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No One Knows the Art of War So Well as the Arab
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Abstract

The *Chachnama* is a thirteenth-century work of translation that describes the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712. As the Arab original has since been lost, no one knows how close this translation is to the original. This has led to the question of whether or not the *Chachnama* can be used as an authentic eighth-century source. In order to answer this question, the field of Chachnama Studies focused on questioning the purpose of the work. Was its aim to provide an account of a conquest or a political theory? Previous research has revealed that the work contains parallels with Indic political theories. The aim of this MA thesis is to investigate whether the parts of the *Chachnama* that offer room for political interpretation are based on Islamic political theories. The empirical analysis is based on two theses. The possible thesis is that the *Chachnama* is based to a large extent on al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*. The more probable thesis is that the political thoughts present in the *Chachnama* belong to the same tradition as al-Māwardī, but are not necessarily based directly on his work. Based on the results of this research, which demonstrated strong parallels between the *Chachnama* and *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, the author of this MA thesis is of the opinion that the *Chachnama* is strongly influenced by Islamic political thoughts related to the same tradition as al-Māwardī.

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Statement of Authorship

I hereby certify that this master thesis was composed by myself. No other person's work (published or unpublished) has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

Vienna, 1 October 2020

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Map of Pakistan and India



Figure: 1 Pakistan, 1947¹

¹ Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Islam in Pakistan. A History* (Princeton 2018), xiv.

1. Introduction

The *Chachnama*² is a written work that describes the events surrounding the Arab conquest of Sindh, in a region located in present-day Pakistan, which took place in 712 CE. The version of the work we have access to today dates from 1216 CE. The source presented itself as the Persian translation of an Arabic work by one Ali Kūfī, whose last name refers to his hometown of Kufa in Iraq. As the Arabic original has been lost, the question as to how close Kūfī's translation was to the original remains unanswered.³

For a number of centuries and even to this day, this source has been used by historians to tell a story of origins, namely that of the advance of Islam in South Asia.⁴ However, it was not until the *Chachnama* reached the English-speaking world that scholars started questioning its usage, especially since the lack of an original also erased the traces of possible sources that were used and since then, if they existed, were not referenced to by its first translator.⁵ Another important question raised by scholars such as Peter Hardy, Yohanan Friedmann and André Wink was whether or not the text really dated from the eighth century or whether it was written at a much later point in time. The romantic and rather interpretive writing style led scholars to reconsider the extent to which the *Chachnama* should be considered a history of conquest. The extent to which it should not be interpreted as such now lies open for further interpretation and discussion. The manner in which this has been done so far is mostly within the framework of political theory, that is, in looking at the work's implicit notion of governance and warfare management.

The aim of this essay is twofold. First, it attempts to identify in what ways the *Chachnama* can be interpreted as political theory. Second, it attempts to identify potential sources by evaluating the political theories that seem to be present in this alleged eighth-century chronicle. The exploration of these issues will be as follows: the first chapter will take a closer look at the characteristics of the *Chachnama*; the second chapter will then provide an overview of the research that has been done on the *Chachnama* so far; the third chapter will explain what research methods the author of this MA thesis used to conduct this study; and finally, the fourth chapter will present the findings, which is then followed by a discussion in chapter five. Important to mention in advance is that all the information is based on primary sources in English translations.

² Ali ibn Hamid *Kūfī*, *The Chachnama. An Ancient History of Sind. Giving the Hindu Period down to the Arab Conquest*. Tr. Mirza *Kalichbeg* (Karachi 1900).

³ Peter Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* In *Sind Through the Centuries*, 111–17 (Karachi 1981).

⁴ Manan Ahmed *Asif*, *A Book of Conquest. The Chachnama and Muslim Origins in South Asia* (Cambridge, MA 2016), 145-150.

⁵ Shahpurshah Hormasji *Hodivala*, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History by S.H. Hodivala Volume I. A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (Bombay 1939; Rpt. London/New York 2019). x.

2. The Chachnama: A Short Overview

In the following chapter I will provide a brief overview of how the *Chachnama* allegedly came into the possession of its translator. Additionally, I will elaborate on the content, structure, writing style and importance of the work. As mentioned earlier, Ali Kūfī presented himself as a native of the city of Kufah, Iraq. Unfortunately, we do not know more about him other than what he has mentioned in the preface of his only work: the translation of the *Chachnama*. Due to deteriorating living conditions in his hometown, he decided to leave and settle in the Punjabi city of Uch when he was in his fifties. As he had been used to living in fairly well-off conditions, he was now eager to dedicate the remainder of his life to a purpose he considered meaningful: revealing the Islamic past of the region of Sindh. According to Kūfī, this history had not received its due honour by historians up until then. He thus went on a mission to obtain sources that could serve as a foundation for the work he intended to write. During his quest he became acquainted with Ismail son of Alí, son of Muhammad, son of Músá, son of Táí, son of Yákúb, son of Táí, son of Músá, son of Muhammad, son of Shahábuddín, son of Usman Sakifí. As reflected in the aforementioned last names, this person claimed to be a descendent of Imád-uddín Muhammad bin al-Qāsim bin Yusuf Sakifí, who is more famously known as Muḥammad bin al-Qāsim al-Thaqafí, the Umayyad General who conquered Sindh. He claimed to have an Arabic manuscript in his possession, which told exactly the story Kūfī intended to write. Because it was written in Arabic, it had never reached the people of Sindh, whose language at the time was Persian. Kūfī then took upon himself the responsibility of translating the work from Arabic into Persian, so that this history of conquest would finally receive the appreciation it deserved.⁶

Interestingly, Kūfī never referred to his own translation as the *Chachnama*. Instead, he referred to it being a Fath-nāma, in which *fath* translates into conquest, victory or opening and *nama* into tale or epic. Generally, this Persian-Arabic term refers to a collection of documents, such as letters, that report on the events surrounding a conquest or battle.⁷ The term *Chachnama*, on the other hand, refers in its name to the tale of the Chach of Alor, a Brahmin who founded the Chach Dynasty in 632 CE, which remained in existence until 724 CE⁸. References to the Persian translation as early as the sixteenth century, however, indicate that over time the work became more popularly known as the *Chachnama*.⁹

All in all, it can be said that both titles emphasize a different aspect of the work, which brings us to the actual content. The *Chachnama* can be roughly divided into two parts: the pre-Islamic and

⁶ Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 1-10.

⁷ Clifford E. Bosworth, *Fath-Nāma*. In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. IX, consulted online on <<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/fath-nama>> (13.09.2020).

⁸ André Wink, *Al-Hind. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World Vol. 1. Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam: 7th - 11th Centuries* (Leiden 1991), 152–153.

⁹ Henry Elliot, John Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians Vol. 1* (London 1867), 131.

the Islamic part. The pre-Islamic part focuses on the region of Sindh before it was conquered by the Arabs. It mainly describes how the Chach Dynasty, which was preceded by the more Buddhist oriented Rai Dynasty (524 CE- 632 CE) and was founded by the Chach of Alor, ruled over the region. Chach was succeeded by his brother Chandar in 671 CE who in turn was succeeded by Raja Dahir in 685 CE. Dahir was eventually killed during the Arab conquest, which put an end to the last Indic rulership in the region. The second part concentrates on the Arab conquest of Sindh. It starts with a short description of how the expeditions were initiated as a mission of revenge and is then followed by the appointment of Muḥammad bin Qāsim al-Thaqafī (hereafter Muhammad Qāsim) as General of the Arab army by his uncle Abū Muhammad al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Aqīl al-Thaqafī (hereafter al-Ḥajjāj). Muhammad Qāsim successfully conquered city after city while remaining in close contact with his uncle through intensive correspondence. The *Chachnama* includes complete letters that provide detailed information on how the conquest was carried out. The story ends with the death of Muhammad Qāsim. Overall it can be said that the *Chachnama* consists of a wide variety of layers, which include military, geographical and advisory descriptions of the conquest. Equally interesting, however, is the writing style. The *Chachnama* is often written in a rather romantic manner, which can be best demonstrated by an actual example:

‘There was a pond in its vicinity whose water was brighter than the eyes of lovers, and whose meadow land was more pleasant than the garden of Iram.’¹⁰

In the absence of any further context to this passage, which might explain somehow its poetic nature, it should be clear that sentences like these have led historians to question whether the *Chachnama* should be read as a romance or history.

With such factors considered, the question that should be asked at this point is what makes this text so important and what value it provides to present readers. First of all, the *Chachnama* is not only the most elaborate primary source to describe the Arab conquest of Sindh, but also to describe the Indian tradition in Sindh prior to this conquest. What makes this so interesting is that it is not usual for Muslim Historians to refer to non-Muslim sources in their work.¹¹ Furthermore, the text has been used as an authoritative source for later Persian chronicles dating from 1600, and is still used as such by present-day historians.¹² For Pakistanis, however, this text adds an additional layer. It is a source that builds on their identity: *‘in the immediate aftermath of 1947¹³ [the Chachnama emerged] as a foundational text for the state of Pakistan’¹⁴.*

¹⁰ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 99.

¹¹ Yohanan *Friedmann*, The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama. In Islam in Asia, 1, (Jerusalem 1984), 33.

¹² *Asif*, A Book of Conquest, 146-148, 163-169. And: *Wink*, Al-Hind Vol. 1, 192.

¹³ 1947 marks the year of the “partition”, in which Pakistan was declared a sovereign state after the British rule over the Indian subcontinent was ended.

¹⁴ *Asif*, A Book of Conquest, 166.

2.1.State of the Field

The following chapter will discuss how the field of Chachnama Studies has evolved over the past centuries. As mentioned earlier this field is relatively young. Source-based discussions emerged simultaneously with the first translations into the English language. Within the past 150 years the different opinions as to whether or not the *Chachnama* is an authentic source from the eighth century have changed drastically. This change in opinion can be roughly classified as follows:

Table 1: Historiographical overview

Can the <i>Chachnama</i> be considered an authentic source of the eighth century?		
1841	Elphinstone	Yes
1867	Elliot	Yes
1900	Kalichbeg Fredunbeg	For the most part
1939	Hodivala	Only some parts
1984	Friedmann	Only some parts
1991	Wink	Only some parts
1993	Hardy	Only some parts
2016	Asif	No

Table 1 shows that there are quite a number of temporal gaps in the research of the *Chachnama* as a primary source. Also, most interest in the field seems to have been shown by scholars from a non-Indian/Pakistani background. The reasons why these scholars have come to their conclusions will be further discussed below.

2.2. Mountstuart Elphinstone & Sir Henry Miers Elliot

Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Henry Miers Elliot were among the first persons in the Anglophone world to publish their comments and thoughts on the *Chachnama*. Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779 – 1859) was a British historian who used the *Chachnama* as a source for his own work; *The History of India*, which was first published in 1841. In a footnote he commented that:

‘Though loaded with tedious speeches and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mohammed Cásim’s invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Shanscrit names, so as to

remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist.’¹⁵

Despite his awareness of the mistakes that might have been made by the author or translator of the *Chachnama*, Elphinstone did not seem to doubt the validity of the content and believed it provided a realistic representation of eighth-century Sindh.

The British Sir Henry Miers Elliott (1808 - 1853) was one of the first persons to make a serious attempt to translate the story of the *Chachnama* into English. In 1867 he published an elaborate, yet still incomplete version of the work. In the introduction to his translation he expressed his observations and opinion on the content. Elliot pointed out that it was difficult to determine when and by whom the Arab original was composed.¹⁶ He did, however, find the claim that Kūfī obtained the work from a descendent of one of the leading characters convincing enough to ‘*guarantee [...] the authenticity of the narrative*’¹⁷. He also considered the romantic writing style a matter of personal preference of the Arab author which did not have to imply that the story was fictitious.¹⁸ All in all, Elliot believed that ‘*there [was] no reason to doubt that the work is a translation of a genuine Arab history, written not very long after the conquest.*’¹⁹

2.3. Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg

Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg (1853 – 1929) (hereafter: Kalichbeg) was an Indian scholar from Hyderabad, who was mostly known for his contributions to Sindhi literature. In 1900, he was the first person to provide a complete translation of the *Chachnama* in the English language.²⁰ Due to the many gaps and mistakes he found in the Persian versions he had at his disposal, it required seven to eight different copies to provide a full translation of the work. In order to give future students the opportunity to give their own interpretation to the text, he decided to keep his translation as close to the original as possible²¹.

In the introduction to his translation, Kalichbeg shortly discussed his thoughts on the authenticity of the *Chachnama* as an eighth-century source. He pointed out that the geographical information could be of great value, but that it would require much more research to determine the accuracy of the data provided. He also suggested that the work was likely to be composed and written

¹⁵ Mountsuart Elphinstone, Conquest of Sind by the Arabs. In: *The History of India*, 2nd ed., 1 (London 1843). 509–17.

¹⁶ Elliot; Dowson, *The History Of India Vol.1*. 134.

¹⁷ Elliot; Dowson, *The History Of India Vol.1*. 134.

¹⁸ Elliot; Dowson, *The History Of India Vol.1*. 136.

¹⁹ Elliot; Dowson, *The History Of India Vol.1*. 136.

²⁰ Manan Ahmed Asif, The Long Thirteenth Century of the Chachnama. In: *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 49, 4: 459–491 (Los Angeles 2012), 486.

²¹ Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, v.

by more than one author, gesturing in particular at members of the Sakifī family.²² The sources, he concluded, ‘*may be classified as follows:*

1. *Arab historical lays, and ballads,*
2. *Family traditions of the Sakifīs, recorded and unrecorded*
3. *Stories told by individuals whose names were forthcoming.*
4. *Stories traceable to individuals of a certain class, e.g. Brahmans.*
5. *What may be called the Flotsam and Jetsam of hearsay.*
6. *In Addition to these, they probably had some memoranda of the correspondence between Muhammad Kasīm and Hajjāj, and perhaps the whole correspondence’.*²³

Kalichbeg believed that Kūfī received the entire collection of sources in a consecutive Arabic narrative and that he had transformed it into a readable history. Different kinds of memoranda, for example, might have been combined and included in the many letters that can be found in the *Chachnama*. He also believed that the parts indicated as *tradition* might have been what he described as the flotsam and jetsam of hearsay. Despite the romantic language and the parts Kūfī might have added to include romance to the story, Kalichbeg was convinced that the majority of the history was indeed a Persian translation of authentic eighth-century sources. Based on this belief, Kalichbeg also pointed out some shortcomings within the work: ‘*The natural bias of the Sakifī family and the inaccuracies almost inseparable from hearsay are, thus, the two great drawbacks, for which the fullest allowance must be made in appreciating the historical evidence now placed before the public*’²⁴.

2.4. Shahpurshah Hodivala

Shahpurshah Hodivala (d. 1944) was an Indian professor who was specialized in the fields of Indian medieval numismatics and Persian history. In 1939 he published the first part of a project in which he provided comments on Elliot and Downson’s first English translation of the *Chachnama*.²⁵ He took on this project because the sixty-year-old translations by Elliot and Downson were still widely used as a source to reconstruct Indian History: ‘*It is still indispensable to every serious student of the Muhammadan period of Indian History. It is universally quoted, and deservedly too, as an authority of the first class and even regarded by many readers as the very last word on the subject.*’²⁶ However, in those sixty years significant research had been done which could shed new light on the histories told in

²² Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Kalichbeg, v-xi.

²³ Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Kalichbeg, x.

²⁴ Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Kalichbeg, xi.

²⁵ Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. Hodivala Volume I. A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson’s *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (Bombay 1939; Rpt. London/New York 2019).

²⁶ Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. Hodivala Volume I, x.

the works of Elliot and Downson. HodiVala's aim was to provide these insights by incorporating them in critical comments on the translations. Besides using the new research findings of other scholars, he also included his own expertise. HodiVala referred to his own contributions in a rather modest manner: '*He [HodiVala] lays no claim to be an historian. His object has been merely to investigate, ascertain and verify facts, to reject statements which were inaccurate or without adequate proof and to place the subject on a sounder critical footing*'.²⁷ The main purpose of HodiVala's work was '*to enhance the usefulness and value of [Elliot and Downson's] work and to bring it up to the standard of modern knowledge*'²⁸, so that it would stimulate future scholars to take a more critical approach when using the translation as a historical source.

His comments varied from pointing to translations and specifying geographic locations to criticizing the likelihood of certain events to have happened as described. In terms of the pre-Islamic part of the *Chachnama*, HodiVala believed that Kūfī used much imagination during the process of translating the work. Many of the traditions he referred to were not in alignment with the traditions that historians assumed to have existed in seventh-century Sindh²⁹. HodiVala's general opinion on the pre-Islamic part of the *Chachnama* was that it lacked credibility:

*'The whole of the first part of the work is overgrown with legendary matter and all but valueless as history. The description of Chach's conquests from Multān on the one side to Makrān on the other seems imaginary. It looks like a rifaccimento in Persian prose of a poetical 'Digvijaya'³⁰ and is every whit as unhistorical as similar lucubrations of Sanskrit poets and Rājput bards. It bears, also, such a close resemblance to the victorious progress of Muhammad al-Qāsim himself from Makrān to Multān and the places conquered by both also differ so little, that it is impossible to refrain from suspecting that the one is only a réchauffé of the other. It may have had some basis in the flotsam and jetsam of local tradition, but if so, the tradition has been so grossly corrupted in the course of transmission by the fantastic accretions of subsequent inventiveness, as to amount to a travesty of the truth.'*³¹

HodiVala also referred to the possible literary interests of either the author or the translator of the work. He based his conclusions on some parts of the *Chachnama* that reflected a literary style which could not have existed in the eighth century. In one of his comments he stated: '*this anecdote must be unhistorical and an ex post facto concoction of some imaginative Muslim. Such a play upon words is*

²⁷ HodiVala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. HodiVala Volume I, x.

²⁸ HodiVala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. HodiVala Volume I, x.

²⁹ HodiVala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. HodiVala Volume I, 94.

³⁰ '*It looks like a rifaccimento in Persian prose of a poetical 'Digvijaya'*': By this HodiVala means that the first part of *Chachnama* seems more like an adaptation of the type of Indian poetry that is known to describe the conquest of the whole earth – a '*heroic and idealized aspiration of ancient Indian kings*'. W. J. Johnson, *digvijaya* ('the conquest of the quarters/regions'). In: *A dictionary of Hinduisim*, Oxford Reference. Consulted online on:

<<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198610250.001.0001/acref-9780198610250-e-778>> on (24.09.2020)

³¹ HodiVala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. HodiVala Volume I, 94.

possible only in Persian and is founded on the morphology of the Semitic script, of which Dāhir could not have possessed any knowledge.’³² Interestingly, he also mentioned that ‘the story seem[ed] to have been interpolated, either by the author or translator, only to give the narrative a dash of rhetorical colouring in the Muslim style’.³³ All in all, Hodivala was not convinced that the entire work stemmed from the eighth century.

2.5. Yohanan Friedmann

Yohanan Friedmann (b. 1936) is an Israeli scholar of Islamic studies. In his essay *The Origins and Significance of the Chachnama* (1984), he attempted to identify some of the sources used in the *Chachnama*. He compared the work to one of the few other accounts on the Conquest of Sindh, namely the *Futūh al-Buldān* by Ahmad Ibn Yahya al-Balādhurī (hereafter al-Balādhurī). The most important reason to compare these two works was because they both seemed to have relied on the same sources. The most important sources they seemed to have in common are the works of the Arab scholar Abū'l-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sayf (commonly known as al-Madā’inī).³⁴ As the works of al-Madā’inī got lost it was not possible to make a direct comparison. Nevertheless, the similarities between the *Futūh al-Buldān* and the *Chachnama* were considered significant enough to assume that Kūfī, similarly to al-Balādhurī, relied on the works of al-Madā’inī.³⁵ Friedmann compared the works in a twofold manner. Firstly, he compared the two works based on the events and characters that occurred within them and subsequently looked at the sources they referred to.

Whereas the *Chachnama* covers close to 170 pages, the *Futūh al-Buldān* is not longer than ten pages. This does not only mean that some of the events that occur in both works are elaborated on much more extensively in the *Chachnama*, but also that some of the events that occur in the *Chachnama* cannot be found in the *Futūh al-Buldān* at all. Starting with the similarities, the most significant events that occur in both the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān* are listed below. Both works refer to:

- The same event that triggered the expeditions to Sindh: ‘[...] *The dispatch of a raiding party to India by 'Uthman bin Abi al-'As al-Thaqafi during reign of 'Umar bin al-Khattab.*’³⁶
- An ‘almost identical sequence of al-Qāsīm 's battles’.³⁷

³² Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. Hodivala Volume I, 94.

³³ Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. Hodivala Volume I, 94.

³⁴ Friedmann suggests that al-Madā'inī's *The Book of the Indian Frontier (Kitāb Thaghr al-Hind)*, *The Book of the Governors of India (Kitāb 'ummāl al-Hind)*, and *The Book of the Conquests of Sijistān (Kitāb Futūh si-Jistān)* may have served as sources by the compiler of the *Chachnama*. Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 27.

³⁵ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 27.

³⁶ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 25.

- An ‘extensive exchange of letters between al-Ḥajjāj and al-Qāsim’.³⁸
- ‘The destruction of the Daybul flag-pole’.³⁹
- Two battles fought by 'Abd Allah bin Sawar against the people from Qiqan.⁴⁰
- Dahir’s death.

Whereas these events occur in both the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān*, the *Chachnama* covered most of them in a much more elaborate manner. As al-Balādhurī attributed some of these common themes specifically to al-Madā'inī, Friedmann considered it safe to say that the compiler of the *Chachnama* had the same sources at his disposal.

Besides these events, the *Chachnama* also refers to a fair amount of Arab warriors that do not appear in the *Futūh al-Buldān*. Interestingly, these warriors do appear in other Arab histories that took place outside of India. Therefore, Friedmann also considered it highly likely that Kūfī had access to even more Arab sources:

‘It is [...] our assumption that the parts which describe the battles against the Indians and those that deal with the internal matters of the Muslims (such as the correspondence between Muhammad b. al-Qasim and al-Hajjaj or appointments of arab governors) derive from the Arab tradition. [...] This material is not less reliable than that found in classical Arab histories. [...].’⁴¹

Besides these observations, Friedmann also expressed his opinion on the possibility of an alternative purpose of the work:

‘The conquest of Sind, as described in the Chach Nama, caused the removal of the ruling dynasty, but did not result in any significant changes in the structure of Indian society. On the contrary, the book occasionally sounds like a document intended to accord Islamic legitimacy to the Indian social structure, to sanction the privileges and prestigious social standing of the Brahmans and to confirm the degraded status of the low castes. The book seems to serve as a literary, historical and perhaps even religious justification of a social phenomenon which is in sharp conflict with the Islamic world view.’⁴²

³⁷ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 26.

³⁸ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 26.

³⁹ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 26.

⁴⁰ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 26. Qiqan (or Kikan) was a province in Sindh. Kalichbeg translated 'Abd Allah bin Sawar into Abdullāh son of Sawād.

⁴¹ Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 33.

⁴² Friedmann, *The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nama*, 34.

All in all, although Kūfī might have included some words of his own in the *Chachnama*, Friedmann did believe that the work included some parts that represented an eighth-century account of the conquest of Sindh.

2.6. André Wink

André Wink (b. 1953) is a historian specializing in the Medieval and Early Modern history of India and the Indian Ocean region. In the fourth chapter of his work *Al-Hind – The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*⁴³ Wink expresses his view on the *Chachnama* and its historical value. The reason for doing so is because he used the work as a source for the reconstruction of the advent of Islam in Sindh during the Umayyad Dynasty era (661 CE –750 CE).⁴⁴ In agreement with previous scholarship, Wink believes the *Chachnama* was likely based on or inspired by other sources that can be classified as follows: first, there is a part that draws upon an Arabic tradition, more specifically on the work of al-Madā'inī viz al-Balādhurī. Second, the parts in which the local Indian population are classified as dhimmis are based on a local Indo-Muslim tradition; and third, the parts that refer to the pre-Islamic period are based on local Indian histories⁴⁵. In terms of the writing style used in the *Chachnama*, Wink is under the impression that the '*authors of these chronicles consider themselves morally obliged to describe events in a particular 'Islamic' way*'⁴⁶. He based this on the following observation:

*'The derogatory comments are thrown in in a routine, off-hand manner, almost as if the author takes it for granted that every Muslim reader of the work will know that it is part of the prescribed protocol of Muslim history-writing.'*⁴⁷

Due to existing skepticism towards the source, Wink argues that the discussion surrounding the work should not be about whether or not the events happened as described in the *Chachnama*, but rather '*whether we can find sufficient historical substance in them, while abstracting from their formal Islamic presentation, to make the conquest intelligible*'.⁴⁸ Although he does not believe that all the information provided in the *Chachnama* stems from the eighth-century, he does believe that a literary analysis of the work still leads to a credible representation of the situation at the time:

⁴³ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 192 - 209.

⁴⁴ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 201-209.

⁴⁵ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 196.

⁴⁶ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 199.

⁴⁷ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 199.

⁴⁸ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 200.

'[...] It seems indisputable that, once the dross of various accretions is cleared away, we arrive at a historical account which is derived from a tradition of Arabic 'chroniclers of the conquest of Sind.'⁴⁹

2.7. Peter Hardy

In his essay *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible as Political Theory?*⁵⁰ Peter Hardy (1922-2013), a historian who specialized in the history of Islam, the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal India, approached the *Chachnama* from an angle that had not been thoroughly explored before. His aim was to ascertain the possibility of an alternative purpose of the text, namely that of providing political theory rather than a story of conquest. Were this the case, this would also shed new light on the prospect of the work to have been written in the thirteenth instead of eighth century. His comments on the work explain the reasons for this alternative perspective; presented as twofold. Firstly, he provided an analysis of the alleged translator, Kūfī, and his writing style, and secondly, he provided examples of the work that seemed to underline the possibility of an alternative intention regarding the writing.

Kūfī allegedly translated the *Chachnama* at the beginning of the Delhi Sultanate (1206CE-1526CE) and, in the preface of his translation, pointed out that he intended '*his work to be of interest, perhaps of value, to Muslims who occupied positions of political and military authority in his day*'⁵¹. He made sure to mention that he dedicated his work to Husain b. Abu Bakr al-Ash'ari, who served as the political advisor (wazir) of Nasir al-din Qabacha, who in turn was the Muslim Turkic governor of Multan. Hardy also demonstrated how several references made by Kūfī himself pointed in the direction of a more political than a historical purpose of the work. Kūfī mentioned, for example, that the *Chachnama* is '*based on a foundation of rules of rulership*'⁵² and that it is '*firmly stressing the knotting-together of government*'.⁵³ His use of words seemed to suggest that Kūfī's overall intention might indeed have been to provide wazir al-Ash'ari with advice and to produce a piece that could be used by future generations as guidelines or model practice to those involved in governance and conducting warfare⁵⁴. Another interesting aspect is the Perso-Islamic idiom that is used throughout the pre-Islamic part of the *Chachnama*. One should keep in mind, however, that Kūfī never referred to his own work as the *Chachnama*. Instead, he referred to it specifically as a translation (tarjama) from Arabic '*into prose, [...] but prose [...] with collars of interpretation and embellishments of piety, so*

⁴⁹ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 195.

⁵⁰ Peter Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* In *Sind Through the Centuries*, 111–17 (Karachi 1981).

⁵¹ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

⁵² Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

⁵³ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

⁵⁴ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

that it became a [...] rare young thing (new for its freshness).⁵⁵ Hardy therefore believed that in his preface Kūfī prepared his readers to find an adaptation of an Arabic original.⁵⁶

In terms of content, Hardy referred to numerous examples that allowed for further political interpretation, both in the pre-Islamic and the Islamic part of the work. He observed the following patterns:

- 'Implicit in the Chach Nama is the assumption that political and military power should be exercised within a balanced and integrated political and social order'.⁵⁷
- 'Members of the 'ruling elite' must also adopt the right posture towards members of the 'religious classes', not forcing them to abandon their lives of devotion to suit the ruler's own convenience but nevertheless making an appropriate appointment.'⁵⁸
- 'There would appear to be implicit in the structure of the Chach Nama concepts of balance, of moderation, and, a bias towards accommodation between different elements in a body politic.'⁵⁹
- 'The Chachnama successfully recounts the successful investment of a number of urban strongholds.'⁶⁰
- 'Prominent in the Chachnama is the role of the wise counsellor to king and commander.'⁶¹
- 'Another group of 'political theory' motifs in the Chach Nama relates to the control of and the welfare of the agents of the ruler or commander.'⁶²

Hardy then stated that although the aforementioned political motifs raised even more questions, he was not in a position to answer any of them. He did suggest, however, that, despite the perso-islamic use of language, the patterns he observed showed significant similarities with Indian political theory. He pointed out, for example, some of the seven elements of policy (ruler, official, rural area, the fortified foreign ally) known from the *Arthashastra*, which is an ancient Sanskrit treatise on statecraft⁶³. He was also able to demonstrate how other parts reflect similarities with the so-called *four genres of political expedients* (conciliation, bribery, dissension and force) as expressed in the ancient Sanskrit legal texts *Manusmṛiti* and *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti*.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, in his essay Hardy mainly raised new

⁵⁵ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁵⁶ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

⁵⁷ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁵⁸ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁵⁹ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁶⁰ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁶¹ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 113.

⁶² Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 114.

⁶³ W. J. Johnson, *Arthashastra (Kauṭilya Arthashastra) ('Treatise on Statecraft')*. In: *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, Oxford Reference, consulted online on

<<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198610250.001.0001/acref-9780198610250-e-258>> (25.09.2020).

⁶⁴ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 116.

questions and the main idea was to stimulate further research into the field of Chachnama Studies. Because of this newly assumed purpose, however, he believed that only some parts of the *Chachnama* stemmed from the eighth century.

2.8. Manan Ahmed Asif

In 2016, Manan Ahmed Asif (hereafter Asif), a historian at Columbia University, published *A Book of Conquest*; a work dedicated to his research on the *Chachnama*. His most important claim is that the *Chachnama* is not a work of translation, but that it was originally written by Kūfī in the thirteenth century with the intention of providing a political theory with which he could impress the court⁶⁵. Thus, the story of conquest served purely as a context for this theory. According to Asif, the theory comprises three different layers, namely that of administrative, political and strategic advice. The administrative layer involves ‘*the understanding of political rule, the capacity to govern, and the ways in which alliances can be built*’⁶⁶. The political layer focuses on negotiation, communication and ‘*accommodation of differing communities*’⁶⁷. The strategic level concerns the military assistance offered from al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim throughout the conquest.

To support his claim Asif draws parallels between Greek, Persian, Arab and Indic sources. Firstly, he believes that the epistolary method used in the *Chachnama* was inspired by ‘*The Letter*’ by Pseudo-Callisthenes (ca. 200 CE), which is a compilation of correspondences between Aristotle and Alexander the Great in which the former advised the latter during his conquest of India.⁶⁸ As this work entered Persian historiography, different depictions of Alexander the Great emerged of which two became most prevalent. The first characterizes him as a ‘young and doomed conqueror’ and the second as a more ‘heroic figure’. The second depiction was also used in Firdawsi’s *Shahnama* (written between 977 CE–1010 CE), which is a national epic of Greater Iran and incorporated the Alexander Romance. Asif suggests that not only the character of Muhammad Qāsim but also the structure of the *Chachnama*, which is divided into a conquest and a pre-conquest part, might have been based on Firdawsi’s depiction of Alexander, as well as the way in which he was compared to other rulers.⁶⁹ Consequently, both parts of the texts should be read as a dialogue between each other rather than as two independent parts. The most important parallels, however, were those pointing at the ancient Sanskrit works of *Arthasastra* and *Pancatantra*, which deal with the science of morality and polity. Asif bases this on the following phrase in *Chachnama*, which occurs in a letter from al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim:

⁶⁵ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 20.

⁶⁶ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 98.

⁶⁷ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 98.

⁶⁸ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 92.

⁶⁹ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 92.

*You must know that there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom – 1stly, courtesy, conciliation, gentleness, and alliances; 2ndly, expenditure of money, and generous gifts; 3rdly, adoption of the most reasonable and expedients measures at the time of disagreement or opposition; and 4thly, the use of overawing force, power, strength and majesty in checking and expelling the enemy.*⁷⁰

These four cornerstones of imperial acquisition show great similarities with the strategy provided in the *Arthashastra*: ‘saman (adopting a conciliatory attitude and making alliances), dana (showering with rewards and gifts), bheda (understanding and sowing dissension among enemies), and danda (using force)’.⁷¹ References that can be interpreted through one of these four lenses can be found throughout the *Chachnama*. Another aspect that has directed Asif towards a comparison with the *Arthashastra* is the consultation between several actors in the *Chachnama*, such as between al-Ḥajjāj and Muhammad Qāsim. He pointed out that this can be referred back to another phrase from the *Arthashastra*: “A king can reign only with the help of others; one wheel alone does not move a chariot. Therefore, a king should appoint advisors and listen to their advice.”⁷² All in all, convinced of the similarities between the *Chachnama* and the aforementioned Indic and Persian sources, Asif argues that the *Chachnama* is a ‘fully Indic text’, created from scratch in the thirteenth century and influenced predominantly by Sanskrit and Persian sources.⁷³ Rather than a story of conquest, the *Chachnama* serves to provide a political theory and the Arab conquest of Sindh is used purely as a context through which to convey this message.

⁷⁰ *Kūfī*, The *Chachnama*, tr. Kalichbeg, 101.

⁷¹ Asif, A Book of Conquest, 94. And: ‘[...] The use of Upayas (sana -reconciliation, dana -gifts, bheda -dissent, danda -use of force) in Arthashastra meant employment of tactics to manoeuvre the enemy and hence maintain, regulate or manage the order.’ Medha Bisht, *Kautilya's Arthashastra. The Kautilyan State and Statecraft. Conceptualizing Feasibility* (London 2019). 26:

⁷² Asif, A Book of Conquest, 95.

⁷³ Asif, A Book of Conquest, 26.

3. Methodology

The historiography presented in the previous chapter makes clear that the most significant problem the field of Chachnama Studies is faced with is a lack of independent sources that support the information provided in Kūfi's thirteenth-century alleged translation. Within a period of almost two centuries, the opinion as to whether or not the aforementioned version is likely to be based on an Arabic work dating from the eighth century changed from a solid yes in 1841 to a solid no in 2016. Nevertheless, the number of sources that have been mobilized to support these claims is still very small. The most important source to provide for a direct textual comparison involves the work of al-Balādhurī, who in turn based his work on that of al-Madā'inī. However, whereas al-Balādhurī dedicated no more than ten pages to the Arab conquest of Sindh, the *Chachnama* covers close to two hundred pages to the same event. So far, scholars have been able to point out that the Arabic tradition, besides that of al-Balādhurī, is mostly visible through references to the Koran. As Peter Hardy already noted, the *Chachnama* offers significant room for political interpretation. He concluded that much of the thoughts expressed in the *Chachnama* showed strong similarities with Indic political theories, such as the *Arthashastra*. However, much more research was required to confirm this idea. Manan Ahmed Asif, who believes the work was originally written in the thirteenth century and should be read purely as a political theory, continued where Hardy ended. He has offered an interpretation of the work through Sanskrit and Persian sources and, as a result, has minimized the presence of an Arabic influence.

Similarly to Asif's approach, the strategy of this MA thesis is to find out whether the parts of the *Chachnama* that offer room for political interpretation are based on other existing political theories. It also questions the purpose of the work: does it serve to provide the account of a conquest or to provide a politically-oriented message? This research will be carried out by means of a source-critical analysis to identify ideas, passages, or concepts that might have been used in the *Chachnama*. However, unlike Asif's 2016 book, the focus will be on Arabic political theories. Therefore, these pages will only focus on the second part of the *Chachnama* that starts with the appointment of Muhammad Qāsim and covers the Arab conquest up until his death.

This essay revolves around two different, yet closely related theses: a probable and a possible thesis. The possible thesis is that the *Chachnama* is based to a large extent on the Islamic political theory of al-Māwardī. The more probable thesis is that the political thoughts present in the *Chachnama* belong to the same tradition as al-Māwardī, but are not necessarily based directly on his work. The extent to which these theses can be confirmed will be demonstrated by a comparative analysis based on three primary sources:

- The *Chachnama* (Ali Kūfī, 1206 CE), translated from Persian into English by Mirza Kalichbeg (1900);
- Al-Balādhurī's *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (The Origins of the Islamic State) (ninth century), translated from Arabic into English by Philip Khuri Hitti⁷⁴;
- Al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* (tenth/eleventh century CE), translated from Arabic into English by Asadullah Yate.⁷⁵

As mentioned earlier, the *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (hereafter: *Futūḥ al-Buldān*) is one of the most important sources describing the Arab conquest of Sindh besides the *Chachnama*. Similarities make it clear that Kūfī or the original and last Arabic model (if it existed) used al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (or a very similar source). The reason for choosing al-Māwardī's work lies in the temporal and geographic proximity of its publication to Kūfī. Both Kūfī and al-Māwardī were born in the region now known as Iraq. The probability of the former having been exposed to the work of the latter is not negligible, especially since al-Māwardī earned quite a reputation as an Islamic jurist during his lifetime and his works were continuously referred to by other scholars after his death. Besides the *Chachnama*, the other two sources serve to provide a threefold comparison:

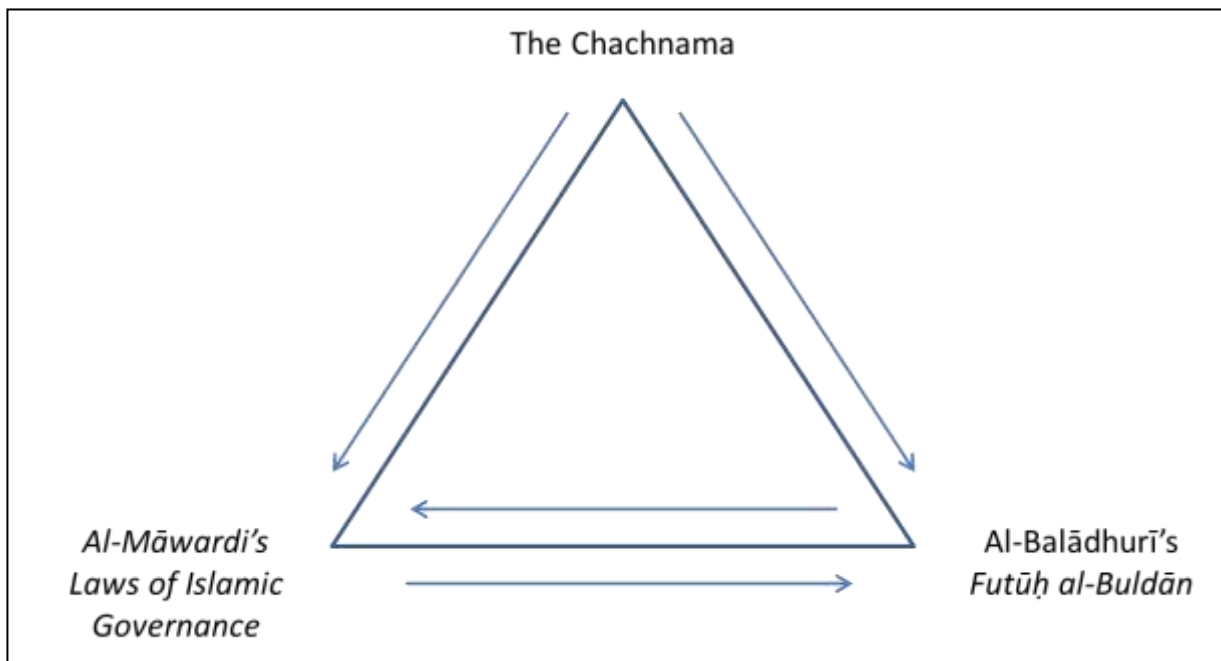


Figure 2: Threefold comparison, empirical analysis

⁷⁴ Aḥmad Ibn-Yaḥyā *al-Balādhurī*, *The Origins of the Islamic State Part II. Being a Translation From the Arabic Accompanied With Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān of al-Imām Abu-l 'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-Jābir al-Balādhuri*, translated by Philip Khuri Hitti (New York 1924).

⁷⁵ Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib al-Basri al-Baghdadi *al-Māwardī*, *Al-Aḥkam as-Sultaniyyah. The Laws of Islamic Governance*, translated by Asadullah Yate (tenth/eleventh century CE; rpt. London 1996).

The comparison between the *Chachnama* and al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (1) serves to find out where the two works differ. The parts of the *Chachnama* that are different from the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* must stem from different sources. Therefore, the aim of the comparison between the *Chachnama* and al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* (2) is to determine whether and to what extent this supplementary information in the *Chachnama* was based on al-Māwardī's work. By comparing the works of al-Māwardī and al-Balādhurī (3), however, I will also address the probability of alternative, yet similar sources to al-Māwardī that Kūfī might have used, that is, books belonging to the family of writings that includes al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*.

In order to juxtapose the *Chachnama* with al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* and highlight both the similarities and the differences between the works, three specific themes have been chosen. Naturally, an important requirement in selecting these themes was that they were covered both in the *Chachnama* as well as in the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. The selected themes include:

- The battle against Dahir;
- Letters of advice;
- The steadfastness of the amir in the face of the enemy.

The comparison between the two accounts of the Arab conquest of Sindh and al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* will be based on one specific chapter from al-Māwardī's work: *The Amirate of Jihad*. An amirate is a political territory ruled by an amir. The term *amir*, however, does not only refer to the ruler of a certain territory, but can also refer to a military leader.⁷⁶ Within the context of the *Chachnama* in relation to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*, both al-Ḥajjāj and Muhammad Qāsim occupy the roles of an amir. Although the term *jihad* literally means to strive or to struggle, within this context it refers to the military actions against the enemies of the Islam.⁷⁷ In short, it refers to holy warfare. In the *Chachnama*, these enemies are often referred to as *mushrikun* (polytheists) or *kuffār/kafir* (infidels or unbelievers). The term *dhimmi* is also used by al-Māwardī. *Dhimmi*, however, refers to non-Muslims who have a protected status within a Muslim territory.

Al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* was written to provide a theoretical framework for governance from a legal perspective. Its chapters cover a wide variety of topics, ranging from *The Contract of Imamate* (chapter 1) and *The Appointment of Wazirs* (chapter 2) to *Reserves (hima) and Common Lands* (chapter 16) and *Public Order (hisbah)* (chapter 20). By referring to other judges who either had similar or differing thoughts on the matters presented, the work also clearly explains the different perspectives and arguments that led to certain authoritative decrees. Due to al-Māwardī's

⁷⁶ A.A. Duri, Amīr. In: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, consulted online on [http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0602](http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0602) (25.09.2020).

⁷⁷ Ella Landau-Tasseron, Jihād. In: Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān, consulted online on http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQCOM_00101 (25.09.2020).

background as a judge, the work reads like a law book with a solid bullet-point approach as to how to run an empire. For the analysis that will follow in the next chapters, these bullet points form the basis for comparison.

The fourth chapter, *The Amirate of Jihad*, focuses on the rules that should be followed in holy warfare and is divided into six sections:

1. 'The mobilization of the army'⁷⁸;
2. 'The direction of war'⁷⁹;
3. 'What is incumbent upon the amir of the army with respect to his organization of the combatants?'⁸⁰;
4. 'The rights and duties of jihad which are incumbent on the mujahidin'⁸¹;
5. 'The steadfastness of the amir in the face of the enemy'⁸²;
6. 'The action to be taken in assailing and fighting the enemy'⁸³.

Sections 1,2,3,4 and 6 concentrate on warfare, which in this case means that the themes discussed are directly related to the army. Section 5 focuses more on administration and is concerned with the management of public affairs. Despite its title, this section is mainly concerned with the actions that are to be taken when the Arab army is faced with the non-combatant local population.

As mentioned earlier, the entire selection of epistle and non-epistle sections that were used for this comparison can be found in the appendix and are marked as either *correspondence* or *course of action* (non-epistle). This also applies to the six sections of the fourth chapter of *The Laws of Islamic Governance: The Amirate of Jihad*. In order to navigate through the comparison, each of the sections from the fourth chapter has been given a number followed by a letter to indicate the corresponding subsection. The identifier 5.a, for example, refers to section 5 and the corresponding subsection *a*, which can be found in the appendix. The parts of the *Chachnama* that show similarities with the sections of *The Amirate of Jihad* are provided with such identifiers to demonstrate how they parallel with the corresponding sections.

Having explained the methodology of this comparative analysis, the limitations of this work should also be pointed out. The most limiting factor concerns the necessity of the use of English translations. Unfortunately, the author of this essay does not master the Arabic or Persian language. As with any language, subtle linguistic differences caused by translations can modify the interpretation of a certain expression significantly. Therefore, it would be useful to repeat the analysis that will be

⁷⁸ *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 57.

⁷⁹ *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 60.

⁸⁰ *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 66.

⁸¹ Mujahidin: holy warriors or those engaged in Jihad. *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 69.

⁸² *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 75.

⁸³ *Al-Māwardī*, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 79.

carried out in the following chapters in the original languages of the respective texts, thus, to compare the Persian version of the *Chachnama* with the Arabic versions of *The Laws of Islamic Governance* and the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. This, however, does not lie within the scope of this MA essay.

4. Empirical Analysis

There are two specific sentences from the part of the *Chachnama* devoted to the Islamic conquest of Sindh that have inspired this research to develop into this direction. Regardless of their corresponding context, when in isolation the sentences form an interesting combination in relation to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*:

*'No one knows the art of war so well as the Arab nation'*⁸⁴

And:

*'The laws of government, and the permanent elements of empire of which it is composed, will ultimately disarm and subdue all your enemies.'*⁸⁵

Whereas it might sound unusual to disregard a context, it is exactly what this research is about: to abstract the true purpose of the *Chachnama* from everything that surrounds it. The specific chapter in al-Māwardī that has been selected for further analysis is called the *Amirate of Jihad*. Could it be possible that the 'art of war' and the 'laws of government' mentioned in these two sentences from the *Chachnama* refer to this specific chapter and its corresponding laws? The aim of this chapter is to answer this question. As this comparative analysis is based on the works of al-Balādhurī and al-Māwardī, a short introduction on the authors will be provided first.

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī was an Arab Historian. Although not much is known about his life, he lived in the 9th century and was most likely born in Iraq. During his studies, he allegedly attended lectures of the Arab scholar al-Madā'inī (752 CE ~ 843CE), whose works served as important sources for al-Balādhurī. Although the (*Kitāb*) *Futūh al-Buldān*, which translates into *Book of the Conquests of the Lands*, was part of a much larger work, it was the only part that has survived until today. It provides a history of the conquests of the regions that eventually became part of the Islamic empire. As most of the works from al-Madā'inī got lost over time, al-Balādhurī's *Futūh al-Buldān* serves as one of the most important sources documenting the conquest of Sindh.⁸⁶

The Arab jurist Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Habīb al-Māwardī (974 CE - 1058 CE) was also born in Iraq. After having finished his studies in Basrah and Baghdad, al-Māwardī, who gained recognition from authorities for his extensive knowledge in a wide variety of fields, served the

⁸⁴ *Kūfī*, The *Chachnama*, tr. *Kalichbeg*, 56.

⁸⁵ *Kūfī*, The *Chachnama*, tr. *Kalichbeg*, 158.

⁸⁶ C.H. *Becker*, F. *Rosenthal*, al-Balādhurī. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, consulted online on <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0094 > (28.08.2020)

state by being appointed as judge⁸⁷. He was also asked to participate in negotiations with the Shia leaning Būyids of Iraq, the ruling dynasty at the time, by caliph al-Ḳādir (991 CE - 1031 CE) and took on the role of diplomat under caliph al-Ḳā'im (1031 CE - 1074 CE). As both these caliphs adhered to Sunni Islam, al-Māwardī was also strongly involved in the restoration of the Sunni branch of Islam in the region. All in all, it can be said that al-Māwardī was more than familiar negotiating with people with a competing value system. It was within this context that he wrote several books relating to society and politics.⁸⁸

The comparison that will follow next will be divided into three sections based on the specific themes that will be compared: the battle against Dahir, letters of advice, and the steadfastness of the amir in the face of the enemy. The first three sections refer to specific events that are covered in both the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān*. The third part, the steadfastness of the amir in the face of the enemy, refers to al-Māwardī's section 5 from the *Amirate of Jihad*. As demonstrated by Yohanan Friedmann, the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān* show significant similarities in terms of the events they refer to. The difference in size between the two works makes it especially interesting for a more in-depth comparison. What did al-Balādhurī include in his account, how did the *Chachnama* cover the same event and how does this eventually compare to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*? As it has been pointed out by other scholars, the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān* have enough in common to assume the same use of sources. Therefore, the focus of this comparison will be on pointing out the differences rather than the similarities between the two works. Whereas the first two sections focus mostly on a direct comparison between the *Chachnama* and al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*, the final section will underline the similarities between the works of al-Māwardī and al-Balādhurī and will then compare them to the *Chachnama*.

4.1. The Battle Against Dahir

Al-Balādhurī's account on the conquest of Sindh is roughly ten pages long in the modern translation. Therefore, it should not be surprising that he dedicated only four paragraphs to the battle against Dahir. The first paragraph, which will be cited in full below, describes how he was killed by a man of the Kilāb tribe. The second paragraph describes where Dahir was buried. The third one-sentence paragraph states that 'when Dāhir was killed, Muhammad ibn-al-Kāsim was in complete control of as-Sind'⁸⁹. The final one-sentence paragraph provides an alternative killer of Dahir: according to Ibn-al-Kalbi, Dahir was killed by al-Kāsim ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Abdallah ibn-Hisn at-Ta'i. Of all four paragraphs, the first one is most elaborative:

⁸⁷ C. Brockelmann, al-Māwardī. In: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, consulted online on <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0713> (28.08.2020).

⁸⁸ Brockelmann, al-Māwardī. In: Encyclopaedia of Islam, consulted online (28.08.2020).

⁸⁹ Al-Balādhurī, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 220.

‘[...] Muhammad sought to cross over the Mihrân, and succeeded in doing so by means of a bridge which he built across it at a point where it borders on the territories of Râsil, the King of Kassah of al-Hind, while Dâhir⁹⁰ was careless and neglectful to him. Muhammad and the Moslems met him mounted upon an elephant and surrounded by elephants and accompanied by the Takâkirah. A fierce battle ensued, the like of which had not been heard of. Dâhir was forced to dismount; he kept on fighting, but was killed near evening. The polytheists were put to rout, and the Moslems slaughtered them at will. The one who killed Dâhir, according the tradition of al-Madâini, was a man of the banu-Kilâb, who said,

"The horses at the battle of Dâhir bear witness and the spears
And Muhammad ibn-al-kâsim ibn-Muhammad,
That fearlessly I scattered the host of them
Until I came upon their chief with my sword,
And left him rolled in the dirt,
Dust on his unpillowed cheek."⁹¹

This paragraph only dedicates one sentence to the battle in general: ‘A fierce battle ensued, the like of which had not been heard of.’ The last part then describes in a rather poetic manner how Dahir was killed by someone from the Kilâb tribe. Although Muhammad Qâsim is mentioned three times, he is not portrayed as the most important person during the battle.

Similarly to the *Futūh al-Buldān*, the *Chachnama* refers to two different killers in two different accounts of Dahir’s death. Whereas the first account dedicates roughly ten pages to the battle, the second account covers only one paragraph. In the longer version Dahir is killed by a warrior called Shujâa Arabî whereas in the second version he was killed by someone called Amrú son of Khâlid. The latter version, however, was allegedly reported by someone who belonged to the Kilâbi tribe. This name corresponds to one of the assassins mentioned in the *Futūh al-Buldān*. Because of the difference in length between the first version in the *Chachnama* and al-Balâdhurî’s account, this first version has been selected for further analysis

The ten pages dedicated to the battle between Muhammad Qâsim and Dahir consist of two main layers. The first layer is descriptive and is either told by a specific person or by so-called ‘writers of history’. The second layer is dialogic and mostly involves the interactions between the army commanders and their warriors. The passage below marks the beginning of the battle between Muhammad Qâsim and Dahir:

⁹⁰ There are different alternative spellings of the name Dahir, such as Dâhir or Dahar.

⁹¹ *Al-Balâdhurî*, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. *Hitti*, 220.

Table 2: Example 1.1

4.a.ii	‘When Dáhar arrived at the battle field, Muhammad Kásim ⁹² encouraged the Mussalmans and urged them to the fight: “O people of Arabia,” said he, “today is the day of trial. Try
3.f	your best in the cause and for the sake of Islám, and use all your energy and zeal. Depend
3.g	for protection and strength on the divine help and Grace so that you may drive away the
4.a.i	infidels and their kingdom may devolve upon you, and their wealth and country come into
	your possession. If you remain quiescent, or waver in your mind, or become broken-
	hearted, or allow weakness and infirmity to prevail on you, then they will overpower you
	and kill all of you, not leaving a single one of you alive and (remember above all, that) if
	you turn your faces from the káfirs, your souls will be in hell, and your ancestors will be
	ashamed of you.”’ ⁹³

The text states that Muhammad Qāsim encouraged his troops. The manner in which he does this, however, makes it interesting for a comparison to al-Māwardī’s laws. Muhammad Qāsim asks the following things of them:

- To be motivated by their religion;
- To believe in divine help;
- To be steadfast;
- And to not turn their faces from the enemy.

The third encouragement, *to be steadfast*, is expressed in opposites. Whereas steadfast translates into being resolute and firm in belief and determination, Muhammad Qāsim tells his troops not to hold back or be hesitant, because it will lead to their defeat. He also tells them that if they behave accordingly and are successful in ‘*driving away the infidels*’ they will be rewarded. Now, if we look at the third section of the chapter *Amirate of Jihad* we will find a list of duties that an amir is responsible to fulfill. Al-Māwardī’s subsections 3.f and 3.g indicate the following responsibilities:

- ‘*He should strengthen their resolve by convincing them of victory and by evoking ways and manners of divine assistance in order to diminish the adversary in their eyes and make them more audacious - for audaciousness facilitates victory.*’⁹⁴ (Al-Māwardī, 3.f)

⁹² Kásim is the alternative spelling of al-Qāsim.

⁹³ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 135.

⁹⁴ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

- *'He should promise Allah's reward to those among them who are steadfast and indomitable, if they are people of the next world, and of a part and particular portion of the booty, if they are people of this world.'*⁹⁵ (Al-Māwardī, 3.g)

The fourth section refers to the responsibilities of the mujahidin (holy warriors). Within this section subsections 4.a.i and 4.a.ii provide very specific similarities as well:

- *'They must be steadfast in the face of the enemy when the two forces meet, and not retreat before an army which is twice as large or less. [...] (Qur'an 8: 66) [...] It is forbidden for any Muslim to turn his back on two enemy fighters [...].'*⁹⁶ (Al-Māwardī, 4.a.i)
- *'He should give battle with the intention of supporting the deen of Allah, may He be exalted, and of destroying any other [faith] which is in opposition to it [...].'*⁹⁷ (Al-Māwardī, 4.a.ii)

If we compare this speech from *Chachnama* to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*, we will find the following similarities:

Table 3: Example 1.2

Al-Māwardī's Laws of Islamic Governance	The Chachnama
<i>He should give battle with the intention of supporting the [faith] of Allah, may He be exalted, and of destroying any other [faith] which is in opposition to it.</i>	[...] Try your best in the cause and for the sake of Islām [...].
<i>He should strengthen their resolve by convincing them of victory and by evoking ways and manners of divine assistance in order to diminish the adversary in their eyes and make them more audacious - <u>for audaciousness facilitates victory</u></i>	Depend for protection and strength on the divine help and Grace <u>so that you may drive away the infidels and their kingdom may devolve upon you. [...]</u>
<i>He should promise Allah's reward to those among them who are steadfast and indomitable, if they are people of the next world, and of a part and particular portion of the booty, if they are people of this world [...]</i>	[...] and their wealth and country come into your possession.

⁹⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

⁹⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 69.

⁹⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 70.

<p><i>They must be steadfast in the face of the enemy when the two forces meet, <u>and not retreat before an army which is twice as large or less.</u></i> <i>[...](Qur'an 8: 66) [...]<u>It is forbidden for any Muslim to turn his back on two enemy fighters</u></i> <i>[...].</i></p>	<p><i>If you remain quiescent, or waver in your mind, or become broken-hearted, or allow weakness and infirmity to prevail on you, then they will overpower you and kill all of you, not leaving a single one of you alive and (remember above all, that) <u>if you turn your faces from the káfirs, your souls will be in hell, and your ancestors will be ashamed of you.</u></i></p>
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This relatively short example contains multiple similarities with al-Māwardī's laws. Although this could be a coincidence, it is the frequency with which these similarities occur that makes it remarkable. After this speech Muhammad Qāsim's army proceeded to the battlefield. At some point Muhammad Qāsim was informed that Dahir had found out what his strategy was. Based on this information he adapted the position of his troops and was able to proceed to battle:

Table 4: Example 2

3.d	<p><i>'That day Ubaid son of Atab left the side of Muhammad Aláfi, and came to Muhammad Kásim and communicated to him the following information. "Muhammad Aláfi" said he, "has told Dáhar that the battalion of Arabs, that has crossed the lake is the flower of the army of Islám and is its best cavalry. Dáhar has therefore directed his forces to cross over and so all the brave warriors and armed men are preparing to cross the lake."' On getting this information, Muhammad Kásim ordered his best troops to hasten to cross the intervening lake. These, accordingly, who were all warlike horsemen and brave soldiers, came down to the lake, leaving the centre and the body guard of chief men with Muhammad Kásim who followed with Mókah Basáyeh. Thus they marched on against the enemy.'</i>⁹⁸</p>
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The section above tells us that Muhammad Qāsim was informed that the enemy knew what their military position was. He then acted upon this knowledge and was able to anticipate the plans of the enemy and avoid being attacked by surprise. This part seems to be in accordance with al-Māwardī's 3.d:

- *'Fourth, he should have knowledge of the enemy and understand their movements; he should investigate their circumstances and be able to interpret them, such that he escapes their stratagems and it enables him to launch surprise attacks on them.'*⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 136.

⁹⁹ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

Although it does not explicitly mention that Muhammad Qāsim investigated their circumstances, he was informed about it by someone else and therefore understood the movements of the enemy. Equally interesting in the example above is that Muhammad Aláfi, who informed Dahir, was an Arab who was exiled by the Caliph¹⁰⁰. As he was familiar with the strategies and working methods of the Arab army, he was in a good position to inform Dahir. At some point, before the two army leaders met in battle, Aláfi advised Dahir to prevent the Arab army from crossing the Mehran river:

Table 5: Example 3

4.a.ii	‘It is not a right step to allow their forces to cross over. All of us are against it; because the Arab army consists of a very large number of warlike cavaliers and brave soldiers, who will make a firm stand to maintain their prestige and fame, and sacrifice their dear lives in the
3.g	‘ways’ and for the pleasures of God. They will earnestly pray to God, the great and glorious
4.a.i	One, for his kindness, expecting to go to the everlasting gardens of paradise by means of this religious war and martyrdom. They will not let themselves be killed till they have wreaked vengeance on us. When they come prepared to fight they will never retreat or turn
4.a.i	back till they one and all become the food of the blood-thirsty sword. [...]’ ¹⁰¹

What we can see here is that despite the complete differences in circumstances, almost exactly the same points are expressed as by Muhammad Qāsim during his speech of encouragement. Aláfi tells Dahir to fear the Arab troops, because:

- They ‘give battle with the intention of supporting the deen of Allah’ (Al-Māwardī, 4.a.ii);
- They were promised ‘Allah’s reward for being steadfast and indomitable [...]. The reward of this world is booty and the reward of the next is the Garden.’ (Al-Māwardī, 3.g). And;
- ‘They [will] be steadfast [...], and not retreat before an army which is twice as large or less. [...]It is forbidden for any Muslim to turn his back on two enemy fighters’ (Al-Māwardī, 4.a.i)

Throughout the *Chachnama*, Dahir is portrayed as a rather stubborn person who is not fond of following the advice of his consultants. So, after Aláfi had given his opinion on the situation, Dahir refused to act accordingly. An unidentified witness of the conversation between Dahir and Aláfi described the situation as follows:

¹⁰⁰ Caliph refers to the ruler of the Muslim community.

¹⁰¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 110.

Table 6: Example 4

3.h	““I heard with my own ears and understood clearly what Aláfi said to Dáhar, directly, by way of advice, and what arguments he urged in support of the usefulness of his plan. Dáhar’s reply to him was: ‘Whatever suggestion springs from your mind cannot but be one of our good and well-being. But my mind suggests that I should give Muhammad Kásim the choice with regard to crossing the river, lest it be imagined by him that we are in perplexity and have become very weak and powerless.’” ¹⁰²
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So, although Dahir praised Aláfi for his advice, he decided not to listen. Although the pagan ruler does the contrary of what he should do, this contrary parallels what section 3.h from al-Māwardī advises:

- *‘He should consult those of sound judgement concerning problematic matters and have recourse to the people of resolve in cases of difficulty so as to be safe from mistakes and free of error, and thereby be more likely to be amongst the victorious. Allah has said to His Messenger, "And consult them in the matter, and if you have come to a decision, then place your trust in Allah" (Quran 3: 153); [...].¹⁰³*

It should be clear from the above example that Dahir had been advised by someone who had knowledge of the situation. His response, however, was contrary to what al-Māwardī advised in a situation like this. He eventually ended up losing the battle against Muhammad Qásim. What we can see here from a literary perspective is that the ostensibly villainous position of Dahir and his army is used to portray the negative consequences of what happens if one does not act according to the laws of al-Māwardī.

During the battle, Muhammad Qásim is being advised a second time. Whereas the first time this happened he was able to escape the enemy, this time it would enable him to launch a surprise attack on them:

Table 7: Example 5

	The narrators of historical tales have related, that when Muhammad Kásim moved his rank and file, a few men of the infidels came out all of a sudden and asked for mercy. On Muhammad Kásim promising it, they said: “O just governor we have renounced our own faith, and have come into the fold of Islám. <u>Give us a select detachment of your cavalry that we may take it behind the army of Dáhar unawares, and seeing your men coming suddenly from that side, they will be frightened and will disperse. When you find them wavering,</u>
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¹⁰² *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 111.

¹⁰³ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 68.

3.d	<p>order the forces of Islám to press the attack from all sides; and our mind suggests that thereby your sword will overawe these infidels and they will be over-powered.” Without loss of time, Muhammad Kásim selected a party of cavaliers and appointed Marwán son of Ashham Yamaní and Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí their leaders, and ordered them, with two standards, to the rear of the Sind forces. The infidels had no knowledge whatever of this move.</p>
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The infidels who came up to Muhammad Qásim knew what the exact position and strategy of the enemy was and shared their knowledge by providing Muhammad Qásim with advice on how to attack the opposing army. Possessing this knowledge placed him at an advantage: *‘the infidels had no knowledge whatever of this move’*. As the informants were defects from the opposing army, he considered their judgement sound and acted accordingly. Now, if we look at this battle it is interesting to see that Muhammad Qásim had been informed twice. The first time he managed to escape the stratagems of the enemy, and the second time it enabled him to launch a surprise attack on them. Both these events contributed significantly to the victory of his troops. Dahir, on the other hand, was informed by someone who knew the Arab army very well, but decided not to listen and eventually lost the battle. What is interesting about the previous examples is that what seem to be references to al-Māwardī are repeated regularly and in an interactive manner. This interaction is portrayed by a strong contrast between the hero, Muhammad Qásim, and the villain, Dahir. Muhammad Qásim acted according to al-Māwardī’s rules and won the battle whereas Dahir, who was stubborn and ignored these laws, lost.

Another theme that occurs repetitively not only during this battle, but throughout the part of the *Chachnama* devoted to the Muslim conquest is the organization of the army, which al-Māwardī also lists as one of the responsibilities of the amir:

- *‘He is responsible for arranging the army into battle lines and should be able to rely, in all respects, on those he deems capable of a particular task; he should also make sure that there are no gaps in the ranks and should protect every flank under threat from the enemy by affording any assistance required.’* (Al-Māwardī , 3.e)¹⁰⁴

Throughout the battle against Dahir it is specified how Muhammad Qásim organized his troops and whom he appointed to what positions. The example below illustrates one of the occasions he does this:

¹⁰⁴ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

Table 8: Example 6

3.e	<p><i>'When Muhammad Kásim on seeing the enemy approaching issued forth, he appointed Khantalah Kilábí to the charge of the right wing, and Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí to that of the left and directed Abasobir Hamadán to take up his position with the standards in front of the elephants (of the enemy). (At the same time) Hudail son of Salmán Azdí and Zaid son of Jolaidí Azdí with a number of horsemen from Numailah and Masúd son of Shaarí Kalbí and Muharik son of Kaab Rastí were posted in front of the centre. The van was to come into action, Muhammad son of Zaif Abdí and Bashar son of Atiyah with their companions joining it on one side and Maasab son of Abdurrahmán Sakifí and Hazím son of Urwah Madaní on the other. Muhammad Kásim divided his select cavalry (also) into the centre, the right wing, and the left. Thoesse who remained, stood behind the army.'</i>¹⁰⁵</p>
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Shortly after, Muhammad Qásim gave another speech to his troops. Once again, this speech was about encouragement and reminding his men to be steadfast (Al-Māwardī, 4.a.i), to make them believe in victory through divine help (Al-Māwardī, 3.f), and to motivate them with the rewards that will be waiting for them after their victory (Al-Māwardī, 3.g). In the second part he also reminds them of their assigned positions on the battle field (Al-Māwardī, 3.e).

Table 9: Example 7.1

4.a.i	<p><i>'Muhammad Kásim now addressed his troops in the following words – “O men of Arabia, these crowds of Kafirs have come prepared to fight with us. You must exert yourselves as much as possible, for they will fight furiously for the sake of their wealth, families, houses, domestics and property. Ride against them with the assistance of the Great God. Under the</i></p>
3.f	<p><i>divine protection and with the divine help we hope to make them all the food of our sharp</i></p>
3.g	<p><i>and well-tempered swords, and to defeat and subdue them. dispossess them of their property and families, and obtain large spoils. Be steadfast and waver not. Deck yourselves</i></p>
4.a.i	<p><i>with silent perseverance. Stick to your posts, and keep your respective positions in the ranks, and see to it that none of you goes from the centre to the right wing or from the right</i></p>
3.e	<p><i>wing to the left wing to render individual help. Stand in your proper places, and remember that the great and glorious God makes the end of the pious happy. Be always repeating the holy word of God (the Koran) and be saying ‘There is no protection or power, but with God, the Great, the Powerful.’”¹⁰⁶</i></p>
3.c	<p><i>He then ordered the water-bearers to fill their leather bags, and go along every line giving water to the men, that they might not move from their places</i></p>

¹⁰⁵ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 137.

¹⁰⁶ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 138.

	<i>in search of it</i>
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The act of giving water to his troops parallels al-Māwardī's 3.c:

- *'He should prepare whatever provisions and forage are necessary for the army: these should be distributed to them when needed so that they feel assured and will not need to search for it - such that their numbers are greater for fighting and they are more capable of withstanding the enemy.'*¹⁰⁷

What makes this reference so noteworthy is that it clearly articulates why Muhammad Qāsim made sure his troops were provided with water. The sentence itself states more or less exactly what al-Māwardī has written:

Table 10: Example 7.2

Al-Māwardī's Laws of Islamic Governance	The Chachnama
<i>He should prepare whatever provisions and forage are necessary for the army: these should be distributed to them when needed so that they feel assured and will not need to search for it</i> [...]	He then ordered the water-bearers to fill their leather bags, and go along every line giving water to the men, that they might not move from their places in search of it.

During this part of the *Chachnama*, individual stories are being told as well, such as the story of an Abyssinian warrior, who faced Dahir in a single combat. Whether or not single combats were allowed is also discussed by al-Māwardī in section 2.b.iv:

- *'It is permitted for someone to sally forth in single combat in response to a challenge [...]. [...] This is conditional upon two things: 1. That the champion be vigorous and brave and aware that he will not fail in withstanding the enemy - if not, it is forbidden; 2. That he is not an army leader whose loss would have a detrimental effect: in effect the loss of an army chief might lead to defeat.'*¹⁰⁸

The following section from the *Chachnama* confirms both requirements. Firstly, it was not Muhammad Qāsim who attacked Dahir in a single combat, but an Abyssinian warrior named Shujāa Habashī who was in a non-leading position and described as an exceptionally brave person. He

¹⁰⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 61.

himself also mentioned that he would fight Dahir until his death. Although Habashí did not manage to kill Dahir, he did manage to weaken the elephant upon which he rode.

Table 11: Example 8

2.b.iv	<p><i>The relaters of historical tales have stated, on the authority of Rámsiah Brahmin, that among the Mussalmans there was a man called Shujáa Habashí (Abyssinian). His bravery was unbounded, and in the field of battle he had already worked miracles. He now came before Muhammad Kásim, and solemnly swore: "I shall not eat or drink till I have faced Dáhar and wounded his elephant. As long as my soul is in my body I shall fight on till I become a martyr." It was on Thursday, the 10th of the sacred month of Ramazán 93, that Dáhar came forth seated on a white elephant and ready for battle. The Abyssinian who was on a black horse, then advanced and engaged in fight. Rái Dáhar was informed that the man was coming to have a combat with him, and Rái Dáhar turned towards him and drove his elephant at him. The Abyssinian too spurred his horse and brought it before the elephant. But the animal frightened at the sight of the elephant, tried to turn aside. The Abyssinian then immediately took off his turban, and tried the horse's eyes with it, and rushing on the elephant, wounded its trunk with a single blow. Rái Dáhar placed a bifurcated arrow of the shape of scissors on his bow string, and with his usual firmness and skill discharged it at the Abyssinian, and it sheered off the Abyssinian's head from his neck, his body still remaining on the horse. Dáhar then shouted out: I have smitten the Abyssinian and killed him."¹⁰⁹</i></p>
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The reason why this example is so interesting is because it is an isolated event, not related to what was previously described to be happening during the battle. This isolated event also happened in accordance with al-Māwardī's laws. After this event, the story of the battle continues with Muhammad giving another speech to the leaders of his troops. He tells them to keep their armies in their assigned positions and to encourage their men. Again, from a literary perspective, this is a repetition of what seems to refer to section 3.e:

Table 12: Example 9

3.e	<p>'Muhammad Kásim called out at the top of his voice: "Where are Hazím son of Umar, Madaní, and Kublí Wahalí, and Musib son of Abdurrahmán, and Banánah son of Khantilah Kilábí and Aós son of Ayyah and Abú Fiddah and Muhammad son of Ziyád Abdí and Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí. Where are my comrades and kinsmen and my swordsmen, my guards and my lancers? All of you are the prop and support of your respective armies. Keep your columns ready in their allotted positions. Do not waver or lose resolution; encourage</p>
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¹⁰⁹ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 141.

3.f	your men.’” Then Muhammad Kásim repeated the name of the great and glorious God and ordered an assault.’ ¹¹⁰
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The final part of the battle then describes how Dahir was killed. As mentioned earlier, in this long and elaborated version of the battle he is killed by another person than in al-Balādhurī’s account of the events, namely by a man called Shujāa Arabí.

To sum up the examples in this part of the comparative analysis, it can be said that they have demonstrated a variety of manners in which the *Chachnama* parallels al-Māwardī’s *Ordinances of Governance*. Similar parallels to the ones highlighted in this chapter can be found frequently and repetitively throughout the *Chachnama* and have been included in the appendix. Some of these events can even be compared on a literal basis.

4.2. Letters of Advice

Whereas the previous chapter demonstrated how the *Chachnama* showed similarities with al-Māwardī’s laws through speeches, the following chapter will demonstrate how the same was done through correspondence. However, let us first have a look at how al-Balādhurī referred to the written communication between al-Hajjāj and Muhammad Qāsim. The *Futūh al-Buldān* includes only one paragraph that mentions the correspondence between them:

‘[...] Al-Hajjāj kept sending messages to Muhammad, and every three days Muhammad would dispatch his replies to him, describing the progress of the campaign, and asking his advice about what should be done in the matter. One letter came to Muhammad from al-Hajjāj, saying, “Set up the ‘arūs, shortening its foot, and placing it towards the east. Then summon the officer in command of it, and order him to aim the shot at the yard-arm which thou didst describe to me.”’¹¹¹

The specific phrase at the end of this paragraph refers to the conquest of Debal. Besides this single sentence, al-Balādhurī did not include any other letters or phrases from letters in his account. The second part of the *Chachnama*, however, is characterized by its epistolary style and includes a total of 23 letters. The majority of these letters were sent by al-Hajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim to provide him with advice, instructions and words of encouragement. The letters sent by Muhammad Qāsim to al-Hajjāj mainly included updates on the position of the army and requests for advice.

¹¹⁰ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 142.

¹¹¹ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 218.

Two letters have been selected to demonstrate how they compare to al-Māwardī’s *Laws of Islamic Governance*. The first letter was received by Muhammad Qāsim at the beginning of his expeditions.

Table 13: Example 10.1

	‘[...] Hajjāj said in a letter to Muhammad Kāsim: “You have got everything ready, and now let every four horsemen take one camel with them. I give you strong loading camels to carry
3.c	(each) a heavy load (of provisions) so that you may not stand in want of them. You ought to
5.z	fear the great God, and consider patience as an ornament. When you arrive in the country
3.b	of the enemy, encamp in plains and open fields that your movements may be free and
	extensive. At the time of battle , divide yourselves into detached columns, and then rush in
3.e	from different directions, as you shall have to fight with veteran heroes. And when they make an assault, do you make a stand, and shower arrows at them. You must make such coats of mail for horses as to give them the appearance of wild beasts, like the lion and the elephant.” ¹¹²

Here we can see that al-Hajjāj aimed to prepare Muhammad Qāsim in a fourfold manner:

- He prepared provisions for the troops, so they would not stand in want of them (3.c);
- He told them to fear god (in the reference to Māwardī below, it will be demonstrated why this is an encouragement) (5.z);
- He told him to camp in plains and open fields, so that they could move freely and extensively (3.b);
- He told him how to arrange his troops into columns (3.e).

All four factors parallel different subsections of *The Amirate of Jihad*:

Table 14: Example 10.2

	Al-Māwardī’s Laws of Islamic Governance	The Chachnama
3.c	‘He should prepare whatever provisions and forage are necessary for the army: these should be distributed to them when needed so that they feel assured and will not need to search for it - such that their numbers are	‘I give you strong loading camels to carry (each) a heavy load (of provisions) so that you may not stand in want of them’

¹¹² Kūfī, *The Chachnama*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 76.

	<i>greater for fighting and they are more capable of withstanding the enemy'.¹¹³</i>	
5.z	Allah, may He be exalted, says, "O you who believe, be steadfast, vie with each other in endurance, prepare yourselves for war and have fear of Allah so that you might be successful " (Qur'an 3: 200). ¹¹⁴	<i>You ought to fear the great God,</i>
3.b	<i>'He should choose a site for their encampments which is best suited for fighting their enemy, that is the flattest place, the one containing the most pasturage and water and the most protected from the flanks and from the sides, such that it affords the most support for the defense of their encampment and the strongest position for the offensive'.</i> ¹¹⁵	<i>When you arrive in the country of the enemy, encamp in plains and open fields that your movements may be free and extensive.</i>
3.e	<i>'He is responsible for arranging the army into battle lines and should be able to rely, in all respects, on those he deems capable of a particular task; he should also make sure that there are no gaps in the ranks and should protect every flank under threat from the enemy by affording any assistance required'.</i> ¹¹⁶	At the time of battle, divide yourselves into detached columns, and then rush in from different directions, as you shall have to fight with veteran heroes

As we can see, the potential references to al-Māwardī are similar to those surmised in the previous chapter. The only difference is that we find these ideas in the form of letters. From the complete set of examples in the appendix, it will become clear that such parallels are repeated throughout the *Chachnama*, either through correspondence, speeches or described as actions. The following example will demonstrate this again:

¹¹³ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

¹¹⁴ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 75.

¹¹⁵ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 75.

¹¹⁶ *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 75.

Table 15: Example 11

3.f	<p><i>‘When he arrived at Sisam, he received Hajjáj’s letter, in reply to his own letters respecting his first victory. “From Hajjáj son of Yusif. O Muhammad Kásim, you must know that our mind assures us that our wishes and hopes will be fulfilled, and you will be successful in every way. You will be successful and victorious, and by the grace of God, the great and glorious, your enemies will soon be vanquished and punished and will repeatedly be overtaken by present torment and future misery. Do not, pray, entertain the evil thought that all those elephants and horses and wealth and other property of your enemies will be your lot. Live happily with your friends, and treat everyone kindly. Encourage them all to believe that the whole country will be yours. Whenever you take any fortified place, let your soldiers spend the necessary expenditure of the army, and for keeping drink as much as is good for them. Do not scold them or prevent them from doing so. Exert yourself to the</i></p>
3.c	<p><i>utmost to supply provisions in abundance, and fix the rates, so that corn may be had cheap in your camp. Whatever has been left behind in Debal had better be spent in supplying the troops with provisions than in laying up stores in the fort. When you have conquered the country and strengthened the forts, endeavor to console the subjects and to sooth the residents, so that the agricultural classes and artisans and merchants may, if God so wills, become comfortable and happy, and the country may become fertile and populous. Written this 20th day of Rajjib 93.’”¹¹⁷</i></p>

The above example illustrates the parallels between the *Chachnama* and two particular sections of al-Māwardī’s laws:

- Convincing the Arab army of victory (Māwardī, 3.f), and;
- The provision of food for the army (Māwardī, 3.c).

All in all, the two examples from this chapter have demonstrated the parallels between the *Chachnama* and Māwardī’s *Laws of Islamic Governance* from yet another perspective. Whereas al-Balādhurī did not include any correspondences in his account, the letters in the *Chachnama* seem to emphasize parallels with al-Māwardī’s or a similar Arab source by repeating and elaborating on them.

¹¹⁷ *Kūfī*, The *Chachnama*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 90.

4.3. The Steadfastness of the Amir in the Face of the Enemy

Other interesting themes that are not directly related to warfare are those related to the management of public affairs. Al-Māwardī deals with this topic in subsection 5: *The Steadfastness of the Amir in the Face of the Enemy*. Contrary to what the title suggests, the term *enemy* does not only refer to combatants from the opposing army, but to non-Muslims in general as well as combatants. Thusly, this section deals with the question of what happens to the local population after a new place or area has been conquered. In short, al-Māwardī provides four alternative measures:

- First, '[...] [the enemy] *become Muslims, in which case they receive the same rights as us, become responsible for the same obligations as us and they are allowed to retain any land and property they possess.*' (5.a)¹¹⁸;
- Second, '*Allah gives victory over them [the enemy] but they remain mushrikun*¹¹⁹, in which case their women and children are taken prisoner, and their wealth is taken as booty, and those who are not made captive are put to death.' (5.b.i)¹²⁰. Those who are held captive can then either be:
 - o put to death (Al-Māwardī, 5.b.ii);
 - o enslaved (Al-Māwardī, 5.b.iii);
 - o ransomed (Al-Māwardī, 5.b.iv) or;
 - o pardoned (Al-Māwardī, 5.b.v).¹²¹
- Third, '*the enemy make a payment in return for peace and reconciliation*. This payment can either be an immediate and single payment (5.c.i) or a yearly payment as an ongoing tribute (Al-Māwardī, 5.c.ii).¹²²
- Fourth, '*the enemy requests a guarantee of safety and a truce*'. (Al-Māwardī, 5.d).¹²³

Throughout the *Chachnama*, one can find several references to one of these measures. However, before continuing with examples, let us first have a look at how al-Balādhurī's *Futūh al-Buldān* dealt with non-Muslims in a non-combatant setting.

¹¹⁸ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 75.

¹¹⁹ Mushrikun: a polytheist

¹²⁰ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 76.

¹²¹ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 76.

¹²² Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 77.

¹²³ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 78.

Table 16: Example 12.1

Location	Measures taken	Futūh al-Buldān
Ad-Daibul	Killing	<i>'The city was [...] conquered by force, and Muhammad kept up the slaughter of the inhabitants for three days.'</i> ¹²⁴
Al-Birin	Treaty	<i>'Muhammad ibn-Kasim went to al-Birūm, whose inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks of their number to al-Hajjāj and had made a treaty with him.'</i> ¹²⁵
Sarbidas	Treaty	<i>'Muhammad brought to terms every city he came to, until he crossed a river this side of the Mihrān, where some monks of Sarbidas came to him and made a treaty with him in behalf of the people they represented.'</i> ¹²⁶
Sadūsān	Peace/treaty/ conditions	<i>'Its inhabitants sought peace [amān] and a treaty, and the monks sent envoys to mediate between him and them. He [Al-Qāsim's representative] granted them peace; assessed taxes upon them; took pledges from them, and returned to Muhammad ibn-Kāsim [...].'</i> ¹²⁷
Brahmanābādih	Killing	<i>'The disordered forces of Dāhar were in this Brahmanābādih. They resisted Muhammad, and he conquered the place by force. 8,000 were killed there.'</i> ¹²⁸
Sāwandarai	Peace/conditions	<i>'Muhammad set out for ar-Rūr ' and Baghrūr, and the people of Sāwandarai ' met him asking for peace. He granted it to them, but made it a condition that they should entertain the Moslems and furnish them with guides.'</i> ¹²⁹
Ar-Rūr	Pardon	<i>'He besieged its inhabitants some months, but finally reduced the city by capitulation, the terms being that he should not put anyone to death, nor interfere with their temples [budd]. [...].'</i> ¹³⁰
Al-Multān	Killing/enslaving/ capturing	<i>'Muhammad put to death the men of fighting age, and enslaved the women and children, and made captives of the custodians of the budd, numbering 6,000.'</i> ¹³¹
al-Bailammān	Submission	<i>'He dispatched a force against al-Bailammān, which did not</i>

¹²⁴ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 218.

¹²⁵ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 219.

¹²⁶ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 219.

¹²⁷ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 219.

¹²⁸ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 221.

¹²⁹ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 221.

¹³⁰ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 221.

¹³¹ *Al-Balādhurī*, The Origins of the Islamic State, tr. Hitti, 222.

		<i>resist, but offered submission.</i> ¹³²
Surast	Peace	<i>'Also the people of Surast made peace with him.'</i> ¹³³

Synthesizing the table above, the following measures in the *Futūh al-Buldān* are also in accordance with al-Māwardī's measures:

Table 17: Example 12.2

Al-Māwardī's Laws of Islamic Governance	Futūh al-Buldān
Section 5.b.i/5.b.ii/5.b.iii/5.b.v	killings/capturing/enslaving/granting pardon
Section 5.c.i	Peace

So, if we were to find similar actions in the *Chachnama* this could mean that they do not necessarily refer to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*. Instead, these similarities could indicate that Kūfī used other accounts. The measures as stated in the *Futūh al-Buldān* are rather imprecise. Treaties are not further detailed and only twice are the conditions for peace mentioned. Any financial conditions directly related to these measures are not mentioned at all. In the *Chachnama* the term treaty is rarely used. Instead, measures are specified in a more detailed manner. One way to explain this difference is that al-Balādhurī wrote in shorthand and did not consider it important enough to include further details about these measures. Another possibility, however, is that al-Balādhurī, who lived in the ninth century, made use of sources that belong to the same tradition as al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*. These sources may have been less complex or detailed than al-Māwardī's work, but they might have contained a similar line of thought. Although there might be a possibility that Kūfī used different sources, the comparison that will follow next will demonstrate why a comparison with al-Māwardī is still useful.

The aim of the following excerpt from the *Chachnama* is to demonstrate in what ways the earlier mentioned measures are similar to al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* and different from the *Futūh al-Buldān*. The example shows four different measures taken by Muhammad Qāsim when he conquered the town of Sísam:

Table 18: Example 13.1

<p><i>'Muhammad Kásim now left that place, and came to the fortified town of Sísam. He carried on fighting there for two days and then, at length, the great God gave him victory and the unbelievers were put to flight.</i></p> <p><i>Bachehrá son of Chandar and cousin to Dáhar, and his Thakurs and chiefs who formed his retinue lost their dear life in trying to accomplish their sinful deeds. (Some of) the rest</i></p>
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¹³² *Al-Balādhurī*, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. Hitti, 223.

¹³³ *Al-Balādhurī*, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. Hitti, 223.

5.b.v	<i>fled higher up to Budhiah while some went to the fortified town of Bhallór between Salúj and Kandáil, and from there <u>applied for pardon and mercy</u>. Those who were against</i>
5.c.i	<i>Dáhar, having lost some of their party in the late battle, immediately turned their faces from his allegiance, <u>and engaged some messengers to bring about peace with the Arabs.</u></i>
5.c.ii	<i><u>They undertook to pay a tribute of 1,000 dirams of silver in weight</u>, and sent hostages to</i>
5.c.ii	<i>Síwístan.</i>
5.d	<i><u>When Muhammad Kásim fixed tributes on this part of the country, he passed an order to</u></i>
	<i><u>guarantee protection and safety anew to the people.</u></i> ¹³⁴

The identifiers on the left side of the table show that three types of measures were taken:

Table 19: Example 13.2

Al-Māwardī's Laws of Islamic Governance	The Chachnama
<i>Allah gives victory over them [the enemy] but they remain mushrikun [...]. Those who are held captive can then either be put to death, enslaved, ransomed or pardoned.</i>	The citizens 'applied for pardon and mercy'
<i>'[...] the enemy make a payment in return for peace and reconciliation.'</i>	The citizens 'engaged some messengers to bring about peace' and 'undertook to pay a tribute 1,000 dirams of silver in weight'/ Al-Qásim 'fixed tributes on this part of the country'.
<i>The enemy requests a guarantee of safety and a truce'.</i>	Muhammad Qásim 'passed on order to guarantee protection and safety anew to the people.'

Here we can see that the compiler of the *Chachnama* included all three options in one paragraph and applied them to a city that was not mentioned in al-Balādhurī's account of the conquest. Whereas a simple reference to a treaty could have sufficed to describe the circumstances at the time, the compiler either had enough information at his disposal to specify the exact measures taken or he wanted to include references to the tradition we know thanks to al-Māwardī's laws.

Another example is provided by a passage from the *Chachnama* in which the leading citizens of a city decided to submit to the Arabs. The *Futūh al-Buldān* also refers to one occasion in which the citizens of al-Bailammān offered submission to the Arabs. The difference between the *Chachnama* and the *Futūh al-Buldān*, however, is that the *Chachnama* provides an elaborate explanation as to why this decision was made. The reason for their submission is explained by a reasoning that musters the earlier mentioned options present in al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*:

¹³⁴ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 98.

Table 20: Example 14

	<p><i>‘When Muhammad Kásim’s siege of Brahminábád was prolonged to 6 months, and when it was known that Jaisiah was at Janesar, four of the leading citizens, heads of mercantile houses residing in the fort of Brahminábád, met at the fort gate called Jarbaterí to confer with one another. They said: “the Arab army has proved triumphant over the whole of the country, Dáhar is killed and for the last 6 months we have remained confined within the walls of this fort. <u>We have not strength enough to cope with the Arab general in the battle-</u></i></p>
5.c.i/5.d	<p><i><u>field, and there seems no probability of peace or even of a truce.</u> If he continues in this way for a few days more, he will be ultimately victorious, for there is no one anywhere to hear us and come to our help, and we must give up every hope of succour. There is among us no king to whom we can appeal, and it is impossible for us to fight on any longer against the enemy. Now, therefore, let us unite in going out of the fort and fighting till we are killed. <u>For even, if peace is made they will put to death all the men among us who are</u></i></p>
5.b.i	<p><i><u>capable of bearing arms;</u> only common folk, the traders the artisans and the cultivators</i></p>
5.d	<p><i>will be spared. (There is yet another alternative.) <u>If we could be sure of our safety, we</u></i></p>
5.b.v	<p><i><u>would prefer to hand over the fort to him after a solemn covenant is made between us. <u>If</u></u></i></p>
5.b.v	<p><i><u>we submit to him, he may show us some regard,</u> and we may thus save ourselves through</i></p>
5.b.v	<p><i>his intervention.’’ <u>Having (eventually) formed this (latter) resolution, they threw</u></i></p>
5.b.i	<p><i><u>themselves with their families and children on his mercy, and prayed for pardon.</u></i></p>
5.b.i	<p><i><u>Muhammad Kásim granted pardon to them, after solemn promises were mutually made.</u></i></p>
5.b.ii	<p><i><u>All the other people capable of bearing arms were beheaded and their followers and</u></i></p>
5.c.ii	<p><i><u>dependents made prisoners. <u>All prisoners of under the age of 30 years were put in chains,</u></u></i></p>
5.c.ii	<p><i><u>and many were killed,</u> while tribute was fixed on the rest.’’¹³⁵</i></p>

As in al-Māwardī, when the leading citizens first considered their options they came to the conclusion that peace (5.c.i) or a truce (5.d) were not an option. However, when they reconsidered their options, they realized that they could perhaps negotiate a guarantee of safety in exchange for the fort (5.d) to save themselves. They thus asked to be pardoned (5.b.v). Muhammad Qāsim eventually agreed to this, but killed all combatants (5.b.i) and most captives (5.b.ii) and fixed a tribute on the rest (5.c.ii).

Two things make this example interesting. Firstly, the precision and density of references in one paragraph is quite remarkable. Al-Balādhurī’s account only mentioned how 8,000 people were killed in Brahmanabad¹³⁶. The *Chachnama*, on the other hand, referred to five alternative measures

¹³⁵ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 161.

¹³⁶ Alternative spellings of Brahmanabad are Brahmanābādh and Brahminábād.

that were taken prior to killing the armed population and most of the prisoners. Secondly, whereas al-Balādhurī did not explain any of the decisions that were taken, it seems as though the compiler of the *Chachnama* used this explanation to point out the availability of different options when faced with a non-Muslim population. These options are similar to those mentioned by al-Māwardī. Important to keep in mind, however, is that al-Balādhurī might have written in shorthand or might have based his work on other sources that belong to the same tradition of al-Māwardī, albeit potentially less precise or developed.

4.4. Research Findings

The comparative analysis in this chapter has shown the multiple differences and similarities between the *Chachnama*, the *Futūh al-Buldān* and al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*. Besides the examples that have been highlighted here, additional examples in the appendix further demonstrate the extent to which similarities between the *Chachnama* and al-Māwardī's work occur. Although these similarities could also be considered coincidental, their accumulation support the idea that principles belonging to the tradition represented by al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* were purposefully incorporated into the *Chachnama*. The main factors that support this idea are based on:

Table 21: Research findings

Frequent repetition	Throughout the <i>Chachnama</i>
Literal formulation	See ex. 6.2, 9.2 (3.c./ 3.e)
Contradicting perspectives that parallel al-Māwardī's laws.	See ex. 1.1 versus 3 See ex. 2 & 5 versus 4
Isolated events that parallel al-Māwardī's laws.	See ex. 8

First of all, parallels with al-Māwardī occur frequently and repeatedly. They can sometimes even be compared on a literal basis. Additionally, the manner in which certain events parallel a code of conduct similar to al-Māwardī's laws also support this idea. Examples of such events include the interactive scenes that mirrored the behavior of Muhammad Qāsim and Dahir, but also the scene in which an Arab soldier decided to face Dahir in a single battle. Another remarkable aspect involves the towns that were conquered in the *Chachnama*, but were not mentioned in al-Balādhurī's account. Although it is possible that the *Chachnama* recovered the names of these towns from other sources, it is the explanatory character of these conquests that draws attention to a comparison with al-Māwardī's work.

All these factors combined support the idea that Kūfī incorporated a tradition that is represented by al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* into the *Chachnama*. One particularly

remarkable finding is that a significant part of the *Chachnama* seems to be based on an Islamic political theory. The importance of this finding will be discussed in the next chapter.

5. Discussion

The present chapter will relate the results of this thesis to the other scholarly opinions that have been discussed in the historiographical overview. The opinion as to whether or not the *Chachnama* should be perceived as an eighth-century source has changed drastically from a solid yes to a solid no within a period of almost two centuries. Although most scholars agree that the work was compiled from multiple sources, only few of these sources have been identified so far. The most important source that has been confirmed as such is the account of al-Balādhurī. Scholars, first Peter Hardy, started exploring the idea that the *Chachnama* contained Indic political theories, such as that of *Arthashastra*. Manan Ahmed Asif researched this idea further confirming that the work was indeed based on Indic political theories. He went as far as to argue that the *Chachnama* is a ‘fully Indic text’, created from scratch in the thirteenth century and influenced predominantly by Sanskrit and Persian sources¹³⁷. Based on the comparative analysis in this essay, however, it would be safe to say that the part of the *Chachnama* devoted to the Islamic conquest of Sindh also draws largely upon Islamic political thoughts similar to those of al-Māwardī. Therefore, despite the Indic influences, I believe that the text is not dominated by them.

André Wink also commented on the repetitive phrases apparent in the *Chachnama*. He, however, interpreted the purpose of such repetition as ‘part of the protocol of Muslim history-writing’¹³⁸. This research has now found an alternative explanation, which is that these phrases continuously exemplify a code of conduct similar to that of al-Māwardī within different contexts. Peter Hardy was inspired by Kūfī’s preface to look into a political interpretation of the work. Kūfī mentioned that the *Chachnama* was ‘based on a foundation of rules of rulership’¹³⁹, and that it was ‘firmly stressing the knotting-together of government’¹⁴⁰. The results of this MA thesis now suggest, that this *foundation of rules of rulership* and *the knotting-together of government* could also point towards the incorporation of Islamic political thoughts on governance and warfare.

The comparative analysis in the previous chapter has clearly demonstrated the frequent, repetitive and precise parallels between the *Chachnama* and al-Māwardī’s *Laws of Islamic Governance*. Because of these parallels it is indeed possible that al-Māwardī’s work was used as a source. However, the similarities between al-Māwardī and al-Balādhurī’s *Futūh al-Buldān* have also made it more probable that the *Chachnama* was based on other sources, which do, however, belong to the same tradition as al-Māwardī. Nevertheless, it would require more research, to determine the exact sources that were used. The potential for further research will be further discussed in the next chapter.

¹³⁷ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 26.

¹³⁸ Wink, *Al-Hind* Vol. 1, 199.

¹³⁹ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

¹⁴⁰ Hardy, *Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?* 112.

Conclusively, the most interesting finding of this MA thesis is that the *Chachnama* is likely to have been based on Islamic political thoughts. This finding nuances strongly to the research findings of Manan Ahmed Asif from 2016. Whereas he claimed that the *Chachnama* is ‘influenced predominantly by Sanskrit and Persian sources’¹⁴¹, I am of the opinion that the *Chachnama* is also strongly influenced by Islamic political thoughts related to the same tradition as al-Māwardī.

¹⁴¹ Asif, A Book of Conquest, 26

6. Conclusion & Outlook

The aim of this MA thesis was to find out whether the parts of the *Chachnama* that offer room for political interpretation are based on Islamic political theories as opposed to indigenous Indic theories. Here I follow rather in the footsteps of Hardy than in those of Asif. In order to answer this question I carried out a threefold comparative analysis between the *Chachnama*, al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance* and al-Balādhurī's *Futūh al-Buldān*. This comparison yielded two theses. The first *possible* thesis was that the *Chachnama* is based specifically on al-Māwardī's work. The second *probable* thesis was that the *Chachnama* is based on sources that belong to the same tradition as that of al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*.

The comparative examples from chapter four have shown that parallels between the *Chachnama* and al-Māwardī occur frequently and numerous. Some of the examples even demonstrate the presence of literal parallels. Although most of the comparison suggests that it is indeed possible that the *Chachnama* was based on al-Māwardī's work, chapter 4.3 suggests that it could be based on other works as well. The main reason for this is based on the parallels that exist between *The Laws of Islamic Governance* and the *Futūh al-Buldān*. These similarities suggest two things. Firstly, the *Chachnama* may have been based on sources that are older than al-Māwardī's work. Secondly, these potential older sources are likely to parallel *The Laws of Islamic Governance* and belong to the same tradition. All things considered, convinced by the wide variety of similarities between the *Chachnama* and *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, I have the strong conviction that the *Chachnama* was based either on al-Māwardī or on a work that belongs to the same tradition.

In order to determine the exact sources that were used, further research is required. One way of determining what sources the *Chachnama* is based on is by finding out which works (if they survived) belong to the same tradition that we now know thanks to al-Māwardī. Comparative analyses like the one in this essay could then lead to the identification of new sources in the *Chachnama*. We should also not forget that the specific comparative analysis in this MA thesis was based on only one chapter of al-Māwardī's *Laws of Islamic Governance*. Therefore, a complete comparison of al-Māwardī's work could lead to further parallels between the *Chachnama* and *The Laws of Islamic Governance*.

André Wink has stated that the most important aspect of using the *Chachnama* as a source is the ability to abstract from it those parts that can contribute to the reconstruction of eighth-century Sindh. One way to discover what parts of the *Chachnama* can be used for this is by deducting the information that serves no function towards this purpose. This can be done by recovering the sources in the *Chachnama* that aim to illustrate a political theory rather than a true representation of historical Sindh. The present MA thesis should be considered one step into that direction.

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Appendix

Al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah
The Laws of Islamic Governance by
Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib al-Basri
al-Baghdadi al-Māwardī

The following excerpts can be found in: **Chapter 4, The Amirate of Jihad**¹⁴²

1. *The mobilisation of the army:*¹⁴³

1.a	<i>'First, kindness should be shown to those travelling, such that the weakest of them is capable of keeping up and the strength of the strongest is maintained: the pace must not be so great that the weak perish and the strong use up every ounce of their strength, for the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, has said, "This deen is enduring, so press on with kindness, for surely whoever is unable to proceed on his journey, his camel that bears him foundering, travels across the earth no more and his mount will not survive: the worst kind of journeying is that in which the beast is made to exert itself to the very utmost." It is also related of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, "The person mounted on a weak beast is the amir of the caravan," meaning that people have to travel at the pace of the owner of the weak animal;</i> ¹⁴⁴
1.b	<i>'Second, the horses and other mounts used in the jihad should be examined: no big and heavy horses should be amongst those used in the jihad, nor any spare and small ones, nor those broken with old age, frail and thin, or those with broken limbs or emaciated, as they will be incapable of the task required of them and might even perish. Other mounts and beasts of burden should be examined: those mounts incapable of travel are excluded, and beasts of burden are not allowed to carry more than they can bear. Allah, may He be exalted, has said, "And prepare for them what you are able of force and war horses"* (Qur'an 8: 60). The Messenger of Allah has said, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, "Train horses for war, for surely their mounts are power for you, and their bellies are a treasure for you;"</i> ¹⁴⁵
1.c	<i>'Third, overseeing the combatants who are of two kinds: regulars and volunteers. As for the</i>

¹⁴² Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 57-82.

¹⁴³ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 57.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 58.

	<p>former, they are registered in the Diwan and participate in the fay-booty and the jihad; their stipend is taken from the treasury and allocated from the booty according to their wealth and need. As for the latter, they are not registered in the Diwan: they are those from the desert areas, the Arabs and other inhabitants of the towns and villages who have left for battle in accordance with Allah's instructions, may He be exalted, to people, "Go out [to battle] light and heavy and fight with your wealth and your selves in the way of Allah" (Qur'an 9: 41). As for the words of Allah "light and heavy", there are four interpretations: the first that they refer to young men and old men, and this has been related by al-Hasan and 'Ikrimah; the second, to the wealthy and the poor, and this is related by Abu Salih; the third, mounted soldiers and infantry, and this Abu 'Umar has said; the fourth, those with a family and those without, and this is al-Farra's opinion. These volunteers are granted an amount from the zakah rather than the fay, that is from the portion accorded to those who fight in the way of Allah and mentioned in the Qur'anic ayat about zakah. It is not permitted to pay them from the fay, but rather from the zakah - just as the regulars, registered in the Diwan, are not given of the zakah, but are entitled to the fay: each group receives a sum from a source in which the other is not permitted to share. Abu Hanifah, however, has permitted each of the two kinds of wealth to be spent on each of the two groups according to need; but Allah has made a distinction between the two groups, and it is not permitted to treat as one what has been differentiated;¹⁴⁶</p>
1.d	<p>'Fourth, leaders and lieutenants are assigned to both groups so as to be kept informed by them of their state and to ensure that they are well-disposed towards them if he calls for them, as the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, did this in his raiding parties and Allah, may He be exalted, said, "We have made you into peoples and tribes so that you should get to know each other" (Qur'an 49: 13). There are three interpretations: the first, that "peoples" are those most closely related and "tribes" are those most distant, and this is Mujahid's opinion; the second, that "peoples" refer to the Arabs of Qahtan and "tribes" to the Arabs of 'Adnan; the third, that the former are the clans of non-Arabs and the latter the clans of Arabs;¹⁴⁷</p>
1.e	<p>'Fifth, a rallying-cry is given to each group to distinguish those belonging together and to rally them as allies. It is related by 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr from his father that the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, made the rallying-cry of the Muhajirun, "O Bani 'Abd ar-Rahman," that of the Khazraj, "O Bani 'Abdallah," and that of the Aws, "O Bani 'Ubaidullah," and he called its horsemen, "the horsemen of Allah";¹⁴⁸</p>
1.f	<p>'Sixth, he should inspect the army and the serving troops and dismiss those who might cause</p>

¹⁴⁶ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 58.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 58-59.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 59.

	<i>the mujahidin to desert, those who might spread false rumours about the Muslims or act as spies against them for the mushrikun: the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, rejected ' Abdallah ibn Abi Saluk on one of his raiding parties because he was instigating defection from the Muslims and Allah, may He be exalted, says, "And fight them until there is no more strife or dissent and until the deen is all for Allah" (Qur'an 8: 39) - in other words until you no longer cause strife and dissent amongst each other;'¹⁴⁹</i>
1.g	<i>'Seventh, he should not show partiality, conspire with or aid those who are of the same race or who share his opinions or madhhab, to the detriment of those unrelated to him or who oppose his views and madhhab, lest peoples' differing circumstances result in a split in the unity of the community and a preoccupation with divisions and discord: the Messenger may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, turned a blind eye to the hypocrites, who are the enemies of the deen, and judged them according to their outward appearance such that his fighting force was strengthened by them, the numbers of adherents multiplied and his strength was perfected. He entrusted the judgement of their hearts' hidden hypocrisy to the Knower of the Unseen and to the One who punishes what the hearts conceal. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "And do not dispute with each other lest you fail and your prosperity departs from you" (Qur'an 8: 46). There are two interpretations of this: the first, that what is meant by "prosperity" is dominion, this being the opinion of Abu 'Ubaid, and the second, that it refers to power, and the word here in Arabic - reeh (lit.: wind) - is used because of the sense of power it conveys.'¹⁵⁰</i>

2. This section deals with the direction of war. The mushrikun of Dar al-Harb (the arena of battle) are of two types:¹⁵¹

2.a	<i>'First, those whom the call of Islam has reached, but they have refused it and have taken up arms. The amir of the army has the option of fighting them in one of two ways, that is in accordance with what he judges to be in the best interests of the Muslims and most harmful to the mushrikun: the first, to harry them from their houses and to inflict damage on them day and night, by fighting and burning, or else to declare war and combat them in ranks.'¹⁵²</i>
2.b.i	<i>'Second, those whom the invitation to Islam has not reached, although such persons are few nowadays since Allah has made manifest the call of his Messenger - unless there are people to the east and extreme east, or to the west, of whom we have no knowledge, beyond the</i>

¹⁴⁹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 59.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 59-60.

¹⁵¹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 60.

¹⁵² Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 60.

	<p><i>Turks and Romans we are fighting: it is forbidden us to initiate an attack on the mushrikun while they are unawares or at night, that is, it is forbidden to kill them, use fire against them or begin an attack before explaining the invitation to Islam to them, informing them of the miracles of the Prophet and making plain the proofs so as to encourage acceptance on their part; if they still refuse to accept after this, war is waged against them and they are treated as those whom the call has reached. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and kindly admonition and converse with them by what is better in argument" (Qur'an 16: 125), - which means calling to the deen of your Lord with wisdom, about which there are two interpretations: the first, that wisdom refers to prophethood and the second, that it refers to the Qur'an, and al-Kalbi is of this view. For "kindly admonition" there are also two interpretations: the first, that it refers to the Qur'an on account of its quiet, restrained speech, and this is again al-Kalbi's view, and the second, that it refers to the commands and interdictions therein. As for, "and converse with them by what is better in argument," it means, "explain the truth to them and make clear the proofs to them!"¹⁵³</i></p>
2.b.ii	<p><i>'If the amir initiates the attack against them before calling them to Islam or warning them by means of cogent proofs, and kills them by surprise or at night, blood money must be paid; according to the most correct judgement of the Shafi'is, it is equal to the blood money paid to Muslims, although according to other it is equal to the blood money paid to the kuffar¹⁵⁴, because of the difference of their beliefs. Abu Hanifah, however, says that no blood money is liable for killing them and their blood is shed with impunity.'¹⁵⁵</i></p>
2.b.iii	<p><i>'If the ranks are ranged against each other in war, one of the combatant Muslims may advance between the two ranks in order to identify himself and proclaim in what manner he himself may be distinguished from the rest of the army: to this purpose he may ride a piebald horse if the horses of the others are black or brown. Abu Hanifah, however, forbids any such identification or the riding of a piebald horse, although there is no reason for his prohibition: 'Abd ibn 'Awnallah relates from 'Umayr from Abu Ishaq that the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, said at Badr, "Make a mark for yourselves, for the angels have also done so."¹⁵⁶</i></p>
2.b.iv	<p><i>'It is permitted for someone to sally forth in single combat in response to a challenge: Ubayy ibn Khalaf called the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, to single combat on the day of Uhud to which the former responded and killed him. [...]. Having established with the above mentioned proofs that single combat, both for the one who provokes it and also for the one who is provoked, is permitted, it should be</i></p>

¹⁵³ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 60.

¹⁵⁴ Kuffar or Kafir: infidels or unbelievers

¹⁵⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 60-61.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 61.

	<i>added that it is conditional upon two things: 1. That the champion be vigorous and brave and aware that he will not fail in withstanding the enemy - if not, it is forbidden; 2. That he is not an army leader whose loss would have a detrimental effect: in effect the loss of an army chief might lead to defeat. The Messenger of Allah established single combat, trusting in the support of Allah, may He be praised, and that He would keep His promise - but this is not permitted to another.¹⁵⁷</i>
2.b.v	<i>'The amir may, when urging his army to jihad, incite someone willing to die for Allah if he knows his death in battle will have one of two effects: either that it will incite the Muslims to fight to avenge him, or that it will cause the mushrikun to lose heart on account of his audacity against them for the sake of Allah. [...].¹⁵⁸</i>
2.b.vi	<i>'A Muslim may put to death any mushrik combatant he seizes, whether or not he is involved in the fighting. There is a difference of opinion regarding the killing of old persons and monks inhabiting cells and monasteries. One view concerning them is that they are not to be killed unless they fight, as they are covered, like women and children, by treaty; another is that they are killed even if they are not fighting, because it may be that their opinions will cause more harm to the Muslims than fighting. [...].¹⁵⁹</i>
2.b.vii	<i>'It is not permitted to kill women and children in battle, nor elsewhere, as long as they are not fighting because of the prohibition of the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, against killing them. The Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, forbade the killing of those employed as servants and mamlouks, that is young slaves. If women and children fight, then they are fought and killed, but only face to face, not from behind while fleeing. If they use their women and children as shields in battle, then one must avoid killing them and aim only at killing the men; if, however, it is impossible to kill them except by killing the women and children, then it is permitted. If they are shielding themselves with Muslim captives, and it is not possible to kill them except by killing these captives, it is not permitted to kill them. If desisting from attacking them leads to the Muslims being encircled, then the latter must attempt to free themselves as best they can, but while taking care not to kill any Muslim deliberately by their hands. If one is killed, then the killer must pay blood money and make expiation if he knew that he was a Muslim; he becomes liable for the expiation alone if he did not know.¹⁶⁰</i>
2.b.viii	<i>'It is permitted to cut their horses from under them if they are fighting on them, although one of the fuqaha has forbidden injuring them. [...].¹⁶¹</i>
	<i>'As for a Muslim wanting to hamstring his own horse, it is related that Ja'far ibn Abi Talib,</i>

¹⁵⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 61.

¹⁵⁸ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 64.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 65.

¹⁶¹ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 65.

2.b.ix	<p><i>may Allah be pleased with him, rushed forth on the day of Mu'tah on his russet horse right into the middle of the fight, then dismounted, hamstringed his mount and fought until he was killed, may Allah be pleased with him. He was the first of the Muslims to hamstringing his horse in Islam, but no other Muslims should hamstringing their horses as they constitute a force which Allah has commanded us to have at the ready in the jihad against His enemy: "And prepare what you can of force and of fighting horses so that you may strike fear into the enemies of Allah and your enemies" (Qur'an 8: 60). [...] ¹⁶²</i></p>
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3. *The third section about the rules of this type of amirate concerns what is incumbent upon the amir of the army with respect to his organisation of the combatants, and this is composed of ten things:*¹⁶³

3.a	<p><i>'First, he should protect them from surprise attacks which would enable the enemy to become victorious; that is, he should investigate likely places of ambush and surround their encampments by a guard, such that they themselves and their baggage are safe and they can repose in times of peace and feel safe from attack from the rear in times of fighting;</i>¹⁶⁴</p>
3.b	<p><i>'Second, he should choose a site for their encampments which is best suited for fighting their enemy, that is the flattest place, the one containing the most pasturage and water and the most protected from the flanks and from the sides, such that it affords the most support for the defence of their encampment and the strongest position for the offensive;</i>¹⁶⁵</p>
3.c	<p><i>'Third, he should prepare whatever provisions and forage are necessary for the army: these should be distributed to them when needed so that they feel assured and will not need to search for it - such that their numbers are greater for fighting and they are more capable of withstanding the enemy;</i>¹⁶⁶</p>
3.d	<p><i>'Fourth, he should have knowledge of the enemy and understand their movements; he should investigate their circumstances and be able to interpret them, such that he escapes their stratagems and it enables him to launch surprise attacks on them;</i>¹⁶⁷</p>
3.e	<p><i>'Fifth, he is responsible for arranging the army into battle lines and should be able to rely, in all respects, on those he deems capable of a particular task; he should also make sure that there are no gaps in the ranks and should protect every flank under threat from the enemy by affording any assistance required;</i>¹⁶⁸</p>

¹⁶² Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 66.

¹⁶³ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 66.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 66-67.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁶⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 67.

3.f	<i>'Sixth, he should strengthen their resolve by convincing them of victory and by evoking ways and manners of divine assistance in order to diminish the adversary in their eyes and make them more audacious - for audaciousness facilitates victory. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "Remember when Allah made them appear to you as few in number. If he had shown you them as many, you would have lost heart and disputed with each other in the matter" (Quran 8: 45);¹⁶⁹</i>
3.g	<i>'Seventh, he should promise Allah's reward to those among them who are steadfast and indomitable, if they are people of the next world, and of a part and particular portion of the booty, if they are people of this world. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "And whoever wants the reward of this world, We will give it to him, and whoever wants the reward of the next world, We will give it to him" (Qur'an 3: 146); The reward of this world is booty and the reward of the next is the Garden. [...].¹⁷⁰</i>
3.h	<i>'Eighth, he should consult those of sound judgement concerning problematic matters and have recourse to the people of resolve in cases of difficulty so as to be safe from mistakes and free of error, and thereby be more likely to be amongst the victorious. Allah has said to His Messenger, "And consult them in the matter, and if you have come to a decision, then place your trust in Allah" (Quran 3: 153); [...].¹⁷¹</i>
3.i	<i>'Ninth, he should see that his army implements what Allah, may He be exalted, has imposed as obligations with respect to rights and duties, and whatever He has commanded regarding the hadd-punishments, such that there is no violation of the deen among the troops, nor any infringement of a right or duty: in effect, those making jihad for the deen are the persons most duty bound to uphold its laws and to discriminate between the halal and haram. Harith ibn Nabhan has related from Abban ibn 'Uthman that the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, said, "Forbid your army from wreaking havoc for no army wreaks havoc, but that Allah casts fear into their hearts; forbid your army from purloining the booty, for surely no army defrauds but that Allah will have them conquered by common foot-soldiers; forbid your army from fornication, for surely no army fornicates but that Allah brings the plague on them." And Abu'd-Darda said, "O people act correctly before the raid, for surely you fight by your good actions";¹⁷²</i>
3.j	<i>'Tenth, he should not allow any of the army to busy themselves with trade or agriculture, because this would distract them from persevering against the enemy and carrying jihad properly. It has been narrated from the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, that he said, "I have been sent to deal forcibly (with the kuffar) and mercifully</i>

¹⁶⁹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁷⁰ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 67.

¹⁷¹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 68.

¹⁷² Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 68.

	<i>(with the Muslims). I have not been sent as a trader or a fanner: surely the worst people of this Ummah, apart from those who are niggardly in their practice of the deen, are traders and farmers." One of the Prophets of Allah went on a raiding party, saying: "No man who has begun a building but not completed it, no man who has married a woman but has not consummated the marriage, and no man who has sown and has not yet harvested, will go on the raiding party with me."¹⁷³</i>
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4. *The fourth section concerning the rules of this type of amirate is about the rights and duties of jihad which are incumbent on the mujahidin. They are of two types: their obligation to Allah, may He be exalted, and their obligation to the amir.¹⁷⁴*

	<i>'As for what is incumbent on them with respect to Allah's right, there are four things:¹⁷⁵</i>
4.a.i	<i>'They must be steadfast in the face of the enemy when the two forces meet, and not retreat before an army which is twice as large or less. At the beginning of Islam, Allah, may He be exalted, obliged every Muslim to fight ten of the mushrikun, saying, "O Prophet urge the Muminun to the fight: if there are twenty from among you who are steadfast, they will overcome two hundred and if there are a hundred of you, they will overcome a thousand of the kuffar, because they are a people who do not reflect". (Qur'an 8: 66) [...] It is forbidden for any Muslim to turn his back on two enemy fighters except in one of two situations: when for tactical reasons he retires to rest or for strategic reasons he returns to renew the battle, or when he turns away to join forces with another group to continue the fight. In effect, Allah says, may He be exalted, "And whoever turns their backs to them on that day, except as a manoeuvre in battle or in order to join forces with another group, then they will incur the anger of Allah" (Qur'an 8: 16).¹⁷⁶</i>
4.a.ii	<i>'He should give battle with the intention of supporting the deen of Allah, may He be exalted, and of destroying any other deen which is in opposition to it: "so as to render it victorious overall [other] deen even if the mushrikun detest it" (Qur'an 9: 33). [...].¹⁷⁷</i>
4.a.iii	<i>'Each combatant should fulfil the trust (accorded him by Allah) regarding the booty which has come to him, and that none of them should take anything from it until it has been shared amongst all those entitled to the booty: that is, those who participated in the battle and were of assistance against the enemy, as each has a claim to it. Allah, may He be exalted, says,</i>

¹⁷³ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 68-69.

¹⁷⁴ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 69.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 69.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 69.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 70.

	<i>"And it is not for a Prophet to act deceitfully; whoever acts deceitfully will bring his deceit with him on the day of raising up" (Qur'an 3: 155). [...].¹⁷⁸</i>
4.a.iv	<i>'He should not show preferential treatment towards a relative from amongst the mushrikun, or show partiality towards a friend, when having to uphold the deen of Allah (against them), for surely Allah's right is more binding, and upholding His deen is more incumbent. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "O you who believe, do not take My enemy and your enemy as your friends, meeting them with kindness, when they have denied what has come to you of the Truth" (Qur'an 60: 1). [...].¹⁷⁹</i>
	<i>'As for the duties of the fighters towards the amir, there are four:¹⁸⁰</i>
4.b.i	<i>'They must obey him and submit to his authority over them as this has been duly established, and obedience is obligatory wherever authority has been duly established. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in command amongst you" (Qur'an 4: 62).¹⁸¹</i>
4.b.ii	<i>'They should hand affairs over to his judgement and entrust matters to his direction, so that any discord in their opinions will not destroy their unity of purpose and split the unity of their community. He, may He be exalted, says, "If they had referred the news to the Messenger or to those in command from amongst them, those amongst them who are able to think out the matter would have known it" (Qur'an 4: 85). The fact of handing over the matter to his authority is thus established as a means of his attaining this knowledge and resolving the affair. If, however, some correct course of action appears to them which is not known to him, they should explain it to him and advise him: this is why it is recommended for him to consult so as to arrive at the correct solution;¹⁸²</i>
4.b.iii	<i>'They should make haste to follow his instructions and respect his prohibitions and admonitions, because these two matters are among the obligatory aspects of obedience to him. If, however, they do not carry out what he commands and they proceed towards what he has prohibited, he should chastise them in accordance with their circumstances, but without brutality. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "You have shown gentleness to them, by a mercy from your Lord; if you had been rough and hard of heart they would have scattered from round about you" (Qur'an 3: 153). [...].¹⁸³</i>
4.b.iv	<i>'They should not dispute with him concerning articles of booty after he has apportioned it: they should accept that he has shared it out fairly amongst them, for Allah has made the</i>

¹⁷⁸ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 72.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 73.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 73.

¹⁸¹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 73.

¹⁸² Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 74.

¹⁸³ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 74.

	<i>high and the low classes equal in this respect, and has treated the strong and the weak in the same way. [...].</i> ¹⁸⁴
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5. (5.z) *This section regarding the laws of this type of amirate concerns the steadfastness of the amir in the face of the enemy - that is, for as long as they fight, even if this becomes long and drawn out - and his not turning his back on them as long as strength is in him. Allah, may He be exalted, says, "O you who believe, be steadfast, vie with each other in endurance, prepare yourselves for war and have fear of Allah so that you might be successful" (Qur'an 3: 200). There are three interpretations of this: first, that you be steadfast in your obedience to Allah and vie with each other against the enemies of Allah and make ready for war in the way of Allah, and this is the opinion of al-Hasan; second, that you be steadfast in your deen, vie with each other in awaiting the promise He has made you and make ready for war against My enemy and yours, and this is according to Muhammad ibn Ka'b; third, that you be steadfast in the jihad and vie with each other against the enemy and make ready for war by constant manning of the frontier posts, and this is the opinion of Zayd ibn Aslam. Moreover as continual perseverance in fighting is among the duties of jihad, it is binding until one of four things occurs:*¹⁸⁵

5.a	<i>'First, they (the enemy) become Muslims, in which case they receive the same rights as us, become responsible for the same obligations as us and they are allowed to retain any land and property they possess. The Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, said, "I have been commanded to fight people until they say, 'No god but Allah.' If they say this, then their blood and their property are safe from me - except when there exists another legitimate reason." Their country becomes part of the Territory of Islam when they become Muslims and the law of Islam then applies to them. If a group of them become Muslims during battle - be they small or great in number - any land or wealth belonging to them in the battle-zone remains theirs. If the amir conquers the battle zone he cannot take the wealth of those who have accepted Islam. Abu Hanifah, however, says booty is taken in the form of immovable properties of land and houses, but not movable wealth or chattels. This is at variance with the sunnah: in the blockade of the Banu Quraydhah, the two Jews Tha'labah and Asid, sons of Shaba, became Muslims and their Islam protected their wealth. Their Islam also entails Islam for any minors amongst their children and any still in the womb. Abu Hanifah, however, says that if a kafir becomes a Muslim in the Territory of Islam, it does not entail Islam for his children who are still minors, whereas if he becomes a Muslim in Dar al-Harb (the war zone), it entails Islam for his children who are minors, but</i>
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¹⁸⁴ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 74.

¹⁸⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 75.

	<i>not for the foetus, for his wife and the foetus are treated as fay. If a Muslim enters Dar al-Harb and buys land and goods therein, he is not dispossessed of these if the Muslims conquer it, as the purchaser still has more claim over them. Abu Hanifah, however, is of the opinion that any land he possesses is treated as fay;</i> ¹⁸⁶
5.b.i	<i>The second thing that might occur is that Allah gives victory over them but they remain mushrikun, in which case their women and children are taken prisoner, and their wealth is taken as booty, and those who are not made captive are put to death. As for the captives, the amir has the choice of taking the most beneficial action of four possibilities:</i>
5.b.ii	<i>- the first, to put them to death by cutting their necks;</i>
5.b.iii	<i>- the second, to enslave them and apply the laws of slavery regarding their sale or manumission;</i>
5.b.iv	<i>- the third, to ransom them in exchange for goods or prisoners;</i>
5.b.v	<i>- and fourth, to show favour to them and pardon them.</i>
	<i>Allah, may He be exalted, says, "When you encounter those who deny [the Truth] then strike [their] necks" (Qur'an 47: 4). There are two ways of understanding this: the first, that it refers to the striking of their necks while in fetters after having taken control of them; the second, that it refers to fighting them with weapons and stratagem in order to arrive at striking their necks in battle. Then He says: "Then when you have weakened them, make the fetters tight" (Qur'an 47: 4), and what is meant by "weaken them" is wounding them, and "make the fetter tight" the taking of prisoners. "Then either grace or ransom" (Qur'an 47: 4). Regarding "grace" there are two opinions: the first, that it means pardon and setting free, just as the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, pardoned Thumamah ibn Uthal after having made him captive; the second, that it means manumission after being enslaved, and this is the opinion of Muqatil. As for "ransom": there are two opinions as to its meaning in this case: the first, that it refers to the purchase of the prisoner with wealth, or in return for the setting free of another prisoner, just as the Messenger bought back the prisoners of Badr for money, while on another battlefield he bought back one of his men for two enemy captives; the second, that it refers to the sale, and this is the opinion of Muqatil. "Until the war lays down its burdens" (Qur'an 47: 4). There are two interpretations of this: the first, that it refers to the submission of the burdens of kufr to Islam and the second, to a heavy load, meaning the weapons and instruments of war. If it is taken as meaning the laying down of weapons, it refers either to the Muslims laying down their arms after the victory, or to the mushrikun abandoning their arms after their defeat. There will be a further explanation of these four rules in the section dealing with booty below.</i> ¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 75-76.

¹⁸⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 76-77.

	<i>'The third possibility is that the enemy make a payment in return for peace and reconciliation. It is permitted to accept this payment and reconciliation with them in two ways.'</i> ¹⁸⁸
5.c.i	<i>'Payment is made immediately and is not treated as ongoing tribute. This payment is treated as booty as it has been taken as a result of riding out on horses and camels; it is shared amongst those entitled to the booty and it represents a guarantee that those paying it will no longer be fought during this jihad; it does, however, not prevent a jihad being carried out against them in the future.'</i> ¹⁸⁹
5.c.ii	<i>'They make a payment every year in which case it constitutes an ongoing tribute by which their security is established. What is taken from them in the first year is treated as booty and is shared amongst those entitled to booty; whatever is taken in the following years is shared amongst the people entitled to the fay. It is not permitted to resume the jihad against them as long as they make the payments, because the peace is being maintained by the regularity of these payments. If one of them enters Dar al-Islam, this contract of reconciliation guarantees safety for himself and his wealth. If they refuse to make payment, however, the reconciliation ceases, their security is no longer guaranteed and war must be waged on them - like any other persons from the enemy camp. Abu Hanifah, however, says that their refusal to make the jizyah payment and that of reconciliation does not invalidate their guarantee of security, as this tax constitutes an ongoing claim against them but the contract is not broken by their nonpayment - just as in the case of contracts of debt.'</i> ¹⁹⁰
5.d	<i>'The fourth possibility is that the enemy requests a guarantee of safety and a truce. It is permitted to make a truce of peace for a specific period with them if victory over them and taking payment from them is too difficult to obtain - as long as the Imam has given him permission to undertake this or has delegated full authority to him. The Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, made a ten-year truce with the Quraysh in the year of Hudaibiyyah. It should be as short as possible and not exceed ten years; if a truce is made with them for more than this, the period in excess of this is invalidated. Their security is guaranteed until the period comes to an end, and jihad is not waged against them as long as they respect the agreement; if, however, they break it, then hostilities begin again and war is made against them without warning. [...]</i> ¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 77.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 77.

¹⁹⁰ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 77.

¹⁹¹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 78.

6. *'This section concerning the rules of this type of amirate is about the action to be taken in assailing and fighting the enemy.'*¹⁹²

6.a	<i>'The amir of the army may use ballistas and catapults when besieging the enemy, for the Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, set up a catapult against the inhabitants of Ta'if.'</i> ¹⁹³
6.b	<i>'He may also destroy their homes, make night raids against them and cause fires.'</i> ¹⁹⁴
6.c	<i>'If, moreover, he reckons that by cutting their date-palms and their trees down it will serve to weaken them, such that they are overcome by force or are compelled to make a peace agreement, then he should do so; he should not, however, act in this way if he does not see any such benefit in it. [...]'</i> ¹⁹⁵
6.d	<i>'It is also permitted to block off the supply of water to them, or to prevent them from using it, even if there are women and children amongst them, as it is one of the most potent means of weakening them and gaining victory over them, either by force or through a treaty. If a thirsty person amongst them requests a drink, the amir may either give him to drink or refuse him, just as he has the option of killing him or letting him live.'</i> ¹⁹⁶
6.e	<i>'Anyone who kills one of them should hide him from the sight of others, but he is not obliged to bury him. [...]'</i> ¹⁹⁷
6.f	<i>'Armies in enemy territory should not be prevented from consuming any food they need or taking any fodder for their animals; moreover they are not liable to pay it back. They are not, however, to take any more than their sustenance and fodder in the way of clothing and mounts; if they do take something out of necessity then whatever they take to wear, mount or use should be reclaimed from them so as to return these things to the stores of booty – if they still exist - and reckoned against them when calculating their share thereof- if already used up.'</i> ¹⁹⁸
6.g	<i>'It is not permitted for any of them to have intercourse with a girl from amongst the captives until after she has been allotted to him in his share, in which case he may have intercourse with her only after the waiting period (istibra) of one month. If, however, he does have intercourse with her before the sharing of the booty, he is punished at the discretion of the amir; he is not, however, given the hadd-punishment (of lashes or stoning) as he has a legal share in her, although it is incumbent upon him to pay the equivalent bride price for her</i>

¹⁹² Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 79.

¹⁹³ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 79.

¹⁹⁴ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 79.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 79.

¹⁹⁶ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 80.

¹⁹⁷ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 80.

¹⁹⁸ Al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate, 81.

	<p><i>which is then added to the booty If he has made her pregnant, her child becomes his and she has the status of Umm Walad for him when he possesses her (legally). If, however, he has intercourse with a woman who is not one of the captives, he is given the hadd-punishment, as intercourse with her is fornication, in which case her child is not attached to him if she has become pregnant.</i>¹⁹⁹</p>
6.h	<p><i>'If this type of amirate has been created for a single raiding party, the amir is not to make any other raids, irrespective of whether he has taken booty in it or not. If however, it has been formulated in a general way, continuing year after year, then it is incumbent upon him to renew the raiding whenever he is able, and he should not hesitate from this as long as there are no obstacles except for rest periods. The least amount of time which may pass without his mounting a jihad is a year. Moreover the amir granted authority of amirate over mujahidin should make sure that they observe the laws relative to them and should apply the hadd-punishments to them, irrespective of whether they are regulars or volunteers. He is not, however, to enforce those laws which pertain to others as long as he is travelling towards his frontier fortification; when, however, he is installed in the frontier post to which he has been assigned, he may oversee the enforcement of the law among all its inhabitants, be they fighters or subjects. If his amirate is one with a particular (restricted) mandate, he should rule them in accordance with this particular mandate.</i>²⁰⁰</p>

¹⁹⁹ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 81.

²⁰⁰ Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 82.

Examples from the Chachnama²⁰¹

Course of action – This took place before Muhammad Qāsim was appointed General.

The Khalifate of Muáwiyeh son of Abísafiyán commenced in the year 44. The authors of (his) history have stated on the authority of Mihlab who heard it from Hazlí, and Hazlí from Kásim from Nasr son of Sinán, that when Muáwiyeh was confirmed in the Khalifate, he sent Abdulláh son of Sawád with 4,000 men to the country of Sind appointing him governor thereof, and chief administrator in those parts. He said:

3.d *‘In the country of Sind, there is a mountain, which is called Kíkánán. There are big and beautiful horses to be found there, and previously also (various) spoils were received here from that country. The people are very cunning, and, under the shelter of that mountain, have become refractory and rebellious.’*

[...]

3.c *It is related by Abul Hasan, who heard it from Hazlí, and Hazlí from Muslim son of Muhárib son of Muslim son of Ziyád, that when Muáwiyeh despatched the expedition of 4,000 men under Abdulláh son of Sawád, no one had to kindle fire in his camp, as they had carried abundant provisions for the journey, ready mule for use.*

It was only on a single night that fire-light was perceived in the camp, and, on enquiry being made, it was found that a pregnant woman, had been confined and fire was urgently required. Abdúllah gave her permission and she gave a merry banquet, and for three days continually entertained the whole army (with fresh-cooked food).

3.e *When Abdulláh arrived at Kíkánán, the enemy made an assault on him, but the army of Islám routed them, and secured plenty of booty. The people of Kíkánán assembled in large numbers, and occupied the mountain passes. The battle now raged furiously and Abdulláh son of Sawád found it necessary to keep his men in their ranks, by making a stand himself with a party of selected men, fully armed; and he appealed to the hearts of others in the following words: ‘O children of the Prophet’s companions, do not turn your faces from the*

4.a.i *infidels, so that your faith may remain free from any flaw and you acquire the honour of martyrdom.’*

2.b.iv *Hearing these words his men assembled round the standard of Abdulláh, and one came out with a challenge to a single fight.*

2.b.iv *Instantly the chief of the enemy’s forces engaged with him. The example of this hero was followed by another Yásar son of Sawád. [...]. The chief was killed, but the army of Kíkánán made a general assault, by which the army of Islám was ultimately put to flight. The whole mountainous region now became alive*

²⁰¹ Ali ibn Hamid Kūfī, *The Chachnama, An Ancient History of Sind, Giving the Hindu Period down to the Arab Conquest*. Translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg (Karachi, 1900).

with fighting men and the Musalmans beat a (hasty) retreat, and came back to Makrán.²⁰²

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to the Khalifah

‘When the Khalifah read this letter, he wrote an order sanctioning the undertaking. (On receipt of this order) Hajjāj wrote a reply, in which he made the following request: “When you have honoured me by granting your permission, you will kindly order 6,000 men out of the chiefs of Sham (Syria) to come to this camp fully prepared, with all their arms and instruments of war and in all their pomp and glory, so that I may know the name of each

- 1.f
4.b.iii
4.a.i
- when the engagement takes place. They should co-operate with me, and should never turn their face from battle.”²⁰³

Course of action

‘On a Friday, Hajjāj delivered the following address to the assembled forces: - “Verily, time is changeful, and resembles a double edged sword. One day it is with us and another day it is against us. On the day on which it is with us, we ought to put our armies in order,

- 3.e
3.f
- and be prepared to meet and avert the calamity (likely to overtake us on the day on which time is against us). We should feel thankful to God, our great and glorified Lord, to whom there is no equal. We must recite his praise, and have full trust in his liberal kindness, in order that he may vouchsafe favors to us, and may not close any door upon us, and may make us recipients of merits and virtues in return for our thanksgiving.” [...]

- 1.a
- Hajjāj further instructed Muhammad Kásim to march via Shiraz, and to go by easy stages, so that all the forces might join him and not be left behind.²⁰⁴

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qásim

‘At an auspicious hour, Muhammad Kásim halted at Shíráz, and encamped there, till all the detachments from Irák and Syria joined him. Here all the war apparatus such as battering-rams and catapults, and coats of mail necessary for fighting against a fort, were put in boats, which he gave in charge to abu Mughairah and Hazím. [...]

- 3.c
- [...] Hajjāj said in a letter to Muhammad Kásim: “You have got everything ready, and now let every four horsemen take one camel with them. I give you strong loading camels to carry

²⁰² *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 61-62.

²⁰³ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 74.

²⁰⁴ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 75.

5.z (each) a heavy load (of provisions) so that you may not stand in want of them. You ought to
 5.z fear the great God, and consider patience as an ornament. When you arrive in the country
 3.b of the enemy, encamp in plains and open fields that your movements may be free and
 3.b extensive. At the time of battle, divide yourselves into detached columns, and then rush in
 3.e from different directions, as you shall have to fight with veteran heroes. And when they
 make an assault, do you make a stand, and shower arrows at them. You must make such
 coats of mail for horses as to give them the appearance of wild beasts, like the lion and the
 elephant.”²⁰⁵

Correspondence - Al-Hajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘When Muhammad Kāsim conquered Armanbelah, he received a letter from Hajjāj at that
 very place. It contained instructions in the following words: “When you arrive at stages,
 3.b within the limits of Sind, and come within sight of Debal, be very careful about your
 3.b camping places. When you arrive at Nerun, dig a ditch round your camp, that it may give
 you protection and safety. Be awake for the greater part of the night; and let those of you
 3.a who can read the Koran, be busy reading it, while the rest should devote their time to
 prayer and be watchful at the same time. Make taciturnity an ornament of yours. Be
 repeating the praises of the great and glorious God, and ask help of the divine grace that the
 most glorious and most high God may give you assistance. Seek his protection by often
 reciting the well-known religious saying: “There is no power nor virtue but in God, the
 3.b great and glorious.” When you come in the vicinity of Debal, make a ditch, 12 cubits wide
 and 6 cubits deep. When you face the enemy, be silent; and (even) if the enemy shout at you
 4.b.iii and use obscene language, and assault you, do not engage in (a pitched) battle, till I send
 orders to that effect. You will be constantly hearing from me, and you must make it a point
 to follow literally the instructions I may give you, and the plan I may suggest. By taking my
 opinion as the right one, and following it, you will be successful in your undertaking, if the
 great God wills it.”²⁰⁶

Course of action

‘When the expedition marched out from Armanbelah, Muhammad Kāsim appointed Sāhib
 son of Abdurrahmán to lead the van, and Jehm son of Kais Jaafi to bring up the rear. He put

²⁰⁵ Kūfi, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 76-77.

²⁰⁶ Kūfi, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 78-79.

3.e *Utbah son of Saad Aófi in charge of the right wing, and Músa son of Sinán son of Salmah Hazlí in charge of the left. The remaining warriors and swordsmen and selected soldiers, who formed the flower of the army, were put in the centre to go in front of him. In this order, the army marched on till, on Friday, the 10th of Muharram of the year 73, they arrived in the vicinity of Debal.*²⁰⁷

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

3.e²⁰⁸ *'The boats containing the weapons and implements of war also arrived, the same day, under Hazim son of Amru, and Abu Mughairah, and despatches from Hajjāj were handed over to Muhammad Kāsim, who had orderd a big Ditch to be made in order to fight with the enemy at an advantage. The contents of these despatches were as follows: "I have appointed very respectable men in your service. One of them is Abdurrahman son of Salm Kalbi whose bravery and prowess have been put to trial on several occasions, and whom no enemy will ever be able to oppose in a skirmish or a battle. Another is Safyan Abrad, who is famous for his wisdom and rectitude, and is honest and righteous. There is also Kats son of Bark Kilabi, who is generous, honourable and true. In any task entrusted to him he will acquit himself creditably, and to your entire satisfaction. He is free from foibles, and has always been of great help to Hajjāj. Jarrah son of Abdullah again is a man of vast experience, and has seen many battles. He is to be preferred to many a man of wisdom and learning. Then there is Mujashiah son of Naobah Azdi. All these men are the pick of my personal staff. I have no others more trustworthy and righteous than these. I am sanguine that they will never go against your wishes, and will never take the side of your enemies. Out of the men, to whom I have referred above in my letter, I may particularly mention Hazim son of Amru than whom there is none dearer to me, on account of his bravery and lion-heartedness. He is one of the selected few, who are very honourable, and is known for truthfulness and honesty, like his father and his forefathers. When Hazim becomes your friend, I shall not entertain any fear, since he is gifted by nature, with virtuous habits and an approved character. He will never allow any creature to work against you or the harm you." Never keep him aloof from you. When you read my letters, neither eat or drink till you have written a reply to me communicating the state of affairs there in full detail.'*²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 79.

²⁰⁸ This entire letter involves an explanation from al-Ḥajjāj as to why he selected these men. This refers specifically to one specific part Māwardī' section 3.e that says: he '*should be able to rely, in all respects, on those he deems capable of a particular task*'. Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 66-69.

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘Muhammad Kāsim, thereupon, wrote a letter to that prince of Governors, Hajjāj son of Yusif, in which he mentioned the conditions fixed by Jaubat. On the ninth day, the reply was received, via Kirman, sanctioning the acceptance of the terms fixed between them. It also contained the following fresh instructions: “When you advance in a body for battle, see that you have the sun behind your backs, as (then) its glare will not prevent you from having a full view of the enemy. Engage in fight on the very first day, and supplicate the help of the great God. If anyone of the people of Sind ask for mercy and protection, do give it to him, but not to the residents of Debal, whom you must not spare on any account.”²¹¹

3.a²¹⁰
5.b.v/5.d/
5.b.i/5.b.ii

Course of action

‘Muhammad Kāsim distributed his army in different directions. First he posted Jehm son of Kais Jafi to the east of the fort, and Ata son of Malik Ashi to the west. Bananah son of Hantalah Kilabi was ordered to fight towards the northern wall, and Aon son of Talet Dimishki towards the southern. The main or central body was put in charge of Zakwan son of Alwan Bakri, Hazim and Abu Mughairah. Thus divided, the Arabs pressed from all directions. The first man who got over the rampant was Saadi son of Khazimah of Kufah. Next to him was Ajal son of Abdul Malik son of Kais Daeti of Basrah. When thus the army of Islam scaled the walls of the fort, the Debalise opened the gates and asked for mercy. Muhammad Kāsim replied that he had no orders to spare anyone in the town, and that the armed men had to do slaughtering for 3 days.’²¹²

3.e
5.b.v
5.b.i/
5.b.ii²¹²

Course of action

‘It is related by the writers of history, on the authority of Hakam son of Urwah, who heard it from his father and grandfather, that the name of the Brahmin who had prayed for and received pardon was Sud-dev, and that it was from him that Hakam’s grandfather received the following piece of information, namely: When Debal was conquered and the Mussalman prisoners were released, the slaves were brought out, and Muhammad Kāsim ordered one-

5.b.v

²⁰⁹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 79-80

²¹⁰ Although this reference is less obvious, it could refer to protecting the army from surprise attacks, caused by being blinded by the sun because of an inconveniently chosen position to attack from.

²¹¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 82.

²¹² The part that states that Muhammad Qāsim had to do slaughtering for three days also corresponds with al-Balādhurī’s account.

²¹³ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 83.

fifth of the spoils to be set apart in obedience to the religious law, and sent to the royal treasury. Accordingly the fifth part of the booty secured at Debal was sent to the treasury of Hajjáj, while the booty secured at the conquest of Arman Belah was distributed among the troops, according to their merit and rank – a horseman receiving double the share of a camelman or a foot soldier. What remained of the cash and slaves and other spoils was collected and sent to Hajjáj along with the two daughters of the rulers of Debal.²¹⁵

Correspondence - Muhammad Qāsim to Dahir

“In the name of the most merciful and gracious God. Letter addressed by Muhammad Kásim Sakiíf, the avenger of Musalmáns, to the haughty, the rebellious, the crafty Brahmin Dáhar son of Chach, a foolish, stubborn and vainglorious infidel. This is to inform you that I have received your letter, which you have written out of excessive ignorance and folly, being led away by a weak and miserable policy, of which you have evidently become madly proud. I have acquainted myself with its contents, express and implied, and have written relating to your power and pomp and numbers and weapons and elephants and horsemen and followers. We depend entirely upon the grace of God for power and strength, and on the favour of our sovereign for the number of our forces and for glory. ‘There is no power nor virtue but in God, the great and glorious one. They play a trick with thee in their own way and then they do not depend upon it. Verily I trust fully in God, who is my maintainer as well as yours. They lay a plot for them, but God is the best layer of plots. The plot of the wicked does not recoil except upon those that lay it. If God wishes it, a small number of men overpowers a large number; and God is with the patient.’ You are proud of men and horses and elephants, but what are they? The biggest elephant is the weakest and most helpless of all creatures. He cannot get rid of a gnat, which is the smallest and weakest of all animals. As for horses and horsemen, whom you admire so much, they are an army of God. But mind, God has many armies which are most powerful; the league of God and its

²¹⁴ Chapter 12 of *The Laws of Islamic Governance* is dedicated to ‘*The Division of the Fay and the Ghaneemah*’. Within this chapter there is one specific section that is named ‘Movable goods constitute the normal form of booty’. This section refers to this specific part in the Chachnama: “Know that whatever you take in booty then there is a fifth for Allah and the Messenger and for the close relations, for the orphans, and for the travellers” (Qur’an 8: 42). This section also discusses how much of this booty is given to different kind of soldiers: ‘*Abu Hanifah says that the horseman is given twice as much as the foot-soldier, while ash-Shafi’i, that he is given three times as much.*’. See: al-Māwardī, *The Laws of Islamic Governance*, tr. Yate. 202 – 205.

²¹⁵ *Kūfī*, *The Chachnama*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 85-86.

²¹⁶ Reference to the Quran.

²¹⁷ Reference to the Quran.

²¹⁸ Reference to the Quran.

²¹⁹ Although this phrase refers to the Quran, it is also explicitly referred to in al-Māwardī’s 4.a.1.

²²⁰ Reference to the Quran.

Judgements are always successful.’ As to what you say about our coming, with armies arrayed for battle, know that that is wholly the result of your wicked deeds and bad manners and vain-glory, for you seized and detained the boats conveying valuable property from Sarandeb, and made the Musalmans prisoners. All the countries of the world acknowledge the rule and superiority of the Khalífah, who is the vicegerent of the Prophet. All pay allegiance to him, while you turn your head from him and rebel against him. All the former rulers and kings regularly paid tribute to his royal treasury, while you have stopped it. As you have thus befouled yourself with ugly manners and unpleasant habits like these, and have swerved from the path of obedience, and have taken such bad behavior to be unobjectionable, I have received the ever-to-be-obeyed mandate from the Khalífah to exact vengeance for those wicked deeds of yours, and to carry on war with you (to the bitter end).

3.f *I do hope that, with the help of the great God, who is the most powerful of all, in whatever place you may meet us and oppose us, I shall defeat and degrade you, and ultimately take your head to Irák, or sacrifice my life in the cause of the great God. I consider it my bounden duty to carry on this religious war, in obedience to the orders of God who says in the Koran: ‘wage war against the infidels and dissemblers’; and I have undertaken this task simply to secure divine pleasure. I expect fully from the unbounded kindness of God, that He will help us and give us victory over you. God’s will be done. Written in the 73rd year’’²²¹*

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘When he arrived at Sísam, he received Hajjāj’s letter, in reply to his own letters respecting his first victory. “From Hajjāj son of Yusif. O Muhammad Kāsim, you must know that our mind assures us that our wishes and hopes will be fulfilled, and you will be successful in every way. You will be successful and victorious, and by the grace of God, the great and glorious, your enemies will soon be vanquished and punished and will repeatedly be overtaken by present torment and future misery. Do not, pray, entertain the evil thought that all those elephants and horses and wealth and other property of your enemies will be your lot. Live happily with your friends, and treat everyone kindly. Encourage them all to believe that the whole country will be yours. Whenever you take any fortified place, let your soldiers spend the necessary expenditure of the army, and for keeping drink as much as is good for them. Do not scold them or prevent them from doing so. Exert yourself to the utmost to supply provisions in abundance, and fix the rates, so that corn may be had cheap in your camp. Whatever has been left behind in Debal had better be spent in supplying the

3.f

3.g

3.c

²²¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 88-89.

troops with provisions than in laying up stores in the fort. When you have conquered the country and strengthened the forts, endeavor to console the subjects and to sooth the residents, so that the agricultural classes and artisans and merchants may, if God so wills, become comfortable and happy, and the country may become fertile and populous. Written this 20th day of Rajjib 93.’’²²²

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘Then the Samani opened the gates of the fort, and the natives began to make bargains and have dealings with the soldiers. Muhammad Kāsim was thereupon so much pleased that he wrote a letter to Ḥajjāj, acknowledging, with thanks, the services rendered by the Samani and informing him of the faithfulness and friendship of the people of Nerun. In reply, Ḥajjāj wrote a very kind letter recommending the conciliation and encouragement of the people.

3.f “Try,” wrote he, “to show kindness to them in every way and give them hopes of our patronage. **I entertain full confidence that, with the grace of God, wherever you may go you**
5.b.v/ **will be successful.** **Whoever seeks mercy and protection from you, let him have it.** Those of
5.d the nobles and great men who take your side and join you, honour them by giving them robes of honour and make them grateful to yourself. Give proper rewards to them and respect them according to their rank. Make reason and discretion your guide, so that the chief men of the place and the notables of the neighbourhood may repose complete trust in your word.’’²²³

Course of action

‘The next day when the true dawn appeared from behind the dark curtain (of the sky) with a cloak of ash-coloured satin, the Samanī came to the presence of Muhammad Kāsim with many presents and plentiful offerings, and obtained an honourable reception. To entertain Muhammad Kāsim as a distinguished guest, he supplied him with provisions to such an extent that the soldiers got sufficient corn for their needs. Muhammad Kāsim then appointed a representative within the fort. **He (also) built a mosque in the place of the idol-temple of**
4.a.ii **Budh, and appointed a crier to call the people to prayer, and a priest (Imām) to be their**
guide in prayers and other religious matters. After some days, he resolved to go to Sīwistān.’²²⁴

²²² *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 90.

²²³ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 91-92.

²²⁴ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 92.

Course of action

'When Muhammad Kásim had completely settled the affairs at Nerún, he prepared to go to Sívistán, and he, accompanied by the Samaní, started for that place. He travelled, stage by stage, till he arrived at a town called Máoj, about 30 leagues from Nerún. In that town there was a Samaní, who was a chief among the people. The ruler of that town was a cousin of Dáhar Chach, by name Bachehrá son of Chandar. On the approach of the Arabs, the Samaní party was assembled, and sent a message to Bachehrá, saying: - 'We people are a priestly class (Násiks), our religion is peace and our creed is good will (to all). According to our faith, fighting and slaughtering are not allowable. We will never be in favour of shedding blood. You are sitting quite safe in a lofty palace; we are afraid that that this horde will come and, taking us to be your followers and dependents, will deprive us our life and property. [We have come to know that Amír Hajjáj has, under the order of

5.b.v *the Khalifah, instructed them to grant pardon to those who ask for it. [So when an*

5.d *opportunity offers, and when we consider it expedient, we shall enter into a solemn treaty*

and binding covenant with them.] The Arabs are said to be faithful to their word. Whatever they say they act up to and do not deviate from.' Bachehrá refused to accept this advice, and paid no attention to what they said. *[Then, Muhammad Kásim sent a spy to gather*

3.d *information as to the inclinations of these men, whether there was a difference of opinion*

among them.] As some of the residents of the fortified town were ready to fight, and, with that intention, had issued out of the town, [Muhammad Kásim encamped on the sand-hills

3.b *near the gate of the town, since there was no other open field for a battle and there was a*

flood of rain-water all around, and to the north the river Sind was flowing.'^{225]}

Course of action

'The Samaní party reprimanded Bachehrá and forbade him to fight, saying: - 'This army is very strong and powerful; you cannot stand against them. We do not wish that, through your obstinacy, our life and property should be endangered.' *[As he still rejected their*

*226 *counsel, [the Samaní clique sent a message to Muhammad Kásim, telling him: 'All the*

people, whether agriculturalists, artisans, merchants or other common folk, have left

Bachehrá's side and do not (now) acknowledge allegiance to him, and Bachehrá has not

3.d/ *sufficient men and materials of war, and can never stand against you in an open field, or*

3.h *in a struggle with you.'* On receiving this message, the army of Islám became over-
zealous, and Muhammad Kásim ordered the assault to be continued steadily night and

²²⁵ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 93-94.

²²⁶ As with Dahir, Bachehrá is portrayed as a villain who ignores counsel and eventually ends up fleeing from the Arab army.

day. Thus, after about one week, the occupants of the fort ceased to fight.²²⁷

Course of action

2.b.ii²²⁸ *'The suburban residents of the place [Budhan] were all káfirs. When they saw the army of Islám, they conspired to make a nocturnal attack on the enemy and put them into confusion. [...] He [Kákah] then appointed a respectable man, named Bahsabbí, as their head, and ordered the Jats to form their column. One thousand brave men, experts in the use of the sword, were selected, all fully armed with swords and shields and javelins and halberds and daggers. When the Grecian (fair) army of the day fled away from fear of the Abyssinian (black) army of the night, this band of warriors started with intent to make a nocturnal assault upon the enemy. But when they were close to the Arab camp, they lost their way. The whole night from evening to morning, they wandered about in perplexity and confusion. They had divided themselves into four parties, but neither the advanced party met the one in rear, nor the right wing joined the left wing. All were turning round and round in the desert. Whenever they came out of the jungle they found themselves in the vicinity of the fort of Sísam. When the collyrium coloured cloth of the dark night was torn by the king of stars, with the uprising of day, they came back to their fort, and informed Kákah Kótak that they had failed in their undertaking.'*²²⁹

Course of action

5.b.v *'Bachehrá son of Chandar and cousin to Dáhar, and his Thakurs and chiefs who formed his retinue lost their dear life in trying to accomplish their sinful deeds. (Some of) the rest fled higher up to Budhiah while some went to the fortified town of Bhallor between Salúj and Kandáil, and from there applied for pardon and mercy. Those who were against Dáhar, having lost some of their party in the late battle, immediately turned their faces from his allegiance, and engaged some messengers to bring about peace with the Arabs. They*
5.c.ii *undertook to pay a tribute of 1,000 dirams of silver in weight, and sent hostages to Sívistán.'*²³⁰

²²⁷ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 94.

²²⁸ Al-Māwardī's section 2.b.ii states that it is not allowed to attack the enemy without a warning and to kill them at night or by surprise. In this passage, the enemy does exactly the opposite, but they do not succeed in their plans. The enemy seems to have been used to portray the negative consequences of not acting according to a code of conduct that parallels al-Māwardī's laws.

²²⁹ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 95-96.

²³⁰ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 98

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

- 5.c.ii/ 5.d *‘When Muhammad Kāsim fixed tributes on this part of the country, he passed an order to guarantee protection and safety anew to the people. He appointed Hamid son of Widāa Najdī and Abdul Kais of the family of Harud (his representatives) and left the management of (local) affairs to their good sense and fidelity. When he finished his business at Sisam, Muhammad Kāsim received despatches from Hajjāj, who wrote as follows: “Now give up other towns, and come back to Nerun and arrange to cross the Mehran and march against Dahar. Seek help from the great and glorious God that he may grant you victory and success. When you gain that victory all the other fortified towns, far and near, will naturally fall into your hands, and then there will be nothing to hinder you in your career of conquest.”’²³¹*
- 3.f

Correspondence – Muhammad Qāsim to al-Ḥajjāj

- 3.b *‘After travelling many a stage, he halted by a fort, which was situated on the hills of Nerun. There was a pond in its vicinity whose water was brighter than the eyes of lovers, and whose meadow land was more pleasant than the garden of Iram. There Muhammad Kāsim pitched his camp, and wrote the following letter to Hajjāj son of Yusif: - “In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. To the exalted court of the great Amir, the learned sage having no equal, the crown of religion, the shield of Ajam and Hind, Hajjāj son of Yusif. This servant Muhammad Kāsim, after paying proper compliments and respects, begs to state that this true friend of yours, with all the noblemen and retinue and attendants and the Mussalman armies and troops, is quite safe and sound. Our affairs are all managed very well and we are all feeling quite cheerful and happy. May it be known to your Highness that after travelling through deserts, and by distant and dangerous stages, we arrived in the country of Sind, and we are (now) encamped on the bank of the Sehun, which is called the Mehran. The part of the country from Budhiah up to the place opposite the fortified town of Aghror on the Mehran has been conquered, but the castellated city of Alor is still in the possession of Rai Dahar. Those who proved refractory and head-strong were brought under control, and the rest being frightened, have fled. When the ever-to-be-obeyed order of Amir Hajjāj was received, directing us to return, we came back to the hilly fort of Nerun. This fortified town is nearer to the capital of the Khalifahs. We entertain strong hopes that by means of the assistance of God, the kindness of the king and the good luck of the Great Amīr (Hajjāj) we shall conquer many more strong forts of the infidels, and take possession of their towns and treasures. Only recently the forts of Sīwistān and*
- 3.f

²³¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 98.

- Sisam have been taken, and Dáhar's cousin, with several brave men and nobles, has been driven out. It is hoped that all the forts of the infidels will be conquered and taken possession of, and in lieu of the kafirs' places of worship, mosques and (Mussalman) prayer-houses will be built, and pulpits for calling the faithful to prayer and preaching sermons constructed, in order that the obligatory services may be performed at stated times, and morning and evening the great and glorious God be remembered and praised, as is directed by text the of the Koran, viz. : - 'Keep up prayers at the declension of the sun and towards nightfall and the prayer at day-break [...]. It is also hoped that idols and other signs of idolatry will be removed and clean swept off, with the help of God and the blessing of that verse of the Koran which says: 'If God help you none will overpower you.'*
- 4.a.ii
- 4.a.ii *Further the servants of the devils and their forces will be subdued and degraded and pushed away to Hell, and there subjected to severe tortures. For the present we have encamped in the vicinity of a fort which surpasses the strong wall constructed by the Grecian Alexander. We depend for power and protection on God the great and the glorious. This letter is submitted to Your Highness (may your greatness last long!) in the hope that distinct orders and positive commands will be issued. We are anxiously awaiting*
- 4.b.iii *them and are quite ready to obey whatever instructions are given under the guidance of God. Let it also be known to the generous prince, that there is one of the tributary rulers under Dahar, who is the owner of the fortified town of Bet, to the east of the Mehran, on the bank of a rivulet in an island of the gulf of Khanlehat and is called Basami Rasal. All the chief officers and noblemen of Rai Dahar, as well as most of the princes of Hind and Sind are under his influence, and have a strong and solemn compact with him and they implicitly follow his guidance. From the party of Debal, that came over and joined us, we learnt that this prince, by the grace of God, has been advising and inducing every one of these great men and nobles to submit to us. They have (now) great confidence in us, and have sent us humble messages promising to be loyal to us. If the great glorious God brings this measure to its consummation, and they faithfully render allegiance to us, the difficulty of crossing the river Mehran will be removed, and we can then very easily and successfully achieve our object under the guidance of the Great God.”²³²*
- 3.d

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

“In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. I have received the letter of my dear son Karimuddin Muhammad Kasim (may God perpetuate his power and dignity) which was

²³² *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 99-101.

adorned with a variety of deferential and respectful language. I quite take in the state of affairs, as described in your letter. But why, my son, don't you use your discretion and act according to your own reason and good sense? **I earnestly wish you to overpower in battle**

2.a **all the princes of the East and bring destruction on the unbelievers.** Why have you become dilatory and dispirited in doing this work? I know you are able to overcome their villainy, and I hope that their plots and evil designs will be frustrated. He (Dahar) wishes to send away the army of Islam, but you should take heart. Spend as much money as you can. Give them large rewards and presents, do not disappoint those who want estates and lands, but comply with their requests. Encourage them by giving them written promises of protection and safety. You must know that there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom – 1stly, courtesy, conciliation, gentleness, and alliances; 2ndly, expenditure of money, and generous gifts; 3rdly, adoption of the most reasonable and expedients measures at the time of disagreement or opposition; and 4thly, the use of overawing force, power, strength and majesty in checking and expelling the enemy. Try to grant every request made by the princes and please them by giving them solemn promises. **When they submit and settle a**

5.c.ii **tribute upon themselves, receive from them whatever they bring for the treasury, whether**

money in coins or any shining metal; and show them favour in every way. **If you want to**

send an envoy to the enemy, first test his wisdom, faith, intelligence and honesty, and let

3.d **not Islam suffer from his going or speaking. Protect yourself from and guard against the**

misfortunes (arising) from the stratagems and plots and arts of the enemy; and be very

cautious and careful in the disposal of important affairs. Be careful, when Dahar sends a confidential envoy to you; be wary in mixing and associating with him, and give him sound counsel. **When he presents himself before you to deliver his message, let him say what he**

3.h **has to say in the presence of your grandees and nobles, and in a meeting of your wise**

counsellors. Let him not depart disrespectfully, and let him have plain answers to his questions. Let not his error or hypocrisy deceive you. **Always encourage your messengers**

3.g **and envoy by giving him fair promises,** and telling him that the whole army of Islam regards him as their leader or forerunner, and depends upon what he utters, and so he must deliver his message honestly and carefully. **The messenger of the Musalmans should be a**

2.b.i²³³ **man of pure faith, who should speak fearlessly and dauntlessly and invite and induce the**

infidels to accept the true creed, and belief in the unity of God. **Whoever turns to the unity**

²³³ Al-Māwardī's section 2.b.i describes with precision how the unbelievers should be persuaded: Allah, may He be exalted, says, "Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and kindly admonition and converse with them by what is better in argument" (Qur'an 16: 125), - which means calling to the deen of your Lord with wisdom.

- 5.a *of God and submits to you, let him have back his property and wealth and estate; and*
- 2.a *whoever does not submit to Islam, treat him harshly and cause injury to him till he submits.* Again, if any person, having once submitted to you, withdraws himself from your allegiance, you must make him understand that, as he has taken out his head from the yoke of submission he must be ready for an onslaught. Do not allow (the enemy) to cross the Mehran at their will. Tell them that if they would come over to your side of the river they would not be checked and that you, having come from a very long distance, have the right to cross the river freely and without any hindrance and confront them in battle. Make such arrangements that there may be no doubt or misunderstanding, on this point between the two parties. *Wherever you meet the enemy, in order to give them battle, let the battle-field*
- 3.b *be an open plain, so that foot-soldiers may move freely in it in fighting against foot-soldiers, and horsemen against horsemen.* Above all, when you are engaged in fight put
- 3.f *your trust in God's kindness. Catch hold of that ring of the chain firmly and you need have no fear of a fall.* Then wait patiently, and see what the Divine Providence and fate brings out from behind the curtain of mystery, and what orders the king passes (for your guidance). If they send a message to you asking whether you would cross the Mehran or whether they should, give them no choice or authority. Tell them that you would cross the river first, so that your enemy may be overawed, and they may know that if the army of Islam was not sufficiently strong and powerful it would not venture to meet them on their own ground. *As for your own men, let not the Arab troops that are under you entertain any*
- 4.a.i *hope of returning, and let them not turn their face from battle.* They should fight with the utmost zeal and depend entirely upon the kindness of God for the issue. They should be fond of battle and fight manfully and make a firm stand. *They should be true and faithful in*
- 4.b.iii *warring against the enemy and in co-operating with you.* Then only the great and glorious God will be pleased with them. You should select a place for crossing the river, where it would be possible to put a strong and stable bridge, and make your passage. After
- 3.h *consultation (with your officers) and after taking tests, take every necessary precaution and care.* After you cross the river, at once array your army in proper divisions – the right
- 3.e *wing, the left wing, the centre, the van and the rear. Send your infantry ahead. Do not leave the armours of your animals to be carried by the main body. (But) God knows better (than man)."* When this letter of Hajjáj was received, Muhammad Kásim determined to cross the river and took measures for the purpose.²³⁴

²³⁴ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 101-103.

Course of action

'The next day when the king of the stars appeared in the blue vault, Muhammad Kásim mounted a horse, and, accompanied by his chiefs and nobles, came to the gate of the city.

- 4.a.ii *He built a mosque in place of the idol-temple, and performed two genuflexions.* He appointed a man of the family of Zahal, from amongst the people of Basrah as his deputy in the city, and then left the place. [...] Some of the chief men of Rásal Samaní, and several headmen of the Bhattís came forward to do homage to Muhammad Kásim, and *seek his*
- 5.b.v *pardon.* *He concluded a treaty with them on the terms stated in the letter of Hajjáj.* Then
- 5.d *he proceeded to the fortified town of Ishbhá. It was in the month of Muharram 93 that he arrived in the vicinity of that town. The fortress was strong and impregnable, and its inmates were quite ready for a fight, and had made a deep moat round it. They had called the Channás and other country people living in the shelter in the fort. Muhammad Kásim commenced warfare by laying siege to the fort. The people held out for a week, during which time they were wavering what to do.* *But after that period, they were obliged to*
- 5.b.v *surrender and beg for mercy.* *Those who submitted fixed a tribute on themselves* and
- 5.c.ii *opened the gate of the fort, and Muhammad Kásim, accompanied by his trustworthy staff, entered the fort and handed over the keys to some of his confidential and faithful officers, and appointed an honest man to administer the fort. He wrote a report to Hajjáj about his conquering that fort and* *giving pardon to, and sparing the lives of, the warlike tribe of*
- 5.b.v *Channás,*²³⁵

Course of action

'Muhammad Kásim then encamped on the bank of the Mehrán. From there he despatched an embassy under one of the Syrian noblemen, and a native of Debal who having been at first a prisoner had subsequently received the honour of Islám at the hands of Muhammad Kásim. This native gentleman was called upon to serve as an interpreter to the Syrian, and explain the Syrian's speech to Dáhar, and Dáhar's to the Syrian. 'When you commence

3.h *delivering the message,*' said Muhammad Kásim to the Debalese convert, *'do it in a*

meeting of respectable men and nobles of the place, and call for a decisive reply, as is ordered by Hajjáj in his letter.'''²³⁶

²³⁵ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 104-105

²³⁶ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 108.

Course of action – Conversation between Muhammad Aláfi and Dahir.

- 4.a.ii “It is not a right step to allow their forces to cross over. All of us are against it; because the Arab army consists of a very large number of warlike cavaliers and brave soldiers, who will make a firm stand to maintain their prestige and fame, and sacrifice their dear lives in the ‘ways’ and for the pleasures of God. They will earnestly pray to God, the great and glorious One, for his kindness, expecting to go to the everlasting gardens of paradise by means of this religious war and martyrdom. They will not let themselves be killed till they have wreaked vengeance on us. When they come prepared to fight they will never retreat or turn back till they one and all become the food of the blood-thirsty sword. [...]”²³⁷
- 3.g
- 4.a.i

Course of action – Dahir ignores advice

- 3.h “I heard with my own ears and understood clearly what Aláfi said to Dáhar, directly, by way of advice, and what arguments he urged in support of the usefulness of his plan. Dáhar’s reply to him was: ‘Whatever suggestion springs from your mind cannot but be one of our good and well-being. But my mind suggests that I should give Muhammad Kásim the choice with regard to crossing the river, lest it be imagined by him that we are in perplexity and have become very weak and powerless.’”²³⁸

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

- 4.b.iii ‘He (Kásim) sent for Mokah Basayeh, and deputed him, with some of his own trustworthy men to choose a place from where to cross the river; and also to secure some boats for the purpose. “Arrange in such a way,” said he, “that we may not have any difficulty in passing over these waters of the Mehran, or be troubled, in the passage, by the enemy standing on the opposite side of the river. I am determined not to take the army across until I receive the orders of Hajjāj in reply to my letters.” Accordingly he halted there for some days and wrote a detailed report on the subject. He was soon favoured with a reply.

Letter from the great and honourable Hajjāj son of Yusif to the great and honourable Amir, the pillar of faith, Muhammad Kásim. “After compliments let it be known to you with references to what you have written about crossing the Mehran and fighting with Raī Dahar, that I indeed entertain hopes that with the Divine help you will be victorious and successful and your enemy Dahar will be defeated and vanquished. When you stand face to

²³⁷ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 110.

²³⁸ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 111.

3.f *face with your enemy, I trust that, by the grace of God, no bolt of evil-eye will smite any of you from the revolving skies, for at all the five times of prayer, and on every occasion, whether I am in company or alone, I regularly pray for you, and succor you with my blessings, in order that the great God may give you victory over the unbelievers and may make your enemies vanquished and put them to flight, that whatever has been ordained by destiny may favourably come to pass, and that should happen which is the best and the most desirable. With humility and supplication I always pray to the august Court of the great God, saying: 'O Lord, you are the Sovereign, besides whom there is no other master of ruler. Grant power and grandeur to the army of Islam in every way, and give it your help and make it successful.' So I have full hopes that, by the grace of God, you will gain your object.* Cross the river in any way feasible, then supplicate the help of God, and find shelter in His kindness and mercy. The result will be that your plans will enable you to get through all difficulties.

4.a.i *When you array yourselves against the enemy, be steadfast in seeking the Divine pleasure that our object may be fulfilled. In any way you can, do cross the river.*

3.f *Show your bravery and heroism, and success and victory will attend you, and Divine power and protection will help you.* With the assistance of angels, the swords of Mussalmans will naturally overpower the unbelievers. The great and glorious God will make those beings of unclean and wicked nature food for the swords and lances of the angels and the faithful. The doors of Divine wrath are open against them. They will be visited by heavy vengeance and will receive a severe flagellation.

3.a *When you wish to cross the river, first examine carefully the crossing-places on the banks. Secure such places on other streams and lakes (also).*

5²³⁹ *Let those of the natives of the place, who live in boats, be won over by solemn promises, and recognize their services in a deserving manner. After these arrangements are made, you may cross the river,* and, when you have crossed it, and the river is behind your back, be watchful lest the enemy, on the other side of the river, do your harm. When you approach their cities and towns and forts, no one will dare to stand against you or to fight with you. If any one dare to face you, he will surely bring ruin upon his own precious life.

3.f *If the enemy take shelter in some fort, considering themselves quite safe therein, the great and glorious God will, when you come in sight, give you help and victory, and you will take it. Your sword will cause so much fright and terror in their hearts, that their*

²³⁹ These solumn promises and arrangements could refer to sections 5.c.i, 5.c.ii or 5.d. Although it is not specified in the text, the promises could refer to peace and reconciliation or to a request a guarantee of safety and a truce. The arrangements could refer to any form of payment.

3.a *weapons will be of no avail to them, and you will completely overpower them, and gain victory over them.* When they run away, take possession of their kit and treasures, but be on your guard against their plots and artful tricks, and be not self-conceited and self-sufficient.

5.a *If any one of them is inclined to the path of Islam and receives the honour of Islam, treat him kindly and teach him the principles of the Faith.* Behave in such a way that no enemy of the true faith is left in that country. You will not be held responsible by God for shedding their blood. Make a habit of reciting the following prayer which is acceptable to God: - 'In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. O God we ask thy help, because thou art God, the living and the self-subsisting. Neither slumber nor sleep seizeth thee. To thee belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with thee, but through thy good pleasure! Thou knoweth that which is past and that which is to come to us. And we cannot comprehend anything of thy knowledge, but so far as thou pleasest. Thy throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto thee. Thou art the high, the mighty, and we ask thy help because thou art the only God, the eternal God. Thou begettest not, neither art thou begotten : and there is no one like unto thee. Through thy favour, who art the beneficent, the maintainer of men, the creator of men, the conquerer of men, the powerful over men, and from thee, is to be expected goodness and kindness. Thy words are perfect. We shall enjoy thy favour only when we feel grateful for thy kindness, acquire the knowledge of thy truth and act up to thy pleasure and satisfaction. Now peace be on you, and God's mercy and His blessings. Written in the year 93.'²⁴⁰

Correspondence - High council to Muhammad Qāsim

3.f *“In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. This is a letter from the high council (majlis) to Muhammad Kāsim. After the communications of compliments, let it be known to you that your enemies have vanity in their heads. Never fear them, for victory is reserved for you. I give you discretion to make peace if an amicable settlement is made on*

5.c.ii *favourable terms after solemn promises, and tribute is sent to the treasury of the Khalifah.*

3.h *As for the permission to cross the river and to fight with Dahar, you have already been informed that you may cross it from that point where you expect the least trouble and loss to your men. Or rather draw a sketch map on paper showing the length and breadth of the portion of the river within about 4 leagues above and below the (various) crossing-points, which should also be marked on the bank on which they are situated. I may then select one*

²⁴⁰ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 112-114.

point and you must cross the river from there, so that no harm may be done to your troops.”²⁴¹

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

1.b ‘Hajjāj, after hearing the above news, sent 2,000 selected horses to Muhammad Kāsim, and wrote the following letter to him. “From Hajjāj son of Yusif to Muhammad Kāsim. I learn from your letter as well as from a person who has come from those parts that some of the horses have died and the rest are doing well. **So I send you 2,000 other horses. You must distribute these among those of your trustworthy men and warriors and officers of the army, who are deserving, and among those men who are fit for riding and can take proper care of their horses.** Marshal your army in such a manner that with their strength and formidable appearance you may be able to subdue your enemy. But the best advice to you, for subduing the infidels, is that no one depending upon his own wishes is likely to gain his object or have his prayer granted. For the great God has said: “Shall man have whatever he wisheth for? The life to come and the present life are God’s” And I did not undertake this business myself till God set me on these infidels, for their day is done and good fortune has turned its face from them. The spiritual path, the religious law and the true faith have at last made their appearance, and the banner of piety has raised its head. You must manage anyhow, to collect boats to form a bridge over the river, in order to cross it without difficulty. Let the kafirs know all this though they will much dislike it.”²⁴²

Correspondence – Muhammad Qāsim to al-Ḥajjāj

3.c ‘When Muhammad Kāsim got this letter, and the horses also arrived he wrote a reply giving fresh local news. **Among other things, he requested to be spilled with something sour or acid. “I shall be much obliged,” write he, “by your sending a little vinegar from your own stores or securing it in any other way, as my men badly require it, because owing to their eating disagreeable kinds of food out of season, the humours of their bodies are disturbed and they get unwell.”** On receiving this letter, Hajjāj ordered some dressed cotton to be soaked in vinegar and dried. This was done repeatedly, till the cotton had taken up a good quantity of vinegar. It was, then, sewn in bales and brought to the Arab camp.²⁴³

²⁴¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 114-115.

²⁴² *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 119.

²⁴³ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 120.

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘It is related by Khwah Imam Ibrahim, the writer of this part of the history, that while Muhammad Kāsīm was passing his time inactively on the western bank of the Mehran, Hajjāj despatched a letter to him appointing him his deputy with plenary powers and telling him angrily. “I am dissatisfied with you and am surprised at your lenient policy. I

really cannot understand why you should be so much bent upon showing mercy to the people. When you have tied an enemy and found him to be your opponent and ill-wisher,

you should not be so kind to him. You should exercise proper discretion and discrimination and should not consider high and low equal or on the same footing; for,

that will show a weakness of reason and sense, and the enemy will attribute it to languor and indolence. I swear by my soul and by my head, that the great and glorious God has

4.a.iv

given you good counsels to follow and placed reason in you to guide you. It shows deficiency of courage to be lenient and merciful to each and all. Tell this to your officers

and to your friends, who are attached to you. It is strange that after gaining the upper hand and subduing the enemy, you have so long remained inactive and have been showing

mercy to them. It is such a long time since you have been sitting in one place just opposite your enemy. If they are straightforward and are really anxious for mercy and have no

treachery in their hearts, let them desist from fighting. Then only practical means will be found to meet the expenditure of the war, and this prolonged enterprise will come to an

end. I cannot but feel surprise at the weakness and indiscreetness of your policy. People will believe that you are trying to bring about peace and they will attribute your present

conduct to lethargy and want of judgement. In this way no object will be gained. You

ought not to give up the ways of imperialism and strong handed domination, and you should exercise discretion and inspire awe in order to subdue the enemy completely. You

should give effect to every just resolution, and make your army show bravery as well as patience. Be a speaker of truth. Do not be negligent. Remember the great God, and obey

His commands with your heart and soul. Now that you have become well acquainted with the course of the river Mehran, you should cross it at the place called Bet, in as much as

about that place the river is small in breadth, and its banks are suitable for taking over the horses and as there is a small island between the two waters you can cross gradually. Take

all the necessary precautions for your own protection and safety. Make a bridge of boats.

3.f

At the time of battle, be constantly asking the help of God, and consider the victory of the king, (may his power be great) near and with you. If you behave vigorously and inspire

terror, the subjects as well as the military will pay obeisance to you to save their lives and

will take your side.”²⁴⁴

Course of action

‘It is related by historians that, when Muhammad Kásim crossed the river, he sent round a crier, proclaiming: “O army of Islam these waters of the Mehran will be behind your

1.f

backs, and the army of infidels will come in your front. Whoever wishes to return, let him go back even from this spot. If, after the coming up of the enemy and the commencement of battle, he turns his face, the soldiers will be disheartened, and they will run away, and

4.a.i

our enemy will then be more pressing and powerful. Whoever so turns his face will incur disgrace, and die the death of a coward, and be liable to the torture of the next world.”

On hearing the proclamation, no one returned except 3 persons, - one who said that he had a daughter at home and there was no other person to support her; another, who said that he had an old mother, who had no other relation to bury her, when she died; and a third, who said that he had a heavy debt on him and there was none lese to discharge it. Muhammad Kásim permitted them to go away. The rest of the people remained with him unanimously.²⁴⁵

Course of action

5.b.v

‘After that event, Muhammad Kásim gave him pardon, and delivered to him Hajjáj’s letter

2.b.i

promising him governorship. Thenceforth he used to go to different rulers of Hindustán to

5.c.ii

induce them to accept the faith of Islám, and to give tribute. In this way, by giving them excellent hopes and promises, he made them submit, and pay allegiance to Muhammad Kásim. If any of them wanted written covenants, he procured the same for them. Thus all of them were completely won over by him. Tátars son of Bajar Salman, Sarband, King of Kanúj, Mókah, the ruler of Katab, and Kabaiz son of Táhar, had already received the honour of Islám and become tributaries before Muhammad Aláfi went to Multan.²⁴⁶

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qásim

‘Muhammad Kásim now wrote a letter to Hajjáj about the state of affairs (in Sind) informing him that the army of Islám had crossed the Mehrán and had met Dáhar, the infidel, on a battle field and that the unbelievers had been put to flight. He ended his letter with (the usual compliments. (The following reply was received): - ‘My dear son Imáduddin Muhammad Kásim. I have acquainted myself with the contents of your letter. What you have

²⁴⁴ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 120-121.

²⁴⁵ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 126.

²⁴⁶ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 128.

done is radically thoroughgoing. *It is wholly in harmony with the commandment of God and the grace of the Merciful, being for you, in this enterprise and (specially) in all your difficulties, to carefully offer your prayers at the 5 stated times to the august court of God, the great and the glorious, and every time you praise God's greatness (at the commencement of your orisons) or read passages from the Koran during them, and in every posture, whether standing or bending or touching the ground with your forehead or sitting, you must ask His help with humility and contrition. Keep your tongue regularly trained in the remembrance of God, that your affairs may be settled satisfactorily. Because without the divine kindness no person can possibly secure power and glory, and when you repose trust and confidence in the grace and goodness of the Great One, your hopes will be fulfilled and success and victory will come to you and help you.* May the Great God's will be done. In the writing of Humrán '’,²⁴⁷

Correspondence - Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

*'That same day a letter was received from Hajjāj, in which it was said: "Be at Dahar wherever he may be, and whithersoever, he may go, and be assured that with the grace of God victory is yours and the infidels are destined to be defeated and vanquished."*²⁴⁸

Course of action

*"When Dāhar arrived at the battle field, Muhammad Kāsim encouraged the Mussalmmans and urged them to the fight: "O people of Arabia," said he, "today is the day of trial. Try your best in the cause and for the sake of Islām, and use all your energy and zeal. Depend for protection and strength on the divine help and Grace so that you may drive away the infidels and their kingdom may devolve upon you, and their wealth and country come into your possession. If you remain quiescent, or waver in your mind, or become broken-hearted, or allow weakness and infirmity to prevail on you, then they will overpower you and kill all of you, not leaving a single one of you alive and (remember above all, that) if you turn your faces from the káfirs, your souls will be in hell, and your ancestors will be ashamed of you."*²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 129.

²⁴⁸ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 130.

²⁴⁹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 135.

Course of action

3.d *‘That day Ubaid son of Atab left the side of Muhammad Aláfi, and came to Muhammad Kásim and communicated to him the following information. “Muhammad Aláfi” said he, “has told Dáhar that the battalion of Arabs, that has crossed the lake is the flower of the army of Islám and is its best cavalry. Dáhar has therefore directed his forces to cross over and so all the brave warriors and armed men are preparing to cross the lake.” On getting this information, Muhammad Kásim ordered his best troops to hasten to cross the intervening lake. These, accordingly, who were all warlike horsemen and brave soldiers came down to the lake, leaving the centre and the body guard of chief men with Muhammad Kásim who followed with Mókah Basáyeh. Thus they marched on against the enemy. After crossing the lake, Muhammad Kásim put himself in the centre of the army, with Muhriz son of Sábit, and ordered Jahm son of Zajr Jaafi to take the right wing and, Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí to take the left. Atan son of Málík Kaisí was to lead the van, and Banánah son of Khantilah Kilabí the rear.’²⁵⁰*

3.e

Course of action

3.e *‘When Muhammad Kásim on seeing the enemy approaching issued forth, he appointed Khantalah Kilábí to the charge of the right wing, and Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí to that of the left and directed Abasobir Hamadán to take up his position with the standards in front of the elephants (of the enemy). (At the same time) Hudail son of Salmán Azdí and Zaid son of Jolaidí Azdí with a number of horsemen from Numailah and Masúd son of Shaarí Kalbí and Muharik son of Kaab Rastí were posted in front of the centre. The van was to come into action, Muhammad son of Zaif Abdí and Bashar son of Atiyah with their companions joining it on one side and Maasab son of Abdurrahmán Sakifí and Hazím son of Urwah Madaní on the other. Muhammad Kásim divided his select cavalry (also) into the centre, the right wing, and the left. Those who remained, stood behind the army.’²⁵¹*

Course of action

4.a.i *‘Muhammad Kásim now addressed his troops in the following words – “O men of Arabia, these crowds of Kafirs have come prepared to fight with us. You must exert yourselves as much as possible, for they will fight furiously for the sake of their wealth, families, houses, domestics and property. Ride against them with the assistance of the Great God. Under the*

²⁵⁰ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 136.

²⁵¹ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 137-138.

3.f *divine protection and with the divine help we hope to make them all the food of our sharp*
and well-tempered swords, and to defeat and subdue them, dispossess them of their
 3.g *property and families, 'and obtain large spoils.'* Be steadfast and waver not. Deck
 4.a.i *yourselves with silent perseverance.* Stick to your posts, and keep your respective positions
 3.e *in the ranks, and see to it that none of you goes from the centre to the right wing or from the*
right wing to the left wing to render individual help. Stand in your proper places, and
remember that the great and glorious God makes the end of the pious happy. Be always
 repeating the holy word of God (the Koran) and be saying 'There is no protection or power,
 3.c *but with God, the Great, the Powerful.'* He then ordered the water-bearers to fill their
leather bags, and go along every line giving water to the men, that they might not move
from their places in search of it. At this juncture Abu Baker, son of Wail and the men of the
 Bani Tamim family came up to him and said: - The army of the infidels appears to be a
 veritable calamity, so numerous is it. It has already its weapons and instruments of war in
 perfect order, and being quite ready for battle, it is quite jubilant, and is pressing forward to
 meet you and to fight. ”

Hearing this, Muhammad Kásim turned his face to them and said: - “O children of Tamim,

O dear friends, the enemy has come forth and is facing us. He is ready for the battle. Do you
 3.f/ now exert yourselves with your whole might and your utmost energy, and you will not fail.”
 4.a.i He thus encouraged them, and they stood ready to fight, and brave warriors and martial
 heroes in every line shouted to one another, and proceeded to battle.²⁵²

Course of action

‘The narrators of historical tales have related, that when Muhammad Kásim moved his rank
 5.b.v and file, a few men of the infidels came out all of a sudden and asked for mercy. On
 Muhammad Kásim promising it, they said: “O just governor we have renounced our own
 faith, and have come into the fold of Islám. Give us a select detachment of your cavalry that
 we may take it behind the army of Dáhar unawares, and seeing your men coming suddenly
 from that side, they will be frightened and will disperse. When you find them wavering,
 3.d order the forces of Islám to press the attack from all sides; and our mind suggests that
 thereby your sword will overawe these infidels and they will be over-powered.’ Without
 loss of time, Muhammad Kásim selected a party of cavaliers and appointed Marwán son of
 Ashham Yamaní and Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí their leaders, and ordered them, with two

²⁵² Kūfi, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 138-139.

standards, to the rear of the Sind forces. The infidels had no knowledge whatever of this move. As soon as the army of Islám raised their warcry of 'God is great,' as was their custom in religious wars, some of the káfirs lost their hearts and turned their faces in order to run away. Terror and awe struck the whole army of Dáhar, and in the confusion that followed, their ranks wavered. Muhammad Kásim then called out to his men in a loud voice, and said: 'Hark, O arab host, make an onset at once as there is division in the camp of the káfirs now,' and forthwith the army of Islám poured in upon them from the front and the rear, from the right and the left. Muhammad Kásim continued to incite his men to fight bravely. 'To-day', said he, 'Is the day to kill and to be killed; so try your best,' and the battle went on, till there were heaps of infidels killed.²⁵⁴

Course of action

The relaters of historical tales have stated, on the authority of Rámsiah Brahmin, that among the Mussalmans there was a man called Shujáa Habashí (Abyssinian). His bravery was unbounded, and in the field of battle he had already worked miracles. He now came before Muhammad Kásim, and solemnly swore: "I shall not eat or drink till I have faced Dáhar and wounded his elephant. As long as my soul is in my body I shall fight on till I become a martyr." It was on Thursday, the 10th of the sacred month of Ramazán 93, that Dáhar came forth seated on a white elephant and ready for battle. The Abyssinian who was on a black horse, then advanced and engaged in fight. Rái Dáhar was informed that the man was comi g to have a combat with him, and Rái Dáhar turned towards him and drove his elephant at him. The Abyssinian too spurred his horse and brought it before the elephant. But the animal frightened at the sight of the elephant, tried to turn aside. The Abyssinian then immediately took off his turban, and tried the horse's eyes with it, and rushing on the elephant, wounded its trunk with a single blow. Rái Dáhar placed a bifurcated arrow of the shape of scissors on his bow string, and with his usual firmness and skill discharged it at the Abyssinian, and it sheered off the Abyssinian's head from his neck, his body still remaining on the horse. Dáhar then shouted out: I have smitten the Abyssinian and killed him."²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Here, the opposing army did turn their faces from the Arab army, which caused confusion in Dahir's army.

²⁵⁴ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 140.

²⁵⁵ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 141-142.

Course of action

'Thus the infidels made a rush on the Arabs from all sides, and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islam became irresolute, and their lines were broken up in great confusion. It was generally believed that the Arabs were defeated and put to flight, and men were struck dumb and overawed. Muhammad Kásim was then so much perplexed that he

2.b.iii

called out to his boy water-bearer: - "Give me a little water to drink." He drank water and

then returned, and loudly shouted: "Here am I, your commander Muhammad Kásim.

Whither are you running away. Up with your shields and on to the attack, that the infidels

1.e

may be killed and victory be ours." He then rallied all the forces. Mokah Basayeh now

came to his presence, and with all his men dismounted and stood on foot before him.

Muhammad Kásim called out at the top of his voice: "Where are Hazim son of Umar, Madani, and Kubli Wahali, and Musib son of Abdurrahman, and Bananah son of Khantilah Kilabi and Aos son of Ayyah and Abu Fiddah and Muhammad son of Ziyad Abdi and Tamim son of Zaid Kaisi? Where are my comrades and kinsmen and my swordsmen, my guards and

3.e

my lancers? All of you are the prop and support of your respective armies. Keep your

3.f

columns ready in their position in their allotted positions. Do not waver or lose resolution;

encourage your men." Then Muhammad Kásim repeated the name of the great and

glorious God and ordered an assault.²⁵⁶

Course of action

'Muhammad Kásim now looked around and saw Jaish son of Akbí Ámir (who was a son of Abdul Kais) standing before him. To him he said: 'o son of Akbí Ámir call our loudly to your friends and say that Rái Dáhar cannot yet be found. Take care lest he be in ambush somewhere. Be therefore on the alert.' Jais replied: "My mind tells me that Dáhar is killed." But Muhammad Kásim was still anxious, and went on asking everybody as to what he knew about Dáhar who was not visible. Soon afterwards a Brahmin came and asked for

5.b.v

quarter²⁵⁷, and said: "If the just commander pardons me with my children and followers, I

shall point out the spot where Dáhar has been killed.'" Some trustworthy men and friends

(of Muhammad Kásim) went with him, and pulled out Dáhar's body from the mud. They could still smell the sweet scent of musk and otto of roses emanating from it. The head was severed and fixed on a lance, and brought to Muhammad Kásim who enquired if anyone could identify it, and ordered the two maid-servants who had been with Dáhar in the litter

²⁵⁶ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 142.

²⁵⁷ The term quarter was used in warfare to refer to the process of taking someone prisoner. To ask for quarter therefore means to ask to be taken prisoner.

and who had since been captured, to be brought before him; and these identified the head.

- 5.b.v Muhammad Kásim thereupon gave pardon to and set at liberty the Brahmin and 300 others
who were his relations, followers and dependents. When Muhammad Kásim saw Dáhars
head, he praised the great God, and offered thanks by performing genuflexions. He then
5.b.ii issued a mandate to the effect that all the prisoners of war should be put to death. All the
artisans and merchants, however were pardoned by him and allowed to continue to live in
5.b.v their native land.²⁵⁸

Course of action

- 1.f/3.f ‘Umar son of Mughairah Kilábí is said to have related that when prior to its departure the
Arab army was arrayed before Hajjáj son of Yúsif, the latter reviewed every line, and
encouraged the soldiers, and when he came to Amrú son of Khalid, said: ‘O Amrú, I ask
Muhammad Kásim and your other friends here to be witnesses to the deeds you would
perform. Let us see whether you do what you have said you will.’ The tradition says that on
the day when Amrú encountered Dáhar in the battle-field, he called Muhammad Kásim to
bear witness and instantly with a blow wounded the elephant, and it was he who cleft
Dáhar’s head into two halves. Subsequently when this same Amrú came to Irák and
presented Dáhar’s head to Hajjáj, he made a bow, and said: ‘May the just governor live
long in prosperity. You had asked the commander Muhammad Kásim to be a witness to my
deeds.’ ‘Aye,’ said Hajjáj ‘tell us what you have done.’ [...].²⁵⁹

Course of action

- 3.f ‘It is related by old men in Sind that when, with heavenly help and divine assistance, the
Arabs became victorious, and the infidels were defeated, Muhammad Kásim wrote the
following letter to Hajjáj son of Yusif describing the victory gained by him and giving
particulars in connection with it: - ‘To Hajjáj son of Yusif, the governor of Irak and Hind.
After many compliments and respects, Muhammad Kásim begs to state that the glorious and
omnipotent king, of holy names, has, with His universal grace and liberal kindness,
vouchsafed victory and success to the army of Islam, after brave warriors and fighting
heroes of both sides sacrificed themselves on sharp and shining swords. We have
overpowered and defeated Dáhar and his forces, with his mad elephants and infidel
horsemen, who were entirely covered with mail and weapons. Their elephants, horses,
wearing stuffs, slaves and cattle have all come into our possession, and the usual fifth part

²⁵⁸ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 144-145.

²⁵⁹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 145.

of the same has already been sent to the Khalifah's treasury. **We hope that, with the grace of God, the whole kingdom of Hind and Sind will come into our possession and under our sway, as so much has already been done satisfactorily and successfully.** The will of the omnipotent God be done."²⁶⁰

Course of action – Al-Ḥajjāj

Then he said "it is now obligatory on us that every day we should write a letter to Muhammad Kásim, that he may take heart and be encouraged by reading it." Thenceforth he used to correspond with him regularly, **and Muhammad Kásim always acted in accordance with Hajjāj's suggestions and in obedience to his orders.**²⁶¹

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qásim

'The historian relates that when Roar was taken, and the public affairs of the place were settled and Muhammad Kásim's report of his victory came to Hajjāj, the latter wrote the following letter in reply: - "My dear cousin, I have received your life-augmenting letter. On its receipt my gladness and joy knew no bounds. It increased my pride and glory to the highest degree. **It appears from your letter that all the rules made by you for the comfort and convenience of your men are strictly in accordance with religious law. But the way of granting pardon prescribed by the law is different from the one adopted by you, for you go on giving pardon to everybody high and low, without any discretion and without any distinction between a friend and foe. The great God says in the Koran: 'O true believers, when you encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads.'** The above command of the Great God is a great command and must be respected and followed. You should not be so fond of showing mercy, as to nullify the virtue of the act. Henceforth grant pardon to no one of the enemy and spare none of them, or else all will consider you a weakminded man. Concluded with compliments. Written by naiad in the year ninety-three."²⁶²

Course of action

'Muhammad Kásim received Siyakar, in an honourable manner, and poured innumerable favours upon him, and entrusted to him the office of Wazir. By Muhammad Kásim's advice, he became a Mussulman, and thenceforth he became Muhammad Kásim's counsellor, and on all occasions of confidential consultation he used to be with Muhammad Kásim who

²⁶⁰ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 147.

²⁶¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 150.

²⁶² *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 155.

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always sought his advice. In the disposal of political matters and settlement of state affairs, he was always useful to the Arab general. He used to tell him: - “The scheme enunciated by the just Amir is so sensible and expedient that all the kingdoms of Hind will come into his possession. **The laws of government, and the permanent elements of empire of which it is composed will ultimately disarm and subdue all your enemies. It soothes the subjects and tributaries, secures strict obedience to the law laid down by you, dispenses with any necessity for oppression or compulsion in regard to increased taxes or extraordinary contributions, and gratifies your friends and subordinate officers.**”²⁶⁴

Course of action

2.b.i ‘Muhammad Kásim now moved on till he came to the bank of the small channel of Halwai to the East of Brahminabad, calling upon the people of the place to submit and to be enlisted
5.a among the faithful. He proposed to them the alternative of accepting Islam or giving
5.c.ii tribute. If they would not choose either, they were told to prepare for war.²⁶⁵

Course of action

5.c/d ‘When Muhammad Kásim’s siege of Brahminabad was prolonged to 6 months, and when it was known that Jaisiah was at Janesar, four of the leading citizens, heads of mercantile houses residing in the fort of Brahminabad, met at the fort gate called Jarbateri to confer with one another. They said: “The Arab army has proved triumphant over the whole of the country, Dahar is killed, and for the last 6 months we have remained confined within the walls of this fort. We have not strength enough to cope with the Arab general in the battle-field, and there seems no probability of peace or even of a truce. If he continues in this way for a few days more, he will be ultimately victorious, for there is no one anywhere to hear us and to come to our help, and we must give up every hope of succor. There is among us no king to whom we can appeal, and it is impossible for us to fight on any longer against this army. Now, therefore, let us unite in going out of the fort and fighting till we are killed. For, even, if peace is made they will put to death all the men among us who are capable bearing arm; only common folk, the traders the artisans and the cultivators will be spared. (There is yet another alternative.) If we could be sure of our safety, we would prefer to hand over the
5.d fort to him after a solemn covenant is made between us. If we submit to him, he may show
5.b.v us some regard, and we may thus save ourselves through his intervention.” Having

²⁶³ It is interesting that there is a reference to the laws of government here. Especially in relation to the comparison between the Chachnama and al-Māwardī’s Laws of Islamic Governance.

²⁶⁴ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 158.

²⁶⁵ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 158.

(eventually) formed this (latter) resolution, they threw themselves with their families and children on his mercy, and prayed for pardon. Muhammad Kásim granted pardon to them,

- 5.b.v after solemn promises were mutually made. All the other people capable of bearing arms
5.b.i were beheaded and their followers and dependents made prisoners. All prisoners of or
5.b.ii under the age of 30 years were put in chains, and many were killed, while tribute was fixed
5.c.ii on the rest.²⁶⁶

Course of action

‘When the garrison saw that the Arab army had made a rush, they opened the eastern gate and flocked out in flight. The Mussalmans were now completely masters of the place.

- 5.b.v Muhammad Kásim issued an order that none should be killed, except those who offered any
5.b.i opposition or showed fight. Those who were seen with arms were caught and made
prisoners, and brought to Muhammad Kásim with their military weapons and valuables and
with their families and followers. Those who paid homage and asked for mercy were
5.b.v pardoned and left to reside in their houses.²⁶⁷

Course of action

Those of the prisoners, who belonged to the classes of artisans, traders and common folk,

- 5.b.v were let alone, as Muhammad Kásim had extended his pardon to those people. He next
5.b.i came to the place of execution and in his presence ordered all the men belonging to the
military classes to be beheaded with swords. It is said that about 6,000 fighting men were
5.b.v massacred on this occasion; some say 16,000. The rest were pardoned.²⁶⁸

Course of action

‘Muhammad Kásim was very much astonished, and said: - “By my head and soul, these are really good and faithful people. I give them pardon on condition that they find out and

- 5.b.v produce the members of Dahar’s family wherever they may be.”

On this solemn promise being made, the Brahmins produced Ladi from her inner-most private apartments. As for the rest of the people, a tribute was fixed on them under the rules

- 5.c.ii laid down by the holy Prophet of God (may the blessings of God be on him and his

²⁶⁶ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 161.

²⁶⁷ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 162.

²⁶⁸ *Kūfi*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 164.

5.a descendants). *He who received the honour of Islam and become a convert was exempt from*
5.a *slavery as well as tribute and was not injured.* *Those, however, who did not accept the true*
5.c.ii *faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (jizia).* *These latter were divided by him into*
three classes. The first and highest class had to pay 48 dirams of silver in weight per head.
The second or the middle class, had to pay 21 dirams in weight, and the third or the lowest
5.a *class, had to pay 12 dirams in weight only. He then dismissed them with the following*
words: 'I let you go this day. *Those among you who become Mussalmans and come within*
5.c.ii *the fold of Islam shall have their tribute remitted,* *but those who are still inclined to be of*
their own faith, must put with injuries (gazand) and tribute (jizia) to retain the religion of
their fathers and grand-fathers." *Thereupon some resolved to live in their native land, but*
others took to flight in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors, and their horses,
*domestics and other property were taken away from them.*²⁶⁹

Course of action

'He then ordered a census to be taken of all the merchants and artisans. About 1,000 men
from amongst the ordinary public were thus counted out. Muhammad Kásim ordered a
capitation tax of 12 dirams of silver in weight only to be fixed on each of them as they had
already lost their property by plunder. He next appointed headmen and village chiefs to
collect the revenue and charged them with the duty of collecting the tribute from all the
townspeople and villagers, and thus provided them with sufficient means of subsistence and
support. *When the Brahmins saw the consideration shown by the Arab General to the*
headmen, they came to him with a petition (praying that a similar favour be shown to
2.b.vi²⁷⁰ *them), and all the great and chief men of the place testified to the fact that, in the last*
5.b.v *reign, they were much honoured and revered. Muhammad Kásim, therefore, paid them*
proper respect, and issued an order that they be shown the same reverence as before. They
were, thus, in every way, free from trouble and violence. *Muhammad Kásim (also) gave*
every one of them a proper appointment. As he was quite sure, now, that no harm or
mischief would result from them, he conferred on every one of them the same post which he
had held in the reign of Rai Chach. He then called a conference of all the Brahmins in the

²⁶⁹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 164-165.

²⁷⁰ Al-Māwardī only refers to the treatment of monks and not to Brahmins in his works. Nevertheless, it seems as though these brahmins are treated similarly to what is described in Māwardī's section 2.b.vi: *A Muslim may put to death any mushrik combatant he seizes, whether or not he is involved in the fighting. There is a difference of opinion regarding the killing of old persons and monks inhabiting cells and monasteries. One view concerning them is that they are not to be killed unless they fight, as they are covered, like women and children, by treaty [...].* In this case it seems as though the Brahmins are treated in a similar manner. Al-Māwardī, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 60-66.

town, and addressed them as follows: - “In the reign of Dahar, you held responsible posts, and you must be knowing all the people of the city as well as of the country all around. You must inform us which of them are noteworthy and celebrated and deserve kindness and patronage at our hands: so that we may show proper favour to them, and make grants to them. As I have come your faithfulness and sincerity, I confirm you in your previous posts. The management of all the affairs of State, and its administration, I leave in your able hands, and this (right) I grant (also) to your children and descendants hereditarily, and you need fear no alteration or cancellation of the order thus issued.”²⁷¹

Course of action

5.c.ii ‘The country people now came to Muhammad Kásim and agreed to pay the tribute.’ They enquired from him as to what amount they had to pay to Government, and what to the Brahmins whom the Arab commander had appointed to collect the revenue. Muhammad Kásim then counselled his officers, telling them: “You should behave honestly towards the king as well as towards the people. When you have to divide among many sharers, divide justly and equally. Tax every person according to his means and circumstances. You should co-operate with one another, and never let disagreement creep among you, so that your country may not be devastated.” Then, Muhammad Kásim spoke words of comfort to every one of them separately, and told them all: “Be of good cheer, and do not entertain any anxiety, or fear of (arbitrary) punishment on my part. I am not going to compel you to pass a bond or written document; but be paying regularly, of your own accord, the tribute fixed on you. I shall try to shew you favour, and disregard your little failings. If any of you has any request to make, let him make it openly, that I may hear it and give a proper reply to it, and gratify the wishes of each.”²⁷²

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qásim

‘Muhammad Kásim wrote about this to Hajjāj, and in a few days he received a reply, which ran as follows: — “I have received my dear cousin Muhammad Kásim’s letter, and have become acquainted with its contents. With regard to the request of the chiefs of Brahminabad about the building of Budh temples, and toleration in religious matters, I do not see (when they have done homage to us by placing their heads in the yoke of submission, and have undertaken to pay the fixed tribute for the Khalifah and guaranteed

²⁷¹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 165-166.

²⁷² In his chapter *The Imposition of the Jizyah and the Kharaj* al-Māwardī mentions that: ‘the Imam, [...], should try to harmonise between the different amounts, or to exact an amount in accordance with people’s means’. *Al-Māwardī*, The Laws of Islamic Governance, tr. Yate, 210.

²⁷³ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 167.

its payment), what further rights we have over them beyond the usual tax. Because after they have become zimmi (protected subjects) we have no right whatever to interfere with their lives or their property. Do, therefore, permit them to build the temples of those they worship. No one is prohibited from or punished for following his own religion, and let no one prevent them from doing so, so that they may live happy in their own homes”,²⁷⁴

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘When Muhammad Kāsim had disposed of the work of settling the affairs of Brahminanad and the Luhanahs, and of fixing a punitive tribute on the Jats, he wrote to Ḥajjāj son of Yusif of his proceedings. He said that he was writing from his camp higher up the river of Halwai near Brahminabad, and gave him detailed information as to the subjugation of Sind. In due course of time Ḥajjāj sent the following reply: “O my cousin Muhammad Kāsim, praise and credit is due to you for all that you have done or tried to do in maintaining your position as commander of the army, in showing favour and courtesy to the people in general, in improving their condition and in satisfactorily settling the State affairs. What you have done in fixing assessments on each Mauza, and in encouraging every class of people to follow the path of law in their worldly business, cannot but conduce to the permanency of the kingdom and to the systematic administration of the country. You should not now stick to that city (Brahminabad) any longer. The props of the kingdom of Hind and Sind are the towns of Alor and Multan. Those two cities are the capitals of kings, and, in them, lie the external and internal treasures of kings. Select that town for your residence which is the best and the most pleasant, so that, from it, you may command the entire kingdom of Hind and Sind.

5.b.i *Whoever refuses to submit to the power of Islam, let him be killed. The great God will help you in this cause. It should be your anxiety to extend your conquests from the country of Hind to the limits of China. I have appointed Amir Katabiah son of Muslim Kuraishi, and send him to you with fresh recruits. Hand over all your hostages to his charge. Arrange in such a way, O my uncle’s son, that your name may be widely known, and your enemies be subdued and mortified. The great God’s will be done.”*

3.h *Muhammad Kāsim perused Ḥajjāj’s letters, (carefully) on receiving them. He had written: “O Muhammad Kāsim, be always consulting me by means of letters; that is the essence of cleverness. Owing to the long (intervening) distance I cannot know everything so well as I should. You should try to induce the people to submit, and to obey. Appoint four of the chief men of the town to carry on the administrative affairs of the country, and issue an immediate*

²⁷⁴ Kūfī, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 168-169

and absolute order to that effect.”²⁷⁵

Correspondence Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘He sent a report of all these matters, and when Hajjāj came to know the smooth working of the administration he wrote a reply as follows: “My distinct orders are that all those who

5.b.i are fighting men (ahl harb) should be assassinated, and their sons and daughters

5.b.v imprisoned and retained as hostages. Spare those whose submission will be useful in the

5.c.ii end, and those in whose lands streams of fresh and limpid water flow. Let tributes and

taxes be fixed on them. As for the merchants and artizans, let them have light burdens.

Those who know the work of building houses and cultivating land, let them carry on their callings freely and diligently. Show kindness and leniency to them in revenue matters. Take only one-tenth on the property and land-produce of those who receive the honour of Islam: while those who remain in their own religion should be required to pay to the officers the usual tax from the income of their handicraft or cultivation.”²⁷⁶

Course of action

‘When the army of Fate issues forth suddenly from the ambush of mystery, some kings, with its assistance, secure a royal crown and throne, while others, by the vicissitudes of time and the revolutions of fortune, are defeated and isolated. One should not count upon an ancient kingdom or upon a new rulership. It will fall into his possession to whom destiny gives it. We, therefore, intend to come to you to pay our respects and, trusting in your justice and kindness, to place the collar of submission and allegiance on our necks. We are ready to deliver the fort to the faithful officers of the just commander, in the hope that you will pardon us and show us mercy and save from the depredations of your army. This ancient kingdom has come down to us from Rāi Dāhar as an important legacy. As long as he was living, we tried our best to take care of it and to watch over it. Now, that Dāhar is no more and his son Fōfi has also run away, subordination to you is welcome to us, and we shall be happy in it.” Muhammad Kāsim said : “I never sent any proposal to

2.b.i you, nor did I send any messenger to you. You have all had recourse to me, of your own

5.b.v accord, for pardon and protection. You must, therefore, make a solemn promise to

5.d withdraw entirely from warfare, if you are sincere in your intentions and are really inclined to render allegiance to us. Unless you come out and satisfy me by making a solemn promise, the enmity between you and us will not cease, and hereafter, I shall not

²⁷⁵ Kūfi, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 171-172.

²⁷⁶ Kūfi, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 173-174.

hear or accept your excuses, nor pardon you, and in that case, you should not consider yourselves safe from injury or harm at the hands of my troops.”²⁷⁷

Correspondence – Al-Ḥajjāj to Muhammad Qāsim

‘It is related by Abul Hasan Hamadani (as stated by Huzaim son of Amru) that on the day the idol-house was discovered and the treasure secured, a letter was received from Ḥajjāj Yusif, which ran as follows: “O my cousin, at the time of sending out that expedition under you, I had pledged my word with Khalifah Walid son of Abdulmalik son of Marwan, and given a guarantee that whatever amount of money, issued from the treasury of the Khalifa, was spent on the preparation of the expedition, &c., would be replaced by me with double the amount. Now on enquiry from the officers of the Khalifa’s treasury, I learn that 60,000 dirams of silver have been sent to you for expenditure of the expedition; and what you have, up to this day, paid back, either in cash or kind, together with the rich stuffs, has been taken down in detail and totalled to. It amounts to 1,20,000 dirams and 20,000 dirams besides, and all this has been sent to the royal treasury. Now you should build mosques and pulpits wherever you find a permanent village or a town or a celebrated city, and order that Friday orations be delivered and coins struck in the name of the Khalifah. You have raised your troops on a very auspicious day and hour; so be sure, to whichever part of the country of the infidels you may turn your face, you will conquer it.”²⁷⁸

4.a.ii

Course of action

‘The next day when the king of stars made his appearance from behind the curtain of night, a camelman bearing a letter from the capital of the Khalīfahs arrived. Muhammad son of Alí, and Abdul Hasan Humadání relate that at the time of Rai Dáhar’s death, two of his virgin daughters had been captured in his seraglio. Muhammad Kásim sent them in charge of some Abyssinian servants to the holy city of Baghdád. The Khalīfah ordered them to be taken into his seraglio, in order that they might take rest and be comforted for some days, and be in a fit condition to be admitted into his bed-chamber. After some time the Khalīfah remembered them, and ordered that both, of them be brought to him at night. When they came, Walid son of Abdul Malik required his interpreter to make the usual enquiries, and to ask them as to which of them was the elder, so that one of them might be kept back and taken care of till her sister’s turn was over. The interpreter first asked their names. The elder of them said, “My name is Súrījdew,” and the younger said “My name is Pirmaldew.” He

²⁷⁷ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 178-179.

²⁷⁸ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 191.

then called the elder sister to himself, and ordered the younger to be removed and taken care of. When he seated the elder near himself, she unveiled her face and the Khalífah of the time looked at it, and became charmed with her perfect beauty. Her blood-sucking blandishments, took away patience from his heart, and he began to take liberties with her, and, catching hold of Súrijdew, pulled her to himself. Súrijdew sprang up and said: “May
the king live long: I, a humble slave, am not fit for your Majesty's bed-room, because the
just amír, Imáduddín Muhammad Kásim kept us both with him for 3 days, and then sent us
to the Khalífah. Perhaps your custom is such, or else this kind of disgrace should not be
6.g permitted by kings.” At that moment his passion for the girl blinded the Khalífah. He lost
patience, and his excess of jealousy did not permit him to make any enquiries. He therefore
immediately sent for pen, ink and paper, and with his own hands wrote an order, directing
that “Muhammad Kásim should, wherever he may be, put himself in raw leather and come
back to the chief seat of the Khalífah.”

4.b.iii

When Muhammad Kásim received this order on his arrival at Udhápur, he at once asked
his men to put him into a fresh hide. This was done and the living parcel was placed in a
box and carried away. Muhammad Kásim thus in a short time breathed his last. After his
death the governors, appointed to different divisions of the country, remained in charge of
them. As for the box, it was taken to the Khalífah. The men who had brought it, at first
requested the chief attendant, to inform Walíd son of Abdul Malik son of Marwán that
Muhammad Kásim had been brought. “Is he dead or alive?” inquired the Khalífah. “He is
dead” was the reply. “He got your order in the town of Udhápur, and immediately he
enclosed himself in raw leather. After two days he entrusted his soul to God and went to the
everlasting abode.”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ *Kūfī*, The Chachnama, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg, 193-195.

Abstract Deutsch

Die Chachnama ist eine im 13. Jahrhundert entstandene Übersetzung eines Textes, der die arabische Eroberung der Region Sindh im Jahr 712 beschreibt. Da das arabische Original damals verloren gegangen ist, weiß niemand, inwieweit die Übersetzung aus dem 13. Jahrhundert dem Originaltext entspricht. Daher stellt sich die Frage, ob die Chachnama als authentische Quelle des achten Jahrhunderts gelten kann. Die bisherige wissenschaftliche Forschung im Bereich Chachnama zur Bestimmung der Authentizität des Werkes konzentrierte darauf, die Gründe für das Verfassen bzw. Übersetzen des Textes zu analysieren. War es das Ziel des Autors einen Bericht über die Eroberung Sindhs zu verfassen oder vielmehr ein Werk der politischen Theorie? Frühere Forschungen haben gezeigt, dass die Übersetzung Parallelen zur indischen politischen Theorien enthält. Das Ziel der vorliegenden Master Thesis ist es zu untersuchen, ob die Teile der Chachnama, die Raum für politische Interpretationen bieten, auf islamischen politischen Theorien basieren. Die empirische Analyse zur Beurteilung basiert auf zwei Thesen. Eine zu überprüfende These ist, dass die Chachnama zu einem großen Teil auf den *Laws of Islamic Governance*, des Autors al-Māwardī basiert. Eine weitere wahrscheinlichere These ist, dass die im Chachnama vertretenen politischen Gedanken der gleichen Tradition wie das Werk von al-Māwardī angehören, aber nicht unbedingt direkt auf seinen Texten beruhen. Basierend auf den Ergebnissen der vorliegenden Untersuchung sind stark ausgeprägte Parallelen zwischen der Chachnama und den *Laws of Islamic Governance* nachweisbar. Der Autor der vorliegenden Arbeit ist daher der Meinung, dass die Chachnama intensiv vom islamischen politischen Gedankengut insbesondere der Gesinnung von al-Māwardī beeinflusst ist.