LITTLE ICE AGE SEVERITY IN SOUTH-ASIA 1600-1700 AD, BEAK UP OF MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ROLE OF MARATHAS IN SOUTH INDIA, SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB AND KALHORAS IN SINDH IN GAINING INDEPENDENCE AND UNIFYING THEIR STATES

By M.H. Panhwar

Introduction.

This article is totally a new kind of study on "The Fall of Mughal Empire". There have been many such studies and theories over more than a century, since Asiatic Society of Bengal published many original Persian histories of India, written since 1000 AD and their translations making raw material available. The causes of fall were analysed by many pro and anti-Muslim rule, as well as many neutral and out standing local and foreign scholars, who showed no prejudice of any kind, but none of studies were convincing, that a mighty empire, militarily as strong as that of Romans would vanish so fast just at the moment, when they had conquered the whole of United India.

This article is a new direction that climate had changed drastically and it was period of severe drought getting to its worst after 1600 AD, reaching its peak in 1660 and continuing with the same severe intensity for nearly a century. This now known as "Little Ice Age", was prevalent world-over with worst consequences for governments, people, animals, and plant life. Studies on this aspect are continuing. The present study, highlights, the frequent famines caused by draught in the era, high taxes to meet government needs, use of force to collect taxes, farmers abandoning land, unorthodox religious reformers teaching monotheism, human equality and unselfish and unbiased service to mankind. Their successors after some decades collect a disgruntled and poor people and finally leading rebellions, which erupted spontaneously like volcanoes all ever South-Asia creating a situation, leading militancy and challenge to the Mughal government, which then collapses, creating many other forces, which also perish under worsening droughts. The article gives the various incidents chronologically to prove that drought caused famines, leading to scattered rebellions first, and then organised ones on vast scale, to bring "Fall of the Mughal Empire".

How climate governs history?

History is history of production, control over means of production, its distribution, and producers, but primary industry ie agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries is controlled by climate and therefore climate controls history. Problem with the world society is that climatologists do not read history and historians are not interested in climate. The two are not able to make a connection that, before the Industrial Revolution, rise and fall of nations was affected primarily by agriculture production and therefore by climate. It is only in the past five

decades, that attention has been given to study of climate of the past twenty thousand years and its co-relation with rise and fall of nations and civilisation. It has in general been fully established on a world -wide scale, (though exceptions exist and cannot be ruled out) that climate is the first and chief factor, which moulds history and even year to year relations between the governments and their populations and the foreign relations.

A few examples worth mentioning in history of Sindh are; domestication of animals 9,500 years ago connected with establishment of pastures on moderate rainfall after some 17,000 years of cold and drought; rise of Mehrgarh, Amri, Kot Diji and Mohenjo Daro or the Indus Valley Civilisation (7000-2000 BC), with rainfall two to three times the present; fall of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, abandonment of cities and resorting to pastoralism due to 1000 years of drought and desiccation after 2000 BC; Achaemenian conquests during drought (600-500 BC); conquest of Pakistan and parts of India by Bactrian Greeks, Scythains, Parthians, Kushans and Sassanians during long drought 200 BC - 400 AD; Buddhist glory in Sindh 400-700 AD, coinciding with wet climate having more rianfall and more production; fall of Brahman Dynasty and rebellions during one hundred and forty years of Arab governors' rule of Sindh during drought period; glorious rule of Habaris and Soomras during "Little Climatic Optimum 900-1200 AD; Mongol devastation of most of Euro-Asian world 1200-1300 AD; fall of Delhi Sultanate due to severe drought 1350-1400 AD, the exemplary peaceful rule of the British during warm period of more rainfall and higher production from 1850-1950; cooling from 1950-1982, causing drought and new crop pests and diseases like stem borer, which ousted Sugdasi rice from Sindh and finally increase in carbon-dioxide in atmosphere causing higher temperatures, but drought in last decade (1996-2004). All above examples are little known and not fully understood by historians, archaeologists and climatologists. Turning to the present study, we have to understand climate from 1480-1850 and its implications on humans and their reaction as applied to South-Asia. The above period is known as Little Ice Age and needs to studied and understood and it will certainly lead to the conclusion that conquest of Sindh by Mughals was outcome of severe drought not only in the Central Asia, but its continuing in the 17th and 18th century brought an end to their rule by eruption of rebellion all over Indo-Pakistan for which historians have put wane on social and religious policies of the rulers and their subjects. These have been deba over the past three centuries by historians for and against both sides, causing communal tensions, quarrels, murder massacres, migrations and hatred which have not ended to this day.

Little Ice Age.

There have been human responses to climate change. Little Ice Age started in 1430 AD in Europe, 1480 AD in Central Asia and soon afterwards in South Asia and ended in 1850. When temperatures fell, there was less rainfall, less snow melt in high hill, less water in the rivers, summer season terminated early by two to four weeks in South Asia winter became longer, pasture was reduced, irrigated agriculture was affected adversely, production was reduced, there was food and feed shortage and finally famines. The worst affected in droughts are deserts with fragile vegetation on already scanty rainfall and their people in the past invariably migrated in small bands or karge hordes to areas of food availability and if in such area of some

kind of food security or slightly short food deficit residents resisted, the immigration, the latter used force, control food production and virtually enslaved food producers, forcibly occupied their cities and towns and agriculture lands and reduced population to serfdom, not caring for their survival and final result was that original inhabitants died of famine and food shortage. When drought ends, these settlers remain in peace for a short period and then new drought brings new invaders, usually form the same desert and sufferings of these settlers begin again. Irrigated valleys of Nile (Egypt), Euphrates (Iraq), Indus and Gangetic valley have witnessed such movement of desert people through many centuries.

In case of South Asia, it is always the Central Asian desert people, who start petty wars among themselves for control of food and feed and usually one powerful tribe overwhelms others and their leaders then move to control the Indus and the Gangetic valleys. Such conquests were made by Bactrian Greeks, Scythian, Parthian, Kushans and Sassanians hordes (200 BC - 400 AD), followed by Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori, who established Delhi Sultanate in 1186. The Delhi Sultanate witnessed attacks of the Central Asian Mongols in thirteenth century, due to drought. Fall of Tughlaq dynasty in 1388 AD, invasion of Taimur in 1399 AD is connected with drought. In the Little ke Age drought (1480-1850 AD), Baber a Mongol by descent, subdued many Central Asian tribes and organised him self to conquer South Asia. He was followed by more Central Asian immigrants soon after Humayun re-conquered Delhi in 1555 AD.

Baber's grand son Akbar has the credit of conquering large part of South Asia within a short period. He used two groups for his conquests. First were immigrant from Central Asia and second were war like Rajput rulers. The South Asian culture had divided people in four castes: Brahmans who were holy, welleducated, acted as government advisors, tax collectors, account keepers, law givers, religious guides and above all called them-selves superior to other castes, Khatris (Rajputs) were warriors, kings and generals, whose job was to fight wars, conquer and rule with assistance of Brahmans. Akbar recruited his armed forces from Central Asians, Jehangir from Central Asian and Iranians and so did Shah Jehan. Akbar also struck a deal with Rajputs to provide soldiers and act a generals and governors retain their states, but accept his suzerainty. Rajputs were share holders in power like the Central Asians. This policy continued even under Aurangzeb, who discouraged further Central Asians' immigration, as already there too were many, whom he could not accommodate as new lands to settle them as mansabdar (general-cum-governors) were no longer available. Due to lack of such administrative job, he recruited mostly Sunis and invaded Shiah rulers of South-India were no longer available.

Since under South Asian caste system warfare was job of Khatris (Rajputs) and they were with Akbar, it was easy to conquer South Asia. The conquered lands were assigned to governors as jagirs, who had to send a fixed amount to the central treasury and maintain army. However in Sindh the tenure of the governors at Bakhar, Sehwan and Thatta was about two years, during which they could not do any development work on improvement of agricultural canals, for which they had to pay in advance and wait for returns some years later, so the agriculture went into rack and ruin. Severity of the Little Ice Age caused reduction in income, but taxes were

heavy varying between forty five to fifty five percent of gross produce. The farmers could not pay such heavy taxes and punishment amounted to flogging, confiscating property, sale of their women and children. This resulted in abandonment of land. Laws were strict, that farmer is fixed to his land. If he runs away he has to be returned to the land. Farmers rebelled and became pastorals. The area from Sukkur to Sehwan on to right bank of the Indus had slopes that water could easily irrigate the whole area from one canal starting near Sukkur to Manchar lake or a series of canals direct from the river at any point, therefore this was richest agriculture area in the whole Sindh and it saw less rebels than area oppose it on the other bank of the river Indus.

On the left bank of the river slopes or contours were not favourable and therefore once canals were neglected, there was desertification and people rebelled and resorted to pastoralism. This was the situation since conquest of Sindh by Arghoons in 1522 AD. Anti -government Samma clans of Sindh forming more than fifty percent population of province were in rebellion in the whole northern and central Sindh on the left bank of the river Indus. Samma or Sameja and their other sub-castes who had ruled Sindh from 1351-1522 AD, struggled in Sindh for independence for 175 years. They were killed and butchered every day of every year like Sikhs a century later but they weakened Mughal government to the extent that no regular governor was sent to Sehwan after 1634 and only a few names are casually mentioned. In the same way to Bakhar after 1679 and local tribes under contract were paying some revenue to the Mughal governors at Multan. It seems that area under cultivation in whole Sindh was no more than a million acres, with actual potential of three millions under normal management of antiquity and population was no more than one and half million at the maximum at least from 1630 onwards.

In Sindh the whole tract of land from Rohri and South to neighbourhood of Nasarpur was abandoned by tribes and there were no farmers to cultivate the land.

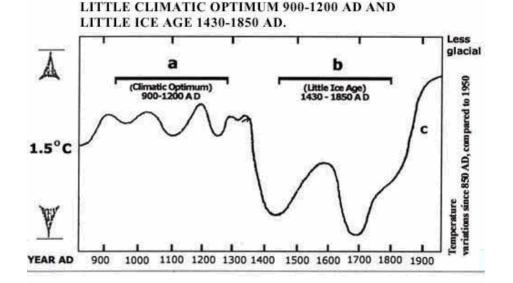
The Little Ice Age was world wise, but after Columbus' discovery of America, there was large scale of migration from Spain, Portugal, Southern France, Italy and some European countries to New World from Mexico to Argentina and California to Chile and Caribbean Islands. The British landed in present north-east USA in 1600 AD, as and British and northern as well central Europeans initially migrated there followed by any people of European stock. Pressure of population in Africa was reduced by large scale slave trade form 1550 to 1860 AD, when slavery was abolished in many European countries and in USA by Abraham Lincoln. In Sindh population reduced mainly due to high handiness of Mughal governors with no other source of food production than animal husbandry, as irrigated area had reduced to less than half by Mughal governors' mismanagement and forcing taxes, which farmer could not pay.

An out come of drought is rise of reformers who console people, bring them to path of peace, brotherhood, equality of man-kind, narrowing the gap between various religions, leaching righteousness, monotheism and removal of conflicts. Little Ice Age's drought produce such reformers all over South Asia, but some succeeded and still have followers.

Definition of Mughal.

Due to drought and to control conquered people Central Asian people monopolised government functionaries and called themselves Mughals.

Definition of Mughal was fair coloured, outsider new immigrant from Central Asia or Iran, knowing no local language or culture, not married to local women, but concubines and slave girls were allowed. Only Mughals were awarded government jobs and petty jobs of lowest revenue assessment went to locals. As administrators they were unsympathetic to local Mulsims in Sindh or rest of India. They had learnt a lesson from defeat of Humayun by local Muslim Sher Shah Suri and consequently local Muslim's were considered unreliable. They were tolerated, when they did manual work, tilled land and paid taxes. They were considered inferior, unless proved that they were immigrants from other countries, so in Sindh, Panhwars became of Bibi Halima nurse of Prophet Muhammad (PHUH), Sammas became descendants descendants of Jamsheed (Sassanian king), Soomras became Summerians and Balochis become immigrants from Iran, to get some mercy and consideration of Mughal officers over other Muslim castes and tribes of Sindh who were considered as unworthy as low caste. Hindus, or untouchables. They were already reduced as ploughmen by Arghoons and Tarkhans and farmers as manual workers were almost Untouchables to the conquerors. What ever their status, they were to till the land and pay taxes for security of their life.



this curve of Bryson shows present temprature higher than those around 900-1200 AD. Actually they were higher than the present on callacted as.....

Famines during Mughal era.

This above figure shows climatic curve of the World based on temperature in 1964 and reconfirmed in 1985 and 2000. The curve shows that temperature in 1400 and 1700 was about 1.5°C lower than 1950. Low temperatures caused low production due to failures of rains and low snow melt and consequently famines. Famines must have been frequent from 1350 AD, causing fall of Tughlaq dynasty. Timur's sacking of Delhi in 1399 AD is connected with his rise in 1370 AD, sacking many Central Asian states and finally turning to Pakistan and India for loot, at a time when temperatures were lowest in the World at least since the warm years of 900-1200 AD. His own Central Asia, was under going severe drought and he collected people around him, for conquests and booty.

Famines are in general recorded from 1550-1850 for South Asia, by local historians, European travellers and East India Company's reports and very were frequent, leading to huge losses of lives. Frequent famines was more than thirty times in the seventeenth a century. Since there was lack of communications information never came in time and lack of roads made transport of grains to affected areas difficult. Official corruption was another factor hindering movement of grains as it increased grain cost to unaffordable degree. In general this made local Mughal administrators unpopular and rebellions in the seventeenth century as will be detailed further.

Means Methods of Production.

In general there was shortage of iron for ploughs, bullock yokes were primitive and not able to use full power of bullocks. Farm yard manure was primarily used for cooking rather than fertilising and its last use was limited to nursery seed bed preparation rather than for field crops. European and Mughal demand for saltpetre (potassium nitrate) as gun powder, diverted use of animal manure for this purpose. The process involved leaching down of all nitrates, volatilisation of ammonia except potassium nitrate which leached the last, to be used as gun powder and be extracted at the end. This promoted unproductively of land.

Due to low level of water in the canals, low lift Persian wheels were common, but it increased cost of cultivation and therefore agriculture depended mostly on rain water, rather than canal water in most of South Asia but arid areas were exception Deccan depended more on well irrigation, but this was semiarid and moisture deficient area and wells were the only alternative, similar to canals in Sindh and the southern Punjab.

In the Punjab during the reign of Aurangzeb the Beas abandoned its old bed and though had confluence with the Sutlej, but much below the previous one. This change, devastated large area previously irrigated by the Beas, leading to low production and no irrigation for some decades. Similarly the confluence of the Jehlum and the Chenab moved up by about 40

kilometres in the seventeenth century. The Panjnad did not exist as the Beas and the Sutlej met the Indus separately near Uch. This too abandoned vast irrigated areas, leading to famines. [R.D. Oldham.]

Living condition of farmers.

Until rise of big towns and cities over vast areas and industrial production, ninety percent people lived in rural areas and were connected with agriculture production or processing and trade. Although they produced food, but to meet other needs and taxes, retained only poor quality grains out of their production for his family. The common food of rural people was rice, millets and pulses. Wheat was for big cities and officials. In the same way farmers could offered no shoes and good clothes. In Sindh they were naked from waist up wards, but with a turban on the head. There is complete record of the European travellers, namely; Pelsaert, Fryer, Xeavier, Mundy, Tavernier, Thevenot, Terry, Finch Worthinton and many others and supported by Ain-i-Akbari on poor living conditions of farmers.

The resentment in the villages and heavy taxes simply made them susceptible to revolt, if some leader rose against the government. Marathas, Sikhs, Kalhoras and possibly Pathans were large groups, who found it easy to recruit the landed or land less farmers to their camps. They were uneducated, poor and had nothing to lose. The leaders made them disciples, treated them offered them lands and fair treatment and in return they offered to lay their lives, with hope of betterment and future of their children.

Land Revenue Rates.

The rate of land revenue was fixed at the highest rate practically possible to recover, to maintain military strength of Mansabdar/Jagirdar, used both for recovery of tax and support of wars of emperor whenever or wherever needed. The high taxes left only barest minimum needed for subsistence of farmer, whose position was no different from an untouchable. Probably never in history of South Asia worst subjugation and poverty of common man was go great as under Mughal. [Arfan Habib 319-20 quoting Pelsaert andBernier.]

Since tenure of governor/Mansabdar/Jagirdar in Sindh was on the average of only two years, and at other places slightly more to three years, he was not at all ready to invest in development of land, construct wells, tanks or small dams for storage of water, excavate new canals and desilt and maintain existing ones, the production went down and yet burden of taxes was not relaxed, the peasant were being robbed and plundered. Governors/Jagirdars always in fear of transfer demanded payment of revenue before harvest. When the farmers were not able to pay the land revenue, they were tortured, made to endure hunger and thirst and compelled to sell their women, children and cattle to pay the taxes. Villages were attacked, women and children sold in slavery on the pretext of rebellion, but actual cause being inability to pay the tax. Even the farmer were taken in heavy iron chains and sold as slaves. [Irfan Habib, 222-23 quoting Manrique, Manueci, Badauni, Mazahar Shah Jehani Pelsaert etc.]

Khafi Khan is more vocal and supports all above views of local and foreign observers and states that "Since there is no confidence that Jagirdars will be confirmed in the office next year, they size both parts of produce i.e., share of state and as well as of peasant and sell it away. Only God fearing officials do not sell away peasants bullocks, carts or what ever remains. Many Parganas and townships which used to yield full revenue have been ruined and devastated so much that they have been replaced by forests infested with tigers. Peasants one crushed by oppression and cruetty of ill-fated revenue collectors. [Khafi Khan-I pp158-58.]

Armed resistance of farmers.

Under above circumstances, the peasant rebelled all over South Asia. They needed leaders. Leader had to be respected person by birth and social position. In Sindh Kalhoras were hereditary Sufi Saints. They called their followers Fakirs and all treated all of them as Fakir brotherhood. In it self it was prestige and higher status than farmers or herdsmen.

The Sikh Guru following Nanak initially were mendicants and reformers consoling people to withstand hardship of times (Little Ice Age), but once persecuted rose in rebellion.

Shivaji a Brahman treated farmers (nearly untouchable well, armed them, paid hem from loot of Pro-Mughal, Bijapur, Golkanda territories, they accepted him as leader, then king and finally emperor. He raised them from level of untouchables to that of Warriors, at pa with Khatris of Rajputs. In brief it was armed rebellion of land less pastorals and farmers in struggle to acquire land with low taxes and better life.

Events of the Little Ice Age in chronological order:

711-714. Conquest of Sindh upto Multan by Muhammad Bin Qasim. He accepted Hindus and Buddhists as people of holy books and allowed them to perform their own religious ceremonies without interference, but pay Jizya tax in lieu of military recruitment. Conversion to Islam therefore was slow and voluntary. Muhammad Ghaznavis raids in South-Asia (1000-1027), looting, towns and cities, pulling down temples, specially the last and forcing conversions, was in no way Islamic, although his claim and high lighted by his historians as orthodox Muslim, is disproved by the very fact that out of forty seven wars he fought, twenty nine were against independent pro Fatmid Muslim rulers of Central Asia, three against Fatmid ruler of Multan and two against Fatmid of Sindh, and only one against non-Muslims of Gaur and twelve against Hindus of South-Asia. The consequence of all this was sowing seeds of hatred against Muslims and Islam. Court historians of Delhi Sultans and Mughals have suppressed the true versions and justified some of un-Islamic actions of Muslim rulers. The Hindu-Muslim communities mistrust therefore has to be viewed from despotic and un-Islamic actions of some of the rulers of Delhi Sultanate and Mughals. This was exactly opposite when Delhi Sultanate broke into sixteen kingdoms between 1334-1441 in which case twelve local Muslim kingdoms treated non-Muslim well and the latter were enrolled in their armies and fought some battles jointly. This

attitude was exactly opposite to what was done from Delhi and Agra by sultans or Mughal emperors.

1400-1500. During this century temperatures in low latitude like Sindh ($24^{\circ}-28^{\circ}$ 30'N) were 1 to 2° C lower than 1950. High temperature caused heavy rainfall, river over flows and floods and low temperatures drought and famine. To console the people to be satisfied with their lot, there came many reformers, Sufis, Bhakats etc. during this century.

950-1538. Nearly 70 Central Asian invasion had also taken place in these 500 years. Such invasions had taken place before by Bactrian Greeks, Scythain, Parthians and Khusans from 180 BC to 80 AD, but the first three had accepted Buddhism a local majority religion and Khusans accepted Hinduism, which had started replacing Buddhism. Thus they were easily absorbed in local culture, but these 70 invasions by descendants of the same Central Asian stock were Muslims and as they kept separate identity of their religion and culture, which was not necessarily Islamic, they were considered as aliens. They them-selves had deliberately behaved as foreigners and superiors and locals as inferior, although within two to three generations, they had accepted the local Indian culture and were totally alien to the Central Asian culture. This created contradictions and mutual hatred, which has prevailed upto this day. All invaders had to reach Ganga or South India where opportunities were more, through the Punjab plains and thereby lot of Hindus of the Punjab during the period was that of sufferings every time, including forcible conversion to Islam, destruction and looting Hindu temples, imposition of Jizya tax on non-Muslims, pilgrimage tax, restrictions on building new temples and they were usually not given any post of responsibility in the government except lowest posts of tax collection, in which some of their groups were well trained accountants.

1000-1600. Bhakti owes its origin to Sankara (800 AD), a Brahmin of Malabar. He rejected idol worship and preached uncompromising monotheism (like Islam), but was only a theorist and did little to forward it as mass movement. It was promoted by Ramnanuja (1016-1137), and later on by Alvar and Adyar, but remained almost dormant, until Ramananda and his disciples, of whom Kabir was very important. [Jones, 10-14, 39-43.]

1000-1600. Islam was spread in various forms. Sunni, Shiah and Sufi. Of them Sufis were compatible with Hindu practices of Bhakti. The fundamental concepts of both were monotheism, egalitarianism, rejection of idolatry, preaching in local language, use of music etc. One such Bhakat was Ramanada (1360-1470) who influenced Kabir (1440-1578), a Muslim by birth and a weaver, considered lowest caste even by Muslims. Kabir rejected both orthodoxy of Hindus and Ulmahs, as well as all forms of castes. He enjoyed broad appeal among peasants, artisans, and untouchables and declared himself as child of Rama and Allah saying: "The Hindus go to temples and Muslims to mosque, but Kabir goes to place where both are known."

1050-155. For conversions to Islam in South Asia, credit goes to Sufi and Ismaili preachers, who used local languages, poetry, music and even dance to attract people. All of them believed

in equality of human beings, discarded caste system imbedded in Hindu society. By accepting Islam, Sudra (untouchables) were treated at par with Muslims atleast to some extent. Thus a large number of conversions were made voluntarily in Sindh and the Punjab first by Ismaili preachers and then by Sufis in peaceful manner. Ismailis had converted ruling Soomras to Ismailism from 1011 or probably earlier to 1230. Then under Sufi influence of Bahauddin Zakkiya many Sindhi tribes become Sunis and at that time to win favour of Delhi, Soomra gave Jagir near Shah Kapoor to Zakriya, built a mosque and made him Pesh Imam but probably did not become Sunis, as their names were unchanged. To start with converts were mostly farmers considered as non-vaisha workers or untouchables by Hindu Brahmans, Khatris (Rajputs) and Vaishas (businessmen) and then followed elite class, finding opportunities in conversion like exemption of certain taxes..

1400-1500. It was period of extreme, cold, low rainfall, low agriculture and animal production and poverty, all of which breed superstitions, exploitation of masses by the governments and religious leaders, insistence on rituals and moral decay starts. The out come of which is need for revolutionary reformers. A number of reformers appeared of whom Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya are well known. We already know that during drought of 600-500 BC, came Zoraster (Iran) Confucius and Tao (China) Buddha and Mahavira (India) and Solon (Greece), all great reformers. Jalaluddin Rumi (Turkey) came during thirteenth century (1207-1273), when due to drought Mongols had risen to devastate most of Euro-Asian World.

1400-1500 and again 1610-1715. These were the periods of two minima of sun spots and auroras (polar lights) dry, low temperatures and lack of rains. Radiation of sun had reduced by 1.4 percent and average temperatures in the plains of South Asia were 1 to 2°C lower than 1950. 1430-1850, Little Ice Age world-wide i.e., cold weather, less rainfall, shorter and cooler summers by about four weeks and longer and cooler winters by four weeks. Little Ice Age period started in 1480 in the Europe and 1430 in Central Asia but its worst period in South Asia started after 1500.

1440. Kabir (b. 1440) and Nanak (b. 1449) rejected the orthodoxy of both Muslims and non Muslim Hindus. During their age a Brahman of Kathan declared that Islam was a true religion. This up set Ulma, who asked Sikandar Lodhi to call the Brahman and ask him to accept Islam and if he refuses he should be executed. Was this Islamic or service to Islam? It only created hatred among the people against the Muslims. The Brahman refused and decree was executed. Was this Islamic or did it serve cause of Islam? It only created hatred among non-Muslims against Islam, rulers and Muslims. Kabir denounced both Islam and Hinduism, because of exclusiveness of their orthodoxy and giving too much importance to ritual and also whether a person is born a Hindu or Muslim does not decide to which community he belongs. Kabir had favoured monotheism and had been influenced by both Sufism and Vedanic concepts and viceversa. Chaitanya a monk and their contemporary lived between 1485-1533. All three were contemporary of Luther 1483-1543, another anti- Popal church in Europe. Under teaching of the above first three in India, Bhakti movement is considered to have attained its zenith. It must be remembered that it was period of severe drought in Europe too, and only clergy knew Bible written in Latin, translation of which was not allowed in local languages and people did not know, what exactly they were praying. Luther translated bible in German and it was immediately translated in most European languages, leading to Reformation Age. In South Asia Ismailis, Bhakats and Sufis adopted local languages, which like Luther appealed more to common man than Brahman and Ulmah's teaching in Sanskrit and Arabic. Many of Nanak's Punjabi compositions were later on absorbed in to Adi's Granh, the scripture of Sikhs. They all had same message of monotheism, equality of human beings truthfulness and purity of soul. The others also composed in local languages. We have mature poetry of many Sindhi Sufis immediately after age of Nanak and Kabir for example; Qazi Qadan, Shah Abdul Karim etc. It appears that composing of religious teachings in Sindhi poetry was started much earlier by Ismaili preachers in the eleventh century leading to early maturity of Sindhi language. It is also known that the Holy Quran was translated in Sindhi in ninth century, Mahabharatha and Ramayana in tenth and eleventh centuries and this may have made composing of Ismail Ginans in Sindhi easy at such early date. [HCIP Vol.-IV & V.]

Nanak preached against idolatry and caste distinction, to bring Hinduism on to level with Islam and insisted that salvation could only be attained through upright character and good deeds. Second Guru Angand (1539-1552) was opposed to asceticism or renunciation of world, considering it unnecessary. He invented a ew Gurmukhi script in which he wrote "Janam Sakhi" of Guru Nanak in Punjabi, which was already a developed language since 1300 AD. He opposed Sati, penitence and sacrifice of the body. The third Guru Ramdas

(1552-1581), who made it obligatory for all his followers to contribute one-tenth of their income towards common fund and appointed Masands or collectors in each district or area. This was deviation from earlier Sikhism that it raised funds to use them to active objectives. It is worth while mentioning that ten percent of gross income a tax known as Ushur, was started by Assyrian in Iraq 3200 years ago, copied by Jews for use by priests, who as administrators used it for the government and Jewish Church, though David and Suleman (Prophets) being stronger than Church, appropriated it for them-selves as kings. Parthians, Scythians and Sassanians continued it in Iran and their empires. On conquest of Iraq and seeing Sassanian system of revenue, Khalif Hazarat Umar imposed it on conquered lands as government revenue, Sikhs introduced it and Qadianis too imposed it. As will be seen from this that Ushar is not tax imposed by Quran or Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and in strict since it was adopted as a tax in Muslim society, but General Zia's claim of considering it as totally Islamic, does have historical flaws. Guru Nanak (died 1538) said: "The sage is like sword, kings are butchers, goodness has taken wings and flown. There is no one left, who does not receive or give bribes. The king administers justice, only when his palm has been filled (greased). Guru Nanak and his contemporaries Kabir and Chaitanya found religious sects which flourish even today. Chaitanya, prohibited animal sacrifice, allowed widow remarriage and ignored orthodoxy. [HCIP-VII, 572-574 and VI, 493-94; Nijjar-I, 76-84, Jones; 12, 72-73, 83-90 130.]

1479-1531. Vallabhacharya in Gujarat preached on the lines of other Bhakats, Kabi, Nanak and Chaitanya.

1525-1700. Due to on set of cold of the Little Ice Age and reduction in rainfall, Samma tribes of left bank of the Indus rebelled. The whole area was difficult to irrigate due to insufficient slopes of land and therefore Sammas (Samejas), the ruling tribe of Sindh, who had lost their kingdom to Arghoon and Tarkhans in 1522, turned into pastorals and looted settled or irrigated areas. When confronted by the government army, they escaped to eastern desert of Sindh (Thar), after inflicting losses on the armed forces of the government and loyalists. They weakened Mughal government so much, that local tribes started taking over and paying annual tribute, but only when they found it unavoidable. Sammas them-selves did not have influential and central leadership left after 175 years struggle, and it fell on Kalhoras, who were Sufi saints and therefore had some amount of holiness, and respect among common and uneducated people. The same was case with Sikhs, whose Guru was holy and Marathas, whose leader Shivaji was a Brahman and besides his father was military general in the service of King of Bijapur and therefore Shivaji a hereditary leader. Last Samma king was killed in 1536 in fighting against Humayun. Mughal nobleman Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan-II's grand mother, belonged to Samma clan, but he was not trusted with governor-ship of Sindh for the fear that rebellious Sammas may join him and he may declare independence, though his grand father Isa Khan Tarkhan-I was related to Mongols of Babar's stock. Isa Khan-II was however posted as governor in the other provinces of Mughal empire due to his ability. The chance of taking over Sindh from Mughals therefore fell on Kalhoras, who made full use of opportunity exactly like Shivaji before them and Sikhs afterwards had done.

1536. There was severe cold in Europe and Norway ceased to exist as separate country as it was connected to Sweden and Finland by a frozen sea. This was also period of severe famines in South Asia due to Little Ice Age.

1544-1603. Dadu a disciple of Kabir had adherents among the lower castes of Rajasthan. [HCIP-VII, 567, 654.]

1550-1600. Climate improved slowly, but only to deteriorate very fast after 1580.

1550-1850. Glaciers in Northern Hemisphere fell to lowest latitude i.e., advanced to the land in the south due to severe cold of Little Ice Age. [Lamb.....

1555-1556. This was also cold period and had lead to terrible famines for two successive years, which ravaged all eastern parts of India (exuding Bengal and probably Bihar), particularly territories around Agra, Bayana and Delhi. People died in tens and twenties and dead got neither graves nor coffin. Common people lived on weed seeds, wild green grass and cow hides and Badauni himself witnessed cannibalism. From then on due to cold, famines recurred a number of times upto 1850. [Badauni Vol.2, Ain Akbari Vol.II p.35.]

1555-56. Delhi, Agra and adjoining regions faced severe famines, men eat their own kind. The whole country was deserted and no man remained to till the fields. Five famines occurred

between 1573-1795, a period of twenty years. Cold prevailed, snow melt in the Himalayas reduced, and river levels went down. [HCIP-VII, 734.]

1560-1670. In this decade there was severe famine in Gujarat and parents sold their children in slavery, so that they may live (Purchas X, p.90). This traveller saw famines in Cambay (Gujarat) in during 1663-1667. [Tabqati-Akbari-II, 301, Bbadauni-II, 186.

1564. Akbar abolished Jiya [CHI-IV, p.87]

1571-1586. Akber built his new capital at Fatehpur Sikri, but only abandon it in 1586 without fully functioning of it, as due to low level of the Jummuna water could not be lead to it, due to cold and low snow melt iin Himalayas, for many years. [HCIP-VII, 125.]

1572-73. Severe famine in Sirhind [Ain-I-Akbari, III p.229.]

1573. Famine occurred in Gujarat due to low rainfall caused by cold of the Little Ice Age. It was so severe that both rich and poor left the country for fear of starvation. [HCIP-VI, 735.]

1573-1595. Five famines occurred in twenty two years [HCIP-VII, 735.]

1574-1682. Malukdas a follower of Ramanada preached Bhakti.

1574-75. Another famine in Gujarat, [Tabaqat-e-Akbari and CHI-IV, 112].

1575-1585. Worst drought in Sindh (under Mirza Baqi's rule), which lead to cannibalism in rural areas, Jani Beg stored grain, which he did not part with until his death. [Masumi, Daudpotta 243.] Abandonment of Fatehpur Sikir also coincides with this cold and drought.

1575-1679. Northern Sindh (Bakhar Sarkar) under control of Mughals, who sent fifty one governors (Mansabdars) in one hundred and four years with average tenure of two years each. Then local tribes were allowed to run the country on a kind of lease, by paying taxes and maintaining law and order them-selves.

1578-79. Famine condition and food scarcity. [Ain-e-Akbari-III, 224.]

1580-1700. Temperatures had started dropping from 1580, when Akbar was compelled to abandon Fatehpur Sikri, but by 1600 they started dropping fast and came to their lowest in 1700. These were the lowest temperatures since 500 BC. River levels also came down. There were serious droughts followed by heavy rains causing floods and therefore famines, starvation, death and disease. The people were not able to pay taxes making it difficult for the government to run, but government started collection of taxes by use of force and rebellion started all over India. This was greatest period of instability leading to fall of Mughal empire in India. The rebellions of Marathas in South India, Samejas in Sindh, followed by those of Kalhoras, Sikhs

in the Punjab, Pathans in Khyber and Hindus in many parts of India, coincided with climatic changes of the era.

1581-1606. Akbar (1556-1605), was liberal to Sikhs but Jehangir executed Guru Arjan (1606), for helping his rebellious son Khusru with money and also giving him blessings for success. This was turning point in out look of Sikhs, to defend their rights with arms and they turned into military power. Guru was called to Lahore, fined two lacs of rupees or accepting Islam. Guru refused. His property was confiscated. He was tortured by putting him over hot sand in the sun of May and boiling water was thrown on his naked body. He took permission to bathe in cold water of Ravi, but exhausted and famished, he collapsed in water and drowned. It was considered a political execution rather than religious. Mian Mir a Sindhi Sufi tried to save him, but Alif Sani an orthodox Muslim leader had influenced Jehangir to punish him. Thus it becomes religious persecution of a liberal non-Muslim. It was little realised that such action will make him martyr among his followers and resistance will mount. History has many such precedents, but none guided the emperor. Akber in this respect proved to be much wiser. [Nijjar-I, 85-93, HS; 28n, 56, 59n, 61.]

1583-84. Grain prices rose on account of famines in North-Western Hindustan (Western UP, Haryana, Rajasthan) and many people died of starvation. [HCIP-VII, 735.]

1584-85. Heavy rains caused inundation and Mengha delta was washed away.

1586. Unsuccessful raid in Sindh and siege of Sehwan by Muhammad Khan, Mughal governor of Multan. [CHI-IV, 137, 151.]

1587-88. Locusts destroyed crops in northern Sindh. The Baluch's and Samejas plundered on both sides of the river and looted people [Masumi Daudpota p.249].

1589-90. Drought caused famine again in northern Sindh [Masumi Daudpota 249.]

1590-91. Khan Khana Abdur Rahim, met Adam Shah a Medhivi saint a sought blessings for conquest of Sindh. Adam Shah was located in Chanduka Parguna in Bakhar Sarkar and he gave blessing. Similar blessing was also given by Mahkdoom Nuh to him at Hala. Both probably expected some favours in return. However Adam Shah was to face execution some nine years later.

1591-1737. Thatta Sarkar (southern Sindh) under the control of Mughals, who accepted Mirza Jani Beg and Ghazi Beg as Mansabdars (1591-1612) and in next one and quarter century sent fifty nine governor's with average tenure of about two years. Then Thatta Sarkar was leased out to Kalhoras. Situation in Sehwan Sarkar (Central Sindh) was similar. Sehwan did not receive any Mughal governor, after 1644. [Masumi, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Tuhfatul Kiram, Mazahar Shah Jehani, Lab-e-Tarikh; Sindh]

1594-1598. Ruined harvests due to cold and heavy rains in summer, brought famines iin Europe.

1595-1598. Famine occurred in the Punjab and Kashmir and lasted for four years. [HCIP-VII, 735.]

1596. Lack of rains and famines. Akbar ordered free kitchens [Ain-iAkbari-III, 714.]

1597. Famine in Kashmir and people sold their children in public places (Masumi p. 250).

1600. Arjun Dev compiled Adhi Granth (1604) which is written in verse in Gurumukhi Scirpt. Adi Granth was a collection of sayings of first four Gurus. He encouraged his followers to trade in horses from Afghanistan and Central Asia needed by Mughals and other soldiers. His successor Har Govind constructed Akat Takhht (God's Throne) at Amritsar across Hari Mandar. [HCIP-VII, 310; Nijjar-I, 1609, 87-91.]

1600. Mian Mir famous Sindh scholar and Qadiriya Sufi, who resided in Lahore was a personal friend of Guru Arjanand had laid foundation stone of Harimandar (Temple of God) at Amritsar. Alif Sani was not well disposed to Akbar, Mian Mir and other Sufis, who preached tolerance of other faiths. Alif Sani wrote against Guru Arjan to Jehangir (Letter in Maktubat-e-Alif Sani), leading to Arjan's execution, inspite of Mian Mirs attempts to save his life. Unfortunate Dara executed by Aurangzeb was disciple of Mian Mir d. 1635. [HCIP-VII p.626, HS, 28n, 58, 59n, 61.]

1600, Execution of Adam Shah Kalora at Multan and burial at Sukkur, on charges of helping his disciples in usurping lands of other zamindars, who paid taxes and were loyal. After death of Adam Shah Kalhoro his successors, Mian Ilyas, Shaheel Muhammad and Mian Naseer 1600-1691 usurped lands of other zaminders and on them settled their Southern Punjab supporters calling them "Fakirs". In the days of Adam Shah these Fakirs were not hardy in warfare, but in next fifty years, they had become professional soldiers, like Marathas and Sikhs. [McMurdo: tr. Wakeiat-i-Sindh p.406-7.]

1606-1644. Guru Har Gobind (born 1595) organised Sikhs as military group and from 52 guards inherited by him, he raised a cavalry of 700 horses, three hundred horsemen and sixty gunners. He allowed partaking of meat. He built a fort at Amirtsar called Loligarh. He created a government of his own, on styles of Mughals. Jehangir asked for fine of rupees two lacs imposed on his father. As he could not pay, he was sent to Gwaliar fort and kept as prisoner, reportedly for twelve years and then he was freed unconditionally. This may not be true as six children were born to him from his three wives in 1613, 1615, 1617, 1618 and 1621. He probably was freed from Gwaliar on some conditions, after three years in 1612. He then accompanied Jehangir in all his expeditions and tours and was given command of 400 horses, 1000 foot soldiers and 7 gunners. He offered allegiance to Emperor Shah Jehan, who allowed him to return to Amritsar. During his years of freedom he fought some battles with Mughal army

and every time defeated them, but in one of the battles, though Mughals were defeated, one Mughal solider killed Guru. [HCIP-VII, 311.]

1600-1700. Temperatures fell down gradually but were very low from 1650-1750, causing low agricultural productivity, famines, rebellions and fall of Mughal Empire.

1600-1945. During these three hundred and fifty years, temperatures became very low in 1600-1620, 1655-1670, 1680 - 1690, 1700, 1760 - 1780, 1820-1850 and 1895. During the same period temperatures were at highest in 1650, 1740, 1790, 1860 and 1945. In 1945 snow in North Pole melted completely for a few days.

1604. Guru Arjan compiled Adi Granth, written in verse in Punjabi in Gurumukhi script. [HCIP-VII, 572, 664]

1604-1605. Tobacco brought by the Portugese to Gujarat of 1575, became popular and was introduced in Akbar's court. Sikhs banned its use. [HCIP-VII, p. 728.] Jehangir banned it in 1617, but it soon got relaxed due to common use of it. [HCIP-VII, 723.]

1613-14 and 1614-15. Drought, famine and plague in Sirhind, Ganga-Jamuna-Duab and Punjab [Tuk-i-Jehangiri p. 161-62].

1614-1660. Thirteen famines in Gujarat of which 1630-31 was the worst. [HCIP-VII, 735].

1624. Malik Ambar inflicted a defeat on combined forces of Mughals and Bijapur at Bhatvadi. [HCIP-VII, 248, 244, 474].

1627. Shivaji was born at Shivar. [HCIP-VII, 248, 278].

1630 and 1631. Famine in Gujarat and Deccan due to failure of monsoons. This famine was due to failure of rains in 1630 and excessive rain in 1631. People sold their children so that they may live. Migrations took place to the direction of less affected rains, but people died enroute. Hides of cattle and flesh of dogs were eaten, cremated bones of dead were sold with flour and cannibalism became common. Gujarat suffered the most. [Qazwini, Lahori - Shah Jehan Nama, Sadiq Khan etc. HCIP-VII, 735, 519; Factory Records 1630-33 and 1634-36, 403, Mundy, 276.]

1633. Due to famines and uncertain economic conditions, Mughals occupied Daulatabad by bribers and Nizam Shahi's ruler was imprisoned in Gwaliar fort. Three million people died between 1630-1633 in Gujarat. [HCIP-VII, 208, 444, Factory Records 1630-1633.]

1634. Har Govind the Sikh Guru repulsed Mughals attacks. [HCIP-VII, 312.]

1636. Shahji Bhosle, father of Shivaji entered into service of Bijapur as general. [HCIP-VII, 242, 248.]

1636-37. Punjab had famine [Lahori, II pp. 711-20.]

1640. Heavy rain caused floods and destroyed crops in the Punjab and Kashmir, causing famine [Lahori, II p. 29, 204-5.]

1640-44. Rains failed continuously in many parts of Northern India and famines occurred in Agra province. [Factory Records, 1642-45 p.202.]

1642. Famine occurred due to heavy rain and floods in the Punjab (Moreland, p. 208).

1643. Shahji Bhonsle was summoned to Bijapur court for Shivaji's misconduct, to which he had neither initiative nor control. Shivaji was a rebel by nature from juvenility. [HCIP-VII, 253.]

1644-1664. Death of Sikh Guru Har Govind Not much is known about two Gurus Har Rai (1644-61) and Har Kishan (1661-64). The last is succeeded by Tegh Bahadur as Sikh Guru. [HCIP-VII, 314, 325, 315.]

1644-1756. Panhwars under Isa, Musa, Daud and Bahauddin, defeated Mughal governor of Sehwan and probably under some agreement with Mughals were appointed local officials to collect taxes and pay the government. The exact arrangement is not known. They seem to have extended their influence and rule upto Kamber, Miro Khan to the north and Sehwan to the south with important centres of power at Ali Khan (now part of Kamber town), Garhi 13 kilometres, north west of Kakar, Shikarpur (renamed as Khudabad) 13 kilometres south of Dadu and Samtiani in Sehwan Taluka. A minor or branch canal called Panhwarki from Warah branch of North-Western canal of Sukkur barrage still existing is witness of their influence in Miro Khan and Kamber Talukas. Kalhoras whose centre of activity was Chanduka (foot hills of Kamber and Kahirpur nathan Shah, soon came in conflict with Panhwars and their subcastes Abras, Sangis and Dhamrahas. Kalhoras under Mian Ilyas, Shahel Muhammad and more so under Mian Naseer snatched their lands by use of force with help of their disciples from D.G. Khan area. Kalhoras grabbed their lands and paid no taxes to Mughals. Panhwars let themselves at the mercy of Mughals to protect them from Kalhoras, leading to further conflicts at local level.

1645. Death of Guru Har Govind. (CHI-IV, 245-46].

1646. Shivaji captured Torna. Maharashtra in the beginning of thirteenth century had a series of Bhakti saints, who had standardised Marathi language, aiding in development of extensive religious literature, as had happened in Sindh under Ismaili preachers in eleventh and twelfth centuries. The social structure in Maharashtra was divided into three classes; Brahmans, non-Brahmans and untouchables. Non-Brahmans were virtually treated as untouchables. Peasant

group belonging to non Brahmans provided man power for creation of Maratha Empire and they were treated well by Shivaji and his followers. [CHI-VI, 288.].

1646. Shivaji collected around him men of hills of Western Ghats called Mawalis, who were uneducated, backward, uncouth, stupid and ruthless, but brave, and became devoted to him. They were Sudras or untouchable and Shivaji was Brahman and therefore holy. Similar situation existed in the Punjab, where Gurus had achieved status of saints, with Guru Nanak virtually a prophet, though he had never claimed it so. Their followers were farmers and hill people of the northern Punjab. They included both Hindus and Muslims of hills of Punjab. In Sindh Kalhoras were hereditary Sufi, saints, who collected pastoral hill people mostly from Dera Ghazi Khan and some Jatts of the Indus riverain and adjoining areas. The ascendancy of all three is connected with frequent and severe droughts of the Little Ice Age of seventeen and eighteenth centuries, when droughts were frequent and intercepted by heavy rains which too destroyed crops by flooding. The frequent famines diseases, migration in search of food and corruption of Revenue collectors and Toll officers set a chain of dissatisfaction and rebellions, which were exploited by Shivaji, Sikhs and Kalhoras for their ascendancy to power.

1646. Drought in Agra and Ahmedabad; 1647, rain failure in Marwar; 1648, rains fail in Agra (Factory Records 1645-1650).

1647. Rains failed in Marwar, Famines, high mortality, people migrated and depopulation. [Factory Records (1646-1650), 192-93]

1648. Failure of rains in Agra area. [Factory Records (1646-1650), 219.]

1647. Shivaji captured Kondhana (Singarh) and other forts easily, probably due to famine conditions.

1648. Shahji Bhonsle (father of Shivaji) was imprisoned in Bijapur. He worked under Sultans of Ahmed Nagar and after their defeat by Shah Jehan in 1636, joined Adil Shahi kings. His small holdings in Poona district were given to Shivaji (b.1627). [HCIP-VII, 256.]

1648. Shivaji started stamping papers with his own seal. [HCIP-VII, 225.]

1650. Drought in whole India, Dearth of grains existed in Multan province which included Bakhar Sarkar or northern Sindh. To add further to miseries crops were destroyed by loctus. Locuts destroyed crop in Multan Province (Bakhar Sarkar included). [Factory Records 1650-1646-50.]

1651. Heavy floods in Multan Province. [Ruquuat-e-Alamgiri ed Naqvi, 227-8.]

1653. Shivaji built his independent kingdom with ministers, officers, and secretarial staff. [HCIP-VII, 255, 257.]

1655. Shivaji treacherously murdered Raja of Jaoli, who was pro-Mughal.

1655. Kharif crops in Deccan damaged by delayed, but heavy rains. [Ruqat-e-Alamgiri 140-414.]

1656. Shivaji conquered many forts and annexed Javali. [HCIP-VII, 242, 256.]

1657. Shivaji raided Mughal territories in Ahmad Nagar area and plundered Junnar. [HCIP-VII, 243.]

1657. Shivaji raided Ahmad Nagar and Junna districts and looted rich city of Junnar. Aurangzeb routed him, but also pardoned him. He never trusted him but Shivaji too waited till he gets chance to declare him-self a king. [CHI-IV, 210, 272.]

1657. As Panhwars, Abras Sangis and Dhamrahas paid Mughal government taxes regularly and Kalhoras usurped their lands and paid no taxes, Panhwars, Abras, Sangis and Dhamrahas with help of Mughal governor of Bkhar Khawaja Muhammad Sharif, attacked Kalhoras, whose leader Mian Shahel Muhammad was killed. His head was served by the above local tribes and he is buried without head at Hisbani Taluka Kamber. His tomb was constructed by Ghullam Shah more than a century and a decade later.

1657-58. Chauduka the present Kamber, Larkana, Nasirabad and southern parts of Shahdadkot Talukas, became nucleus for Kalhora operations against Panhwars, Sangis Abras and Dhamrahas. Initially Chandias settled in those areas were opposed to Kalhoras, but once Kalhoras succeeded, Chandias made compromise. Chandias were settled in this area since long time and possibly going back to Soomra era. They supported Sindh tribes in struggle against Mughals. [Mazahar Shah Jehani], [SSF]

1658. Aurangzeb after defeating his brothers Dara and Shuja, imprisoned his father and coronated himself as Emperor of India.

1658-1662. Failure of rains in whole India and famines every where. (Factory Records).

1659, 1660, 1663. Drought in Gujarat and famine (Factory Records).

1659. Dara the eldest brother of Aurangzeb killed under a fatwa of Ulmahs, that he was heretic. [CHI-IV, 227, HCIP-VII, 223.]

1659. Shivaji treacherously murdered Afzal Khan. [HCIP-VII, 258.]

1659-60. Famines and plague swept away most parts of Sindh [Factory Records 1655-60, 210 and 307 foot note.]

1659, 1660 and 1663. Drought in Gujarat. [Factory Records (1661-64) 320-22.]

1660. There were 13 major famines from 1614-1660 i.e one every 3 ¹/₂ years.

1661. Execution of Murad brother of Aurangzeb, who was a prisoner at Gawaliar, on the charges of using drugs and wines, both considered un-Islamic. [CHI-IV, 228; HCIP-VII, 223.]

1660-1700. Peak of the Little Ice Age. Revenue from Thatta Sarkar in 1665 fell to one fifth what it was in 1600. Temperatures had dropped by 0.82°C, as compared to 1600, which were already low compared to 1950.

1661-1664. Har Rai Guru since 1644 died in 1661 and Harikrishen becomes Guru. They were grandson of and great grand son of Har Gobind. Hari Krishen died of small pox and before his death nominated Baba Bakale his grand uncle Tegh Bahadur (1621-1675) as Guru. [HS p.70; HCIP-VII, 315.]

1662. Due to drought Manchu (now a Chinese province invaded China ending Ming dynasty.

1662-63. Famine in Dacca was attributed to heavy burden of zakat, oppression of Rahdars (officers incharge of routes) and exaction of chowkidars (men posted at Chaukis or Tolls and Guard Stations) and consequently affecting mobility of merchants to bring grain to city. (Ifran Habib p.67-68).

1663. Shivaji raided Poona. [CHI-IV, 257;

1663. Shivaji attacked Mughal Viceroy of Deccan Shaista Khan at Poona at mid night, wounding him. His son, six women of his harem and forty attendants were killed and eight women of his harem and other sons wounded. [HCIP-VII, 243.]

1664. Mughal expedition under Mirza Raja Jay Singh and Dilir Khan, left Agra to subdue Shivaji. [HCIP-VII, 261.]

1664. Rich port of Surat was plundered by Shivaji. [HCIP-VII, 243, 260.]

1664. Shivaji attacked Surat and plundered it, though English, Dutch and French factories successfully defended themselves. He also called himself a king. [CHI-IV, 273; HCIP-VII, 260, 243.]

1664-1675. Guru Tegh Bahadur, youngest son of Har Gobind around him collected lot of Jat farmers and some Muslims. He was summoned to Delhi and given option of accepting Islam or death. He was beheaded in November 1675. It is possible that during the years 1674-75 Mian Nasir Kalhora was called to Delhi and under some conditions released. Subsequently he renewed his activities of usurping land of people who were paying taxes to Mughals and brought Mughal expeditions against him. To him these local people were traitors for paying taxes to Mughals and opposing him. To the Mughals he was a traitor for capturing lands of peaceful cultivators, who were paying them taxes. The tragedy was that the Mughals were not able to protect their clients and would make compromises with Kalhoras, whenever they could not control the latter. Such acts were repeated in case of Pathans, Sikhs and Marathas in the same era of Aurangzeb's rule of empire. The locals were trusting the Mughal inspite of their failure to protect the zamindars and farmers. [Nijjar I, 92, 93;

1665. Jai Singh defeated Shivaji and 1665 and the latter concluded peace with Mughals and joined Mughal in campaign against Bijapur. He visited Agra in May 1666 and then escaped, as he felt humiliated by assignment of "Panch Hazari", or incharge of 5,000 soldiers, but was virtually in confinement at Agr fort. [CHI-IV, 258, HCIP-VII, 244, 262, 264.]

1665. Shivaji sent an expedition to Malabar coast with a number of ships and plundered many towns and ports including Basur. [HCIP-VII, 261.]

1666 November. Shivaji who escaped in 1665, reached home from Agra, via Muttra, Allahabad, Benares, Gaya and Telingana. For next three years he remained peaceful and through mediation of Jasvant Singh and prince Shah Alam. He was given title of Raja. [HCIP-VII, 244, 264, 279, 280.]

1666. There was severe drought in England, that when in September fire broke out in London, even stones became combustible due to dry air. [Lamb H.H, 131.]

1666-1708. Gobind Singh had converted a large number undisciplined peasants into enthusiastic soldiers animated with religious fervent by incurring them to warfare and moulding them into distinct community of Khalsas as Shivaji had done to his peasants. Kalhoras had done the same to D.G. Khan's nomadic pastorals and also to southern Punjab's peasants settled mostly in riverain areas and had called them "Fakirs". [HCIP-VII, 568.]

1667. Rebellion of Yusufzais. [CHI-IV, 238.]

1668. Aurangzeb promulgated strict religious laws and ordinances against non-Muslims, which lead to large scale rebellions in Hindu majority areas hence forth. Some such laws were hardly Islamic. [HI-IV, 230, HCIP-VII, 235.]

1668. Muhabat Khan was appointed governor of Kabul. He was instrumental in release of Khushal Khan. It was because of Yusufzais' starting rebellion in Sarhad, but Khushal Khan like Shivaji and Kalhoras, no longer trusted Mughals.

1668-1669. The Jats under their leader Gokla rebelled against religious persecution of Hindus; namely; custom duty on Hindu merchants and not Muslims, prohibition of Hindu religious fairs, pulling down Kashi and Keshab Rai temples, imposing of Jizya etc. [HCIP-VII, 236, 379, 265.]

Khushal Khan's great grand father, grand father and father were killed in wars with 1669. Yusufzais in Khyber. Akbar got possession of Kandhar in 1595, Jehangir lost it in 1622 to Shah Abbas, Shah Jehan regained it in 1638 and lost it in 1649 for ever. For possession of Kandhar Aurangzeb needed Pathans of NWFP. Khushal Khan speaks highly of Jehangir. He was fourteen years old when the latter died 1628. He served Shah Jehan personally and admires him as "Qadrdan". His father was killed while fighting Yusufzais and Shah Jehan confirmed Khushal as Khatak Chief and King's guardian of highway to Peshawar. He took part in various Mughal campaigns in Kangro, Balkh and Badakhshan. These gave him distinction as well as training in warfare. Opposition to Mughals was by Yusufzais since Akbar's time and some part of latter's area was given to Khushal Khan as Jagir. Yusufzais, went to Delhi met Dara, who managed pardon of emperor Shah Jehan and Yusufzais' area given to Khushal Khan was restored back to the former's. Being annoved Khushal Khan blocked passage of Dara to Yusufzais' Samoh, during war of succession in 1658. Aurangzeb having been grateful confirmed him in his position as Chief. Khushal Khan's family was collecting Attock toll tax, but Yusufzais' through Governor of Kabul had it abolished as relief to common man and consequently Khushal Khan was badly hit by it. In 1664 Khushal Khan under influence of Governor of Kabul and his Deputy Governor of Peshawar was summoned by latter and sent in chains to Delhi. He spent some years in Ranthambhor fort, where from after two years, he was released to advise Aurangzeb on Frontier affairs in 1668. In 1972 Amin Khan the governor of Kabul left Delhi for Kabul via Kotal (now Landhi Kotal), but save a dozen people rest of his 40,000 persons were killed by Pathan tribesmen. Mughals retaliated and sought Khushal Khan's help, but he refused on the ground that the former's had gone against their word time and again and went to fight Mughals. In brief inspite of Khushal Khan's twenty years service to Mughal emperor and his accepting royal orders of withdrawal of toll tax at Attock, he did not rebel. When he was taken in chains to Delhi in 1664, two years prison at Rantambore fortress and then under house arrest for another two years until 1668, he no longer trusted the Mughals. [Pathans, 212, 221.]

1669. First Yusufzais in 1669 and then Afridis rose in rebellion against Mughals in 1672 and Auranzeb had to move to Peshawar in 1674 for a year and half to supervise military operations combined with diplomacy, to buy Pathan tribes with gold. He succeeded, but principled Khushal Khan Khattak kept fighting as Mughals had proved to be unreliable in his case. [CHI-IV, 238; Pathans, 220, 231-32, 241.]

1669. Great tension between Hindus and Mughals, when Aurangzseb ordered destruction of Hindu temples. [CHI-IV, 241.]

1670. Shivaji attacked Surat a second time carrying away large booty and ruining the trade of largest port of whole India. He then raided Mughal provinces of Baglan, Khandesh, Berar and many forts in Chandor range, as well as Salher and his raids continued. He imposed Chauth or one forth of land revenue collected by Mughals and forcibly recovered from officials. He also occupied Ram Nagar and Jawhar, south of Surat. [CHI-IV, 258; HCIP-VII, 245, 265]

1670. Drought in Bihar and famine from Banares to Rajmahal. People in Patna sold their children. Some 90,000 deaths occurred in Patna and many towns were depopulated. [Arfan Habib, Agrarian System 197.]

1672. Death of Ali Ail Shah II of Bijapur, wherein Shivaji occupied many areas due to war of succession among the claimants.

1672. Satnamis revolted against religious persecution under Aurangzaeb's orders. [HCIP-VII, 236.]

1673. Shivaji sacked Hagli collecting lot of wealth and captured Panhala. [CHI-IV, 275; HCIP-VII, 266.]

1674. Due to confusion caused in Mughal empire, Shivaji had himself coronated as and conquered vast areas in Carnatic and Mysore. It Chihatara (emperor) on 16-06-1674 was time when Pathan rebellions too was at its peak. It began with rising in Khyber when Afridi Chief Akmal Khan, crowned himself as a king. Amin Khan governor of Afghanistan since 1670, attacked Afridis, but the latter cut of his water supply. Pathans under Akmal Khan descended from hills, 10,000 Mughal's men were slain. Governor's mother, wife and daughter were made captive. Akmal was joined by Khushal Khan. Aurangzeb with Mian Mughal camped at Hasan Abdal to set right the Pathans for next 18 months, jointly by diplomacy buying some tribal heads with gold and fighting others, and crushing Ghorai, Ghizahi, Shirazi and Yusufzais. Among those whom he won was Khushal Khan's son, while the father was waging war against Mughals. Aurangzeb left Hasan Abdal after eighteen months in December 1675. It appears that at this juncture Mir Yaqub governor of Bakhar (1670-1675), who had arrested Mian Naseer Kalhora, on complaints of local tribes and possibly took him to Aurangzeb in Agra, but the latter seems to have released him under some promises and conditions though the exact date of release and conditions of compromise are not known. [CHI-IV, 259, 275; HCIP-VII, 245; Pathans, 236, 239, 298, 419.]

1675 December. Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru was executed, under orders of Aurangzeb and this resulted into serious uprisings of Sikhs there after. [CHI, IV, 24; HCIP-VII, 316, 237; Nijjar-I, 92-93.]

1675-1708 Guru Gobind Singh. He had example of Shivaji before him and revolt against Mughals throughout India due to famines, floods, insecurity and corruption of officials and he turned his attention to down trodden masses. His sermon was to fight against tyranny and help poor and protect the weak. He called his followers Khalsas, who were supposed to fight against tyrany and oppression. He was killed by two Pathan boys reportedly under instructions of Yazir Khan governor of Sirhind, against whom he wanted to report to Aurangzeb in South India at the latter's invitation, in 1705, but was in Rajasthan, when he heard news of Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Vazir Khan then avenged on Gobind Singh in 1708. [HCIP, 316, 665, 233, 326; Nijjar-I, 94-100.]

1676. Mugul's unsuccessful expedition against Shiah Kingdom of Bijapur.

1677. Shivaji conquered Carnatic and part of Mysore and also Gingee, Vellore due to absence of main Mughal army to subdue Pathans in Khyber and also experienced soldiers and generals These areas then easily fell to Shivaji. [CHI-IV, 259, 276, HCIP-VII, 245, 478.]

1678. New Bijapur's regent Sidi Masuad, made a pact with Shivaji for armed assistance in case of Mughal attack and such assistance was given by the Marathas, during an attack on Bijapur in 1679 by Mughal commander Dilwar Khan and it lead to Mughal failure.

1678-1707. Rebellion in Marwar, followed by truce upto 1687-1696, fights against Mughals in 1696-1701, truce 1701-1707 and renewal of struggle 1707, when Marwar became independent. This was a major setback to Mughals caused by Rajputs, who hence forth also played role in down fall of Mughal Empire. [HCIP-VII, 346.]

1679. Aurangzeb left for Ajmer to suppress Marwar rebellion and also to Rajasthan to subdue Rathors who had raised rebellion. [CHI-IV, 248.]

1679. Aurangzeb reimposed Jizya tax on non-Muslims. [CHI-IV, 242; HCIP-VII, 235, 273.]

1679. Nawab Mir Muhammad Akram, last Mughal governor of Bakhar upto 1680. Then they sent no governor as local tribes under some kind of contract had under taken to collect and pay taxes to the Mughals. [Tuhfatul Kiram Persian.]

1679-91. Kalhoras under Mian Nasir captured territories of Panhwars, then the Mughal Subedars of Kambar, Nasirabad Mehar and Khairpur Nathan Shah Talukas with their capital at Gharhi. It seems that Panhwars of Ali Khan (Kambar), Garhi, Shikarpur (Khudabad) and Samtani, were petty chiefs and they probably did not try to put up joint resistance to Kalhora and so were defeated one by one.

1679. Shivaji defeated joint forces of English and Sidi naval fleets. [HCIP-VII, 362.]

1679-80. Rajputs revolted against religious discrimination of Aurangzeb, but not all, not even most Rajput princes participated in the revolt, as many Rajput contingents served Aurangzeb in Deccan. After Aurangzeb death these policies of Aurangzeb were reversed and Jizya abolished.

1680. Shivaji died of dysentery and was succeeded by his son Shambhuji, who also kept fighting Mughals. [CHI, 259, 278, 279; HCIP-VII, 245, 270.]

1680-1758. Bullah Shah. He was contemporary of Shah Latif and like the latter had seen fall of Mughals, looting of the Punjab by Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali and Sikh revolts. Shah Latif 1690-1752, had witness Kalhora rise to power.

1681. Shambhuji plundered Khandesh and also raided Burhanpur. [HCIP-VII, 2, 81, T 361.]

1681. Aurangzeb left to Deccan to subdue Bijapur, Golkanda and Marathhas. He reached there in April 1682 and fought long wars for next twenty six years. [HCIP-VII, 241.]

1681. Rebellion of Akbar-II son of Aurangzeb. The former sought protection of Shambhuji son of Shivaji. Simultaneously Mughals lost Kamrup. [CHI-IV, 250, 236; HCIP-VII, 240, 362.]

1681-1707. Marwar asserted for independence and fought Mughal imperialism. Before leaving for Deccan Aurangzeb had settlement with Marwar through his son Azam, but it was not long lasting. [CHI-IV, 252, 353; HCIP-VII, 241, 290, 355, 356, 291.]

1682. Sambhuji captured the Portugese Island Santo Estevao, near Gua. [HCIP-VII, 363.]

1682. Aurangzeb attacked Bijapur.[CHIP-VII, 284, 286, 478.]

1682. Aurangzeb attacked Marathas. [CHI-IV, 282; HCIP-VII, 284, 282, 363.]

1682. Famine in Gujarat and Deccan and also plague [Maasir-I-Alamgiri and Factory Records, NS, III, p.277.]

1683. Famine in Kokan while Aurangzeb was conducting an expedition in Deccan and it was not possible to procure grain. [HCIP-VII, 735.]

1683/84. Due to severe cold, the river Thames passing through London froze and frost fairs were held on it. [Lamb 238.]

1683-84. Temperatures in England were lower than rest of the whole century (1600-1700), being 2.2°C bwer in October, 3.1°C in November, 4°C in December, 5.5°C in January, 4.4°C in February and 3.3°C in March. It was the time when Aurangzeb got bogged down in

South India and never got out, as due to severe cold and low rains production went down, year after year, people could not pay taxes and when forced, rebelled. [Lamb 239.]

1684. Drought in peninsula or South India [Khafi Khan-II, 317].

1684. Hindus of Malwa rebelled against Mughals and joined Marathas in sacking of Baroda. Ganga Ram Nagar rebels against Mughals in Bihar. [HCIP-VII, 292, 293.]

1685. King of Golkanda submitted to Aurangzeb. [CHI-IV, 287.]

1985. Pahar Singh a Gaur Rajput rebelled against Mughals. [HCIP-VII, 292.]

1685. Jat rebellion under Raja Ram of Sinsani and Soghar. It continued upto 1688.

1685-86 and 1686-87. Drought in Gujarat, famine and food roits in Ahamabad. [Mirat-I, 315].

1686. Famine in Deccan and Gujarat due to failure of rains and devastation by war [HCIP-VII, 735.]

1686. Severe famine and fall of Bijapur. [CHI-IV, 287.]

1686. The East India Co. of Britain rises in arms against Mughals. [CHI-IV, 308;

1686-1707. Aurangzeb's wars in South drained his treasury and young soldiers of the empire.

1687-88. Jats under Raja Ram sacked tomb of Akbar at Sikandrabad and reportedly burn his bones. [CHI-IV, 305; HCIP-VII, 291.]

1687. Golconda is annexed to Mughal empire. [HCIP-VII, 287, 479.]

1688. Maratha plundered Conjeran. [CHI-IV, 291.]

1689. Khushal Khan after long struggle died. [Pathans, 246.]

1689. Shivaji's son Shambhuji was captured and executed and his seven years old son Shabu also captured, was appointed Mansabdar of 700 and brought up in to Mughal court of Aurangzeb in Deccan. [CHI-IV, 284; CHIP-VII, 289.]

1690. Durga Das of Marwar inflicted defeat on Mughal governor of Ajmer. [HCIP-VII, 290, 355, 256.]

1690. East India Company and Mughals came to terms. [CHI-IV, 309.]

1690. Marathas captured Mughal areas namely; Pratapgarh, Rohit, Rajgarh and Torno. [CHI-IV, 293; HCIP-VII, 295.]

1690. Maratha captured Mughal general Sharza Khan near Satara. [HCIP-VII, 295.]

1690. Birth of Shah Latif. He and his contemporary Bullah Shah were born and lived during the severest period of the Little Ice Age (1660-1750) and had witnessed worst human suffering. Like the earlier cold and drought periods of 600-500 BC, which created Zoroaster, Buddha, Mahavira, Confucius, Tao and Solon and of 1200-1300 in which Mongol destroyed most of the Euro-Asian. World and to console people, came Jalaluddin Rumi.(1207-1273). In this drought of late seventeenth and also eighteenth century, these two poets composed poetry to console people and help in facing human misery. There were also other poets in South Asia and Bhagats.

1690-1700. It was cold in California since fifteenth century, but the decade 1690-1700 was the coldest.

1691. Famine and diseases visited Gujarat province [Mirat-I, 325.]

1692. Marathas renewed their conquests in Deccan. [CHI-IV, 294; HCIP-VII, 295.]

1693. Marathas raided Bera. [CHI-IV, 294.]

1694-95. Gujarat, Bihar, Rjasthan areas around Delhi faced famine and food shortage [Khafi Khan-II.]

1694-95. Famine in Gujarat [Khafi Khan-II.].

1695. Mughal army under Qasim Khan defeated by Marathas general Santa near Chitaldroog CHI-IV, 294; HCIP-VII, 295.]

1695. Shah Alam appointed Viceroy of Punjab and Sindh. [CHI-IV 296,

1695. Aurangzeb deprived Hindus of use of palanquins, elephants, good horses and arms. [HCIP-VII, 235, 236.]

1695-1721. Churaman the Jat leader robbed many ministers of Mughul court on road, royal wardrobe and revenues sent from provinces.

1696. Marathas got setback by Mughal army under Mautbar Khan, losing many forts in Naskin and Kakan districts, Wardhangarh, Chandan, Nandgir and Wandan.

1696. Rebellion in Gondwana (the Central Province). This area was conquered by Akbar and again by Mughals in 1637. Its Raja promised to pay annual tribute, but failing which, the kingdom was re-invaded in 1655, 1667 and 1670, when Raja accepted Islam, but as failed to pay tribute; another Muslim Gond named as Dindar replaced him in 1691. However as Dindar also was not able to pay the tribute, he was removed in 1696. [CHI-IV, 314.]

1696-97. Drought in Gujarat and Marwar and famine. [Miraat-I 335-6.]

1699. Maratha raided Malwa. [CHI-IV, 313;

1699 March. Govind Singh, Sikh Guru, created Khalsa. [HCIP-VII, 318, 319.]

1700. As Panhwars paid taxes to Mughal government and Kalhoras avoided to pay governor of Multan on complaints of Panwhars, attacked Garhi, defeated Din Muhammad Kalhora, took him as prisoner and executed him in Multan. His body was sent to Sindh and he is buried at Garhi.

1700. Kalhora captured Panhwars' lands in Dadu, Johi and Sehwan Talukas and renamed their capital Shikarpur as Khudabad, now thirteen kilometres south of Dadu and were recognised as Subedars by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

1700-1760. These decades saw many warm years, intercepted by cold years. From 1760 to 1850 was cold, but conditions were more severe between 1810-1825. Little Ice Age effect was more marked between 40-60°N. In low altitudes plains it was cooler by even 1°C and 2°C in the mountains, affecting agriculture production. It had caused drought in Central Asia after 1480 AD, and Central Asian tribes Mughal, Arghoon, Tarkhans had to move to South Asia, conquering Delhi in 1525 AD and Sindh in 1522 AD. However drought continued till 1850.

1700-1760. There was frequent year to year variability of temperatures and even water level in the Nile fed from equatorial belt of Sudan and Ethiopia and Egypt, was low, showing lack of or reduced rainfall.

1700, Mughals conquered Satara [CHI-IV, 297;

1701. Before Yar Muhammad's acceptance as local governor by Aurangzeb Kalhoras during the whole century had attracted their mendicants from D.I. Khan and the riverain areas of the Indus below Uchh. Initially Tunias, Chajjras, Hakras, Naichs, Magsis and all other locals were opposed to them, but when Kalhoras established them-selves at Ghari, these tribes including Junejos joined them in exchange of lands of other tribes, but their immigrant mendicants from Southern Punjab speaking Seraiki language got Jagirs and were so settled in different centres that they could watch movement of local tribes. These Jagirdars included Khuhwars, Babar, Jamalis, Legharis, Gopangs, Bhugris (and Talpurs as their subcaste), Khokhars (propbably settled earlier in Sindh by Khawarism Shah around 1220 AD), Mangsis, Burdise etc. Jatois

were already settled in Sindh and there was Jatoi Parguna covering parts of Thul, Kashmore, Kandh Kot and Ubavro Talukas. Magsis were local and Mangsis were from Sindh's border with Baluchistan. It was around 1225-1300 when Mangols attacked Multan and Uchh annually and many tribes who spoke Seraiki moved and settled in Sindh. Some were driven out and reached Europe and are now called Gypsies. Once in power at Khudabad many more tribes were brought, given Jagirs to help Kalhoros in expansion and conquering Sindh. It was legitimate for them to conquer and annex area from Multan down to Sindh including Sibi-Kachi plains as there were parts of Sindh, until Qabacha conquered them from Soomras around 1210-1216. Kutch was part of Sindh upto 711, but Muhammad Bin Qasim, had not conquered it before his recall. Then it was occupied by Chawras and later on by Jareja Sammas of Sindh, who ruled it from 1148 to 1948 a period of 800 years. Ahmed Shah Abdali had allotted D.G. Khan and Multan to Ghullam Shah Kalhoro, but soon Sikhs occupied this area and was lot to both Sindh and Afghans. Kalhoras made attempts to conquer Kutch, but attempts to annex failed. Earlier Soomras (1011-1351) and Sammas (1351-1522), instead of conquering Kutch had maintained close connection with Sindh to mutual advantage. Kalhoras did not maintain this strategy and their successor Talpurs (1783-1843) also interferred, making Kutch sign a treaty in 1817 and becoming the British Protectorate. As against Sikhs and Marathas, who created no Jagirdars, the Kalhoras made Jagirdars a powerful military group and once knowing their strength, they challenged Kalhoras and replaced them after series of civil wars between 1754 and 1783. Marathas and Sikhs on the other hand by treating local Marathas and Punjabis well, established their national governments in Maharasthra and Punjab, the advantages of which were inherited by common man to this day.

1701. Raja of Deogarh in Gondwana, rebelled against Mughals. [HCIP-VII, 293.]

1701. Aurangzeb conquered Paeli and other forts form Marathas. [CHI-IV, 297-98.]

1701. Din Muhammad Kalhora's brother Yar Muhammad after former's defeat capture and execution, fled to Kalat and with help of Brohis defeated Mughals. Mughals made a compromise and appointed him a local governor under some conditions.

1702. Durga Das raised rebellion in Marwar, but was pardoned in 1703, as Aurangzeb felt helpless against vast sea of enemies. [CHI-IV, 304;

1702. Heavy rains, destruction of crops and famine followed by plague in Deccan. [HCIP-VII, 298.]

1702-1704. Manucci who lived in India from 1653-1704, wrote Storia de Magor, in four volumes giving his experiences and contemporary history of india. He was Doora's gunman at Bakhar Sindh in 1658. [HCIP-VII, 22.]

1703. Drought, famine and plague in Deccan and death of more than two million people between 1702-1704 in South Asia. [Mansuri IV, 97; HCIP-VII, 298.]

1703. Heavy rains damaged wheat crop, due to blight and plague occurred in South India. [Khaifi Khan-II, 510.]

1703-82. Charndas of Delhi, furthered Bhakti movement and created bridge between Hinduism and Islam.

1704. Aurangzeb concluded peace with Ajit Singh of Marwar. [HCIP-VII, 358.]

1704. Mughal army besieged camp of Guru Govind, who escaped. His two minor son Zarawar Singh and Fateh Singh are reportedly bricked up alive in fort wall and then beheaded. [Nijjar-II, 33-397.]

1704-05. Governor of Multan (Muizuddin grand son of Auranzeb) transferred Sibi-Kachhi and Dera Jutt areas upto vicinity of D.G. Khan, to Yar Muhammad Kalhoro.

1706. Aurangzeb and Chihatara Sal Bundhek came to terms and Aurangzeb reorganised Chihatara Sal. [HCIP-VII, 380.]

1706. Marwar raised standard of rebellion against Mughals.

1706. Bakhar Parguna consisting of area east of river Indus from Sadiqabad to Thari and eastwards to the desert, transferred to Kalhoras by Mughals.

1707. On death of Aurangzeb, Jizya was abolished. It was re-imposed in 1717, but withdrawn in 1719 by Muhammad Shah. Jizya was abolished by Akbar in 1564, but was reimposed 1668 by Aurangzeb.

1707. Ajit Singh captured Jodhpur. [HCIP-VII, 291]

1707. Chihatra Sal of Bundel Khand after sereving ties with Mughals, rebelled to form an independent kingdom. [HCIP-VII, 292.]

1708-1715. Guru Banda. He avenged the death of Guru Gobind Singh by Sacking Samna (home of executioner of Guru Gobind Singh), Ghuram, Thaska, Kunjpura, Shahdabad, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapur, Chhat, Banur, Sharanpur, Behal, Nanutah and Jalalabad and finally Sirhind (in which Gobind Singh's two sons were bricked up alive and his mother had died), with massacre of many thousands and loot. This infuriated Mughals who defeated and executed Banda. [Nijjar-II, 33-39.]

1708. Govind Singh, Sikh Guru stabbed by two Pathan boys in August 1708 and immolates him-self in October, publicity. [HCIP-VII, 237, 322, 323.]

1708-1711. Kalhoras under Yar Muhammad subdued Nahmardis of Thano Bula Khan, Kotri and Karchat area, consisting of the present Jamshoro district.

1709. Cold in Europe killed many people. Even poultry did not survive cold.

1713-1716. There was expedition against Sikhs. The Guru Banda escaped to hills and his followers ransacked Rupar, Kalanaur and Batala. Finally Sikhs surrendered unconditionally. Banda and his 740 followers were paraded in Delhi. He with his three year old son, were hacked to death on refusing to accept Islam in 1715. [CHI-IV, 335; Nijjar-II, 33-39.]

1716-1738. It was dark period in Sikh history as due to ransacking may towns and loot by Banda, Mughals reacted and ordered that if Sikhs do not accept Islam, they may be put to sword. A valuable reward was given for head of every Sikh. They dispersed took shelter in Lower Himalayas, Lakhi Jungle and Malwa desert. This is similar to treatment given to Samma of Sindh by Mughals from 1600-1700 AD, and they dispersed either in eastern desert of Sindh or in the riverain areas of the Indus and looted loyalists, who paid taxes to Mughals.

Assainated of Sufi Inayat by governor of Thatta, after his deafeat by combined forces of Mughals and Yar Muhammad Kalhoro at instigation of local land owners, whose lands desciples of Inayat had occupied. Only seventy years earlier, Kalhoras were doing the same and Mughals were attacking, defeating and ejecting them, but once in power all rulers think that such actions against the government were not legitimate and were to be stopped by executions.

1718. Junejo Parguna transferred by Mughals to Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, in lieu of cooperation to crush Shah Inayat's movement and kill him. It consisted of the present Khipro, Tando Adam, Shahdadpur, Nawabshah and Sakrand Talukas. Area near Jhok was also transferred to them. Shah Inayats' movement was socialistic. His followers captured some lands and cultivated them. Kalhoras had done exactly the same only half a century earlier. This had threatened not only local zamindars, but also Mughal governor of Thatta and Kalhoras. The latter did not tolerate any rising competitors and eliminated Shah Inayat in league with governor of Thatta, as they had planned for Makhdoom of Khuhra in Khairpur Mirs. 1720. Marathas had hold on Gujarat. [CHI-IV, 346-47.]

1720. Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, captured desert areas of present Khairpur and Sukkur districts called Nara, occupied by Samma tribes, since rebellion against Arghoons, Tarkhans and Mughals around 1525 AD which continued in the late seventeenth century.

1721. Ajit Singh rebels, but submitted to the Mughals. [CHI-IV, 346-47.]

1724. Daudpottas surrendered areas in Baluchistan, now termed as Nasirabad and Dera Jamali and its surroundings to the vicinity of Jhal, to Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.

1724. Abhay Singh succeeded Ajit Singh. [CHI-IV, 352.]

1725. Nizamul Mulk made peace with Marathas. [CHI-IV, 350, 379.]

1726. The new Viceroy of Punjab Zakariya Khan, adopted policy reconciliation and offered jagirs and title of Nawab to Sikhs for giving up terrorism, but not all Sikhs agreed and trouble started again.

1728. Daudpottas surrendered, Shikarpur and Jacobabad Districts and Shahdadkot and Sukkur Talukas to Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.

1729. Marathas defeated Muhammad Khan Bangash in Bundel Khand and forced Nizamul Mulk to sign a treaty to give Malwa and area between Narbada and Chamba to Baji Rao Maratha. [CHI-IV, 353.]

1731. Nizamul Mulk invited Marathas to invade northern India. [CHI-IV, 351, 382.]

1734. Marathas captured Hindan; only 70 miles south west of Agra. [CHI-IV, 354.]

1735. Marathas captured Samber. [CHI-IV, 345.]

1735-1820. Temperatures in England were much lower than during 1820-1870.

1736. Noor Muhammad Kalhoro conquered the Thar area, consisting of Umarkot and Mithi districts and also Khipro Taluka from Sodhas.

1737. Marathas overran Kokan and besieged Bansein. [CHI-IV, 405.]

1737. Governor of Thatta leased out Thatta Sarkar consisting of present Thatta, Badin, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas districts and area south of Shahdadpur in Sanghar district to Noor Mohammad Kalhoro for rupees three lacs.

1738-1758. Adina Beg was a local Arain of Punjab and governor of one or other area of the Punjab and finally Viceroy, during the period of Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi and four out of eleven invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali, as well as Maratha invasion of Punjab. These invasion had weakened economy of the province and had created different power groups and Adina Khan exploited the situation, always in his favour, keeping balance between Ahmed Shahis, Marathas, Sikhs and Mughals in whose service he was. He look no severe measures to crush Sikhs, though they were nuisance to all other contenders. He managed to remain in power though made Deputy Viceroy and kept under different Viceroys namely: Shah Nawaz Khan and Muinul-Mulk etc. and finally became Viceroy of Punjab under Mughals from 1753 to October 1756 and then under Ahmed Shah Abdalis. During these 20 years Sikhs alternatively had chance to remain in peace or rebel and loot. Adina Khan provided a good opportunity for Sikhs to organise them-selves to face Mughals, Marathas and Afghans with or

without connivance of various Mughal or Afghan governors of various areas of the Punjab. He created golden opportunity for Sikhs, which they also did not lose. Shivaji and Kalhoras had also similar opportunities, which they exploited at the cost of Mughals. [Nijjar-II, 125-150; Gupta, 56-108.]

1739. Karachi Taluka and town purchased by Noor Muhammad Kalhoro from Khan of Kalat.

1739-40. It was very cold and crop failed. This may have been the reason of non-cooperation of Jagirdars with Noor Muhammad Kalhoro to fight against Nadir Shah in 1740. Frazer writing in 1746, was of the opinion that Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was strong enough to defeat Nadir Shah, had he given him a battle. The cause many have been drought and lack of confidence among his Jagirdars or out-right conspiracy with Nadir Shah. This made Noor Muhammad to submit pay heavy fine and tribute of two million rupees a year.

1740. Sibi-Kachi and Dera Jutt transferred from Kalhoras to Khan of Kalat by Nadir Shah.

1740. Area consisting of Shahdad Kot, Gharhi Khairo and Ghari Yasin Talukas, transferred by Nadir Shah to Daudpottas.

1740. Maratha raid carnatic; Nawab Dost Ali killed. [CHI-V, 117-118.]

1741. Marathas captured Trichinopoly. [CHI-IV, 384.]

1742. "Marathas ditch" was dug around Calcutta. [CHI-IV, 408.]

1744. Raghuji Bhonsle invaded Bengal. [CHI-IV, 441]

1744. Some areas in Rann of Kutch conquered by Noor Muhammad Kalhoro from Rao of Kutch.

1744. Kakarla conquered from its ruler by Noor Muhammad Kalhoro. It consisted of ShahBander and Karo Chan Talukas and also parts of Jati Taluka.1747. Famine in gujarat. [CHI-IV, 384.]

1747-48. First Afghan invasion under Ahmed Shah Abdali, plunder of suburbs of Lahore exacting heavy tribute from the governor for sparing the city and march on Delhi, but defeated by Mughal armies, was compelled to retire. Sikh considering a golden opportunity, their sixty bands of free lancers, deprived Afghans of their stores and horses. They also defeated Adina Beg Khan a Mughal governor at Hoshiarpur. [Gupta 162-166; Nijjar-II, 131-135, HS, 131`-135.]

1748-49. Second Afghan invasion under Abdali, whom Mannu the Viceroy of Punjab at Lahore kept in check and did not allow him to cross Chenab. Lahore was without military

protection and Sikhs occupied it, but evacuated if on hearing of Mannu's return. Mean time Shah Nawaz governor of Multan proceeded to attack Mannu and the latter made compromise with Sikhs, through Kauro Mal. The Sikhs under Jassa Singh Ahlowalia defeated Shah Nawaz. Mannu made Kauro Mal governor of Multan, under title Maharajah Bahadur. The latter recruited Sikhs in his army. [Nijjar-II, 135-138; Gupta, 166-169, HS 135-137.]

1749-50. Second Invasion of India by Ahmed Shah Abdali in which Mannu the governor ceded some areas of the Punjab to Abdali, but was allowed to administer them and pay annual revenue to Afghans. [Gupta 166-167.]

1751. Orissa had to surrender to Marathas. [CHI-IV, 408, 443.]

1751/52. Third invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali and conquest of Punjab and Kashmir. In the second invasion Mannu the Governor of Punjab had agreed to pay revenue of four district ceded to Abdali and had failed and therefore Afghans attacked. He paid nine lac nupees to Abdali but the latter proceeded further to Punjab. Mannu felt that they will loot Punjab and Mughals of Delhi won't help, so he called Kaura Mal from Multan, Adina Beg Khan from Julundar and also large army of Punjabis of whom Sikhs formed twenty thousands, to check march of Abdali, but the latter succeeded and Multan and Lahore were ceded to Abdali by Mughal emperor on April 13, 1752. Mannu died in 1853 and his son in 1754. The latters wife Mughlani Begum appointed as governor played as an agent of Afghans and ruled Lahore, but was arrested and sent to Delhi, where from she secretly invited Ahmed Shah Abdali to attack Delhi and promising him that she would show him hidden wealth of rich Mughal noblemen. [Gupta 167-169; Nijjar-II, 138-145; HS, 137-143.].

1754. Marathas invaded Carnatic.

1754-1758. Abrupt changes in temperatures from cold to warm caused hydrological changes in the course of the river Indus and finally the river then flowing from north of Hala to Shahdadpur, Oderolal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio, Tando Muhammad Khan, Matli, Talhar, Badin, Kadhan and Lowari to Keree Creek, changed to the present course abandoning ten lac acres out of twenty two, then under irrigation. The river did not stabilise for another fifteen years, when Sarfraz canal was constructed, but new canals could not be constructed fast enough to feed the population and anti-Kalhora movement among their Jagirdars, mostly from the Southern Punjab, brought civil wars and end of their rule in 1783.

1754-55. Sikhs seeing no potential force to control the Punjab, took steps to become rulers of the country and establish head quarters at Amritsar.

1756-57. Fourth Afghan invasion of India. Ahmed Shah Abdali came to India on invitation of not only Mughlani Begum but the Mughal Emperor himself and Rohila Chief Najibuddualah. From lahore to Sirhind no village was left tenanted, people fled in all direction. The Afghans plundered Lahore for twelve days. They entered Delhi in March 1756 and looted with guidance

of Mughlani Begum. All hidden treasures of rich Mughal noblemen were thus looted. Besides loot of the Punjab, Western UP and Delhi, Abdali married sixteen year old daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah and his son Prince Taimur daughter of Alamgir II, along with fleet of concubines and female slaves. This Invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali and annexation of Sirhind. In this invasion 30,000 soldiers were slain 22,000 men and women were taken as slaves, 2 lac drought cattle, several thousand camels, 80,000 horses and 500 elephants, cash and jewellery fell in the hands of Afghans. Every troop of Ahmed Shah brought 10-20 camels laden with booty. They left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. Ahmed Shah took sufficient part of wealth with himself and Prince Taimur followed him with other part. Taimur was chased by Sikh bands under Ala Singh in concert with Sikh robbers and barred his path between Ambala and Patiala and robbed him of half of his treasure there. Then again they attacked at Maler Kotla. When Abdali came to know of this at Lahore in range, he blowed up Amritsar temple (Harimandir) and filled sacred pool with slaughter cows. Within a few days in 1758 Maratha attacked Punjab. Sikhs helped them. Timur governor fo Lahore fled to Kabul. Sikhs took Pathan prisoners to Amritsar had them clean up pool around Harimander. Marathas looted Punjab and returned to Delhi. They made Adina Beg Khan Subedar of Lahore on payment of rupees five lacs a year. Now the Punjab had three masters Mughals, Afghans and Marathas all on paper but in reality only Adina Beg Khan and Sikhs. [Gupta 169-176, Nijjar-II, 145; HS, 143-149.]

1758. Adina Beg Khan with help of Sikhs and Marathas expelled Ahmed Shah's Afghani governor and troops in March April 1758.

1758. Marathas invaded Punjab, but were expelled from the Punjab by Ahmed Shah Abdali. Upto 1758 (April to September) Adina Beg Khan worked under Maratha suzerainty. [CHI-IV, 416, 445; HS 147-148.]

1758. Marathas occupied Ahmedabad.

1759-1761. Fifth Afghan invasion. Abdali's aim now was to crush Marathas. He was approached by Rohila Chief Najibuddullah, Muslim rulers of other parts of India and some Rajput Chiefs. Even Sikhs wanted Maratha to be taught a lesson. He defeated Maratha at Panipat on January 14, 1761. In this war the real winners were Sikhs, who now had little local competition. Adina Beg Khan had also died and no competent person was left to challenge them. When Abdali left Delhi, Sikh bands surprised him every night and relived him of much of his spoils and two thousand Indian women. [CHI-IV, 416, 446; Gupta 176-186, HS, 149-153.] In the Fifth Invasion and defect of Marathas in Third Battle of Panipat. In this battle Sikhs many times were attacked by Pathans.

1760. Marathas capture Delhi.

1760. Ahmed Shah Abdali defeated Maratha Sindhia, at Barari Ghat and Holkar, at Sikandarabad.

1761. Battle of Panipat in which Maratha lost huge army and atleast one person from each family was killed. This ended ascendancy of Marathas, though for next 56 years they kept their raids, weaking many states, which easily were merged in British India. [CHI-IV, 420, 448.]

1761. On departure of Abdali, Sikhs recovered many areas and captured Lahore and systematically began expelling Afghans from the Punjab.

1761-64. Lakhpat, Bust and coastal belt conquered from Rao of Kutch by Ghullam Shah Kalhoro.

1762. Sixth Afghan Invasion. Abdali now marched on Sikhs and brought fifty cart loads of heads of massacred Sikhs and hundred of Sikhs in chains. Pyramids of human skulls were built for exhibition and show of power. [Gupta, 186-195; HS, 153-157.]

1762-64. Sikhs organised themselves captured the Punjab from the Jammuna to the Indus and Himalayas to Panjnad (Multan).

1764-65. Seventh Afghan invasion. Abdali marched against Sikhs, who dispersed in all directions without pitching a battle. He captured Lahore, put his governor there. [Gupta, 195-218; HS, 157-163.]

1765. Three Sikhs Sardars drove out Afghan governor, occupied Lahore and Lehna Singh, who held most important part of city, treated Muslims so well, that they considered Sikhs more as fellow Punjabis rather than infidels. After capturing Lahore they went to north of Delhi, plundered Rohilla territories, pillaged Rewari and many villages of Jaipur.

1766. Combined army of Sikhs and Jats defeated Marathas, who were coming to help Rajputs, but were defeated by Rohillas. The same year Sikhs captured Pak Pattan but returned, as Abdali was coming to attack them.

1766-76. Eighth Afghan invasion against Sikhs. Abdali entered Lahore, the Sikhs fled, but Muslim citizen told him that they were treated well and honourably by Sikhs and persuaded him to appoint Lehna Singh as Subedar of Lahore. Abdali made him, an offer to him but Lehna Singh politely refused. On departure of Abdali, the three Sardars reoccupied Lahore. By end of 1767 Sikhs took the whole Punjab and recovered from people a tax of rupees two to five per head. However it was bands of different groups rather than a unified Sikhs action. [Gupta, 218; HS, 163-167.]

1766. Waris Shah, wrote Hir Rangha in the mid of Sikh revolt. He had witnessed eleven raids of Ahmed Shah Abdali in the Punjab and wrote against it. These raids and battle of Panipat in 1761, helped Sikhs to rise in the Punjab.

1768-69. Ninth Afghan invasion against Sikhs and attempt to conquer Punjab, but Abdali could not move further than Jehlum. From the Abdalis battles against Delhi and Punjab, it seems that like Aurangzeb's invasion of South India leading to Marathas rise to power, Abdali was great benefactor of Sikhs, in a way that he destroyed Mughal army and administration, at Panipat he crippled Marathas, the crushed Mughal governors in the Punjab territories, looted the Muslim and Hindu population and so weakened them totally, that they were not being able to face and crush guerrilla Sikhs. He created a vacuum, which only Sikhs the remaining power in the whole game could fill. Advantage of Sikhs was that they were rural farmers, could escape to hills and forests and in due course of time won over Muslim population of Lahore, followed by other cities and rural areas. This action of theirs crossed the religious boundaries and created a feeling of Punjabi nationalism among the population. Such a thing had already happened in Mahrashtra, but not in Sindh, where Kalhoras adopting Mughal system of Jagirdari, had eliminated many Sindhi zamindars and allowed Jagirdars to suppress common man. At this time trouble was brewing in Sindh due to change of course of river Indus, reduction of cultivated area to half and possibility of reduction in population to about half. In this trouble Jagirdars were to turn against the rulers or vise versa and fate of common farmer was sealed to starvation, disease and death and to reduce their population to half any time unless policies change in their favour. The anti -Mughal revolution in the Punjab and Maharashtra was to benefit farmers, but not in Sindh, a tactical mistake of Kalhoras or the local loyalist, who accepted Mughal suzerainty as loyalists, against the Kalhora's fight for freedom. [Gupta, 222, HS, 167-168.]

1769. Multan Parguna transferred to Ghullam Shah Kalhoro by Ahmed Shah Abdali.

1769-70. Tenth Invasion of Punjab, but rebellion in his own camp on banks of Chenab, Abdali returned. [Gupta 223.]

1770. Eleventh Invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali. His troops did not cross even the Indus and he returned back. [Gupta, 223.]

1772. Sikhs captured Multan, held is for eight years, until recaptured by Afghans under Timur son of Abdali. Abdali had given Multan and D.G. Khan to Ghullam Shah Kalhoro, but both were lost to Sikhs, in the year when both Abdali and Ghullam Shah died.

1774-75. First invasion of Timur Shah against Sikhs, but without results and he did not cross Chenab. [Gupta 234-237.]

1777. Sikhs defeated Rohillas.

1779. Mughals under Prince Forkhunda attempted to crush Sikhs at Patiala but while retreat to Delhi, lost most of equipment and many men to Sikhs.

1779-80. Second invasion of the Punjab by Timur Shah but Sikh losses were limited. [Gupta, 237-242;

1780. Birth of Ranjit Singh. He consolidated Sikhs in the Punjab.

1780-81. Third invasion of the Punjab by Timur, in which Timur Shah lost and asked for peace and paid compensation. [Gupta, 242-244.]

1781. Najaf Khan's army routed Sikhs from Jummuna - Gangetic Doab.

1783. Fourth invasion of Timur Shah in the Punjab and Kashmir, in which his army was defeated. [Gupta, 244-248.]

1788. Fifth invasion of Timur Shah against Mahadji Sindhia. On way Bahawalpur, Daudpottas were defeated and residents of city massacred and exacted tribute of ten lac rupees, but instead of attacking Mahadji, he attacked Sindh. [Gupta, 248-253.]

1793. Death of Timur Shah. [Gupta, 261-62.]

1810-1819. cold spell caused by volcanic eruptions, which left a layer of volcanic dust in the atmosphere around the whole globe, reducing solar radiation to ground and causing low temperature and defeat of Neopolian in 1912. This was caused by 1911 volcanic eruption. The other volcanic eruptions of 1816 and 1817 lead to famines in South Asia and Sindh too.

1813. Famine in Utter Pradesh due to volcanic eruptions in 1811.

1820. Famine around Delhi.

1822. Famine in northern Sindh caused by heavy rain and flood.

1823. Ranjit Singh captured Dera Jutt area from Khan of Kalat.

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ABBREVIATES.

All abbreviates in the text refer to books or authors and can be refect bibliography numbers as below:

- * Ain Akbari No.1.
- * Badauni No.3.
- * Bernier No.4.
- * CHI No.6.
- * CHIP No.32.
- * Factory Records No.8
- * Finch No.7.
- * Fryor No.11
- * HS No.53.
- * Lahori No.22.
- * Lamb No.24.
- * LTS Labe No.19.
- * Manucci No.28.
- * Ma-sir-I No.20.
- * Mazahar Shah Jehani No.58.
- * Nijjar-I No.34.
- * Nijjar-II No.35.
- * Oldham R.D. No.37
- * Palhans No.5
- * Pelsaert No.50
- * Ruqat-i-Alamgiri No.2
- * Tabqat-i-Akbari No.36
- * Thevenot No.36.
- * Trevernier No.55.