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“PAKISTAN'S ONLY INDEPENDENT ENGLISH JOURNAL OF  
QUALITY, STANDARD AND SCHOLARSHIP”

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انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

A DEDICATION AND A PRAYER  
IN MEMORIAM  
TO  
HAWWA, MY WIFE

A great scholar, teacher and administrator in her own right, who believed in the veracity of my intentions actions and mission, who joined me in my humour and laughter, who exhilarated in all my joys, efforts and triumphs, who helped me to sustain and contend the strains and stresses of life for a quarter of a century, who loved Sind and believed in serving it, who had travelled throughout its length and breadth who had known its towns, villages, forests, deserts and granaries, who had known the Indus and the Arabian Sea in their calmest and most angry moments—swelling, heaving, awe-inspiring but still majestic and lovely—who had known Pakistan, our dear land, its peoples and their living in every part, who had travelled in the World and prayed in every place of pilgrimage in the Muslim Lands, who had endeared herself to my relations, colleagues, friends and students. She was a devoted house wife, consummate in every detail who loved children so dearly. She was Jee-jee (جي جي) to every youth who knew her in Sind.

Her's mere generous thoughts and she had a prayerful heart. She never wished ill to any one. She bore her infirmity with atlantean fortitude. Her faith in The Almighty, in His power and in His mercy, knew no bounds and she died with His prayer on her lips.

She was superb in her diction and so meticulous in her writing and phraseology. Every quotation in Sind Quarterly—every verse from the Quran and from Shah Latif and every thought from the great philosophers of history—was her choice and selection.

مِنَ الْمَلِكِ الْيَوْمَ لِلَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْقَهَّارِ ①  
(سورة المؤمن - پارہ ۲۴)

اچو پاڻي لڙ ٿيو، كالورئو ڪنگن،  
ايندي لڄ مرن، ان سر مٿي هنجرا.

شاه

“One thing only I know; and that is I know nothing.”

“Don't be afraid of enemies who attack you. Be afraid of friends who flatter you.

As Shakespeare put it: “Man, proud man! dressed in a little brief authority, plays such fantastic tricks before High Heaven as make the angels weep.”

She bravely fought her ailment, and never faltered in her faith. This mortal and frail frame given by God has limited capacity to bear and endure pain. She had the satisfaction of living bravely and full and fighting her affliction to the end. She even sensed the inevitable. She deserved the protection of the Prophet and the angels of God. Ya-Allah give her the choicest place in heaven.

اڄ نم اوطا قن ۾ سندي جو ڳڻن ذات  
ساري سناسن کي، رنم ساري رات  
مون تن جنين جي تات، سي لاهوني لڏي وٺا.

پورنيا پوري وٺا، آسٽ اڄ صبح  
خستوري خشبوءِ، آهي آديسن ۾

شاه

Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah.

## SHAH ABDUL LATIF BHITAI

Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt. D.

Vast as is the extent of the literature available to us on the religions of India, whether in the form of editions and translations of original documents or as set forth in the record of generations of observers, our information still remains scanty and insufficient in regard to the religious consciousness of a large section of the Indian people, namely, those who stand midway between the loftiest heights that religion has attained in India, and, on the other hand, the primitive faiths of the aboriginal tribes worshipping an innumerable crowd of strange godlings—persons whose devotional life does not find expression either in the authoritative documents of the orthodox creeds or in the popular cults of the illiterate masses. For just as in the Christian world the student may often find a more exact presentation of the contents of the religious thought of many devout persons in the 'limitation of Christ' or the 'Pilgrim's Progress' than in the creeds of Nicaea or Trent, so in India the official documents of the Hindu or Muslim religions do not adequately reveal the religious influences that mould the life and thought of hundreds of thousands. For Hinduism, some account of such a religious atmosphere has already been provided in an earlier publication of the India Society—'One Hundred Poems of Kabir' (1914). The present volume is a contribution to larger knowledge of the rival faith of Islam in one of its less familiar manifestations, in which it makes appeal to Hindus almost as much as to Muslims. The annals of the early period of contact between Islam and Hinduism are filled with tales of pitiless massacre and bloodshed, and the history of succeeding centuries is marked with frequent outburst of intolerance and persecution. It is a relief to turn from such blood-stained records to the instances in which fraternal relations have been established between these otherwise irreconcilable antagonists through more than a thousand years of the religious history of India. The tie that drew Hindu and Muslim together was generally mysticism, and among the many Muhammadan mystics that India has produced none has made so successful an appeal to the Hindus among whom they have lived than the Muslim saints of Western and North-West India. One of these Sufis of Western India was Shah Abdul Latif, an account of whose life and teaching is here presented to the English reader for the first time. Born in the region of Aurangzeb, whose zeal for Islam had shown itself in the destruction of thousands of Hindu temples, and had done much to alienate the Hindus from their Muhammad fellow-subjects, he represents in his own teaching a tolerant attitude towards Hinduism that is in striking contrast to the behaviour of many of his co-religionists. He is thus typical of a tolerance that expressed itself in varying forms on different occasions. Some times, as in Shah Abdul Latif's case (who, we are told, conformed to

transmitted them to their posterity. This unforgivable negligence on the part of Sindhi savants has resulted in the complete extinction of early poetry. The apocryphal verses attributed to the seven trunkless heads of the Saints of Samoi, who predicted the end of the Sammah rule and divined the course of future things, are still extant and have been preserved in the books of Burton and Haig. But the verses of Shaikh Hammad Jamali (d. 1362), Shaikh Bhirio, Ishaq Ahingar (Blacksmith), Darwesh Rajo Kamil Majdhub and others have disappeared beyond recall, with the single exception of one couplet by Ishaq, which contains a fine conceit. "He would fain be a cock-sparrow and sit on the winnowing-scoop of his Love, so that he might hear her sweet and caressing words".

ٿيان مان جهرڪ، وهان پرين جي سڀ تي،  
مان چونہ ڊرڪ، ٻاجهاري ٻولي ڪري.

Even the verses of certain well-known poets such as Dars Ilah-din, who was a contemporary of Sayyid Ali II (d. 971 A.H.), Yusuf Sahto and Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in of Thatta (d. 1748), are no longer traceable, although they were widely read at that time.

The two couplets connected with the death of Makhdum Ahmad Bhatti of Hala Kandi (Hala Old), occasioned by their recital at a Sama' gathering Hyderabad in 1528, though actually of much earlier date, definitely mark the beginning of real Sindhi poetry, and indicate its future tendencies. These are followed by the seven couplets of Qadi Qadan (d. 1551), which were recited by Shah Karim on various occasions and are fortunately preserved for us in his table-talks, but for which they would not have seen the light of day. They are all of mystical import; and one can safely presume that the Qadi, who was one of the greatest scholars of the times and a profound mystic, must have composed many such verses. Makhdum Nuh (1505-1590), whose preachings have recently been translated into Sindhi, has been credited with several couplets, of which only a few are available. Almost at the same time there flourished another great poet and saint by name Makhdum Pir Muhammad Lakhwi (d. 1590 circa), one of whose poems is recorded in the Bayad-i-Khadimi. In it he invokes the Morning Breeze, which is the messenger of God, the courier and postman of the Beloved, to convey his greetings and supplications to the Holy Prophet. This poem belongs to a genre of poetry, which later on was brought to perfection by Makhdum Muhammad Hashim, Miyan 'Abdullah Mandhiro and Pir Muhammad Ashraf of Kamaro, all of whom derive their inspiration from Ibnul-Farid and the Burdah (Scarf-Poems) of al-Busiri, whose influence on the early religious and mystical poetry has been considerable. The "Scarf-Poem" itself has been rendered in Sindhi verse by Mawlawi Shafi Muhammad of Pat, Mawlawi 'Ali Muhammad Maheri and Abdullah Athar.

This brings us to the time of Sayyid 'Abdul Karim or Shah Karim of Bulri (1537-1623), who might fittingly be called the Morning Star of Sindhi poetry. His poetry is not very extensive in range, as it consists of only 91 couplets, two triplets and one verse. Their scope and subject matter are, no doubt, limited, but they are an intensive expression of a fervid soul to whom poetry and music were the very life of his being. Rough and rugged though they are, they are not without feeling and intrinsic beauty. They are terse and pithy and contain moral adages and mystical truths. In them the coupler or *Dohira*, which was further developed and perfected by Shah Latif nearly a century later, reaches its culmination. They are couched in pure Sindhi, without much admixture of Arabic and Persian words, and indicate that Sindhi was capable of expressing deep and recondite thoughts, independently of other languages. In the hands of a master-mind such as Shah Latif, it became a subtle instrument of conveying ideas of deep significance, with a sweetness and grace rarely to be found in other literatures.

After the death of Shah Karim, there is once again an interregnum of nearly hundred years, during which we do not come across any great name in poetry. But the lack of record does not prove that there existed no poets in Sind. Recently I discovered a Persian Sufistic work named *Mir-haju'l-Marifa* by one Lutfullah Qadiri who wrote it in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.) containing 15 beautiful Sindhi *bayts* of different sizes, varying from 3 to 7 lines in each and thereby indicating a considerable advance upon the couplet, while the Sindhi verses attributed to the martyred saint, Shah 'Inayat of Jhok (1130 A.H.) are no longer extant. The advent of Shah Latif (1102-1165 A.H. = 1689-1752 A.D.), therefore, was not an isolated incident in the field of Sindhi poetry. Although he stands head and shoulders above his predecessors and contemporaries both in the exuberance of his thought and versatility of his genius, he is considerably indebted to them in the poetic field. The vehicle of his muse, the bayt or *dohira*, had been fashioned out by his forerunners and had imbibed much of their inspiration. Shah Inayat of Nasarpur, an elder contemporary of Shah Latif, was to him what Marlowe was to Shakespeare. His poetry is even richer in old pure Sindhi words, though it does not bear that stamp of uniqueness and possess that fluency and lusciousness, which the verse of Shah Latif does in abundance. It need hardly be said that Shah Karim., Lutfullah Qadiri, Shah Inayat and other early poets paved the way for the supremacy of Shah Latif.

Shah Latif has a universal appeal and he can be ranked with the greatest poets of the world. His poetry breathes a spirit of calm and divine content. He is not exaggerating when he says :

جي تو بيت ڀانڻيا، سي آيتون آهين،  
سڳر سونهائين، پريان سندي پار جو.

What you think to be ordinary couplets are really divine verses.

They guide one to the borderland of the Beloved's abode.

His poetry is like a diamond with many facets and treats of all manner of subjects—mystical, spiritual, didactic, romantic and lyric. But in all these forms, the poet's mind is attuned to his Maker, to Whom all things ultimately return. It is instinct with the pangs of separation, the yearning of the loving souls, the heart's desire to be one with the Infinite, and is patriotic to the core. It depicts the natural beauty of Sind's earth and skies, and describes the majesty and awe of its mighty river. Apart from its edifying content, it rings true of the aesthetic sense and is replete with all the charm of imagery. It is rendered all the more melodious by the rhythmic footfalls of alliteration, which never cloy. It is also the repository of the Sindhi language and so long as it lives, Sindhi language and literature will also live.

With Shah Latif the couplet attains a perfection scarcely matched by any later poets who have tried to imitate him in this genre of poetry. Shah Latif was also the originator of another species of verse, viz., the *Wa'i* or *Qafi* (ballad) which was further elaborated by his successors and became highly artistic in the hands of Ramadan (the Potter), Ahmad Ali, Nur Muhammad, Misri Shah and others.

Shah's age, like the Elizabethan Period in English literature, was an age of giants, who distinguished themselves in various other kinds of poetry, particularly religious and mystical. The blank verse or the so-called line introduced by Pir Muhammad Lakhwi, was made popular by Makhdum Abu'l-Hasan (d. 1165 A.H.), Makhdum Muhammad Hashim (d. 1174 A.H.) and Makhdum Abdullah Mandhiro. As this crude form of verse lends itself facetiously to lines rhyming in *a*, it was imitated even by inferior poetasters. Makhdum Diyau'ddin's religious poetry (d. 1171 A.H.) which consists of strophes with different rhymes is very rugged and tasteless, while that of his disciple Makhdum Muhammad Hashim rises to the heights of sublimity and pathos in the introduction to his *Qutu'l-Ashiqin* (Food for Lovers), although his description of the apostolic miracles, all rhyming in *a*, is insipid and falls flat on the ear. Similar compositions by Pir Muhammad Ashraf (d. 1277 A.H.), Miyan Abdullah, Sayyid Harun and Miyan Iso are not without tender feeling. They are full of devotion to the Holy Prophet, who is the Beloved *par excellence* of early Muslim poets. The long *Kirih-Aahri* poems (*i.e.*, poems, of which each section begins with a letter of the Arabic alphabet) of the last three poets are particularly fine on account of the variety of their themes, which are superbly expressed. Makhdum Abdu'r-Ra'uf of Hala Old, who died just one year after Shah Latif, was probably the first poet to have composed *Mawluds* in accordance with the canons of prosody.

Shah Latif's younger contemporary, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunawri (1713-1774), whose blessings he sought towards the end of his life, is famous for his mystical verses, *Abyat-i-Sindhi*, which have been

elucidated in Arabic by his enthusiastic disciple, Shaikh Abu'r-Rahim Girhori (1739-1778). The commentary which has been rendered in Sindhi by the present writer unravels many Sufistic ideas so common in early Sindhi poetry. Abu'r Aahim himself was an erudite scholar and a poet of a very high order. He has written both long poems, called *Kahmas*, and couplets after the manner of Shah Latif, which are highly philosophical, but which, nevertheless, contain exquisite poetry. His poetical works also contain a lengthy tirade on the hypocritical practices of the sanctimonious Mullas, who interpret the in-junctions of the Qur'an and the Traditions to suit their selfish ends. This poem was written in 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.) by one Muhammad Sharif of Ranipur, and constitutes a charming satire. Mention may also be made of Sayyid Muhammad Baqa, the founder of the Rashidi line of Pirs in Sind, whose few verses have their own distinct merit.

Most of the above-mentioned poets belong to what is known as the Kalhora Period (1657-1783), which, in fact, constitutes the Golden Age of Sindhi poetry, and is mostly dominated by the verse form, called *Bayt*. One of the princes of this dynasty, Muhammad Sarfraz Khan (reign 1752-1753) was himself an amateur poet and invented a new species of poetry, called *Madiha* (panegyric on the Prophet and his Companions), which was further developed by Juman Charan, Sadru'd-din, Fath Faqir and Hafiz Pinyo, who flourished during the Talpur period (1783-1843). In their hands it became highly cadenced, ornate and rich in diction. The Kalhora period is also distinguished for the composition of *Mathnawis*, the chief among them being the romance of Layla and Majnun, which has been handled with consummate skill by Fadil and Khalifa 'Abdullah Nizamani. The Talpurs were tolerant Shi'ites and did not persecute anyone for his creed. Nevertheless, they appreciated the glorification of the Imams and other 'Alids, which gave rise to elegiac poems, called *Marthiyas*, which were raised to the highest pitch by Sayyid Thabit 'Ali Shah (1740-1810) who can well be compared with the Urdu threnologists, Anis and Dabir.

Sachal Sarmast (1737-1829) may be regarded as the outstanding poet of the Talpur Period. His poetry, though extensive in range and typical by itself, cannot come up to the level of Shah Latif's verse. His *Qafis* and *Ghazals* (Odes), however, are unrivalled in their own way. Although a *hafiz* of the Qur'an and learned in Islamic lore, he dabbles in the extremes of exaggerations, surpassing even Mansur al-Hallaj in his blasphemies, and on this account his poetry is not liked by the generality of the orthodox people. When young, he is said to have been noticed by Shah Latif who predicted that one day he would remove the lid of the kettle which he (Shah Latif) had laid on the fire-place, thereby meaning that Sachal would openly expose the mysteries of the mystic path. Beside Sachal, we do not come across many great names in this field, not to mention the Hindu poet like Swami, Asu and Dalput, who generally treat of Vedantism in their verse, and the Muslim poets like Khalifa Gul Muhammad, Pir Ali

Gohar Shah Rashidi, surnamed Asghar (1816-1847), Sayyid Khayr Shah and Hamal Laghari (1296 A.H.) Khalifa Gul Muhammad (1784-1856) is supposed to be the first Sindhi poet who composed a complete Diwan according to the rules of prosody. His poetry is rich in diction, but is rather cumbrous and tasteless, though here and there it is relieved by bright purple patches. Sayyid Khayr Shah wrote a *Jangnama* in verse in answer to the *Manthias* of Thabit Ali Shah, although he does not attain to the later's eminence. His dispute poem "*Cap and Turban*" is a kind of burlesque and is reminiscent of the *Munazra* poems in Arabic and Persian. Asghar is a master of superb verse and his *Qafis* are characterised by genuine feeling. Hamal excels both in Sindhi and Siraiki poetry, which is copious and scintillates with subtle humour.

The British Period (1843-1947) marks a renewed interest in the domain of poetry, which however, eschews the old rhymic measure of the Sindhi song, so characteristic of our great poets, tending more and more to the adoption of Persian verse-forms and thereby losing its originality, vigour and spontaneity. It becomes a thumb-rule for poetasters such as Khalifa Muhammad Qasim (d. 1891), Hafiz Hamid (d. 1898), Sayyid Fadil Shah (d. 1900), Makhdum Muhammad Ibrahim Bhatti Sufi (1864-1913), Mir Abdul Husayn Sangi (1850-1924), Akhund Din Muhammad *Miskin* (d. 1924), Mirza Qalich Beg (1855-1929), Muhammad Bakhsh Wasif (d. 1892) and Nawazali Niyaz (b. 1892)—to mention only a few prominent names—to pen down their poems, which are either effusions on ethical subjects, or amatory verses addressed to an imaginary beloved, or idle and jejune dialogues between the nightingale and the rose, ending with cutting remarks on the gardener. Nevertheless, there are a few bolder spirits, who, in spite of their adherence to the past, have left as a good deal of fine poetry, of which we can reasonably be proud. Among these may be mentioned Ramadan Kunbhar (Potter), an illiterate man, who in his miracle-poems (*Mu'jiza*), *Mawluds* and *Qafis* breathes the balm of pure native air and is—inspired. They are free from slavish imitation of prosodical rules, and are surcharged with divine afflatus. The *Musaddas* of Mawhlawi Allah Bakhsh (Abojho), composed in 1894, is the first poem of its kind in Sindhi and does much credit to its writer, who may fittingly be called the Hali of Sind. Hakim Muhammad Wasil, who died in 1920 at the age of 90 years, has left us a long spiritual *mathnavi*, called *Gulzar-i-Wasil*, celebrating the loves of the Sindhi pair of lovers Sasui and Panhu. Similarly, the poems of Mall Mahmud Palli are original in conception. Mawhlawi Ghulam Muhammad Khanza'i was a litterateur of great distinction. His *risala*, composed in 1885, and that of Khalifo Nabi Bakhsh, will bear comparison with the *Risala* of Shah Latif, whereas that of Faqir Radi seems to be a poor copy.

The younger generation of poets, though following the Persian verse-forms, have struck a new path in the matter of choosing their subjects. They have also developed new forms of poetry, such as quintets, sestets, octets,

and other strophe poems, with varieties of metre and rhyme. They manifest considerable artistry and try to fascinate by the witchery of their words. The thought-content is also rich and varied. They have got out of the old ruts, the departure having been made by Kishnchand Bewas and Ahmad Nizami Muslim poets like Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil, Lutfullah Badwi, Haydar Bakhsh Jatoi, Ghulam Muhammad Girami, Ghulam Ali Masrur, Hafiz Ahsan, Abdullah *Athar*, Muhammad Alam Abbasi, Rashid Ahmad Laghari, Ayaz Qadiri, Abdullah *Abd*, Sarwarali *Sarwar*, and several others have made themselves conspicuous in the new genre of poetry. Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah is both a poet and prose writer by pleasure. It is gratifying to note that some young Muslim women are now stepping into the field of poetry. The names of Miss Fakhru'n-Nisa of Hala and Mrs. Rawshan Begam are worth mentioning here.

Sindhi poetry, as you must have seen from this brief survey, has a vast range and is very rich in content. The whole province abounds in all sorts of verse, which has not been, and probably never will be collected. Burton aptly remarks: "It is fresh, idiomatic and sufficiently original, copious, and varied in words and expression, at the same time simple and natural". It may be lacking in philosophical matter, but its study is not without pleasure and profit, especially from the linguistic point of view. But this is not true in the case of Sindhi prose, which is comparatively of recent growth and has not acquired that ease and spontaneity, which is characteristic of Urdu or English prose. It began in a faltering manner, as if to express anything in it was derogatory to Sindhi scholarship, which in the past had been restricted to compositions in Arabic and Persian. Even our great masters disdained to write in simple, direct prose, and instead wasted their energies on the crude religious verses ending in *a*. But the signs are not wanting that Sindhi prose will forge ahead in the near future, what with the impact of Urdu prose and what the Sindhis' intense desire to produce creative works in their own language.

The earliest specimens of Sindhi prose are to be found in the moral apothegms of Abdur-Rahim Girhori. Proverbs and enigmas in prose go back to the hoary past and form a rich heritage of the Sindhi language. The preachings of Shah Karim and Khwaja Muhammad Zaman were originally in Sindhi prose, but the highbrow taste of their disciples turned them into Persian and Arabic respectively. The early prose works were literal translations from Arabic and Persian and retained the sentence-structure of the original. Thus, we have the translation of the Qur'an into Sindhi of Akhund Azizullah of Matari (1746-1824) and the literal rendering of the *Tarikh-i-Masumi* by Diwan Nandiram of Sehwan. A distinct advance was made in the writing of prose by Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah of Matari in his *Mufidu's-Sibyan* and the story of *Sadhaturu and Kadhaturo* and by Ghulam Husayn in his story of *Bhanbho Zamindar*. Diwan Kewalram's works. Sukhiri, Gul Shakkar and Gul, are original contributions to Sindhi prose and stand by themselves.

We now come to the doyen of Sindhi literature Shamsul-ulama Qalich Beg (1855-1929), who was an indefatigable writer of prose. His early attempts at it are seen in his life-account of Shah Latif which is a poor specimen of prose. His translations from English and other languages are also trite and give no aesthetic enjoyment to the reader. In *Khurshid* and *Zinat* which appear to be original, and in some plays, which are mostly adaptations, he had attained the proper norm. His poetry reminds us of the inequalities of Wordsworth, like whom he often rises to grandeur but as often descends to the depths of bathos. Ahmad Khan Tagyo Khan Jalbani and Akhund Lutfullah have written rhymed prose, which, however, rarely loses sight of naturalness. The latter's *Gul-i-Khandan*, a version of the Urdu novel "Fisana-i-Aja'ib" is a masterpiece in this respect. The greatest writer of Sindhi ornate prose was Qadi Hidayatullah "Mushtaq", whose artistry and penmanship are discernible in his inimitable works like *Hidayat-ul-Insha*, a book on epistolary art, *Misbahul-Ashiqin*, and *Nusratul-Ashiqin*, both of which commemorate the legend connected with the birth of the Holy Prophet, in splendid prose interspersed with some of the choicest gems of poetry. Mushtaq was a poet of the first order and his thorough appreciation needs the attention of a competent scholar. Mawlawi Abdul Khaliq (Khaliq) of Moro, who died in his youth was a master of piquant style. He and Wasif have made a special study of the Hindu scriptures and have composed several works of polemic nature. Mawlawi Hakim Fateh Muhammad Shwani (d. 1942) was an eminent prose writer and left behind his works such as *Nurul-Iman*, an introduction to the study of the Quran, *Hayatun-Nabi*, a biography of the Prophet, *Abul-Fadl* and *Faydi*, *Miran-ji-Sahibi*, and *Kamal and Zawal*. His style is simple, direct, and pleasing, though here and there marred by periphrases. He was a fairly good poet and introduced the writing of *Fard* in Sindhi poetry. Abdul-Razzaq Memon (d. 1942) was a pompous writer of prose and poetry and lives in his works *Jahan Ara*, and *Goethe*, which are original contribution to Sindhi prose. Mawlawi Din Muhammad Wafai (d. 1952) was a serious prose writer of considerable merit. He was the walking dictionary of all that pertains to Sind. Muhammad Siddiq Memon who has distinguished himself as a pioneer of female education is a fairly good prose writer and poet. But most of his literary work is said to have been done by hired amanuenses. Qadi Abdul-Razzaq's prose writings are heavy and laboured, while those of Muhammad Salih Bhatti (1889-1953) are marked by simplicity and grace. Ali Khan Abro (d. 1954) has done good service to Sindhi prose by writing on Islamic and social subjects. The late Ghulam Muhammad Shahwani was a writer of great promise. His premature death is a great loss to Sindhi literature.

The late Dr. H. M. Gurbakhshani (d. 1947) was a master of vigorous style. His *Nur Jahan* and introduction to *Shah-jo-Risalo*, in which the writer of this article had no small share, have become classics and will continue to delight the thoughtful reader. The late Principal S. C. Shahani, will always be remembered for his social novels *Billu*

Khokhar and Tarani-jo-Abhyas, which, though inspired by the writings of Thomas Hardy and others, mark a new era of novel-writing in Sindhi. Jethmal's (d. 1949) prose is gushy and bizarre, while Lalchand Jagtiani (d. 1954) uses the homely idiom of housewives. His compositions are premeated by phrases from Shah Latif, which often times produce a jarring effect in their strange company. Bherumal Mihrchand Advani, who died in 1950, was a veteran writer and his style is a fine blend of Hindu and Muslim traits. Lekhraj Kishanchand Aziz is next to Dr. Gurbakhshani in the felicity of phrase and force of diction. Manohardas Khilnani and Asanand Mamtora are also good writers, but their style is vitiated by a superabundance of Sanscritic words, a tendency engendered by the former's father, Diwan Kauromal, who was one of early Hindu prose writers. N. H. Bhambhani has written several social novels, which are distinguished for their nervous style and a fine portrayal of human character. To M.V. Malkani we owe the development of drama in Sindhi. He, Rani Ranjwani, Haru Sadarangani, Jhamat Bhawnani and others, though separated from us, are making distinctive contributions to Sindhi literature in Bharat.

Among the recent prose-writers may be mentioned Osmanali Ansari, Ata Husain Shah Musawi, Allahbachayo Sammo, Muhammad Ismail Ursani, Agha Taj Muhammad, Muhammad, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Sarwarali Sarwar, Qurbanali Naqshbandi, Raz Bulrai, Muhammad Urs Sa'ib, Abdul-Karim Sindello and several others, whose work is yet to be appraised. Lutfullah Badwi, whose name has already been mentioned amongst younger poets, writes fairly good prose and his two volumes of the literary history of Sind are a distinct contribution to the history of Sindhi literature. The works of the late-lamented Ghulam Muhammad Shahwani and Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil on literary criticism are first of their kind in this field. G.M. Syed's writings possess their own individual charm and Husamuddin Rashidi has displayed considerable acumen in some of his articles. Diplai's novelettes cater for the vulgar taste and are of ephemeral interest. Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch is a rising star on the literary firmament of Sind. The writer of this paper who is now over 58 years old, need not say anything about himself. The posterity will judge of his humble services to the cause of Sindhi language and literature. It would not be out of place to mention here the name of Miss Zebun-Nisa Karimdino, who has been frequently publishing articles of social interest and that of Miss Badam Begum who has composed several subjective novels, which have a feminine touch about them.

It is an encouraging sign that Sindhi prose is now acquiring that plasticity and naturalness which augurs well for its future. We can look forward to its efflorescence with confidence and hope.



# HISTORY OF KARACHI

## From a village of Sind to its Metropolis

### Heads of Administration 1852-1981

## I

Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah  
and  
Dr. Dur Mohammad Pathan.

## (A) COMMISSIONER-IN-SIND AS EX-OFFICIO PRESIDENT.

1. Mr. Bartle Frere .. Sept. 1852 To July 1859

## (B) COLLECTORS OF KARACHI AS EX-OFFICIO PRESIDENTS

2. Mr. L.T.A.F. Bellasis .. 1859  
3. Capt. J. B. Dunsacter Villg .. 1860 — 1861  
4. Capt. C. J. Kembal .. 1862  
5. Mjr: S. Erskine .. 1863  
6. Mjr: W. Sothey .. 1864  
7. Mr. L.T.A.F. Arm strong .. 1865 — 1866  
8. Mjr: W. R. Lambert .. 1867  
9. Mjr: W. Sothey .. 1867 — 1869  
10. Mjr: W. R. Lambert .. 1869  
11. Mjr: Dun Sactor Villg .. 1869  
12. Mjr: Gletyruhitt .. 1869 — 1870  
13. L.T. Col. L. Dunsactor Villg .. 1870 — 1871  
14. L.T. Col. W. R. Lambert .. 1872 — 1873  
15. L.T. Col. L. Dunsactor Villg .. 1874 — 1875  
16. Col. W. R. Lambert .. 1875 — 1879  
17. Col. R.R. Wallace .. 1879 — 1881  
18. Col. C.F. Boulton .. 1881 — 1884

## (C) NOMINATED PRESIDENTS.

19. James Grant .. Jan. 1885 — Nov. 1886  
20. Alexander McHinch .. Nov. 1886 — 1890  
21. Udhamul Mulchand .. Jan. 1891 — 1891  
22. James Currie .. Dec. 1891 — May 1895  
23. J. Possman .. May 1895 — March 1896  
24. Tahliram Khemchand .. March 1896 — Oct. 1905  
25. T.L.F. Beaumont .. Oct. 1905 to March 1910  
26. Charles Mules .. March 1910 — Sept. 1910

## (D) ELECTED BUT SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION.

27. Sir Charles Mules .. Oct. 1910 — Oct. 1911  
28. Harchandrai Vishindas .. Oct. 1911 — April 1921

## (E) ELECTED PRESIDENTS.

29. Ghulam Ali Chagla .. May 1921 — April 1922  
30. Jamshed Nusserwanji .. April 1922 — Oct. 1933

## (F) MAYORS.

31. Jamshed Nusserwanji .. Nov. 1933 — Aug. 1934  
32. Tikamdas Wadhmal .. Aug. 1933 — May 1935  
33. Kazi Khudabux .. May 1935 — May 1936  
34. K. B. Ardeshir H. Mama .. May 1936 — May 1937  
35. Durgdas B. Advani .. May 1937 — May 1938  
36. Hatim A. Alavi .. May 1938 — May 1939  
37. R. K. Sidhwa .. May 1939 — May 1940  
38. Lalji Malhotra .. May 1940 — May 1941  
39. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar .. May 1941 — May 1942  
40. Sohrab K.H. Katrak .. May 1942 — May 1943  
41. Shambonath Mulraj .. May 1943 — May 1944  
42. Yusuf Haroon .. May 1944 — May 1945  
43. Manual Misquita .. May 1945 — May 1946  
44. Vishramdas Dewandas .. May 1946 — May 1947  
45. Hakim Muhammad Ahsan .. May 1947 — May 1948  
46. Ghulam Ali Allana .. May 1948 — July 1948

## (G) CHAIRMEN ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

47. Hakim Muhammad Ahsan .. July 1948 — Feb. 1949  
48. Ghulam Ali Allana .. Feb. 1949 — Oct. 1952  
49. Hatim A. Alvi .. Oct. 1952 — Apr. 1953

## (H) MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

50. A. A. Ansari .. July 1948 — Nov. 1950  
51. R.A.F. Howroyd .. Nov. 1950 — May 1954  
52. Masroor Hasan Khan .. May 1953 — Oct. 1953  
53. R.A.F. Howroyd .. Oct. 1953 — Jan. 1954

## (I) MAYORS.

54. Mahmood A. Haroon .. Jan. 1954 — May 1955  
55. Alhaj Malik Bagh Ali .. May 1955 — May 1956  
56. Siddiq Wahab .. May 1956 — Dec. 1956

## (J) MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

57. Altaf Gauhar .. .. . Dec. 1956 — Jan. 1957  
 58. S. H. Qureshi .. .. . Jan. 1957 — June 1958

## (K) CHAIRMEN ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

59. Sardar A. K. Gabol .. .. . Dec. 1956 — June 1958

## (L) MAYORS.

60. S. M. Taufiq .. .. . June 1958 — Oct. 1958

## (M) MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

61. Azizullah Hasan .. .. . Oct. 1958 — May 1959  
 62. Mumtaz Ahmed .. .. . May 1959 — Nov. 1960

## (N) CHAIRMEN.

63. Mumtaz Ahmed .. .. . Nov. 1960 — May 1961  
 64. S. Munir Hussain .. .. . May 1961 — Aug 1961  
 65. Brig. Mirza Hamid Hussain .. .. . Aug. 1961 — Jan. 1963  
 66. M. Ziauddin Khan .. .. . Feb. 1963 — Apr. 1964  
 67. Syed Sardar Ahmed .. .. . Apr. 1964 — Oct. 1964  
 68. M. Ziauddin Khan .. .. . Nov. 1964 — Feb. 1966  
 69. Parvez Ahmed Butt .. .. . Feb. 1966 — Aug. 1968  
 70. Abrar Hussain Khan .. .. . Sept. 1968 — June 1971

## (O) ADMINISTRATORS.

71. Abrar Hussain Khan .. .. . June 1971 — March 1972  
 72. M. M. Usmani .. .. . Mar. 1972 — Sept. 1972  
 73. Mazhar Rafi .. .. . Sept. 1972 — Oct. 1973  
 74. M. A. Majeed .. .. . Oct. 1973 — 27 Jan. 1977  
 75. Brig. P.B. Jilani .. .. . 28 Jan 1978 — 9 Nov. 1978

## MAYORS.

76. Abdul Sattar Afghani .. .. . 9th Nov. 1979 —

“Don't complain about the snow on your neighbour's roof,”  
 said Confucius, “when your own doorstep is unclean.”

“There is nothing I need so much as nourishment for my self-esteem,”

## CULTURE THAT IS SIND

Dr. G. M. Mehkri

Culture is a vast subject. The culture of a country may present different aspects to different students. Generally the word culture signifies the mode of living of a people, their social values and their aesthetic sensibility. Taken in this meaning the land of Sind has a distinct culture of its own. The spirit of Sind and its people have refused to merge their individuality in the dominant culture of Indo-Pak sub-continent. It took from other cultures that was vital to adorn its own colourful edifice. Among the cultural manifestations of Sind we find many significant remnants of the Persian, Indian, Arabian and Beluchi cultures.

But for the geographical factors the Sindhi culture would have been greater still. The vast desert with a river that is constantly changing its course, and other factors as the shifting of the capital from place to place; the smallness of the peasant-proprietor class; the absence of the merchants class have militated against the more visible manifestation of the cultural individuality of Sind. Where should one look for the peculiarity of Sindhi culture? In the language and the attitude of the people of Sind we find the answer to this question.

Speaking about the Sindhi language Sorley says, “A language is usually a key to a people”. The Sindhi language is a beautiful instrument of precision admirably adapted to the civilization for which it was intended—a peace-loving agricultural and pastoral culture elaborated by an industrious and non-martial people”. Can we not put it the other way and say that a peaceloving industrious and non-martial people evolved a language beautiful and precise enough to be an instrument of the expression of their civilization and culture? Mathew Arnold speaks of culture as sweetness and light and Clive Bell thinks that civilization consists essentially in tolerance and in freedom of the mind. “Sweetness and light”, “tolerance and freedom of the mind” seem to have been for centuries the undercurrents of the personality of the Sindhi people. People and doctrines flying from fanatical persecution found Sind a haven of refuge. The more one comes to know the Sindhis, the more one is led to think that it is not by chance that Sufism, a deep, silent and civilized protest against religious fanaticism, found such a congenial soil in Sind. Had Sufism not taken birth in the neighbouring country, perhaps it would have been born in Sind itself. Since times immemorial, the Sindhis have been tolerant and peace-loving people. Among the ruins of Mohen-ho-Daro we find hardly any weapon of war. This city half as old as time, shows not a trace of any defence wall around it.

The foreign admirers of Shah Latif are apt to overlook the tolerant attitude of the Sindhis amidst whom this genius was born, lived and worked. He imbibed the legends of a culture no longer dominant in Sind and made them the vehicle of expression of his genius and message. His people, instead of persecuting him for choosing such themes, continued to adore him. This shows the nature of the Sindhi people, the shrub of which Shah Abdul Latif is the most glorious flower. And Sindhi language, the "beautiful instrument of precision" is itself a blend, not of any bazaar gibberish, but of two of the classical languages—chaste, austere Sanskrit and verile, living Arabic. There are not many modern languages which are the product of two classical languages. There is not third language as a result of the fusion of Latin and Greek, Latin Arabic, or Greek and Arabic. It appears as if nature, for this unique linguistic experiment required a people who were civilized enough to respect its noble ancestry; and the Sindhis were chosen for the mission. The nobility of Sindhi language and culture is the gentleness of the strong. It is not meekness. Since ages thousands of Scholars and people from far-off countries came to Sind but eventually they all became Sindhis, and adopted the language of the land, and with their contributions, enriched its culture. In the midst of many vicissitudes the receptivity of the Sindhi mind considerably added to the spirit and feeling of cultural security among the Sindhis. He need not feel that while his language can be spoken, "there is no script for it", nor that his language is confined to cities and towns as the medium of expression for the "refined circle only". Like the poems of Nazrul Islam and Tagore in Bangal, the Risalo of Shah and the works of Sacchal in Sind are enjoyed by rich and poor, the learned and the illiterate alike. They all drink deep at these sublime springs of indigenous inspiration. About two centuries ago Shah Latif strewed the seeds of his genius on the fertile soil of Sind. Because of the Political upheavels, and the passing of the Government of the country into foreign hands, these seeds remain dormant. But time has now come for them to germinate.

In matters other than language the spirit of Sindhi culture needs but a stimulus to burst forth. There are several folk dances in Sind. They are the self expression of the happy and verile nature of the village folks. Sometimes the steps are quite intricate and their perfect execution needs considerable practice. People dance to the accompaniment of music of pipes, drums, "ektar" and sarangi. With proper patronage these folk dances can develop into a school of dancing.

The contribution of Sind in the field of music is well known to every music-lover and even to a common man. Apart from the Sindhi 'Kafis' there are many 'Rags' and 'Surs' evolved in Sind that were adopted by the Indian classical music. The musical instruments are generally the string ones which came here from Arabia 'Ektar' in its native simplicity is the most popular Sindhi instrument. To its accompaniment the wandering minstrels and the village folk sing the 'Kafis' of Shah Latif. The Sindhi music differs from the Pakistani Music in this respect that

the Arabic influence renders it more melodious and softly guttural.

The ancient monuments found at Tatta, Hyderabad, Sukkur, etc., are the finest examples of the Sindhi architecture. They are a curious blend of massiveness and delicacy. Their massiveness is an important factor which distinguishes them from their contemporary Moghal architecture. The intricate and geometrical designs of the colourful glazed tiles inside the domes and on the walls of those massive structures imparts them a character peculiar to Sind. Language, music, art and architecture are not the only things that make culture in its anthropological sense. It is also evident in the mode of living, customs, traditions and behaviour of the people. In this respect Sind has many colourful aspects. The traditional and the varied ceremonial ways of greeting, the rich and heavy ornaments of the Sindhi women and their colourful, loose and graceful garments are exquisite expressions of the culture that is Sind.

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"A scientist never tries to prove any thing."

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"He who treads softly goes far."

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"I consider my ability to arouse enthusiasm among the men," said Schwab," the greatest asset I possess, and the way to develop the best that is in a man is by appreciation and encouragement."

## HEROINES OF SHAH ABDUL LATIF

SHAIKH ABDUR RAHIM

Shah Abdul Latif, the Philosopher-Poet, Sufi and Saint of Sind was one of the greatest poets of his time. Although his works are of an international literary importance and possess a treasure of immense value, he is still confined to the people of the land to which he belongs. "A poet is born not made". And such poets do not grace the world with their existence and presence in all climes and seasons but find their birth in the age most fitting to them and the climate most suitable to their environments. Shah Abdul Latif had rightly been born in this desert land of Sind and has been quite aptly termed as the 'Nightingale of the Desert'. He was not only a born poet but also a lyricist, a philosopher and the best chronicler of his times. He could portray every shade of life, with its unending miseries and sorrows mixed with happiness and sweetness. He could hold a mirror to life—life as it was then led. But he had his vision on the future as he had a peep into the past. He has taken his tales from the whispering tongues of the rustic people, thus popularising them by giving a touch that is of his own making. They do not only engirdle the boundaries of the intelligentia but also touch the borders of the common man's universe. He becomes the greatest story teller by telling tales that were current in this 'land of Sufis and Saints'.

In all his work Shah is more just and generous to his female characters. His portrayal of the 'weaker sex' is a strong testimony for the fact that it is for a woman to love and launch a ceaseless struggle against the heavy odds of the most potent of emotions called "Love". His female characters are more active than their opposite sex and dominate the latter in all respects. They are, in the realm of Shah the real rulers and men figure as insignificant creatures. His heroes lead a 'passive' life, throughout the duration of the story and more or less contribute to a sad and tragic end to which most of his famous heroines are drifted. In short, Shah believed—and translated his belief faithfully—that it is the woman alone who is capable of sincere sacrifice and can bear the 'pangs of despised love'.

The heroines that Shah has created in his over enjoyable poems, stand unparalleled in the domain of Sindhi literature. Shah has given these "Airy nothings, a local habitation and a name". He shapes them in flash and blood; and they have become immortal in the literary field. Shah's heroines in his stories virtually enact the characters of heroes. They are in action more than their counterparts. Possibly his idea was to glorify and immortalise the womanhood by enkindling the fire of love in them

for their opposite sex. In addition, to magnify them further, he introduces fate and creates situations and obstructions which are beyond the control of his heroines.

Shah-jo-Risalo is a sacred trust to the people of Sind and it comprises the entire treasure of literary value. It consists of several folk-stories of Sassi-Punnuh, Suhini-Mehar, Umer-Marui, Lilan-Chanesar, Noori-Jam Tamachi, Moomal-Rano, etc. All the stories have a common theme—"Love and its aftermath". An atmosphere of romance prevails throughout. The reader takes up the book only to finish it. The tales take their birth when the situation has reached a climax and are primarily concerned with the main theme and culminate in the end in a manner fitting to the set up of each story. The main role in his stories is performed by the female characters, who are the real heroes—more than their counterparts, who only supply the remaining material necessary for the tale to complete. He paints and pictures his characters with a peculiar touch in order to exhibit and demonstrate his mystic ideals and ideas. He, therefore, feeds them carefully and tenderly with the spoon of his sufistic doctrines, and makes them the vehicles of his poetic expression.

Even the names of his stories are after his heroines. His heroes are nothing by themselves and they exist only for the heroines. In comparison with Suhini, Mehar is a mere figure. We have to think of Sassui's sacrifice in order to forget Punnuh. In the story of Noori and Jam Tamachi, the latter is known not as the ruler of Thatta but as a lover of Noori. It was Noori who gave lusture to his otherwise 'dead' existence and but for her he would have died unheard, unsung and unknown, Says Shah—

نوري جي نوازيو ٿيو تماچي تي .

It was Noori, who immortalised Tamachi. Moomal and Lilan, who unlike Sassui, Suhini or Noori, are not without defects and certain weakness have been attached to them only to depict them as inferior to the above heroines, who constitute their creator's entire doctrine and faith of a real 'Salik'. But Moomal and Lilan are not less superior and amiable to Rano or Chanesar, Chanesar is immortalised by Lilan, the woman he loved. Shah was more attracted by the remorse of Moomal than by the royalty of Rano.

An author seldom brings his own self while depicting the characters of his stories. But Shah acts contrary to this dictum—he being more of a story-teller. He identifies himself with his creations and they are his 'lengthened shadows'. His poetry is a reflection and shadow of his own life. The different characters that crowd his stories, represent and exhibit their author's views of life. He points out various zig zag

ways and means and bye-lanes of approaching the same goal. Shah was a poet, a lover, a mystic and a philosopher and all these qualities and traits combine and are grouped in his heroines. So over-dominated by these ideas he is, that whenever, his character is led astray, he himself indulges in preachings and directions. It is true that Mehar was the first to fall in love with Suhini and to court asceticism in consequence. So was Punnuh, who on hearing about the bewitching beauty of Sassui left his princehood and came down to meet his love.

سرهي منجهان سات آئي بوء پنيور ڪي .

(Bhambhor was sweetened with the sweet smell of the carvan).

In spite of all this Shah speaks of his heroines only and forgets to remember his heroes. To illustrate, in Sur Suhini, Shah unfolds the river with its revolving whirlpool, raging floods, innumerable crocodiles prepared to devolve Suhini, who enters the river on a dark dark night to meet her lover. Thus Suhini is made more prominent and Mehar less conspicuous. We get but a faint and feeble shadow of the latter when the former is removed from the scene and when he utters:

ڪنڌيءَ جهليو ڪانه، عاشق ايو آهون ڪري،

تو ڪئين ٻوڙي سهڻي، بيلي منهنجي ٻانه،

دريا توتي دانھ، ڏيندس ڏينهن قيام جي .

(Holding a straw in his hand, the lover standing at the bank, is crying and questions from Indus its courage to drown his beloved. The lover says: 'O' river! I will complain to God against you on the day of resurrection).

In surs Abri, Maazoori, Desi, Kohyari and Hussaini, which relate the story of Sassui-Punnuh contain only the woes and the heart-rending cries of the heroine. The surs reveal the true impulses and emotions of Sassui who corresponds to the theory of Aristotle's "Man in action" and more or less is epitomised by the poet. She, in search of her lover, undertakes the hazardous and irksome journey, ready to face the onslaught of the outrageous. But Shah seems to be uninterested in Punnuh who has been kept in the background for the reasons known to Shah alone, and we are not shown of his sufferings in silence. Only once, he speaks of Punnuh:

گڏيو ڏوپين ڏوئي پنھو پاريجو هت ۾ .

(Punnuh along with other washermen is cleaning clothes).

Similar is the fate of Mehar, Chanesar, Rano, Jam Tamachi Umer, Khetsen etc. Lilan although spurned by her husband Chanesar due to her own folly, succeeds through protestations in reconciling with him, but Chanesar remains silent and the only glimpse that we get of his is through her.

'MARUI', the semblance of chastity and patriotism, dominates from the beginning to the end of the tale. The whole episode centres round her and we hear very little of Umer or Khetsen. Umer is brought in only as the author's instrument in bringing Marui and reducing her to a sad plight, which raises her to the forefront.

'NOORI'—the light and life of Sur Kamode has more lusture than the ruler and monarch of Sind—Jam Tamachi, who deserved to be allotted a longer space than has been given to him. True to his belief, Shah prefers Noori—a fisherwoman drawn from the rustic life—to a prince coming from the royal family. The only exception which Shah makes is in sur Sorath or sur Ghatoo where the poet dwells more on Rai Diach and Bijal or Seven Valient Brothers, although this appears to be accidental.

Preacher, as Shah was, he does not only refrain from advising but also indulges in admonishing his heroines. To Suhini he renders the advice:

مرج وت ميهار، متان موتين سهڻي .

(Die with Mehar, do not return).

When Lilan sold Chanesar for a diamond necklace to Kaunru and in return got sad separation, the poet suggests to her:

ليلان حيانا ڇڏ، جي تون سويي سڪين،

پائي پاند ڪچيءَ ۾، پاڻ غريبي گڏ،

هڏ نه چنڊي لڏ، جي ڪارون آئين ڪانڌ ڪي .

(O Lioan give up all excuses if you want to attain success. Wrap thy cloth round thy body and drown yourself in the ocean of poverty. If you make your husband happy, he will not banish you).

He also rebukes her by saying:

مٿي تي موهجي موڙي ڪيئي مرڪ .

(O foolish woman! you are enamoured by a diamond necklace!).

So also Moomal to forget the absence of Rano, clothes her sister and recreates Rano. As a consequence she loses Rano partly due to his misunderstanding and partly owing to her foolishness. Shah does not leave her but picks her up in her distress and becomes her adviser :

راڻو ڀانيو راند ، ويڻو ڪيئن وڙرائين .

(You took Rano to be a toy. How can you expect him to come back.)

His guidance needs no bounds and he occasionally surpasses in consoling his creations. To Marui he says :

م ڪين روءِ ، م رڙ ڪين ، م ڪر دانهون ،  
ستي لوڪ لطيف چئي ، ٻئي ڪڇج ٻانهون ،  
لڏي جت لائون ، سو ڏيس پسندين مارئي .

(Do not weep or bewail or cry. When the world sleeps you pray to God. You will see the lands in which you have been married.)

He also at times takes the role of prophet and forewarns his characters of the impending dangers and misfortunes. Sassi receives such a warning from him :

جتن ڪڇ جتن جو آياڪ ايندا ،  
وئي پنهو پاهجو وٿان تو ويندا .

(Mind you ; Jats might take away Punnuh from you.

Hence prepare for their warm reception :)

Shah could have touched his heroes in a more realistic and artistic manner, had he intended to make them lovely and lonely, but this he reserved for his heroines only. He begins his stories where his heroines come on the scene and ends his tales where they have been removed tragically or otherwise. Sur Moomal Rano, however, differs in this respect from other stories as it gives some details.

Shah believed that it is for a woman to go in search of a man and to strive to achieve her object. To her, love is not only a feeling of the

moment or "desire of the moth for the flame", but a conviction, a doctrine and an article of faith. But love without the man with whom she is in love is no love for her. Lovers of Shah are mainly heroines and not the heroes. It is Suhini who dies while crossing a river to meet her love. To her adventures, he gives a wider space but neglects Mehar totally. In order to eclipse Mehar, Shah avoids the popular anecdote of Mehar's cutting of flesh from his thigh which, if narrated, would have given Mehar an equal place with her, if not more. Mehar had also swam across the river several times and on many deadful nights but Suhini's crossing is immortalised—perhaps because she was a woman.

Shah carries Sassui into sandy deserts and stony mountains in search of her lover. He is not satisfied with her premature death and carries the story to a life after death :

اچي عزرائيل ، ستي جاڳائي سستي ،  
تي ڊوڙائي دليل ، ته پنهو ماڻهو موڪليو .

(When Azrail came and woke the sleeping girl, Sassui fancied "Punnuh sent this man").

He has successfully probed into the depths of her feelings and he has so to say cut open her heart breathing with life.

Marui, although a prisoner and helpless to reach her parents and her Khet Sen, seldom forgets to remember her country and people. The poet has not mentioned anything of Khet. Even her parents forget her so that she is forced to say :

نڪو اير نه پير ، نڪو اونڙي آيو ،  
مون وت ڪونه آيو ، پاڻرا ڀري پير .

(None has turned up—Not even the camelmen.

Even my own people did not come !) But she never forgets them and longs to see them in her country:

چرن چڻڪن چت م ، سدا منجهم سرير .

(I always remember the cattle that graze in my lands.)

Jam Tamachi fell in love with Noori, but her character has been made somewhat a subordinate to that of his. She is the personification

of innocence and simplicity. Shah has tried to show that "It is for a man to command and woman to obey". He re-echoes Milton: "He for God only, She for God in him". She exists for him and therefore she has to humiliate her and make him happy. Noori did not love physical and outward happiness as she knew that happiness of heart and spirit was far superior.

Every story—be it a poem, prose, etc., had some central theme. Shah has also one central idea along which his story revolves. His tales though differently told, are mostly tragic. He has maintained the unity of thought in all the turie Man's chief aim in life is to search truth and Shah expressed this doctrine through his heroines. One has to encounter and surmount several obstructions and bstacles to achieve that aim. But one oas to endeavour and preserve. This is correctly and truly reflected in the character of his heroines. They loose themselves in order to find the real truth; they withstand all the temptations which this world has to offer and thus attain their goal. In Noori's character, Shah expresses:

ڍول تئين جي ڍار هيٺايون هلن جي .

(Those who are humble always succeed.)—

Before God only supplication and humility weighs. Noori who was a fisherwoman conquered the heart of Tamachi because of her humble and simple character, whereas Lilan lost her husband as she was proud, haughty and selfish.

ڪوءِ سومريون، ٻن سميون، اچن اوچي گهات .

(All those Samma and Soomra girls go to hell who are proud).

It was, however, through her humbleness and repentance that she got her husband back. When she felt a shamed of her childish act, she told Chanesar:

(O my beloved! Do not leave me for I am blameworthy).

In Moomal, Shah has shown that real satisfaction and etern bliss cannot be got through artificial substance. It was her repentance which reconciled her to her husband.

ميان ميندرا موت، بخش ڪر بچايون،

تون گهڻ سنڌو گهوت، مون ورتون ٿي هڪڙو .

(O Mendhra (Rano) come back and forgive all my faults. You are husband to many, but to me you are the one).

Which reconciled her to her husband. Shah compliments her:

راڻي رپهارو توڙا ڏانهن مڪو تڪڙو،

لڊوڻا لطيف چئي مائج موچارو،

صبح سوارو ڪاڪ گهڙندو ڪر هو .

(Rano has been sent to you. You will get him back now. Early in the morning in your 'KAK' will enter the camel of Rano).

Even Moomal and Lilan, who rocked in the cradle of pomp and luxury, had to give up every thing in return for eternal joy. This philosophy is well illustrated in Shah's characters particularly his heroines. His fatalism is also present in this poetry which is spoken through his heroines, Sassui after separation from Punnuh, cries:

هي ڪمڻي ڪير جا امر کي آڏو اچي .

(Who am I to oppose the divine decree).

Marui also speaks in the same tone when she says:

قسمت قيد ڪيو نا ته ڪير اچي هن ڪوت ۾ .

(It was destined: otherwise who would come in this castle). And so does Sunhini.

قضا ري ڪير ٿري پاڻي مٿي پير .

(Without his will who can enter the waters.)

These three heroines embody the idea of Shah's fatalism. His other heroines, though they are made to suffer, suffer without accusing nature. On the contrary Moomal and Lilan blame themselves. The main reason for this different treatment in their character is that the first three suffer not because of their follies or blunders but undergo trials and tribulations because of love. The only consolation for them in their encounter with fate is to make nature responsible for all their plights and persecutions.

Shah's famous heroines come from the low and rustic class. Marui is the daughter of a poor peasant of Thar; Noori is fisherwoman by caste; Suhini is the daughter of potter; Sassui; that of a Brahman but was bred by a washerman. Moomal, Lilan and Sorath alone come from the high family. Moomal is the daughter of Raja Nand; Lilan is the queen of Chanesar and Sorath is in fact the daughter of Raja Anerai but is more popularly known as Ratna potter's daughter.

This treatment in characters by Shah is not altogether unjust. His experience in life had made him feel that poverty is the real touch-stone of character rarely reared in upper strata of society. In the words of Shakespeare :

"Sweet are the uses of adversity."

Which like the tode, ugly and venomous yet  
Wareas a precious jewel on his head".

Determination, self-sacrifice and self-denial are the important ingredients required by those who are in search of truth. Shah discovered these qualities in poor people and not in the rich.

The troublesome and complicated life which the heroines of Shah lead, prove that Paradise and God are to be seen through the binoculars of human tears. It is through human efforts and struggles that we can reach the superhuman. Sorrows and suffering may come in the way of human beings but to undergo these hardships bravely and valiantly is really angelic. As a goldsmith in order to test the quality of gold, place a bar of gold in burning fire, Shah also makes his heroines cross the fire of misdeeds and sees the path of union through their death.

Shah's heroines do not belong to the same category but are drawn from different sources. If, however, an attempt is made to classify them, Suhini and Sassui and Moomal and Lilan will form an admirable couple and pair. Noori is in contrast to Lilan and Moomal. Marui is a character by herself and Sorath is different in all respects from the rest.

Shah occupies a unique place in the field of Sindhi literature. He is lonely but lovely and a shining star in the otherwise dark firmament of Sindhi literature. He is the stenographer to Truth and Mysticism. His heroines constitute his cardinal principle of love and life. Through them he has justified the ways of 'God to Man'. They if alloyed together will make one complete 'SALIK', which was the aim of Shah.

## "KOT KORI" A SITE OF INDUS CIVILIZATION IN THE LOWER SIND

ABDUR RAUF KHAN

The number of sites of the Indus Civilization, within the Indus plain area, is very small compared to those found within the Sind Kohistan, the Manchhar Lake area, the Kirthar piedmont, the valleys of extinct rivers like the Ghaggar and the Hakra and the Gujrat-Kathiawar belt. Reason, obviously, is the bulldozing effect of the gigantic machine of the Indus River itself. It has either completely erased innumerable sites within its range or buried them deep under its upbuilding alluvium. This few known sites in the plain area are just accidental survivals.

The extensive explorations carried out by Cousens and Majumdar in the first half of this century, did not reveal any site older than early Muslim or Buddhist period in the Lower Sind. This, in a way, gave birth to a misconception that the whole of the Lower Sind is a new land and was occupied by the sea at the time of the Indus Civilization. Some writers carried the sea even upto Amri, near Sehwan, in support of their preconceived notions. There is enough evidence to prove the contrary.

Tharro Fort near Gujjo reported on by Majumdar and Piggott, Budhjo Takkar by Lambrick and Kot Raja Manjhera by the present writer are all located on isolated hills on the edge of the plain. Garho Bhoro, near Nuhato north east of Naukot, on the bank of the Hakra, was the first Harappan site in the Lower Sind, reported by Lambrick. Dr. N. A. Baloch reported, in 1973, three Indus Civilization sites on the right bank of an old channel, identified by Haig as the Ren River. These three sites—Karahyo pir, Markhan and Koonjsar—in this very order, start about 20 miles south of Badin and extend well into the present Rann of Cutch. The entire area being below the 10-ft. contour.

### "KOT KORI" Site

This site was discovered and studied in the first week of March. It is located on the right bank of the Puran Dhoro, opposite Ali Bandar. The Road to Ali Bandar cuts right through the site. It is a fairly big but low mound, extending north-south on either side of the road. There are some small rises detached from the main site due to erosion. Flat area around does not appear more than 10 feet above the mean sea level. The mound is made up of baked bricks of the houses, Pottery and other material. It appears to have suffered much from erosion, particularly



on the eastern side. In some cuttings the base of the settlement is exposed, which is entirely river alluvium, full of fresh water shells. There is no indication of marine deposits below the base.

The material collected at the site contains most of the characteristic objects found on Indus Valley sites. They include: black-on-red ware of typical shape and decoration, perforated ware, clay and shell bangles, clay tablets, fragments of terracotts toy carts, baked clay balls, probably used as missiles with sling, small clay balls perhaps for children to play, some fragments of copper objects, chert blades, grinding stones and large marine gastropods sawn to make shell bangles.

Houses are built of baked bricks. These bricks are still intact and are being dug at present either by some local people or some contractor to build culvert or some thing else. The whole material is strongly bound by clay cement. Objects can be removed with some difficulty. Salt impregnation is also present.

#### Importance of these Southern Sites.

All the Indus valley sites, located on the edge and even within the Rann, are most important for the study of palaeogeography (ancient geography) and the study of natural processes operating in this area to understand and solve the present problems and comprehend the future ones.

An immediate and urgent need is to protect all the prehistoric sites along the Ren, the Puran and the Hakra rivers and carry out an interdisciplinary study of the whole area along the sea and the marshland. The very presence of these sites makes one thing quite clear that at least 4-5 millennia the whole area has been habitable land. They provide a bench-mark in time to work out the history of the Indus Delta on the one hand and the Thar desert on the other.

Just opposite the site of Kot Kori a channel branches off from the Puran or the lower Hakra. After running slightly north of east, in shallow sweeping curves upto the village Dhakkan, it abruptly turns right more than 90° and continues south in a more regularly meandering course, past Rahim Ki Bazar (Rah Maki-i-way to Macca-according to local tradition) into the Rann and branching off there to make a delta-like feature, on which Kanjarkot (KANJI KA KOT) and Wagoja Kot (VIJEH KOT) are located.

Between Dhakkan and Wango, further north, many remnants of meanders and sections of the channel, just in line with the lower course, are shown on the old topo sheets. This indicates that the Hakra River some time in the past used to flow directly from Wanga through this channel upto Rahim-ki-Bazar and into the Rann. During

some period of low rainfall the upper part of the channel became clogged with sand and the Hakra River adopted a new channel or confined itself to a pre-existing distributary of its own, further west.

East of Rahim Ki Bazar, there are a number of creek like embayments into the edge of the desert, appearing like continuation of the Rann. From these creeks drainage appears to be branching off, building levees and making bird-foot-delta like features into the Rann. Whether, these features mark the local drainage from the stabilized dunes of the desert, during a more pluvial period in the past, or some branches of or the main Hakra River passing through this triangular projection of the desert, south of Chhor, is difficult to say at the moment.

The most curious feature of this area is the depression starting from Chhor, where it is only 20 feet above the sea, running southwest upto the Rann and further on to Kori creek. Chhor is about 100 miles from the Rann as straight distance and much more along river courses. E. A. glennie's map of "Gravity Data and Crustal Warping in Northwest Pakistan—" shows the axis of the deepest part of the basement passing through this area. This process of downwarping appears to be still continuing. This downwarp continues north to merge into the Suleman foredeep, which is still sinking down, just like the Kirthar foredeep along western margin of Sind. This could be the reason of persistence of this depression, presence of Indus Valley sites close to the sea level or even below it and shifting of the river channels westward from the area now desert to the axis of this downwarp.

#### Evidence From the Desert Fringe.

East of Rahim Ki Bazar, along the edge of the Rann, we find some low beach ridges or old shorelines, all covered by marine gastropods broken by man for eating and a few potsherds of undiagnostic nature. Further inland there is an apron of low dunes fringing the fixed or fossil older dunes of the main desert. These low and younger generation dunes display two phases of deposition, separated by a phase of weathering and erosion. At present the whole area, is undergoing gully erosion, which has exposed in the deep cuttings the sections of older material. They reveal interesting evidence.

The erosion surface between the two depositional phases preserves some potsherds in situ, a few of them of red burnished ware, similar to that found around Karachi, indicating Neolithic occupation. No stone implements were found. The material is also scanty and require; further investigations to confirm this local evidence. Another significant feature is that the two depositional features indicate different environmental conditions at the time of deposition. The material below, the erosion surface indicates more moist conditions and above it drie conditions. Identical situation was noted by the writer near Karachi

in Port Qasim area, where a number of Neolithic occupation sites were found in the cliff sands.

Upto this time the writer had been finding these late Neolithic sites around Karachi and hilly areas of Sind and Baluchistan. They actually extend from Karachi and the adjacent hilly parts of Sind, through Lasbela, Jhalanwan and Quetta to Loralal district. The vast expanse covered by this culture, uniformity of culture traits and common base of economy, mainly agriculture, raises the culture almost to the level of civilization. The writer names it KOHISTAN PROTO-CIVILIZATION. This find adds a new chapter to the prehistory of our country. If its presence in the Thar area on a significant scale is confirmed, it will add a new dimension to the evolution of civilization in our country.

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Flattery is counterfeit, and in life counterfeit money it will eventually get you into trouble if you try to pass it.

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The difference between appreciation and flattery? That is simple. One is sincere and other insincere. One comes from the heart out; the other from the teeth out. One is unselfish; the other is selfish. One is unversally admired and the other is unreservedly condemned.

## KATCHI ABADIS IN PAKISTAN

GHULAM HUSSAIN QAMAR BALOCH

Katchi Abadis have developed rapidly due to industrialisation as well as lack of infrastructure and other civic facilities in rural areas which force people to move to urban centres for employment. Abadis have been established by the people on private and state lands in large and small urban centres in the country. The inhabitants of such Abadis belong to low income groups and live in sub-human condition without essential amenities and public utility services. Although the problems of katchi abadis have been growing in the cities and towns with the passage of time, no serious attempt has been made by the past governments to solve this problem rationally. Frequently the residents of katchi abadis have been exploited on promises without any effective measure of relief.

At times, attempts were made even to clear sites occupied by katchi abadis by relocating affectees to outskirts of the cities away from their work places. This approach failed and the katchi abadies continued to swell abnormally. It is estimate that almost 25 to 30 per cent of the urban population of the country lives in slum areas and katchi abadis.

The present Government recognised the nature and magnitude of the problem and as a first step towards its solution, the Government decided to regularize Katchi Abadis that existed before January 1, 1978 and confer proprietary rights on the inhabitants of Katchi Abadis on state lands after payment of concessional cost by the inhabitants.

In compliance thereof, the Provincial Governments and the Federal agencies have been implementing an expanded programme for the regularization of katchi abadis on state land and a number of katchi abadis have been regularized throughout the country. The regularization and improvement work is continuing and is being given a high priority by the Government.

The Government decisions promise better living conditions to masses living in slums and katchi abadis and is reflective of the government's interest which it attaches to the welfare of poor in the country.

The Government fixed January 1, 1978 as cutoff date for the regularization of Katchi Abadis by four provinces. Following this decision, the Provincial Government of NWFP and Baluchistan have initiated the regularization of Katchi Abadis and the Provincial

Governments of the Punjab and Sind undertook the regularization of the Katchi Abadis in a number of cities as follows:—

Progress report upto 30th September, 1981.

Grant of Proprietary Rights and Development of Katchi Abadies.

(A) Punjab :

In pursuance of the IPC decision, Government of Punjab issued instructions to the District and Municipal Authorities for the regularization of katchi abadies on state lands established before January 1, 1978. For this purpose, the existing katchi abadis were demarcated. The remaining issue of conferring proprietary rights on the residents of katchi abadis established on state land are in the final stages. The Government Department of the Punjab have also decided that price of the land will be paid Rs. 20,000 per acre to the Government Departments for establishment of katchi abadis on state land. The Board of Revenue has been asked to issue a notification in this regard.

Progress so far achieved with regard to katchi abadis in Lahore, Faisalabad and other towns is as follows:—

Lahore.—Lahore Development Authority have already completed development work on 20 katchi abadis. The development work on 10 additional katchi abadis is in progress. After completion of development work, provisional proprietary rights have been granted to the residents of the following seven katchi abadis:

- New Crole.
- Basti Saidan Shah.
- Liaqat Abad.
- Mela Ram Park.
- Nasir Abad.
- Islampura Shahdra.
- Shah Shamas Qasi.

To provided alternative accommodation to residents on various katchi abadis, 3,500 quarters have been constructed by the Lahore Development Authority in Kot Lakhpat.

Multan.—There are 84 katchi abadis in the jurisdiction of Multan Municipal Corporation and Development Authority. Development work in 26 katchi abadis has been completed by Multan Development Authority while work in two abadis

is in progress and would be completed during the next quarter. Survey of 48 katchi abadis out of 84 has also been completed. Development work of 16 katchi abadis would also be taken up during the current financial year. Provisional proprietary rights have been granted to 108 families.

Faisalabad.—Out of 9,537 families, allotment orders have been given to 5,996 families of 12 katchi abadis. The remaining allotment order will be issued after resolving the disputed cases. In factory area and old Sabzi Mandi, 4,401 families out of 10,686 have been allotted quarters constructed in Allama Iqbal Colony.

Other Towns.—In other district towns, 65 katchi abadis have been developed and are mature for leasehold rights. An amount of Rs. 31.75 crores has been allocated by the Punjab Government for development of katchi abadis/improvement of slum areas from 1976-77 to 1980-81. Funds also been made available for payment of cost of land under katchi abadis belonging to different departments.

(B) Sind :

The Governor of Sind issued MLO 110 in December 1979 which reflects the policy decisions of the Government of Sind towards regularization of katchi abadis detailing procedure for conferment of proprietary rights leasehold charges, organizational set up, creation of revolving fund procedures for survey. The work of regularization of katchi abadis is in progress in the province of Sind under the said MLO.

According to the survey carried out, total number of katchi abadis in Sind are reported to be 757 covering an area of 12,550 acres. The progress so far achieved with regard to regularization of katchi abadis is as follows:

Karachi.—There are 362 katchi abadis in Karachi spreading over an area of 11,200 acres out of which an area of 7,938 acres comprising 290 abadis is regularisable. In consultation with the local councillors, 118 settlements were notified for regularization. A grant of Rs. 20 million was also sanctioned by the Federal Government for the regularization and development of katchi abadis. This is to be utilised for the improvement of Baldia scheme and setting up of a revolving fund. Since Government land in Baldia and Gulbahar stands transferred to KMC, adequate progress is being made in respect of regularization works. Field offices have been established and streng-

thened to expedite the work. Progress so far achieved in the Karachi Division is as under:

—Net regularizable area of 290 katchi abadis.	7,938 acres
—Area surveyed and schemes completed.	4,022 acres
—Area in survey stage	955 acres
—Area where survey is required	2,961 acres
—Number of leases issued	25,500

Hyderabad.—There are 110 katchi abadis within the limits of Hyderabad Municipal Corporation covering 1440 acres. In all 19 katchi abadis covering 224 acres have been regularized. The remaining 91 katchi abadies occupying 1,216 acres were taken up for issuing entitlement slips to residents. Nearly 7,000 families have been granted proprietary rights.

In 61 katchi Abadies, detailed physical survey is in progress. In order to expedite regularization work a sub-Registrar has been posted in Hyderabad Municipal Corporation providing facility of registration of documents to avoid any inconvenience to the public. The Revenue Department has transferred 97 areas of land to Katchi Abadies under MLO 110. An amount of Rs. 2.7 million has so far been incurred for various development work.

Sukkur.—In Sukkur Division, there are 294 Katchi Abadies comprising 1,27,135 families out of which 254 have been regularised and leases to 124 families issued. Further work on regularisation of Katchi Abadies has been initiated as per MLO 110.

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“Teach me neither to proffer nor receive cheap praise.”

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“Flattery is telling the other man precisely what he thinks about himself.”

## ALI ABAD (RANI-KOT)

G. K. SOOMRO

In this age of science the importance of Castles and Forts is of no consequence on any account, but two centuries ago no nation was safe militarily if it had no Fort to hold the on slaught of the enemy.

It however depended upon the prosperity of the ruling nation to build a strong Port either surrounded by a moat or to build it on a hill.

History is full of the legends of such Forts but none can boast of a bigger or a stronger Fort than that of Rani Kos, rather it is the world's largest Fort, as discovered now. It is this historical fact that has been the cause of this seminar.

Even in Sind there are other Ports of historical importance but none shares honours with Rani Kot.

The investigation and research carried out by me reveals that Rani Kot is not as ancient as it is considered to be, because its history has been traced and it has been established that it was built by Mir Karam Ali Khan in 1812. And that it was built under the supervision of Nawab Wali Mohd. Laghari the then Governor of Chandka Province.

The primary object of building such a big Fort was of course the usual one i.e., to provide as fortification for protection from the outside invasions.

The Kingdom of Talpurs at the time was well established and as is thought by every ruler, they never dreamed of losing it to any one and the best they could do was to protect it by building strong fortifications at strategic places.

Rani Kot is also built at such a strategic place and is built with such strong and thick walls as to make it invincible even by heavy artillery.

A reference to the Gazetteer of Sind compiled by the British India Officers, confirms that Rani Kot was built by Mir Karam Ali Khan at a cost of 12 lacs and that there was no problem of water due to Nai Rani passing through the centre of the Fort. But this did not prove to be a permanent source of water supply as even the modern technology has failed to harness the thunderous flow of Nai Rani when we see that the latest project like Dau Dam was not a success.

Little wonder that Talpur could not establish themselves in this monumental Port as otherwise there does not appear to be any other difficulty in populating the Port and establishing it as a safe residence for an affluent society.

When we consider the area which is covered by Rani Kot and which is said to be 24 miles, we have to think about the period or time it must have taken to be built. It depended on availability of water all the year round and regular manufacture of bricks. Other difficulties must have been overcome by labour in thousands but availability of water could have only been seasonal.

The reign of Mir Karam Ali being of short duration, I think the Fort may have been completed in his reign but it must have started building in the reign of Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur. Traces are available in history that it was started by Nawab Wali Mohd. Khan Laghari who was Prime Minister of the Mirs from 1784—1827.

The structural design of Rani Kot also conforms to the design of other small Forts built by the Mirs. Therefore there is no doubt that Rani Kot was built in the days of Mir dynasty.

The important part played in the building of Rani Kot as a strong fortification is in my opinion based on Nai Rani. Nai Rani is a hill forest of tremendous velocity and flows into river Indus near the town of "SUNN", where a natural tributary of Indus in Abkalani flows upto the toe of the hills.

This Nai Rani had been the source which was planned to be harnessed within the fortification and prevented from flowing into the River.

I think that the flow of this Nai in Rainy season was not properly studied by the builders to a definite conclusion which resulted in bursting away of the fortification wall some time during the completion of the Rani Kot as it evident at site.

Of course the Indus is flowing at a distance of about 9 miles or so from Rani Kot but to provide water for the residents up hill from such a distance at that time could not be conceived.

With the internal intrigues and the looting hordes of Madad Khan Pathan from Afghanistan, Rani Kot had the importance of not being centrally situated and ideal as a safe stronghold of defence but had a fast approach through Indus for the reinforcement and troop movement by boats. In 1814 of Mir Karam Ali's Reign, Rani Kot was garrisoned for defence but later on, the eminent danger being

over, Rani Kot was abandoned and the subsequent rulers had no utility for it.

Even the British India Government did not consider its maintenance profitable and so it has stood there all the time under the Natures wear and Tear process.

In our times however, it has asserted its greatness as the world's largest Port and it cannot be deprived of its due in the annals of History, even though its antiquity is not spread over a period of centuries.

Apart from this apparent reason for building such huge Fort there may be some latent reason for enclosing such large area. The mountain range, in this area, is full of minerals, out of which the easily availability mineral i.e. coal had been discovered but there may be some valuable and rich minerals enclosed in Rani Kot, needs exploring by geological survey. Besides there may be some secret in the source and flow of Nai Rani which may reveal some Geological facts which have not been explored hitherto.

Even otherwise as a relic, Rani Kot must be brought into lime light as a cultural heritage of Sind and its major characteristic explored.

Rani Kot is an achievement of our people of the times, when the western civilization had no access to Mirs reign. It is such a wall enclosure, the wall of which reminds us of the great wall of China.

I therefore conclude that Rani Kot should be brought on the schedules of the visits of V.I.Ps from all over the world, as is done by China in case of the "Wall of China".

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"Use what language you will," said Ralph Waldo Emerson, "you can never say any thing but what you are."

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Emerson said: "Every man I meet is my superior in some way. In that, I learn of him."

## SIND, THE HEALTH CONDITIONS OF ITS PEOPLE THROUGH HISTORY

Dr. Aftab Ahmed Qureshi.

Civil Surgeon Karachi.

The History of the health condition of the people of Sind starts with the History of its civilization, from the days of Mohanjodaro 3000 B.C. From the records of Mohanjodaro it is concluded that people enjoyed good community health.

Not much is known about the health conditions of the people of Sind from 3000 B. C. to 711 A.D. when the Arabs conquered Sind. Arabs praised the people of Sind as handsome, sturdy and possessing good health. Arab culture, religion and habits caused direct impact on the culture and health of the people here.

The good health means not the absence of the disease only but there should be absence of complete mental and physical well being in a person. In the past, Sind was thought to be an unhealthy place. The British forces occupying Sind suffered heavily in their health initially. But the experience further showed the British, that Sind was, upon the whole a healthy place.

Sind suffered in the past from poverty, lack of communication, pastoral population, nomadic way of living, unfamiliarity with the modern medicine, lack of urbanization, ignorance about the requisite of better health, recurrent epidemics, severe menace of Malaria, wide use of Talismas and potions and continuous immigration of the people into Sind.

When British occupied the Sind they constituted six Districts namely, Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Thar and Parkar, Larkana and Upper Sind Frontier. Karachi enjoyed some what better health services than other Districts in Sind.

The "fever" was the most common cause of high mortality particularly in Sukkur and Larkana. Thatta was another place where fever caused havoc. This was because of inundation of land by water from the River Indus in summers. The death rate from this cause "fever" was very high nearly 20 to 22 per thousand of deaths.

Death and birth rate was lowest in District Thata and Parkar because of the migrating population. On the other hand Karachi and Hyderabad showed more of high birth rate because of the people immigrating to these two Districts. The Upper Sind Frontier district enjoyed favourable conditions of longevity and high birth rate.

From 1902 to 1907, this fever, which was mainly malarial in nature killed more people in Larkana District than any other place.

The other diseases noticed were Plague, Cholera, Small-Pox, Bowel complaints and respiratory diseases. The first plague started in Karachi City on 8th December, 1896. Subsequently Sukkur was also attacked but due to unremitting vigilance the disease was kept out of Shikarpur, Larkana and other places. This plague effected 6,420 and killed 4,829. Thereafter plagues occurred every year in Karachi but with less severity.

Cholera visited Sind every three years with less severity from 1897 to 1907. It caused 2,394 deaths in 1899 epidemic.

Small Pox was never absent from Sind. The average number of deaths compared per thousand was only .28 per one thousand deaths in Karachi District.

The deaths due to bowel complaints were much less in severity and number. This was perhaps due to better nourishment of the people of Sind than people living in other parts of the Bombay presidency.

The percentage of death from Respiratory diseases are very small.

Deaths due to injuries were mostly due to bites from animals like wolves and snakes. The Crocodiles killed few per year.

The Influenza epidemic of 1918 killed 4,829 and effected the population for another decade.

The work of vaccination against Small Pox was under the supervision of Deputy Sanitary Commissioner and his staff. The vaccination in Karachi started in 1879. Golf-lymph used for the purposes. The vaccination started in Sukkur, Rohri and Larkana from 1904. The Sanitary Commissioner's report of 1904 to 1905 states that "the opposition to vaccination was increasing in Educated Class and the movement centre was at Hyderabad."

Sind's population like that of the Sub-continent was characterised by high level of fertility and mortality interconnected with high infantile mortality.

According to the first Five Year Plan of Pakistan for 1955 to 1960, the infantile mortality rate was 110 to 130 per mile and maternal death rate in child birth was from 4.4 to 6.8 per thousand births for the whole of Pakistan. Sind comparing with the rest of the country was better of. The India Year Book for 1947 remarks that the maternal and infant mortality was appalling in the Sub-continent. About 2 lac (2,00,000) mothers lose their lives every year as a result of pregnancy and child birth. The morbidity was even 20 times more.

The population of Sind inspite of the health hazard continued to rise excepting from 1918 to 1928 due to an after effect of the great influenza epidemic.

The first five year plan states that "the health statistics were unreliable." Sind suffered from higher rate of infant mortality and high death rate because of insanitary conditions and insufficient medical facilities along with recurrent epidemics. There was not enough of potable water supply, sewage disposal was unsatisfactory, under ground drainage was available to only 2% of the population. The bowel complaints were wide spread and the malaria taking a heavy toll of life. The national and infant mortality in Pakistan was the highest. Solution depended on improved nutrition, better housing and more of health education. In the past it is felt that people enjoyed better health excepting for the periods of epidemics. The factors for this could be better nutrition, unadulterated food, fresh air, large houses, uncongested life, no air pollution lot of exercise and loss of mental tensions. The man lived in the real ambience of the mother nature. People could travel miles and fight with rattle snakes, without any danger. They possessed better resistance power.

The diet of ordinary people was simple and nourishing with plenty of butter and milk to consume.

The adulteration of food was a sin. There was regular free distribution of milk to the poor.

The cost of living was cheap. Food was plenty, therefore easily available to the consumer.

People in the Hilly tracks enjoyed better health. There was no malaria in those regions.

Sind gradually saw the Urbanization and increase of its popu-

lation due to immigration particularly after 1947. This led to many health problems. The people continue to live in unhygienic conditions but still the people living in the Rural areas possess good resistance power to common diseases.

In the past the medical care was mostly taken by the Tabibs and Hakims. Highly advanced system of Unani medicines and herbology existed just as in China. This is still practiced today along with allopathy. The treatment was cheap. The Bhoire Commission 1935 on the health conditions in India states "that 80% of the diseases responded to cheap local treatment, 10% required Hospitalization and 10% special treatment." The Surgery was performed by "Jarrahs" and the Potters were the bone setters amazingly with good score of success. There were quite a number of renowned Hakims in Sind in those days.

After the British came they started few Hospitals and Dispensaries. Particularly Civil Hospital at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Shikarpur. There were three women hospitals at Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur. In other Districts; Dispensaries with Assistants or Licentiate Doctors; were established.

X-Ray first came to Karachi in Civil Hospital by the end of the First World War. People usually visited civil hospital for Surgical Problems particularly for the operation of stone in Urinary Bladder.

The history of medical progress would be incomplete without mentioning the names of Sir Hennery Holland who was an Eye-Specialist. He first came to Sind from Quetta on the invitation of some Hindu shop-keepers of Jacobabad. He performed the operations about 40 in two weeks. Thereafter one Seth Hiranand Mendha invited him for opening an Eye-Camp right in the front Verandah of his house, 600 operations were performed.

The names of Miss Rachal Piggot and Miss Ellis Ward need to be mentioned. These were courageous ladies and often worked in the Sandy Wastes of Kandhkot in 1927, travelling in their Old Ford Car popularly known as "Tin Lissie".

The Medical work of the Church of England Zenana Mission Society in Hyderabad was started by Miss Kompton in the early part of the last century. Miss Kompton was killed in an accident at Quetta but Miss Rachal Piggot followed her. Most of the work of these ladies was towards giving better training to the indigenous Mid-wives. In 1908 the Dies improvement scheme was started and the first Conference of Dies was held and was presided over by the wife of the then Governor of Bombay.

The maternal and child welfare movement in Sind owes much to the All India Maternity and Child Welfare League started by Lady Chalmersford in 1918.

The Mental Hospital in Sind was built in 1871 by Sir Cowasji Jehangir Ready-money of Bombay. The building of the Hospital costed Rs. 68,441/-. Sir Cowasji contributed Rs. 50,000/-. This Hospital is still running with provision of more facilities for more patients and in fact the only Government Mental Hospital in Sind.

The factors governing community health mainly depend on Socio-Economic condition, availability of trained personnel, effect of research in new drugs, climate, better health services unpolluted atmosphere, effect of diet, living conditions, noise and urbanization.

Socio Economic conditions are the most governing factors in the improvement of health of a particular community. These conditions have changed greatly in the last 50 years particularly since 1947, when there was mass immigration from India the majority of whom have settled in Sind. This immigration has brought with itself a different social structure which has made an impact on every one living in this part of the World. New Society is in the formation. The population has increased by 3 times by now. It has become 20 times costlier than before. The daily average caloric requirement per person can hardly be met with. 1000 to 1200 calories are available instead of 2,500 calories being the daily requirement.

The availability of trained personnel can hardly be achieved. There is one doctor to about 13,500 persons in Pakistan as compared with one doctor for every 1000 persons in United Kingdom. There is one Nurse for 50,700 persons in Pakistan as against one Nurse for every 300 persons in United Kingdom. These figures are true for Sind also. The report of the Sind Health Department dated 13th November 1973, shows over all deficiency in the trained personnel. The Government of Sind has recently started 3 medical colleges to meet with the deficiency. This is a great and commendable step taken by our Government. This would help doctors to fan out to the farther most corners of Sind.

The effect of Research and New Drugs has made a great impact on the mortality percentage which has decreased to a great extent. Sir Elexander Fleming was a Pioneer towards this new research and came out with the drug like Penicillin which was first used in India for the treatment of Mahatma Gandhi when he had contracted Pneumonia in the Agha Khan Palace in Poona in 1942. Thereafter there has been continuous flow of life saving drugs and vaccines. Better diagnostic methods were now available. There are no more great epidemic like Plague and Cholera, the result is less mortality,

increased birth rate and the population explosion. This problem needs to be solved at its own level.

The climate in Sind is moderate as compared to other parts of the country. Coastal Areas have less severe summers and less severe winters. The temperature usually ranging between 90 to 100 degrees Fahrenite. The Interior of Sind is Of-course hot in summer and cold in winter. The Temperature ranging between 100 to 110 degrees Fahrenite in summer. The diseases prevalent in winter are usually Pneumonia, Coryza, malaria, meningites and measles in children. The diseases prevalent in summer are usually skin and bowel complaints.

The present Government has taken great pains in improving the health conditions of the people of Sind by allocating more funds. In spite of all that more funds would still be needed, particularly to control the communicable diseases like Tuberculosis, gastro enteritis, Helminthiasis, Typhoid, small pox, measles, malaria, trachoma and poliomyelitis. In spite of the best efforts of the Government these diseases are not under control because of lack of the sense of responsibilities amongst the doctors who work for the project and lack of insentives and emoluments for them.

Tuberculosis nearly effected 5.5% of the population previously but it is now reduced to 3 or 4 per cent. The rural areas do not have enough of anti-tuberculosis services.

The Trachoma needs more attention for its control.

Malaria still persists and causes great morbidity.

The common house fly is a great menace and is responsible for many abdominal diseases.

Small Pox still continues though it is under control. It caused 3,661 cases in 1972 and killed 456.

There is lack of civic facilities. Open spaces and play-grounds are lacking in big towns.

Government has allocated more funds for the development of new hospitals and dispensaries but more funds are still needed to run them. The child and maternal health centres are few.

The supply of potable water is less, hardly to about 6% of the population. The under ground drainage facilities are available to only about 2% of the population. Most of the bowel complaints would vanish if these facilities are properly supplied.



The adulteration of food has increased. The Government has two laboratories one at Krachi another at Rohri to implement the pure food Ordinance of 1960.

The atmosphere is polluted by smoke of the automobiles particularly in large towns. This needs to be checked up. The recent Nuclear explosion in India on the Borders of Sind has caused special concern in the minds of the people in Sind about radiation hazards.

The diet in the past was rich in proteins and balanced. This of-course is not true at present. People have left the nourishing Lassi for adulterated tea particularly in large towns.

People in Sind are poor and have inadequate clothing. Particularly in rural areas therefore they suffer from lung diseases in winter and skin diseases in summer, People in towns live in congested flats and therefore suffer from tuberculosis, Colds and coughs and tonsillitis particularly in children.

Noise nuisance is increasing particularly in large towns and has definite bad effect on the health of the people.

Sind has recently seen more of Industrialisation and therefore urbanization. This has caused great impact on the physical and mental health of the people living in large towns. The man in the rural area is more fortunate from this point of view.

Sind has progressed as far as the health conditions are concerned but on the other side of the picture, it has deteriorated. In the past there was pure and abundant food, balanced diet, opportunities for exercise, no heart diseases, no mental illness. The socio economic condition of the present day has disturbed the previous structure of the Society. The dignity of life and the established convention are hard to find.

But even with the present conditions better health to Sind could come if the efforts of the doctors and the Government are channelised together. The doctor is an skilled labourer and not a beurocrate. If his family is secured and he is guaranteed better and honourable living, the things would certainly change for the better in the larger interests of the health of Sind and thus for the whole nation.

## Chronological Dictionary of Sind 1000-1525

### IV

M. H. PANHWAR

#### 1350 A.D.

Ibn Battuta, who visited Sind in 1333 A.D., wrote Rehala, a work considered to be Arabic Ulysses, curious, learned, courageous and articles. The book in its Vol. II, has a chapter on Sind.

A number of texts and translations are available and of these Haig's articles, 'Ibn-e-Battuta in Sindh' in J.R.A.S. Vol. XIX new series 1887, pp. 393-412 covers Sind fully. Recently a 4 volume translation of the word by Gibb has been published.

#### 752 A.H. Muharram 10

#### 1351 A.D. March 9

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq took the fatal fish on breaking his fast. The fish is now considered a fake story to cover up the more important evidence of his death by poisoning.

Barni, p. 524.

Mehdi Hussein, p. 191.

#### 752 A.H. Moharam 21

Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq died at 14 Ko (28 miles) from Thatta. Badauni suspects poisoning.

Barni, p. 524.

Firishta; Bombay Edition-II, p. 258 puts it as 20 Muharam, Mehdi Hussain located the place of his death as Sonda, 22 miles from Thatta by land and it would be 28 miles from it along the river.

Quoted by Mehdi Hussain in Tughluq Dynasty p. 498.

#### 1351 A.D. March 20

Sirat-ul-Auliya of Muhammad bin Mubarak states that Sultan sent for the Ulmas and Saints and among them was also Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmood. On their arrival, he did not show respect for them and this miraculously caused his death.

Badauni states that while Muhammad Tughluq was facing rebels in Gujrat, Feroz was installed as Sultan in Delhi by

Badauni, Vol. I, p. 242 suspects that he was poisoned.

the Ulmas and specially Nasiruddin Mahmud, and, therefore the Ulmas and Feroz were called by the Sultan. They reached Sonda before his death.

Barni confirms that Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmood and other Ulmas were brought (as prisoners) to his camp at Sonda.

That Feroz Tughluq also came with the Ulmas to Sonda leaves no doubts to Badauni's version.

The Death of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq is suspected by poisoning the Badauni, stating that Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud taking advantages of troubles of the Sultan, had installed Feroz as Sultan at Delhi. Hearing this news at Gondal, while on way to Thatta, the Sultan ordered that Feroz and Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud be brought as prisoners. When these prisoners arrived at Thatta, the Sultan ordered their execution but shortly after this he died.

Barni states that on his death-bed the Sultan was reconciled to Feroz, but does not mention the causes of misunderstandings. This reconciliation, therefore, shows that Badauni's version is correct. Barni in spite of his hatred for the Sultan calls him Shahid, a title accorded also to those who are killed by poisoning. Barni has also suggested that the best solution for the Sultan while in the midst of rebellions at Gujrat was to abdicate (in favour of Feroz of course). This version, though rejected by Sir Walseley Haig, appears to be closer to the truth than death caused by eating of Palla fish.

752 A.H.  
Muharram 23

Accession of Feroz Shah Tughluq at Sonda as Muhammad Tughluq had left no heir.

1351 A.D.  
March 22.

Dr. Moinul Haq puts as Muharam 24th or March 23rd.

Barni is silent on the question of heirs. Isami states that he had a daughter born in the days of Ghiasuddin Tughluq. Isami also mentions a son who was raised to throne by Khawaja Jehan.

Barni, pp. 523-25.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. I, p. 242.

Barni, pp. 521-25 and 515.

(J. R. AS - July-1922).

Barni, p. 525.

Urdu translation of Barni's.

Futuh-us-Salatin.

Badauni mentions another elder son who accompanied him to his Sind expedition.

Feroz Tughluq, born in 706 A.H. of 1305 A.D., was 46 years of age then.

### 1351 A.D.

On the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Mongol auxiliary forces whom Amir Farghan had sent under the command of Ultun Bahadur to help the Sultan, became rebels, joined the Soomras and looted and chased the Delhi forces.

To avoid further confusion, Feroz Shah, the new Sultan, in consultation with the leading Amirs paid huge sums of money and gifts to Ultun Bahadur and then alone the Mongols left for their country.

Amir Mauroz Khan (son-in-law of Tarmashirin the Mongol who for nearly 20 years was in the service of Sultan and had also deserted and joined the other Mongols and the Soomras and attacked the Imperial forces which had departed from Sonda on the third day after the Sultan's death, and had gone only one or two Kohs from there. The Soomras attacked from the rear and the Mongols from the front.

The Mongols seized women, slave girls, horses mules, clothes, etc. Even villagers who had joined the Imperial army joined the Soomras in the plunder. They were about to seize the Royal Harem and treasury when the leaders and nobles approached Feroz Tughluq to become the Sultan. Under these pressures, he accepted the proposal, bribed the Mongols and proceeded to Sehwan.

In view of Muhammad Tughluq's death by poisoning the version of the pressures of the Ulmas is a made-up story.

While the mongols were looting the Imperial troop, Malik Tun, a slave of Vazier Khawaja Jehan fled to Delhi and narrated the story to his master, who installed Mahmud, a young son of Muhammad bin Tughluq aged 6-7 years under the title Sultan Giasuddin Muhammad Shah. The Vazier Khawaja Jehan later on tried to make amends but he was put to death by Feroz Tughluq.

Badauni, p. 242.

Arabic History of Gujrat Vol. III, p. 893. Afif puts his age as 45 lunar years or 44 solar year at this time.

Barni, pp. 107, 525, 531-35.

Afif, p. 48.

Ishwari Parshad, History of the Qarauna Turks p. 305.

Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi, pp. 1-4.

The place would most probably be between 37th and 39th miles from Hyderabad, an alluvial depression bounded by hills on three sides and the river on the fourth or eastern side. The river then would have been even closer than today.

Barni, p. 539, denounces the boy as illegitimate.

Afif, pp. 51-52 and 57-80.

Isami, asserts that Sultan had no issue.

Badauni, p. 242, states that he had another son who had accompanied him to Sind.

752 A.H.  
1351 A.D.

Feroz Shah Tughluq soon after his accession at a distance of 3-4 miles from Sonda towards Sehwan had his coins minted.

Nelson Wright, Coinage and Metrology of Sultans of Delhi. p.

These were most probably minted at Sehwan.

1351 A.D.  
572 A.H.

Feroz Shah while on way from Sonda to Sehwan appointed governors for the different parts of Sind, Amir Nasar for (present) Nasarpur (which was built by Nasar), Malik Bahram for the present Northern Hyderabad, and Southern Nawabshah Districts (the latter built Baharampur), Malik Ali Sher and Malik Kafur at Sehwan, Malik Rukun-uddin as his representative for Sind and Malik Abdul Aziz as Diwan of Sind.

Mahru states that the early Subedars of Sind like Bahram were so tyrant that the young and old of Sind were submissive.

751 A.H.  
1350-51 A.D.

Sultan Feroz ordered Amir Nasar to build a fort on Puran or Kalap Sanghra, and thus Nasarpur was founded. Amir Nasir was posted here with a thousand troops.

Afif, pp. 53-55.

Insha-i-Mahru letter No. 134, p. 235.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 118.

Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, p. 64.

Masumi, pp. 49-50.

The belief that Nasarpur was founded by Allanddin's general Nusrat Khan is incorrect as the latter never came to Sind.

The founding of Nasarpur on Western Puran shows that the change of the course of the river Indus which took place some 25 years earlier had stabilized itself.

This change of course was the main cause of the decay of the Soomra power and the rise of the Sammas.

1351 A.D.  
725 A.H.

Feroz Shah reached Sehwan, where for the first time the Khutba was read in his name.

Masumi, pp. 49-50.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 118.

Sehwan until then seems to have been controlled by the Samma chief Jam Unar.

He entrusted the rule of Sehwan to Malik Ali Sher and Malik Taj Kafuri.

This was the first appointment as the Governor at Sehwan after many years.

The route followed from Sonda to Sehwan was Sonda, Tando Muhammad Khan, Nirunkot (Hyderabad), and Halakandi to Sehwan.

1351 A.D.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was temporarily buried at Sehwan at the western side of Qalandar Shahbaz's grave.

Professor Muhammad Shafi, Oriental College Magazine, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 156-161.

Mubarak Shahi's statement on p. 119 that the king's body was taken to Delhi on an elephant is incorrect as proved by inscriptions on his temporary burial. This tomb was bulldozed by the Department of Awfaq in 1967, for the fact lifting of Qalandar's promises. However, the inscriptions were preserved by the Archaeological Department.

Dr. N. A. Baloch in 'The Burial place of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq', Islamic Culture, January 1948, states that this was temporary burial of the king and his body was removed later on in 1365 A.D. by Feroz Tughluq for final burial at Delhi. If this statement is correct then the body would have been removed in 1367 A.D. after the surrender of Banbhiniyo.

Dr. Mehdi Hussain (Tughluq Dynasty, pp. 499-500) basing on Sirar-ul-Aulya, states that his corpse was later on taken to Delhi and buried by the side of his father. The examination of the graves by him shows the indifference with which the Sultan was buried. This fact reveals that in spite of Afif's claims to the contrary, Feroz Shah had no respect for Muhammad Tughluq.

1351 A.D.

Taghi fled from Thatta towards Gujrat, where he was killed. The news of Taghi's death was communicated to Feroz Tughluq, while on his way from Sehwan to Delhi.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, p. 227.

## 1351 A.D.

According to Mir Masumi, Feroz Shah on his way to Delhi stopped at Bakhar for 20 days and appointed Malik Rukunuddin, as Naib-e-Hukumat. He was given the title of Ikhlas Khani and the control of the Upper Sind was also entrusted to him. Malik Abul Aziz Barid was appointed as the Diwan of Bakhar and given 80 soldiers to guard the Bukhar Fort.

Mubarak Shahi states that Feroz Shah halted at Sehwan (which is more probable to arrange temporary burial of Muhammad Tughluq) and appointed Maulana Amad and Maluk Ali Ghauri as feifs of Sind and were sent after Taghi and Thatta. (This is not probable as the Thattians had proved too powerful for the Imperial army.)

## 1351-52 A.D.

Jam Uner overthrew Hamir bin Dada soon after Muhammad Tughluq's death and established the Samma Dynasty.

At the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in 1333-34 A.D., Uner had raised a rebellion in the Central Sind against the Delhi Government. He probably helped the Sumras against Muhammad Tughluq's invasion in 1351 A.D., but seems to have acquired enough strength to overthrow Hamir Soomro after settling the affairs with the Imperial army.

Subsequently Ain-ul-Mulk made an appeal to Mulk-ul-Shariq Iftkhar-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Diwan (Prime Minister) to help in reinstating Hamir Soomro in place of Jam Babhiniyo-II, the Samma ruler of Sind, who had joined hands with the Mongols and had attacked the imperial territories in Multan and Gujrat.

753 A. H.  
1352-53 A.D.

Ferozuddin Shah Jam Unar died and his Sadaruddin Jam Babhiniyo-II and the former brother Allauddin Jam Juna-I jointly ruled Sind.

Masumi, pp. 49-50 basing on hearsay only.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 119.

Insha-i-Mahru, Lahore, 1965, pp. 100-103.

Masumi's version on p. 61 that Jam Unar died of drunken orgy is disproved by Mahrus letters.

Masumi states that he died after a rule of three and half years is also incorrect.

Hodivala, Vol. I, p. 102 puts his death in 1339 A.D.

Masumi's statement, that he died

after 3½ years rule since raising the rebellion in 1333 A.D. seems to be incorrect.

## 1352-54 A.D.

Banbhiniyo, son of Jam Unar (the latter is known for the sack of Sehwan in 1333 A.D.) defeated Hamir bin Doda Soomra, in a single battle inspite of help from Ain-ul Mulk Mahru, the Governor of Multan.

He became ruler of the whole of Sind by about this period.

## 1352-64 A.D.

Downfall of the Soomra rule.

The exact date is not known but it would be between 1351 A.D. and 1364 A.D. as it was during this period that Ain-ul-Mulk Multani appealed to Sultan Feroz Tughluq to save the soomras from the Sammas, who were mixed up with the Mongols and had been encouraging them to attack the Delhi Sultanate's territories.

Dr. Riazul Islam maintains that the policy of Delhi after 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.) was to support the Soomras as a counter-poise against the rising Sammas, who when they came to power, resorted to another invasion from Delhi by Feroz Shah, and it involved a two years' expedition to settle the matter.

Some where between these years, Jam Unar, the Samma rebelled against the government of Hamir Doda. His son Banbhiniyo, who succeeded his father probably the same year, sought the help of the Mongols in his exploits, conquered many forts and also used the Mongols against the Delhi Government. Sultan Feroz Tughluq, therefore determined to help Hamir Doda and organised a fullfledged expedition against Thatta.

1352-67 A.D.  
753 A.H.

Joint rule of Banbhiniyo son of Jam Unar and his uncle Jam Junna of the

Insha-i-Mahru letter No. ....pp.....

Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, p. 100 puts the end of their rule in 752 A.D.

The rise of the Sammas in Sind in Islamic Culture (1948), pp. 36-368.

most of Sind. Hamir Soomro having been defeated had left Sind and was residing outside probably under the Delhi government's protection.

Banbhiniyo in alliance with the Mongols had attacked Gujrat and the Punjab several times. Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, the Governor of Multan, appealed to Feroz Shah to help Hamir, and as a result, Feroz entrusted the job to Malik-ul-Umra Rukunuddin Amir Hassan, brother of the Governor of Gujrat, with a view to free both Gujrat and Sind from the menace of Banbhiniyo bin Unar.

This plan seems to have failed as Banbhiniyo ended the Soomra rule in Sind once for all.

This finally brought Feroz Shah's invasion of Sind in 1365-67 A.D.

Banbhiniyo was aggressive and unwilling to submit to Delhi, whereas Jam Junna, as elderly person was weak and wrote letters to Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, the Governor of Multan, showing willingness to submit to the Delhi Emperor. This may have been done through Syed Jallaluddin Bukhari of Uch as appears from Mahru's letters.

#### 1352-1360 A.D.

A letter was addressed by the Governor of Multan to a military officer instructing him about an expedition already sent against Sind where a rebellion had been raised by that time with the help of the Mughals (Mongols) and it was to be suppressed.

The letter whose author is called one of the Amirs of the Delhi Sultanate was written probably prior to Mahru's appointment as the Governor of Multan, or it was written when Mahru himself was Governor of Multan and this Amir had sent him a copy.

1353 A.D.  
754 A.H.

Raising of the dome over the temporary burial of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq at Sehwan as is clearly evident from the inscriptions on it, now preserved by the Archaeological Department at Karachi. The mason, whose services were employed

Insha-i-Mahru, pp. 100-103, 186-188 and 229-235.

Riazul Islam, Rise of Sammas in Sind, Islamic Culture, Vol. XXII, pp. 359-382.

Inshai Mahru; letter Nos. 99 and 134, pp. 186-188, 229-235.

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 8, pp. 19-21.

by the Royal Court, was named as Sarmast.

It was probably at the same time that Feroz Shah built a dome over Usman Marvandi's grave.

#### 1356 A.D.

A patient (Sanad) arrives from the Abbasi Khalif Al-Hakim in Egypt confirming whole Hindustan on Feroz Shah.

1358 A.D. or  
1359 A.D.

Death of Ziauddin Barni, author of Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi, at the age of 74 Lunar years (equivalent to 72 solar years.) His history covers the period from 1264-1358 and contains 23 pages on Muhammad Tughluq's expedition against Sind and its failure. In addition, it has large number of references on Delhi and the Upper Sind contacts for 94 years, for which period it is the only authentic source.

1359 A.D.  
Soon After.

Shirashamak who assumed the title of Shahabuddin became the king of Kashmir after the death of his brother Allauddin. He led an army to the border of Sind and is reported to have defeated the Jam ruler of Sind on the Indus.

This may have only been a successful raid on the Upper Sind showing that the Sammas were in full control of the Upper Sind then.

1359 A.D. to  
1364 A.D.

Jam Junna wrote a letter to Manru the Governor of Multan informing him that :-

- i. The Jam had nothing to do with the Mongol raids.
- ii. The Imperial troops sent from Multan had looted the country and the public of Sehwan and Sukkur.
- iii. In spite of provocations, Sind's army had avoided retaliation on certain occasions.

This work was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1862. Its Urdu translation by Dr. Moinul Haq has been published from Lahore in 1974. The book was written in 758 A.H. or 1357 A.D.

CHI, Vol. III, p. 278.

CHI, Vol. III, p. 501.

The chroniclers of Sind make no mention of the victory of Shahabuddin of Kashmir (1359-1378 A.D.). The authorities of Kashmir are vague and on this point worthless.

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 134, pp. 229-235.

- iv. The Multan's government had taken action against Sind on complaint of certain vested interests.
- v. The Imperial army arrested Muslims (of Sind), declared them as slaves and sold them in the market.
- vi. Sind had large and powerful army and if the Imperial troops had entered Sind again, they would face the consequences.
- vii. Subedar (Muqatila) of Gujrat and Gumashita of Sehwan were unnecessarily blaming the Jams for any thing and every thing that went wrong in teir administration.

1359-1364 A.D.  
961-967 A.H.

In reply to Jam Junna's letter, Ain-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Multan, denied all his accusation and replied that on hearing the rumours of Feroz's death while on the 2nd expedition to Lakhnauti or Bengal (in 1359 A.D.), the Jams of Sind had thrown off the yoke of submission which was brought about by Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari. He further argued that the Sammas had also used the Mongol troop against a Muslim country and the Muslims of the Delhi Empire (Gujrat and Multan) and their relatives had usurped the Jagirs allotted to the representatives of the Sultan at Sehwan and using reconciliatory tactics to avoid retaliation by Sehwan's Faujdar but attacking them unawares and denying knowledge of it, though the Jams themselves had a hand in this. He warned them to be as submissive as under Bakram Khan, (Possibly the Samma of Northern Hyderabad and Nawab Shah had submitted to Feroz Shah in 1351 A.D.) and not to resort to rebellion when they had sent their girls to the Royal Harem. The Hindu Rajas after sending girls to the Royal Harem never rebelled, but the Sindhis being treacherous like Raja Dahar's daughters were capable of it. The Imperial Government is not afraid of the Sind's army because the larger the number of the prey animals the bigger is the bag, etc.

1360-1364 A.D.  
or earlier.

Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru wrote a letter to Mulk-ul-Shariq Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Fariduddin Saheb Diwan-i-Istifai Mumalik (Prime Minister of Delhi Sultanate) that Hamir Soomro Dodo needed the latter's blessings (active military assistance) and may be

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 134,  
PP. 229-235.

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 146, pp. 100-103.

nominated to defeat and replace Jam Banbhiniyo, a rebel, who having raised a Mongol army had once attacked Punjab and looted it, but was repelled by the Multan's forces. He also had attacked and looted Gujrat a number of times and had brought infidels (Mongols who by that time had become Muslims) in the land of Islam which fact was already known to the Prime-Minister.

The Governor of Gujrat Rukunuddin Amir Hassan had also been recommended his (Hamir's) case and the another (Ain-ul-Mulk) hoped that given the necessary assistance, Hamir Dodo would fulfil the necessary objective and save the Punjab and Gujrat from the nuisance of Banbhiniyo.

The letter was written when Mahru was Governor of Multan and Rukunuddin Amir Hassan was the Governor of Gujrat. Hamir Soomro had most probably taken shelter in Gujrat, to the Governor of which too a letter had been addressed by Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru.

1364 A.D.  
765 A.H.

The probable date of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani's death. He administrated Multan, Bakhar, and Sehwan for Feroz Tughluq for some years. He entered political carrier in the days of Allauddin Khilji and held various posts at Dhar, Ujjain, Deogir, Oudh, Zafarabad and Multan. He gained equal importance under Feroz as the Chief Minister did.

Ain-ul-Mulk's letters clearly prove that while the Sammas were busy in overthrowing Hamir, the last Soomra ruler, the former was vehemently advocating to Feroz Shah Tughluq to rescue Hamir from the Sammas.

1364 A.D.

Feroz Shah determined to make an expedition on Sind. Different opinions have been expressed for the motive of intervention in Sind by Feroz Tughluq.

Afif states that it was to take vengeance upon Sindhis whom Muhammad Tughluq had failed to subdue owing to his sudden death. But Sind was not the only province where Muhammad Tughluq had suffered

Islamic Culture, Vol. XXII, 1948, pp. 359-368.

His letters known as Insha-e-Mahru have been published from Lahore in 1965 A.D.

Afif, pp. 191-92, puts the year as 1365 A.D., which is wrong in view of Mahru's letter No. 99, pp. 186-89.

humiliation. In the South India too he had faced defeat, but Feroz Shah never attempted its recovery.

Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi mentions that the objective underlying the expedition of Feroz Shah on Sind was the insolence of the Thattaians who for many years had remained hostile and had secured a safe abode, in Damrillah.

Mahru supports Sirat's view. Ain-ul-Mulk, writing to Malik-us-Sharq asks for Feroz Shah's assistance to crush Banbhiniyo, who in league with the Mongols, had carried out raids in Gujrat and the Punjab.

Similar letters were addressed to Sultan Feroz by Ain-ul-Mulk, the fief holder (Jagirdar) and Government of Multan.

Surprisingly, Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi records the besieging and capture of the Thatta fort by Feroz Shah and Banbhiniyo's recognition of the Suzerainty of Sultan, but Afif contradicts it. If the Sirat were correct, Feroz would not have gone to Gujrat for the re-inforcements and the second expedition.

Mulk-us-Sharq Nasir-ul-Mulk was deputed by Feroz Shah to check the raids of the Mongols who were mixed up with Jam Banbhiniyo organizing them.

Ain-ul-Mulk refers to the appointment of Khan-i-Azam Fatch Khan to the governorship of Sind, but Sind was then independent under the Sammas and in spite of two years expeditions of Feroz it was not annexed. It is, therefore, fair to conclude that Khan-i-Azam was Governor of Multan and Uch and possibly some parts of Sind with headquarters at Multan. It is doubtful if Feroz had control over the Central Sind wherefrom the Samma's had risen to power in 1333-4 A.D.

#### 1364 A.D.

The Governor of Multan in a declaration informed the populace of Chachkan (Badin and Southern Hyderabad Districts) that Jam Junna was honouring the treaty (with the Delhi Sultanate), but Jam Banbhiniyo had broken the treaty. The Shaikh-ul-Islam Sadaruddin (Sadar-ul-Haq-wa Sharaqal Din) and Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari had brought about a compromise

Insha-i-Mahru, pp. 100 and 103.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi.

Insha-i-Mahru's letter No. 1, pp. 2-8.

treaty under which the income from Sind was to be spent on the (Sind's) army, which was to protect all the areas from Gujrat to Sukkur (the whole Sind and Cutch) and Sind was to pay only a token tribute of 50 horses costing one lac Tankas a year to the Delhi Sultan.

As the treaty had been broken by some Thattians and no horses were sent, the Jams were to be punished. There was no retaliation from Delhi, until then as some of the Thatta and Chachan Muslims had taken no part in it. But as Jam Banbhiniyo with the help of Mongols had destroyed Darul-Islam (Delhi Sultanate's territories) and had looted the Muslims, it was necessary to punish the mischief-mongers.

If the Chachkanis repented and apologized, they were to be protected, otherwise they would also come under heavy vengeance, their women and children would be arrested and sword would not spare them (the adult males).

By this declaration the Chachkanis were, therefore, informed that when the Islam's armies (troops of Delhi Sultanate) arrived at Sehwan and marched on Thatta they should join the Islam's army. Only then they would be pardoned.

#### 767 A.H. Safar

Feroz Shah Tughluq issued orders to prepare an expedition to Sind.

#### 1365 A.D. October.

The Vazier Khan Jahan collected large army of ninety thousand horses, four hundred and eighty elephants and arranged a fleet of five thousand boats to be requisitioned from Bakhar, Multan and Uch. The Sultan marched to Bakhar via Ajodhan, from where the fleet floated down the Indus. Afif's father was in charge of a flotilla of 1000 boats. Jam Junna and Banbhiniyo were also ready with twenty thousand horses and four lac foot soldiers.

Sultan lost the battle and left for Gujrat to collect reinforcements. In this war the Multanis lead the middle wing of the army.

Afif admit that during the retreat when only 20 miles away from Thatta the enemy (Sammas) fell on the rear of the Imperial

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 99, pp. 186-189. This letter shows that Makhdoom Jahaniya of Uch (Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari) was actively involved in Delhi-Thatta politics even before Feroz Shah's expedition to Thatta. The letter was collected by Mahru before his death in 1364 A.D., but also on the eve of the expedition to Sind. Feroz Shah therefore, must have prepared himself for this expedition in 1364 A.D.

From Mahru's letter No. 99, pp. 186-189, it is clear that preparation of expedition to Sind were in hand in 1364 A.D. This declaration was merely a formality.

Afif, pp. 194-207, gives the details. He does not admit Feroz's defeat but states that due to epidemic and fodder shortage, the Sultan left for Gujrat to re-inforce himself. The Court historian use the epidemic as an excuse to cover defeats. See entry ..... for similar cases.

army, capturing the boats and killing many of the Sultan's men. Further losses occurred in the Rann of Cutch due to shortage of food and water.

The total strength of Feroz's army at Delhi was 80,000-90,000 horses. Thus he used the full strength of his army to conquer Sind, but the first attempt failed.

Sirat-i-Feroz Shah makes a wrong statement that when the Imperialists were about to capture Thatta, Banbhiniyo came and surrendered. This is incorrect as the Sultan left for Gujrat and spent a year to make a fresh expedition on Sind.

Mubarak Shahi clearly states that Banbhiniyo retaliated with force and many of the Sultans men perished due to shortage of food while still near Thatta and, therefore, under this helplessness, he departed for Gujrat.

**1365 A.D.**  
**October to March,**  
**1366 A.D.**

On retreat from Thatta towards Gujrat, the Imperial army of Feroz Tughluq suffered a series of calamities; scarcity of grains, hunger and loss of the total number of his horses due to lack of Fodder salty marshal and of the Rannof Katch (Kunchiran) and lack of sweet water, resulting into the death almost all animals and thousands of men. This lasted for 6 months.

On his arrival in Gujrat, Feroz Shah dismissed its Governor Amir Hassan Nizam-ul-Mulk for failure in sending supplies for his army on expedition.

**1366 A.D.**  
**March to July**  
**1366 A.D.**

Feroz Shah prepared for a second expedition on Thatta. Their revenues of Gujrat amounting to 2 crore Tankas were spent on troops. The irregular troops (Ghair Wajahdars) received advance from Sultan for purchasing horses. The regulars (Wajahdars) also received loans to equip themselves. The Vazier Khan Jahan sent supplies from Delhi. Seven lac Tankas were spent on the weapons of war.

The figure of Sind army is a gross exaggeration. Total population of Sind could not have exceeded 15 lacs at that time, specially due to change of course of river Indus in first quarter of fourteenth century which must have brought famines and high rate of mortality.

Afif, p. 340.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 131.

Afif, pp. 205-219.

Afif, p. 219.

Afif, pp. 219-223. Also Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi, pp. ....

**1366 A.D.**  
**September to 1367 A.D.**  
**September.**

Feroz Shah left Gujrat for Thatta. Large number of soldiers started deserting the Imperial army. On this, the Sultan stated that if they were detained forcibly, it would mean inflicting oppression on them and, therefore, on their arrival back in Delhi, they should be given mild punishment (Tadaruk-i-Ma'nwi and no physical torture).

Afif, pp. 225-228.

It was during these troublesome days of Feroz Shah that the Sindhis sang a Sindhi verse, "By the grace of Pir Pattho, one died and the other fled", meaning thereby that Muhammad Tughluq died and Feroz Shah took to flight.

**1367 A. D.**  
**October to**  
**November.**

Feroz Shah Tughluq reached on the left bank of the Indus suddenly, during the harvest season of corn (Rice, Jowar and Bajra) and raided large number of villages to secure grain and took 4000 Sindhi villagers as captives. The Sultan sanctioned proper quota of grain for them and ordered that as the captives were Muslims they should be treated kindly.

Jam Junna had charged that the Delhi forces were capturing Sindhi Muslims and sailing them as slaves, as is reported by Mahru's letter No. 134, pp. 229-235. Feroz Shah issued these orders to nullify these charges.

Imad-ul-Mulk and Zafar Khan Lodhi (also called Zafar Khan-i-Buzrig) crossed the river and started operations against the Sammas. The operations continued until the Sultan sent orders to stop fighting to avoid terrible bloodshed of Muslim. Imdad-ul-Mulk returned without any substantial gain. In fact, they most probably were defeated even this time as Imdad-ul-Mulk was ordered to go to Delhi and bring fresh enforcement and which Wazier Khan Jahan arranged from Budaun, Chanderi, Kanauj, Sandila Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirbut, Mahoba, Iraj, etc. The troops accompanied Imdad-ul-Mulk to Thatta. This must have taken a minimum of 8 months i.e., by about June 1367 A.D. the troops must have reached Sind for a third expedition on Thatta.

Afif, pp. 231-238.

Afif, suppresses this second defeat of the Imperialists, which necessitated calling of troops from almost the whole of the Empire then, under the control of Feroz Shah.

Zafar Khan who first was left as the Governor of Gujrat, seems to have been called for this expedition.



1368 A.D.  
Autumn.

The arrival of fresh enforcement from Delhi under Imdad-ul-Mulk at Thatta. Afif reports that as the Imperialist had seized the cultivated fields, the Thattains were faced with famine and starvation and Banbhiniyo made overtures for peace through Sayyid Jallaluddin to Feroz Shah and the latter accepted the request of the Sayyid. Later on, Jam Banbhiniyo arrived at the Imperial camp and submitted to the Sultan. At that time the Sultan was on a hunting expedition. He was given the robe of honour and reinstated as Sind's ruler. However, he was made to accompany the Sultan to Delhi, but Sind was not annexed. Banbhiniyo's family ruled Sind on his behalf. Besides Banbhiniyo and many other chiefs also came for submission and the Sultan bestowed on them many villages as Jagirs.

In Malfuzat of Makhdoom Jehaniya while describing his miracles clearly stated that Feroz Shah on seeing the loss of the lives of the Muslims called Makhdoom Jehania (Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch), who came and prayed to Shaikh Ruknuddin (his ancestor) for submission of Banbhiniyo to the Delhi Government. An oracle informed him that his prayer was accepted. When the army of Feroz Shah heard this, they became happy and it is due to this miracle that the Jam submitted to Feroz Shah on 12th Rabi-II.

From this it is clear that Feroz Shah called the Makhdoom for whom the Sammas had great reverence and submitted as per his tactics.

Qasida-i-Mutabar Kurh considers this submission as a miracle in the Jihad of Feroz Shah.

This happened after the arrival of fresh troops from Delhi and its eastern dependencies.

Afif states that a compromise was arrived at on three points.

- i. The Sammas will pay tribute.
- ii. Banbhiniyo and Jam Junna will go to Delhi and stay in the Imperial court.

Afif, pp. 237-246.

Mediaeval Indian Quarterly, Vol. III, p. 133. The same article describes that this Sayyid used to come to Delhi and stay as a Royal guest. It was diplomacy than war that subdued Sind.

Dr. Riazul Islam, Islamic Culture, October, 1948.

Afif, pp. 231-38.

Afif states that Jam Banbhiniyo seeing the strength of the Delhi army, sent for the above saint to bring about a compromise, but letter number 99 of Malfuzat of Makhdoom Jehanian makes it clear that it was at the request of Feroz Shah that Syed Jallaluddin Bukhari came to Thatta for this purpose as is reported by Muhammad Ayub Qadiri "Munaqib-i-Makhdoom Jehaniya, p. 141.

iii. Their descendents will rule Sind on their behalf and Sind will not be annexed.

769 A.H.  
1368 A.D.

Makhdoom Jallaluddin Jehania of Uch visited Sind to bring peace between Jam Banbhiniyo Samma and Feroz Tughluq.

In the Malfuzat of Makhdoom Jehaniya, it is stated that Feroz Shah called Makhdoom Jehania and the Makhdoom prayed for the submission of Banbhiniyo to the Delhi Government. Then a voice from heaven (Oracle) informed him that his prayer was accepted. When the Imperial army heard this they became happy.

It was due to this miracle that the Jams submitted to Feroz Shah on 12th Rabi-II.

1368 A.D.  
Autumn.  
769 A.H.

Feroz Shah Tughluq in his entourage took Jam Junna and Sadaruddin Banbhiniyo from Thatta to Delhi and fixed two lack Tankas for their maintenance. This was equivalent to the tribute to be paid by Sind as per agreement. In the absence of Jam Junna and Banbhiniyo, the former's son and the latter's brother Tamachi, jointly ruled from Thatta.

1368 A.D. end

Feroz Shah Tughluq left Sind for Delhi via Multan. On the way, in a boat disaster, the children of Banbhiniyo were drowned. The names of the latter's sons are not known. Thus ended the two year operations of Feroz Tughluq in Sind.

While in Delhi, Banbhiniyo, Mangul Khand and Qazi Sadr Jahan (Qazi-ul-Quzat) used to sit at a short distance behind Khanjahan (Wazir) on a folded carpet. It was a prominent seat on a carpet in the Imperial court just behind the Sultan.

Even subsequently the same Syed came to suppress the uprising by Jam Tamachi. Dr. Riazuddin in Islamic Culture, October-1948 supports this view.

Afif, pp. 114, 141-142, states that Jam Banbhiniyo called the Makhdoom to bring about a compromise with the Sultan. This version is not acceptable in view of Malfuzat's statement, which clarifies that he was called by the Sultan and prayed for his success.

Afif, pp. 254-260.

Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi confirms that the operations in Sind lasted for two years. The same source describes the features of Sindh.

Afif, pp. 285, 219.

Futuh-i-Feroz Shahi (Islamic Culture, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 451).

Qazi-ul-Quzat was an important post specially under weak sovereigns (like Feroz Shah). Allauddin had taken all powers of Jurists in his hands by initiating and enacting laws himself and rejecting interpretations of the jurists. Muhammad Tughluq consulted them, but rarely.

accepted their advice. With Feroz Shah, Qazi-ul-Quzat was virtually second to Vazir or Prime Minister, (Ishwari Prasad, History of Qaraunah Turks, p. 257). Of course it was Feroz Shah who abolished brutal punishments like, mutilation of hands, feet, ear, and nose, and plucking out of eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of people, crushing of the bones of hands and feet, roasting alive in fire driving of nails in the hands, feet and chest, flaying alive, etc.

769 A.H.  
1368 A.D.

Rukunuddin Shah Jam Tamachi occupied Sind's throne in the absence of his father and uncle Jam Junna and Jam Banbhiniyo who were taken to Delhi by Feroz Tughluq. He shared the rule with Khairuddin Jam Tughachi, son of Jam Junna.

1368 A.D.  
afterwards

Ghariyal invented by Feroz Tughluq soon after his return from Thatta. It was placed on the top of Ferozabad palace wherefrom it announced the hours of the day and night.

Afif describes its practical utility to religion, i.e. telling time in cloudy weather and the exact time of prayers, making people observe proper times for fasting during the month of Ramzan, etc.

1368 A.D. end.

The attempts, of the Delhi Government to reinstal Hamir ended and the Soomro Dynasty came to close.

1369 A.D.  
770 A.H.

Sultan Feroz Tughluq returned from Sindh's expedition, taking along with him Jam Junna and Banbhiniyo. He fixed a stipend of 2 lacs Tankas for each of them and a decent house near the palace to live in. They attended the court daily in the most costly costumes and sat to the left of the throne.

Mubarak Shahi states that after Banbhiniyo's stay in Delhi, Feroz Shah restored the government of Thatta back to him and gave him a warm send-off.

Makli Nama, pp. 107-108.

Ghariyal is a Sindhi word. It was definitely not a Sindhi invention but knowledge about it may have reached Sind earlier, wherefrom the Sultan may have copied.

Afif, p. 281.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 131.

1368-71 A.D.  
769-772 A.H.

Jam Tamachi ruled Sind.

1369-88 A.D.

Sultan Feroz Tughluq exercised some control over the political life in Sind but soon after his death, Sind gained complete independence.

1370-71 A.D.  
772 A.H.

An anonymous writer, who enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Feroz Shah, wrote Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi. It is based on personal observations and starts with the chaotic condition of Delhi troops on Muhammad Tughluq's death and also describes Feroz Shah's two expeditions to Sind. It is rich in chronological events, which Barni's and Afif's are not.

1371 A.D.  
771 A.H.

Rukunuddin Shah Jam Tamachi rebelled against the yoke of the Tughluqs. To suppress this, Allauddin Jam Junna along with Makhdoom Syed Jallaluddin Bukhari (Jehaniya), was deputed from Delhi. The Syed managed to replace Jam Tamachi by Jam Junna, This was the third time this Makhdoom was utilized to settle the Sind affairs.

Afif gives no date of this incident, but Hadiqat-ul-Aulya quoted by Dr. Riazul Islam states that on this occasion, Jam Tamachi and his son Sultan Salahuddin Jam Unar-III, were sent to Delhi. On the recommendation of Shaikh (Hamad Jamli) they were released from Qaid-i-Hind (Delhi) and reached Sind. Jam Tamachi had left Thatta for Delhi in Rajab 772 or January 1372.

Jam Junna along with his son continued to rule Thatta paying the annual tribute to Delhi.

In the reign of Feroz Shah Tughluq, Sayyid Shaikh Jalaluddin Bukhari (Makhdoom-i-Jahaniya) frequently went to Delhi and was kept as the state guest either in the Kush of Ferozabad or at the residence of Fatch Khan.

Islamic Culture, October, 1948, puts the date as 767 A. H. as the beginning of his rule, which is incorrect in view of chronological events.

Abdul Ghafoor-Calligraphers of Thatta, pp. 3 and 4. Sind may have gained independence earlier as the Sultan had become senile in his old age and incapable to govern properly as reported by Afif, pp. 371-73.

Riazul Islam: Islamic Culture, October, 1948, quoting 'Sirajul-Hidaya'.

Ain-i-Haqiqat Nama Vol. II, p. 174.  
Mubarak Shahi, p. 131.

Afif, treats Jam and Babaniya as two different persons. Afif also does not mention Banbhiniyo's return to Sind but Masumi, p. 26, states that he returned and ruled Sind for 15 years. His return is also supported by Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Badauni, Ranking

He was responsible for the unconditional surrender of Jam Banbhiniyo to Feroz Tughluq in 1367 A.D.

Makhdoom Jahania was a grand-son of Syed Jallaluddin Surkhposh, one of the disciples of Bahauddin Zakriya, sponsor of the Suhrawardiya sect of sufism. During the reign of Feroz Tughluq, the Multan branch of Suhrawardi sect had lost its importance but Makhdoom Jahania enabled its Uch branch to gain importance.

He made frequent visits to Delhi and was held in high esteem by the State officials. Once, Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru sought his help to realize Khiraj in Sind.

It was the magic of his religious influence which secured the submission of the Sammas to Feroz Tughluq atleast on 3 occasions, first before 1364, next in 1368 and lastly in 1371-72 A.D.

1371 January  
to 1390-91 A.D.

Rule of Allauddin Jam Junna a second time. Masumi is correct, Banbhiniyo may have been a co-ruler for 15 years in between this period. There are two versions of Jam Unars death; 1339 by Masumi and 1353 by Dr. Baloch and Hisamuddin. Since Jam Junna ruled upto 1391 A.D., it is fair to assume that he started his rule in 1353 and not 1339 A.D.

1374 A.D.  
776 A.H.

Death of Fateh Khan son of Feroz Tughluq. He was assigned the Province of Sind in the early days of Feroz Shah's reign. This must have been prior to the death of Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru who died in 1364 A.D.

translation, p. 332 and Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, p. 455.

Mediaeval Indian Quarterly. Aligarh, 1957, Vol. III, pp. 109-49.

Ibid, p. 114.

Afif, pp. 141-42.

Insha-i-Mahru, letter No. 99, pp. 186-188.

See entry 1371 A.D.

Masumi, p. 26.

Mubarak Shahi, p. 131.

See entry 1339 and 1353 A.D.

Inshai Mahru, letter No. 1, pp. 2-8 states that Fateh Khan was given title of Khan-i-Azam wa Khaqani Mu'zam Hamayun Fateh Khan.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Hyderabad Sind, 17th Oct., 1981.

Respected Sir,

I have the honour of reading the great composition 'Black Girl of Bernard Shaw and Brown Girl of I.I. Kazi' in 'Sind Quarterly' on sale at present and cannot restrain myself from expressing my feelings prompted by the closing sentence. I do not know to what conclusions my audacity will lead me in your scholarly opinion but I seek your kind indulgence and forgiveness for it.

Also I do not dare to vie with the great scholars who had swayed the masses in their beliefs but in all humbleness I would like to say that the search for God Almighty does not end with the Black Girl or the Brown Girl in digital or the dedicative conclusions. I feel that both the scholars were at the opposite ends having exhausted their resources of mind and matter. The solution yet eluded them and that was all due to limitations to which they were subjected by the very nature of their evolution.

The search for God, however must continue and instead of running wild we must seek God in limit as everything created by God has a limit and beyond that limit the comprehensions or efforts simply dissolve. So either man has to be content with what he could comprehend, behave, and endure to his limit or he has to keep searching till his limits are exhausted.

Permit me to ask a simple test question: "When we sleep at night, do we know that we shall wakeup in the morning?" The answer is 'No'.

"Why don't we have that knowledge?"

So everything in His creation works within a LIMIT and that is where we find Him within or without.

Respectfully yours,

QAMAR DIN SOOMRO.

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## FOLK DANCES

“Last but not least were the folk dances, of which Sind possessed and still possesses a great variety and in which all classes joined with the utmost abandon. Many of the steps are very intricate and can be learned only after considerable practice. The folk dancing was very popular and was usually carried out to the accompaniment of native music played on pipes, drums and cymbals, sometimes to the music of the ektar and sarangi, in which many Sindhis are proficient. A popular item in such village, music is often drumming with the hand on the ‘dilo’ (large earthenware jar) from which expert performers are capable of producing a vast variety of rhythmic beats of differing timber, which is very attractive. Thus these easygoing people employed many methods of relaxation which are still topical of the rural economic in which they live today and do much to add to the happiness and help of the countryside.”

H. T. SORLEY IN  
SHAH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT.