", Page 308, states: "In such straits was he, that his army was compelled during this period to subsist on nothing but carrots, turnips, and other such vegetables"

dedicated as a gift a part of territory near Thathah to crest-fallen Jām Firoz. When on the way to invade Gujrāt, the last hour of his long weary life came upon him on the 2nd of Sh‘abān, the eight month, of 928 H. (end of July, 1522 A. D.).¹ He was inhumed at Bakhar, but after three years, was removed to Mecca, and deposited in a magnificent tomb prepared for it.

Mirzā Shāh Husain, the son and successor of Shāh Beg, furnished with a body of 1,000 cavalry, moved from Bakhar for Sibī, and reached the place after a march of seven days. On his return *via* Chattar and Lahri, he made a raid upon the Rind and Magasī Baluchis and reduced them to submission.² In the beginning of 931 H. (1524 A. D.), he started his march towards Multān, and punished the refractory Baluchis who challenged his might near Uchh. The Langāh ruler of Multān, Shāh Mahmūd, before giving any battle to the Arghūn invader, ceded a considerable portion of his territory to Mirzā Shāh Husain, but in the following year, hostilities again broke out, and, at last,

¹ Sir Henry Pottinger makes altogether a wrong statement regarding Shāh Beg's death, stating "that Shah Beg was obliged to evacuate Bakhar, to escape Moghal troops", and that, "he was so dispirited that he committed suicide between Bakhar and Thattah."

² See 'Tārīkh-i-M'asūmi.'

Multān, the sovereignty of Langāh ruler, whose fortune and dominion were sinewed by the strength of the Baluch warriors of Rind, the Dodāī and Korāī tribes, fell and with it the Langāh dynasty,¹ in the middle of the fourth month of 933 H. (January, 1527 A. D.), but soon, Bābar Bādshāh, then on the throne of Delhi, assigned the Multān province to his second son, Mirzā Kāmran. In 950 H. (1543-44 A. D.), Mirzā Shāh Husain conferred the government of district of Sibī upon Sultān Mahmūd Khan, son of Meer Fāzil, the Kokal-Tāsh.² In the neighbourhood of Thathah, where he was expected by the angel of death, Mirzā Shāh Husain, in the third month of 962 H. (February, 1554 A. D.), supped all his porridge amidst the prime and pride of his potency, and was, finally, burried at Mecca, and sleeps in blessing near the grave of his

¹ See 'Tarkhān Nāmeh.'

² He was not a sovereign prince, the word 'Sultān' being sometimes prefixed and affixed, to Turkish and Mughal names. His mother was a Pathān of the Kānsi tribe then dwelling in Shāl (Quetta). In early times the title 'Sultān' was given by the Caliphs to their great vassals, and the governor of provinces. Subsequently this title became applied to the descendants of the Great Khan, Chengiz Khan, as Mirzā was applied to the descendants of Ameer Timūr. The Safawi rulers of Persia, bestowed this title upon their slaves and feudatories, and an Afghān Chief, of the Tokhi Ghilzīs, received this title from one of the Safawi rulers. This title was also adopted by the house of 'Uthmān' the Ottoman ('Uthmāni) Turks.

father. After him, nature cut off the sequence of the Arghūn's posterity and their hegemony over Sind fell to the fate of Tarkhāns.¹

BIVRAGH'S
ROMANCE
WITH
ARGHUN
PRINCESS.

We now turn to Ameer Chākar and his contact and contest with the Arghūns, whose name and regime forms, till now, a favourite theme of the Baluch minstrels. The grand Bīvragh, the relative of Chākar, and the great ancestor of the Gishkauri tribe, was one of the absolutely reliable dukes of the Sardār 'Azam of Baluchis, and his name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war in the contemporary Baluch annals.² Necessarily a best swordsman, Bīvragh, carried his heart in his head, and was the rare genius of his blood, a man full of sharp reasons to defeat the law. He was a fearless and peerless warrior, a patriot after his own fashion, a renowned poet, liberal of reward, just in his dealings and decisions, a chivalric lover and one of the most beautiful, striking and arresting figures

¹ The Tārkhāns were a sub-section of the Mongols. The term 'Tārkhān' was a Mongol title conferred by Chengiz Khan to his most powerful peers. The Tārkhān chief enjoyed power, prestige and privilege next to the Great Khan. After Tārkhāns, came in order of precedence, the Orkhān nobles. (See 'Genghis Khan', by Harold Lamb).

² Among the western group of Baluchis, i.e. Makurān, Khārān, Persian Baluchistan, and Afghāni Baluchistan, he is known as Bībarg or Bībark.

of the age. His indomitable personality, strategical abilities and reputation for courage made him one of the enviable personalities in Baluch history. We are told, probably in 1495 A. D., he happened to visit Kandahār, where he fell in love with the daughter of Ameer Shujā'-ud-Dīn, princess Girānāz, the loveliest woman that ever lay by man. Bīvragh possessed a speeding strategem to lay down ladies. The princess, too, fell a victim to Bīvragh's charming personality. He remained at Kandahār for few days, and one night, his puerile passion and impatience impelled him to find his way inside the guarded palace. He succeeded in his endeavour and ambition, entered the palace and met the princess reclining on a golden couch and remained with her secretly for seven days. One night, plucking a thousand dangers on his head, he steeled his heart and took her out of the palace, and mounted her on the pillion, and spurred the hot, fiery and furnished steed 'Mal', the best breed in the Orient, and with swiftest speed kept on his course from valley to valley, stream to stream, and village to village for the whole night, and when the celestial ball gazed from out the fiery portal of the east, his horse's hoofs began to wound the Dasht plain south east of Quetta valley, and the



The historic Bolān Pass.

princess began to sigh her Mughal breath in Baluch land. After reaching Dhadar, Bīvrāgh, displaying the best elements of his political acumen, determined to take refuge with Gowahrām, the Lāshārī chief, the stubborn enemy of Chākar, to seek his aid and link his arms and strength with that of his own tribe, the Rinds. He reached Gandāwah and thence to Gājān, the residence of Gowahrām, where he unsaddled the spur-galled and tired horse after a continuous march of thirty hours. The Lāshārī chief, on a sudden, astonished and rejoiced by the unexpected visit of Bīvrāgh, received the couple with all the traditional generosity of a Baluch chief, hailing the worthy visitors: "Come! you are welcome, Meer of the Baluchis, with your love to stay in welfare and safety." Bīvrāgh narrated the whole story, and remained seven days with his honourable host, without tasting his salt. Gowahrām deeply felt the state and inclination of the stormy situation and never desired to soil his honour and dishonour his fair stars. The impending and inevitable danger was apparent to envelop the whole race, therefore, he sent a messenger to Chākar with the curt message: "Tell Chākar the Ruler that a chief's business is not to play nor to act like a boy. Bīvrāgh has brought down a great burden, he has the

spoil of the king with him." Bivragh was the rare ruby of the Baluch treasury, and no sacrifice was deemed too great to save him. Chākar's heart dropped love, and his power and prestige rained honour and favours more on Bivragh than any. The Sardār 'Azam perceived unborn misery, ripe in fortune's womb, waiting for him. He and the Lāshārī Chief determined to thrust the entire race amidst a tide of woes. Both of them equipped their veterans post-haste to meet the Arghūn cyclone. With wings as swift as meditation, Ameer Zunnūn, after a march of five days, followed the foot steps of Bivragh, and appeared in arms before the gates of Sibī fort with an invincible host of Mughal warriors. A brave and prudent man never breaks the pales and forts of reason and justice, and both reason and justice urged Bivragh to find in person, a desperate remedy for his desperate crime. He felt the gravity of the grave situation with a weighty and a serious brow, and endeared his race more than his soul. He knew the plague that hanged on him and the destruction that dogged him at the heels. Strong reasons make strong actions. He did not waste time, lest time may not waste him. His design craved haste. Daring the event to the teeth, without disclosing to any one, in the dead of night, with his shrewd and sharp steel in his hand, he

secretly entered the Mughal camp, and sabring the guards, entered the tent where Ameer Zunnūn was fast sleeping after his tiresome journey. He suddenly awoke, and the presence of a stranger with his sword smeared with blood, harrowed him with fear. Struck with amazement, in ague-fit of fear, he remarked, "who art thou". "I am Bīvragh Baluch, a Chief by fortune of my birth, and tied by blood and favour to Ameer Chākar, the great chief of the Baluchis", he rejoined. "How dare thou comest here", replied Zunnūn with hated breath. "I feel venturous", asked Bīvragh, "to tame and tempt your patience and conscience. Here I am with my heinous blot which made my cleanest part foul, clouded my clear sun, and all my nobleness and dignity in this one odious deed I have lost for ever. High above the heavens, there sits a Sovereign Judge, whom none can corrupt; leave me and my deed to Him. Otherwise for thine satisfaction, here is my sword and my inglorious head bent with shame; do whatever, thou desireth". Bīvragh did not quake at his sin, bravery guided his tongue, and with the sap of reason combined with extraordinary gifts of majestic eloquence and subtlety of mind, he quenched the fire of Zunnūn and healed his wounded honour. His sagacity and

unsurpassable courage startled, impressed, and cowed the Mughal Chief, who graced him with grace, and beseeated Bīvrāgh near him and both conversed till sunrise, whence the Arghūn Chief, called his army chiefs and trusty nobles, and addressed them in a towering passion: "Here is Bīvrāgh whose nefarious deed brought our armies here; he killed my guards to the negligence of you all, entered my tent and spared my life. I give the hand of my daughter to this man of iron and blood, whose match, until now, I have neither seen nor heard". Zunnūn presented to Bīvrāgh a swift thundering steed, and dressed him with red brocade gown. Amcer Chākar was informed about all that happened, and the entire Baluch nobles and warriors got a breathing-time from the horrors of war. With a great heart Bīvrāgh heaved away the storm that was to sweep the race, and saved the rival parties from distress, and the shame and honour of the Arghūn family was veiled by a thin veil of dignity. Zunnūn immediately returned to Kandahār. Soon after, Chākar assembled the Baluchis and amidst pomp and sonorous joys, Bīvrāgh and princess Girānāz were coupled and linked together with all religious strength of sacred vows.

EXTINCTION
OF LASHA-
RIS.

The animosity of Chākar against the Lāshārīs was protracted, suspended and renewed during a period of twelve months after the battle of Nalī, but, nevertheless, he ever breathed the direst anathemas against the authors of his defeat.¹ His dignity and venom could no more endure the impunity of Gowahrām. To propitiate his vengeance, and celebrate the zeal of his ability and courage, both honour and duty impelled him to contrive a most successful mode of revenge, and, thus, he made up his mind to seek foreign succour from the circumjacent sovereignties, against his stanch enemy, Gowahrām. The Langāh's of Multān were too weak to risk their prestige, for they were feeble as an ally and impotent as a foe; the Sammah ruler of Sind, Jām Nandā, seemed friendly towards the Lāshārīs, as Chākar had already clipped the wings of his realm on its extreme northern side. Untamed by defeat and hardened by the spirit of vengeance, both

¹ The animosity of the Rinds and Lāshārīs in due course of time, became proverbial. For ages the animosity of the Rinds was abundantly revenged on the posterity of their enemies, the Lāshārīs. Dilmalikh Rind noted for his generosity and splendid entertainments, states in one of his poems: "God cannot turn a Rind into a Lāshārī. A Musalmān cannot become a Hindu, nor wear the Brahmanical cord of heathendom."

ambition and prudence recalled him to Northern monarchies, and his well balanced choice fell on the Khurāsān ruler, Sultān Husain Mīrzā, whose power he felt, and whose gratitude he trusted; but unaware of the mischief, that, Gowahrām, few months before, had already tipped and tuned his avarice with rare gifts and presents, sent to Herāt. The Sardār 'Azam of the Baluchis alongwith Bīvragh, besides a well-equipped body of Rind veterans, in the year 1505 A.D., with iron will and devoted determination started his historic march enroute to Khurāsān. Traversing like a tornado from post to post and tribe to tribe, and passing through difficulties and dangers, the Sardār 'Azam with his party entered the boundaries of Seistān, a country without a friend. In the way, sometime, the daily subsistence of the Sardār 'Azam was trusted to the fortune of chase. From Seistān taking the route of Garmsir, they touched Farrāh, and thence turned the reins of their steeds towards the proud capital of Khurāsān, and after a march of three weeks from the place of their start, reached the destined city and met at Herāt Herāt's king in pomp and pleasure. The Sultān accorded a royal reception to the Sardār 'Azam and entertained him with pomp and reverence patent

to the dignity of his august house and station. Chākar explained emphatically the motive of his visit to the Sultān, presented and pleaded the testimony of his case and cause with reasons as strong and sure as death, but received no encouraging or conclusive response. He remained for less than a month in the court of the Sultān. The Sultān's mother, who, in honours, piety, beauty and blood, held hand with any queen of the orient, also persuaded his son to lend support to the chief of the Baluchis who had come to his court with great expectation, enthusiasm, and ambition. According to Chākar's statement that after some tests and trials, proposed and imposed by the Sultān, to test his valour and veracity, he succeeded in seeking aid from him.¹ Sultān Husain Mirzā, accordingly, despatched orders to Shujā'-ud-Dīn Zunnūn, the Arghūn, then at Kandahār, to lead an expedition against the Lāshārīs. Successful in his mission and motive, Chākar took leave from his royal host, and returned to his native place by the same route. Gowahrām knew Chākar's vigour of mind and body, intentions and intrigues, but he took a pill to cure an earthquake. He enjoyed the fruits of victory,

¹ "Popular poetry of the Baloches", by M. L. Dames, Vol. 1. P. 8.

but the taste was momentary and bitter. Like the winds of sea are the winds of fate. Within few weeks, through gates of Bolān pass, Zunnūn entered Sibī plain with his insuperable army. The Sardār 'Azam received him near the fort. Meanwhile, Gowahrām, who had itching ears, came to know about the arrival of the Arghūn Chief. His only strategem was to bribe Zunnūn—famed to have an itching palm—and this, he did, without wasting anytime. Avarice had been the only blemish that tarnished the prestige of several illustrious characters of history. After staying a senight, Zunnūn, betraying both his sovereign and Chākar, ordered his army to march back to Kandahār. But the courage and fortitude of Bīvragh commingled with his seasonable artifice, prevailed without delay, without doubt and without mercy, upon the betrayal and grasping greed of the Arghūn leader. One day before the departure of the Mughal army, he posted few of his trustworthy Rind soldiers in a defile near the mouth of Bolān pass, with directions to kill the brother of Zunnūn.¹ Bīvragh accompanied the army, and at a little distance from the mouth of the pass, he succeeded in detaching Zunnūn's brother from the main force. The entire army marched ahead, while

¹ His name according to Baluch traditions was Haider.

Bīvragh and he followed the rearguard at a little distance. When the army entered the pass and disappeared from view, the Rind soldiers fell on Zunnūn's brother, slaughtered him, and as preconcerted, inflicted slight wounds on Bīvragh, who, immediately, galloped out, reached the army and informed Zunnūn that few Lāshārīs, in ambush assaulted them, massacred his brother, and wounded him. Yielding to his impetuosity, Zunnūn, self-same day, ordered in wild rage the army whose merit and fidelity, he appreciated and approved, respected and relied upon, to fall upon Kachhī plains. The whole army redounded like a flood, and *via* Dādhar and Shorān, burst upon Gandāwah and Gājān, the headquarter of the Lāshārīs, and gave the entire territory to wind of utter destruction. An awful scene of ruthless carnage without any distinction of sex or age continued for the whole day. The fury of the Arghūn sword also fell mercilessly on some other neighbouring tribes who were plucked up, root and all. Gandāwah was reduced to ashes and the neighbouring villages met the same doom. The loss of life was so heavy and considerable that those who saved their skin from the rage and rigour of the Mughal arms, were known later on, as 'Chuk Lāshārīs', meaning those infants that survived the sword of the

Arghūns, and this epithet, hereafter, served as a proof for future generations of the Lāshārī tribe, to ascertain themselves as of true-bred. Amidst the general havoc, Gowahrām made his escape and breathed in the neighbouring mountains. Gratifying his fiendish rage after orgy of death and destruction, Zunnūn retreated to Kandahār. The fame of Gowahrām went to pot, and the might and right of the Lāshārs over Gandāwah and Gājān vanished away for ages to come.

DEPARTURE
FROM SIBI.

The fertile and hot plains of Sibī and Kachhī proved a hotbed of intrigues, a veritable theatre of disorder and distress. Both Sibī and Gandāwah could be called the powder barrel of contemporary Baluchistan. An army of trouble embraced and eclipsed the race, and the solidarity once broken, broke for ever. Nothing could stem the tide of decay and decline. Disunity played its masterpicce, jealousy its master-part, intrigues its master-design, misfortune its master-stroke, and all these combined, shattered the Baluch masterdom, which looked like a body without a head. The degeneration of the Rinds and the utter ruin of the Lāshārīs besides Iliad of woes, began to haunt Chākar's mind now and then. The personal qualities of the feudal chief would be the only bond that

drew together the discordant element of the tribes. A great soldier and an accomplished man-at-arms gifted with supreme administrative ability, always succeeded to compel the obedience, and stifle the various and varying interests of the hostile tribesmen. As an able and gifted leader, Chākar knew the epidemic evil that infested the race from within, but the remedy required rivers of blood, for which he was neither prepared nor willing, and preferred not to prove as an epidemic of terror. After the weakness of Rind hegemony, inter-tribal animosities, personal jealousies, ambition and diverse interests of divers feudal chiefs, broke-broke mercilessly, and the Rind word and sword once feared and respected fell to the mercy of a host of Baluch tribes and nobles, each striving for their gain and game. The inexorable enemy of Chākar, the Lās-shārīs, were already smashed into shocked surrender; safe from external and internal dangers, hydra-headed rivalries arose amongst the hot-headed Rind nobles and sub-clans. Civil strife continued, now one, now another, obtaining power over a certain part of the land for a short period, and these swift changes and constant strife, vexed Chākar, and were bringing about the speedy extinction of the hegemony which he had built.

All the happenings and mishaps depicted that their events will never fall out good, and he sullenly felt the different plague of each calamity and chaos. Life at Sibī became for him uncharming and dry as a twice-told tale. He felt himself heavily disturbed to tamper with the defective Baluch machine any more, lest he should break it, and moreover, wanted to make a hazard of new fortunes in a new land. Pulled and pushed by countless conflicting forces, he dexterously determined and decided, better far off than near. At length, six years after the utter route of the Lāshāris, in the beginning of the year 1512 A.D., the Sardār 'Azam determined for Punjāb to exchange the purple for the peaceful profession, but he knew not that in Punjāb, his fortune would live, and his life would die. With an innumerable host, with all their luggage and treasures upon the bunches of camels, he started from Sibī and entered eastern neighbouring mountains near the Manjara stream *via* a hideous pass (afterwards known as Chākar Pass), where man and beast alike are compelled to scramble at impending peril of twisted ankle, if not of broken limb. After crossing the pass, he encamped there. One day, early in the morning, he, as sad as night, climbed the highest peak of the nearest mountain to get the last view of Sibī, and bid

farewell to the place, which he loved and remembered till his last breath. Turning his face towards the Sibī plain, he suspired, and to bribe nature, awoke the sleeping rheum, dropped manly and honourable drops, and soliloquized pathetically: "Farewell to thee, O Sibī, thine three things, I liked the most—melons, fat-tailed sheep, and cool shade of the crag-and-tail". Again he coldly paused for a while, and to fill the measure of his canker-sorrow, in a burning wrath denounced a curse upon Gowahrām's head, saying: "mayest thou Gowahrām have neither Gandāwah nor Grave". These words were the fiery breath of a great man, and the keen curse proved to the hilt. Gowahrām lost Gandāwah and his grave is unknown, hitherto. The unfortunate Lāshārī Chief disappeared from Baluchistan with all the vicissitude of his eventful career, and out of distress, he could not make his name once more felt and famous. His high-blown pride, at length, broke under him and his fortunes smashed upon an alien land, where he could find no friends and no consanguinity to weep for him. His vain ambition and enmity, robbed the race and land, of noble Chākar, and his own fame vanished away like a shooting star. With his remnant Lāshārs, he migrated towards Gujrāt-Kathiāwār, only to be

unheard and unmarked. Chākar deserved the praise of the Baluch race for his greatness, while Gowahrām, for his haughtiness, deserved the thin praise of his enemy, the Rinds, by whom alone he is known to posterity.

After a few days halt in the Marri highland, the Sardār 'Azam made preparation to move on. One day he took out his coat of mail, went near a smooth and lofty precipice and threw it vehemently, saying: "Here I give my esteemed souvenir to my motherland". The coat of mail to the present day, remains suspended within a natural crack in the middle of the precipice in a position beyond the reach of human hand, a strange phenomenon and an astounding miracle which according to general conviction is attributed to Chākar's spirituality and godliness. He started his memorable march towards the country east of the Indus, but a section of Phuzh Rinds, under their leader, Meer Bijār, who had his ambitious eyes over Sibī, detached themselves at a place which is known to this day as 'Bijār Wad', and this Bijār is the first chief, who forged the various varying sections of Baluch clans into one formidable tribe, the Marris. Some other tribes also detached from the main body of the Rinds, namely, the Buledī, Perozāni,

Khiāzai, Dombkī, a section of Kosh and Shar, etc. The Buledīs, Perozānis and the Khiāzais settled in the present Bugtī highlands, the Dombkīs scattered over the present Lahri and Phuleji plains, but soon the Buledīs were driven towards upper Sind. The Kosh and Shar settled at Sukkur (Sind) and the southern fringe of Bahāwalpur territory. Chākar with the rest of the tribes passed from the neighbourhood of Kāhān, and thence from Bor-Bozh route slunk away beyond the barrier of Marri-Bugtī highlands, never to recross them, and bade farewell to his rock-walled country, whose rocky borders beat back the malicious siege of aspiring aggressors, and stepped over the Harrand-Dājal plain, remained there for above two months, and the various tribes i.e. the Mazārī, Gurchānī, Drīshak, Leghārī, Bozdār, Qaisarānī, Lund, Gishkauri and Khosagh, etc., spread all over the present Derājāt territory lying between the Indus and the Baluchistan mountains, stretching in length from Rojhān to Dera Ism'ail Khan, a distance of more than two hundred miles. The Sardār 'Azam was left with the main bulk of Rind warriors to enter the sovereignty of Langāh ruler.

After Chākar's departure from Sibī, Baluchistan became cockpit of endless tribal wars. The brilliant past was trod in the

dust and the Baluch people plunged from proud heights into the abyss and that human scum which usually makes its appearance in times of distress, appeared despairingly. No Baluch chief proved to be so fine a man or so devoted to the service of the race whereas to regain the lost hegemony of the Baluchis over Baluchistan. The entire Baluch land became out of joint. Kalāt highland and Sibī which Chākar conquered with Baluch blood and arms remained without a master. The Baluch governor of Kalāt was murdered; the present Marri-Bugtī highland became the scene of merciless warfare between the Baluch contending tribes, the Phuzh Rinds and the Buledīs, and the tribes of Lahri and Kachhi plain, moved with the same spirit, vehemently worshipped the debate of sword. The entire territory was abandoned for years to the fury of tribal wars, and the ambition of the chieftains was stimulated by rapine and revenge. Everywhere there was disorder, decadence and dissolution. An order of rapine and chaos was instituted, and every hand according to its size and strength, seized the fields of fortune. Morality was expelled and immorality was declared moral. Chākar's fort, once the centre of his legend, was peopled with wolves and foxes, and Sibī was reduced to a miserable village of no importance. Close on



A typical Baluch mountaineer.

the heels of the Baluch troubles and disaster, however, a powerful agency, Shāh Beg Arg-hūn, later on, moved into the gap left by the historic Rinds. The disunity and conflict once started by the sixteenth century Baluchis amongst their own ranks, is not yet over, and Baluchistan still seeks her place in the sun.

The Sardār 'Azam conforming to the occasional ebullitions of the traditional restlessness of the race, crossed the Indus into the territory of the Langāh ruler of Multān. Before continuing our story, we deal briefly the account of the Langāh's,¹ with whom Chākar came into close contact, and in the pages of Indian history, the inroads and excursion of the Baluchis closely corresponds with the fortunes of Multān and its dependencies.

THE LANGAH DYNASTY

The Syed dynasty of Delhi terminated towards the close of the stormy reign of its last ruler Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn (847 H. 1443-44 A. D.). The entire Hind became convulsed, and several distant governors of provinces, and tributaries, assumed independence. Amidst the turbulence and turmoil, the people of Multān proclaimed Sheikh Yūsuf, the Mutawallī of the shrine of Sheikh-ul-Islām,

¹ For a comprehensive account about the Langāhs, the readers are suggested to read, 'Punjab Chiefs', by Griffin, P. 492.

Bahā-ul-Haq-wa-ud-Dīn, Zakariyā, the saint of Multān, as their ruler. He was set aside by Rāe Sihrah,¹ who usurped the sovereignty over Multān, and took the title of Qutb-ud-Dīn. This Rāe Sihrah belonged to the Langāh tribe,² and was a landlord of Lahri.³ He came with a number of his people and took service under Sheikh Yusuf, and to crawl into the favour of the king, gave him his daughter for his 'harem', and became the prime man of the state, and so fate made the fox surveyor of the fold. This recreant, most degenerate, unctuous hypocrite, and overweening traitor was both a fox and wolf, equally rapacious and artful. He hanged on his sovereign's favours and bore his honours thick upon him, but since virtue finds no friends, and the overflow of good often converts to bad; he, later on, broke the pate of faith and fidelity, and without merit or mercy usurped the throne from the man who never stained the temper of his kingly sword, and was by fair sequence, the owner of the

¹ He was styled 'Rāe' but belonged to the Muslim faith.

² The Langāhs are Rājput tribe. Mr. Dow, in his version of Ferishta, turns the Langāhs into 'Patans', though Ferishta does not call them 'Patans' in his history. Tod connects them with Solanki Rājputs.

³ See 'Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shāhi'. The author of 'Zubdat-ul-Tawārīkh' addresses Rāe Sihrah as Badan Khan, the Sirdi (Jat), the Chief of the Langāh tribe and Zamindār of Lahri.

sceptre, but was treated so unfairly that honesty and honour cannot imagine. Raverty holds that Rāe Sihrah ruled over Siwī (Sibī) and its dependencies,¹ but there is no proof or any record of his rule over Sibī, therefore, we must be slow in believing it.

In the year 1451 A. D. when Sultān Bahlol (1451-1489) A.D. the Lodi Afghan of the Prānkī division of the Yāsīn Khel, the first of his race who sat on the throne of Delhi, a number of Hot Baluch tribe left Kech-Makurān and emigrated to upper Sind and Multān. Sohrāb Dodāī² with his sons, Ism'aīl Khan and Fateh Khan came from Kech to the court of Sultān Husain Langāh³ in the year 1472 A.D. when Sultān Bahlol undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Multān, and had to retire because his own capital was threatened by the ruler of Jaunpur. Sultān Husain Langāh bestowed on Sohrāb Dodāī as Jāgīr, the territory between fort Karur and fort Dhankot, besides the Derājāt territory. The Dodāīs were followed by a host of other Baluch tribes and were given Jāgīr by the contemporary Langāh

¹ "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by Raverty, foot-note, P. 4.

² Dodāī is a clan of the famous Hot Baluch tribe.

³ "Maathri-i-Rahīmī", by Abdul Bāqī-al-Nahāwandī, edited by Muhammad Hidāyat Husain, Vol. I, PP. 278-79.

ruler.¹ The Baluchis formed the cream of Sultān Husain's army. Ameer Chākar with his sons, Meer Shāhdād and Meer Allahdād appeared in Multān during the reign of Sultān Shāh Mahmūd, son of Sultān Feroz Shāh, son of Sultān Husain Langāh, who gave him welcome with a powerless hand but with a heart full of unlimited and honoured love. The author of "Maathir-i-Rahīmī" mentions that during the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (1489—1517 A.D.), dispute arose between Jām Bāyazīd (a relative of Jām Nandā of Sind) and Shāh Mahmūd Langāh, wherefore, Sultān Sikandar Lodi ordered Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Punjāb, to mediate between the disputants, and he sealed peace between them. The same author remarks that Meer Chākar Rind with his twin sons, Meer Allahdād and Meer Shāhdād, came from Sibī to Multān just after the mediation of Daulat Khan which happened in 1512 A.D. Jām Bāyazīd after his claim and contest with Jām Nandā came to Multān and was granted an extensive Jāgīr at Shor by Sultān Shāh Husain. Jām Bāyazīd conferred a large portion of his Jāgīr to Ameer Chākar and his sons.² Ferishta

¹ "Sair-ul-Mutākherīn", by Syed Ghulām Husain Tabā Tabāi, P. 10.

² "Maathir-i-Rahīmī", Vol. I, PP. 278-79.

also conforms to the above statement and writes that Meer Chākar Rind and his son Meer Shāhdād came from Sibī¹ to Multān, and the author is apt to show his ignorance about the pedigree and life story of Chākar, and further quoting as his authority, the history of Nizām-ud-Dīn Bakhshī, attributes to Meer Shāhdād Rind, the introduction and propagation of 'Shīa'h' creed in Multān.²

CONTACT
WITH
MUGHAL
EMPERORS
OF INDIA.

During Chākar's life time, a continuous flow of the cis-Indus Baluchis and also from Baluchistan began to flood Multān province and the towns of Sargodā district i.e. Bhera, Khushāb and Shāhpur. Bābar Bādshāh in his memoirs writes that on February 23, 1519 A.D.: "I had sent Haider Alemdar (Standard Bearer) to Beluches, who were settled in the country of Behereh and Khushab. Next morning they came with a hay Tipchak horse as a peshkesh and made their submission".³ In the year 1524, Bābar defeated Behār Khan and Mubāarak Khan Rodīs (the Afghan armies of Ibrāhīm Lodi) near Lahore. He advanced to Depalpur, here he was joined by Daulat Khan Lodi, the powerful governor

¹ In the manuscript Sibī is written as 'Sewoli'.

² Tārīkh Ferishta, dated 1193 H. (British Museum) No, MS, ADD 6572, PP. 608—612 and 615.

³ 'Memoirs of Babur', Erskine, Vol. II, P. 98.

of Punjāb, and his sons Ghāzī Khan and Dilāwar Khan, who after their revolt against Ibrāhīm Lodi had taken refuge with Baluchis. In his autobiography, Bābar reminds Daulat Khan Lodi, how the former delivered him and his sons from the insults and clutches of Baluchis.¹ The mass of the Punjāb Baluchis directly or indirectly under Chākar's pre-pollent influence, were on terms with Bābar Bādshāh and his son and successor, Humāyūn. They abandoned the game of plunder and rebellion and contented themselves with peaceful occupations. Humāyūn succeeded his father in 1530 A.D. After ten years of fighting against Sher Shāh Sūrī, he was driven out of Hindustan. Ten years after Sher Shāh's death, at the end of Muharram, the first month, of 962 H. (December, 1554 A.D.), Humāyūn advanced to recover his lost empire, and re-occupied Delhi, in Ramdhān, 962 H. (July, 1555 A.D.). Both as vanquished and victor, the Baluchis assisted Humāyūn with all their traditional valour and veracity. After his defeat by Sher Shāh at Chaunsa in 1539 A.D., the unfortunate emperor buffeted against an adverse fate and trudged from place to place. When he reached Satgarha, a town near Okāra, he was short of food and sought the help of one of

¹ Ilminski, PP. 334-35.

the Umerās of Chākar, Bakhsho Baluch. The latter brought one hundred boats full of corn as a token of help to the vanquished emperor, who, later on, crossed the river on these boats. The sister of the emperor, Princess Gulbadan Begum, commends the help of Bakhsho in these words : "May Allah confer His Grace upon Bakhsho who served the emperor at a proper time."¹ While passing through Baluchistan, Humāyūn halted at Nushki (Baluchistan) where he was received and assisted by the Baluch chief of the place, Malik Khati, whom Abul Fazl styled 'the captain-general of the banditti of the desert'. Malik Khati and his men served the emperor and his suit with the lavish hospitality of the desert, and escorted in person the emperor to the borders of Persia. Humāyūn is said to have bestowed a rare ruby and few other costly articles to Malik Khati.² All contemporary traditions and ballads, speak of a prompt and powerful succour given by the Baluchis to Humāyūn when by a brilliant invasion, he recovered Delhi from the Sūrīs. It is traditioned that forty thousand Rind and Dodāī Baluchis besides the tribes of Langāh, Nāhar and Kung under the com-

¹ "Humāyūn Nāmeh", by Gulbadan Begum, Translated in Urdu by Professor Syed Ibn Hasan, P. 56.

² *Ibid.*

mand of Meer Shāhdād Rind, knit their sinews to the strength of Humāyūn. We are informed, that Bānari, sister of Ameer Chākar, a brave woman, with parts sovereign and pious, also commanded a body of Rind cavalry. Meer Shāhdād in his poem states:

“The fight began with bullets from guns, on white-faced grey mares. There was not a single moments delay, in a moment water was turned into milk. I beheld it with angry eyes; the army gave way in the left wing; all the Mīralīs (Buledi Baluchis) broke and fled, some turned and abandoned the Meer’s side. Then the true Turks of Delhi showed their strength, and Māī Bānari daughter of Shaihak, alighted and drove back the Rind warriors. The furious Turks of Delhi stood firm, the Rinds on their slender mares wielded their swords, and the foul-eating Turks fled from Delhi, ashamed, before the Baluchis of the mountains. . . .”¹ Meer Shāhdād’s eight sons were killed in this battle, and in his poem asserts that he, with his Baluch warriors, first entered and occupied the Delhi fort, and for eight days, his brave men enjoyed the fruits of victory in the historic capital, the teaming womb of royal kings. Little doubt can be entertained regarding the

¹ “Popular Poetry of the Baloches”, by Dames, Vol. I, P. 33.

above version as the Baluchis were severely refractory and repugnant to the Sūrī suzerainty. Their bold sympathies were reserved for the early Mughal rulers. Humāyūn passed through Dhankot, Bhera and Khushāb on his way to Delhi, and these places were densely peopled by the Baluchis. The emperor halted in these places and waited for time to lend him allies who would lend their helpful swords. After the conquest of Delhi, thousands of Rind families settled in the suburbs of the capital, and later on, many of them moved to Agra, and planted a colony there, which is known to the present day as 'Baluchpura', and all of them claim to be Rind Baluchis, and proudly profess to have settled there during emperor Humāyūn's time. After the expiry of Chākar, we find all the Baluchis of Multān Sūbah in open revolt against the succeeding Mughal rulers. Several times, they challenged the potency of emperor Akbar, who, eventually, sent a Mughal army to curb the might of the Derājāt Baluchis.¹ On another occasion, Akbar sent Ism'aīl Khan brother of Khān Jahān with sinews of war to reduce to obedience the territories of Baluchistan coterminus with Sind. The Mughal general made a deadly

¹ "The history of Aryan rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar", by E. B. Havell, P. 521.

inroad into the Baluch territory, and the Baluch chiefs, Ghāzī Khan and Ibrāhīm Khan, gave a stubborn fight but in the heat of fray surrendered themselves, and were repaired to the court, the emperor restored them to their honours, and allowed them to retain the country.¹ The general disorder and lawlessness caused by the Baluchis, compelled emperor Shāh Jahān to hand over the charge of the affairs of Multān and its dependencies to his son, prince Aurangzeb.² In 1106 H. the latter sent an expedition against the malcontent Baluchis.³

BALUCHIS CAPTURE MULTAN.

The thirty years story of the Delhi kingdom between 1525—55 A.D. represents a dramatic scene of the fall and rise of various dynasties. In 1526, Bābar Bādshāh subverted the Lodi Sultanate, and founded the Mughal empire in India; in 1539 A.D., emperor Humāyūn was defeated and driven out by Sher Shāh, and the Sūrī house governed with supreme command; in 1555, Humāyūn recovered the throne of Delhi, and sealed the fate of the Sūrī Pathāns.

¹ 'Aīn-i-Akbarī', translated by Blochmann, P. 360.

² "Ruqā'at-i-'Alamgīr", edited by Syed Najīb Ashraf, Vol. I, PP. 7, 11, 29.

³ "Muntakhab-ul-Albāb" by Muhammad Hāshim Khan, known as Khāfi Khan, Vol. II, P. 444.

Amidst these convulsive times, all the governors of far-off provinces of India, served and obeyed with suspected fidelity and punic faith, the dictates of the head that wielded the sceptre.

Destiny had already taken toll of the Baluch epical hero, Ameer Chākar, who had suffered from within, but outwardly it seemed, nature had come in to retain his splendid form and career in an alien land. The vigour and activity of his measures proved him once again as the man of the hour. The Baluchis of Punjāb were under his wing, and all Baluch nobles waited upon his smiles. During the Sūrī rulers of India, Multān and its dependencies were overpowered by the armies of pestilence, and were more often perditioned by the defiant Baluchis than ever reconditioned by its contemporary rulers. The Baluchis repeatedly tried the edge of their swords and the energy of their blood against Punjāb. The historic city of Multān was a bawd to Fortune and the Baluchis. Chākar in one of his verses, states that "Multān is free game for every Baluch". The calamity which the people of this territory suffered was far more than the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles. Horror seized every quarter to the measure of its wealth

and prosperity. The Baluchis bore at Punjāb, a worse reputation as marauders, and in this art they proved such an aptitude that to-night they would lay waste a town, and tomorrow their place knew them no more. They carried merciless depredations and licentious rapine over the territory between Lahore and Delhi, and enjoyed an ill-esteem for cruelty and lawlessness, and the ruins of the villages were overspread with the bones of the natives, until they were severely taken in hand by the Delhi sovereigns. Sher Shāh Sūrī, the potent sovereign of his line and race, was forced to subdue the contumacy of the Baluch hordes, all of whom extolled in gross rebellion and detested treason. During the confusion that followed the flight of emperor Humāyūn, Multān province became the scene of relentless rapine. Fateh Khan Baluch conquered Multān and threatened its neighbouring territories. Sher Shāh sent immediate orders to Haibat Khan Niāzī, the governor of Punjāb, to chastise Fateh Khan Jat who plundered the territories between Lahore and Pānīpat during the Mughal rule, and also subdue Multān from Fateh Khan Baluch, whose men laid the entire region to waste and poverty. Haibat Khan asked the vakīl of Ameer Chākar who was the ruler of Satgarha to ask his master (Chākar) to help him

with his men.¹ Haibat Khan, with faith firm and insuperable, advanced to cure the sore of time, and make fair weather in his blustering realm. He pursued Fateh Khan Baluch who was assisted by one of the nobles of Chākar, Mandaw Baluch, and defeated them after an obstinate resistance. According to Chākar's own statement, he sent Daryā Khan Rind with a formidable body of Rind warriors to fall upon Fateh Khan Jat. Daryā Khan knew no mercy. At Rāwal, he encountered the Jat leader, defeated him after butchering the bulk of his forces. The Rind losses were one hundred and forty men.² Emperor Sher Shāh was pleased to know that all the caterpillars of the realm were weeded and plucked away by Haibat Khan Niāzī, and conferred on him the title of "Azim Humāyūn."³ The author of 'Tārīkh-i-Afghān', describes the events that happened after the surrender of Fateh Khan Baluch as such: "During the night Balochistan Omera, Meedoo⁴ by name tried to save the fort and resume defenses

¹ Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shāhī, Part III (known as Tārīkh Sher Shāhī), India office library (London) MS. No. 218, P. 93; Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi, British Museum No. QR MS. P. 208.

² In one of his poems, Ameer Chākar narrates in detail the above event.

³ See 'Tabqāt-i-Akbari,' and 'Tārīkh-i-Nizām'.

⁴ The real name is 'Mandaw' and not 'Meedoo' as written by the Chronicler.

but failed. They (the Baloches) were taken prisoners in the morning. Meedoo was seized by Bukhsoo Baluch and delivered to Haibat Khan who took possession of the town of Multān and all its dependencies. Sher Shah was pleased to know his victory and gave him the title of 'Azim Humāyūn.'¹ The English version of 'Tārīkh Sher Shāhī,' clearly states this event: "In the night Hindo Baluch² with 300 men came out of the mud fort and attacking the besiegers fiercely cut their way through valour. When it was day the Afghans occupied the fort. Women of better sort had been killed by the Baloches (themselves) and the rest were made slaves and Hindo Baluch and Bukhsho Langha were taken prisoners. Haibat Khan then went to the city of Multan which the Baloches had laid waste. Haibat Khan restored it to the former stateand sent the news of his victory to Sher Shah who gave him the title of 'Azam Humāyūn.'. Later on, Haibat Khan made the prisoners, Fateh Khan and Mandaw submit unto the sovereign mercy of the Sūrī sovereign, who ordered him to put them to death, and, accordingly, they were

¹ "Tārīkh-i-Afghans", by Nia'm-at-Ullah, translated into English by Dr. Dorn.

² Mandaw Baluch has been wrongly written as 'Hindo' Baluch.

gibbeted at Lahore and delivered over to the hand of death.¹

SARDAR
'AZAM'S
LAST DAYS.

Chākar settled at Satghara, a town near Okāra (Punjāb) in Sher Shāh Sūrī's time. In his declining years, he would devote himself to meditation and contemplation, but he carried his love for combat till the sunset of his days, as traditioned, he died of wounds received while intervening between two wild combating bulls. Till last he did not sink under the weight of age and infirmity. His health betrayed his years. The exact date of his leaving this all-hating world is yet unknown, probably, he fell victim to the greatest conqueror of all—king Death—the hate and terror to prosperity, between 1550—55 A.D. A little before the conquest of Delhi by Humāyūn in 1555 A.D., his son, Meer Shāhdād, as already mentioned, made alliance with the Nāhar, Langāh and the Kung tribes at Multān. We do not hear anything about Chākar during the years when Humāyūn struggled to regain his lost empire. His teaming date were drunk up with time; after drinking the cup of life to the bottom, he left this immortal world in the odour of sanctity,

¹ Elliot, P. 399. Elliot has repeated the same mistake and has written *Hindo Baluch* instead of 'Mandaw'.

and was laid to rest with extreme unction inside the fort of Satgarha, under a domed grave, which suitably answered to the grandeur of his person, and where greatness, glory, goodness and he fill up one monument to this day. The splendour of the tomb has succumbed to the rigour of time, and it notably proclaims the instability of human glory and greatness. The great leader of Baluch history, whose zealous and restless soul impelled him to traverse and trudge the vast tract of land from the confines of Persian Baluchistan to the heart of Punjāb, finally, found rest within a few feet long grave in an alien land. He led his graces to the grave and left the world no copy. His death was an universal calamity for the race, and never before or after, the Baluchis saw so sad an hour. They were deprived of so good, so noble, and so great a master. The greatness and short-lived unity of the Baluch race expired in the person of Chākar. Temple gives the exact site of his tomb as such : "Tomb of Chakar marked in Multan Division (Survey 1854—56) as lying between high road from Lahore to Multan and the bank of Ravi opposite Syyaidawala under the name of "Tukia Nawab Chakar Ke."¹

¹ "Legends of the Punjab", by R. C. Temple, P. 458.

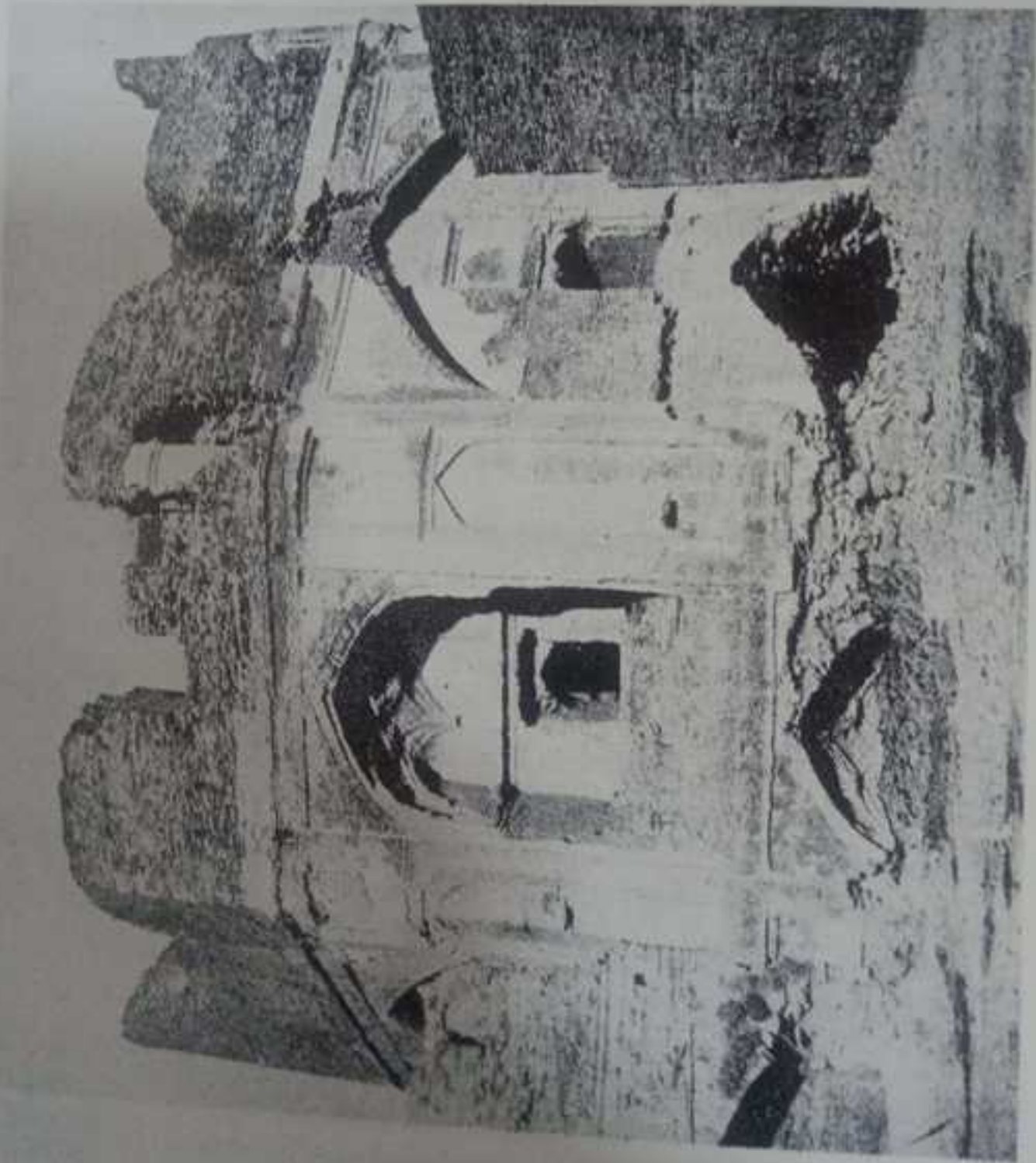
The Sardār 'Azam of the Baluchis, thus, lie in eternal sleep amidst a people unaware and uninformed of the greatness of the man who despite all obstacles laboured throughout his life with missionary zeal for the glory of his race, and who is remembered and revered as yet with impatient love and unsurpassed enthusiasm by twenty million Baluchis, and the future generations will continue to celebrate him till the crack of doom.

The direct scions of the house of Chākar after few generations at Punjāb dried by nature's course. The Muhammadāni, Brahmānī, and Meeroes among the Dombkīs are the three branches of Chākar's royal root in Baluchistan.

HIS CHARACTER.

In such an environment and life, where commerce and agriculture were scorned, where violence and pillage were considered as an article of faith, where fortune blossomed on the edge of sword, there developed the typical Baluch temperament, suspicious, vindictive, jealous, brave, generous, unshaken and faithful, which deemed the world as an arena for the exaltation of the family and the tribe. As chief of the race, Chākar had to be both through nature and nurture, the paragon of these characteristics. He was a fierce lord, bred to arms and well bred.

Nature had not been so bountiful to his person as to his mind. Tall and lean, possessed a frame of iron, an indomitable soul. The thinly smallpox spotted brown face was deeply shaded with thick beard and long moustaches. The two fierce shining and piercing eyes beamed with the lustre of an invincible mind, and this combined with his choleric complexion well agreed with his violent nature. On the whole his person and bearing was so grim and majestic that like the sun made beholders wink. Dual code found a proper place in his mind and heart, at one moment his words breathed humanity, kindness and justice; next moment he touched the pitch of hate and savagery. His conduct was celebrated as sedate and stoical, a man without a tear, and delighted always in the excitement of the wars, specially, when the question of prestige was involved, and liked the blood and brutality of the battle-field more than peaceful reign. Equally gifted in mind and body, he was as majestic in court as in the battle-field. Exceeding wise, impartial and persuading, with wagging of his tongue, he won people. His life was one of the strain and stress from his cradle to his grave, and spent his youthful days on the saddle. His regular marches through the snowy peaks of the Kalāt highlands and



Chakar's Mausoleum at Saighara.

the torrid plains of Sibi and Kachhi, mark his juvenile fortitude and stern determination. He possessed an insuperable will which had its roots in an abnormally firm and fixed vitality. His generosity towards all knew no bounds. Greed had no place in his moral code. Free from all kinds of transient vanities, was simple in dress, and extreme parsimony presided over his dining table. One thing he loved passionately, the honour and prestige of his line and blood, and strictly followed the Baluch code of honour, and pressed all to follow his footsteps.

Ever keen to move on where duty and glory led, he never stooped to things that redounded to the disgrace of his blood, and the honour of his enemies, and a similar spirit, he diffused among his people. At the moment of any grave crisis and calamity, his silence and sobriety, patience and probity, made him the envy of all. Magnanimity was the soul and key-stone of his conduct and character; even to his avowed enemies, he was liberal and honourable to an extent that it extorted the reluctant praise of his adversaries.

We deal now with the weakest and darkest side of our hero's career. Both as an administrator and a statesman, he failed—failed despairingly. Unstatesmanship was the only

AS AN
ADMINIS-
TRATOR.

defect that tarnished his illustrious career, and it cast a permanent shade over his glories. Administration was no part of his duty. His only duty was to subdue a certain territory and leave it to the mercy of the conquered. He craved for the sword, but never for the fruits of the sword. No sooner a place was conquered, than it was ignored and left as a carcass. From Makurān to Sibi he brought under his sway tribe after tribe, but never took pain to fix a permanent government. His realm existed by and for its swordsmen, who were the most highly trained and efficient of its day. His was the government of sword and saddle, or in plain words, play and protest of sword against sword. He conquered and abandoned various places while on the same saddle. Like a gale he swept over the entire Baluchistan and like a phantasm disappeared from the scene. It was because of his unstatesmanship that the whole race lacked the unity of spirit which is the only firm foundation of strength. The architect of the Baluch social and political structure miserably neglected to supply a steel frame for its central powerhouse. Had he possessed a spark of statesmanship, he would have with less pain carved out a big sovereignty for himself and earned a permanent place in history. Before his

unparalleled Baluch fighters, the conquest of the contemporary Sind and Multān province, then held by weak rulers, was only a matter of movement and moment. His immense army was in no way inferior in number, bravery and equipment than the Mongol and Tartar hordes of the two great conquerors of history, Chengiz and Timūr, both of whom had taken the world by storm and unprincipled princes of various races and places in their respective age.

For little less than three decades, he ruled according to the wont of the age-feudal system. Where the law is uncertain, there is no law. Sword and strength was the final authority. The general atmosphere was one of violence. He distributed the conquered territories to the various tribes according to their status. The prestige and power of the tribes were considered upon a rough scale determined partly by the number of fighting men, partly by the pastoral wealth of the particular tribe.¹ There were no written laws. In theory, justice was meted out

¹ We can have a fair estimate of the pastoral wealth of a sixteenth century Baluch tribe from a contemporary poem. A few days before the historic battle of Nall some of the Lāshārī families took refuge with Nūhāni Baluchis, who gave us a feast, 500 maunds of wheat, 709 bullocks, and 800 sheep to their guest, the Lāshārīs. (Popular poetry of the Baluches, P. 7.)

according to the immemorial custom of the tribe, but in practice, the verdict of the Sardār 'Azam was final. His opinion was his law. Blood called for blood. Vengeance with them was almost a necessity. It was a tormenting thirst which nothing would quench except blood. In the beginning cases of adultery were decided according to the tenets of Qurān and the Shari'ah, but later on, both the adulterer and the adulteress were punished with death.

In some cases when the defendant was a hardened criminal, justice was administered by a strange system of crude and superstitious customs. He had to undergo trial by ordeal as was the custom among some medieval Asiatic and Germanic tribes. Two ordeals were commonly used : hot water or hot iron, and cold water. Some one supposed to have possessed spiritual power, would read and repeat some mighty secrets of Almighty on hot water or hot iron, and the defendant had to plunge his arm into a vessel of boiling water or had to touch the hot iron, if his arm was burnt, he was guilty, otherwise not. In the second type of ordeal, the culprit was thrown into a stream or pool. If he floated he was guilty, if he sank he was innocent.

Poetry had been the master passion of the sixteenth century Baluchis and it was the choicest way of literary expression. Chākar's time is commonly known as the Balūch classical era of epical and romantic poetry, and the general poems are typically epic and narrative, but seldom dramatic. The entire exploitations and enterprises of the contemporary age are faithfully preserved in form of poems composed by the heroes of different events and romances. The classical poetry is thrilled with its rustic muse, and, we find, more facts and figures than clean flattery, loose praises, extravagant exaggeration, and pedantic phraseology. It was the age of chivalry and heraldry, hence pure facts were clothed in pure poetry. Baluch poetry has ever been free from learned jargon. Brave in heart and mind, the Baluch poet has ever been brave in poetic expression, and would put hard facts into liquid poetry, which proves how richly endowed with artistic genius were the Baluchis who inherited in them the prolific qualities of their ancient Semite ancestors. Master passion of the age was revenge; it was a society in which people extolled and exalted valour and generosity. The discrimination of fair or foul, truth or untruth, was cleared either by the dint of arms or by the acrimonious tongue of the

poets. The Baluch poetry of the then age had been the public register (daftar) of the race. It is only their historical character which gives it a unique value than its sublime poetic interest. Events of war, bravery, revenge, generosity and romance would be the main theme of the contemporary poets. All the poems of the age have been preserved with substantial accuracy, credible credence, rapt reverence and prompt pride from tribe to tribe, generation to generation, tongue to tongue, by hereditary bards and professional minstrels, who were and are still the depositaries of the ancient poetic lore.¹

Chākar was an excellent poet and composed several lucid poems which are mainly epical and narrative, and his notedness in this domain was extolled expressly by all contemporary men of wit and wisdom. Candid in the sweet civilities of life, he was equally frank and fair in his poetic expression, and so, he versified the truth, not poetized. We reproduce here one of his poems, rendered into English by Mr. Dames :

¹ A Baluch poet would deem it improper rather an insult to recite or sing a poem publicly; therefore, a poet who desires to make his poems known seeks out a Dom (men of low or mongrel origin) and teaches it to him. Among the Afghans, the case is somewhat different. The Minstrels or Dombs are themselves the poet and the reciter (See J. Parmesteter, *Chant Des Afghans* Paris 1888—90, P. Cxciii)

“Chākar son of Shaihak, sings: the mighty king of the Rinds sings: somewhat he sings on the day of leaving Sibi: in reply to Gwaharām he sings. I will leave man-devouring Sibi, curses on my infidel foes! let Jām Ninda the Bhatti distribute bread for three days. For thirty years, for all our lives, will we fight with these gigantic men. My sword shall be stained with blood, it bends like the jointed sugar-cane, so that through crookedness it will not go into its sheath. The youths wearing two turbans (i.e. of high birth) do not rise up to sport among the tents under the shadow of their venerable fathers, nor do they rub scent on their moustaches, but they feed on the flesh of fat-tailed sheep and boil strong liquor in their stills. There is none of them who bears the signs of a ruler; they have eaten all their Indian blades, their broad swords are rusted, they have gambled them away to the usurers, they carry children’s sticks in their hands.

Gwaharām is in dusty Gandāva, a stone cast into the sea; the fishermen have drunk his blood. ‘Alī and Walī possess all his countless herds of camels, the rebel fort is deserted, brought to earth by fierce Turks and Rinds on high-bred mares. Gwaharām

has lost both places, and will possess neither grave nor Gandāva."¹

HIS PERSON- ALITY

It has been happily the fortune of Chākar that his house from first to last was feared by their breed and famous by their birth, and was jealously revered and jealously obeyed. He, therefore, was fashioned to much honour from his cradle. The verdict of mankind, after all, awards the highest distinction, not to circumspect mediocrity that shuns the chance of failure and leaves no enduring mark behind, but to the ardent soul that sublimely ventures, vigorously performs, and supports and obliges the hearts of millions even amidst his ruin and theirs. Such a wondrous man was Chākar, the legendary hero of the Baluchis. He depended on his stars, his fortunes and his strength, and was always firm and fixed in his ways, and never lost his way among the thorns and dangers of this fleeting world, but stood like a tower amidst crosses, care and crisis and maintained the purity of his title and dignity to the last. Few men in history worried less for celebrity, but very few have done more for their country and race. Chākar's greatness lies not only in the importance of his military glory but still more in gigantic efforts to

¹ "Popular Poetry of the Baloches", Vol. 1, P. 25.

unite the thousand years distracted and warring tribes into one great racial unit. He bestrode the Baluchistan's stage like a colossus, observing the best and worst parts of his blood, and the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his despotic will. He was one of those men who exist to show that primitive environments and a wild existence can still develop a high ideal of manhood. A brave warrior, a best swordsman, liberal minded in his views, a friend of his people, was the beau-ideal of a celebrated feudal chief. "He is still looked upon", writes Dames, "as the ideal Baloch chief, and his exploits are magnified by modern legends into something miraculous but in the ballads there is no mixture of the supernatural..."¹ He had a very noble air and always trod the paths of glory and sounded all the depths and shoals of honour. Few departed from his *Dīwān* without reward, and none without honour and sympathy. He made himself feared first and loved afterwards, and always kept the race in a state of alert, for he wanted deeds not words. Instead of resigning himself to the luxuries of his station and sources, he, both in peace and war, was in action. Bold with time, he boldly achieved what he

¹ "Popular Poetry of the Baloches", by M. L. Dames, P. 28, (Introduction).

aspired. Prone to out-face the brow of dreadful horror, was great in act as in thought. Before his indomitable personality and greatness of character, high and haughty persons shook like a field of beaten corn. If heroism be confined to hot valour, he will stand high among the heroes of the age. In his temperament, he was destined for an extraordinary career, but in his personality the complex blending of force and grace, of brute passion and mental reservation, of Baluch common sense with the weaknesses of oriental imagination besides the extravagant sentiment of the race and age, are enough causes to explain the mysteries and misfortunes of his life, and his whole career, therefore, had been admirable only for the strange contrast between the splendour of his gifts and the failure of his enterprises. Though his age was full of the most thrilling events, of great tension, of mighty controversies and conflicts, yet, his regime was Baluch's last demonstration of national greatness. After him, the glory of Baluch race fled to heaven, and Baluchistan was left to struggle and scramble; nothing succeeded to stave off the destruction, dissolution and collapse of the race, and the Baluch national life never regained its former brilliance. Hereafter, the Baluch people fell from all power and prestige;

the various Baluch chiefs witnessed and watched the speedy fall and extinction of their past pomp; chaos and confusion engulfed the race, and their pitiful condition for centuries served as a byword for political corruption, disunity, aristocratic privilege and widespread poverty. The Baluch people thence became landlords of Baluchistan and not its ruler, and followed the detested course of life, to dispute with obedience, and swear allegiance to stranger blood. Though in a way, the Baluch hero, failed to control the extreme elements in the race, yet he left a proud legacy of everlasting renown, and his name, as yet, is associated with anything that is permanent or grandiose. A lapse of four centuries, even failed to divorce his dignities, and this Baluch jewel to this day, never lost his lustre. The heads of his adversaries, Gowahrām and the Lāshārīs, and of the Baluchis of posterior ages, with all the choicest elements tied together weighed not a hair of Chākar. Ever beloved and loving was his person and regime, which caught the eye of posterity. The man who moulded the destiny of the race, who gave them a land and rolled the entire race over an area of more than two lakh square miles in Baluchistan, Sind and Punjāb, must ever stand in the very forefront of the immortals of Baluch history, and his name should be set in golden letters among the

high tides in the Baluch calendar. No ruler of any race and age holds such a posthumous fame and admiration from his blood as this Baluch ruler—the elect of the land and race. Chākar when dead became more popular and his name a symbol of reverence than Chākar while living and seated on the throne of Baluchistan. By the glorious worth of his descent and by his own worth, his name became proverbial. The golden thread which he wove into the web of Baluch history remains for ever a splendid monument of highest achievement, and the period of his rule is recollected as the most brilliant century throughout the medieval Baluch history. His far-penetrating genius in redistributing all the territories from the bounds of Persia to the limits of Multān to the various tribes, entitles him to the commendation of posterity and four centuries had elapsed yet these territories remain as pure Baluch regions. His advance from Makurān to Multān, was the triumph of prestige and power, character and courage. A sceptre obtained by shedding blood must be as violently maintained as won vehemently. Several ambitious conquerors founded vast empires on corpses of millions, laid to ashes flourishing cities, and in no time turned princes into pages, and all vanquished peoples honour lay in one heap before them,

only to be affronted and afflicted, but according to general rule and conviction, small showers last long, and sudden storms are short. No sooner they closed their eyes, their successors gave the signal of decay and degeneration, and the palaces and provinces disclaimed their allegiance to them and after few generations, the very trace of the reigning house or race became extinct completely over the territories where once they were worshipped like gods. A passage from the 'Encyclopaedia of Islam', illustrates the spirit of Baluch domination and colonization: "They had no central organization but each tribe was under its own chief; although temporary combinations under the Chief of the Rinds or of the Lāshārīs were occasionally formed, if we can judge from the early ballads. This loose organization prevented the establishment of any permanent Kingdom. Each tribe fought for itself, and they often fought against each other. Their invasion of India therefore, although it has profoundly affected the population of the Indus valley, has been almost unnoticed in history, while invasions like those of Chegiz Khān, Timūr and Nādir Shāh, which have left no trace on the population, fill a conspicuous place in the historical drama."¹

¹ "The Encyclopaedia of Islam", edited by M. TH. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Hartmann, Vol. I, P. 636 (Leyden 1913).

SIBI THE
CAPITAL

The history of Sibī has been one of constant vicissitudes, the result of its prosperity and covetous appetites of the surrounding tribes and neighbouring monarchies. From mediæval age, Sibī has figured in the pageants and combats of sovereigns. The old fort of the place now stands the sole surviving remainder of a city and a splendour that has fully perished. Around the historic place are the remains of villages, which are now in complete ruin, dismal and deserted. The foundation stone of Sibī was laid centuries before the arrival of Baluchis, but after the conquest and occupation of the mighty Rinds, she became the scene of the Baluch legendary adventures to an extent, that, to this day, they are brilliantly commemorated by the local minstrels even in the remotest part of the country. History and legend unite in placing the most glorious period of Sibī during the meteoric glory of the Rinds. The Baluch capital became a pulsing hive of the Baluch horde that flourished for three decades round the pompous structure of the Rind Amceerate. Like a magnet the lavish munificence of the Rind nobility attracted to the central Baluch city, Sibī, poets, musicians and artisans. She became a potent city under Chākar's rule and reached the height of its influence and importance, and attained a

degree of prestige and splendour, being second to none in the entire Baluch realm, both in dignity, in grandeur, in pomp and parade, in riches, in trade, and in number of inhabitants. Chākar loved Sibī and remembered till his last days the place of his glory, which he laboriously won, lustily held and lucidly lost. The central fort attracted a wide renown, and was both the scene of princely pageants, and the nucleus of city life. Peopled by the Rinds with their extreme virtues and vices of their patent character, the city presented, however, a strange oriental mixture of splendour and squalor, of dignity and decay, and it seemed that the place was the habitation, of not men, but of giants. During the first decade of the sixteenth century, when the city and its Baluch masters fell a disgraceful prey to luxury and lavishness, to petty feuds and internal dissensions, Sibī under the influence of depressing circumstances, fell from its high state and esteem; and once again after three and a half century, her British lords tried, but in vain, to recover her past fame and fortune. All that was magnificent is gone, but shadow of its past self, the old ruins remain to our own times, to give an account of the timeworn carcass of the Baluch hegemony.

When the virtues of the Rinds have been sapped by an inherited course of ease and extravagance, disunity and degeneration, they began to scorn Sibī, which they once dearly loved, and attributed to her evil fortune, evil favours, evil climate, and evil climacterics, the cause of their evil days, and in view of this lemma, labelled the seat of their splendour as 'man devouring Sibī' (Mar Lawāshen Siwī), and even a twentieth century Baluch when solemnly recollects the tales of her woeful ages long ago betid, repeats regrettably the same remarks about the cursed place.

The Rinds as
the Pioneer
of Baluch
Classical and
Chivalric Age

The history of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Baluch domination in Baluchistan is lost in the mist of legend and fable, but the Rind dynasty positively exerted and strongly affected the whole vast fabric of Baluch social and political structure. The Rind hegemony constituted the most important history since their was the age when the Baluch customs and traditions received their patent and present characteristics. The Baluch traditions and rules of honour, henceforth, sprang pallas-like upon the stage of Baluch world, fully equipped and accoutred to play its traditional part. The age of Rind supremacy in all spheres of Baluch life, in its way and colour was just as important in its



Snowy peak of the Central Baluch Plateau

crude form in Baluch history as the Age of Pericles in ancient Greece, the Renaissance at the close of the Middle Ages, and the Industrial Revolution in modern times. It provided the start of the tribal heritage of the modern tribes. Like other Semitic races, the Baluchis were fettered with tribalism and traditionalism, as is the case today, and the entire society was cursed with too burdensome a tribal stratification. During Chākarian regime, heraldic chivalry and Baluch code of honour were put on a firm basis by the Rinds, and later on, developed to a high scale of efficiency by the future tribes. The Rinds of Chākār's time were proud and self-centred, a strange set of steely people with strange psychological complex and matchless characteristics, whose like, perhaps, none so far had seen or read in the history of mankind. They were the bravest people, an iron tribe, of demoniac stature, who darted fire from their eyes, and spit blood like water on the field. Famed for their wildest savagery and blood lust for battle, the hand of almost every Rind of means was painted with the crimson spots of blood, and perhaps, very few could claim an innocent hand. The entire Rind aristocracy beyond thought's compass vied each other in mundanity, all gaudy, all in gold, like pagan gods. One was bound to be affected by externals. Their costume and

bearing well agreed and answered to their innerself. Their beard thick and close-curved, and the hair black with its two long uncut tufts behind the ear, both the beard and hair were treated in conventionalized manner as was the custom among their ancient Kaldian ancestors ; black their thickly pencilled eye-brows, and big, flashing and fierce eyes beneath. Generally they were robust and muscular in appearance, and bore a sharp manly air and civil bearing. On their back they carried a big quiver and a curving bow besides other weapons such as sword, shield and spear, etc. Usually they wore a white tunic, patterned and diapered. The head-gear consisted of big white turban, and wore long red boots. Their favourite food consisted of roasted meat which is greedily consumed by the Baluch stomach. The Rind women were tall and brown, of sharply-well cut limbs, erect carriage, pretty, tempestuous, and unveiled. Polygamy was universal but rare was matrimonial infidelity, and no Rind kept at a time more than four regular wives according to the law of Islām, and as many concubines as means or inclination permitted. Every Rind of means indulged vehemently in the forbidden pleasures of music and wine, and every chief's home constituted a monster chorus of beauty,

pleasure, wit and loveliness, boudoir of fairyland-Hortus Adonides, beside which the vanities of Hollywood pale into significance. By all laws of war, the females were privileged.

Next to the Phuzh Rind Chiefs, in high and pompous living came the different chiefs, nobles and *jeunesse dorée*. The brave and the rich enjoyed most of the luxuries of life while the indigent had to be content with the scraps. Each noble outvied each other in the splendour of their accoutrements, with troops of followers armed to the teeth. Different kinds of amusements were staged to amuse and animate the classes and masses. Hunting, horse-racing and spear-play were enjoyed by the aristocracy who held high social and political station. State feasts, tribal festivals, gay processions and entertainments added to the pleasure of living in the Baluch capital.

Chivalry as an institution reached its zenith during Rind hegemony. It developed from the Baluch tribal custom of investing youth with weapons of war, the moral ideas and the Semitic concepts of heraldry strengthened by tribal society. The Baluch chivalric code of conduct was too strict, as we have shown in the foregoing chapter. It demanded

stern fidelity to one's chief and to one's vows, protection of women and children, generosity, reverence towards womenhood, and finally, championship of the tribal integrity against its enemies. The period of Rind supremacy over Baluchistan was an age of human prodigies which startles imagination and makes sound opinion sick. They were a people with fierce extremes. Feats of bravery, of generosity, of fidelity, of vows, of romance, and of revenge were displayed in the extreme. Both fiction and facts were brought to severe test of glorification. Every festive occasion or romantic episode was immediately followed by the whizzing of arrows and clash of bright steel. The age was full of wanton, rich in virtue and vice, in dignity and degeneration. They excelled all, in all. One is embarrassed to hear their barbaric sense of fulfilling barbaric feats of greatness and glory. Among the then Rind nobility, we introduce some of the suns of glory of noble Baluch history, as their careers had great impact on the socio-political atmosphere of the Baluch clime, culture and character. Meer Bijār, Phuzh Rind, was famed for his wall-eyed wrath, and long traded in war, his dauntless courage and staring rage kept him always beyond the boundless reach of mercy, and on this wise, he performed the bloody office of several

brave persons timeless end. He always had war for war, and blood for blood. If pre-eminence in barbarity and braveness were considered a qualification for greatness, he certainly deserved it. An impulsive and fiery warrior, impatient of restraint and eager for revenge, Meer Rehān, was renowned for his swift steed 'Black tiger', and trenchant sword, and in single combat he would unhorse the lustiest challenger; Meer Jāro was extolled for his implacable and erratic temper, carping tongue and celebration of vow; Meer Hasan Maulānagh for his haughtiness and hot bravery, pride peeped through each part of him, and in rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire, and had no pertinacity but in flying to the combat; Meer Habīb, a man of name and noble estimate, strong as a shore of rock against calamities, was famed for his swordsmanship and strategy; Meer Jang Dost in war was fabled to be more fierce than lion raged and in peace more mild than lamb; Meer Mīrhān, a daring high-mettled man who even through the hollow eyes of death, spied life peering; Meer Peroz Shāh, the mirror of all courtesy, was most princely in bestowing and wished towards all honour and plenteous safety; Meer Nindaw marked by unstooping firmness of his upright soul, entertained a cheerful disposition and bore a true stamp of nobleness, a princely man,

whose hands were guilty of no kindred or enemy blood; Meer Wānhar, a man of true zeal and deep integrity, a soul as even as a calm, a plain well-meaning man who gave honour to others than to honour himself; Meer Mahmīr distinguished himself for his humble and familiar courtesy, a straightforward individual, who gave reins and spurs to his free speech even at the point of sword, and never learnt to insinuate, wheedle, bow and bend his limbs; Meer Bakhar was of a noble modest nature, a self-sacrificing man, who loved himself the last, but cherished those hearts that held him in contempt, holy and heavenly thoughts ever counselled him, and with his wit and wisdom silenced the envious tongues; Meer Bāhar had all fair parts of man on him and was too high-born to be propertied. A broad minded chief, he never loaded a falling man, and for his being too good, men's prayers sought him, and not their fears, as such he won many straying souls with modesty and meekness. Meer Hadeh, a man of intense religious fervour, distinguished himself for his godliness, a god on earth, perhaps to nature none more bound as he was; Meer Hārīn revered for his vengful ire, possessed a heart of iron and never shed a tear, to play the women; Meer Jongal, a gigantic man with stern look, famed for his power and pluckiness, never

faltered even in the jaws of danger or death and perforce robbed lions of their hearts; Meer 'Alī, a gallant soul, complete in character and feature, proverbial for his wisdom and generosity, was graced with all the excellence that attend the good, virtue with valour couched in his eye; Meer Haibat, a fearless demi-god, terrible as storm, possessed a heart stuffed with haughtiness, pride and spleen, and before his awe-inspiring personality none dared to speak one syllable against him; Meer Ibrāhīm was worshipped as the best swordman, and against his fury and force, the dreadless lion even could not wage the fight. And the grand Bīvrāgh, a cultured pearl of priceless talents, the life and soul of the Rind nobility and one of the most gifted figures in Baluch history, topped the list for his solemnity and sagacity, ostentation and opulence, generosity and grandeur. His grace deserved all stranger's loves. He wore an air of authority and ultra intelligence. His dress consisted of a costly brocaded black satin coat, the head gear would cost him according to his own statement, the price of a rare steed, and would bedeck himself with diamond buckles, a diamond-gold hilted sword, silver dagger, golden stirrups, silver saddle, and golden edged spear.

As aforesaid, in the preceding chapter, Meer Jāro engaged by his vow—"He who toucheth my beard, him shall I gore to death," sworded his infant son and severed the sweat breath which was inclosed in that innocent clay. Similarly, Sheh Murīd Kaherī, who was innocence and nature himself, lost his bride, Hānī, who was all grace and charm, a girl of compelling, almost lethal beauty, perhaps, one of the most beautiful creations, anyone had ever met. Sheh Murīd is said to have once held a festive gathering in his residence, and musicians of repute were invited to enliven the mental appetite and avarice of the audience. The musicians with all the choicest music of the time displayed their gifted art, and at the close of their heart-soothing music, Sheh Murīd, in an ecstatic mood, avowed to bestow, whatever, they demand. The musicians, in accordance with a preconcerted plan conceived by Chākar, demanded from him, his bride, Hānī, whom Sheh Murīd loved next to heaven and never dreamed a joy beyond her company and pleasure. The unexpected demand distressed the master-cord of Sheh Murīd's heart. He paused for a while, perceived the mischief, but to keep his vow, he divorced his bride, whom, later on, Chākar, married without faith and fame. Sheh Murīd's overrated blind love towards Hānī, carried him off for



A famous Baluch Nar (flute) Player.

the rest of his life away in far-off lands, whence he visited the twin holy cities of Islām. Hānī too loved Sheh Murīd, and her sufference for her lover almost made each pang a death. Sheh Murīd abandoned the world with all its worldliness, and lived far from madding crowd's ignoble strife, and to God's high will he bound his calm contents. Love delights in praises. Thirty years of wanderings and miseries after this lady of the day, he immortalized in his amorous verses, which hereto, are deemed as the flower of Baluch poetry. Armed with virtue and piety, Sheh Murīd was canonized and worshipped as a saint and is extolled, even now, as the 'Khidhr' of the Baluchis.

Meer Hārīn, Phuzh Rind, already mentioned, took a heavy toll of life with his own hard steel to avenge the blood of his memorable brother, Hasan Maulānagh. In a long poem full of satire and invective, he describes his dead brother's heroic character, his majestic bearing, his triumph over the enemy, the fight in which he fell, and the reckless ferocity in hunting down the slayers.

Generosity had been an article of faith for Rinds, and every one envied ardently each other in this noble field. The foundations of the glory of every Rind chief was laid

upon the sands of magnanimity and munificence. One is bound to shudder at the memory of their curious streaks of impetuous generosity. Famed for their splendid extravagance scarcely paralleled in the world's history, the Rind nobles would bestow flowing springs with huge productive lands even to aliens only with a wink. The bestowal of herds and flocks, best dromedaries, singular steeds, rare swords and shields were a common sight, and none annoyed about it. Gold and silver seldom found a proper price or place before their prodigality. All the fore-mentioned personages and many others, besides, the Lāshārī nobles, Gowahrām, Nodhbandagh, Bākir and Rāmen, etc., were giants of Baluch history in various respects, and the contemporary Baluch polity and peace, dealing and decision was controlled and conducted by these human prodigies. The tribesmen in general, according to their capacity and capability, copiously copied their peers. Regarding all chivalric virtues the Rinds left an imperishable legacy, only to be zealously followed by future generations. It is a fact not a favour of history that all the great romances of Baluch history are the child of the then age, and each love episode is full of dramatic and noble scenes that draw the eye to flow. Among all romantic episodes of the age, three are most important, full of state

and woe, i.e. Bīvragh and Grānāz, Sheh Murīd and Hānī, and Shāhdād and Māhnāz. Meer Shāhdād enjoyed with Māhnāz, the marriage bed of similing peace for a brief period, but later on, he divorced her through some misunderstanding, and she married another man of meagre means, thereafter, started his romance. If pure love would have gone in quest of honour and virtue he would have found it, no where more just and genuine than in Māhnāz. The various heroes of distinguished love episodes, such as Bīvragh, Mīrhān, Rehān, Jāro, Bijār, Hasan Mualān-agh, Hārīn, Sheh Murīd, Sheh 'Isā, Hamal, Dosten, Shāhdād, etc., were all prominent personalities, and famous over-bold poets of the age, and all played a great figure in the contemporary politics, and left permanent mark on the contemporary history. The heroic and poetic career of these prominent figures afford a conspicuous example of the intimate way in which poetry was connected with political and public life. Both the political and social atmosphere of the period hepled in producing and providing a healthy climate and a favourite soil for the profuse production and prompt propagation of the Baluch classical poetry, which serves, to the present day, as a norm and stimulus.

A combination of riches and irresponsibility was the keynote of Rind regime. Every Rind was by birth an aristocrat, by taste a poet, and by profession a swordsman. The Rind nobility played a highly combustible role in the 16th century Baluch annals, and despite their cruel and high-handed methods, they had instilled into the Baluchi society the high ideals of personal honour and reciprocal obligations between the tribes and individuals, and they are held, even now, as paragon of the magnificent Baluch character, customs, ideals, and the legendary past of the might and grandeur of four centuries long vanished and well-nigh forgotten suzerainty. They established a permanent code of conduct for ages to come, and the modern advanced and philosophic age even failed to abolish, the honours of Rind heroes. The Rindi moral virtues of keeping a vow, of generosity and valour, have become proverbial, hence the adage; 'Rindī Qaul', (Rind promise of keeping vow), 'Rindī Sakhāwat' (the Rind generosity), and 'Rindī Zahm' (Rind swordsmanship).

With these concluding touches we now take literary leave from the great Baluch potentate, Chākar, and in the end conclude with the English version of a Baluchi poem composed by the distinguished poet,

Muhammad Khan Gishkauri (1789-1919 A. D.), giving a graphic account of the Chākarian regime, besides mention of few notable 'Umerās' of his time, etc. :

“ I behold the works and wonders of the Lord; in odd and even numbers, humanity is passing away. None promised to return back to this transient world; animal life, trees and mountains will be destroyed finally.

Great monarchs with their golden thrones, besides the prophets and saints, have passed away.

(The glory of) Alexander (the Zul-Qarnain of the Holy Qurān) with his immense and insuperable armies;

(And of) Darius with his storm like forces, have been eclipsed and were caught like bird by a trap.

Within my heart, there arose, an old story ;

I recollect persons of bygone days; the events of the past three hundred and fifty years,¹ of Chākar and Mīrhān's assemblies.

¹ The poet composed this poem in 1850 A.D.

The Rinds played a brilliant part (in Baluch annals). Under Chākar's thumb, the generous Mīrhān and Rind cavalry men enjoyed life like marriage festivity. The minstrels would sing songs amidst braying trumpets. They (Rinds) bestowed gold and rare steeds; Thousands of lambs were roasted daily. The garb of the Rinds consisted of white clothing; the true-bred Rinds bestowed famous steady-going steeds of Sānghar. Chākar clamoured like thunder-cloud or bellow of lion; The entire Baluch nobility moved on his nod; And he would command them like a lion.

Meer Mīrhān would bedeck himself with gold-hilted sword. The name and fame of Baluchis passed beyond the heights of lofty mountains; And soared to Humā.¹

The best swordsman, Rehān, with his famous black mare, was a burning mark on the heart of his enemies; Allan (Allahdād) with the sainted Shāhdād; Hamzah with Hājī, the Nawāb; Nindaw with his falcon-like sprightful mare; Jongal, Jang Dost and the bravest Habīb; Bāhar with his son, princely Bīvragh; Bīvragh with his kingly rage; the

¹ Humā is an imaginary bird supposed to possess supernatural powers. It is traditioned that when it flies over the head of anyone, that man becomes a king.



Typical Baluch method of roasting meat.

lion-hearted Maulānagh, with his candle-like shining face, the awe-inspiring Jāro famed for his keeping vow; the crack fighter, Meer Bijār, and Perozshāh;¹ Muhammad² and the pearl-like Nodhbandagh; Haivatān and Bīvragh³ with their trenchant swords, were all honoured and loved by the mighty and pompous race. All these personalities passionately craved the favour of Chākar. (Besides the above personages) there were many gifted souls of the race; the entire Rinds were brave as the Turks of Afghānistan; all were best swordsmen, and brave as lion; they smashed the head of proud ones. They (the Rinds) would be clad in coat of mail, and equipped with stiletto, pointed spear and dagger; around their shoulder, hanged the heavy stallion killer bow, sharp arrows and the Khurāsānian steel. Everywhere, like the mad elephant, roamed the armies of Meer (Chākar); and swept the land like the waves of sea or flooded streams.

And overwhelmed territories as swiftly as the white clouds besiege a land.

(The extent of their influence) extended from Las-bela to the city of Multān.

¹ Perozshāh was the father of Meer Bijār, the Phuzh Rind.

² Muhammad was cousin of Amcer Chākar and his descendants are known as Muhammadāni.

³ Bīvragh was the father of Haivatān (Haibat Khan), the chief of the Meerālis (Buledis).

(Also) Sāngarh, Kachhī and the Sulemān Mountains, the the throne of Sibī and the regions of Khurāsān (Central Kalat and Quetta highland). The whole territory was distributed amongst the tribes according to the strength and number of the bowmen. Perennial springs and flooded streams flooded the plains; every morning hunting parties enjoyed the chase; the mighty Rinds of blue blood revelled in festive gatherings.

(Unfortunately) there arose amongst their ranks, the evil cyclone of chaos and corruption; and the entire race by the command of Almighty, fell asunder, like the wrecking of a ship; and lay scattered over the land like hail-stones. They marched like thunder towards river Chenāb; the dust of their cavalrymen passed beyond river Rāvī, and recklessly wandered between the territories of the Punjāb and Jodhpur.

(And) traversed from post to post like wild deer. Thus, they deserted their place and palaces; and lost the country, the day Mīrhān was killed; and the once united race became reinless.



The famous Hīrzai horse breed of Baluchistan.

Muhammad Khan states that the Rind Unity and hegemony broke into pieces, when they conquered Multān.¹

¹ The curse of the 'day of Multan' is proverbial among the Baluchis of all Shades. The Baluchis captured and overran Multan, and looted to the last penny the main centres of the historic city during the reign of Emperor Shershah Suri. (See *Tarikh Sher Shahi*.) One of the old sainted Syed of Multan came to the leaders of the Baluchis, and solicited their grace and mercy to spare the rest of the population, but the Baluch leaders bluntly refused, and in utter desperation addressed them: "Thou Baluchis art like a golden necklace but now, thou wilt disunite like the beads of my rosary." The Syed according to Baluch tradition took out his rosary, tore its string and sprinkled the beads on the ground, and this curse is taken, to this day, as one of the main causes of Baluch disunity, misery and misfortune.

INDEX

(A)

‘Abād-ud-Dowlah, Dailami...	24
‘Abbās bin Sahl	... 23
‘Abbās, Abul	... 31
Abdullah-bin Abdullah, As-salul	... 23
‘Abdul Razzāq, Mirza	... 158
‘Abdul Rashīd, ibn Sultān of Ghazna	... 44
‘Abid bin ‘Alī	... 35, 37, 38
Abil ibn Rijāl Baluchī	... 38
Abul Fazl	... 71, 189
Abul Laith	... 35
Accad	... 5
Achaemenian	... 9-10
Adād nirāri iv	... 16
Adher bai jan	... 19
‘Adūd-al-Dawlah	... 34, 37, 39
Afghān	... 87, 187
Afghanistan	... 41, 42, 51
Afridī	... 87
Agade	... 5-9
Agra	... 190
Ahmad ‘Alī Khan	... 48
Ahmad bin Buwayh	... 28-30, 32, 33
Ahmad Shāh, Abdālī	... 71
Ahmad, Sultan	... 150, 156
Ahwāz, al	... 20
Aīn-i-Akbari	... 67
Akbar	... 70, 71, 191

Akkadians	... 1, 9, 53
Alān	... 14, 18, 19
'Alā-ud-Dīn	... 183
Alexander	... 10, 14, 55, 228
'Alī	... 23, 33, 207
'Alī bin Buwayh	... 26, 31
'Alī bin Hiyās	... 31
'Alī bin Kallāwaihi	... 28
'Alī bin Zanji	... 27, 28
'Alī bin Muhammad Bārizi...	37
'Alī Sher	... 59
'Alī, Meer	... 118, 131, 223
Allah dād	... 120, 186, 230
Allan	... 230
Allepo	... 14
Amorite	... 7, 52
Amr ibn Jamāl	... 60
Anshān	... 12
Arab	... 37, 40, 57, 60, 68, 87, 88, 89, 104, 116, 133, 134
Arabia	... 21
Arameans	... 1
Aram	... 14
Arārat	... 15
Ardashīr	... 19
Arghūn	... 69, 70, 135, 154 - 164, 168, 170, 173 - 176
Armenia	... 14, 16, 18
Arslan Shāh	... 48
Aryan	... 3

Asfandyār	... 58
Asfanjay	... 68
Ashāl	... 116
Asia	... 18, 41, 88-90
Assur-Bani-Pal	... 6
Assur-Etil-Ilanic	... 6
Assur-Nazir-Pal, III	... 15
Assyria	... 3, 15, 16
Assyrian	... 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 16, 52, 53
Astyages	... 12
Athur, ibn	... 78
Aurangzeb	... 71, 192

(B)

Bābā-Ilāhi	... 157
Bābar	... 71, 159, 161, 164, 187, 188, 192
Bāb-Tiz	... 43
Bab-Tūrān	... 43
Bābul	... 5
Babylon	... 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 51- 55, 78
Babylonia	... 7, 8, 10, 14, 52
Babylonian	... 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17
Bacchus	... 3
Bādghīs	... 41, 42, 157
Bādī-uz-Zamān, Mirza	... 157
Bāghbānān	... 161
Baghdād	... 66

Bahādur Khan	...	156
Bahā-ul-Haq-wā-ud-Dīn	...	83
Bāhar	...	105, 119, 124, 131, 222, 230
Bahāwalān	...	101
Bahāwalpur	...	46, 181
Bahā-ud-Dīn, Gurshāsp	...	47
Bahlol	...	185
Bahman	...	58
Bahamāni	...	58
Bahrām Aibā, Seljūq	...	47
Bahrām Shāh	...	48
Baidā, al	...	60
Baizā	...	61
Bākir	(H)	226
Bakhar	...	67, 69, 71, 133, 162, 163, 222
Bakhro	...	131
Bakr	...	34
Bakhsho	...	189
Bālgattar	...	57
Bālis	...	68
Balīsh	...	68
Baluchi	...	1, 3, 10, 20, 22- 24, 26, 34, 39, 41, 45, 46, 48, 50-52, 55, 56, 59, 73-77, 78- 83, 85, 87-90, 94, 98 - 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 111 - 113, 116, 118, 120,

...	122, 125, 130,
...	135 - 138, 141,
...	142, 145, 147,
...	(main) 148, 153, 154,
...	159, 163, 164,
...	166, 167, 169,
...	175 - 177, 179,
...	181, 182, 188,
...	191 - 193, 197,
...	201, 202, 204,
...	205, 207 - 210,
...	216, 218, 219,
...	222, 224, 225,
...	227, 229
Baluchis 80 2, 17, 19, 20,
...	23, 29, 30, 32-
...	48, 50, 51, 67,
...	70, 77, 79-81,
...	83, 85, 86, 88,
...	90, 96, 98, 99,
...	101, 109, 112,
...	116, 118, 120,
...	123, 133, 167,
...	170, 171, 172,
...	186, 187, 190-
...	193, 195, 198,
...	200, 205, 208,
...	211, 213, 214
Baluchistan 80 40, 51, 55, 72,
...	75, 84, 102,
...	114 - 118, 130,
...	137, 141 - 153,
...	176, 178, 180-

	182, 186, 188- 190, 194, 198, 210, 215, 220
Baluchistan (Persian)	... 42, 48, 50, 56, 57
Baluch Khan	... 117
Baluch Khan, Nausherwānī	... 84, 85
Bālyūs	... 65
Bām	... 34, 43
Bamm	... 27
Bām-Narmashīr	... 54
Bampur	... 48, 50, 51, 54- 56, 82, 115, 118, 125
Banjāway	... 68
Bannajbur	... 43
Bāriri	... 129
Bārakzai	... 82
Bārbar	... 55
Bardsīr	... 48
Barchus	... 3
Barghadāi	... 160
Bāriz	... 38, 39
Barlās	... 40, 160
Basrah	... 21, 22
Batūtah, ibn	... 57
Bāyazīd, Jām	... 186
Bebari	... 108
Bedāri	... 68
Bedouin	... 89
Behār Khan	... 187
Behār, Malik	... 22
Bhera	... 187, 191

Beherah	... 187
Beladhuri, al	... 20, 21
Belāk-i-Maral	... 157
Belgium	... 51
Belooch	... 91, 93
Belouji	... 24
Belus Emperor	... 3, 6
Belus, Temple	... 3, 6, 10, 13
Belus, (God)	... 10
Belus	... 24, 26, 34, 53
Berosus	.. 5, 7
Belshazzar, Prince	... 12
Bizan, Ameer	... 117
Bhāg	... 131
Bhattīs	... 152, 207
Bhugar	... 44
Bībī Nānī	... 136
Bijār, Donūbki	... 85, 105, 124, 180, 220, 227, 231
Biloch	... 97
Bīvragh	... 105 - 107, 119, 131, 141, 143- 145, 149, 150, 165 - 170, 172, 174, 175, 223, 227, 230, 231
Bolān	... 65, 68, 101, 129, 130, 134, 174
Borbozh	... 181
Bozdār	... 181
Brahmini	... 199

British	... 71, 72, 84, 85
Budha	... 61
Bugti	... 89, 124, 181, 182
Buleda	... 57
Buledis	... 105, 107, 108, 124, 140, 180- 182, 190
Bulfati	... 108, 124, 128
Buluj	... 23
Bukshoo, Baluch	... 196
Buksho, Langha	... 196
Burn, Captain	... 84
Bust	... 39
Buwayhid	... 26, 34
Buzheri	... 81

(C)

Calah	... 5
Calneh	... 5
Cambyes	... 14
Cappodocia	... 15
Ceylon	... 58
Chach Nāmeh	... 67
Chagai	... 130
Chākar	... 50, 51, 69, 101, 105, 107, 114, 117 - 123, 126, 129, 131, 134- 139, 141 - 145, 147 - 150, 152, 154, 165, 167- 171, 173, 174,

	176 - 186, 187- 191, 193 - 199, 211, 214, 215, 217, 224, 228- 231
Chakansūr	... 42
Changiz	... 203 - 213
Charles Napier	... 90, 93, 95, 96
Chattar	... 163
Chaunsa	... 188
Chenāb	... 232
Chundar	... 44
Chatta Amrāni	... 66
Cilicia	... 15
Clay	... 4
Croesus	... 12
Cutch	... 59
Cyaxares	... 7
Cyrus	... 9, 12 - 14
Czars	... 89

(D)

Dab	... 151
Dādhar	... 101, 129 - 131, 138, 175
Dailaman	... 19
Dailamite	... 27, 30, 31, 33, 37, 38
Dalūrā	... 65
Dalū Rāi	... 66
Demascus	... 15
Dames	... 100, 126, 150, 206, 209

Darīm, Abu	... 38
Darius	... 107, 228
Darius III	... 14
Daryā Khan	... 136, 196
Dasht	... 57, 166
Daulat Khan, Lodi	... 186, 187
Dehli	... 132, 153, 164, 183, 185, 189, 192, 194, 197
Demetrius	... 89
Depal Pur	... 187
Dera 'Ism'aīl Khan	... 181
Derājāt	... 51, 87, 102, 181, 185
Dhan-Kot	... 185 - 191
Dilāwar Khan	... 188
Diodorus	... 53
Dodā I	... 45
Dodā II	... 45
Dodā III	... 46
Dodā	... 107, 108
Dodāī	... 122, 164, 189,
Dombkis	... 125, 181, 199
Dosten	... 227
Drīshak	... 181
Durrānī	... 71

(E)

Ebis-Nari	... 14
Ecbatana	... 8, 12
Egyptians	... 8, 52
Elam	... 5, 12
Ellenborough, Lord	... 90

Elliot	... 61
Erech	... 5
Iłgi	... 5
Euphrates	... 2, 52, 54
Europe	... 18, 90

(F)

Faris	... 24
Fārs	... 27
Farrah	... 41, 42, 67, 156, 172
Fateh Khan	... 69, 132, 133, 181, 194, 195, 196
Fath, Abul	... 157
Fawāris, Abul	... 35
Fazal, Kokaltash	... 69, 164
Ferishta	... 46, 186
Feroz Shāh	... 186
Firdousi	... 18, 19, 58, 100
Firoz, Jām	... 162, 163
Fullaile	... 91

(G)

Gaj	... 151
Gājān	... 128, 131, 142, 144, 167, 175, 176
Gāhān	... 161
Gandāva	... 202
Gandāwah	... 51, 59 - 61, 71, 128, 133, 137, 142, 160, 167,

	175, 176, 179, 207
Ganjabah	... 61, 71
Gedrosia	... 55
Germany	... 84
Ghāzi Khan	... 188, 192
Ghazanin	... 132
Ghazni	... 25, 39, 46, 67
Gichkīs	... 82, 125
Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, Balban	... 46
Ghulām Muhammad	... 120
Ghulām 'Alī, Sakhi	... 101
Gīlān	... 18, 19
Gilgamesh	... 4
Girānāz	... 166, 170
Garmsir	... 41, 42, 172
Gishkauri	... 81, 165, 181
Gobryas	... 13
Gok-Prosh	... 85
Gowaharām	... 106, 107, 123, 128, 138, 141, 143, 144, 148, 150, 152, 167, 171 - 174, 176, 179, 180
Gowhar	... 107, 142,
Greece	... 10, 51, 217
Greeks	... 8
Gujrāt	... 59, 151, 163, 179
Gulbadan Begam	... 189
Gumbaz-i-Baluch	... 41
Gulūshahr	... 131

Gurgin	... 153
Gutium	... 9

(H)

Habīb	... 221, 230
Hadeh	... 222
Haibat	... 223
Haibatan	... 127, 131
Haibat Khan, Niāzi	... 194 - 196
Haider Alamadār	... 187
Haivatān	... 231
Hājī	... 230
Hamal	... 227
Hamzah	... 230
Hammūrrābi	... 7, 52
Hanān, Ameer	... 117
Hānī	... 224, 225, 227
Hardy, General	... 84
Hārīn	... 106, 222, 225, 227
Harnāī	... 68, 131
Harrand Dājal	... 181
Hasan	... 27, 151
Hasan Maulānagh	... 221, 225, 227
Haukal, ibn	... 24, 61
Hazarahs	... 156
Hebrew	... 1 - 3
Hejāz, al	... 22, 99
Helmand	... 41
Herāt	... 39, 41, 42, 155, 157, 158, 172
Hind	... 60, 183
Hindu	... 65, 110, 132, 196

Hindustan	... 188
Hishām, al-Taghlabi	... 60
Holland	... 51
Hollywood	... 219
Hot	... 115, 185
Humāyūn	... 188 - 190, 192, 194, 197
Humbab	... 5
Huns	... 18
Hurmuz	... 35, 41
Husain Ahmad, Abul bin Muhammad Rāzī	... 27, 30
Husain, Ahmad Abul bin Buwayh	.. 31
Husain, Ain-ul-Mulk	... 68
Husain Langāh	... 185, 186
Husain Shāh	... 108
Husain, Mirza	... 155 - 157, 172, 173

(I)

Ibrāhīm	... 223
Ibrāhīm, Lodi	... 187, 188, 192
Ibrāhīm bin Sanjar Daultī	... 27
Idrīsī, al	... 61
Ilayās	... 23, 33, 34
Ilayāsa	... 34
Imrān ibn Musā, al Barmakī	60
India	... 12, 55, 90, 122, 193, 213
Indus	... 65, 132, 180, 183, 213
‘Irāq	... 40
‘Isā Tarkhān	... 70, 161

Isfahān	... 25, 27
Ishāq, Ameer	... 117
Isin	... 9
Ism'aīl Khan	... 185, 191
Ispuinis	... 16
Istakhri, Al	... 24, 41, 61, 68
Italy	... 51
Izz-ul-Mulūk	... 49

(J)

Jacob Abād	... 101
Jalāl Khan, Ameer	... 48, 50, 118
Jaloogeer	... 136
Jām	... 81, 132
Jamāl Khan, Leghāri	... 102
Jamshed, King	... 133
Jangdost	... 221, 230
Jaro, meer	... 124, 221, 224, 226, 231
Jash	... 23
Jashi bin Daljah	... 22
Jat	... 21, 37, 45, 60, 67, 191, 194
Jatoi	... 123
Jaun Pur	... 185
Jehu	... 15
Jensen	... 4
Jerusalem	... 8
Jews	... 3 - 8
Jhal	... 153
Jhālāwān	... 115, 128
Jharejas	... 45
Jirift	... 27, 28, 30, 34, 35, 37, 48

Jirku	... 4
Jod pur	... 232
Johān	... 129
John Jacob	... 95
Jongal	... 222
Judaens	... 8
Justinian	... 18

(K)

Kābul	... 158, 159, 160
Kachhi	... 50, 59, 65, 129, 130, 138, 175, 176, 182, 201, 232
Kāhān	... 84, 181
Kahirls	... 131
Kai Khosro	... 58
Kalāt	... 59, 61, 128-130 182, 200, 232
Kallāwaihi, ibn	... 28, 29, 30-32
Kalātuk	... 58
Kalbāniyah, al	... 20
Kaldāni	... 130
Kaldia	... 5
Kaldian	... 1-6, 8-10, 12- 16, 52, 53, 78, 80, 218
Kalmatis	... 101, 108, 109, 124, 128
Kalo, Ameer	... 117
Kallo	... 151
Kāmrān, Mirza	... 164
Kandābil	... 60, 61

Kandāil	... 61
Kandahār	... 65, 67, 69, 71, 156, 158, 160, 161, 166, 173, 176, 174
Karā-Bāgh	... 156
Karan, Jām	... 132
Kardān	... 65
Karwān	... 65
Kashmīr	... 60, 65
Kasūr	... 185
Kassite	... 9
Kathīāwār	... 179
Kannauj	... 65
Kāūs	... 58
Kāūsī	... 58
Kech	... 56-59, 113, 114, 129, 133, 134, 185
Kesmacoran	... 57, 58
Khābis	... 39, 48
Khafīf	... 45
Khair Bakhsh, Marri	... 84
Khairā	... 45
Khan Jahān	... 191
Khānzādī	... 115
Khārān	... 22, 82, 121, 122, 130
Khatti, Sheh	... 105
Khaweel, Jat	... 124
Khawārazm	... 39
Khiāzai	... 181
Khosaghs	... 124, 131, 181

Khunnāb	... 32
Khurāsān	... 24, 25, 27, 34, 37, 68, 155 158, 172, 232
	... 18
Khusro	... 187, 191
Khushāb	... 31
Khutlukh	... 128
Khuzdār	... 56
Kij	... 61
Kikān	... 65
Kikānān	... 61
Kir	... 65
Kirkānān	... 13, 18, 23-27, 34, 37, 39, 40, 48, 51, 54, 73, 99
Kirmān	... 56, 61
Kiz	... 61
Kizkānān	... 123
Kobdānī	... 19-23, 24, 41, 58, 99
Koch	... 164
Kokal Tash	... 50, 57, 84, 114, 116
Kolwā	... 3
Kooth	... 115, 124, 131- 164
Korāī	... 28, 29, 31
Kor-debīr	... 160
Koriyāi	... 131
Korzamin	... 124, 140, 181
Kosh	... 141
Koshis	...

Kūfs	... 26
Kuj	... 23
Kulānch	... 57, 124
Kung	... 189, 197
Kurd	... 13, 37
Kurdistān	... 18
Kurkir	... 35
Kurkir, bin Justam	... 34
Kurt	... 42
Kusdār	... 43, 61, 128
Kus	... 3
Kūsh	... 3
Kuzdār	... 43, 61
(L)	
Lahore	... 187, 194, 198
Langāh	... 122, 163, 164, 171, 181, 183, 184, 189, 197
Lahri	... 163, 181, 182
Lār	... 132
Larsa	... 9
Las-Bela	... 82, 121, 122, 231
Lāshār	... 139-150, 176- 179
Lāshāri	... 115, 123, 126, 128, 137, 138, 140-148, 152, 171, 173, 175, 177, 178, 211
Leghāri	... 181
Lodi, Afghan	... 185, 192
Lloyd	... 90

	... 181
Lund	... 25, 48
Lūt	... 12
Lydia	
	(M)
Madīnah, al	... 22, 23
Māgi	... 20
Magasi	... 163
Mahmūd, Sultān	... 39, 69
Mahmīr	... 222
Māhnāz	... 227
Māī Bānari	... 190
Makarān	... 24, 40
Makūrān	... 25, 42, 43, 48, 50, 55-59, 61, 82, 84, 101, 114, 122, 123, 125, 202, 212
Makuranate	... 57
Malik Khati	... 189
Malik-us-Sais	... 49
Mand	... 57
Mandaw	... 195, 196
Mando	... 12, 153
Manjara	... 178
Manjīpur	... 131
Manān, Ameer	... 117
Mansūr, al	... 60
Manūjān	... 35
Marcopolo	... 57, 58
Marhatta	... 71
Marri	... 84, 89, 124, 180 182
Marv	... 158

Marwān I	... 22
Marzubān bin Khusrah	... 33
Mashkey	... 127
Masson	... 75
Masqat	... 106
Mastung	... 156
M'asūd, Sultan	... 39, 40, 46
M'asūdi	... 23
M'asūm, Meer	... 44, 61, 69, 70, 133
Maulānagh	... 231
Māwar-un-Nahr	... 156
Mayne, Colonel	... 85
Mazārī	... 101, 103, 181
McConaghey	... 97, 103
Mecca	... 163
Mediterranean	... 2, 10
Meedo	... 195, 196
Meerālīs	... 139
Meeri, Kalat	... 65
Meeroees	... 199
Meerwārīs	... 129
Mehrān	... 45
Mekran, Persian	... 57, 67
Menuas	... 16
Mesopotamia	... 2, 15, 52
Miani	... 94, 96
Miralis	... 190
Mirhan	... 145, 149, 150, 221, 227, 229, 230, 232
Mithri	... 131, 139
Mongols	... 42, 203

Mubarak Khan	... 136, 187
Mubarak Shah	... 131
Mughal	... 71, 136
Muhammad bin Barizi	... 38
Muhammad bin Ilyas bin Alayasa Sughdi	... 27
Muhammad bin Tughlaq	... 46, 47, 132
Muhammad ibn Khaleel	... 60
Muhammadani	... 199
Muhammad Khan	... 164, 233
Muhammad Shaibani Khan	... 157
Muhammad Shah	... 48
Muhammad Beg	... 135, 136,
Muhammad bin Qasim	... 134
Muhammad Maqim	... 158, 159
Muhammad Khan, Gishkouri	... 229
Muin-ud-Din	... 41
Muizz-ud-Dawlah	... 31
Multan	... 46, 47, 60, 67, 68, 69, 71, 122, 132, 133, 163, 171, 184, 186, 187, 191 - 194, 196- 197, 203, 212, 231, 233
Mullah	... 151
Muqaddasi, al	... 25, 26, 43, 55
Musa-Al-Ashari	... 20
Musa, Abu	... 21
Musiani	... 124
Mutasim, Billah	... 66

Murid, Kehri	... 224
Muzzafargarh	... 51
Muzzafar Hussain, Mirza	... 157

(N)

Nādir Shāh	... 71, 213
Nāhar	... 189, 197
Nalī	... 107, 131, 141, 144, 148-151, 171
Namurtu	... 4
Nanda, Jām	... 61, 69, 134-136, 171, 186, 207
Nārī	... 131, 141
Narmuk	... 129
Nasarpur	... 45
Nāsir, Mirza	... 160
Nāsir-ud-Dīn	... 50, 67, 69
Nausherwān	... 18, 19
Nausherwāni	... 82
Nebonidus	... 11, 12
Nebopolassar	... 7
Nebrodes	... 3
Nebuchadnezzar	... 3, 6, 8, 11, 54
Nejd	... 89
Nikudaris	... 156
Nimrod	... 3, 6-53
Nindaw	... 221
Nineveh	... 8
Nin-ib	... 4
Nin-Martu	... 4
Nippur	... 4
Nizām-ud-Dīn, Jām	... 69, 134, 136, 162, 187

Nodhbandagh	... 101, 102, 147, 151, 226
Nodhak	... 151
Noorgāhi	... 160
Nūhānī	... 124, 131, 143, 144
N'umān-bin Maqran	... 22
Numardi	... 124
Nushki	... 130, 189

(O)

Okāra	... 188, 197
Omar	... 152
Opis	... 13, 54

(P)

Panipat	... 195
Panjgūr	... 43, 115
Panri, Pathāns	... 70
Pasnī	... 85
Pathān	... 86-88, 111
Perozānis	... 181
Peroz Shāh	... 221, 231
Persia	... 12, 17-21, 51, 133, 158, 189
Persian	... 14, 40, 52, 99, 111
Pethu	... 45
Phoenicians	... 1
Phuleji	... 131
Phuzh, Rind	... 105, 116, 119, 124, 131, 180, 182, 219-225
Pīdark	... 57

Pir Muhammad, Mirza	... 132
Pīshīn	... 156, 162
Postan	... 96
Pranki	... 185
Prom	... 43
Panjāb	.. 43, 51, 73, 87, 127, 178, 186, 188, 193, 194, 197-199, 211, 232
Punnū	... 58
Punnūn Chunnūn	... 67
Pushang	... 156, 162

(Q)

Qaisarāni	... 181
Qārān	... 24
Quetta	... 156, 162, 166
Qufs	... 24, 28-30, 34, 35
Qurān	... 204
Qutb-ud-Dīn	... 184

(R)

Rabāt-i-'Alī Sher	... 157
Rebzah,	... 23
Rae Sihrah	... 184, 185
Rājpūt	... 67, 133
Rakhshān	... 124, 130
Rāmen	... 141, 226
Raverty	... 65, 185
Rāvī	... 198, 232
Rāwal	... 195
Rawlinson	... 9
Razā Shāh Pehlavi	... 22

Razm Arā	... 99-
Rehoboth-I	... 5
Rechān	... 141, 143, 227, 230
Rekh	... 141, 144
Rensen	... 5
Rind, Ameer	... 118
Rind	... 131, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 142-146, 147- 151, 163, 164, 167, 172, 174- 177, 207, 213- 220, 226, 228, 230, 231, 233
Rindān	... 101
Robdār	... 129
Rojhān	... 103, 131, 181
Rome	... 10
Rukhaj	... 68
Rukn-al-Dawlah	... 35
Rukn-ud-Dīn, Sheikh	... 47
Runmal Sodha	... 45

(S)

S'ad-bin-Abī Waqqās	... 58
S'ad-o-bād	... 58
Sadr-i-Jahān	... 67
Safanjāvi	... 68
Saffari	... 48, 49
Saif-al-Dowlah	... 37
Sakhar-Tulak	... 156
Saladin	... 95

Samaria	... 15
Sāmi	... 56, 107, 108
Samma	... 122
Sammah	... 44, 45, 69, 132, 135, 152, 162, 171
Sangwāth	... 147, 153
Sānghar	... 230, 232
Sanjarāni	... 124
Saracus	... 7
Sarakos	... 7
Sarāwān	... 115
Sargāni	... 124
Sargodha	... 187
Sargon I	... 5, 9
Sargon II	... 53
Satgarha	... 188, 194, 197, 198
Scythian	... 6, 7, 12
Seistān	... 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 48, 50, 65, 172
Seleucid	... 9, 10
Seljūqs	... 48
Semite	... 1, 16, 17, 52, 78, 80, 205
Sennacherib	... 53
Serbāz	... 54
Shaddād, al	... 3
Shādhen	... 123
Shāhdād	... 120, 186, 187, 190, 197, 227, 230

Shāh Baluch	... 41
Shāh Beg	... 69, 135, 136, 157-161, 163, 183
Shāh 'Ism'ā'il, Safawi	... 158
Shāh Jahān	... 192
Shāh Muhammad	... 186
Shāh Muhammad, Arghūn	... 163
Shaibānī Khan	... 157, 160
Shar	... 124, 181
Shah Husain, Mirza	... 69, 161, 163
Shāhnāz	... 120
Shāhpur	... 187
Shahak, Amcer	... 50, 115-117, 119, 120, 138, 150, 190
Shāl	... 156-162
Shalmāneser	... 15, 16
Shamūd-Dīn, Malik	... 48, 50
Shand, A. I.	... 95
Shch 'Isa	... 227
Shch Murīd	... 224, 225, 227
Sher Shāh, Sūrī	... 192, 194-197
Shī'ah	... 187
Shīrāz	... 34
Sheikh Yūsaf	... 183, 184
Shorān	... 131, 175
Shorāwak	... 41
Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn	... 136, 155, 159, 166, 173
Shustar	... 21, 11
Sibi	... 22, 51, 64-72, 129, 133, 135-

	139, 141, 142, 147, 149, 153, 156, 160-162, 168, 174, 176, 178-180, 182, 185-187, 202, 207, 214-216, 232
Sijistān	... 24, 65
Sikandar, Lodi	... 186
Singhar	... 45
Sin-sar-Iskun	... 7
Sin-Sarra-uzur	... 7
Sippara	... 12, 13
Siri Kipu	... 53
Sirjān	... 31, 37, 48
Siwi	... 51, 64-68, 69- 72, 129-131, 133, 156, 160, 185, 216
Sīwistan	... 66, 67, 133
Siyāh, al Sawār	... 20, 21, 22
Siyāh Baja	... 21, 22
Siyah, Baluch	... 22
Siyāh Pādih	... 22, 124, 130
Sodhās	... 45
Sohrab Khan	... 116, 122, 149
Soudan	... 95
Sukkur	... 181
Suleymān-bin Muhammad bin Ilyās	... 34
Sumerian	... 4, 5, 9, 52
Sūmrah	... 44, 45, 58, 132

Sūrāb	... 68
Sūrat	... 65
Sūrī	... 188, 189, 191, 193, 196
Sus, al	... 20
Switzerland	... 51
Syria	... 8, 14, 15, 17
Syyaidawala	... 198

(T)

Tabal	... 15
Tabās	... 39
Tāhiri, Tārīkh	... 66-134
Tāj-ud-Dīn	... 41, 49, 50
Tallī	... 131
Tamaji, Jām	... 132
Tamīm	... 21
Tartar	... 155, 203
Thangav, Sakhī	... 101
Thathah	... 66, 152, 162- 164
Thure	... 46
Tibareni	... 15
Tigris	... 2-54
Timūr	... 40, 41, 69, 132, 155, 157, 159, 203, 213
Tiz	... 35, 43, 61
Tughral	... 48, 132
Tump	... 57
Tūrān	... 61
Turbat	... 57, 84
Turk	... 37, 153, 190.

Tor Khan	... 156-165
Turkistan, Russian	... 41
Turkoman	... 89, 156

(U)

Uchh	... 132-163
Ukairine	... 56
Ulugh Beg	... 158
Ulysses	... 5
‘Umar, the Great	... 20, 58
‘Umar	... 45, 46, 131, 143
‘Umar Sheikh, Mirza	... 155
Umayyade	... 22
Unar, Jām	... 132
Ur	... 9
Urartu	... 16
‘Uthmān	... 41-50
Uzbek	... 157-159
Uzzai	... 58

(W)

Wakiya	... 67
Walī	... 207
Wālishtan	... 68
Wānhar	... 222
William Napier	... 90
William Ousley	... 78

(X)

Xerxes	... 53
--------	--------

(Y)

Yākūti	... 24
Yāsīn Khel	... 185

(Z)

Zāhidān	... 56
Zahīr-ud-Dīn	... 158
Zamīndāwar	... 41, 156-159
Zamchi, al-Isfizāri	... 41
Zayd bin Siyāh	... 23
Zubayr bin 'Abdullah	... 23
Zunnūn	... 156, 157, 168-170, 174-176
Zutt	... 21, 37, 60

