

SINDH: STUDIES CULTURAL

N.A. BALOCH



PAKISTAN STUDY CENTRE
UNIVERSITY OF SINDH, JAMSHORO.

1425 A.H. / 2004 A.D.

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FOREWORD

The Indus Valley has attracted myriads of people from all over the world since time immemorial. Rich in its historical and cultural heritage, it has been home to one of the world's oldest and most advanced civilizations of the time – Moenjodaro, which flourished on the banks of the river Indus around 3000 BC. This spectacular archaeological site depicts the grandeur of a civilization that exhibited an advanced stage of human development at a time when people in contemporary Europe were still living in caves.

In his quest for discovering, what he terms the 'Indus Culture' sites, renowned scholar Dr. N. A. Baloch has explored the areas along the beds of the river Indus that once constituted its dynamic meandering course. His findings indicate the existence of archaeological sites which were contemporary to, or even older than the city of Moenjodaro. Some of the artifacts collected from these sites date back to the pre-historic period. His guiding hypothesis: "If you follow the old beds of the river Indus and its channels, you will discover pre-historic sites located all along its course!"

His striking observation on the similarity of design of artifacts discovered in the Hakra-Nara channel areas and their contrast to those discovered in the regions of the other abandoned beds leads him to conclude that under these beds lie traces of civilization in this region that go as far back as the pre-historic period. Since no archaeological survey of these waterways or the lower Indus Valley has been conducted formally, this rare potential cultural treasure that constitutes the roots of our social and cultural life, continues to elude the public eye.

Tracing the evolution of science in the Indus valley, the author has brought forth empirical evidence about the evolution of man who inhabited this region. The Indus man acquired the skills to measure time and space through units of measure and irrigated his land with water channeled from the river through a technological process. The extensive use of channelization technology based on the perennial waters of the well stabilized Aral/Proto-Aral branch of the Indus coupled with lift technology and barraging, enabled man to lift water with the wheel from deeper cut inundation channels and use it for irrigation. The use of this technology contributed to the prosperity of the people of Moenjodaro.

The lower Indus valley has been the abode of artisans, artists and craftsmen of world repute. The origin of high grade pottery dates back to 2500 BC and artifacts found in excavation of sites in this valley denote a standard that depicts the professional prowess of the potters. The availability of fertile land, alluvial soil and high grade clay enabled the potters to produce similar designs down the generations till today, albeit they have changed to glazed pottery and tiles.

Besides earthenware, discoveries of other artifacts indicate an advanced degree of craftsmanship. Fabrics, particularly the traditional colourful 'Ajrak' and the 'Rulee' (quilt), bed sheets and blankets, carpentry and woodcraft, metal and precious stone ornaments, rural architecture, folk music, poetry and folk dances found in the region are all indicative of its rich cultural heritage. The topography of the region has been changing with the changes in the course of the mighty Indus ever since pre-historic days. Consequently, arts and crafts have also concomitantly altered their shapes and form accordingly.

The author has traced the history of the regional folklore in a study initiated by him in 1957. He describes popular prose and poetry averred to and preserved by the villagers as 'folklore'. During his research and extensive field study innumerable versions of tales, stories, romances and narratives were recorded through oral tradition. His findings reveal a rich literary tradition and cultural heritage of this region.

Sindh has long established tradition of indigenous music dating back to pre-historic times. The discovery of the dancing girl at Moenjodaro indicates the existence of music in a developed form during those times. Musical instruments were carved and invented, and music developed in the region in early second century AD. 'Sindhian' music reached Iran and other countries through professional musicians of the time. The foundations of the Sindo-Iranian 'Lurian Music' was laid by these musicians who performed in the Royal Iranian Court.

The author has unraveled the mystery of the Chaukundi tombs located near Landhi on the outskirts of Karachi. He was the first to point these typical four-cornered tombs to the Archaeology Department which declared it as an archaeological site. The meaning of the term Chaukundi implies, according to the author, a four walled structure without a roof built around the grave of a revered saint or person held sacrosanct and in high spiritual esteem. It is distinct from 'Roza',

‘Mausoleum’ or any such structure which has a dome or a roof over it. The author has traced the origin of these tombs with expert archaeological precision.

The Sindhi script, orthography and calligraphy studied by the author reveals that it is an ancient language of the Indo-Aryan family. Its origin was wrongly attributed to Sanskrit as modern research established that it evolved from Prakrits of the pre-Sanskrit era spoken by the people in the land of the Indus. The language represented in the Moenjodaro seals dates back to pre-Aryan/ pre-Vedic times. The seals have not yet been deciphered. However the origin of modern Sindhi can be traced back to 8th – 11th century A.D.

The first translation cum commentary of the Holy Quran as reported by Buzurg bin Shaheryar in his book ‘Ajaib al-Hind’ was done by a scholar of Mansurah, the capital of ‘Al Sind’ in the year 270 A.H (July 883-June 884 AD) for the benefit of a ruling Prince on the side of Kashmir. According to this reference this would be the first translation of the Holy Quran in Sind-Hind as the South Asian Sub-Continent was then known.

The author has traced the contributions of Muslim teachers and educators in educational theory and practice in the region. Al-Zarnuji’s “Education of the Learner: The Method of Study”, incorporating some of the basic principles of educational psychology and methodology, was written by the turn of the 12th century A.D. *Nahj al-Ta’llum*, a comprehensive work on education written in Sindh in the 16th century, confirms continuous development of educational thought and practice in Muslim society at the time. This is regarded as the first professional book on education written in the subcontinent.

A number of ‘*tadhkirahs*’ and other works containing biographical notes of saints and sufis were written in Sindh from the 10th century of Hijra (16th A.D) onwards and, chronologically, the Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan ranks fifth, according to the author. *Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i-Sindh*, which is quoted by the author of the *Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan* regarding the advent of Makhdum Uthman Qalandar-Shahbaz in Sehwan, was probably available in Sehwan in the 12th century A.H (18th A.D). The author has established the advent of saints in Sindh ever since the 10th century A.D.

Persian became the State Language of Sindh during the rule of

Sultan Nasiruddin Qabaja, (602-625 A.H.) in the 7th century A.H. (13th century A.D). His capital Uch was the rendezvous of scholars who excelled in writing Persian prose and poetry. Ali bin Hamid Kufi translated from Arabic into Persian and his *Fathnama-e-Sindh* became one of the earliest works in Persian prose. In 8th century A.H, Persian, became the language of official record in Sindh. It thrived till the 9th century A. H achieving excellence, but its life ended abruptly due to the conquest of Sindh by the British and the replacement of Persian by English in 1843 as the State language.

An Islamic system of education prevailed in Sindh prior to the British conquest in 1843. Although the study of mathematics and sciences had lost ground in the seminaries of higher education in the Muslim countries, significant advances came in general education, religious studies, logic, philosophy, historical studies, geography, lexicography, literature and in the area of professional education.

Between the 10th and 16th centuries A.D, the elementary Maktab education in Sindh was wide spread and advanced. The great teacher Makhdum Jafar Eubakani wrote a book on Method of Education (No.XII). Another significant development was the emergence of a professional viewpoint among teachers that primary instruction must be imparted through mother tongue of the child. In this context, a number of versified treatises were accordingly produced in Sindhi.

The author has reflected on the historical developments that influenced the great Sindhi sufi poet Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai in the early 18th century, A.D. The fall of the Mughals and the rise and subsequent fall of the Kalhora regime changed the geo-political character of the region which is reflected in the masterpiece of literature, the compendium of poems constituting Shah Jo Risalo. Shah Abdul Latif was greatly influenced by Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi's ideas, which became stronger day by day to the extent that Maulana's Mathnawi became his constant companion. In the later part of his life Shah had always carried three books with him: the Holy Quran, the Mathnawi and a biography-cum-malfuzat of his grand-father Shah Abdul Karim (d. 1032H.).

The following *bait* (verse) found in almost all the copies of the Risalo, is influenced by the Mathnawi. It alludes to the wailings of the

Nai though the instrument is not mentioned by name:

‘The one (*Nai*) that is cut (from the reed-bed) is wailing,
The other (animal) that is slaughtered is loudly crying,
That one in remembrance of its reed companions,
This one for its own body bones is sobbing.’

This work of Dr. N. A. Baloch, Professor Emeritus, University of Sindh, is an authentic masterpiece that will add a new dimension to the world of literature, culture, history, archaeology and the social sciences. His dexterous collection of some of the rarest archaeological artifacts in history have traced the roots of our civilization and established our rich cultural heritage. It is a milestone in his professional career as a world class writer, thinker, historian, archaeologist and an outstanding social scientist of our age.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not extend my heartiest approbation to Professor Chand Bibi Sultana, Director, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Sindh, Jamshoro for taking up the onerous task of publishing the work of this great scholar for the benefit of researchers, students, intelligentsia, archaeologists, social scientists, historians and all those who have a quest for learning and the courage to know.

MAZHARUL HAQ SIDDIQUI
Vice Chancellor
University of Sindh
Jamshoro
Sindh

Preface

This book is a companion volume to the first one '*SINDH: Studies Historical*' published in 2002. The treatment is topical as in the previous volume, and twenty themes from the area of culture have been laid under contribution.

These studies were undertaken at intervals, beginning from the fifties of the last century. Some were presented as research papers at different forums. All the early versions have been revised and updated for inclusion in this volume. Though of a modest import, these studies are expected to highlight the varied dimensions of cultural development in Sindh.

I avail of this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance I received from a large number of friends during my field studies all over Sindh. In particular, I thank the Vice Chancellor of Sindh University, Mr. Mazharul Haq Siddique, during whose tenure of office I have had the facilities to remain engaged in research and writing as Professor Emeritus and Professor Incharge of Allama I. I. Kazi Chair.

Publication of this volume, in time, would not have been possible but for the efficiency and enthusiasm of Professor Chand Bibi Sultana Bukhtiar Zai, the energetic Director of the Pakistan Study Centre, University of Sindh. I thank her, and appreciate the effort of her staff in the computer cell for producing a press worthy copy of the text for print.

N. A. BALOCH
Allama I. I. Kazi Chair
University of Sindh,
Dated 24.06.2004

CONTENTS

Foreword		iii
Preface		viii
I	In Search of the Indus Culture Sites	1- 14
II	Measurement of Space and Time in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh	15- 45
III	Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin: Development of the Sindhian Wheel	46- 61
IV	Traditional Arts and Crafts	62-101
V	The Dye Yielding 'Kandala' Tree	102-109
VI	A Survey of Folklore	110-139
VII	The Great Music Tradition: Sindhian Medodies and Cante Jondo of Spain	140-169
VIII	Boats on the Indus and the Coastline of Sindh	170-191
IX	Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Balochistan	192-220
X	Sindhi Script, Orthography and Calligraphy	221-246
XI	The First Translation of Holy Quran	247-263
XII	The First Book on 'Method of Education'	264-280
XIII	Saints of Sehwan	281-291
XIV	The Suhrawardi Miyanwal Tariqa: Initial Formulation and Later Accretions	292-306
XV	Jami' Sahih of Imam Bukhari: Studies of ATRAF by Ulama' of Thatta	307-320
XVI	Development of Persian Literature	321-332
XVII	Education in Sindh Prior to the British Occupation...	333-338
XVIII	Shah Abdul Latif and the Music Institution of 'Shah-Jo-Raag'	339-353
XIX	Maulana Jalaluddin of Rum and Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit	354-369
XX	The Nay and the Nay Music	370-391

I

IN SEARCH OF THE INDUS CULTURE SITES

As a student of Sindh history and folklore, I have roamed around in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh for quite a few years, seen numerous sites and collected the current lore about settlements of the bygone times. As a friend of the archaeologist, I propose to share, in a layman's language, information relevant to what I presume to be the potential Indus Culture sites contemporary with or successor to the great city of Moenjodaro.

No systematic and complete archaeological survey of the Lower Indus valley has been made so far¹ even though the discovery of Moenjodaro had underlined the importance of such an undertaking long ago.

The early human settlements and the extension of the Indus Civilization being a function of the changing courses of the Indus, a search for the location and identification of pre-historic sites can profitably be made, mainly along the old courses of the Indus. A guiding hypothesis may be formulated: if one follows the old beds of the Indus and its channels, it is very likely that the pre-historic sites are discovered.

The changing courses of the Indus may be grouped into (1) the Western system (2) the Middle system and (3) the Eastern system. The Western system approximately coincides with the present course of the Indus while the Eastern system is represented by the Hakra-Nara channels, denoted as 'Eastern Nara' beginning with the official record of the 19th century. In between the two, and running mainly through the central parts of the Khairpur, Nawabshah, Sanghar, Hyderabad, and Badin districts, lie the abandoned beds of (a) Puran and of (b) Lohaano,

Phito, Renn, Sangro and the later Guni-Phuleli which, for convenience sake, may be designated as the 'Middle system'. Both the Western and the Middle system have had a common apex in the north-westerly bend of the Indus in the Rohri-Sukkur section, but the Eastern system representing the Wahinda-cum-Hakra courses (through Bahawalpur and N.E. Sindh), and Nara thereafter, remained independent. The continuity between the northern Wahinda beds in Bahawalpur and the Hakra-Nara in Sindh is well established by the intermediary beds of Reni and Gorhelo in the Ubauro-Mirpur Mithalo in the present Ghotki district.

Even though of academic interest, such a differentiation between these systems of the waterways, the carriers of cultural influences, becomes helpful in identifying and differentiating the local cultural influences presented by the different sites. For instance, the surface collections of pottery from the sites situated along the different sections of the Hakra Nara often show a closer affinity between themselves, as compared to the pottery pieces picked up from the sites situated on any other system.

No archaeological survey along these waterways, as such, has been undertaken. In a different context, however, the pioneering effort was made by Haig² who while surveying the deltaic branches of the Indus also attempted to identify the locations of ancient and medieval sites in relation to the abandoned beds of the Indus and its channels. Later, Majumdar carried out a thorough survey of the central part of the Western system³. Moenjodaro, and Amri are the well-known sites in the middle section of this system, which in the north covers the western half of the Sukkur district and the eastern Jacobabad district. Its southern part including the Thatta district yet remains to be explored. A significant Buddhist site in the southern part which has escaped attention is the Majira Hill between Jherruk and Thatta. More southward in the lower deltaic region, the medieval sea port and emporium of Debal has been discovered in the Bhanbhor site recently.

The central part of the Middle System, from Halani to Hala, was also explored by Majumdar. An important site in this part is Bahamjodaro near the Bandhi Railway Station which needs to be excavated. Materials of the early Arab period are frequently found from its surface area. The other Arab sites are scattered all along the old bed running through Naushero Faroze and Kandiaro talukas. The

mounds near Bhiria (near the village Bhirio Naich) and the mound of 'Kot' represent important Arab sites. The southern part of this 'Middle System'— represented by the three subsidiary courses of (i) the Lohano-Phito, (ii) the Puran, and (iii) the Ren have not yet been explored. Mansurah, Joon, Fateh Bagh, Tharee, Raree and old Badin are some of the known sites of the Muslim period on this system. Besides, there are a number of pre-Muslim sites, of which Bahmanabad, Marri Wasayo (near Golarchi) and Dalhadi-jo-Bhirro (in Deh Khari Dabi) are important sites to be excavated.

The 'Eastern System' has not been explored so far. It is the ancient and more stable character of Nara in this system that made it an important water-way for the founding of early settlements along its banks, from far north to far south. The ruins of numerous sites are visible to this day in the present Chulistan (desert) area in Bahawalpur, in the present Ghotki district, and further south within the limits of the present Khairpur, Sanghar and Tharparkar districts.

Earlier, one might have thought that the Indus Culture flourished along the 'Western System' and was limited to it, because its centres of Moenjodaro and Amri are both located on it. The later discovery of Kot Diji on the Middle System, close by the Eastern System, has however indicated that Indus Culture was not confined to the Western System alone. This would raise a presumption that the Eastern System was also the carrier of Indus Culture southward. Since Hakra-Nara has been the only ancient waterway skirting the eastern rim of the Indus valley and continuing far southward through the present Rann (desert) between Sindh and Kachh, it is to be suggested that this was the main waterway along which the Indus Culture travelled to Lothal and possibly to the other parts of Kachh-Kathiawar-Gujrat. This hypothesis can be tested by excavating different sites on the Hakra-Nara system.

On the basis of the surface collections along this system, the main areas in which search for the potential Indus Culture sites is indicated are: (i) the northern Ubauro-Mirpur Mathelo tract in the Ghotki district, (ii) the middle Khipro-Samaro tract, and (iii) the southern Umarmkot and the Badin district.

In the first area, only the Buddhist site of Vijnot is known so far. Here the old beds of Renni and Gorhelo need to be thoroughly

explored. At two sites, Peengharo and Dethri on the Renni (taluka Mirpur Mathelo) surface materials of Budhist period were picked up by the writer (PLATE II-b). In the second area, Sami-jo-Bhirro, Ahur-jo-Darro or Hamir-jo-pad, Moomal-ji-marri, Hasan Baghban, Lilan-ji-Kandi are the more significant sites. In the third area watered both by the Hakra-Nara, the Puran and the Renn channels of the Middle system, there are a number of sites of which the following are more prominent: Garihar-jo-darro, Barr Arni-jo-darro, Nuhato, Wadohar-jo-darro alias the Graveyard of Rajpal, Roopah, Karahyo Bhandari, Markhan, Koonjsar and Vighkot.

Of these sites, (a) Nuhato in South Umarmkot and (b) Karahyo Bhandari, Markhan and Koonjsar group in the Badin district are probably the pre-historic Indus Culture sites. This is indicated by the surface materials picked up from these sites.

KARAHYO PIR, MARKHAN AND KOONJSAR

These sites lie in the South Badin Area (Taluka Badin) extending from about 20 miles south of the Badin Town onwards into the wet lands of the great Rann. Due to the action of the south-westerly winds and the tidal sea waves encroaching from the south, the sites in this area have suffered considerably, particularly due to the ever increasing salts in the soil. During the medieval period, these lands were watered by the Renn channel of the Middle system and the flood channels of the Hakra Nara. The first site was still flourishing when the saint Karahyo made it his abode (13th century?): subsequently it came to be called after him as *Karahyo Bhandari*. Markhan was supposed to be a pious lady from amongst the women disciples of the saint. Koonjsar, i.e. '*Flamingo Water*', was so called because of the migratory flamingos flocking in here every season.

Materials picked up from these sites⁴ indicate that the early settlements in this area go back to pre-historic times. Some of them also flourished during the pre-Muslim period while the others existed up to late Soomra period of the Sindh history (14th century). The pre-historic finds (PLATES I, II-a) include the typical Indus Culture material of Moenjodaro such as chert blades, toy cart wheels, shell bangles and rings, perforated pottery and fragments of the red ware, thick textured, externally red slipped, and painted in black with the typical Indus Culture peacock motifs (PLATE I-a). The two China

coins (PLATE I-b) picked up from this area are reminiscent of the early sea trade between Sindh and China.

NUHATO

The Nuhato site is comparatively the better preserved of all – the mounds being situated on a higher elevation which has saved it from the floods of the Hakra Nara. It is situated in the Umarnot Taluka of the Tharparkar district, about 5 miles S.E of the Nabisar Railway station on the Mirpur – Naokot section. The site area consists of two distinct parts, some two furlongs apart: the Western Mound Area which is a pre-historic site, and the Eastern Mound Area which has flourished in later historical times. The Western Mound Area, a large one, consists of the central high mound, rising more than 15 ft. high, and the surrounding flat area extending towards the Hakra bank. The Eastern Mound is almost obliterated, being situated on the bhit (a sandy mound). In 1958, traces of ramparts and the fort wall could be seen, but in 1973 only the traces of two or three western ramparts were visible. In the rough sketch of the site (infra, p.10), the plan of the fort with the ramparts has been reconstructed on the basis of my early observations and the eye-witness accounts of the people of the village which is situated more eastward on the same bhit (mound). A small cannon was unearthed from the stronghold area in 1945 and was removed to the D.C House, Mirpurkhas.

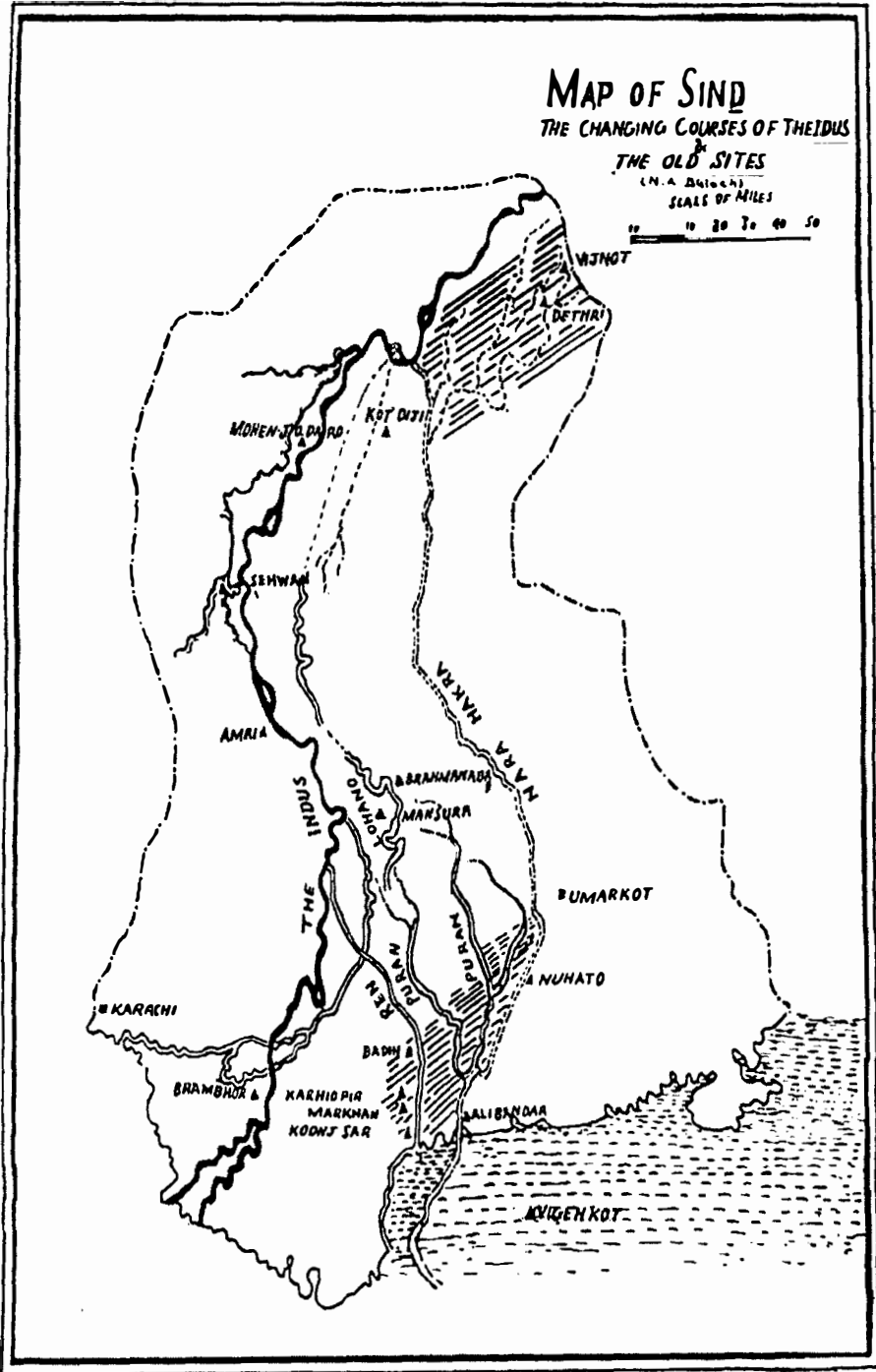
The material picked up at Nuhato indicates that the Eastern site has been inhabited continuously through long history to this day, its foundation in the pre-Muslim times would appear to be beyond doubt. The local lore takes its memories back to the rise of the early Samma chiefs, Lakho Phulani and Jam Jakhro, sometime in the 12th century A.D. A well nearby is attributed to Lakho and called Lakhey–ji–wa. A grave at some distance to the east is supposed to be of Mehar Rani, the divorced queen of Lakho. According to a verse, “Nuhato had nine hundred shops during the reign of Jam Jakhro.” Historically speaking, it was one of the strongholds of the Soomras (1050 – 1350). Also it is to be identified with the capital of the Damrela district, which was conquered by the Arab General Muhammad b. al-Qasim in 711 A.D., and again by Sultan Jalaluddin of Khwarazm during his advent in Sindh (1222 – 1224 A.D).⁵ It is again mentioned during the last years of the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq (1350/ 51 A. D).⁶ The

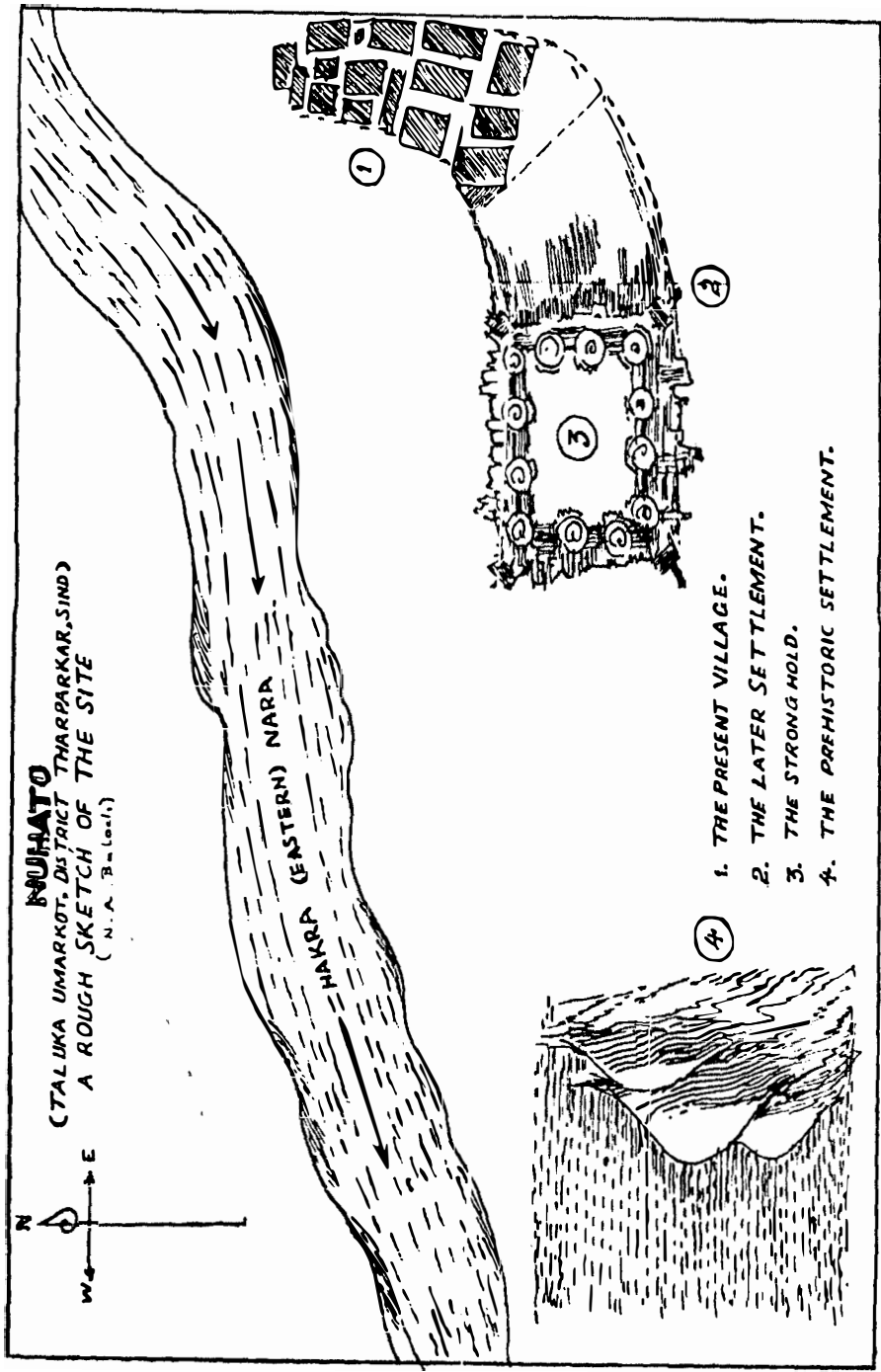
coins picked up (PLATE VI) and a small cannon of the Mughal period unearthed from the ruins confirm that the town continued to be an important stronghold during the Mughal period. Thereafter, the uncertain supply of seasonal waters in the Hakra Nara appears to have displaced its population and reduced its importance. However, it has survived as an important village to this day.

The surface collection of pre-historic materials from the Western Mound Area include perforated red ware, thick textured black painted pottery, terracotta balls, shell bangles, baked clay cones, toy-cart frames and wheels, ornamental terracotta beads and semi-precious stone balls (PLATE IV – V). A more significant item is the rectangular black stone seal measuring .65” X .4” with the three familiar pictographs of the Indus Script. In the known Moenjodaro seals (John Marshall, Vol. III), the first two pictographs of this seal occur in the same order in the two Seals No. 208 (Pl. CIX) and No. 351 (Pl. CXI), while the first and the third (only two) occur together in the same order in Seal No. 236 (Pl. CIX). Seal No.224 (Pl. CIX), with the first two pictographs exactly the same as in the Nuhato Seal and the third one somewhat similar, has been reproduced along with the Nuhato Seal for purpose of comparison (PLATE III).

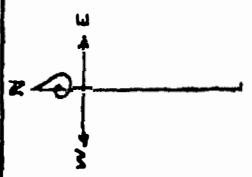
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1. This was written in 1973. Some sort of survey of monuments carried out lately did not serve the purpose of a professional survey of the archaeological sites.
 2. Haig, M.R. Major General: *The Indus Delta Country*, London, 1894.
 3. Majumdar, G.N: *Exploration in Sindh*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No.48.
 4. These materials picked up by the writer in 1963 from different sites in the South Badin Area, included those of the pre-Muslim period and a horde of coins of the Tughluq period. Only some representative pre-historic materials have been photographed.
 5. Juwaini: *Tarikh-i-Jehan Kushai*, Gibb Memorial, London, Vol. II, p. 148.
 6. Barni: *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, Calcutta, p. 523. Both Juwaini and Barni spell it as (Damreelah), a Persianized form of the indigenous Sindhi (Dambarlo) by which name the adjacent area (now marked as a revenue unit, *Deh* or *Tappa*) to the north is known to this day.
-





RUJHATO
 (TALUKA UMARKOT, DISTRICT THARPARKAR, SIND)
 A ROUGH SKETCH OF THE SITE
 (N.A. B. loc. 1)



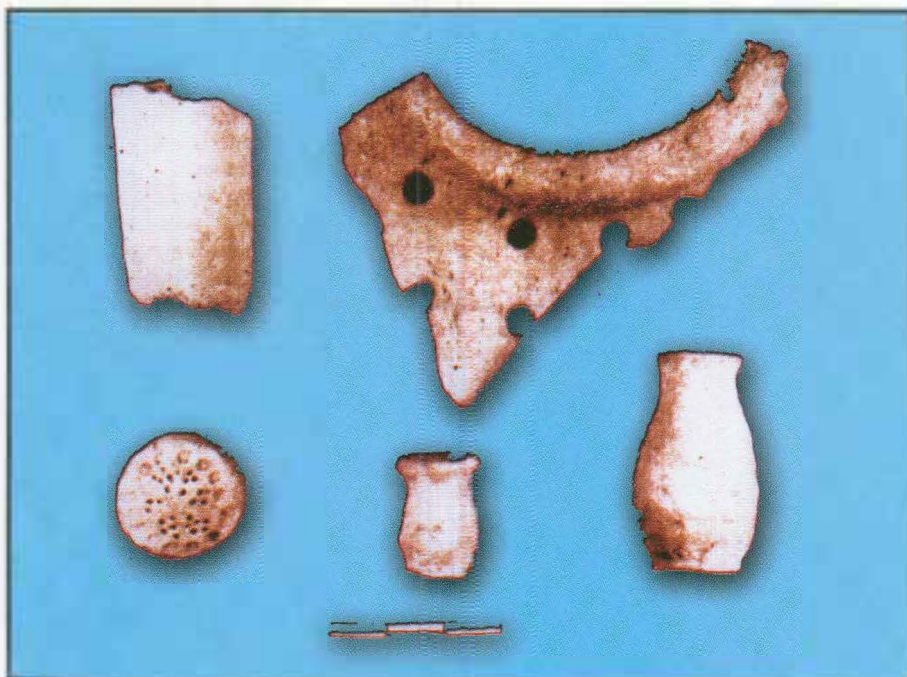
1. THE PRESENT VILLAGE.
2. THE LATER SETTLEMENT.
3. THE STRONG HOLD.
4. THE PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT.



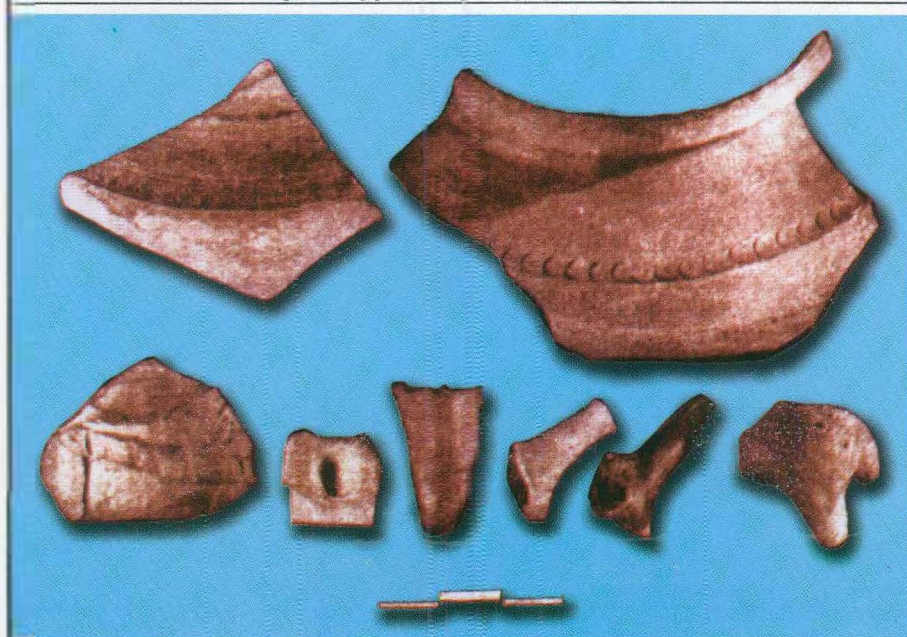
a. Perforated pottery, three pieces of red ware thick-textured pottery with peacock motif, and three pieces of fine red pottery of later period.



b. Chert blades, toy cart wheel, shell bangle shell ring, three copper rings, two china coins and two copper ornamental pieces.

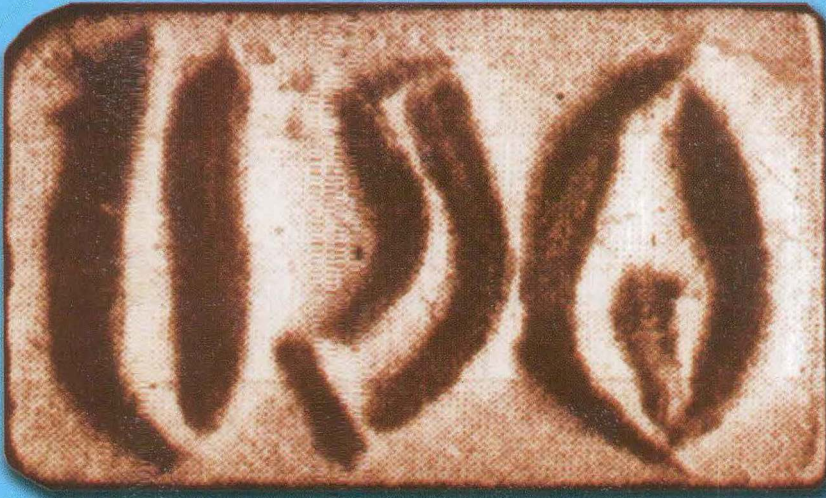


POTTERY FROM MARKHAN, KARAHYO PIR & KOONJSAR



POTTERY FROM DETHRI

a. A seal from Nuhato



b. A seal from Mozjodaro with same symbols.



Seal No. 224, Plate CLX from John Marshall, Vol. III



a. Perforated pottery, and other pieces of the later period



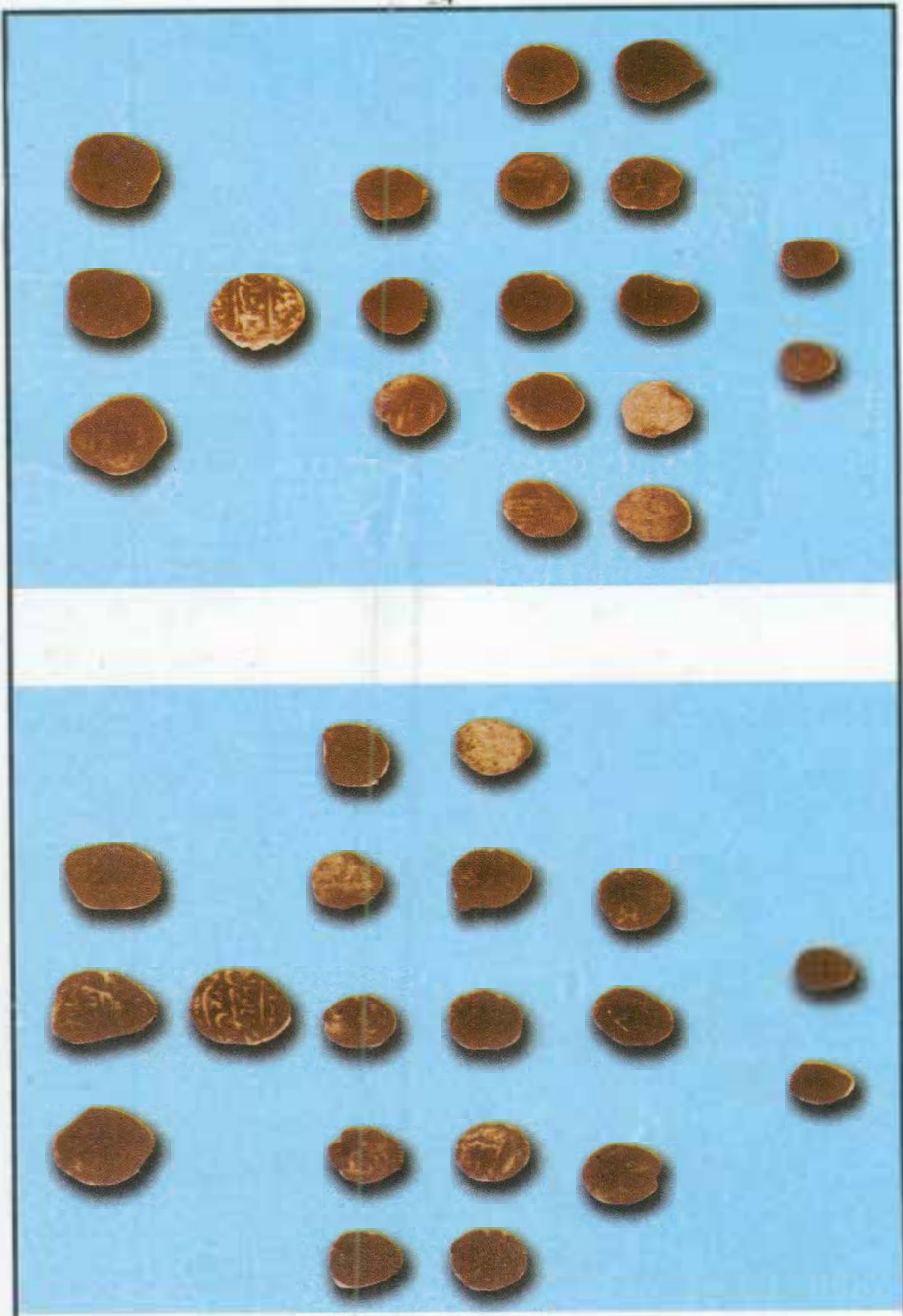
b. Terracotta balls & ornamental beads, shell bangles, baked clay cones, toy cart frames, and also a terracotta bird head.



a. Terracotta ornamental beads, and one cylindrical ivory bead of later period.



*b. Semi-precious stone balls (first two rows),
Semi-precious stone pieces (third row).*



*Pre-Islamic (1st row); Arab Coins (2nd, 3rd & 4th rows);
Mughal Coins Emperor Shch Jehan (5th row); Unidentified (6th row)*

II

MEASUREMENT OF SPACE AND TIME IN THE LOWER INDUS VALLEY OF SINDH

Man has been measuring since time immemorial. At the initial stage, he began measuring 'space' by the individual experience of 'seeing' the 'distances' by comparison of objects near and far; realizing the passage of 'time' from alternation of day and night, change in the position of sun, moon and stars, and from the lengthening and shortening of shadows; and discerning 'weights' from lightness and heaviness of objects by lifting and holding them in his hands. Obviously, at that early stage, his measurement was 'subjective', being based on his good guesses and comparisons.

Further progress, opening a new era of achievement in the 'scientific' thinking of man, came when he tried to think in terms of *units* of measure in order to measure more uniformly. The first "units of measure" man used were 'natural' in the sense that they were not man-made. These were seeds and stones for weighing things; some seeds, grass and plant lengths, but more so the lengths of man's own limbs, for measuring space (lengths and distances); and the rising and setting of sun, moon and stars for measuring spans of 'time'. Such 'natural' units of measure were, however adopted by the limited local community convention. Also, these were not 'exact' or 'exactly uniform', but only 'approximate' or 'nearly approximate' ones. However, when man adopted them as uniform units of measure in those early times, he was attempting to be more 'precise' and 'exact'. In other words, he was evolving and adopting a rudimentary method of science. Also by developing the concept of an 'objective' and 'exact' measurement (instead of subjective guess and judgment) and adopting the 'units of measure' which were approximately 'uniform', he had stum-

-bled upon an important scientific discovery.

Obviously, when one thinks of the historical development of science, one has to go back to the days when ancient man learnt to make fire. That was a great scientific discovery of its time. The very concept of 'history' of science leads one to think of its 'pre-history'. Man was already on the threshold of scientific history when he began to observe carefully and continuously, and when he developed the concepts of 'space' and 'time', and devised appropriate measures for them. His search for uniform units of measure was a search for preciseness and his use of 'uniform' measures amounted to seeking 'standardization'. In the absence of any written record or archaeological evidence, the pre-history of science is to be sought in man's early methods of observation and inference, which might have survived in the still living traditions of some societies in the different parts of the globe.

In the geographically isolated and comparatively conservative Lower Indus Region of Sindh, man-made ways of life have continued to survive since time immemorial. The same style of bullock-cart is plying in the rural areas around Moenjodaro as is obtained in its prototype model toy discovered in excavations. Some of the similar or identical design motifs found on the pots and potshards discovered from ancient sites, are being used by the village potter in Sindh to this day, though no systematic survey has been made to study this in detail. Cotton, rice and wheat still continue to be sown as was done in ancient times. It is only the prehistoric fauna, with the exception of the bull, that has disappeared due to changes in climatic conditions, vagaries of the mighty Indus, and the depredations caused by the irresponsible hunter. The archaeologist has not yet studied the existing species of fish and other small animals to compare their bone structure with the large variety of bone pieces unearthed from ancient sites.

However, it is confirmed by archaeological evidence that the Indus Society had developed precise measures of 'Weight' as early as 2500-1800 B.C. Excavations at Moenjodaro and Harappa have brought to light a uniform system of weights, both of sexa and decimal series¹, which was being used by this highly developed urban society. Since they had succeeded in developing such precise and uniform measures of weight, it is to be presumed that they had also developed uniform measures of space and time. The long straight city streets with parallel

walls and the square and rectangular rooms and baths indicate their advanced knowledge of mensuration. No direct evidence of any 'measures of time' has come to light so far, though the traditions, notions and practices which have survived in the region indicate that such measures were in vogue in ancient times.

Assuming that an exploration of the practices and traditions of the people inhabiting the areas which were once heir to the prehistoric civilization, and where the traditional ways of living have not entirely changed under the impact of modern developments, might prove to be more rewarding, I attempted to collect information on the traditional measures of 'time' and 'space' used by the people of the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh where once flourished the great Indus Civilization. This effort has yielded some information which, though not enough or adequate, is still of substantial value. To see these traditional measures in a better perspective, comparative information on measures of time and space has been supplied from Alberuni's works. Alberuni recorded his information on measures which were then prevalent mainly in what are now the territories of Pakistan, or which were based on the Kashmiri tradition as recorded by Utpala in his works. Also, partly, Beruni recorded what may be called the tradition of Bhilmal, the home of the distinguished astronomer Brahmagupta. So far as the measures of 'time' and 'space' are concerned, some similarity between the three main traditions—the Kashmiri, the Sindhi and the Bhillamali—was natural because these were widespread in the geographically neighbouring areas.

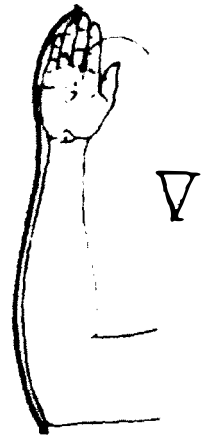
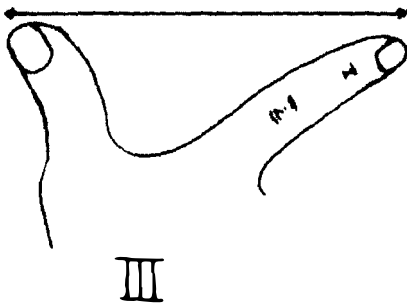
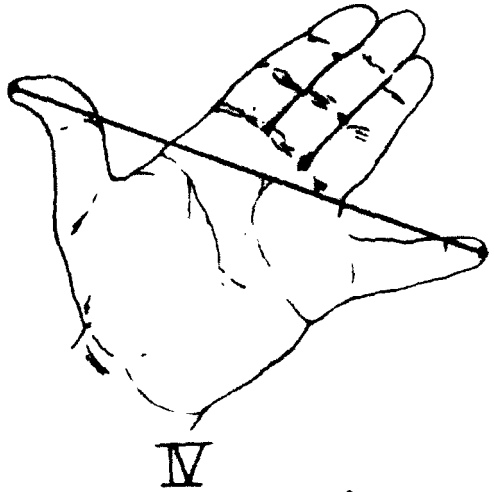
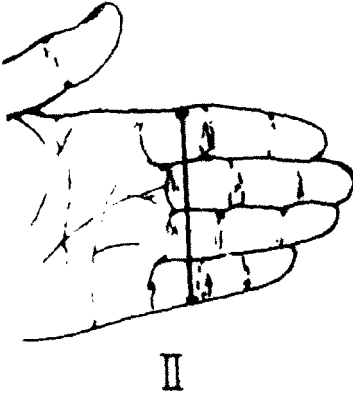
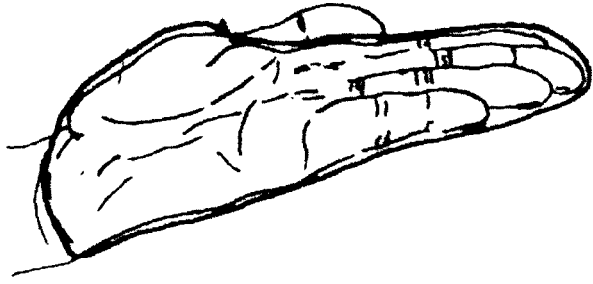
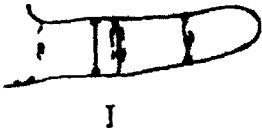
MEASURES OF SPACE

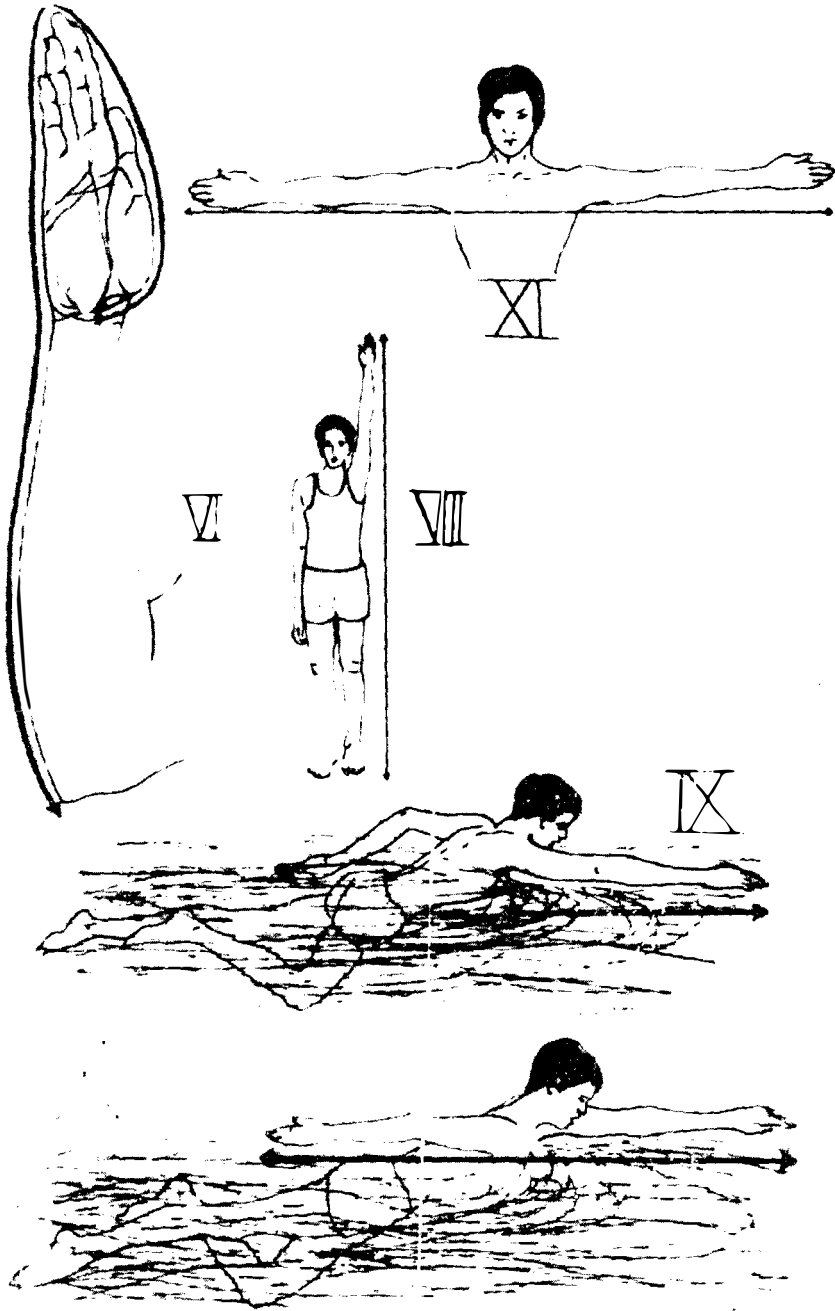
As elsewhere, man in the Lower Indus Valley would appear to have begun measuring 'Space' (lengths, heights, distances) by using his own limbs as 'units of measure'. Such a practice has been universal in most of the ancient societies all over the world. In the Lower Indus Valley, however, it was more elaborate and widely accepted, so much so that it has survived to this day. The Indus man would appear to have used many of his limbs to measure space-lengths in a variety of ways. To the present, the following 'limb stretches' are recognized and used as 'units of measure' in making quick rough estimates, both in actual practice and in verbal communication. Their generalized concept of limbs is that of an 'average person who is neither tall nor short, nor fat'.

(a) Measures of Smaller Spaces

- (i) *Angur-a*,² 'a finger', in its width. So one *angur-a* is the length equivalent to one 'finger width' (Fig. I)
- (ii) *Chharrki*. A length equivalent to 4 fingers (4 finger widths). This 'measure' prevailed in the northern parts (Fig. II). Elsewhere, *Chharrki* was 'onger in span' (see below).
- (iii) *Bachu, Baku, Bakun, Balu, Kurt, Krund, Bichir*. The length between the tip of thumb and the tip of forefinger, when both are fully stretched³ (Fig. III). The varying terminology of this measure would indicate its widespread use in different parts of the country.
- (iv) *Granth, barri, virth, chl:arrki*. The length between the tip of thumb and the tip of small finger when both are fully stretched. (Fig. IV). This unit has also been used throughout the country.
- (v) *Hathh-u*, literally meaning 'hand', was used in two forms, the *kacho* or *buto hathh-u* i.e. the shorter one, and the *pakko hathh-u*, i.e. the standard one. The measure of *kacho hathh-u* length includes the back-side length of the fore-arm, with the hand stretched, from the tip of the elbow bone to the top of the middle finger. (Fig. V). The *pakko hathh-u* would include the *kacho hathhu* plus the length of the stretched hand on the front side, from the top of the middle finger down to the wrist. (Fig. VI). As a unit of measure, the *Hathh-u* was employed mainly for measuring cloth. It was their standard 'yard' or 'metre'. In some localities, the measure of *Hathh-u* was manipulated by winding the cloth length-wise round the hand. One end of the cloth was placed at the foot of the thumb and held secure in between the thumb and the forefinger, then the cloth was wound up edge-wise over the finger tips of the open stretched hand to the foot of the thumb, and then further on (the second round) to the tip of the middle finger. (Fig. VII).
- (v) *Agar*. The dust particle, the smallest of all measures.
- (vi) *Ahur* or Rai. The breadth of one seed of mustard.
- (vii) *Til* or Tir. The breadth of one seed of ses'ame.

The last three units figure in the table of space measures which has survived in oral tradition (Table I).





(b) Measures of Larger Spaces

- (I) *Nari*. The length of the fore-arm, from the tip of the elbow bone to the top of the middle finger. It has been their standard unit of measure, comparable to 'yard' or "metre", for longer lengths.
- (II) *Per-u*. The length of the foot, used mainly in measuring the lengths of shadows.⁴
- (III) *Qadam-u*. A step (=the length of one step) for measuring longer spans on ground.
- (IV) *Vikha⁵ or gam-a⁵* The length of two steps, for still longer spans on ground.
- (V) *Gur-u*. The length from foot (ground) to knee, used as a measure of depths of shallow water.
- (VI) *Purh-u*. The length from foot (ground) to the top of the middle finger, when the right arm is stretched vertically upwards in the standing posture. This unit is employed mainly to measure water depth as also depths of ditches and wells. (Fig. VIII).
- (VII) *Baanh-a*. The span covered, while swimming, by the forward stroke of one arm only. (Fig. IX).
- (VIII) *Hunnub-u*. The span covered, while swimming, by the first forward stroke of one arm plus the second stroke by the other (Fig. X). This unit is used for measuring longer spans on water surfaces (river, lake, sea).
- (IX) *Wam-a*. The length from the tip of the middle finger of one hand to the tip of the middle finger of the other hand, when both hands and arms are fully stretched side-ways horizontally from shoulders (Fig. XI). In some parts, this 'arms-stretch' length is called *purh-u*. It is generally taken to be equal to the height of the same individual. This unit is employed by boatmen for measuring the lengths of long ropes, or of long spans on the surface of water (river, lake or sea).

TABLE – I
MEASURES OF SPACE PRESERVED
IN ORAL TRADITION OF S.E.SINDH⁶

3 <i>agar</i> ⁷	= One <i>ahur</i> or <i>rai</i> (seed)
3 <i>ahur</i> or <i>rai</i>	= One <i>tir</i> (seed)
3 <i>tir</i>	= One <i>narm</i> (or <i>tasu</i> = a finger width)
4 <i>narm</i>	= One <i>mutth</i> (= 4 finger width)

4	mutth	= One <i>wanuth</i> or <i>granth</i>
4	<i>granth</i>	= One <i>hathhu</i>
4	<i>hathh</i>	= One <i>dhanak</i> or <i>purhu</i>
2000	<i>purh</i>	= One <i>koh</i> (<i>kroh</i>)
4	<i>koh</i>	= One <i>Jaojan</i>
17	<i>Jaojan</i>	= One <i>deh</i>
17	<i>deh</i>	= One <i>mandarr</i>
17	<i>mandarr</i>	= One <i>khandarr</i>
50	Kror (500 million) <i>khundarr</i>	= One <i>prithini</i>

The above table may be compared with the following one recorded by Alberuni who has observed that their *krosa* is "equal to one mile", and that they have a measure called *vojana* which is equal to 8 miles or 32000 yards.⁸

TABLE – II MEASURES OF SPACE GIVEN BY ALBERUNI

8	barley-corn put together	= 1 <i>angula</i> , i.e. finger
4	fingers	= 1 <i>rama</i> (?), i.e. the fist
24	fingers	= 1 <i>hathha</i> , i.e. yard, also called <i>dastu</i>
4	yards	= 1 <i>dhanu</i> , i.e. arc = a fathom
40	arcs	= 1 <i>nalva</i>
25	<i>nalva</i>	= 1 <i>krosa</i>

It is obvious that *dhanak* and *dhana* units figure in the two tables, and also the *hatha/ hathu* unit equates with 24 fingers in both the tables.

MEASURES OF TIME

The *jug-u* (pl. *jug-a*) is taken to be the longest span of time. It is obviously the Sindhized form of *Yuga*. Two of the four classical *Yugas* (Chatur, Krita, Treta and Kali), have been locally known as *Kala-jugu* (the bad one) and the *sata-jugu* (the best one). The other large divisions are *sadi* (pl. *sadyun*) i.e. 'one hundred years', and *sal-a* i.e. many years (sing. *sal-u*). The 'year' is known as *varih-u* or *sal-u*, which is differently divided (see below).

Two calendars have remained in use, the Hijra calendar by the Muslims and the 'Vikram' calendar by the Hindus. Before the advent of Islam, a local 'Sindh calendar' had been adopted, but it fell into disuse later. The local 'Sindh Era' was counted from the 1st of Chaitra of the year 548 of Shaka-kala (past), the 29th of Ramadan of 4 A.H., or

the 4th of March 626 A.D.⁹ The Era started with the month of Chaitra which was also the first month of the Shaka-Kala or Bikram Era. Thus, the tradition of commencing the calendar year with the month of Chaitra was well grounded and it remained in vogue till probably the end of the 5th century A.H/11th century A.D.

The year (*varih-u* or *sal-u*) is divided into three seasons (*mundoon*) with reference to crops or climate, into nine (*chaliha*) equal periods of forty days with reference to climatic-cum-crop conditions, and into twelve months (*mahina* or *maah*).

(a) Division into Forties (*Chaliha*)

The year is divided into 9 Chaliha (sing. Chaliho), that is nine periods of approximately forty days each with reference to climatic changes, botanical variations, and sowing time for different crops and vegetables. The earlier nomenclature for the 9 'Forties' is not known: currently these are known either after the months with which they coincide or the seasons in which they fall, as shown in the following Table.

TABLE – III
THE NINE CHALIHA

Name	Approximate [*]	Characteristic
1. Chaliho Chetru	27 Phagun--- 7 Vesakh	March-April Full flowering. Onions & tobacco grown.
2. Chaliho Harrhu or Nihan	7 Vesakh --- 17 Jeth	May- June Hot winds, hot days. Nothing can be grown.
3. Chaliho Katti	17 Jeth --- 27 Akharr	June – July First summer crops sown.
4. Chaliho Sawan	27 Akharr – 7 Badro	July – August Late summer crops sown.

* In the northern most (Jacobabad district) and the southern most parts, these durations are counted with some slight differences, because of somewhat different climatic conditions.

5. Chaliho Chitr	7 Badro --- 17 Asu	August – September: Early vegetables grown
6. Chaliho Sara –u	17 Asu --- 27 Katti	September – October: Hot sunny days. Corn ripens.
7. Chaliho Siyaro-I	27 Katti --- 7 Poh	October – November: Sowing of wheat, mustard, gram & vegetables.
8. Chaliho Siyaro-II	7 Poh --- 17 Magh	December – January: Excessive cold kills plants. No sowing
9. Chaliho Phagun	17 Magh --- 27 Phagun	February – March: First flowering: vegetables grown.

(b) Division into Seasons (*Mundoon*)

From the point of climate, the year is divided into three seasons particularly in the lower southern parts,¹⁰ and counted month-wise as follows:

Oonharo (Summer),	4 months of Phagun, Chetr, Viha/Vesakh and Jeth (March-June)
Waskaro (Monsoon),	4 months of Akhar, Sawan, Badro and Asu (July-October)
Siyaro (Winter)	4 months of Katti, Nahiri, Poh and Magh (November-February)

Of the nine *Chaliha*, or nine Forties, of the year, each season extends to 3 'Seasonal forties' (chaliha) as under (according to general reckoning):

Oonharo (Summer)	1 st forty	30 days of Phagun and 10 days of Chetr.
	2 nd forty	20 days of Chetr and 20 days of Viha.
	3 rd forty	10 days of Viha and 30 days of Jeth.
Waskaro (Rainy)	1 st forty	30 days of Akhar and 10 days of Sawan.
	2 nd forty	20 days of Sawan and 20 days of Badro.
	3 rd forty	10 days of Badro and 30 days of Asu.
Siyaro (Winter)	1 st forty	30 days of Katti and 10 days of Nahiri.
	2 nd forty	20 days of Nahiri and 20 days of Poh.
	3 rd forty	10 days of Poh and 30 days of Magh.

In the far northern Sindh, where monsoon rains are minimal, the monsoon season is usually not counted, and the year is divided (approximately) into four seasons, counted month-wise, and sometimes

forty-wise, as follows:

Chetru	Spring, of the duration of 'One forty' (i.e. 40 days, during 15 Feb.-31 March)
Oonharo	Summer, of duration of '4 forties' (i.e. 160 days during 1 st April-31 August)
Sarao	Autumn, of the duration of 'One forty' (i.e. 40 days, 1 Sep.-15 Oct.)
Siyaro	Winter, of the duration of '3 forties' (i.e. 120 days during 15 Oct.-15 Feb.)

In 'lower central' and 'upper southern' parts, which usually receive rain, the year is divided into five seasons, *Chetru* (March-April), *Arharu* or *Harrhu* (May-June), *Sawani* (July-August), *Sarau* (Sept. / Oct.) and *Siyaro* (Oct./Feb.)¹¹

Of the nine Forties', the *Chaliho* of *chitra*, marking transition from the later part of summer to the setting of winter, was observed and experienced more intensively. The botanical concept of *chitra* (literally, 'whiteness' or 'brightness') was used as a sub-division of this 'Forty'. An old doggrel rhyme would explain its 4 sub-divisions as follows:

Dah chitrn	=	Ten of Chitr
Dah nitrn	=	Ten of Nitr
Dah chahyun	=	Ten of Chanha
Dah mahiyun	=	Ten of Manha,
Aayo siyaro	=	Then the winter
Baryo bahiyun	=	Make the fire.

Ten of *chitr* (ten brightnesses), i.e. the ten days during which the *drabha* grass heads out whitishly.

Ten of *nitr* (ten hotnesses), i.e. the ten days during which the *kanh* reed heads out with its white ears, and the sun is hot.

Ten of *chanha* (ten whitishnesses), i.e. the ten days during which the *sar* reed heads out with its whitish ears.

Ten of *manha* (ten meatnesses), i.e. the last ten days when every *chibhar* (fruit) in the field turns sweet.

(c) The Twelve Months (Mahina)

Division of the year into 12 *Mahina* or *mah-a* (months) has been in vogue from early times. Months of the Saka (Bikram) calendar

were used before the advent of Islam (93 A.H./712 A.D.), and of the Hijra calendar thereafter. When most of the population accepted Islam, month names from both the calendars were used; also the use of the lunar year and lunar months, instead of solar year and months, became more widespread.

As already noted, during the early 7th century A.D., and earlier, the year (solar) commenced with the month of *Chetru* (*Chatira*). This practice would appear to have been changed later, and *Katti* instead of *Chetru* was counted as the first month of the year, due to greater importance being attached to the harvesting of the main summer crop (*Katti*), instead of the winter crop (*Chetru*). There is reason to believe that since the summer crop (*Katti*) had been the main crop of the Lower Indus Valley from time immemorial (the winter crop (*Chetru*) being nominal due to the low water level in the Indus and lack of rains in winter), the year commenced with *Katti* for most of the population from early times, though the classical tradition of the Saka era was observed in literate circles by counting *Chaitra* as the first month. Later on, the month next to *Chetru*, that is *Viha* or *Vesakh* (*Vaishakha* = April-May) came to be counted as the first month. That such a practice was being followed in southern parts upto the early 18th century, is confirmed by Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta.¹²

However, even when the month names based on the Bikram Sambat were being used, these were actually reckoned as lunar months, each month beginning from the new moon day. Thus, the same month was known by two names, of the Hijra and of the Sambat. The Solar Calendar was simultaneously used for Official Record and Revenue Receipts, and the date/month/year-wise equivalence between the lunar and the solar calendar (*Hijra* and *Sambat*) was officially established and announced. This practice had continued up to the Moghul rule. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (1068-1118 H./1658-1707 A.D.), when some discrepancy in equivalence was detected in the Official Revenue Record of Sindh maintained at the capital city of Thatta, it was immediately corrected and the entire record was revised by order of the Emperor. According to the calculations for the solar year calendar worked out by an eminent astronomer Makhdum Najmuddin of Babuk (in the present Dadu district) in the 16th century, the solar month of Hamal or Viha had begun on the 6th of Jumada-I of the Hijra year 1133.¹³ Table IV shows the Hijra and the Sambat months which have been in use for the last one millennium.

TABLE – IV
MONTHS OF THE LOCAL HIJRA AND
THE SAMBAT CALANDAR

Names of Hijra Calendar, used in writing	Local variation of Hijra names, used verbally.	Sindhized Sambat names	Names as Recorded by Alberuni	Equivalence from Gregorian Calendar
Muharram	Mahram or Ashura	Katti	Karttika	Oct.-Nov.
Safar	Tezyoon or Tezyun-warō	Nahiri, Nihri, Nari, Marsar, Magsar, Maghsar, or Maghir.	Margasirsha	Nov.-Dec.
Rabi-I.	Urs, or Urs-warō	Pohu, Po	Pausha	Dec.-Jan.
Rabi-II.	Pehryoon Khali	Magh-u	Magha	Jan. –Feb.
Jumada-I.	Yarhin, or Yarhin-warō	Phagun-u	Phaguna	Feb.-Mar.
Jumada-II.	Biyo Khali	Chetru	Chaitra	Mar.–Apl
Rajab	Lakhano, or Rajibi-warō	Vesakhu, Vesaku, Viha	Vaishakha	Apr.-May
Sha'ban	Barat or Baradwaro	Jeth-u	Jyaishtha	May-June
Ramadan	Rozan-warō	Akhar-u, Ahar-u, Harrh-u,	Ashadha	June-July
Shawwal	Eid-warō	Sawan-u, Sanwan-u, Siran, Sirawan.	Sravana	July –Aug.
Dhu'I Qadah	Hajjaun aggaro / agyun	Badro	Bhadrapada	Aug- Sept.
Dhu'I Hijjah	Hajja-warō	Asu	Asuj	Sept- Oct.

(d) The Week

As elsewhere, the week is divided into seven days, and hence called *hafto* (Persain haft = seven). The seven days are identified by the following names:

Soomar	Monday
Angaro or Mangal	Tuesday
Arba*	Wednesday
Khamis*	Thursday
Jumo*	Friday
Chhanchhar	Saturday
Achaar, Achar,	Sunday
Artar or Artiwar	

Soomar, Achar, Chhanchhar are the Sindhized forms from Sanskrit, while Arba, Khamis and Jumo, are from Arabic. 'Angaro', meaning 'of burning coals', is but a translation of Arabic 'Manqal' meaning a place of burning coals, 'a stove'. The name 'Mangal' (Tuesday) was adopted from 'Manqal' and used widely not only in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh but also in other parts of the subcontinent. This would indicate a mutual acquaintance and adoption of terminology in Astronomy / Astrology between scholars / literate circles in 'Sind and Hind' and elsewhere in the Muslim world in the early medieval period.

The word '*mangal*' meaning easy way or enjoyment is of different import. 'Mangal' meaning 'Tuesday' refers to the planet of Mars which is associated with bad luck, and not with any enjoyment or happiness. The Sanskrit name for Mars is *Kuja*, not *Mangal*.

SMALLER DIVISIONS OF TIME

Smaller divisions of time, which once served as the different specific distinct 'measures', are represented by such terms as *paharu*, *gharri*, *palu*, *palk-u*, *Khann-u*, *dum-u*, *likh-a*, and *hava*. Presently these are but only notional divisions since these words are used in ordinary parlance to convey approximate concepts of the time length, rather than any specific or exact spans of time. On the basis of common usage as well as information and explanations obtained in different parts of the country, these terms convey the differing comparative measures of 'time divisions' as follows:

Pahar-u. is one fourth part of the day or of the night. Each day or night (irrespective of its length) consists of 4 equal parts or pahars. There are eight pahara (*attha pahara*) in nychthemeron

* The Hindu community, in towns, would call these three days as Budhar, Vispat and Shukrwar.

(day plus night, put together).

Gharri. It is, comparatively, the longest division of the pahar.

Pal-u. is used as if it is synonymous with *gharri*.

Palk-u. Some equate it with *pal-u*, others say it is smaller.

Khann-u. It is smaller than *gharri*. According to some, it means 'a half'; and therefore one *khanna* may be one half of the *gharri*.

Likh-a. It is smaller than *palu* or *khannu*.

Dam-u. one breath.

Hav-a. It is the smallest division in this set.

Beside these divisions, other notions of smallest time period are conveyed by such terms as *akha chhimbha* (the quickest closing and opening of the eye), *jhatt patt* (the quickest closing -&-opening of the first), and *turt-i* (immediately).

Comparatively, a clearer concept of the *gharri* has survived in the clepsydra measure of *WATO* which will be discussed later. At this stage, the above notions of smaller time divisions currently obtained in the Lower Indus Valley may be compared with the classical tradition of such measures obtained in the northern parts of Pakistan and Kashmir as recorded by Alberuni. He has observed that, according to the varying traditions, some of these lower divisions could be one half, one fourth, one sixth, one fifteenth or one thirtieth of some of the higher divisions. But relying on the tradition of Kashmiri Utpala as recorded in his book *Surdhava*, and also adopted by another learned astronomer, Alberuni has constructed the following unified table:¹⁴

TABLE – V
ALBERUNI'S TABLE OF THE TIME PERIODS
BASED ON KASHMIRIAN TRADITION

The name of the measure of time	Times the smaller one is contained in the larger one above it.	The number contained in one day
Ghati or Nadi	1	60
Kshana	4	240
Cashaka, Vindi or Kala	15	3,600

Prana	6	21,600
Nimesha	8	172,800
Lava	8	1,382,400
Truti	8	11,059,200
Anu	8	88,473,600

It is obvious that the Sindhian *gharri* and *Khannu* are the same terms as *ghati* and *kashna* in the above table, while *hava* is comparable to *lava*. *Alberuni* has also recorded the use of *pala* as a measure of dry things (grain) and liquids, and also as a measure of weight of gold. He has observed that “the weight *pala* is much used in all the business dealings of the Hindus, but it is different for different wares and in different provinces.”¹⁵ However the use of *pala* as a measure of time was not found by *Alberuni* ‘anywhere in Hindu Literature’. Therefore, he observed rather surprisingly that *Al-Fazari* had used ‘in his astronomical handbook the word *pala* for *day minutes*’ (i.e. *sixtieth parts of a ‘day*’).¹⁶

If *Al-Fazari*, *Muhammad b. Habib*, whose astronomical handbook (*Zij*) or canon has come under frequent reference in *Alberuni*’s works, had used *pala* for day minutes, he had obviously the Sindhian measure in mind, as is confirmed by its continuous use to this day i.e. *pal-u* being taken to be equal to *gharri*, and *sixty gharries* making “day+ night”.¹⁷ *Al-Fazari*, and his father *Ibrahim*, had close scholarly association with Sindh. *Ibrahim* was responsible for translating *Brahmagupta*’s astronomical work *Khand Khadayaka* into Arabic (*Alarkand*) in *Mansurah*, the capital of *Sind*, as early as 117 A.H. (735 A.D).¹⁸

MEASUREMENT OF TIME: DAY AND NIGHT

Measurement of the time of day by the varying length of shadows, and of night in terms of the rising and setting of the moon, seems to have come from very early times. The night was divided into 14 equal intervals. The day time measurements were further developed during the Muslim polity for determining the time of prayer.

(a) Calculation of Night Time by Setting / Rising of Moon

The month consists of the two halves, *sahao pakhu* (the white half) and the *undaho pakhu* (the dark half), each consisting of 14 days. The first day of the white half and the first day of the dark half (= 15th of the month) are equidistant with reference to the new moon or the

full moon. According to them, the time the visible new moon takes to set in the western horizon after sunset on the 1st day of the *sahao pakhu* (the 1st day of the lunar month) is the same as the time the waning moon takes to rise in the eastern horizon after the sunset on the first day (15th of the lunar month) of the *undahu pakhu*. In both cases, an equal part of the night (beginning from sunset) is consumed. This according to them is equivalent to the 14th part of the night.

They base this measure on the setting or the rising of the moon, which could be conveniently seen for the first 28 'days' (but not on 29th and 30th); these were divided by them into two halves, each of 14. Accordingly, the 14 parts of the night were conceived with reference to the setting of moon during the first 14 days and to the rising of the moon during the next 14 days. The span of time between sunset (SS) and the moonset (MS) or the sunset (SS) and moon-rise (MR), therefore, is their unit of measure for calculating the part of night which has elapsed on any given date. Thus,

$$\begin{array}{lll} \text{(i)} & \text{SS-MS} & = & 1/14 \text{ of night} \\ \text{(ii)} & \text{SS-MR} & = & 1/14 \text{ of night} \end{array}$$

They calculate time of night by their statements such as follows:

- When moon sets in evening on the first day of the month, a fourteenth part of the night is over.
- When moon sets on the 2nd day of the month, one seventh part (=2 of the 14 parts) of the night is over.
- When moon sets on the 7th day of the month, one half of the night is over. it is mid night.
- The full moon (on the 14th day) rises at sunset and sets at sunrise. Its position in the sky gives the time of the night. When it is at the zenith, it is mid-night.
- When moon rises in the evening on the 15th day, one fourteenth part of the night is over. When moon rises in the evening on the 16th day, one seventh part of the night is over.
- On the 21st day, the moon rises at midnight.

(b) Measurement of Day Time by the Shadow Length

Measurement of day time by the varying length of shadow app-

-ears to have been practised from early times.¹⁹ Comparatively more recent, but a typical example of such a measurement, was the one employed for determining the time for *Zuhr* (Afternoon) Prayer. The notion of the 'foot length' of a person being one seventh of his height combined with the "shadow length at noon" were used in determining the approximate duration for the performance of the *Zuhr* prayer. The duration for the *Zuhr* prayer had been juridically defined as commencing from the declination of the mid-day sun from the zenith and ending when the shadow of an object having increased in length to its own height. In accordance with this principle, the *Fuqaha* (jurists) in Sindh, as in other countries had attempted to define this duration more precisely so that by his / her own calculation an individual would perform the *Zuhr* prayer within the prescribed time period.

Accordingly, they defined the 'declination of sun from zenith' in terms of the shadow of a person (or of any other object) at noon when that shadow was the 'shortest in length'. This was the 'noon shadow' or the 'mid-day shadow'; but by implication (or metaphorically) it was also termed as the 'Shadow of Declination' (*Fai al-Zaval*), because at that point of time even a minimal increase in its length would signify that the sun had begun to decline from the zenith. This was also the *Sayah-i-asli* or the 'Root Shadow', the length of which was taken as a 'unit of measure' and equated with the 'foot length' (*per* or *qadam*). As an individual's height was seven times his 'foot length', the length of the 'Root Shadow' multiplied by 7 gave the 'length of the shadow' equivalent to his height. Accordingly, the span of time intervening between the 'Root Length' and the 'Height Length' of the shadow, was approximately "the correct duration for the performance of the *Zuhr* prayer.

In other words, by applying the 'foot length' measure to the 'Root Shadow', that is measuring the length of the 'Root Shadow' of an individual in terms of his own foot length, the general formula for the duration" of the *Zuhr* prayer on any given day was derived as follows:

$F = \textit{fai}$ or *Fai al-Za\va'* (the shadow of declination), also called *Sayah-i-asli* (the original or Root Shadow at mid-day noon), being the shortest length of the shadow of any object during the day (which is always at noon or mid-day, where-after its length increases due to further decline of the sun from its mid-day position).

f = The actual length of F, measured in foot-lengths of an individual.

f^1 = Any minimal increase in f

f^2 = The seven times length of f

Duration of the prayer time = from f^1 to f^2

The *Fuqaha* on the basis of their observation and actual experimentation specified the approximate length of the 'shadow of declination' for each month, to be used as a "standard unit of measure" for the whole month. The time for the *Zuhr* prayer began after the individual's shadow attained a monthly "standard root length", and continued till it increased seven times. Further, the 'Standard Root Length' was specified in terms of an individual's "foot-lengths", so that even an illiterate person could calculate it, as well as the seven times its length, by moving forward foot by foot to determine the beginning and the ending time for the prayer. To make it more convenient, the table of Standard Root Lengths for all the twelve months of the year was specified in verse to make it more easy to remember.²⁰

The month-wise 'Standard Root Lengths' calculated with reference to the sun's position at zenith, varied from country to country; secondly, these were valid only with reference to the solar months. Some lay scholars, who were not well versed in geography or astronomy, had translated into Sindhi the Tables of 'Root Shadow Length' standardized elsewhere, not in Sindh. When two such versified Tables came to the attention of the eminent jurist Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta (d. 1174/1760), he pointed out that these Tables of the 'Root Shadow' standardized elsewhere were not valid for Sindh. He then himself undertook to observe the 'Root Shadow' with effect from the 6th day of Jamadi-I, 1132 H. (1720), once every week, and at times once every fortnight. He measured it in 'foot length' (*per*). He continued his observations and measurements for one more year. On the basis of his recorded data for 24 months (during 1719-1720 A.D.), he standardized the fortnightly (instead of monthly) lengths of the 'Root Shadow' in the following Table, which he said was approximately accurate and valid for the Lower Sind region, extending from Nasurpur to Thatta.²¹

TABLE – VI
THE MONTHLY FORTNIGHT-WISE TABLE OF THE NOON
SHADOW IN FOOT-LENGTH MEASURE

<u>Month</u>	<u>Fortnight</u>	<u>Averaged length of Root</u>
Viha	1 st Fortnight	Two and a Half <i>per</i>
	2 nd Fortnight	Two <i>per</i>
Jeth	1 st Fortnight	One and a Half <i>per</i>
	2 nd Fortnight	One <i>per</i>
Ararr	1 st Fortnight	Half a <i>per</i>
	2 nd Fortnight	Nil
Sawan	1 st fortnight	Nil
	2 nd fortnight	Nil
Bado	1 st fortnight	Half a <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	One <i>per</i>
Asu	1 st fortnight	One and a half <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Two <i>per</i>
Katti	1 st fortnight	Three <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Four <i>per</i>
Nahari	1 st fortnight	Five <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Five and a half <i>per</i>
Poh	1 st fortnight	Six <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Six and a half <i>per</i>
Mah	1 st fortnight	Seven <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Six and a half <i>per</i>
Phagun	1 st fortnight	Six <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Five and a half <i>per</i>
Chetru	1 st fortnight	Four and a half <i>per</i>
	2 nd fortnight	Three and a Half <i>per</i>

(c) Measuring Time by Regulating the Flow of Water

The time measuring devices, worked by regulating the flow of water (clepsydrae), appear to have been developed and used from early times. The one based on *gharri* as the measuring unit was more popular and wide-spread, and its use has survived to this day. In the early 5th century A.H. (11th A.D.), Beruni was probably referring to its use mainly in Sindh when he observed that "in some parts of their country they have clepsydrae regulated according to the *ghati/gharri*, by which the times of the eight watches are determined"²²

The *gharri* measure based on clepsydrae, locally known as *WATO*, is being employed to this day for specifying time for performance of different ceremonies at the mausoleum of the renowned saint Shaykh Usman, popularly known as Qalandar Shahbaz,

who died at Sehwan on the 17th of Sha'ban, 673 H. (1273/1274). Since then, the use of the clepsydrae measure of time has continued on at his mausoleum. It would seem that in the ancient city of Sehwan the practice of clepsydrae measure was well known and its use was continued after the advent of Islam (711 A.D.) to regulate prayer times. During the lifetime of the saint, it was probably used mainly to regulate the times of prayer and the *dance of the dervishes (dhammal)* following the *Maghrib* prayer. After the saint's death, more elaborate ceremonials were instituted and all these came to be regulated by clepsydrae time, as is being done to this day.²³

The process is based *not* on the water *flowing out* from the bottom of the vessel containing it and *being emptied* in a given span of time, but on water *flowing in* and the vessel *being filled* in the given period of time. Thus, the Sindhian clepsydrae model is based on the technique which works in opposite direction as compared to the Kashmirian model described by Uptala in his book *Srudhava*: 'If you bore in a piece of wood a cylindrical hole of twelve fingers' diameter and six fingers' height, it contains three *mand* water. If you bore in the bottom of this hole another hole as large as six plaited hairs of the hair of a young woman, not of an old one nor of a child, the three *mand* of water will flow out through this hole in *one ghatti*.²⁴

It would seem that the differing mechanism in the Lower Indus Region arose because of the predominant social value wherein the concept of 'emptying' or 'being emptied' has been regarded as an inauspicious one.

The device is a simple one. A sort of cooking pot of metal (*degrro*) with a wider upper rim is filled with water to its 'neck' level. Another smaller utensil, a kind of metal bowl called *wato*, more flat than deep, of a fixed weight, with a fine small hole pierced through its bottom in the centre, is gently placed on the water surface. The weight of the *wato* exerts proportionate pressure whereby water begins to rise up the hole through capillary action. It then spills into the *wato* and begins to fill it slowly. The increasing weight of *wato* 'with increasing volume of water in it' exerts increased downward pressure, and the water keeps rising through the hole at proportionately increased rate in the *wato*. When it is filled to the brim and the water level becomes even, both in the vessel (*degrro*) and the bowl (*wato*), the latter begins to sink. It is quickly held up, emptied and floated again. The time

period commencing from the *wato* being floated to the point of its sinking is counted as 'one unit of time measure', and called, after the name of the bowl, as '*wato*' (pl. *wata*). I was informed that 'one *wato*' is also counted as 'one *gharri*.' This would indicate that from ancient times in this region, the *gharri* was recognised as a 'standard unit' of measure for time, and that the clepsydrae was also regulated according to the *gharri* unit.

The timing of ceremonies at the saint's mausoleum is regulated by the *wato* measures accompanied by announcements by a fixed number of strokes on the *gharryal* (the gong). At present, clepsydrae timing is not used all the 24 hours of day and night as was done in the past. It is used only from morning to mid-day and again after sunset to midnight. The present use of the clepsydrae and the strokes on the gong accompanying the various ceremonies are detailed under Table-VII on the next page.

TABLE-VII
TIMING OF CEREMONIES AND PRAYERS BY CLEPSYDRAE MEASURE AT
THE MAUSOLEUM OF QALANDAR SHAHBAZ

1	2	3	4
Number of <i>wata</i> filled	No. of Strokes	A general indication of time	Prayer times and ceremonies
<i>Wato taran</i>			
(<i>wato</i> floated', i.e. Clepsydrae set into motion)	45	The fourth <i>pahar</i> of the night is ending	The early morning ceremonies over. It is time for the Morning Prayer (<i>Fajr</i>).
1 one <i>wata</i> filled	No stroke	Because of the prayer time	
2 two <i>wata</i> filled	2	The sunrise: two strokes given	The <i>Khidmati</i> takes his seat at the door of the Veziar's tomb and makes the 'flower crown', Then he goes inside the saint's mausoleum and places the 'crown' on the headside' of the tomb. Thereafter, he pulls the bells stringed above. Hearing this, the <i>naggarchi</i> gives six strokes on the <i>naggara</i> , and the gong man give two strokes.
3 three <i>wata</i> filled	3		
4 four <i>wata</i> filled	4		
5 five <i>wata</i> filled	5		
6 six <i>wata</i> filled	6		
*7 seven <i>wata</i> filled	*17		
*8 eight <i>wata</i> filled	*17	One <i>pahar</i> (one fourth) of the day is over.	No ceremonies
*9 nine <i>wata</i> filled	*17		

*In the "Forties of Winter", 17 strokes are given after completion of 7 *wata*; in the 'Forties of Summer', 17 strokes are given after completion of 9 *wata*; and on all the other days of the year, after completion of 8 *wata*.

Table-VII Contd....

1	2	3	4
From this time till evening clepsydrae not used now. In the past, it was used continuously throughout the day and night.	25	Two <i>Pahars</i> (one half of the day) are over. It is mid-day. This is now determined from sun's position, shadows and the watch.	The number of strokes (25) tell it is noontime, the Sun is soon to decline, and it will be time for the <i>Ageen</i> Prayer (<i>Zuhr</i>). No ceremonies
	35	Three <i>pahars</i> (three fourth) of the day over. This is now determined from the Sun's position, shadows and the watch.	The number of 35 strokes tell it is now time for the <i>Wichin</i> Prayer (<i>Asr</i>)
			No ceremonies
	9	Approximately, when duration of two <i>wata</i> remains before sunset	A preparatory announcement that the sun is about to set and the persons concerned with ceremonies (the bed setter, the lamp man and the <i>naqqara</i> beater) should reach immediately. The one brings the ceremonial cot and the bed, and makes the bed under the Flag Pole, the <i>alam</i> , signifying the symbolic presence of the saint. The lamp man lights oil lamps (21 in all). First he brings one lamp to the <i>naqqarchi</i> who lights it. From this one lamp the rest are to be lighted. The <i>naqqarchi</i> now begins the <i>Dauanko</i> (the ceremonial one

Table-VII Contd...

1	2	3	4
			<p>hundred hand beats on one single naqqara). He gives fifty consecutive strikes with his right hand, then stops for a while, and again gives fifty more strokes.</p> <p>During this period all the lamps are lighted.</p> <p>- Time for the <i>Sanjhi</i> Prayer (<i>Maghrib</i>).</p> <p>As soon as the <i>Daunko</i> ends, the Call (<i>adhan</i>) for the Maghrib prayer commences. This is followed by the congregation, which is held in the saint's mosque.</p> <p>- <i>Dhammal</i>, the devotional dance of the <i>derwishes</i> begins to the special rhythmic beats of the <i>naqqara</i>, spelling out the sound of the phrase '<i>mast Qalandar</i>!' '<i>mast Qalandar</i>!'.</p> <p>- <i>Dhammal</i> continues on.</p> <p>- <i>Dhammal</i> is coming to an end, and the first <i>tabal of dhammal</i>' (a special succession of quick strokes on the <i>naqqara</i> for about 5 seconds) commences.</p> <p>-The second '<i>tabal of dhammal</i>' begins. As it</p>
<p><i>Wato taran</i> (wato floated) c lepsydrae measure begins</p>	45	<p>As soon as the congregational part (<i>fard</i>) of the prayer is over.</p>	
1	1	First stroke	
2	2	Second stroke	
3	3		
4	4		

Table-VII Contd...

1	2	3	4
5			ends after 5 seconds, the cot and the bed are removed.
6	5		
*7	6		
*8	*7		No ceremonies
*9	*17		
	*17		
	*17		
		The first one <i>pahar</i> (one fourth) of the night is over.	
*1	1		
*2	2		Time for the closing ceremony. Khidmati (the in-charge of this service) prepares himself for it after hearing the 17 strokes As
*3	3		2 or 3 strokes are given, he arrives. Then the <i>naqqarchi</i> beats the ceremonial 'Daunko' (i.e. gives 12 strokes on the <i>naqqara</i> with his right hand) signifying that the door of the mausoleum is to be closed.
			-As the <i>faqir</i> begins to close the door, the

* In the 'Forties of Summer', 17 strokes are given after completion of 7 *wata*; in the 'Forties of Winter', 17 strokes are given after completion of 9 *wata*; and on all other days of the year on completion of 8 *wata*. Accordingly, the time of completion of the 1, 2, 3 *wata*, which follow, varies and the *sawa pahar* is over either after 2 or 3 *wata*

Table-VII Contd...

1	2	3	4
Clepsydrae not used (as was done in the past) for the rest of the night. Time is determined by moon and stars. Clepsydrae is again employed in the morning.	35	Three <i>pahars</i> of the night are over.	rhythmic beat of ' <i>mast Qalandar</i> '! is continued on the <i>naqqara</i> till the door is closed.
			No ceremonies
			-After hearing 35 strokes, the same man would first awaken the <i>naqqarchi</i> and then the <i>Khidmati</i> .
			- The <i>naqqarchi</i> arrives first and plays the rhythmic beat of ' <i>mast Qalandar</i> ' for "the duration of two <i>wata</i> " (which shows that in the past clepsydrae was continuous). He continues the rhythmic beat until the <i>Khidmati</i> arrives. The bed setter and the lamp man also arrive.
	9		- When the <i>Khidmati</i> arrives, 9 consecutive strokes are given on the gong. The <i>Khidmati</i> opens the door of the mausoleum as the 9 strokes are continued.
			- The lamp man lights the lamps as the door opens. The in charge of cot and bed brings them and sets the bed under the <i>alam</i> .

Table-VII Contd....

1	2	3	4
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The 9 strokes were also a call to the 'flower man' to reach. He now arrives with the 'flower crown' which he has prepared, and he gives it to the <i>Khidmati</i>. - The <i>Khidamati</i> after cleaning the shrine, would place the 'flower crown' on the headside top of the saint's tomb (<i>Tajposhi</i> ceremony). The previous day's crown and flowers are distributed according to the tradition. - As the in-charge of the 'Kafi of Badal Sher' (i.e. Establishment of the Saint's disciple Badal Sher) comes out of the mausoleum after receiving his share of the 'Green' (flowers and green leaves), he recites "Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim" loudly as he passes by the door of the Vezier (i.e. the Saint's Vezier Syed Ali). - On hearing him, the <i>naqqarchi</i> would beat the ceremonial <i>Daunko</i> (one hundred hand beats in the same manner as at the time of sunset). - Now all the ceremonies are completed.

On my inquiry, I was informed by the operator of the clepsydrae that the *wato* measure was actually the measure of *gharri*, and that one *wato* equated with one *gharri* and was of about 24 minutes duration by modern reckoning. This is the single clear evidence of the duration of a *gharri* as it was reckoned in the past. The other information about the use and duration of the *gharri* was given by one old illiterate farmer²⁵ from the northern part (the present district of Khairpur) as follows; "Long ago when we used to irrigate by lifting water by the *ait-u* or *naar* (the Sindhian Wheel), the period of time taken by the flow of water to irrigate one half of a *vesua*²⁶ of land was one *gharri*. This duration was approximately of 20 minutes by the present reckoning'.

The concept of the *gharri* measure of time based on "the flow of a given amount of water" in this tradition, may be reminiscent of the clepsydrae timing by flow of water used in the long past. The old farmer's guess of "20 minutes" duration of a *gharri* was obviously a rough estimate.

The actual duration of a *gharri* may also be calculated by counting the number of *wata* in 'day+night' duration. They would count 7, 8 or 9 *wata* in a *pahar*, depending upon the varying duration of the day/night in different parts of the year. The 4 *pahars of the shortest day/night will be of 28 wata*, and of the longest day/night of 36 *wata*. One *pahar of an average day/night is counted as equivalent to 8 wata*, thus 32 *wata* constituting such a day/night. These counts give on average of 64 *wata* in a 'day+night' duration, i.e., in 24 hours, the duration of each *wata* being 22.5 minutes.

This is nearer to the result as calculated by Beruni (by averaging the different variations), according to which 60 *gharris* make the nychthemeron (day+night), one *gharri* being equivalent of 24 minutes.²⁷

REFERENCES

1. Marshall, Sir John: *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, London, 1931 (Hemmný's Chapter on "Weights and Measures of the Indus Civilization").
2. 'Finger' (in width) has been used as a unit measure of length in different societies. According to Beruni, in the contemporary Muslim society of his days, a 'finger' was equal to one 12th part of a *mikyás*. He has observed that the Hindus "do not call the twelfth part of a *mikyás* a *finger* in general, as we do, but their *mikyás* is always a span". (*Indica*, 1/166).

3. Some such units of measure of length also figure in the early Hindu tradition, which was interpreted by Varahmihra for the construction of idols. His terminology as recorded by Alberuni (*Indica*, I/162 & 166-167) is as under:
 The distance between the ends of the thumb and the small finger at their widest probable stretching = One Span, **Vitasti**
 The distance between the ends of the fourth or ring-finger and the thumb, **Gokarna**
 The distance between the ends of the index-finger and the thumb = 2/3 span, **Karabha**
 The distance between the tops of the middle fingers and the thumb, **Tala**
 The Sindhi *goku* and Varahmihra's *gokarna* may be the same term, with different concepts as 'measures'.
4. In some parts, these terms are used in opposite meanings, the one is used for the other.
5. Dictated to me orally by Sarupio s/o Dhiro s/o Asio s/o Dorangi s/o Vero s/o Hasan, – a Dhadhi Manganhar of Nagarparkar, District Tharparkar, on 29 February 1962.
6. *agar* (Sindhi) = a dust particle.
7. *Indica*, I/166-167.
8. Baloch, N. A. (ed.): Introduction (p. 20) to Alberuni's *Ghurrat al-Zij* or *Karana Tilak*, Hyderabad, Sindh, Pakistan, 1973.
9. During the Arab rule in Sindh, Muslim scholars had referred to the Sindh Era which had commenced from the month of Chaitra. In the Arabic translation (*Zij Alarkand*) of Brahmagupta's astronomical work *Karana Khanda-Khadyak*, made in the capital city of Mansurah, it was explained that "the month Safar, 117 A.H., corresponded to the Chaitra of the year 109 of the realm of Sindh" (*Ibid*).
10. The south eastern region (the present Tharparker district) receives monsoon rains, and hence the 'Rainy Season' is counted as important. In the neighbouring Indian regions of Kachch and Kathiawar also three seasons are recognised. Alberuni recorded that in the region of Somanath (Kathiawar) three seasons were counted, i.e. *Varshkala* or monsoon, *Sitkala* or winter, and *Ushankala* or summer (*Indica*, I/357).
11. The tradition of dividing the year into seasons was widespread, particularly in the northern regions of the Hindostan subcontinent. Writing in 918 H (1512), the author of *Tibb Ma'dan al-Shifa Sikandarshahi* (Navalkishore, p.8) records that in the Ganges regions the year was then divided into six *rut*s or seasons (*Sisur*, *Basant*, Garbakham, Barkha, Sard & Hevant rut) of *two months each*.
12. His treatise *Rashf al-Zulal fi fai' al-Zawal* (MSS) wherein he says, "Varihu Vehay Viha Kha", meaning *the year commences from the month of Viha'* (Vesakh).
13. *Ibid*. Makhdum Ja'far was the most eminent jurist, educator and astronomer of his times. A digest of his comprehensive book on 'Methods of Education' (*Nahj al-Ta'llum*, which he wrote in 1552) and some other works have survived. His writings on astronomy are lost, and only references to his views and conclusions in this field have survived in the works of later

scholars.

14. Indica, 1/337.
15. *Ibid.* 1/162-64.
16. *Ibid.* 1/165.
17. See below.
18. Baloch, N. A. (ed.): Introduction (pp. 23-25) to Alberuni's *Ghurraṭ al-Zijāṭ* or *Karāna Tilak* (op. cit.).
19. Compare the concept of the 'noon shadow' as a unit of measure in what follows, with its early use in the calculation of the *mulhurtas*. Alberuni has observed that the Hindus divided the Day (day+night) into thirty *mulhurtas* of equal length. They would find the number of the *mulhurtas*, which have elapsed of the day, by means of digits which the shadow of a person at the time measures. "For the latter number you subtract the digits of the shadow of the person at noon" and with the remaining number are found, in accordance with the set formula, the given *mulhurta* (Indica, 1/338-342).
20. The jurist Makhḍum Ja'far Bubakani (of Bubak in the present district of Dadu, Sindh) who was also an eminent astronomer of his days, had detailed the different types of calculations based on the solar year. The solar year came to be used more specifically for purpose of cultivation and revenue record; ordinarily lunar calendar was used both by Muslims and non-Muslims, and the traditional names of the solar months were applied to the lunar months. The versified Tables for the monthly 'Standard Root Lengths' of shadow would always give the names of solar months.
21. Al-Rashf al-Zulal (op. cit.).
22. Indica, 1/337.
23. I examined it and collected other details about its use for regulating the different ceremonials on 6 May 1973. My informant was the elderly *faqir* Sanwal son of Lalbakhsh Unnar, then the leader of the *Dhammal* (the drum rhythm to which the *dhammal* dance is performed by the *dervishes*).
24. Indica, 1/334.
25. Among some literate circles, a *sa'at* (Ar.) was equated with a *gharri*, the period of a *sa'at* being calculated by the varying 'shadow lengths' during the daytime. This notion, however, puts 12 *sa'at* in a day, which amounts to 12 hours a day, a *sa'at* being equal to one hour. This is obviously not the same as one *gharri*.
26. A *Vesua* is their smallest measure of the land area, the table being:

5 <i>hath</i>	= 4 <i>kana</i>
4 <i>kana</i> x 5 <i>kana</i>	= one <i>vesua</i>
20 <i>vesua</i>	= one <i>jireb</i> (Ar. Jarib)
2 <i>jireb</i>	= one acre.
27. Indica, 1/335-337. 'Pure logical thinking cannot give us any knowledge of the empirical world, all knowledge of reality starts from experiment and ends in it'.

III

IRRIGATION TECHNOLOGY IN THE INDUS BASIN: DEVELOPMENT OF SINDHIAN WATER WHEEL

There are many theories about the rise and fall of Moenjodaro, but the more plausible ones cannot be dissociated from the Indus. Its perennial waters undoubtedly contributed to its prosperity as a centre of high agricultural production, resulting as much from the fertility of the soil of the region as from the network of some well stabilized perennial stream and inundation channels as also smaller man-made irrigation channels. What follows covers the development of irrigation technology in Sindh in various stages, viz. construction of embankments, channelizing of water, barraging, and further progress in the “lift technology” with its orientation to the lift capacity and the social basis of operation.

The Sukkur Barrage, with its growing progeny of other barrages on the Indus is to be viewed as almost the culmination of the technological process which was initiated by the Indus man in pre-historic times. In the context of this paper, irrigation technology may be defined as a man-made effort to use Indus waters for purpose of agriculture.

THE FIRST STAGE OF CONSTRUCTING TINY EMBANKMENTS

Irrigation is essentially a technological process. The Indus waters flowing in the Indus it self, could never have brought about any cultivation: it was only when the waters flooded out of it that agriculture became possible. At the early stage of uncontrolled periodic floods of the Indus, the pre-historic man began to learn and employ the simple technique of holding the naturally spreading flood waters in his

small fields for sowing the seeds. At that stage, he must have used his hands, pieces of wood, stones and straw, to improvise tiny embankments of earth and alluvium. With this repeated periodic practice for thousands of years, the technology of "simple holding embankment" was born.

THE SECOND STAGE OF CHANNELIZING WATER

The Indus itself was too powerful and frightening for the pre-historic man. Its natural off-shoots and their sub-streams were comparatively smaller in size with which he became gradually familiar. Simultaneously, he had emerged from the "Stone Age" and entered the new "Bronze Age", and had learnt to make tools which could be employed for digging. Being so equipped he succeeded in diverting and bringing waters from the seasonal streams to his fields by excavating tiny small channels.

It would be reasonable to presume that the Indus man who developed the great civilization, with Moenjodaro as its metropolis, had mastered the technology of channelization. The frequently changing courses of the Indus and also of its main branches and other streams could hardly give birth to the technology of channelization which must have developed under the condition of prolonged stability of the perennial streams and the inundation channels.

It is to be recognized that all through the ages, agriculture in Sindh has been a function of the changing courses of the Indus which may be grouped, in terms of their perennial off shoots and seasonal channels as also their geographical distribution, into three systems: the Western system, the Eastern system, and the Middle system.¹ The Western system, which nurtured Moenjodaro, coincided approximately with the present course of the Indus².

Development of the metropolis Moenjodaro and spread of the Indus civilization would postulate availability of perennial Indus waters and stability of its main course: the irrigational use of its waters through the technology of channelization would have been possible only if a Western distributary of the Indus had then remained stabilized for longer period.

With the possibility of the Aral branching off westward from the upper deltaic apex (Rohri-Sukkur Section) and waters of the Indus

being distributed equitably into the main Middle stream and the two arms at the apex -i.e. between the Kote-Dijian/Nara branches of the Eastern system and the Aral of the Western system – it kept the courses in the three systems balanced and stable. This equilibrium would appear to have lasted for a long time. For, if the generally held view is to be accepted that Alexander with his army sailed along the main course of the Indus and that he had touched Sehwan, it may be assumed that it was sometime during the 3rd / 4th century B.C. that the main middle stream of the river deflected south-westward at its deltaic apex, leaving the upper course of the western distributary of Aral silted and dry. With this change, while the lower course of the Aral from Sehwan southward was fed with the inundation waters of the main Middle course of the river, the upper course of the Aral between the deltaic apex and Sehwan was abandoned and gradually obliterated, thus ruining the irrigation system of Moenjodaro and causing its decline.

From Sehwan southward, the well cut course of the Aral is visible to this day because of its well stabilized alignment. Writing in 1840, Dr. Kennedy thought that “it is an artificial canal dug in some long forgotten age by some patriot sovereign or some wise generation”³. It is, however, obvious from its size and alignment that it was never an excavated canal; it was a natural channel of the Indus from time immemorial. The first recorded reference to it is already thirteen centuries old. It is mentioned by its present name ‘Aral’ in Fathnama (alias Chachnama), and the reference indicates that during the first decades of the 8th century A.D., the annual inundation waters of the Indus flowed into Aral from the northern side of the city of Sehwan.⁴ Thus, if Aral has survived for the last thirteen hundred years despite the annual floods of the Indus, its antiquity some 2400 years prior to the 8th century A.D., i.e. during the Moenjodaro era, cannot be ruled out.

THE THIRD STAGE OF LIFT TECHNOLOGY

The agricultural prosperity of the Moenjodaro region was achieved as a result of the development and extensive use of the channelization technology based on the perennial waters of the well stabilized Aral/Proto-Aral branch of the Indus. If the Aral was flowing on a high ridge like the mother Indus, irrigation by natural gravitational flow in some areas was possible but it could not have covered the

whole region. It is to be presumed that possibly the Indus man, at an advanced stage, conceived the idea of lifting water from somewhat deeper cut inundation channels.

This was the stage when he discovered the technology of the wheel, a solid wheel which was used by him in his bullock-cart. The ingenuity of the Indus man enabled him to lift water for irrigation by applying the wheel technology. His 'Water Wheel' has not survived. The original wooden wheel could not have survived; but the solid wheel has survived as a toy in the baked clay form. If invention of the solid bullock-cart wheel is conceded on the evidence of the toy wheel, the next step in the invention of water wheel cannot be ruled out. Considering the elaborate nomenclature employed in the present types of irrigation wheel used in Sindh, the most ancient word would appear to be its very name *Urlo* or *Hurlo*, the former pronunciation being more popular in the Northern Sindh, i.e. nearer to the Moenjodaro region, and the latter in the lower Sindh. In case its ancient name *Arlo* has survived in the present form of *Urlo* / *Hurlo*, wherein the suffix 'o' means 'of', *Urlo* could originally mean 'of Aral'^{*}, i.e. the irrigation water wheel belonging to 'Aral', the one which was first developed in the Moenjodaro region as part of the irrigation system. Thus, a sort of 'Indus water wheel' emerged as the most significant achievement in the lift irrigation technology during the Moenjodaro era.

THE FOURTH STAGE: BARRAGING

No chronology can be determined for the successive stages of development in the Indus irrigation technology. The idea of blocking the barraging a stream to raise the level of water for channelizing it out to the fields might have dawned much later in time. The process could have begun with the loose stone/straw/wood blockades of the small man-made channels, but blocking of the bigger inundation channels was yet a Herculean task for the Indus man. Progress in this aspect of technology was possibly made during the post-Moenjodaro eras with the discovery and use of iron tools. The first recorded evidence of the barraging technology comes from the Arab-Islamic period of Sindh's history, from the 8th through 10th century, when considerable progress was made in irrigation and agriculture. This was because firm orders

* The only other meaning of *ARAL* used in classical Sindhi, is 'strong intractable young horse'.

were issued by the Caliph to promote agriculture. When the military contingents in Sindh applied for leave to return to their homes in Syria and Iraq after having served in Sindh for about four years, Caliph Sulaiman (715-720 A.D.) denied this request and issued a firm order, which said, "Stay on there, cultivate the land, and be prosperous".⁵

Progress in Agriculture during this period is amply attested by the varied technology, and the continuous use till today of some key Arabic words either in their original or Sindhized form, such as Hari and Mujeri (the tiller and the employer), Kasah (a measure of grain equivalent to 16 seers), Jarib (cultivable area of about half of an Acre), Phurdo (furdāt = bridge) etc. It was during this period that sufficient expertise was developed to barrage bigger channels. An important reference to this effect is available in the contemporary record. During the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Al-M'utasim Billah (833-842 A.D.), 'Imran b. Musa who succeeded to the Governorship of Al-Sind on the death of his father (Musa) in 221 A.H./836 A.D., got "constructed a barrage which was called the 'Barrage of the Med'".⁶

Obviously this barrage was constructed sometime between 836 and 842 A.D. It was constructed approximately in the area of the present Rohri-Sukkur section of the Indus, on the "Aror River" (Nahr al-Rur), as 'Imran' had encamped on the bank of this stream. The verb which has been used in the Arabic text for 'building the barrage' is *SAKARA*, and the noun used for the 'barrage' is *SAKR*. In all probability, the name of the city of Sukkur is reminiscent of the name of that first barrage in history which was built on the 'Aror River' (a natural off-shoot of the Indus).

Thus, the skill to dyke and dam bigger channels which developed during the 9th century A.D., continued to be used subsequently. References to one such dyke, Dyke of Aror (Aror-ji-Bandh), abound in Sindhi lore and literature. According to one tradition, this dyke was constructed during the 5th century A.H./12th century A.D. and, as a result, the mouth of an easterly branch of the Indus (which folklore would identify with Hakra-Nara) was blocked and its waters were diverted into the main Middle course of the Indus. The event being a significant one was echoed subsequently in folklore, and also indirectly in historical writings. The prosperity of the territories of the ruling Soomra Dynasty (1050-1365 A.D.), which then depended upon the waters of the Eastern System (the Hakra-Nara) and

the Puran branches, was ruined because of this change in the configuration of courses at the upper deltaic apex of the Indus in the Aror–Sukkur section. The following verse⁷ referring to Dyke of Aror (Aror-ji-Bandh) has been preserved for posterity and is widely known all over the country to this day.

*Haak wahando Hakro bhajandi bandh Arorr
Bih machhi ain lorr, Samm-e veenda Sukhirri*

(The dyke of Aror will burst and Hakra will fast flow
The fish and lorr as gifts to Samma will go)

History repeated itself when modern advanced technology was used to construct a Barrage in 1932. That its name should be none else than ‘Sukkur Barrage’ accords well with the rhythm of History.

LIFT TECHNOLOGY: THE SINDHIAN WHEEL

Historically, the Sindhian Wheel represents a unique development of its kind with no comparable example elsewhere. The use of the simple ‘water wheel’, Urlo or Hurlo, which was invented first, gradually extended all over the country during the post-Moenjodaro eras. By the dawn of the history (the Achimemenian period of Sindh history?) this ‘water wheel’ was already a marvel of lift irrigation technology in the lower Indus valley. The possible export of this irrigation technology from Sindh to Persia during this period, or the subsequent Sassanid Period (when there was political alliance between Sindh and Persia), and its use there beginning from the 6th century B.C., cannot be ruled out. But from the point of its origin, it would be a misnomer to call it “Persian Wheel”. Its varying types, structural forms in relation to different functions, its elaborate indigenous terminology, the pairing between the bullock and the wheel with reference to the load and the pulling period, and the social basis of its operation would indicate that, by its origin and history, the Irrigation Wheel belongs essentially to the Lower Indus Basin.

(a) THE BASIC STRUCTURE

The basic structure of the age-old Sindhian Wheel, Urlo or Hurlo, may be briefly described here. It consist of two wheels: the Chakar or the upper ‘Spoked wheel’, which operates as lever and is pulled by bullock and revolves in horizontal plane, and the ‘Bhandi /

Bhando / Dhingo' or the lower 'Lift Wheel' which is set into motion by the spokes of the Chakar but revolves in a different plane (at right angles to the Chakar plane) and lifts water by means of the baked earthen jars roped around it. Obviously, the mechanism is based on the principle of lever, the spokes of Chakar operating as lever against the *pharahiyun* (single. *pharahi*) of the 'Lift Wheel' (Bhandi/Bhando/Dhingo).

An advanced development in its structure took place during the Arab-Islamic period when, as already pointed out, special emphasis was placed on promoting agriculture. It was realised that to bring a larger area under cultivation it was necessary to lift more quantity of water on a single unit wheel. Accordingly, a new type of lift machine with three wheels was developed. It was based on the principle of securing more revolutions of the 'Lift Wheel' in one single round taken by the pulling animal. To achieve this, a smaller third spoked wheel (Chakri) was added and also the spokes of the upper wheel (Chakar) were redesigned as *qubbas* (domed spokes). With this pairing of two spoked wheels, the lever force and the frequency were augmented, increasing the revolutions of the 'Lift Wheel' (Bando / Dhingo) per each pulling round. Due to the additional load of the third wheel and the long bar, a camel instead of a bullock was employed as the pull animal. This new machine Na'urah (Ar.), Sindhisised as Naar, has continued on to this day. The two significant terms Naurah/Naar and Qubba (domed spoke) indicate that this advanced type of Irrigation wheel was developed during the Arab period, sometime in the 9th / 10th centuries A.D.

Orientation to the Lift Capacity

The following types of the Urlo/Hurlo and Ait/Nar, which have continued on to this day, are oriented to the quantity of water to be lifted.

Barho, the Twelve-spoked Urlo/Hurlo, probably the original prototype, with its Chakar having 12 *ara* or spokes and also its Bhandi / Bhando / Dhingo having 12 *pharhiyun*.

Chod'ho, the Fourteen-spoked, with the addition of two more spokes in Chakar and two more *pharhiyun* in Bahndo (the 'lift wheel').

Ararrho, the 'Eighteen-spoked' Naar / Aitu, with 18 *Qubbas* in Chak-

-ar, 18 in Chakri and 18 Pharhiyun.

Choviho, the 'Twenty four- spoked' Naar/Aitu, representing an increase of 6 more units with a total of 24 qubbas/ spokes/pharhiyun in the three wheels respectively.

Orientation to the Depth of Water

Ba'irr–badho Urlo / Hurlo, wherein the *maalh* (the stair, carrying jars) is tightly bound to the 'Lift Wheel' (Dhingo) when the water level is high enough submerging the lower portion of the 'Lift Wheel'.

Chharhu Urlo/Hurlo, wherein the jar-stair (*maalh*) is loose and long to reach the deeper water level.

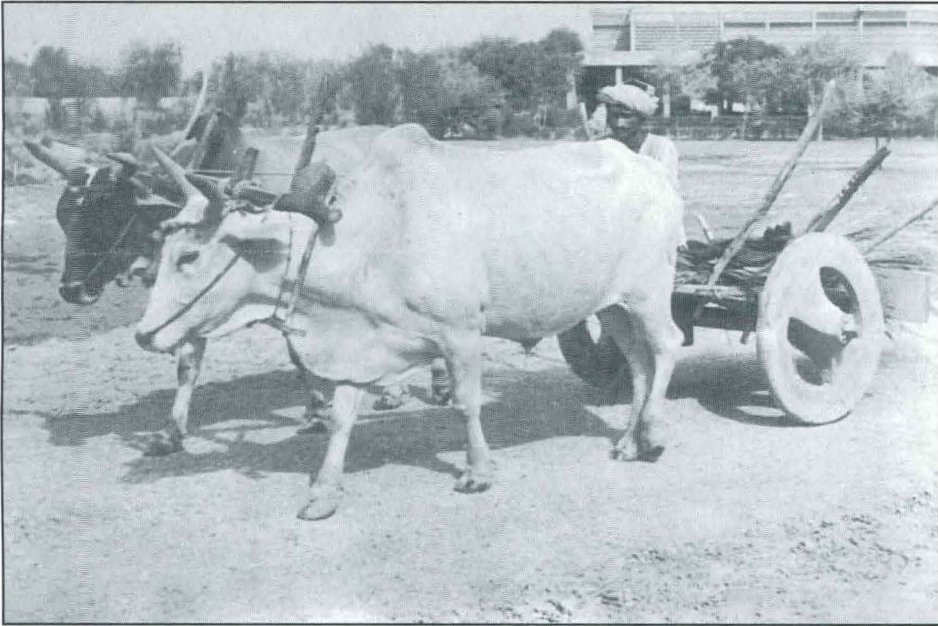
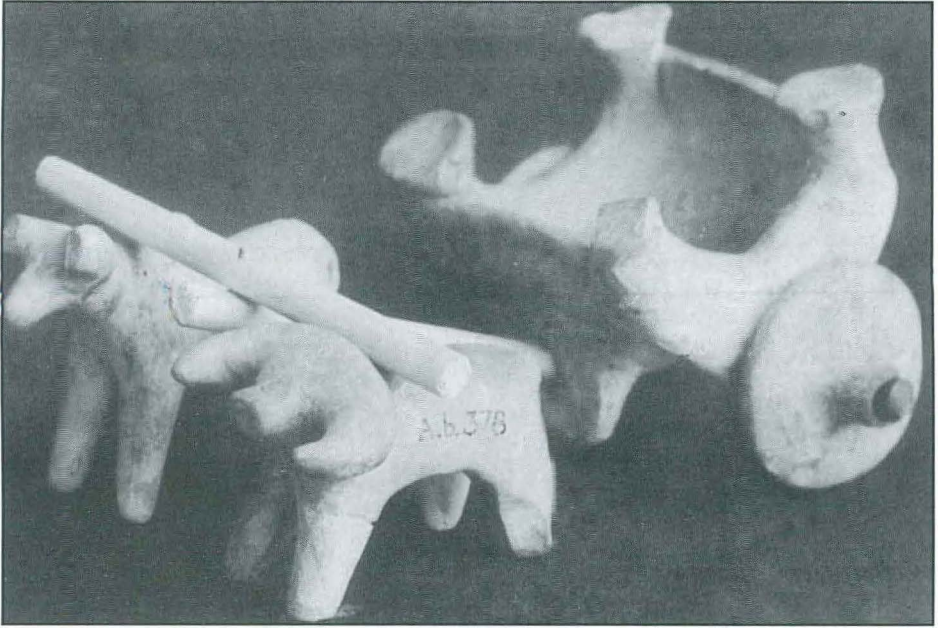
Trangin or Langrrio Urlo/Hurlo, wherein the jar-stair (*maalh*) is much longer to hang below the Lift Wheel to reach water at deeper levels.

Beharr (plu.beharroon), a vertical pair of two Urlo / Hurlo units, one above the other, to lift water from the deeper *dhoras* (channels) left by the receding flood waters of the Indus.

(b) THE SOCIAL BASIS OF OPERATION

The 'Sindhian Wheel', from its inception, has been a social phenomenon both in terms of avocation and operation. It is worked in mutual partnership between the owner of the land (*malik*), the entrepreneur (*mujeri*), and the tiller (*hari*). It is manufactured and operated with the combined labour of the carpenter, the potter and the cobbler. For about four months (June-Sept.), its premises serve as living quarters for guest visitors, a place of entertainment for villagers and as a rendezvous for friends. The water channel feeding the wheel is to be excavated and cleaned on the basis of voluntary joint effort known as *wangar* or *abat*. All the irrigation wheels situated on the same channel share its waters on community basis, the governing principle being the 'equitable distribution based on the age-old turn-wise system of Waro and Sangharo'.

In case the quantity of water available in the channel gets reduced, the Waro or the normal group-wise turn system is introduced, whereby the channel is blocked mid way allowing the wheels in the upper section to operate for one full day; the blocking is then removed

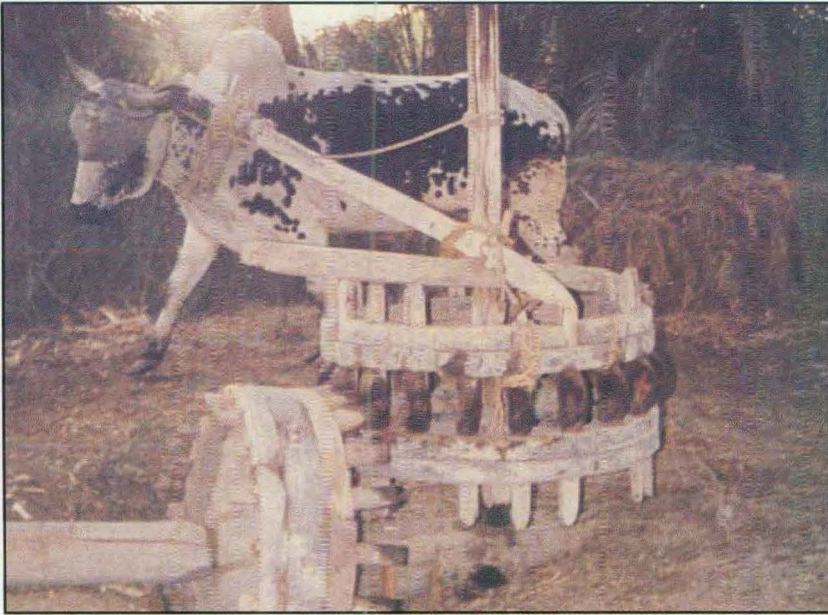


THE WHEEL

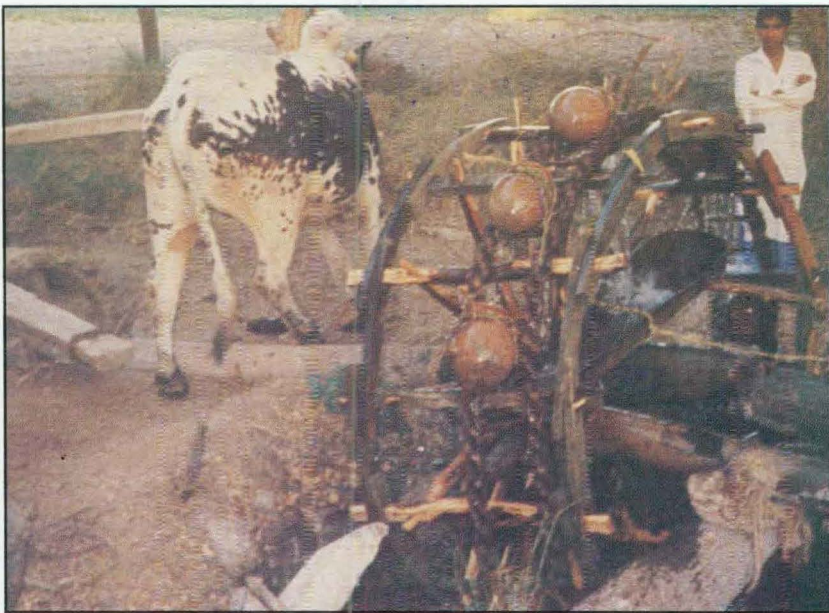
Continuity from pre-historic times

Top: Toy model bullock cart, Moenjodaro.

Bottom: The actual, present times.



THE SINDHIAN WHEEL
Two Spoked Wheels
Serving as strong lever.



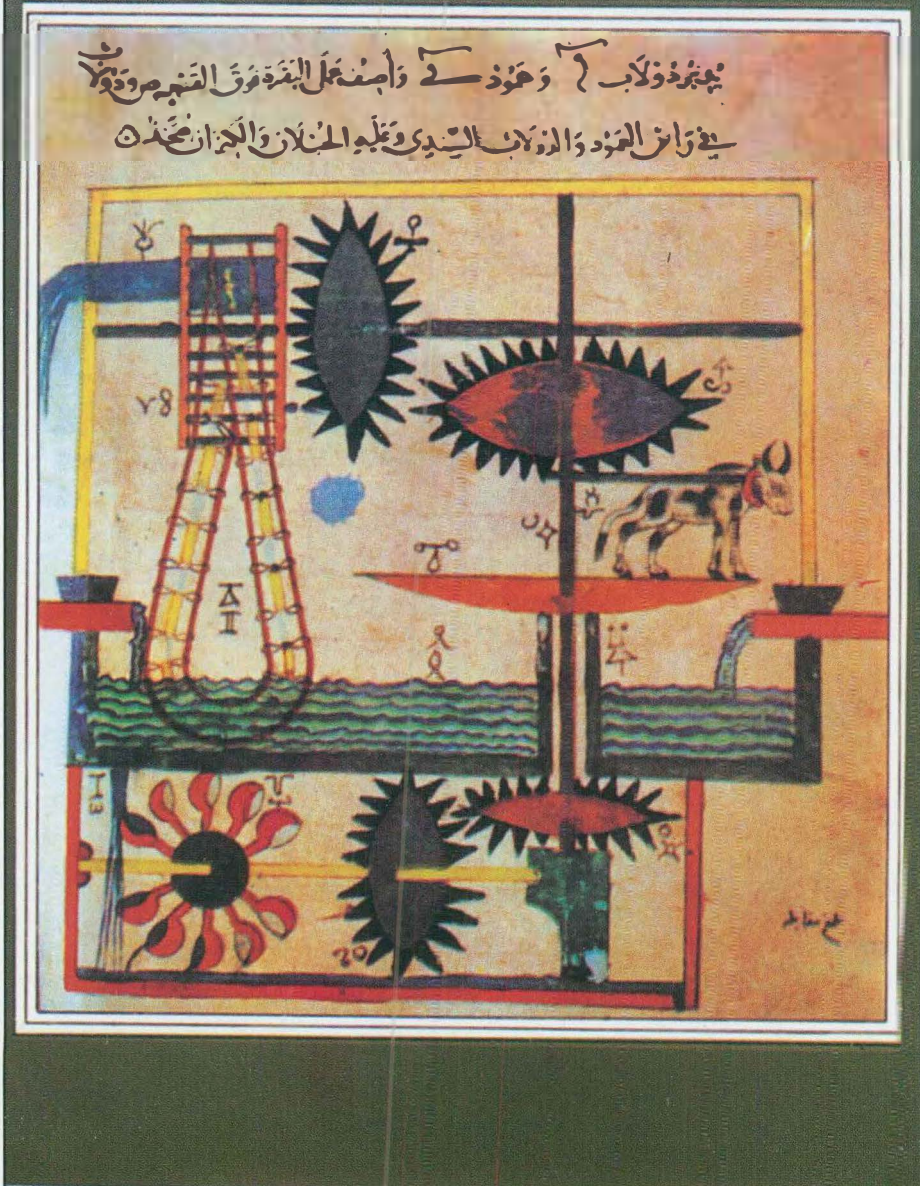
HURLO. the Wheel with earthen jars
for drawing water.



Lately, iron pipe instead of wooden 'nesaro' used for draining water.

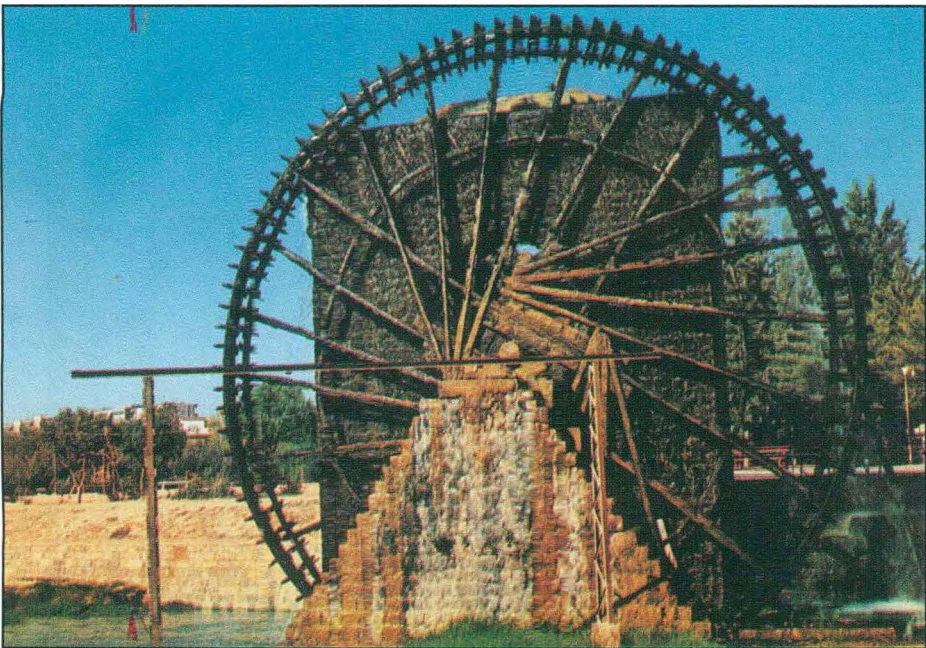


In case of a heavy wheel,
camel employed.

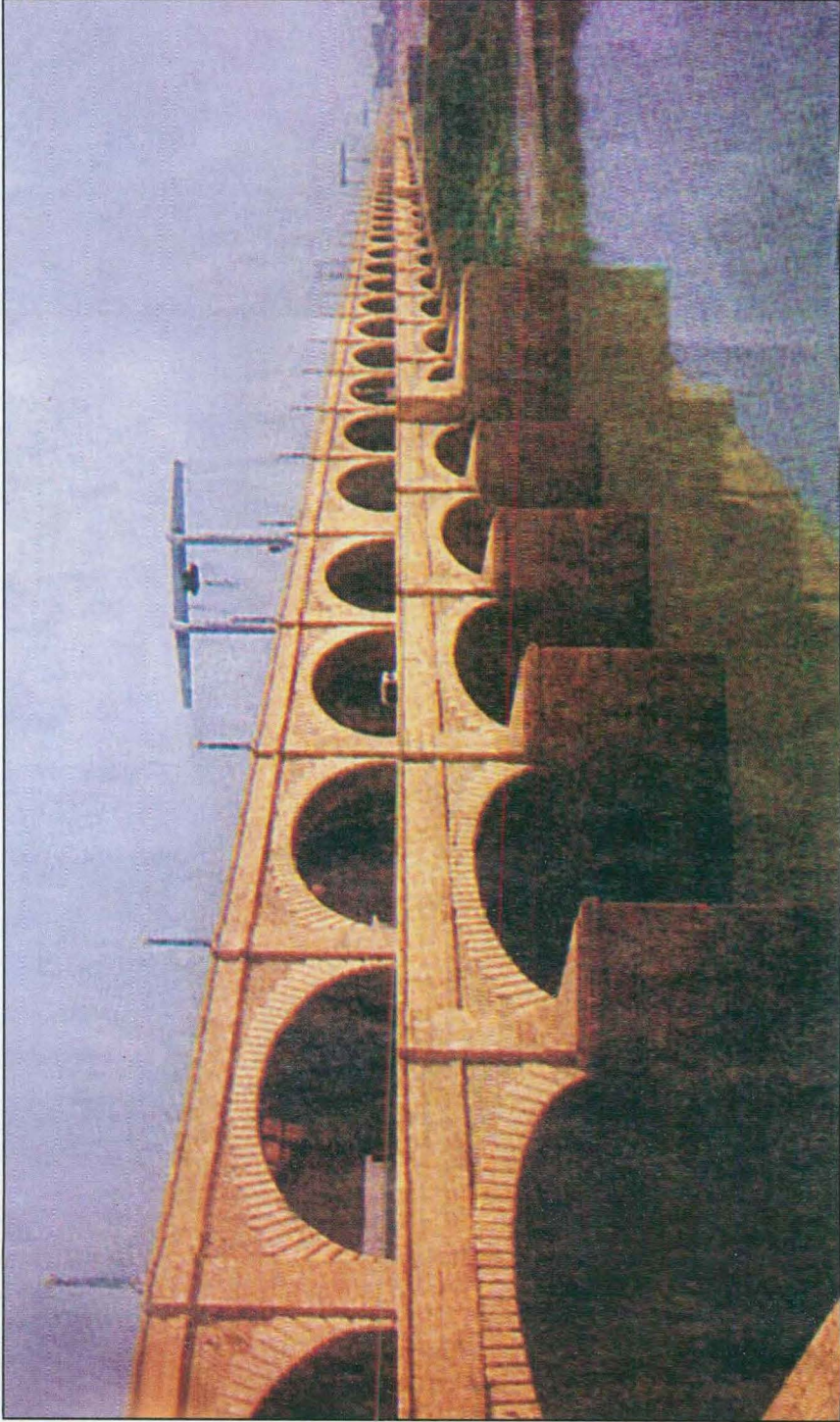




NAR in Sindh



NAURA in Hama, Syria



There was SAKR (barrage) in Sindh in the 9th century A.D.
There is barrage at SUKKUR in Sindh in the 20th century.

to enable the wheels in the lower section to operate the next day (the upper wheels remaining closed). But, if quantity of water is just marginal, the Sangharo or the single-unit turn system is put into effect, whereby each wheel operates for a fixed limited time while all others stand by for their individual turn.

The Sindhian Wheel was such a fascinating machine of immense utility that knowledge of it spread to the neighbouring countries. The possibility of its import and use in Persia particularly during the Sassaid period of political relations between Sindh and Persia cannot be ruled out. Its knowledge spread to Iraq when the province of Al-Sind was part of the Umayyid and the Abbasid Caliphates (8th though 10th centuries H.), with communications continuing on for centuries thereafter. Thus, a millenium back, the Sindhian Wheel came under study by the great Mesopotemian engineer, Badi' al-Zaman Ibn al-'Izz al-Razzaz al-Jazari, who flourished by the turn of the 12th century A.D. In his work on ingenious mechanical devices entitled 'Integration of Theory and Productive Practice in Machnical Technology',⁸ completed in 1204/1206 H., he cited the unique example of 'The Sindhian Wheel' (sic.) as being the machine for lifting water from a pond/stream at some depth below.⁹ He has devoted Chapter-3 of Category-V of his book to this machine, the 'Sindhian Wheel' (*al-Dawlab al-Sindi*). He also explains how a model of it could be constructed.¹⁰ An eminent modern scholar, Engineer Donald R. Hill, who translated and annotated al-Jazari's work,¹¹ has observed:

'It is significant that al-Jazari calls this machine the Sindhi Wheel so perhaps it may have originated in North Western India,¹² i.e. in Sindh'.

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2. During the 20th century, the Indus flowed so close to the Moenjodaro site that it eroded a part of its eastern periphery.
3. Paign Kennedy (1840): "Narrative of Campaign of Army of the Indus in Sind", quoted by H. T. Sorely in the Gazetteer of Sind, p.451.
4. Fat'hnama-e-Sind (alias Chachnama), Persian Text, ed. N.A. Baloch, Institute of Islamic History, Culture & Civilization, Islamic University, Islamabad, 1982, p.88.
5. Tabari, *Tarikh*, Leiden, Vol.II, p.1275.
6. Al-Baladhuri, *Futah al-Buldun*, ed. De Goeje, Brill, 1886, p.445.

7.

هاك وهندو هاك: و پچندي بنتد اروژ
به مچي لوز، سمي ويندا سوکزي

8. *Al-Jami bayn al-Ilm wa al-Amal al-Nafi' fi al-Sina'at al-Hiyal* by Abu al-Izz b. Isma'il al-Jazari, Arabic text, ed. Dr. Ahmad Yusuf al-Hasan, Aleppo University, 1979.
9. Al-Jazari describes three water wheels used for taking energy from water and transmitting it to other mechanism. The only wheel used as a water raising device cited and described by him is 'Sindhian wheel' (p.275, Eng. Tr., fn.11 below).
10. *Al-Jami bayn Ilm wa al-Amal*, Arabic text, pp.448-453.
11. 'The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices', by Ibn Razzaz al-Jazari, translated and annotated by Donald R. Hill (Reidel Dordrecht, 1974)/ Reprint, Pakistan Hija Council, Islamabad, 1409 H./1989, pp.182-83, 275.
12. *Ibid.*, p.373.

IV

TRADITIONAL ARTS AND CRAFTS

The Lower Indus Valley of Sindh has been a land of plenty where artisans and craftsmen have remained engaged in lucrative vocations since times immemorial. They have, throughout the ages, made an excellent use of the local raw materials, particularly of clay, wood, straw, leather and cotton- which have always been available in abundance. Archaeological discoveries indicate that the potter, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the weaver are the oldest craftsmen of this region.

Fertile alluvial soil of the Indus region has provided an excellent quality of clay which has been used by the potter ever since the Mohenjodaro era in producing varieties of pots and utensils. Now the skilled potter produces glazed pottery and tiles. Timber has been used for woodwork and also for lacquer-work which developed as a super craft. The large variety of straw has been used with great skill by the villagers in making delicate dishes, fans, sandals, baskets, ropes, and mats.

The artistic beauty of articles made out of clay, wood and straw, was enhanced by the craftsmen through their skilled use of colour and dyes such as *neel* (indigo), *manjuth*, *sakurr*, *chhodi*, etc. The potter discovered two colours, *dha'* (red) and *rung* (black), in rocks.

Arts and crafts have occupied an important position in the household. Colouring is done mainly by women, and their keen sense of colour and design has enabled them to develop the art of rallee-making. Rallees (quilts), used as bedspreads and blankets, are as colourful and kaleidoscopic in design as carpets. Needle-work is another household art in which women have excelled.

Among the fine folk arts may be counted rural architecture, folk

poetry, folk music and folk dances. The varying designs and layout plans of huts and hamlets in the interior indicate significant advancement in rural architecture. In particular the reed, growing in abundance, has been skillfully used in house making.

Historically speaking, fine pottery and terracotta carving date back to the ancient Indus Civilization uncovered at Moenjodaro, Amri and Kot Diji. The Sindon cloth, as its name indicates, was made in Sindh and exported to the Middle Eastern and the Mediterranean countries in ancient times.

Beside textiles, exquisite pieces of other arts and crafts were fondly imported from Sindh by the Sassanid Iran and, later, by the lands of the Caliphates. Dyed leather from the port of Debal¹ and embroidered Sindhian slippers for ladies were a prized commodity in the markets of Baghdad. As mentioned by Jahiz [10th century C.E. in his *Kitab al-Tarbi'*], Abu Tayyib al Washsha' in his *Kitab al-Zuruf wa al-Zurufa'*, has quoted the following romantic verses in Arabic embroidered on the Sindhian slippers which were a fashion of the day in Baghdad:²

I made my cheeks earth for him
 Saying: walk with ease and be pleased!
 He said 'no', I said 'yes'
 'With love, even though gone are the days'.

From the 8th century onward, Sindh became a permanent home of the Muslim artisans and craftsman who opened up a new era combining the artistic tradition of the Middle East, Iran and Central Asia with the indigenous craftsmanship. This new tradition of Sindhian arts and crafts continued on as late as the 18th / 19th century, and Thatta, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Khairpur, Rohri, and Shikarpur were the well known centres of arts and crafts in Sindh during the Talpur rule (1781-1843).

Although artisan and craftsman were joined together by the bonds of kinship and professional family tradition, organizations of distinctly professional groups became possible due to the interdependence of village-town economy and the pupil-master (*Shagird-Ustad*) relationship. The Islamic ideal of *Kasbi-e-halal* (clean lawful earning, honesty in work, and faith in the supreme Creator) enhanced their creative genius, imparted an exquisite quality to their craftsmanship, and united them in higher professional-ethics. The

existence of the traditional *Kasbnamas* setting forth (in rhyme) the ideals, purposes and practices of various trades, indicates a kind of organization of professional groups into guilds. There is evidence to show that, each typical professional group in Sindh and the Punjab regions had their own *kasbnamas*, joining the co-workers into professional brotherhoods. Richard F. Burton refers to these *Kasbnamahs* prevalent in Sindh as follows:

“Moreover, each trade, as smiths, carpenters and others, has its own *Kasubnamah*, or collection of doggerel rhymes, explaining the origin of the craft, the invention of its tools, the patron saints, and other choice bits of useful knowledge, without which no workman would be respected by his fellows.”³

This traditional organization of artisans and craftsmen began to disintegrate with the British occupation of Sindh in 1843. Local handicrafts slowly succumbed to the competition of machine-made goods imported from England and Europe. Local raw materials which had been the mainstay of the indigenous cottage industry, began to be exported abroad, thus making them more expensive for the local artisan. Subsequently, machines were imported and slowly the small scale mechanized industry became another competitor with the cottage industry in its own home. Local arts and crafts continued to suffer due to lack of patronage, paucity of cheap raw materials, dependence on foreign manufactures and the consequent loss of the local techniques (due to disuse) in colour, design, and yarn. Hence a general decline in craftsmanship set in, and the traditional high quality and workmanship continued to lose the ground.

Despite great set backs, the traditional craftsman in Sindh and other region of Pakistan has survived. The remnants of old skill and craftsmanship are still there and these could be developed provided concerted and organized efforts are made to rescue them from their present precarious condition. A brief account of the traditional arts and crafts which have survived follows.⁴

POTTERY MAKING

The history of pottery making in Sindh goes back to 2500 years B.C. as confirmed by the finds at Moen-jo-daro, Amri and Bhanbhore. The later revival in pottery making started with the advent of the Muslims in the 8th century, as the two words for the kiln preserved by

the Sindhi language are of Arabic and Persian origin: *avi* is from Arabic *havi*, and *nihaeen* is from Persian *nihan*, the covered or concealed (fire).

Six stages are involved in pottery making by the present day potter: (i) preparing the clay, (ii) moulding the articles on the wheel into basic forms, (iii) shaping the basic forms into complete forms by thumping, (iv) drying the pottery in the sun, (v) colouring and decorating, and (vi) finally baking in the kiln.

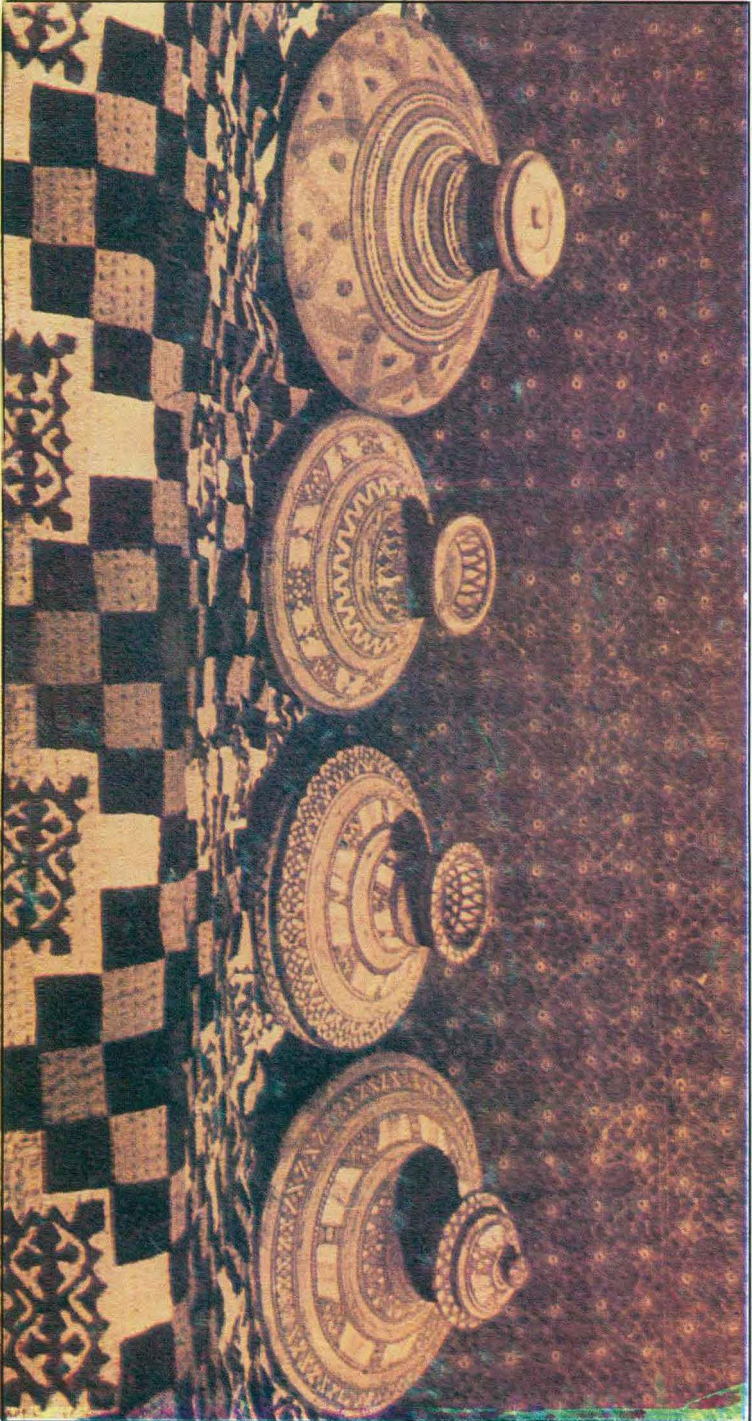
First the potter obtains alluvial clay of good quality from beds of old channels, canal banks or selected fields pits. He then powders it by beating it with stone pieces or wooden hammers. This powdered dust is called *booro*. After sifting and separating hard particles, it is mixed proportionately with (i) sand, (ii) baked pottery powder called *kutt* or *raao*, (iii) powdered dung of donkey (*lidd*), and (iv) the powdered plant leaves called *satto* or *pannu*.

The mixture is then tempered with water into *dharru* which is basic to moulding the vessels. From the prepared *dharru*, the potter takes out a lump called *teri* or *maro* and settles it on the *pirri* (centre) of *Chakku* or the wheel, which in its simplest form is a heavy disk pivoted on a central point called *addi* and is rotated with the stick called 'chakka-ji-latth.'. As the wheel rotates, the potter starts building and shaping up the vessel into its basic form by softening it with water. The process is called *muritu*.

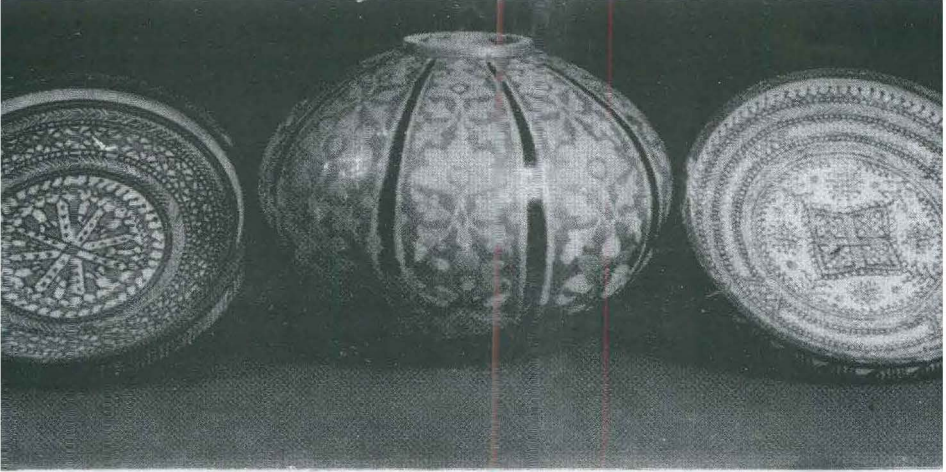
Thumping. After the vessel takes its basic form on the wheel, it is removed and set aside to dry a bit, which is called *vitaijannu*. When it is leather-hard, it is thumped with a wooden racket, called *pharahi*, and shaped into the final complete form. In case of some articles, the clay lump is simply pressed into a specific mould, and the potter's wheel is not used.

Drying, colouring, polishing and decorating. After the objects are given the final shape, they are set in rows to dry in the sun. The colouring and decoration is usually done by the women folk. The Sindhi potter uses two colours, the reddish called *dhau* and the black called *rangu*, both obtained from soft rock. The surface of the vessel is first carefully polished. This process is called *gahtanu*. Then colouring is done employing varied decorative designs, both geometric and floral.

A. POTTERY

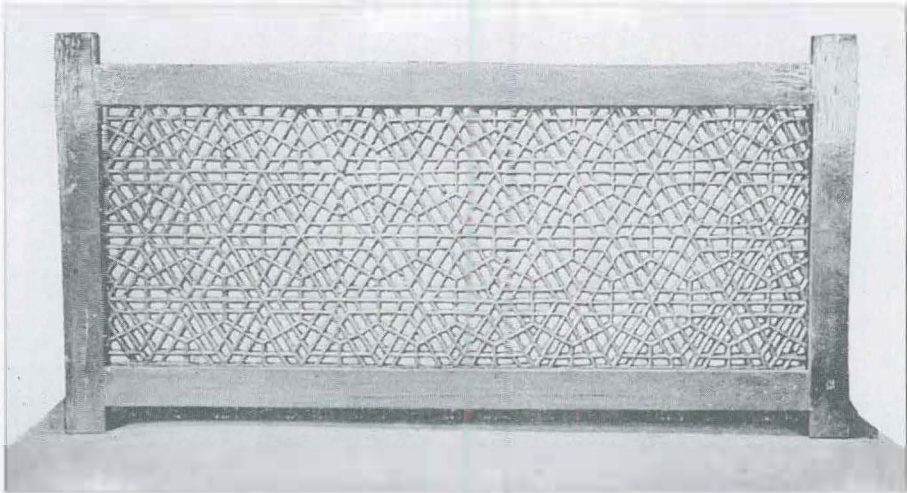


Jars (baked clay, decorated in colours) for storing drinking water.



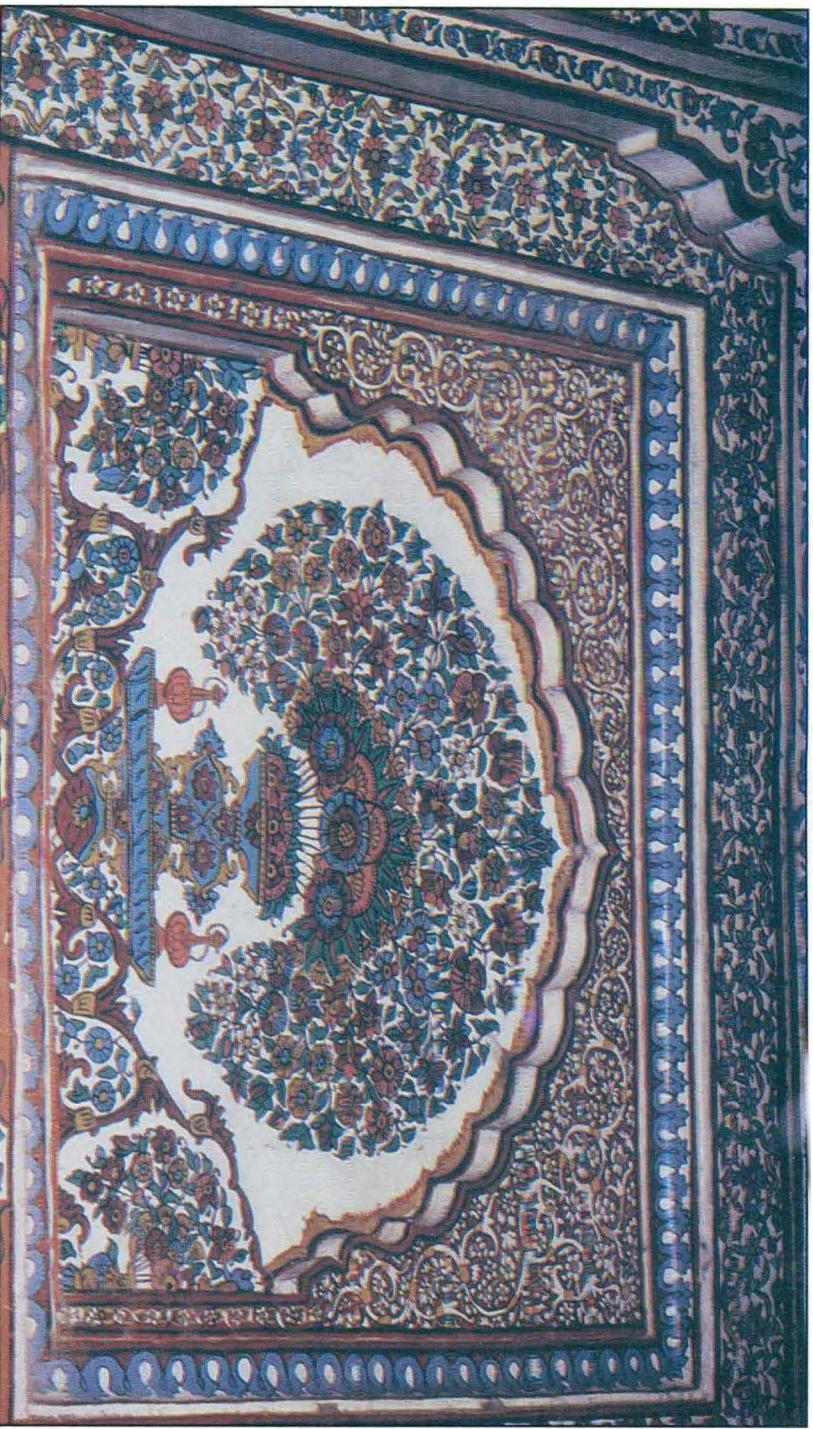
Plates on two sides, and a decorative globe of pinnacle.

B. WOOD WORK



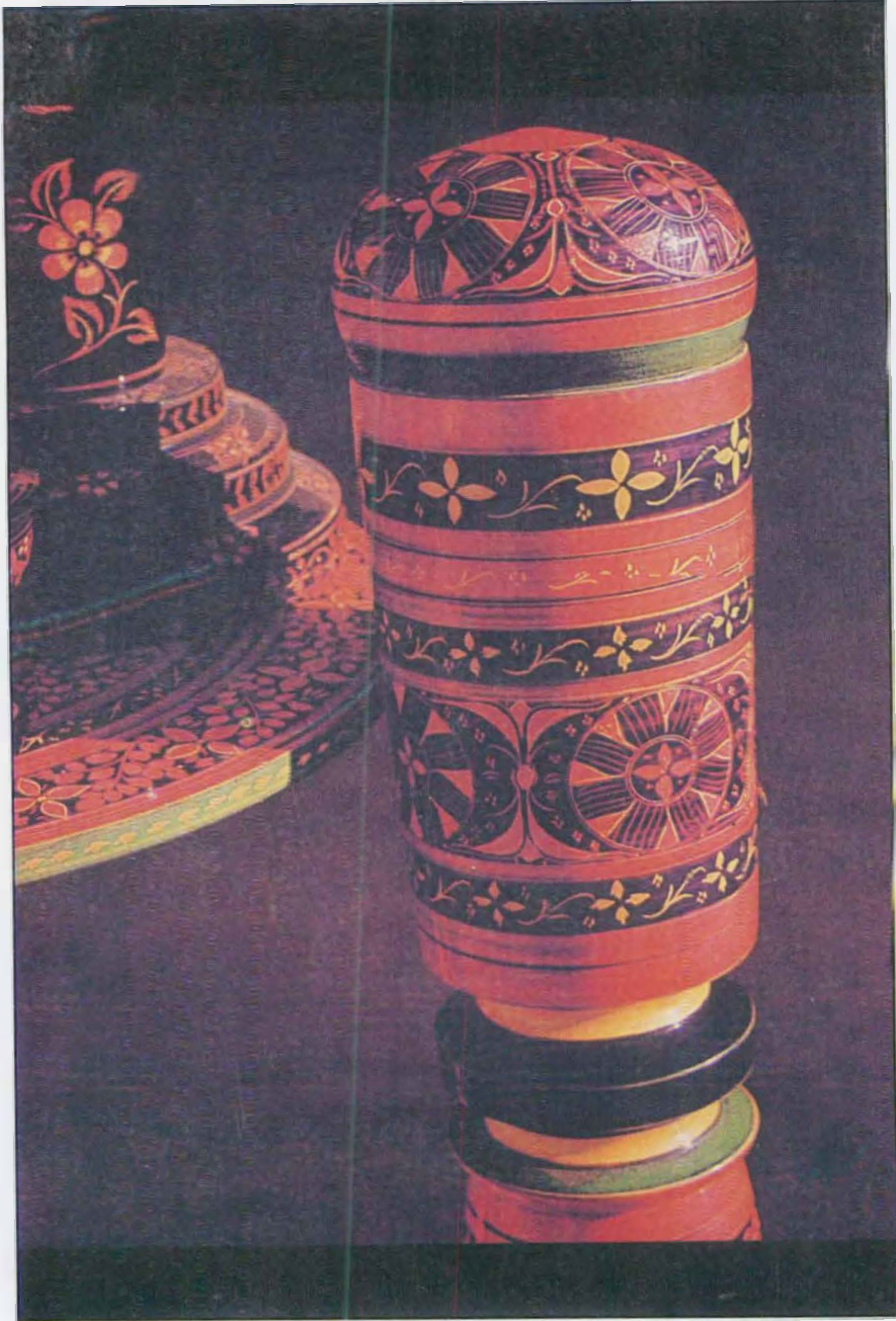
Decorative window (from whole piece timber),
in geometric design.

D. KAMANGARI/NAQQASHI



The wall decoration design in colours.

C. JANDI (Lacquer Work)



The bed stead

E. KASHI (Glazed Tile Work).

Specimen of tile design.



Specimen of tile design.

F. HAND WOVEN CARPET



Home-made ghalicho

Yarn (camel/sheep wool) hand spun by men.

The design set and woven by women at home.

(Rind and Mahairi communities of Mirpur Sakro & Batthora).



07-08-2004 PAGE 09

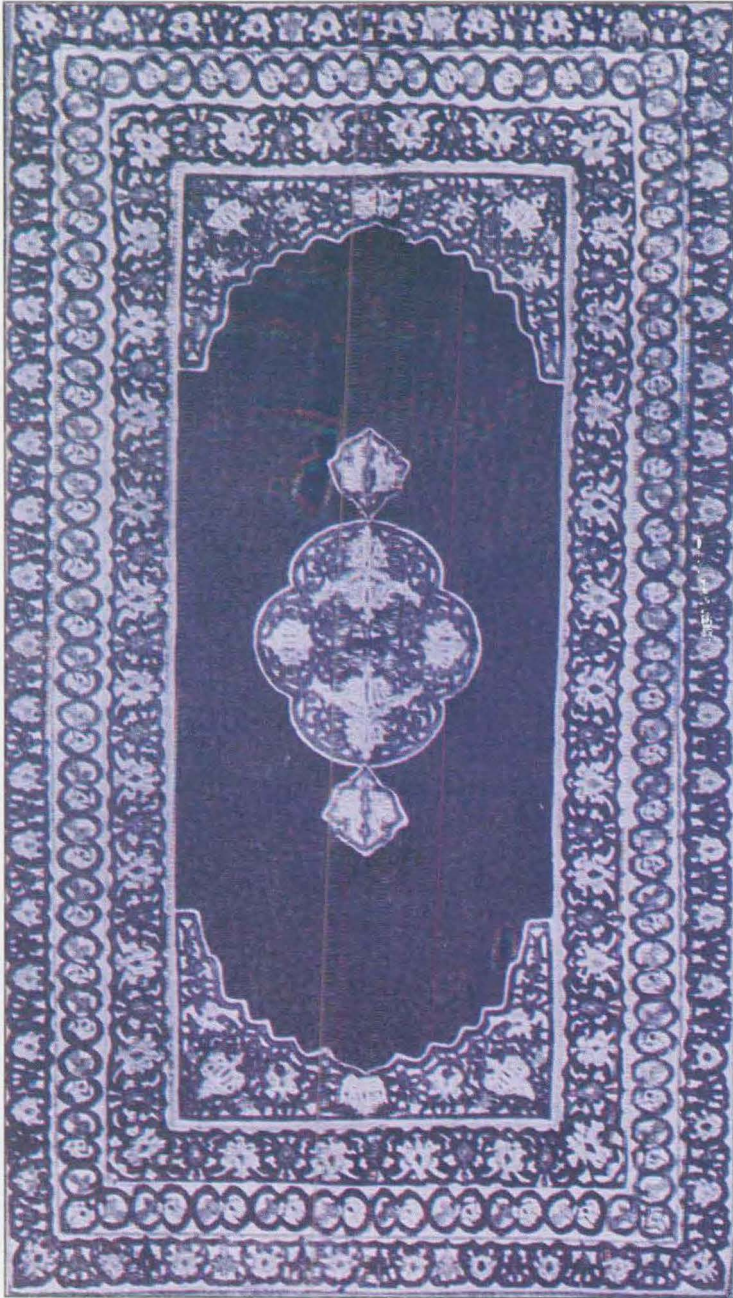
Home-made ghalicho
 Yarn (camel/sheep wool) hand spun by men.
 The design set and woven by women at home.
 (Rind and Mahairi communities of Mirpur Sakro & Battinoro)

G. FARASI



Hand woven in colourful yarn.
(Cotton and camel hair yarn mixed).

H. LEATHER EMBROIDERY



An embroidered NUTT
(Decoration for the ride camel)

Baking. Arranging the wares in the kiln and burning the kiln is a technical process. If the kiln is fired perfectly, the wares take buff, drab, brown or red colours; with imperfect firing the wares become smoked, gray or black spotted.

KASHI: GLAZED TILES & GLAZED POTTERY.

KASHI is a Persian word to be traced to Kashan in Iran. The art of glazed tiles and pottery developed in Sindh in the early centuries of Islam. The glazed tiles used in the Shah Jahan Mosque and other monuments in Thatta are in many respects, similar to those found in the historical monuments in Iran. The art of glazed tiles flourished at Thatta during the 16th / 17th centuries, and from there the industry progressed to Nasarpur, Hala and Sehwan. At present, Hala is the home of the glazed tile and glazed pottery, and the art is called *Kashi*. The professional workers are called 'Kashigar'. Glazed tiles are locally known as *Kashi Joon Siroon*. During the last decades of the 20th century, Gul Muhammad was the master Kashigar of this art at Hala.

The Process of Tile Making. Soft alluvial clay (*cheeki mitti*), when perfectly formed, is put in mould of the size of the tiles required. The raw tile brick is then dried in the sun for three days in winter and two days in summer, depending upon the season. At the second stage, the *chakmak* stone, brought from Sukkur, is first heated at 800.C. to separate it from its lime deposits, and is then put in water for 10 to 12 hours. After it has cooled, it is ground and the powder is applied to the raw tiles and free hand designs are drawn on them. Then the tiles are treated first with cobalt oxide and then with orange chrome oxide and copper oxide. Thereafter the tiles are processed through the glazing stage. Soda ash is first mixed with 'sewan sand' and the mixture is heated at 800.C. The substance thus obtained is glass like which is powdered and again mixed with the paste prepared from bajra flour (*bajhri-jo-atto*) and applied on the tile with hand. Then the tiles are burned in a kiln, called *khoori*, at 800.C. The fuel used is firewood. In the kiln, the tiles are arranged in special order. All the holes of the kiln are closed and it continues to burn for nine hours. Then the cooling process starts. The holes are gradually opened one by one. The cooling process takes about 24 hours, after which the tiles are removed from kiln and are ready for sale.

NAQQASHI OR KAMANGARI.

It is the art of decorative painting on walls, arches, the inside of the roofs and domes, wooden doors, windows. It was extended also to pieces of cloth, leather and even pottery. The designs are mostly geometric and floral, though during the Talpur period (19th century) scenes from life and nature were also painted. Calligraphy is an essential part of this art.

The art developed early, probably during the Arghun-Tarkhan period (16th century), and continued to flourish at its zenith till the middle of the 19th century. Bakhar, Rohri, Sehwan, Thatta and Khudabad were the early centres, and finally Hyderabad became the main centre during the Talpur period. The two quarters in the city, Naqqashan-jo-Parro and Kamangaran-jo-Parro, which are so called to this day, were the main *muhallas* of these artists. The other centre was Tando Agha where the art was practised by the members of the Mirza family.

Tools and Colours. The *qalam* and *rangu* (brush and colour) were the essential tools. The brush was usually made from the hair of squirrel, and the colours from local materials. The main colours used were known as *zangari* or *zangali* (green), *shingrifi* (red), *susani* (sky blue) and *sufaido* (white).

Design forms. From the point of setting, style and execution, the more distinct design forms were known as Gulkari (floral), Ghitasali (geometrical), Musawwari (scenes from nature and life) and Khattati (calligraphy).

The Renowned Masters. Among those whose names have been remembered were: Rajab Ali Naqqash of Thatta, Haji Muhammad Hasan Naqqash (d.1844) and his brother and sons Muhammad Ismail (d.1855) Muhammad Yusuf (d.1850), Mirza Rahim Bakhsh (d.1885), Ali Asghar Shah of the family of Pir Pagaro, Mirza Imam Ali Beg (1953), Jummo Dood (d.1953) and Mithu Kamangar (d.1948) who was the last renowned master during the late British period. At present, two young men, Mirza Qadir Bakhsh and Mirza Asad Ali, are practising this traditional art.

JANDI JO KAMMU (LACQUER WORK)

JANDI is the name of the revolving artifice set into motion by a

stringed bow pulled to and fore by the craftsman. Good quality timber and good quality colour are required to produce perfect Jandi work. In the past, Thatta, Hala, Sehwan, Kashmore and Khairpur were the main centres of this craft. Presently, good quality lacquer work is done at Hala and Kashmore. In Hala, timber of *bahan* tree is used to make bedsteads, hindoras (cradles), chairs etc. with hard colour polish and warnish and varied design motifs. During the eighties (of the last century), Rab Dino Wighamal of old Hala was the renowned master of this craft.

CARPET MAKING

Before modern carpet weaving was introduced in Sindh, two kinds of indigenous coarse carpets, namely *Khararri* and *Farasi*, were being produced in villages. *Khararri* is made out of goat hair/sheep wool yarn, whereas camel hair and cotton are mixed in *Farasi*. Superior quality of *Farasi*, called *Ghalicho*, is produced mainly in Lower Sindh. It is woven at home by the women folk of the Baloch communities. Sheep wool and camel hair are cleaned and polished first; men make the yarn by drawing the thread by whirling the *dheri*; and women dye the yarn, set the design and weave the carpet. The *ghalicho/farasi* is still being made (2003 A.D.) but the quality has declined.

LEATHER WORK AND LEATHER EMBROIDERY.

The embroidered leather sheet Nutt ('t' soft, Arabic *nata*'), introduced during the Arab period (2nd-5th/8th-11th centuries), was still a highly artistic and popular piece of leather work produced in Hyderabad and Tharparkar during the fifties of the last (20th) century. Leather embroidery is also done in northern Sindh by a few craftsmen in Jacobabad and Khairpur Districts. However, The age old Nutt leather embroidery is becoming rare day by day.

Presently, the craft has been commercialized to all intents and purposes, and is confined to articles of daily use. The main products are gun/revolver covers, prayer sheets, horse saddles, caps, tea-cozies, hand bags, money saving cases, belts, embossed book covers, straps for watches, glass containers, cushions for chairs and a host of similar other articles. Shoes, chappals and sandals are chosen for embroidery, and are made in a variety of artistic shapes and designs. The traditional women's foot wear has a special cut and is more conspicuous in

design. The bed-room-type ladies' slippers, are decorated with flowers made of a mixture of silken, cotton and wollen threads and are affixed on the front top covering the foot underneath it. The inner sole is decorated with silver thread embroidery.

Camel and deer skins are first properly treated and then borders are attractively designed in embroidery. Nutts are fondly used for decorating the ride camels. These are also used as covers for 'dewan' and for wall decoration. This craft was given first prize in the Leather Craft Show organized by the American Women's Club, Karachi, in 1963.

THE ZARDOZI EMBROIDERY

Zardozi is a high art embroidery, with silver or golden thread, on velvet or other kind of cloth with buff. The word is of Persian origin (lit. gold stitching). There were close contacts between Sindh and Iran which continued up to the Talpur rule (1781-1843) and this art continued to flourish at its zenith up to the end of the 19th century. Hyderabad, Khairpur, Mirpur, Thatta and Shikarpur were the main centres of Zardozi embroidery. In the city of Hyderabad alone, hundreds were engaged in this profession. Zardozan-jo-Parro (Quarter of Zardozi), near Khunhbat street and Tando Agha, continues to be remembered where once lived the renowned artisans.

After British occupation of Hyderabad in 1843, this art began to decline due to lack of patronage and change in taste. Yet the old families remained engaged in their traditional profession and, by 1875, there were still one hundred practicing artisans in the Hyderabad city.⁵ This was because some of the well-to-do Talpur families, the house of Pir Pagaro, the Sayyids of Sann and others had continued to patronize the art.

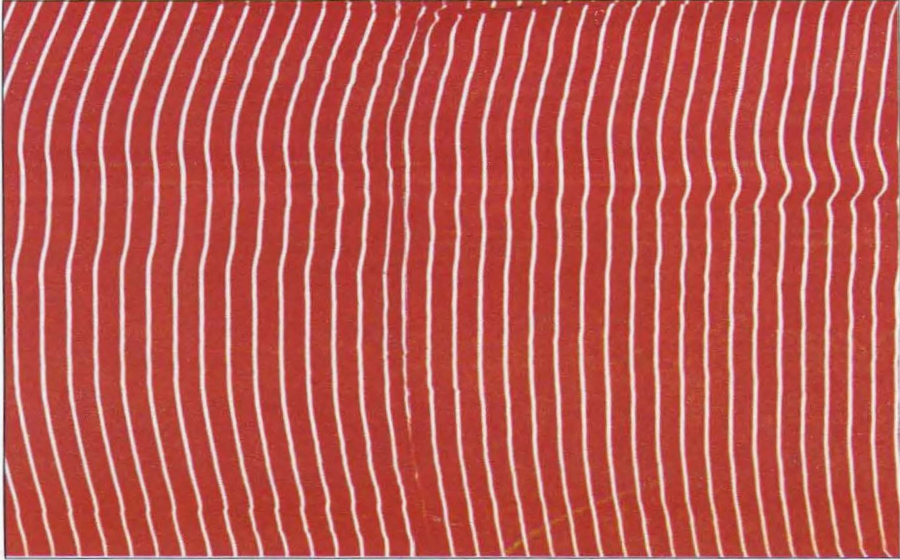
The main tools used in this art are: Kar-chobe, ispava, fatila, a needle and a pair of scissors. The materials used are: (i) velvet or other cloth with buff, (ii) silver and gold threads of different varieties (kalabat, sik, chilk, dabiko, mukesh etc.), (iii) silver or golden bands (badilo), (iv) sitara or sequens, and (v) jewellery (pearls, diamonds etc.).

The following are the main types of Zardozi embroidery: Marorri, Burido, Tachh, Salmo (or Selmo) Sitaro, Taas-jo-kammu and

TEXTILES

(a) Women's Apparel.

The earlier designs having gone out of fashion; only the following two of the old designs have been in vogue since the 18th century.



The *Mothirrio* design of the Garbi/Susi apparel.
(Hand woven on the traditional loom, *Adano*).



The *Mirkhani* design of the Garbi/Susi apparel.
(Hand woven on the traditional loom, *Adano*.)

(b) Men's Apparel.

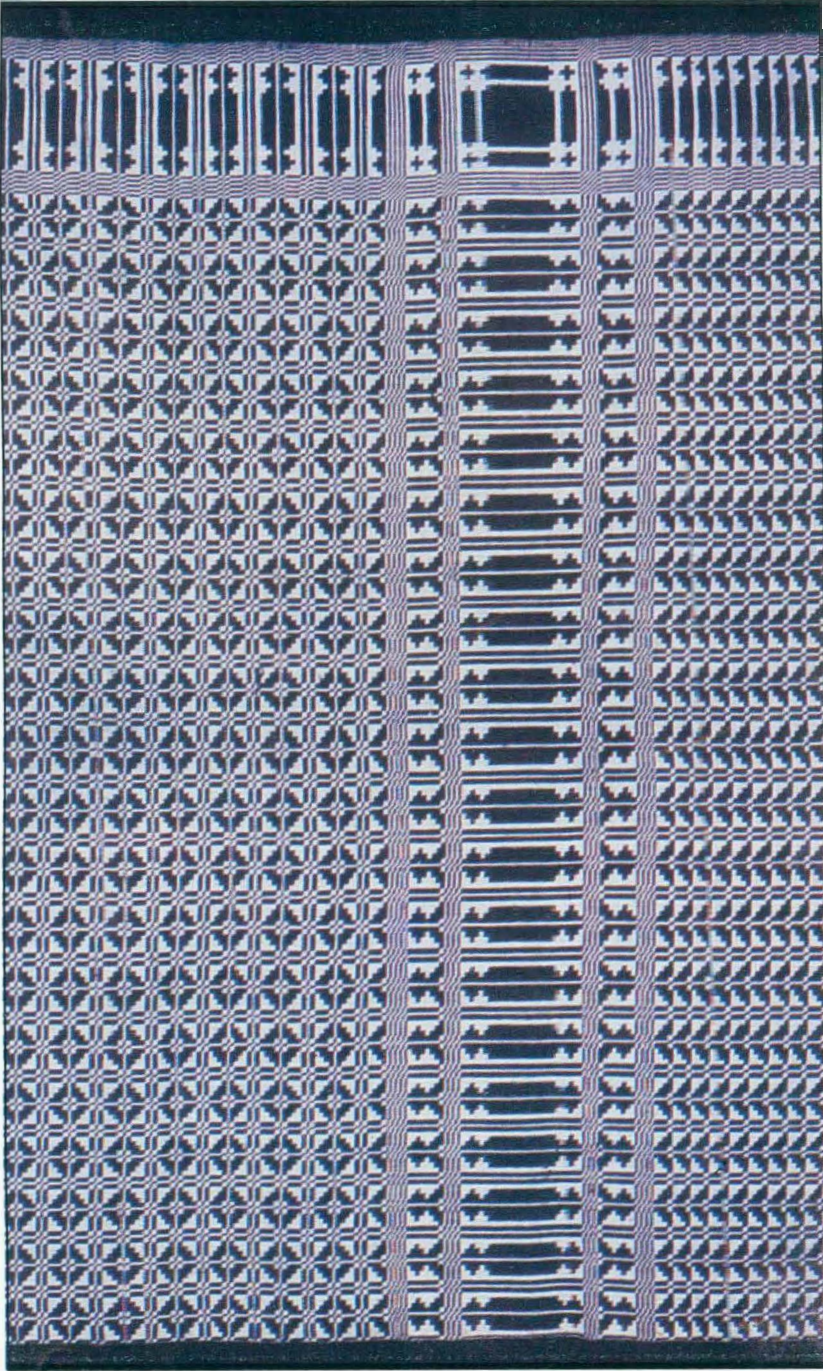


AJRAK: The multipurpose apparel, mainly for males.

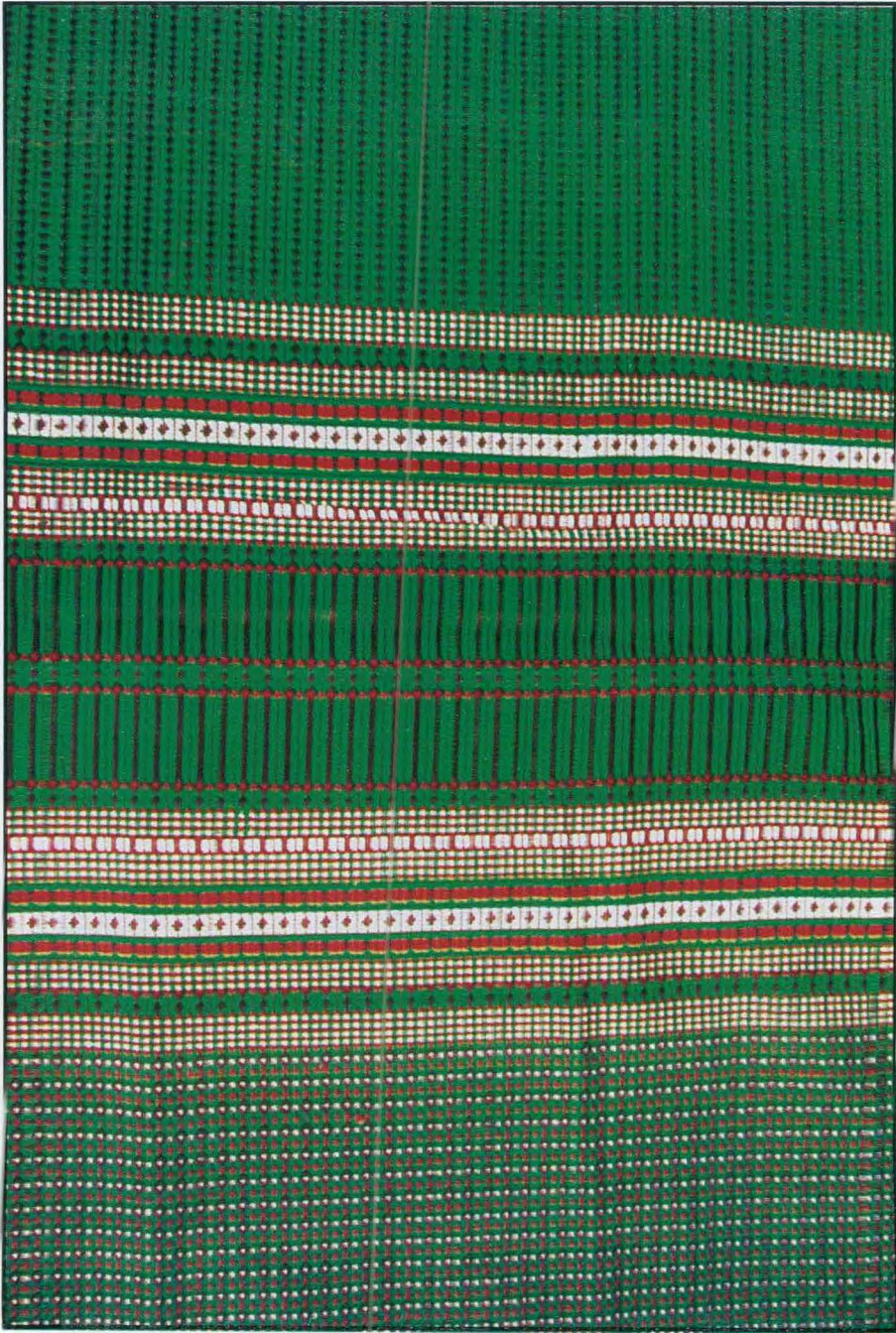


LUNGI / LOONGI. The famous 'Thatta lungi' with silver thread design. A superb silken textile, woven on loom *adono*. No more extant. The last master weaver of Lungi died some years back.

KHES



(a) The *akh-tanab* design
Hand woven on the traditional loom, *Adono*.



(b) The *bulbul-chashm* design.
Hand woven on the traditional loom, *Adano*.

Gipsini⁶ (the cuff and collar embroidery).

Some of the renowned masters from the 19th century onwards whose names are remembered were: Mirza Murad Ali Beg (d.1263 H./1847), his son Mirza Fateh Ali Beg (d.1300 H./1883), Osto Muhammad Saleh Zardozi (a great master of this art (d. about 1900) and Osto Abdullah, Mirza Ali Bakhsh Beg (d. 1309 H./1891), Mirza Qasim Ali Beg (d. 1906), Mirza Ghulam Abbas (d.1921), Mirza Ghulam Rasul Beg (d. 1933), Ghulam Husain Zardozi, a pupil of Osto Muhammad Saleh (d.1946), Osto Maula Bakhsh (d. 1949), Mirza Imam Ali Beg a recognized master (d. 1955) and his brother Mirza Ghulam Raza Beg. (d.1961).

In 1966, Osto Ramzan, aged 75, was the only professional in the field. At present 2003, there is only one man and a few women in the city of Hyderabad who are engaged in Zardozi.

TEXTILES

Sindh being a cotton producing region, weaving and cloth making flourished as village industries from early times. Importance of the weaving vocation is reflected in the highly meaningful use of its nomenclature (*ait, adano, aatan, tanji peto, umeri*, etc) both in Sindhi idiom and poetry. 'The Weaver Girl' (Kapa'ati) is the title of a specific 'Sur' (Theme) in the Compendium of Shah Abdul Latif's poetry (Shah-jor-Risalo) which confirms that weaving was an honoured vocation in the village community life. Also towns and cities had their flourishing industries.

In 1699, the English trader/traveler Hamilton saw the cotton and silk weaving industry flourishing in Thatta, even though 80,000 people who manufactured cotton and silk had died in plague three years earlier. According to him,⁷ in Thatta and around:

'They manufacture in wrought silks, which they call jemawears, in cotton and silk called cuttanness, and in silk mixed with Carmania wool, in calicoes, coarse and fine, sheer and close wrought. Their cloth called Jurries is very fine and soft and lasts beyond all other cotton that I have used. They make chints very fine and cheap and coverlets for beds very beautiful'.

Susi, Garbi, Poti and Ajrak are the time honoured textiles, and their history goes back to early times. Lungi is another generic variety of great value. Among the less expensive popular varieties are the hand print and the tie-and-dye designs such as Bandhnu, Malir, Parra etc.

Susi and Garbi. Both are part of the women's apparel. These hand woven textile designs are used for trousers by the women folk. The two names indicate a long history behind them, and show that these Sindhian textiles were popular in Iran and the West in bygone times. The Susi was in demand in Susa (Iran) and Garbi (*gharbi*, meaning western) in other western countries. Motifs and designs conformed to the fashions in Susa and the West, while the textiles were produced in Sindh, which was the home of cotton and of the weaving industry.

Poti. It was the colourful headwear, as it is today, which was fondly imported from AL-SIND province to other parts of the Caliphate. Such was the popularity of Sindhian POTI, that the name was Arabicised as FUTAH and became current in Arabic language and lexicography.

Ajrak. Ajrak is a multipurpose item in men's dress. Originally the dominant colour in its design was blue (Ar. *azraq*-Blue). It was probably produced in the early years of the Abbasid Caliphate to counter the black flags of Abu Muslim Khurasani.

The Ajrak designs presently popular are Dabli, Sitara and Kakar. Ajrak has retained its popularity in the post-independence era and continues to be in great demand.

Lungi. This exquisitely superb piece of high art weaving was created by the master weavers of Thatta. Its main middle part is woven in an extremely colourful reshmi (silken) yarn, while the *palao* or *paland* (the two end sides) are plaited in fine silver thread. There were only two or three master Lungi weavers in Thatta at the time of independence (1947), but for want of liberal support they gradually gave up the profession. There is no master weaver of Lungi today.

RALLEE MAKING

'Rallee Making' and 'Bhart Designing' are the two household artistic traditions which have been kept alive by women folk in villages despite modern gadgets and other developments.

The name *rallee* comes from the Sindhi infinitive *ralannu* or *rala'innu*, meaning to mix, to put together, to join. Necessity, in poor homes, hit upon the great idea of procuring home-made bed spreads and blankets from rags and tags of their worn out clothes. Instead of losing them, they stitched the longer pieces to make two sizeable sheets, and then placing the smaller pieces in lairs in between them and sewing the two sheets one over the other, they made a rallee.

The two holding sheets are the two *purrs* (covers) of rallee, while

RALLEE (Quilt)



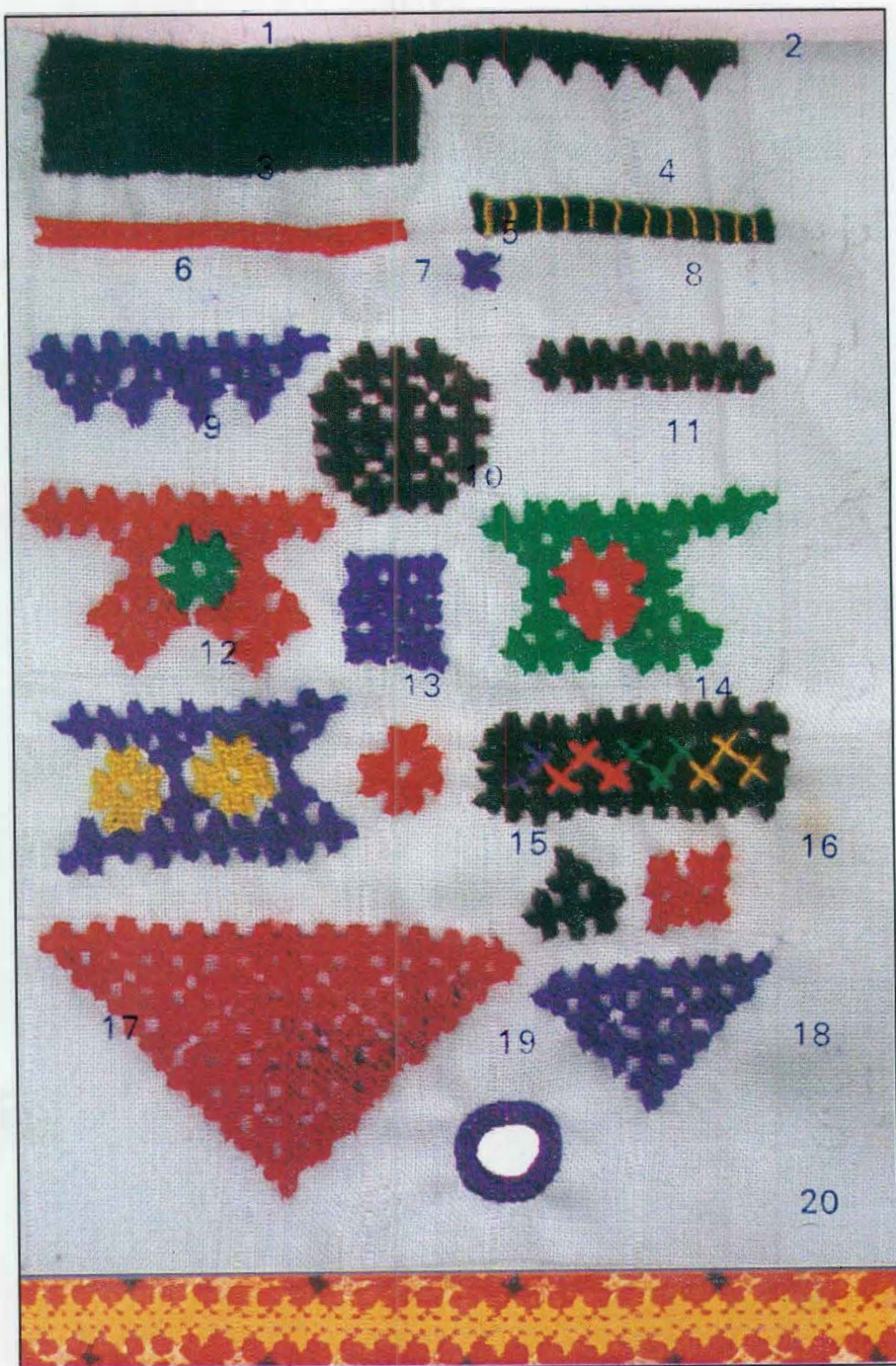
The *Tukran-wari* or *Tukratey-wari* Rallee.
(The rallee in plain patchwork design)



The *Gumb* or *Kakio-wari* Rallee
The rallee in 'overlaid patch work' design.



The *Gumb* or *Katao-wari* Rallee
The rallee in 'overlaid patchwork' design.



The different design units of bhart.

the small pieces skillfully laid and spread in between, is the *lih*. The lower *purr* on which the *lih* is spread, is stitched out of the more durable pieces, ignoring the texture or the colour. The upper *purr*, the face of the rallee, is stitched artistically in kaleidoscopic design.

Rallee making is a household art of perennial utility. It requires long leisurely preparation. The elderly lady in the house sees to it that all the discarded pieces of clothes are properly washed and preserved in the required quantity. When the two *purrs* of longer sheets also become available, the eagerly awaited social event of *Rallee Vijhan*, the final stage of 'laying the rallee' takes place. A day is fixed and women from neighbouring houses are invited to participate.

In poorer homes where worn out pieces of clothes become available after long time, it takes time to assemble the *lih* and to find longer pieces for the two *purrs*. For the upper *purr*, often women's colourful headwear *chuni* / *bochini* / *bandhanu* / *malir* or men's multipurpose apparel *ajrak* are specially spared before being entirely worn out. Attraction of the colourful upper *purr* has led to designing it artistically by stitching together pieces of cloth, cut to size, of different hues and colours.

Each house wife improvises her own design, depending upon the material available and her own taste. Thus, rallees of innumerable designs are being created all over the country continuously.

Rallees may be categorised by regionwise patterns, or by the overall dominant colour (red, black, blue, green). *Tukan-wari* (with well cut colourful pieces) and *Gulan-wari* (floral) are recognized by their obvious designs. *Chaorus* (squared) and *Hashay-wari* (bordered) are the pattern-wise designs. *Gamb* or *Katao* is another category in which separately improvised design units are over-laid and stitched on the *purr* (base sheet) below. The one most unique artistically is the 'Kanbiri Rallee', wherein the design is created, not by colourful cut pieces, but by employing threads and stitches of different colours.

The best available album, portraying predominantly the Sindhi rallee designs, is the well researched scholarly work by Patrica Ormaby Stoddard, published recently.⁸

BHART EMBROIDERY

BHART* is the art of needlework, which in the past was dutifully

* Lit. *Bhart-u*, also loosely pronounced as *barth-u* / *bharth-u*.

taught by every mother to her young daughter(s) at home. Not any or all work done by needle is *bhart* which has a special connotation. The name is derived from the Sindhi infinitive: *bhart bharanu*, meaning to fill in, to set or to execute (a design) by the required stitches. Manipulating the stitches is technique, while setting the design is art. The colour of cloth on which *bhart* is executed and the colour variety of the threads used lend lustre to the *bhart design*.

Bhart, is the generic name for all its types and varieties. *Hurmuch* or *Hormuch* is another name which though of a particular variety, is often confused as a synonym for *bhart*. *Hurmuch* / *Hormuch* and *Gajj* varieties were introduced centuries back by the Baloch communities. *Hurmuch/Hormuch* alludes to the Hormuz region (Iran) while *Qazz* (arabicized from Persian *Gazz*) became *Gajj* in Sindhi. The variety used by the Baloch communities in Northern Sindh is *Doach* (Persian, *Doaz*), though *Hurmuchi* (lit.'of *Hurmuch*') was also popular.⁹

The main regional varieties of *Bhart* are the *Chhappar* of the south western region, the *Larri* of the south, and the *Tharee* of Tharparkar. In the overall colour scheme, black is prominent in *Chhappar* and *Larri*.

Different 'stitch forms', as parts or units of the whole design, are used in the *bhart* / *hurmuch* varieties, the frequency of some contributing to the design identity. No field research has been done to identify the innumerable 'stitch forms' in the different varieties. The following 'stitches forms' are from the *Hormuch* variety popular in village Jafar Khan Laghari and adjoining villages in the Sanghar district. Some of these stitch names are also common to other varieties elsewhere.

1. Gaano (band like), 2. gudrri, 3. Aank ('n' nasal), 4. Maghzi, 5. Makh Phulrri, 6. Bhugro, 7. Patasho, 8. Larz, 9. Chotiwaro Mashkro, 10. Phulrri Chao-akhi, 11. Muno-Mashkro, 12. Ghorri, 13. Phulrri Pet-phati, 14. Wal, 15. Adhrri, 16. Phulrri Chao-makhi, 17. Sajo Kote, 18. Adh-Kote, 19. Tik, 20. Bitto Bhugro.

The design units of *Hurmuch* are executed in two stages: the preliminary sketching (*kacho karannu*) and the final filling and articulation. (*pakko karannu*).

PROMOTION OF TRADITIONAL ARTS CRAFTS

By and large, promotion of traditional arts and crafts has so far



The *Potli* headware with decorative bharti border:



Frontage of a blouse



Frontage of a blouse.
A modern *t'ikan-w'iro* glass work design.



Full traditional blouse stitched by lady Khairi, 1932.



Frontage of a blouse:
The lower decorative part.



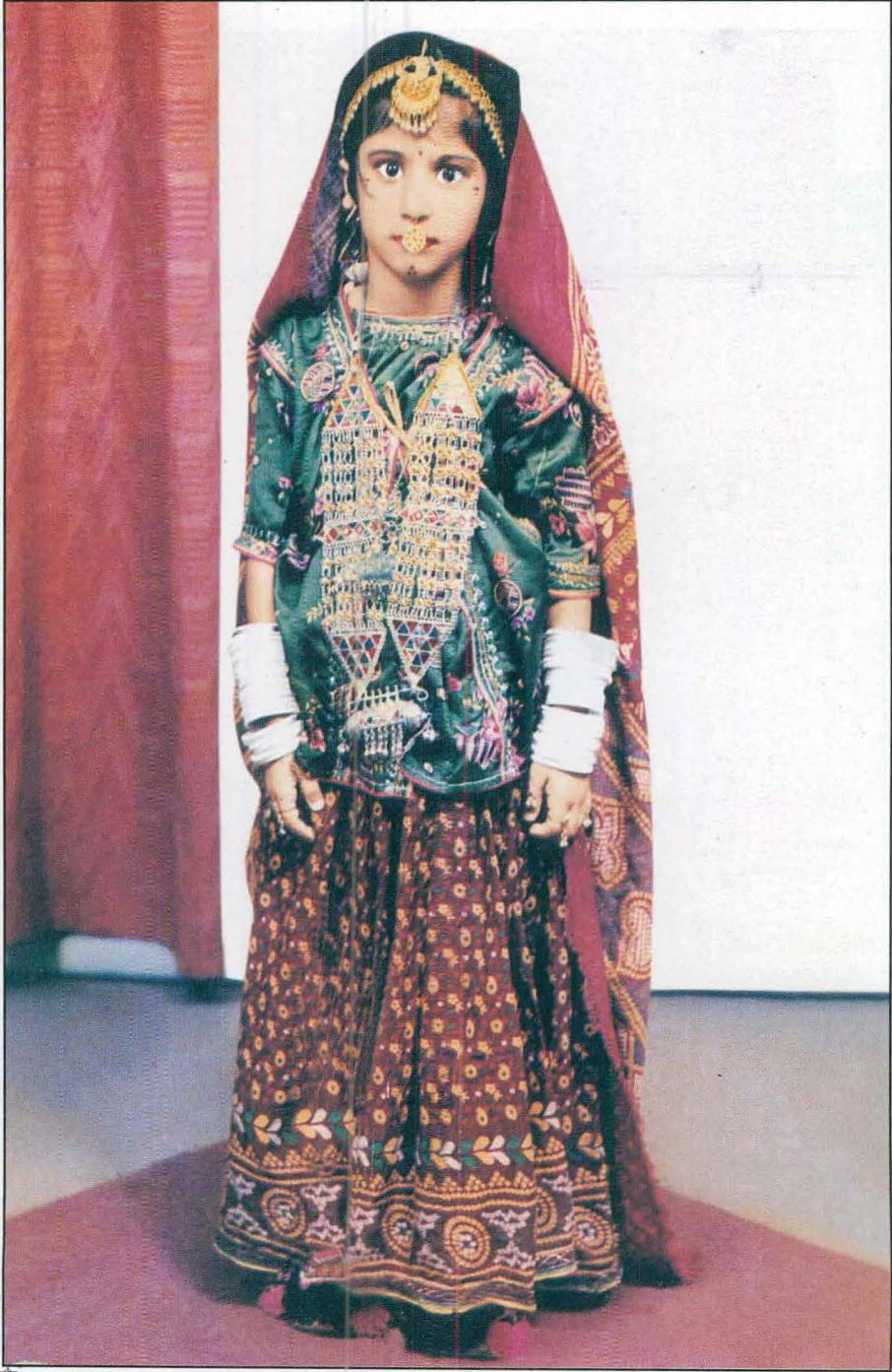
A blouse in delicate superb *bhart* embroidery.
(Village Jafar Khan Laghari).



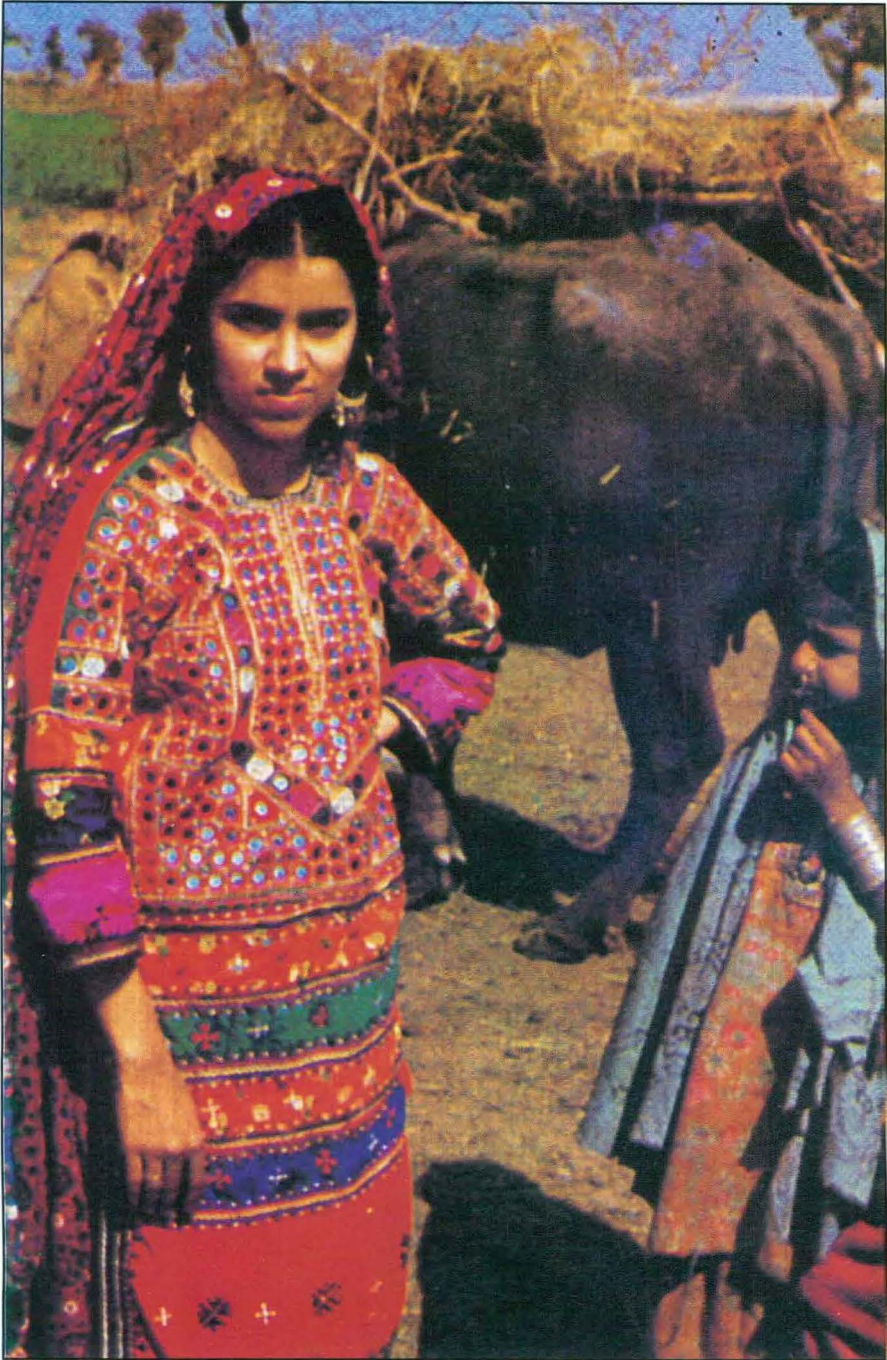
The blouse frontage, in Gajj embroidery,
by lady Allah-bachæe
(Village Jafar Khan)



Doach (closely framed stich) Embroidery.
(from northern Sindh).



A child in her traditional dress.



A girl in her traditional dress.

been visualized in terms of the 'small scale industries'. This changes the whole perspective. Specific small-scale industries based on the age old expertise of artisans and craftsmen need to be developed, for the preservation and promotion of the traditional arts and crafts in their unique originality and excellence. But this is altogether a different objective. Also, there is an overwhelming concern that the traditional arts and crafts should be 'modernized' to meet the demand of modern tastes. The skill and expertise of artisans and craftsmen can be channelised to meet the demands of modern times, but the originality and excellence of their time honoured products need not be sacrificed at the alter of 'modern tastes'. As in other spheres of cultural development so also in the sphere of arts and crafts, 'modernization for the sake of modernization' is likely to cut at the very roots of cultural heritage of the people.

Artisans and craftsmen are facing a number of problems which need to be solved. Everywhere the 'Master Craftsman' is about to disappear for want of patronage and support. Some Master Craftsmen cannot contribute their best because of poor returns from their hard work. A few of them who have survived need to be located and rehabilitated. It is necessary to associate apprentices with Master Craftsmen for continuity of expertise in their respective fields.

The raw-materials required have become expensive, and in some cases unavailable. In the past, the needed materials were within the reach of the craftsman, either gratis or on payment of nominal price. For example, the venerable Mukhdums of Hala had in the past donated a piece of land to the local *Kashigars* for taking earth for pottery. This land was entirely worked up, and the alternative did not become available. Now they excavate from 'no one's land' which is saltish and no good for glazed pottery and glazed tiles. Similarly those engaged in the craft of lacquer work, used to bring *bahan* timber from the nearby Indus forests on payment of nominal price. It is not possible for them to do so now because of the restrictions imposed by the Forest Department. Also neither colours and dyes are easily available, nor their quality is dependable. No satisfactory arrangements have so far been worked out to meet the minimum necessary requirements of the traditional artisan and craftsman.

There is the problem of professional continuity. Sons and daughters of artisans and craftsmen do not now stick to their parents'

profession because of the impact of the ‘modern literal education’ which is oblivious of building up any skills, and is absolutely indifferent to the traditional pursuits of the people. It is imperative that ‘learning by doing’ and ‘doing by hand’ receive adequate emphasis in primary and secondary curricula.

Presently, none is better qualified for the promotion and preservation of local arts and crafts than the local authorities –the Union Councils, the Town Committees, District Councils, and the City Corporations. It should be accepted as a matter of policy that promotion and preservation of local arts and crafts is one of the important responsibilities of the Local Authorities in the country.¹⁰

REFERENCES

1. As mentioned by Abu Fanifa al-Dainwari in the 10th Century A.D. in his Kitab al-Nabat (see No.V).
2. The verses also cited by Jahiz in ‘Kitab al-Tarbi’ wa al-Tadvir’ (Rasa’il, pp.134-35), were:

جعلت خدي له ارضا . فقلت طامن فوقها و ارضا

فقال لا قلت بلى سيدى . صبر اعلى الحب وان مضى

(كتاب الظروف والظروف ص ١٢٨)

3. Burton: *Sind and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, London, 1951, p.61. L. Massignon published two ‘*Kasabnama*’ (or ‘*futwwetnama*’) of two Muslim Guilds in Lahore, the Water-Carriers and the Musketeers, in the ‘*Revue des Etudes Islamiques*’, Paris, 1927, p.249.
4. As secretary of the Mehran Arts Council Hyderabad, I had an opportunity to organize a Seminar (May 22, 1966) and much useful information became available which was published as Seminar Proceedings (1966):- ‘The Traditional Arts and Crafts of Hyderabad Region’. The more relevant part of that information has been included in what follows.
5. N. A. Baloch’s Welcome Address on the occasion of the 16th All Sindh Literary Conference, Hyderabad (May 31-June 1, 1958), Sindh University Press, Hyderabad, 1958, p.22.
6. Gipsini, i.e. ‘of Gipsin’, is said to be a corrupt form of ‘Gibbson’. Mr. Gibbson was Commissioner in Sindh. One of the craftsmen saw the embroidered cuff and collar of his coat and invented this new style which he called Gipsini.
7. Alexander Hamilton: ‘New Account of the East Indies’ published in Edinburgh in 1727 (in Pinkerton’s *Travels*, Vol.III, pp.304-8), quoted by H.T. Sorley in ‘Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit’, oxford, 1940, p.94.
8. Patrica O. Stoddard, Ph.D.: *Ralli Quilts, Traditional Textiles from Pakistan and India*, Schiffer Publishing Ltd., Atglen, PA 19310, USA. 2003.

9. Shikarpur, Past and Present, 1984. Cf. H. Bhutto, p.298.
 10. Address by N. A. Baloch at 'The Crafts Council of Pakistan Convention, Islamabad, 8th of May, 1983.
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V

THE DYE YIELDING 'KANDALA' TREE

Some interesting and valuable references are found in the works of the early Muslim scholars and scientists about the flora and fauna of Sindh region of Pakistan which need further study and investigation. In September 1963, when I was on a short visit to Paris, Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah (d. 17 December 2002) drew my attention to *al-Kandala* tree growing on the coastline of Sindh which is mentioned by the renowned botanist Abu Hanifa al-Dainwari (d. 282 A.H./859 A.D.) in his 'Book of Plants' (*Kitab al-Nabat*).¹ On return to Pakistan in May 1964, I started my inquiries about *al-Kandala*, and what follows represents the results of these inquiries.

EARLY REFERENCES

In the words of Abu Hanifa al-Dainwari:

"al-Kandala is a dye from Sind region. It is a red dye as can be recognized from this 'Debalian' (leather), and al-Kandala is a tree there (which yields this dye)".²

According to Ibn al-Baytar (d. 1248 A.D.), "Sea water kills every other tree except *al-Qurm* and *al-Kandala*." The renowned lexicographer al-Saghani (d. 1252 A.D.), who belonged to Lahore (Pakistan) and had also been in Sindh,³ gives the pronunciation of the name of the tree as 'al-Kandala', with a short 'a' vowel at the end and says:

"*al-Qurm* and *al-Kandala* grow on sea water which is injurious to plants and kills their growth, but these two trees flourish on it and take nourishment from it".⁴

In *Lisan al-Arab*, Ibn al-Manzur gives the pronunciation as (الكندلي) with a short 'a' vowel, and quotes Abu Hanifa verbatim adding that 'once Abu Hanifa has also recorded the pronunciation as al-Kandala' (الكندلاء) with a long 'a' vowel at the end. al-Zabidi in *Taj al-Urus* gives the standard pronunciation as 'al-kandala' with a short vowel at the end, but says that it is also written with a long 'a' vowel at the end. He also quotes what Abu Hanifa has said about it and adds further, that "it grows on sea water and is also known as al-Shaura. Its reddish barks are used for the purpose of dyeing and its marrow/pulp is specific for male vitality".

The above references indicate that *Kandala* and *Qurm* are marine trees, the growth of which is nourished by sea-water. The common standard pronunciation of the former is given as 'al-Kandala' with a short vowel at the end. From al-Dainwari's description one learns that Kandala is a dye yielding tree and that in his days, leather dyed with the Kandala dye at the Sindian port of Debal was exported abroad, and this 'Debalian' leather was then available in the markets of Baghdad.

IN SEARCH OF AL-KANDALA

With the above data in view, I started my inquiries about the dyes extracted from plants and trees and used by the tanners and dyers in Sind. It was reported that formerly dye was extracted from quite a few plants and trees such as *nil*, *manjutth*, *kandi*, *chhodi*, *nin kirarr*, *sakurr*, the pomegranate skin, etc. etc. Among the plants and trees, parts of which are still used for tanning leather, are the milk of the *Akk* plant and the barks of *babool* (Arabia Acacia) and *Kher* or *Koonbhat*. But these are all inland trees. Preliminary information indicated that no marine plant was used for this purpose.

Inquiries were later extended to the areas of the Mirpur Sakro and Keti Bunder *talukas* (of the Tatta district) adjoining the coastline. Some of the elderly persons informed that there were some marine trees the barks of which were used for dyeing and tanning purposes long ago. Believing that more information might be available from the inhabitants of the immediate coastal area and the professional fishermen frequenting the Indus deltaic channels, we organized a three-day expedition in search of al-Kandala from May 10 to 12, 1965, to

explore the inner coastline extending from Sonc Miani to Keti Bunder.

On May 10, preliminary preparations were made at the village of Haji Muhammad Sodho.⁵ A boat was equipped with necessary provisions at a point 10 miles west of Buhara town on the banks of the Baghiar channel. Elderly fishermen well acquainted with the inner delta area were assembled. I served as photographer, while Mr. Zafar Kazmi of the Institute of Education joined as artist. On the morning of May 11th, we started in our boat exploring the banks of Baghiar, Mull (small),⁶ Waan and the Kotewari channels,—the different deltaic mouths of the Indus now abandoned due to shifting of the main stream eastward. The banks of all these channels and the islets formed by their network were found covered with a thick growth of the *Timmir* tree, the king of the coastal flora. Along the banks of the Kotewari, we found some scattered clusters of the *Chaun'ir* tree, distinguished by their greenish colour against the dusty yellow-greenish of the *Timmir*. It was reported that *Chaun'ir* is a dye yielding tree and its barks were once used for tanning. On further inquiry, some elderly persons informed that there was yet another tree known as *Kararru* or *Kararri*⁷ which yields more dye, both in quantity and quality, than the *Chaun'ir*, and that its dye was more effectively used particularly for tanning the leather.

We, therefore, proceeded further in search of *Kararri*. Forging through Kotewari, our boat entered a smaller channel known as Bundenwari. We halted along its banks and disembarked to explore the area in which the possible growth of *Kararri* was reported. About a furlong north east, we found two young *Kararri* trees, three to four feet high, growing among the few *Chaun'ir* trees and *Timmir* all around. The *Kararri* trees were conspicuous by their shapey growth and pleasing green colour, adorned all over with bunches of long dark-brownish vivipary drooping downwards. We started calling the young *Kararris* the 'two beautiful brides'. I took photographs while Mr. Kazmi painted one of them on the spot. The naked eye could easily catch the reddish brown colour of their tiny trunks and of the claw-like roots embedded in the ground. We uprooted one of them for study and identification in the laboratory. A further search showed that there were a few more *Kararri* trees scattered over the area.

We then returned by a different route, forging through the Kotewari into the Banglo channel and from thence into the Baghiar

channel, but did not find any *Kararri* trees though we came across clusters of *Chaun'ir* along the Kotewari channel. When we reached our embarking point, reports were received about the scattered growth of the *Kararri* (i) along the banks of the Katoraywari and the Suhb channels (which take off from the Dabo creek) where there is more of *Chaun'ir* and less of *Kararri*, and (ii) along the banks of the Bhoori channel (east of Kharo Chhan) where also there is more of *Chaun'ir* and less of *Kararri*. It was reported that *Kararri* grows in abundance in the Sone-Miani coastal area, but for further information we were advised to contact the elderly fishermen at Ibrahim Hyderi. We, therefore, left the Sakro area and reached Ibrahim Hyderi town the next day (May 12).

At Ibrahim Hyderi, we interviewed boatmen well-acquainted with the entire coastal area, and they confirmed the scattered growth of *Kararri* with abundance of *Chaun'ir* along the Sakro-Keti Bunder coastline in the localities reported to us earlier. They further informed that, at present, *Kararri* grows more in the Sone-Miani coastal area than in any other locality.

Following this information, the Sone-Miani area was visited the next day (May 13), where *Kararri* trees were seen comparatively in larger numbers within an area of about 4 miles on the western side of the Sone-Miani channel. It was being called both *Kararru* (mas.) and *Kararri* (fem). *Chaun'ir* was also found to be an inseparable companion of *Kararri* there. The elderly persons of the area reported on the basis of their long experience that though both *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* contain dye, *Kararri* yields 75% more dye than *Chaun'ir*. While only the barks of *Chaun'ir* contain dye, the roots, stalks and barks of *Kararri* all yield dye. In contrast to the good old days, the dye was now being extracted from *Kararri* only, occasionally and by individuals, for dyeing their fishing nets and 'swimming skins'. Some of the villagers who had extracted the dye from *Kararri* some time back presented it to us as specimen. It was in powder form and reddish-maroonish in colour.

FACTS REVEALED

1. There are three main marine trees growing along the Sindh coastline which are known by their indigenous names as *Timmir*, *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* or *Kararru*.

2. *Timmir* grows over entire inner deltaic channels and has forest-like thick growth in most of the area. *Chaun'ir* comes next but much less in quantity than *Timmir*. *Kararri* is still less than *Chaun'ir*. Usually, *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* are found together.
3. *Timmir* is a big and tall tree growing to the height of 30 feet or more, while *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* grow to the maximum height of 10 to 15 feet. The leaves of *Timmir* are smaller in width with a gradually narrowing pointed tail-end; those of *Chaun'ir* are larger with a roundish end; and those of *Kararri* are still larger and more roundish in shape.
4. To the naked eye, the *Timmir* tree appears yellowish-dusty-greenish in colour, *Chaun'ir* much more greenish, and *Kararri* all fresh green. The difference between their blossom and vivipary is more distinct and obvious. In particular, the vivipary of *Chaun'ir* is small, curved and pinkish in colour, while that of the *Kararri* is long and brownish, embedded in a round dark brownish bud which feeds it till it grows bigger (more than 1/2 an inch in diameter) and the seed ripens inside.
5. *Timmir* leaves serve as fodder for the cattle (mainly camel, buffalow and the cow), and its wood is used as low quality timber but mainly as fuel. *Timmir* does not contain and dye. *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* 60th yield dye.
6. *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* are the only dye yielding marine trees growing along the coastal area of Sindh. While only the barks of *Chaun'ir* contain dye, the barks, roots, stems and stalks of *Kararri*, all contain dye. According to the local report, *Kararri* yields about 75% more dye than *Chaun'ir*.

KARARRI IS AL-KANDALA OF AL-DAINWARI

On our return to Hyderabad, the *Kararri* tree was sent to the Botany Department of the University of Sindh where it was identified as *Ceriops Candolleana Aru* belonging to the family of *Rhizophora*.

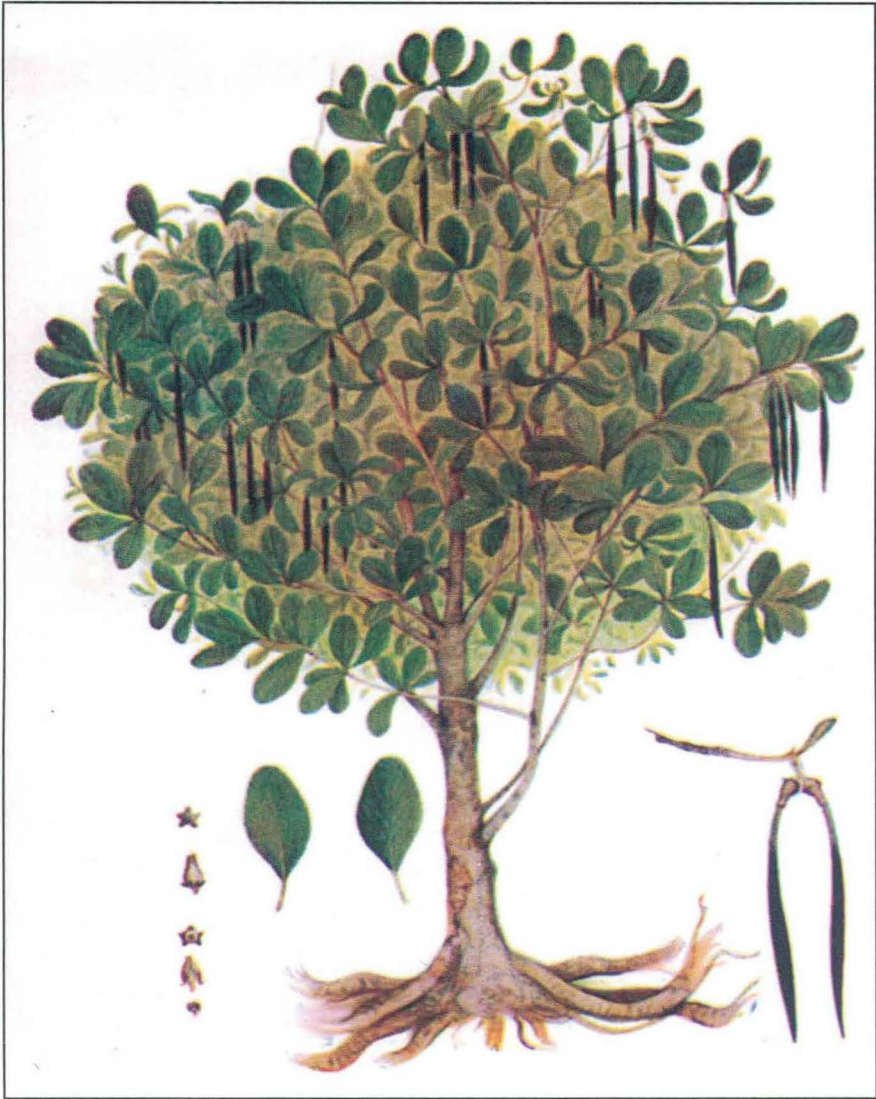
Writing on the river Indus in 1836, Heddle mentioned the growth of three types of marine plants on its mouth channels, viz., *Tewur* (correct: *Timmir*) or *Sonnerata acida*, *Chawer* (correct: *Chaun'ir*) or *Ogreceas majus* and "two types of kandel belonging to the family of *Rhizophora*."⁸ It is yet to be ascertained whether there are

two types of plants of the Rhizophora family growing along the coastal channels. Our current inquiries have confirmed the existence of *Ceriops Candolleana Aru*. But what is significant in Heddle's observation is that in 1836 the plants of Rhizophora family were locally known by the name of *Kandel* which is none else than 'al-Kandala' of Abu Hanifa al-Dainwari. The present name *Kararri* is but a Sindhized phonetic variation of *Kandali*. Examples of this type of variation are common in Sindhi language. *Kandali* is more akin to the pronunciation recorded by al-Dainwari⁹ and confirmed by al-Saghani as (*al-Kandala*). '*al-Shaura*' of *Taj al-Urus* is undoubtedly our '*Chaun'ir*'.

Reporting later, in 1848, specifically on 'Plants of Sind', Assistant Surgeon, J.E. Stocks, mentions '*chowri*' (correct: *Chaun'ir*) which he terms as *Ceriops Candolleana (Aru)*, and 'Kunro' which he calls *Rhizophora mucronata (lum.)*.¹⁰ His 'Kunro' (of the *Rhizophora* family) is undoubtedly a misprint for 'Kurro' which is obviously *Kararru* (mas. form), *i.e.* the same as *Kararri*. al-Dainwari's reference indicates that 'al-Kandala' was a dye yielding tree. The present inquiries confirm that both *Chaun'ir* and *Kararri* contain dye, but *Kararri* is the main dye-yielding tree since it contains 75% more dye than the *Chaun'ir*. Thus, al-Dainwari's *al-Kandala* can be identified, with a reasonable degree of certainty with 'Kandel' of Heddle or *Kararru* or *Kararri (Ceriops Candolleana Am)* of the present day.

According to al-Dainwari, the dye extracted from al-Kandala tree was red in colour. The specimen of the actual dye recently extracted from the *Kararri* tree also appears reddish-maroonish in colour to the naked eye. al-Dainwari's observation of the colour form was on the basis of the tanned/dyed leather which he had seen in the markets of Baghdad, and it may be that though the dye itself is somewhat maroonish in colour, the process by which the leather was then tanned and dyed gave it a more reddish colour.

As noted by al-Dainwari, it was 'Deblian leather', a sort of patent name by which it was known in the markets of Baghdad. Imported from Sindh, it was obviously manufactured at the port of Debal, the ruins of which have been uncovered at Bhanbhore, some 35 miles south-east of Karachi. Standing on the Gharo Creek, Debal was centrally located along the Sindh coastline producing the two dye yielding marine trees, the barks and stalks of which were used for tann-



**The dye yielding
KARARRI TREE**
Al-kandala of Abu Hanifa al-dainwari

-ing and dyeing the leather. The ruins of Bhanbhore amply confirm the existence of the tanning and dyeing industry that once flourished in the city. Scores of dyeing pits, with the remnants of large baked earthen sinks arranged in symmetrical rows, can still be seen outside the city wall on the north-western and western sides. That these pits are located outside the city wall, and have survived to this day nearly 700 years after the port of Debal ceased to flourish, confirm that they formed part of the big leather tanning and dyeing industry which was very extensive indeed.

This industry continued to flourish even after the port of Debal was replaced, through the course of centuries, by the succeeding ports of Lahori, Dharaja and Karachi, and it existed until after the British conquest of Sindh (1843) when the imported goods, including leather, began to replace the indigenous products. Thus, according to Stocks, even as late as 1848 both '*chowri*' (*Chaun'ir*) and '*Kurro*' (*Kararru* or *Kararri*) " were much used at Karachee and the skins are carried to Arabia by the Arab ships and to Afghanistan by the Kafilas."¹¹

REFERENCES

1. Quotations from this valuable book are found in the works of later writers, but its text was presumed to have been lost. More recently parts of the text have been discovered and Dr. Hamidullah has succeeded in reconstructing most of the text, which he is editing currently.
2. al-Dainwari, Abu Hanifa: *Kitab al-Nabat*, the Yale University Mss., folio 88/a. (Reference supplied by Dr. M. Hamidullah).
3. Cf. preface to his lexicographical work *al-Ubab* which he had taught in Sindh.
4. *al-Uhab*. Mss.
5. It was a personal effort supported by a good friend, Haji Muhammad Sodho *Kalmati* Baloch, a Zamindar of the Mirpur Sakro Taluka, whose help is gratefully acknowledged.
6. The bigger Mull channel is east of Keti Bunder.
7. '*Kararru*' (mas. form) referring to the fully grown tree, and '*Kararri*' (fem. form) to the younger one (so reported).
8. Heddle, J.F.: *Memoirs on the River Indus*, submitted to the Government in May 1836 (*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. XVIII, New Series, Part II, p.433).
9. Though once he has recorded it with the differing pronunciation of *al-Kandala*, (cf. *Lisan* and *Taj*).
10. Stocks, J.E.: *Practical Remarks on the Plants of Sind*, submitted to the Government on 2nd March 1848 (*Selections etc.*, op. cit., p. 599).
11. Stocks, J.E. *loc. cit*

VI

A SURVEY OF FOLKLORE

An opportunity came in 1957 when as a member of the newly established Sindhi Adabi Board, I planned a research project to study and codify the folklore in Sindh.

Through field research all over the country, material on the different varieties of the lore was collected largely from oral tradition which was supplemented with what was available on the record. Thus, sufficient material became available to define the scope and substantiate the conclusions. The criteria adopted for collection was that the material, in prose or verse, *preserved and popular with the village folk* is folklore. It was recognized that at the time of collection (from the late fifties of the 20th century onward) a considerable body of verse and narratives was current in the oral tradition of the non-literate village folk with which the educated were not familiar though that would also be acceptable as 'literature'. A brief introduction in English, explaining the theme and the contents, was supplied to each volume along with a detailed one in Sindhi.

The office facilities were provided by the Sindh University and the project was partially supported by the Sindhi Adabi Board. Extensive field work was facilitated by the like minded friends and the hospitable village folk. The traditional *rawis* (rhapsodists) and *sughars* (knowledgeable individuals) cooperated whole heartedly, and I and other colleagues reduced to writing their versions *in their own words and style* as far possible. The process of compilation and editing started after two years of intensive field work and the first book was published in 1959.

By that time, continued inquiries had revealed the varied dimensions of the lore preserved with the elders all over the country. The main generic varieties were identified to be the subjects of

separate volumes. A topical list for forty volumes was drawn up and the compilation and publication programme continued on for more than 30 years (1959-1990), during which forty two volumes were published, the last one in 1991. Though sufficient material was available for ten or more volumes, further progress came to an end as the Board decided to discontinue the publication programme.

FOLK TALES

A study of the innumerable versions recorded mainly through oral tradition during extensive field research indicated their broad classification into (a) tales (b) stories (c) romances, and (d) narratives.

The village folk call all kinds of legends '*kahanyoon*' (tales) or '*galhyoon*' (stories), more often qualifying them as 'Badshahan Joon Kahaniyoon or Galhiyoon', i.e., tales or stories of kings, because most of the tales opened with the mention of a king. This they consider to be the general name for folk-tales, though individual tales may be called by the name of the king or any other person who figures in the tale. Often times, a tale is called after the name of the central character in it, who may be a fairy, a demon, a minister, a merchant, a thief, a shepherd etc.

The plots of folk-tales are not logical; they are natural, revealing the simple rambling folk mind at work. The Sindhi folk-tales may be classified as 'simple' and 'unitary' or 'complex'. In the 'simple' tales, the narration follows a straight course, each event followed by another taking the tale further to its ending. In a 'complex' tale, there is the main tale and also the side tales: there is the foundational or the framing tale to which are linked other subsidiary tales.

Three types of characters figure in the folk-tales of an early stage of human history: (a) demons, fairies and genii; (b) witches, sorcerers, magicians, and *dhootis* (evil women); and (c) reptiles, birds and animals. Kings, queens, princes, princesses, viziers, merchants and other human characters figure in the tales of the later stages of history.

Demons, fairies, and genii (spirits) are the reminiscent of the early memories of the childhood of human race when supernatural visions and superstitions dominated man's life. Due to the lack of maturity and ability to understand natural phenomena, man attributed

floods, fires, thunders, storms and other calamities to the demons; and some other less momentous but inexplicable events and experiences were ascribed to the activities of spirits and the fairies. Witches, sorcerers, magicians and the *dhootis* belong to the next stage of development when more intelligent among human beings devised rituals and ceremonies to ward off attacks of the supernatural. They also applied such 'methods' as magic or black magic against the less intelligent among the human beings. The witches tend to be imaginary characters, but in Sindhi folk-tales they are represented as real women who wield almost supernatural powers through the exercise of magic and sorcery.

The reptiles, birds and animals as they figure in folk-tales performing all human functions, seem to belong to a much earlier stage when man was truly the son of the mother earth, living side by side with other creatures. Snakes, parrots, crows, deers and other animals were his early associates whose memories have lived through the folk-tales in which they play a vital role in the life and adventures of the heroes and the heroines.

The kings, queens, princes, and viziers, belong to the later stage of human settlement and civilization, the stage which is coming to an end by the turn of the twentieth century. A thousand years hence, kings and queens will, perhaps, be relegated to the past and their memories may, then, appear as fanciful as those of the demons and the fairies.

The large variety of the tales collected were categorized and composed under the following six volumes:

- Tales of Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses (39 tales), published in 1960.
- Tales of Kings, Ministers and Merchants (7 long tales), published in 1963.
- Tales of Fairies, Demons, Magicians, Witches and Sooth-sayers (29 tales), published in 1963.
- Tales of Kings, Rich Men, Wise Men, Cheats etc. (37 tales), published in 1961.
- Tales for the Young (88 tales), published in 1962.
- Tales of Beasts, Birds, and Animals (66 tales), published in 1964.

Among the birds, the crow is more popular and figures prominently in five tales. He is the cleverest of all the birds but as the proverb goes “the wise crow is often caught by both the legs”. The sparrow and the jay figure next to the crow. Besides animals and birds, such other creatures as the mouse, the ant, the louse, the nit, the cobra and the hedge-hog also figure in this collection of tales.

FOLK STORIES

These are the more popular and time honoured folk stories which have captured the imagination of the people during the last one millennium. These stories have been recounted by the fireside in homes, recited by the *rawis* (rhapsodists) in folk gatherings, and artistically narrated and sung by the professional minstrels in feasts and festivals. Most of them have been versified by folk poets as well as other poets, and also alluded to by Shah Abdul Latif and other Sufi poets in their compositions.

During field study and analysis, these have been identified as ‘stories’, distinct from ‘tales’. Fables and folktales have no clear historical perspective except that faint memories of the childhood of the human race, superstitions lingering on from the antiquity, or ancient social mores might have been dimly reflected in them. In contrast, the folk stories are those narratives which have some geo-historical basis. In them, names of some persons and places and references to some events and occurrences could be identified. The folk stories may be pseudo-historical or historical. Adventure, romance and intrigue are among their more conspicuous elements. They invariably have their heroes, heroines and villains. A folk story usually reclaims from the historical past that which is more exciting and romantic, and uses it after dilating it, with its own unbelievable.

According to the village folk, these are the ‘real’ stories rather than mere tales. They believe that at least the central characters of these stories did live once upon a time and that the main events in them did actually occur. Each story has its geographical habitat and a background in history. Through their continued keen interest and imaginative search, people have come to identify the localities where events occurred and where their heroes and heroines lived or died.

The different versions of some of the ‘stories’ found current in different parts of Sindh and the adjoining areas of Balochistan and

Punjab (Pakistan) as well as the adjoining areas of Marwar, Kachh and Kathiawir (India) were collected, and the more complete and independent ones were codified in the following nine volumes (I-IX).

I. The Regionally Popular Romantic Stories. In this volume are classified such stories as were found to be more popular in one or the region of Sindh but were not as universally known as other romances and narratives elaborated in the subsequent volumes. This volume including the following eight stories was published as Book XXIX (pages 283) in 1964.

1. Mokhi and Matara
2. Muree and Mongthar,
3. Udho Kehar and Hothal (Pari) Fairy,
4. Phul Wadho and Bhorl,
5. Lakho Phulani,
6. Boobana and Jararr,
7. Hammoon and Darya Khan,
8. Mir Bago and Sindh Rani.

Their plots are briefly explained in the English introduction to this volume. The substance of the first one, MOKHI-&-MATARA (The Barmaid and the Devotees of Bacchus), is being reproduced below.

An enterprising talented woman established a brewery (*batthi*) and opened a tavern for the entertainment of the care-free folk. Her daughter Mokhi, a smart girl, served as barmaid. The fame of the tavern and the name of Mokhi, the barmaid, travelled far and wide and many wine-bibbers, tipplers and revelers began to frequent the place. But, one day came the Matara, the real devotees of Bacchus. They were the eight adventurous youngmen, two from each of the Samma, Soomra, Channa and the Chauhan tribes,¹ who came all the way from their distant homes to drink the varieties of *mandh* (wine) at this famous tavern. They enjoyed their drinks and decided to visit the place again. After six months, they came back and enjoyed the drinks so much that they now determined to take long journeys to be at the tavern every six months. Mokhi served them well whenever they came and they always left satiated after having a grand good time.

¹ These are still the well-known communities in Sind. According to another version, they were twelve— three from each of the Samma, Soomra, Marram and the Roonjha tribes.

Once when they arrived, it so happened that no old wine was left to be served to them. Mokhi was much perturbed. But then she remembered an old *mutt* (wine jar) long since abandoned in a corner, and she hastened to have a look at it. The jar was full to the brim, but a cobra had fallen into it long back and its flesh was all dissolved and only the skeleton was left. To serve or not to serve, was the question for Mokhi. Obviously, the wine had the venom of cobra in it, though it was very colourful and had a long fermentation. Instead of disappointing her fond customers, she decided to serve them this wine apologizing at the same time that since no other wine was available, she had no choice but to offer them this wine from an old jar. They welcomed her offer, and with their first sips they enjoyed the taste immensely. They asked for more, and more, and more, drinking cup after cup. "Never have we tasted such a wine!" - they exclaimed. They were heavily intoxicated, but left in a happy hilarious mood praising Mokhi and the superb quality of her wine.

Next they came after a long interval of twelve months. Mokhi was happy to welcome them knowing that plenty of good quality wine was now available for them. She served them with grace and confidence, but after their first sips they returned the cups to her and asked for the wine they were served last year. Mokhi was baffled. That old jar had been drained off and cleansed immediately after they had left last time. But there was a variety of excellent wine in the numerous jars stored inside, and Mokhi opened up another jar and served them with a different quality. They returned their cups again after the very first sip and asked her to serve them the same old wine. Again and again Mokhi opened up a new jar to serve them with a different quality, but they returned their cups every time begging her to serve them the same old wine.

There was no other jar left now to serve them with another variety. Finding them desperate, Mokhi saw no other way out but to tell them the truth. "The wine that you had last year was from an old abandoned jar and had the venom of cobra mixed in it". "Cobra! Cobra! What? - We drank wine mixed with the venom of cobra!!". The very thought of the venom had an instant effect: the shock killed them and they all fell dead on the spot.

Three versions of this story have been recorded. The earliest references to it are found in the verses of the renowned Sufi poets,

Shah Karim (d. 1623), Shah Inayat (d.1708-1713) and Shah Abdul Latif (d.1752). Later on other poets have also alluded to it. The story finds numerous references in folk poetry. The centre of attention has been the subtle psychological effect: in genuine zeal and zest one may survive a real hazard, but a conscious feeling of the hazard may prove to be fatal even after it is all over.

The tavern is said to have been situated near the present Kaunkar village (the area which remains green and fertile to this day), about 20 miles north-east of Karachi, where the graves of Matara, Mokhi and her mother are pointed out in the old graveyard on a hillock.

The story appears to have originated in the pre-Muslim times, when the socio-political influence of Iran extended to Sindh during the Sassanid period (4th to 7th century A.D.). *Mokhi* is obviously the Sindhized form of *moghi* derived from *moghan*, the Zoroastrian priests, who used to serve the ceremonial wine on feasts and festivals.

II. Suhnni-&Mehtar and Noori-&Jam Tamachi. These two romantic stories were codified, in all their versions, in Book – XXX (pages 230) which was published in 1972. It was found that the version of Sindh's 'Suhnni and Mehtar' romance precedes in time the version of 'Sohni and Mahinwal' romance in the Punjab.

In the second story, the ruler of Sindh, Jam Tamachi, who fell in love with the poor fishermen's maid Noori, is to be identified with the historical personage of Sultan Ruknuddin Shah Jam Tamachi of Thatta who ruled independently from 1388 to 1392 A.D..

III. The Story of Lilan-&Chanesar. The story in its sixteen versions which became available was codified in Book – XXXI (pages 239) published in 1971. The wife (Lilan) had agreed to exchange her husband (Chanesar) for one night in return for a precious garland which she secretly received from Kaunru who was fond of Chanesar. The tolerant husband Chanesar, who had already overlooked Lilan's series of faults now decided to part with Lilan and banish her with the ignominy of *duhag*. Pleadings of the crest fallen Lilan is the pathetic part of the story.

VI. The Romantic Story of Sasui-&Punhu. This great romance of Sindh and Balochistan gained wide popularity and became well known far beyond Sindh. It was versified in Persian during the reign of

Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Since then the story has been artistically narrated and sung in Sindh. The field study revealed its seven versions which were compiled in Book – XXXII (pages 506) published in 1976.

V. The Romantic Story of Moomal-&-Rano. This story originated in the Soomara period (1050-1350) of Sindh's history. The earliest allusion to it occurs in a verse of the Sufi poet Shah Abdul Karim (1538-1623).

Raja Nanda gave his beautiful smart daughter Moomal a precious garland which had a bone bead in it having the charm to cut waters asunder and lead to the treasures buried in the river bed. This was not revealed to her but the father got a firm promise from her to keep it wearing herself and never to part with it under any circumstances.

Sital Ra, the magician, came to know of it. He gained Moomal's confidence by teaching her magic, and lured her to gift the garland to him. When her father came to know of this, he was sore with Moomal for having ruined him by depriving him of all his treasures. Moomal felt hurt and left her father's house to amass wealth at all costs and make good the loss to her father.

Some 50 miles S.E. of Mathelo, she built her magic mansion on the bank of the Kak River. The way leading to 'Kak Mahal' (Kak Mansion) was dark and winding, branching off into similar blind alleys. It had side mirrors reflecting all sorts of horrors. Further on, just below the palace, there was the magic river with its banks and waters infested with frightening animals. If some one crossed it, he was shown to the drawing room where Moomal would receive him and ask him to sit down on the cot through which he would fall down to death in a deep dark well hidden beneath the decorated cot.

Moomal then announced it far and wide that she would marry any prince who would dare to reach her in her mansion. Hundreds perished leaving their riches behind. Finally Rano Sodho, a minister of King Hamir Soomro of Umarkot (Sindh), succeeded in reaching Moomal. She married him but their married life was short lived, because Rano suspected Moomal of perfidy. She tried her best to convince him that she was innocent, but failed. Thus having lost Rano, her husband, she decided to become Satti and ascended the *dagh* to burn up her self. Rano reached in time and begged her to come down

but she refused. As the fire swallowed her, Rano also jumped into the flames and they died together.

VI. Romantic Stories of Outside Origin Current in Sindh. Ten stories as versified by the folk poets, or composed in superior verse by other poets, were codified in Book – VI (pages 962), published in 1964. Of these, the three well known stories of ‘Yusuf-Zulaikha’, ‘Laila Majanu’, and ‘Shirin-Farhad’ originated outside and became popular in Sindh in their original versions. Three stories of ‘Shah Bahram’, Saiful Muluk’ and ‘Sikandar’ originated in Iran but some indigenous versions were also composed in Sindh. Of the romance ‘Khuda Dost’, the local version originated as a part of Sindh’s lore. In the story of ‘Mal Mahmud and Mihr Nigar’, the outside and the indigenous elements integrated to cast the story. The two stories of ‘Jamjama Sultan’ (Jamjam-e-Sultan) and ‘Bibi Bilqis and Hazrat Suleman’ were inspired by the Quranic verses.

The Romantic Story of Dhol-&Maru originated in the adjoining Marwar region but gained popularity particularly in the eastern parts of Sindh. The maid Maru and the lad Dola were in deep love with each other, but they suffered pangs of separation because of villain’s intrigues. Their yearning for being united is the climax of this story. Nine mini-versions of this story from Sindh and a more detailed one from Gujarat were collected and codified in Book – XXV (pages 254) which was published in 1969.

VII. Sorath-&Rai Diyach and Hir-&Ranjha. Of these two stories, ‘Hir and Ranjha’ is the well known love romance which originated in the Jhang and Muzaffargarh districts of the Punjab (Pakistan), in the early 16th century. The story gained popularity in Sindh much later in the 19th century through the compositions of two renowned poets, Khalifa Nabibakhsh Laghari and Hamal Laghari.

The ‘Sorath-Rai Diyach’ story is not a love story though Sorath’s love for her husband (Diyach) figures prominently in her entreaties to the master musician Bijal not to insist on asking the Rai to give his head as reward to him. Rai Diyach was so much moved by the music played by Bijal on Surando (instrument) that he was prepared to give his life for it. Bijal had been hired by the adversary Ani Rai to play the powerful music and, in return, demand Diyach’s head from him.

This story originated centuries back when the Samma stocks from Sindh had gained power and prestige in Kachh and Kathiawar. Rai Khanghar, a prince of the Chora Samma dynasty, was the ruler of Junagadh. He became known as '*diyach*' (the one who *gives*) for his munificence: he would always reward the musicians to their utmost satisfaction. In his allusions to the story, Shah Abdul Latif (d.1752) depicted the virtue of generosity and the power of music. Moved by Bijal's persuasions and the power of music, Diyach sacrificed his life at the alter of music.

VIII. Morirro and the Whale. This is the story of personal valour and expertise of the renowned fisherman Morirro who dived deep into the sea and killed the whale. Twenty versified versions were collected and compiled under Book - XXXVI (pages 214) published in 1967.

The earliest reference to the story is obtained in a Sindhi verse (by some Sufi poet) composed by the turn of the 14th century. Folklore assigns the story to the reign of Dalurai who was ruling at Banbhrah. Thus, he may be figured out as the early Soomra ruler of Mansura* (which was being called Banbhrah after Brahmanabad) who ruled after the end of the Arab rule in the 5th/11th century. Banbhrah came to be called 'Dalor' (the name by which the locality is known even today) after Dalurai who had ruled there.

Morirro's father Obahio was the leading fisherman of Sone Miani. He had seven sons of whom the six elders took to fishing while the youngest Morirro joined the court of Dalurai where he became prominent for his valour, and was granted tax free fishing rights of Sone Miani. Being prosperous, his six brothers took to deep sea fishing. Their experienced father warned them not to go to the Kun Kalachi area which was being frequented by a killer whale. They did not heed his warning and were swallowed up by the whale. Morirro sought Dalurai's help and a 'glass-capsule machine' was constructed. Morirro sat in it, and as the capsule was lowered the whale swallowed it up. Then Morirro cut it from inside and killed it. He then secured the body of the whale with strong ropes and it was pulled out to the shore by hundreds of mares which were restless to join their colts. The bodies of the six brothers were taken out of the whale's stomach and buried ceremoniously.

* A few mile South-East of Shahdadpur, District Sanghar.

Most of the versions describe the monster to be a *Maungar Machch* (Whale) while some refer to it as a *Kachchaoon* (a huge sea Turtle). It might have been any of the big whales known as 'Veesar' and 'Veelro' which frequent the Sindh coastline and are sometime washed up dead along the Karachi shore. A clan of fishermen of Karachi proudly proclaims to be the descendants of Morirro ('Morirrey-pota'). They live in Khaddah, Ibrahim Hyderi, and Baba and Bhit islands. Graves of Morirro's six brothers and one sister stand in the Karachi city area on the road leading from Khaddah to Mauripur, while the grave of Morirro stands on a hill-top at some distance from the brothers' graveyard.

IX. The Story of Umar and Marui. Marui, a beautiful village maid of Paur (situated in the the present Tharparkar district of Sindh) was betrothed to Khet whose rival Phoag went to the court of King Umar Soomaro at Umarkot, and spoke of the beauty of Marui in such glowing terms that the king himself rode out to the village and brought Marui to Umarkot where he persuaded her to give her consent to marry him. Marui refused.

The king tried his best to make her understand that she would be the queen living in the palace, and that she shall have golden ornaments, silken apparel, tasteful dishes, fruits of all kind, maid servants and everything else she wanted. To these offers, Marui would always reply that she preferred the hamlet of the poor with sand dunes around to the palace and gardens; coarse clothes and the *loee* headwear (made of the coarse woolen thread) to silken clothes; the loaf of bread made out of the grass seed to the rich dishes; *chibhar*, *golara* and other wild fruit to the mangoes and pomegranates; so far as the golden ornaments were concerned:

It's not the custom of my *Maru* folk
To exchange kith and kin for gold.

Umar was a just king and he did not want to force his will on Marui. In the meanwhile, witnesses affirmed that Marui was, in fact, related to Umar as a sister. Umar believed this, bestowed all the favours on Marui, and sent her back with all the honour to her people, where she joined Khet and lived happily in the free environment of her village home.

A number of versions of the story were recorded through oral

tradition besides the two versions of it from the two historical works, viz. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (1030 H/1621) and *Tuhfat al-Kiram* (1180-81 H/1766-67); and were compiled in Book XXX-VII (pp.321) published in 1976.

THE EPIC OF DODO CHANESAR

‘Dodo Chanesar’ is a great epic and, judging from its dimensions, both quantitative and qualitative, it may be regarded as one of the greatest in world literature. It originated in the Soomara period (circa 1050-1350 A.D.) of Sindh history and has been continuously transmitted through oral tradition and sung in folk assemblies.

The ‘Epic of Dodo Chanesar’, as it is obtained in its different versions today, has been artistically narrated since the 17th century. Its earlier versions have not come down to us. In its current form, the topography of its main events stands as under, though its different versions differ in details:

The elderly Soomara ruler, Bhungar, dies in his capital, Wigeh Kot. His brave son Dodo had died earlier after defeating the invading Gujjars.

The courtiers and the community chiefs formally met in an Assembly to decide the question of succession. Of the two sons of Dodo (the elder), Chanesar and Dodo, they preferred the younger Dodo, who was brave and of pure blood, to Chanesar who was from an alien mother. This was a decision against the accepted custom that the elder son shall succeed his father.

Being aggrieved, Chanesar sought support from Sultan Ala’uddin of Delhi and succeeded in bringing the Sultan with his powerful armies to Sindh.

Scores of battles are fought in which the defending heroes of the Soomara house and their allies fall one after another, but they fight to the finish wiping out bulk of the invading army.

The bravery of Nagar, a son of Dado, his powerful onslaughts and his eventual death as he goes on fighting, become the more absorbing themes in the narrative.

The Epic has been composed, sung and narrated artistically by the bards, all over the country, in its different versions and with all the additions and alterations, to glorify the heroes in accordance with the taste of the time. The tradition continues on to this day and the 'STORY OF DODO CHANESAR' is being artistically narrated and sung by the professional minstrels in the night long folk assemblies. Some brilliant groups of professional narrators are known to have sung the epic for three or more consecutive nights holding the village folk in rapt attention.

RIDDLES: PIROLEE, PUZZLE, GUJHARAT AND DOAR

These four main categories were discerned in the innumerable types and varieties of the Riddle brought to light during the field study (1958-61). Of these, the following eight varieties were classed together in a separate volume entitled 'Riddles and Enigmas' (Book - XII, pp.287, published in 1965) in which 1305 typical examples (selected out of the 6000 collected) were included.

1. Pirolee. It is more akin to the common riddle, and literally means something to be thought about and solved. A *pirolee* may be a simple prose riddle, simple versified riddle, versified riddle with a more complicated solution, or children's riddle wherein the fixed words are repeated as solution. The following are the typical examples of each variety:

- A loaf is lying in the desert (A foot print of the camel).
- Green is the creeper with fruits white
One cannot taste but can sight. (The Sky with Stars)
- I cannot cut, I cannot weigh
I cannot break it any way.
(One's own reflection)
- Make the cat wear earrings!
Cheerings! Cheerings!
Cat wears earrings.

2. Dustag. It may be described as a 'puzzle in similitude.
Example:

Its head is like elephant's but it is not an elephant
It is black like a crow, but it is not a crow
It climbs up the tree, but it is not a squirrel

It lives in holes, but it is not a snake.
(The Ant)

3-4. Hemaree and Goorho. Both are metaphorical puzzles.

Example:

Clear like the sky and moonlike in shape
From perfume vendor's shop I do purchase
(The Mirror)

5. Ditth. (plu. Ditthoon). Ditth means 'something that has actually been seen'. Thus, 'Ditth pirolee' means a riddle based on something actually seen by the composer.

Example:

A good named female, small in size, with a long tail
The bird has two, she has four wings frail
No blood if killed, her meat of no avail
When she goes out hunting, she kills the male
(The Dragon Fly which hunts mosquito)

6. Mu'amma. It is a real puzzle or enigma.

Example:

Please explain it to Mitho, and give it your thought
It neither came from earth, nor from the sky was it brought
It was neither born of father, nor from the mother begot
Says Mithoo, it has birth and death, but alive it is not
It moves without life, in wonder I am caught
Oh intelligent fellow! Tell Mitho, it is what?
(Perspiration)

7. Guru & Chelo. (Master & Disciple). These are the questions the Guru (Master) asks his Chela (Disciple) in order to test and guide him. The technique employed is that the reply to all the questions raised should be in ONE WORD (of which the different shades of meaning answer the different questions).

8. Propositions Rooted in Culture. The propositions are always couched in numerical form. Examples:

Proposition: One fellow enjoys a sound sleep!
One fellow enjoys a sound sleep!

Solution: Yes, the one with no wife, nor a home to keep
He does enjoy a sound sleep.

Proposition: The Two are just alike
The Two are just alike.

Solution: Yes, the young one of a goat and a neglected child
These two are just alike (as they know no discipline)

Proposition: Do not underestimate the Three
Do not under estimate the Three

Solution: The ruler, the fire and the flood water free
Do not under estimate these Three

GUJHARAT: The Gujharat is a highly complex type of riddle, the like of which perhaps is not known among any other people, in any language, in any other country. It may be termed, for convenience sake, a 'literary-cum-cultural riddle' though illiterate folk have excelled in its manipulations and solutions. Pun and allusion are the two basic elements employed in its structure. The variety of allusions pressed into service in Gujharat is very vast without any limitations. Probably, Gujharat originated as a form of coded message in the long past. The following crude examples are improvised to illustrate the structure of a gujharat.

Proposition: An *animal* does not see a *constellation*
(For solution, the animal and the constellation are to be named).

Solution: The *scorpio* does not see the *pliedes*.
(The two are never visible in the sky at the same time).

Proposition: A *mathematical concept* of *food* lies in eating.

Solution: *Proof of pudding* lies in eating.

Proposition: A *male name* was noble, but was *misled* by the *time keeping devices*.

Solution: *Macbeth* was noble but was *beguiled* by *witches*
(=watches)

During field research, thousands of gujharats were collected, out of which 2674 were selected and classified theme-wise into 20

chapters in the book entitled GUHARATUN (No. XIII) which was published in 1969.

DOAR: The Doar connotes the process of unfolding an allegory. It is structured by composing a *bait* poem in the context of any one of the known Sindhi folk stories, or any vocation/activity in daily life. Thus structured, it is technically known as ‘naqul’, i.e. the apparent story which is the reflection of the ‘asul’, the ‘original story’ which is to be figured out art. As a rule, the ‘naql’ must strictly conform to the ‘asl’ (the original story) in all the details – in number, gender, status of the characters, their mutual relationship and their actions. Example:

Neither marriage procession nor Mehar was there
 How did the ‘wonderful affair become so fair!
 Suhni felt concerned about him in despair
 But was in delight there, when she knew who he was!

In its apparent meaning, this *doar* is composed in the context of the famous romantic story of ‘Suhni and Mehar’. There was no marriage procession but Suhni (the heroine) fell in love with Mehar (the hero). Being confronted by her relatives, she was concerned for some time but then, realizing the worth of Mehar, she remained attached to him.

As an allegory, its original meaning refers to Mary giving birth to Jesus. In her case also, there was neither the marriage procession, nor had she known any man. How did she then conceive? She was concerned about the newly born baby, but when she learnt who he really was, she was simply delighted.

RITES, RITUALS AND CEREMONIALS

Realizing that the traditional culture was likely to disintegrate under the impact of modern developments, a study of folk ways and folk customs, particularly the rites and rituals still in vogue in some sections of the rural population, was made during the decades following the year 1957.

Much has changed by now (2004), but the rites of the passage are being observed universally. The marriage ceremonies are more prolonged and elaborate with songs and singing accompanying them. Influence of eclipses on pregnant women is widely accepted. Ailments and the herbal or other remedies resorted to indicate the need for

studying folk medicine in depth. Folk dreams are another area of further study.

The remnants of some of the primitive rites and rituals such as 'black magic', belief in 'evil spirits', in evil stars, and in-auspicious 'days' and 'dates' (a legacy of the astrologer priest) have lingered on in some backward sections of the population, particularly in the Tharparkar district. Further details are briefly included in the English introduction to the volume which was published Book-XXXIX, (pp.414.) in 1978.

DEVOTIONAL COMPOSITIONS

The following four, all in verse, are the main generic varieties of the devotional compositions:

1-2. MADAHOON AND MUNAJATOON: These compositions are in praise of God, the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the revered saints. *Madahoon* (sings. *Madaah* in Sindhi, Arabic *madh*), are versified laudations while *Munajatoon* (sing, *munajat*) are supplications for succor. In all, 48 madahoon and 53 manajahoon were selected and included in one volume (Book-I, pp.499) which was published in 1959.

3. MANAQIBA: These are the lengthy compositions in praise of the early Prophets and Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon them) his companions and the revered saints. Instead of laudation in general terms, a story pertaining to the life time of the praised one is invariably used as the theme. It is the appeal of the story rather than its historical significance or authenticity that commands its choice for a manaqiba composition. Forty two manaqibas were selected for inclusion in the volume (Book-II, pp.375) which was published in 1960.

4. MUI'JAZA: These are the compositions pertaining to the 'miracles' of prophets and saints. The Sindhi *mu'jaza* (sing. *mu'jazo*, derived from Ar. *mu'jazah*, pl. *mu'jazat*) are lengthy compositions akin to the 'Manaqiba'. The difference between the two is that while in a manaqibo the story of common nature is used for praise, the story recounted in a *mu'jazo* is of an uncommon character, a miracle which becomes the central theme for laudation. Strictly speaking, a *mu'jazo* or miracle is attributed to a prophet, while a *karamat* is attributed to a saint. But the folk poet does not recognize this difference: for him, an

unusual performance by a saint is also a miracle. Thus, we find some poets calling such performances attributed to the revered Ali and the revered Abdul Qadir Jilani as miracles.

The historical authenticity of the miracle-stories used in the mu'jaza compositions is doubtful; but these have been handed down from generations through oral tradition. The folk poet who depends upon hearsay is, however, convinced of their truth; on his own part, he is usually anxious to convey to his listeners that the story is authentic. To do so, he would, in the very beginning, quote the source of information, which may be a book or the name of the *rawi* (reporter) to whom the narration of the story is attributed. His main objective, however, is to sing the praise of the revered person, and the miracle-story serves that purpose. Both for the poet and the listener, its authenticity is confirmed, once the source is cited. In all 65 mu'jaza compositions, the earliest dating back from 1145/1732, have been selected and included in Book-III (pp.276) published in 1960.

5. MAULOOD: Maulood are the versified songs in adoration of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Literally 'maulood' means the newly born child. With the birth of the Holy Prophet commenced a new era of hope and happiness for the humanity. In the poet's own words, 'with the coming of Muhammad all pains were gone, I became free'; and 'with your coming of age, disappeared confusions from the countries'! The birth of the Prophet being a significant event, the songs composed to honour him were called *maulood*, emphasizing literally the greatness of the new born child.

As a form of composition, the Maulood and Kafi (vide infra) are of the same generic variety. It is not known by whom such popular songs were named as *maulood*. The earliest known composition called 'maulood' is by the poet Shah Inayat Rizvi (d. circa 1725 A.D.)

The Kafi and the Maulood parted ways when the former came to be sung to the accompaniment of instrumental music. 'Recitation' remained the main technique of the maulood songs, and thence the origin of the special phrase *maulood parhanu* (to read / recite maulood). But to create the desired musical effect, and to compete with the professional Kafi singers, the technique of maulood recitation was elaborated. It was based on singing in chorus, on modulation of voices and harmonizing the effects of high and low pitch.

The first step seems to have been from solo recitation to chorus. Then was developed internal rhythm of the *maulood* song as an accompaniment to the Samah dance** A later development, starting from the beginning of the 20th century, was from chorus to what may be called 'double chorus' (WARO): that is, instead of one group, two groups singing at the same time according to a set procedure. The effect of harmony in some forms of vocal Sindhi music could be traced to the development of the 'chorus' and the 'double chorus' popularized by the maulood reciters.

Of the thirteen hundred maulood compositions collected, eight hundred were included Book-IV (450 pages), which was published in 1961.

BAIT/BAYT COMPOSITIONS

The *bait* compositions constitute the bulk of the Sindhi folk poetry, and the most important part of it. The generic variety of Sindhi *bait* developed early under the influence of Arabic poetry during the Arab rule in Sindh (711-1050 A.D.). The *bait* in Arabic was one full verse (of the *Qasidah* composition) comprising two equal parts, each called a *misra*'. The first opening *bait* of the *qasidah* with its two *misras* rhyming together, set the model for the Sindhi *bait* with its lines rhyming together.

It may be conjectured that there might have already existed an indigenous form of Sindhi verse with its two lines rhyming together. Even then, its semblance with the opening *bait* of the popular Arabic *qasida* was so striking that it came to be called *bait*. For, *bait* is the unique name which Sindhi has preserved, the Hindi having its comparable *dohira*.

I. The Bait Compositions. In structure, the Sindhi *bait* remained a standard poetic model while in content it took two diverse paths: on the one hand it became a model for didactic poetry expressing spiritual, philosophical and ethical ideas; and on the other it became a vehicle for folk poetry. Bards and wandering minstrels began narrating epics and popular romances in folk assemblies, and they interspersed their artistic narrations with *bait* compositions which were sung to sustain interest

** Sindhi Samah (Ar. Sima') means devotional dancing to the recitation of a Maulood or meaningful *bait* compositions of a Sufi divine.

and attention and also to win applause and appreciation.

Thus, while with the educated the bait remained, according to its original connotation, a poetic model par excellence for expressing higher ideas, it became, with the professional bards, a vehicle for artistic narration to be sung for entertainment.

The standard bait compositions of about one hundred and seventy two poets were compiled under Book - XVIII (pages 525.) which was published in 1971.

Structural changes in the basic bait form were initiated beginning from the 13th/14th century A.D. through the use of 'middle rhymes' (in the middle of either of the two basic lines) and the addition of one or more lines in between. All possible changes are observable in the bait compositions of the first eminent Sufi poet Qadi Qadan (1465-1551 A.H.). His creative genius appears to have perfected the process, by a combination and alteration of the traditional 'ending' rhymes as also introducing the new 'middle' rhymes. These developments made the bait more flexible in structure, more varied in rhythm and more amenable to changing forms of expression (linked to the scheme of the varying sets of rhymes). The addition of more than one intermediary line extended the bait composition even to more than one hundred lines thus bringing into vogue the *long bait* (*drigha bait*) composition for purpose of long narrations, usually recited / sung to the accompaniment of the Narr (Reed) instrument.

II. Drigha (Long) Bait Compositions. The *Sindhi Bait* had originated centuries back under the influence of Arabic '*bait*' (verse). By the 17th century, the *bait* compositions were extended from a few to a large number of lines, and a new generic variety of *Drigha Bait* (Long Bait) emerged. In form and substance, these compositions may be called 'Sindhi ballads', because the definition of 'ballad' applies to them either wholly or partly. These 'long bait ballads' were sung particularly to the accompaniment of the Narr (Reed) instrument; as such, these compositions also became known as 'Narr-ja-Bait'.

Being both 'folk poetry' and 'folk songs', their recitation was tuned to the Narr music, developing it into a typical variety of folk singing. In particular, the *Gur* and the *Phook* modulations of the Narr music (see No.XX) became specific to the singing of these ballads.

The long bait compositions of seven folk poets, the more eminent of all, were collected and their correct and complete versions (as far as possible) were established and compiled under Book - XIV entitled 'NARRa JA BAITa' (pp.418) which was published in 1970.

III. Waqiyati Bait Compositions. These compositions, in bait form, about events and occurrences which had impact on the feelings of the village folk, some even influencing their way of life. The events, about which compositions became available from oral tradition, were of social, economic, political or historical nature and had occurred during the last three centuries.

In these compositions, the folk poet has inadvertently played the role of a historian for the masses. But he composed about an event because he was impressed by it, and not for the sake of recording the facts or presenting any particular viewpoint. A representative collection of 'Waqiyati Bait' compositions on seventy different events, dating from 1716 to 1961 A.D., was included in Book-IX (pp.466) published in 1961.

TEEH - AKHRYUN

Teeh-Akhryun or 'Thirty Lettered Compositions' are so named after the *thirty letters* of the Arabic alphabet. Also the opening verse of each of the thirty compositions, in order of the thirty letters of the alphabet, invariably commences with the mention of each letter followed immediately by a word in alliteration with it. Besides this identity, the thirty compositions may be in any verse form and meter, and on any subject chosen by the poet.

This generic variety has remained popular since the 11th/18th century, and the *Teeh-akhryun* were still being composed during the second half of the 20th century. Of the large number of texts which became available, 133 were selected, of which 53 were included in Vol.I, Book - V, (pp.496) published in 1960, and 173 in Vol.II, Book - VI, (pp.467) published in 1961.

HAFTA, DEENHA, RATIYUN, MAHEENA

Beginning from the 18th century, four categories of compositions gained popularity: (i) *Hafta* or *Weekdays* compositions, (ii) *Deenha* or *Days* compositions, (iii) *Ratyun* or *Nights* compositions

enumerating month's thirty nights, and (iv) '*Maheena*' or '*Baranh Mah*' compositions enumerating twelve months of the year.

It seems these forms originated as lyrical poems representing continuous yearning of lovers /friends/dear ones. The continuity of the yearning was for every day and night, every Sunday, Monday and so on for the week, every day and night for the whole month, and every month over the whole year. So also were named the poetic compositions. To give vent to their feelings of separation, folk poets composed the poems each beginning with the name of each day of the week, each day or each night of the month, and each month of the year.

From the large collection made of such compositions, 31 of the Hafta or Week-days category, 8 of the Month days, 37 of the Month-nights and 6 of the Twelve months category were selected and included in one volume (Book - pp.421) published in 1961.

SINDHI SINGAR SHA'IRI COMPOSITIONS

The two generic varieties, 'Singar Sha'iri' and 'Hunur Sha'iri', represent the highly artistic form of compositions by the talented folk poets who, though illiterate, were not uneducated: they had imbibed the best of the cultural traditions, including the ability for highly artistic compositions.

The stylistic composition of 'Singar Sha'iri' has its distinctive features, - such as employment of multiple synonyms, elaborate use of similes and metaphor, human beauty enhanced in conjunction with nature's beauty (e.g. the beautiful maid working in the natural environment of colourful clouds, drizzle, rainbow, and green pasture), the highly qualitative notion of beauty in terms of fragrance, softness, radiance and sweetness, and an all inclusive concept of the ideal beauty of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

According to the tradition, as also the earliest 'singar' compositions which have come to light, the highly talented poet Jalal of the village of Moondar (in the Dadu district) who died by about 1760, was the progenitor of this artistic form of compositions. Since then the talented folk poets, as also poets from amongst the literate class, have continued to compose in the singer style. Beginning from the mid eighteenth century to the mid twentieth century, all the

versions which became available were collated and compiled in Book-XI (pp.286) published in 1986.

SINDHI HUNUR SHA'IRI COMPOSITIONS

Hunur is the Sindhized pronunciation of the Persian word *HUNUR* which means art. The 'Hunur Compositions' in the Sindhi folk tradition are 'artful compositions', the *hunur* therein denoting an artistic employment of the punning technique in a variety of forms, known only in comparable examples in '*Ilm Badi' wa Ma'ani*' in Arabic literary tradition, Most of the poets who composed 'Hunur poems' were illiterate, and yet the continuity and popularity of the tradition enabled them to create meritorious compositions.

Besides the Hunur compositions by unknown folk poets of the past, the compositions with names of about 88 poets became available to be included in Book-XIV (pp.572) published in 1991.

FOLK SONGS

Of the innumerable variety of folk songs, the following four categories were classified as the representative ones for their universal appeal and popularity. Some of them are being sung to the accompaniment of music and folk dances.

(a) Songs Pertaining To Love And Romance. Jamalo, Moro, Belan and Chhalo are the typical ones belonging to this category.

JAMALO is most popular and is sung in chorus to the beats of Duhl (the kettle drum) along with a folk dance of the same name. In origin, it is the song of camel men in search of their handsome youth named Jamalo who went missing. The following is part of a representative version.

Chorus:	HO JA-MA-LO
Leader:	Jamalo went, with camel men
Chorus:	HO JA-MA-LO
Leader:	He went afar, down to Lar:
Chorus:	HO JA-MA-LO
Leader:	Had a golden wear, in little finger:
Chorus:	HO JA-MA-LO
Leader:	Had a wand, in his hand:
Chorus:	HO JA-MA-LO

Leader: His teeth, pearls wreath
 Chorus: HO JA-MA-LO
 Leader: His hair, curly snare
 Chorus: HO JA-MA-LO

Chhallo is the 'Ring Song', its burden being the exchange of ring (challo) between lover and beloved. A representative text:

Olani: (Rising of the voice):
 Chhala dear you go!
 From here you go!
 What might happen!
 When will you return!

Lahini: (Lowering the voice):
 Fly away ye pigeon
 To my love's region.

Olani:
 Challa's colour is red
 Which will never fade
 I love my friend
 Woe be to the fiend.

Lahini:
 Fly away ye dove
 I remember my love.

(b) Songs Pertaining to Functional Activities in life. The more typical songs are Hamarcho (worker's chorus song), Mandhiaro (of the women churning milk) and vallarro (of the cattle boys).

MANDHIARRO. Mandhiarro is the long churning stick, the lower paw of which rotates in the curd in the jar, making a soft rolling sound which is regarded as the symbol of plenty and prosperity. A representative version of this type:

God has bestowed green prosperity
 The mandhiarro is murmuring.
 The land is rid of drought and famine
 The mandhiarro is murmuring.
 Those who have stored grain for next sowing
 May their hopes be fulfilled?
 The mandhiarro is murmuring.
 Those who have hoarded it for profit

May their plans be wrecked?
The mandhiarro is murmuring

(c) Songs of the Rainy Moonsoon Season. Of these, Varsaro and Panhari are more typical. Panhari is the girl who goes to fetch water. A part of a song:

Formations of black clouds have appeared in the north
 Oh young girls fetching water!
And slowly, slowly, rain is falling,
 Oh my dear love!
All the seven girl-friends in party,
 Oh young girls fetching water!
Have gone to the pond to fetch water,
 Oh my dear love!
All the seven girls wear clothes beautiful,
 Oh young girls fetching water:
But your wife wears dirty cloths,
 Oh my dear love!

(d) Songs pertaining to the Sentiments of the newly Married Girl. Of this category, are Doro, Sawan Trij, Jhalaro, Jhanbkio, Rahorro, Relan, Popiri, and Vindul, – all belonging to the Tharparkar area.

DORO portrays the yearning of a newly married bride for her parents and relatives. 'Jhalario' is an ear-ring which the bride's brother wants to purchase as a gift for her. This song is of affectionate sentiments of brother and other relatives for the newly married bride. 'Jhanbkio', 'Rahorro' and 'Relan' portray the concern of the bride's brothers to do everything to please their brother-in-law. 'Popiri' is the song of a Muslim girl, Halima by name, who is a beauty and hence called 'Popiri' (butterfly). Her complaint is against the strenuous task of fetching water from the distant village well. 'Vindul' song exposes the extremely cruel behaviour of the mother-in-law.

Each generic variety of these folk songs has a number of versions (texts or compositions) with differing substance and content as also some common features. Of the numerous versions collected, the more complete 301 are included in Book-XVII (pp.405) which was published in 1965.

GEECH: THE HOMELY SONGS OF WOMEN FOLK

Geech, *giyo* or *gawan* literally means a song, customarily of women folk. Geechs may be classified into two categories: songs of rejoicing to be sung on any occasion of joy, and songs of the marriage.

As marriage songs, the geechs are sung in chorus by the womenfolk belonging to the bridegroom's party, in bridegroom's home and outside during the marriage procession all the way (on camel back, in bullock cart, or in train) to the bride's village/town, and in bride's home. Often the geech-singing gatherings are held in bridegroom's home some weeks in advance of the date of marriage. Some of the well-to-do families employ professional geech-singing groups for the occasion.

Geechs are also sung by the womenfolk of the bride's party (now only in some communities), and some versions reveal clues of magic rituals from the past. These geechs are distinctly called '*kamin*', which literally means 'magic'. Some magic formulas were practiced in early times by the womenfolk on the bride's side to tame the shrewd bridegroom. Nothing survives of those early ceremonies today, except verbal reminiscences in *Kamins*. The quick and short rhymed utterances of the *kamins* somewhat resemble the orations of early times. The following few available specimens are being translated here as best as one can. They represent the voice of the mother-in-law.

Kamins shall have their effect
They shall be effective in fact.
Like fragrant oil they will apply!
Like sandal-wood powder shall they apply!
Like red henna shall they apply!

—
Do magic to that lad
That magician be bound in bed
Magic of eyes do spread.

—
Kamins to hands, *kamins* to feet
I place *kamins* in oven with conceit.
I want him to sit still, never to move.
Help me such *kamins* to prove!

—
Kamins to hands, *kamins* to feet
Kamins I keep in the bracelet.
I want him to clean my courtyard
Help me with such *kamin*: hard!

—
Kamins to hands, *kamins* to feet
Kamins in mirror I keep with conceit.
 I hold him in fact, and in fashion,
 Help me with such *kamins* in action!

JANGNAMA: THE WAR BALLADS

These ballads, composed mainly in *bait* form, pertain to the fights and forays between adversaries, the planned attacks by groups and tribes, and the wars between the ruling chiefs. Texts of seventy Jangnamas were recorded mainly from oral tradition current in different parts of Sindh and the adjoining areas, and compiled in Book-VIII (pp.471) published in 1984.

The earliest brief Jangnama composition that has come to light pertains to the year 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) when Murid Khan Baloch killed Mirza Muhammad Saleh, the Tarkhan ruler of Thatta. The latest compositions are from the period of the British occupation of Sindh, mainly the 19th century. Besides their literary value, Jangnamas are a new source of information which throws light on a number of events not recorded in historical works.

KAFIYUN COMPOSITIONS

The compositions *Kafiyun* (sing. Qafi/ Kafi., Ar. *Qafiya*), or *kafiyun-kalam*, are a recognized form of Sindhi poetry and, therefore, of Sindhi literature. It is because of their age old popularity and universal appeal among the village folk all over the country, that the study and collection of *kafiyun* from oral tradition (besides the written record) was included in the folklore project.

The Kafi, as such, was composed for purpose of singing: thus music is inherent in the Kafi composition. Though a part of the high music art, Kafi has also a place in folk art, being a part of folk singing. Kafi is simultaneously a high art and a folk art; it is a poetic composition as well as music composition. Its singing is an integral part of the typical songs of the village folk.

The Sindhi Qafi/Kafi composition originated long back after the Qafiya/Kalima/Qasida form of Arabic poetry. Its opening line(s) is known as *thal* or *thalh* (Ar. *Matal'*), and the subsequent one(s) *misra'*. In its composition, the poet invariably gives his name in the last *misra'*.

Of the thousands Qafi/Kafi compositions collected (during the eighties of the 20th century), 2254 compositions by 625 poets (who flourished during the last three centuries) were selected and published in three volumes, as parts of Book-XX, which were published in 1985, 1987 and 1990.

MUNAZIRA: THE DISPUTATIONS

Munaziras are *disputations in verse* composed in the form of dialogues between two parties competing in excellence. Each party disputes the arguments of the other, asserting its own superiority. The compositions are also called *Jherras* or quarrels. However, the parties do not quarrel because of any animosity: they fondly engage in controversy, each arguing one's own superiority over the other.

A munazira, by its scheme in presentation and technique in argumentation, resembles a short drama in verse, in which at least three characters –the two main parties in the dispute and the arbitrator – play their parts. The plot is deliberately contrived so that even such non-human characters as birds and animals, or inanimate objects like trees, minerals, utensils, seasons etc. are personified to play their role; thus, Munazira represent a generic variety of folk literature created in the best form of poetic imagination of the rural folk. They are the poetic disputations par excellence. In all, the texts of 156 Munazira compositions were recorded and included in Book-X (pp.741) published in 1961.

The technique of dialogue is basic to the Munazira composition which generally opens with a prologue with praise of God followed by the mention of the two parties and the circumstances under which the dispute has arisen between them. The parties may be abstract ideas personified, e.g., love and reason, youth and old age, knowledge and wealth; two family characters (husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law); two dress items (cap and turban, trousers and loin-cloth); two metals (iron and gold); two smoking items (the local cigarette *bidi* and hubble-bubble); two animals (horse and bullock, camel and horse); two beasts (jackal and lion, pig and porcupine, frog and lizard, frog and catfish); two birds (parrot and crane, swan and crane); two insects (dragon fly and mosquito); two trees (*kandi* and *jaar*); two seasons (winter and summer); or a male and female (dog and bitch, he-chameleon and she-chameleon).etc. Comparatively, more of

the Munaziras have man as one party, --such as man and animal (farmer and bullock, jackal and shepherd); or particular individuals and animals /birds /trees etc.,-- such as Mahmud and dove, Bachal and mouse, Sadoro and squirrel, Chang and crow, Kaloo and sparrow, Mirza and she-owl, Jaam and he-nightingale; Kaurro and Kite. Lately, some modern parties have been joined in disputation, such as car and jeep.

The party which has comparatively a weaker case is usually the aggressor and begins to speak first, asserting its own superiority or recounting the weaknesses of the opponent. The arguments are hot and spirited but the controversy remains verbal, seldom leading to the use of physical force. As the parties almost exhaust their arguments, a third character is introduced. He is the referee or arbitrator to whom the parties agree to refer their case, or to whom one party appeals to adjudicate. Often times, some one passes by and offers his good offices to settle the matter. Some times, a partisan intervenes and the dispute starts between the partisan and the other party. The one who intervenes without any reason, is usually ridiculed.

In Munaziras, the folk-poet has maintained a high standard of achievement, both in development of the theme as well as the style of expression. He shows remarkable talent initiating, developing and terminating the arguments. The setting provided, physical as well as social, is natural, and the language employed, whether standard or dialect, is effective. The speech attributed to each party is appropriate to its stature and character. The folk poet is a keen observer and a natural critic who, through his treatment of the theme, holds mirror to man depicting the trifling nature of the disputes, aggressive behaviour of a party, and the just or partial attitude of the arbitrator. The fertile mind of the folk poet some times brings in odd parties to dispute. Examples may be cited.

She-frog and Camel

As the camel walking leisurely had almost trampled it to death, the she-frog was high on her heels in anger:

She Frog: You fool! How you walk haughtily
 With deaf ear, ugly nose, closed eyes!

Camel: Don't you taunt me thus, I am alert!

With clean food, fresh grass green.
 While you with tommy like tombstone,
 Bald head, without hair!

She frog leapt toward a he-lizard and complained against the haughty camel:

She Frog: He is calling me names!
 Be thou the witness and the judge!

He Lizard: Dear me! With thy slim nose and slender stomach
 A perfect bride thou art!
 (With tributes paid, she -frog turned and shouted at camel.)

She Frog: Get thee gone!
 You long neck and heedless head!

Camel: For long you took to the roadside,
 Flirting with every passer by,
 And yet you found not a spouse
 Better than he-lizard, ah!

He lizard and she lizard

He lizard: Keep not distance, be nearer to me!

She lizard: Thy wife I am, be patient with me
 With the people around
 You would hug me now and then again!

He lizard: I hold you dear, in great affection!
 I like the way you strut about!
 Slim and soft, smart in action!

She lizard: Behave yourself!
 I am not from the street!
 I am of noble descent,
 With manners and means.

VII

THE GREAT MUSIC TRADITION: SINDHIAN MELODIES AND CANTE JONDO OF SPAIN

Sindh has a long established tradition of indigenous music. The varieties of musical instruments played with understanding and skill, and the musical modes (*Sur*), tunes and styles employed in the different types of vocal singing confirm this view.

The tradition of singing and dancing in the Lower Indus Valley, the fertile land of plenty, goes back to times immemorial. The discovery of the figurine of the dancing belle from Moenjodaro indicates a sophisticated development of music and dance in pre-historic times.

Communications and contacts between the Indus Valley Civilization, ancient Persia, the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Tigris in Mesopotamia and of the Nile in Egypt go back to pre-historic eras. An early transmission of cultural traits, including music, between these cradles of civilization is confirmed by the fact that the *Kinora* (Heb. *Kinnor*) instrument of the ancient Semites and the *tanbur* (pandore) of the Egyptians and the Sabaeans are countenanced in the Indus Valley in the form of the Sindhian *Keenro* and *Danburo*.

Though no evidence of music in the Lower Indus Valley is available during the eras intervening the pre-historic and the early historic periods, the discovery of the Scythian pottery (2nd/3rd century A.D.) with the motif of a dancing couple from the site of the ancient city of Debal (Bhanbhore) suggests the continuity of the music and dance tradition from pre-historic times. From the 5th century A.D. onwards, evidence from history, folklore and literature confirms the continuity of the indigenous music tradition to this day.

THE SINDHIAN LORA MUSICIANS IN IRAN

The credit for having taken Sindhian music to distant lands goes to the ancient race of professional singers from SIND (inclusive of Balochistan) called *Lora, Lorra, Loree* or *Lorree*. In the 5th century A.D., they entered Iran more ceremoniously after the advent of the Sassanian monarch Bahram Gur (430-38 A.D.) into the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. As a result of the friendly truce, the local ruler gave him his daughter in marriage and also the provinces of Debal and Makran in dowry.¹ As these provinces had been a part of the Sindhian territories, Bahram Gur's marriage must have taken place in Sindh and with the daughter of the Sindhian ruler. He was Changal Rai by name.² The royal marriage seems to have been celebrated by holding a grand music festival at which the accomplished singers impressed the music-minded monarch so much that at his request the Sindhian ruler sent a number of them to his Court.³ According to Firdausi, "ten thousand selected male and female *Loriyan* musicians" were sent

از آن لوریان بر گزین ده هزار تر و ماده بر زخم بریط سوار

A scholarly interest in the identity of the ethnic origin of these talented musicians who went to Iran, began almost a thousand years ago when Hamza of Ispahan suggested that they were the *Zut*,⁴ i.e. the Jut ('t' soft) sub-stock of the Baloch race.⁵ Because of the presence of the Jut element in the Sindhian population that had found their way to Iraq and Syria from the 8th century onward, the chroniclers like Hamza and others, who wrote in the 9th century and thereafter, often included the ethnic groups originating from Sindh under the general term 'Zut'. But the musicians who had gone to Iran much earlier in the 5th century could not be the Jut, because it is amply confirmed both from the historical accounts and the traditional lore that at least music was not their profession. The musicians who went to the royal court of the Sassanian emperor were no other than the *Lora* or *Loree*. Because of their professional skill and the royal patronage, they became an integral part of the Iranian society and, after their community name, *Lora* or *Lorree*, came to be known as *Luriyan* or *Luliyan* (sing. *Luree/Lulee*) in Iran. They became proverbial for their superb and sweet singing, and continued to be remembered as such by the posterity, as is confirmed by frequent references to them in Persian poetry, literature and lore.⁶

The impact of their professional skill could not have been less

momentous. That they should have introduced new melodies and modes of singing at the Royal Iranian Court is but natural; with their later dispersion in Iran and continued residence there, they also brought about a synthesis between the Sindhian and the Iranian modes and melodies. Thus, the foundations of the SINDO-Iranian* '*Luriyan Music*' were firmly laid, and this tradition which was also introduced into the Arab lands had far reaching implications.

The presence of the Lora musicians in Iran served as an invitation to their compatriots from Sindh, who once having settled in Iran found their way further westward to the adjacent Arab lands. That this process of the onward spread of the Sindhian minstrels might have begun during the reign of Bahram Gur himself cannot be ruled out. The Sassanian Monarch's interest in music had originated from his early education in the Arab lands. While young, Bahram had been sent for education to al-Hira, the capital of the Arab kingdom and a seat of culture and learning, situated in the ancient Babylonian lands. There, along with his other training, he was also instructed in music.⁷ His contacts with al-Hira, both political as well as cultural, continued on when he later became an Emperor. His discovery of the Sindhian musicians was a memorable event of which the professionals at al-Hira must have been informed. It is possible that under the patronage of Bahram Gur, the accomplished Lora musicians also visited the court at al-Hira, and thus paved the way for their further dispersion in the Arab lands and Europe.

Sindhian Origin of Gypsy Music

Some two centuries later, other ethnic groups from Sindh began migrating westward towards Iran and the Arab lands. This happened in the 7th century A.D. when a Brahman missionary, Chach, subverted the rule of the Buddhist Samma king in Sindh and usurped his throne. Tolerant Buddhism was thus supplanted by aggressive Brahmanism, and Chach started applying Manu's laws of the caste system to the lower classes of the Sindhian society. The restrictions to which these classes were subjected is illustrated by his treatment of the Juts.

'They were forbidden to wear soft clothes, and were to be penalized if they ever did so. They were, instead, required to

* SINDO, i.e., of ancient SIND, inclusive of Makran (Balochistan).

use a black loincloth and wear a piece of coarse cloth on their shoulders. They had to go about bare headed and bare footed. Beyond their dwellings, they had to take dogs with them for identity. None but the headman could ride the saddle. They were to do the duty of guides, and had to accompany the caravans. They were to collect fuel for official kitchens.⁸

Severe restrictions of this kind appear to have compelled the Juts and other classes of labourers, artisans, herdsmen who were neither settled on land nor employed permanently, to leave the Indus Valley. They were also instrumental in helping the other Sindhian communities to move out. Being attached to camel, buffalo and cattle, the Juts sought new pastures and, after their sojourn in the adjacent lands of Makran, they took permanent residence nearer to the settled populations in Iran. Elements of the Lora communities, already settled in Iran, might have joined them. Other ethnic groups, with no other stake, moved out in all directions, earning their livelihood through handicrafts. Members of these heterogeneous Sindhian communities constituting the Proto-Gypsy stock became the ancestors of the Gypsies whose appearance in the European lands is recorded during the 11th century and onwards. Having first settled for long in the adjacent lands of Makran and Iran they eventually moved onwards. One of their streams crossed through Iran and moved westward to Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa and Spain, while another migrated northwards towards Armenia and Turkey and, eventually, from there to the Balkan countries and Europe. The English people having encountered them in Egypt (or mistaken them for Egyptians) called them 'Gypsies'. However, the preponderance of words of Sindhian speech in the original Prakrit-based native vocabulary of the Gypsies testifies to their predominantly Sindhian origin.⁹

These early migrating Sindhian stocks had, among them, a large element of the more adventurous *Loras* who were iron-smiths and musicians, as they are today. Because of their trade, they came to be known as *Tsiganes* (Fr.) and *Zigeuner* (Ger.)—these names having been derived, perhaps, from the Turkish word *zincire* for iron. In Spain, where they had arrived earlier during the Arab period, they were identified more accurately after their original home country (SIND) as *Sintanos* which came to be pronounced as *Hitanos*, as it is done today, though it is written as '*Citanos*'.¹⁰ They brought Sindhian music and melodies with them, which became popular with the village folk

among whom they sang and danced for their livelihood.

The Gypsies of Spain, in particular, have been known for their musical talents to the present times. Their counterparts in Eastern Europe also excel in musical talents. They have conserved and preserved the music tradition of the Balkan countries. Those of their ancestors who, instead of moving onwards, made the country of Iraq as their camping ground, are still to be found there and are known by the name of Qawoliyc (*Qawwal = singer?*). They continue to sing and dance to the beats of their little drums and to the accompaniment of 'rabab' and other stringed instruments. So do their progenitors, the Lora, Lorree, and *Manganhars* in Sindh and Baluchistan today, though with greater skill and accomplishment.

The Gypsies in Spain claim to have brought from the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent the Spanish folk melodies of *Seguidillas*, *Soleares*, *Fandangos* etc. But as these melodies are identical with the typical Sindhian melodies, they brought them from Sindh.¹¹

Sindhian & Iranian Music

Beginning with the reign of Emperor Bahrain Gur, the professional Lora musicians from SIND introduced "Luriyan Music" in Iran through which some Sindhian modes and style of performance were assimilated into the music tradition of Iran. Of the eight basic 'Music Modes' (*Dastan*) of the Iranian system, some appeared to have crystallized during the Sassanid period. One of them was assimilated from the Sindhian system, and was, therefore, named as 'Sind-dastān' (سند دستان), i.e. the *Sindhian Mode*. This name figures as 'Sindān' (سندان) in the 'Treatise on Music' by al-Kindi (d. 817 A. D.) and as 'Sindstan' (سندستان) in the Treatise of Ibn Khurdadbeh (d. 912 A.D.)¹²

While the main contribution of Sindhian music to Iranian music was in the theory and practice of Vocal Music, the Sindhian singers, in turn, fondly took to the Iranian musical instruments. Thus, the ancient Persian instruments of *nay* (vertical reed flute), *diyanai* (double pipe), *Surnai* (reed pipe), *Jank* (harp), and *Kamanacha* (string and bow instrument) came to have their counterparts in the Sindhian *narr*, *binu**, *Sharnai*, *Chang* and *Kamacho*. Most of these Sindhian instruments have survived and continue to be played to this day.

* *bi*=double + *nu* (*nai*) pipe.



NAGHARA



NAFIL



DHOLAK

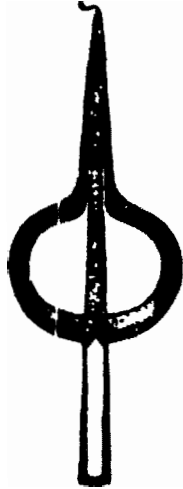


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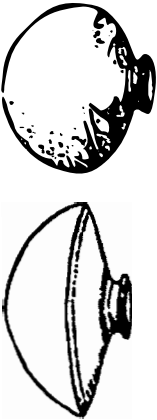
Music Instruments used in Sindh.



PAYA OR BEENOON



CHANG



DILQ AND GHAGHAR



BAINSIREE



SURANDO



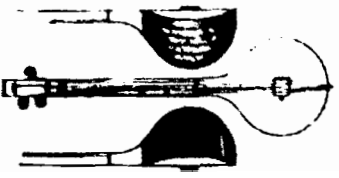
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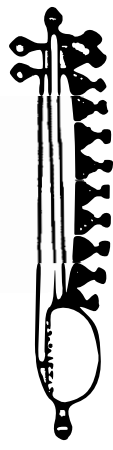
DANBOORO

Music Instruments used in Sindh.

YAKCHANDYO PHAKD/R



TANBOOR



YAKTARO



KHARRTALOON



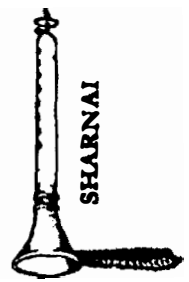
KANJHYOON OR TALYOON



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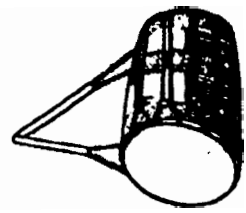
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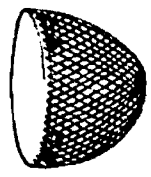
SHARNAI



MUGGURMAAN



DUHL



BHER

Developments under Islamic Civilization (800—1100)

After the Arab conquest of Spain and Sindh in the early 8th century, and inclusion of the Middle East, Iran, Egypt, North Africa and Spain under the Umayyid and the Abbasid rules, a network of highways and caravan routes linked these lands facilitating a free flow of commerce and culture between them. The different ethnic groups moved about freely from one country to another. Under the umbrella of the Islamic Civilization scholars, poets, musicians, artisans, and craftsmen found their way from one provincial capital to another. Soon after its foundation, Baghdad became a great metropolis under the Abbasids and attracted scholars and artists from all over the Islamic world. Simultaneously, the Umayyids of Andalus rivalled the Abbasids in their patronage of education, art and culture, and the contemporary cultural centres in Spain, such as Cordova, began attracting scholars and artists, even from Baghdad. A cultural bridge was thus established between East and West. The cultural traditions of the eastern Islamic lands of Iran, Khorasan and Sindh first converged in Baghdad, from where they were carried further to North Africa and Spain. In terms of the towering personalities, the great teacher Abu Ali al-Qali carried the best of academic scholarship from Baghdad to Spain, while the great musician 'Ali b. Nafi', popularly known as 'Ziryab', transmitted the best of the eastern music tradition from Baghdad to Cordova.

Sindhian Musicians in Baghdad

From the 8th century onwards, varied communities of Sindhian origin had permanently settled in Syria and Iraq, and after the foundation of Baghdad many of them settled down there.

The members of the Sindhian communities settled in Baghdad were, indeed, most talented, excelling in a variety of arts and crafts including music and singing. Jāhiz (d. 255 H./869 A.D.) who was a keen observer of the socio-cultural traits of different non-Arab ethnic groups settled in Baghdad, pays rich tributes to the versatile genius of Sindhis in Baghdad. They were excellent cooks, gold-silver smiths, bankers, musicians, elephant boys etc. etc. In particular, they excelled in the art of music and cooking. According to Jāhiz, *the fullness and flow of voice was a quality, characteristic particularly of the songstresses of Sindhian extraction.*¹³

Emergence of Zaryab from amongst the Sindhian Musicians

Zaryab's first public appearance as an accomplished musician took place in the court of Harun al-Rashid (786-809). Soon after, he left Baghdad for North-West Africa where he rose to fame and entered the service of Ziyadatullah-I (819-37), the Aghlabite Sultan of Qairawan. But having incurred the displeasure of the prince, he crossed the straits of Gibraltar to Andalus in 821 A.D.

Although Zaryab's professional competence as a master musician and his personal accomplishments as a man of learning and fine tastes are attested by all the reliable authorities, not much is known about his early life and parentage. What is known is that he was a free man of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi (775-85) and a pupil of the famous musician Ishaq al-Mausili.¹⁴ There are reasons to believe that, in all probability, he belonged to the stock of the Sindhian communities long settled in Baghdad.

(a) That he was a free man of Caliph al-Mahdi clearly shows that he was a non-Arab. According to Dozy, Zaryab "was, *it. appears*, of Persian origin";¹⁵ and taking his conjecture for granted, Nicholson styled him as "a Persian musician".¹⁶ He has also been conjectured to be a Kurd. But, in case of the renowned musicians of Persian origin who flourished in Baghdad, the early authorities have specifically mentioned them to be so. For instance, it is clearly recorded that the family of the great Mausilites (Ibrahim and his son Ishaq) had originally come from Ray in Iran. No such statement is recorded regarding Zaryab. That the earliest Andalusian scholar, Ibn Abdi Rabbihi (d. 940), rather mentions him as of "black complexion".¹⁷ This does not lend credence to the conjectures of his being either a Persian or a Kurd. Zaryab's dark complexion rather suggests that, in all probability, he belonged to a family of Sindhian origin.

(b) What needs to be noted regarding the affiliation and vocation of the Sindhians in Baghdad is that some of the long settled families were the clients of the ruling house of the Abbasids and other Arab chiefs, while the more recent arrivals were on their own engaged in a variety of skilled and semi-skilled trades.

We find the great poet of Sindhian origin, Abu 'Ata al-Sindi, receiving audience of Caliph al-Mansur (754-775), the founder of

Baghdad, but then losing his favour due to the poet's partisan spirit favouring the old Umayyids. From amongst the families attached to the royal Abbasid house, we find some of the most talented men emerging into prominence. Thus, from amongst the freed men of al-Mansur's son and successor Caliph al-Mahdi (775-85), the one was Abu M'ashar al-Sindi (of Sindh) who received recognition as a renowned traditionalist and wrote on *al-Maghazi*, *a'-Akhbar*, and *al-Hadith*.¹⁸ So also was Zaryab, a freed man of Caliph al-Mahdi, who probably belonged to a family of Sindhian origin attached to the royal house and who distinguished himself in the art of Music.

(c) The contemporary evidence of Jāhiz has already been noted that the Sindhians settled in Baghdad were simply incomparable in cookery and in the art of music. That Zaryab should have excelled particularly in music and in the art of cooking was not accidental; it was but natural for him to have acquired and developed these skills as a member of the Sindhian family. Like his ethnic origin, the interpretation of what is supposed to be his *nickname* ('Ziryab') has also been recorded vaguely on the basis of the 'literal' or 'metaphorical' connotations of the word. It is presumed that he was nicknamed 'Ziryab' (sic.) because of his dark complexion and sweet voice—'Ziryab' supposedly being the name of a black bird that has a sweet note. This interpretation is attributed, at its earliest, to Ibn Hayan of Cordova¹⁹ who died (1076 A.D.) *some two centuries after Zaryab* (d. 866).

In its literal sense, 'Ziryab' is supposed to be the Arabicized form of the Persian word '*zar-i-ab*, meaning 'gold or the water thereof, water-gold, anything yellow',²⁰ or 'solution of gold for gliding'.²¹ It is obvious that the literal meaning of this Arabicized word is hardly appropriate even for a nickname. Moreover, these interpretations are not given by any of his contemporaries; and, certainly, they are not on the authority of the man himself.

(d) There is no conclusive evidence to prove that 'Ziryab' was necessarily his 'nickname'. Dozy (or his English translator) has rather suggested that '**Zaryab**' (sic) was the *surname* of Abu'I Hasan 'Ali ibn Nafi'.²² The common literal meaning of 'Zaryab' would be 'obtainer of gold' (*zar*, gold + *yab*, obtainer or receiver). Such exactly will be the meaning implied in the surname 'Zaryab', according to the traditional culture of the Sindhian minstrels going back to early times. Confident

of their musical talents, the professional Lora minstrels of Sindh would sing for the sake of generous reward from the munificent chiefs. As a tribute to their talent, they *asked for* a reward and *obtained* it. As such, these professional minstrels also came to be known by the common appellation of (i) 'Mangata' or 'Manganhar' (Seekers of Reward), and (ii) *Atai* (Receivers of Reward). The first appellation is common to this day. Just as to-day so also in the past, the professional stature of any of their compatriots was measured, by their own standards, according to the amount of reward he thought himself worthy of and, hence, *asked for* or *received* it. This professional value-pattern was also reflected in their personal names. The name of one of their progenitors, who later became a hero of Sindhi folklore, was Saomang (*Sao*, hundred + *mang*, seeker) 'one who asked for a reward of not less than a hundred'. But 'Zaryab' would be one who would seek and receive nothing but gold as reward.

(e) Known in public as Abu'l Hasan Ali b. Nafi' and yet retaining his traditional name Zaryab, we find him first coming into limelight as a pupil of the famous musician of Baghdad, Ishaq al-Mausili. It appears that beside Zaryab some other talented individuals of Sindhian origin devoted to music were also associated with Ishaq al-Mausili. This is strongly suggested by the fact that Ishaq wrote the preface to the "Grand Book of Stories of Songs" (*Kitab Akhbar al-Aghani al-Kabir*) compiled by another scholar-musician of Sindhian origin, Sindhi b. Ali al-Warraaq, and, as such, the work became known as 'Book of Partnership' (*Kitab al-Shirkah*).²³

(f) Was it the background of the Sindhian music tradition that inspired Zaryab to invent his famous five stringed lute? It might have been so. For a long time, the Persian lute (*al-'Ud al-Farisi*) had been in common use among the Arabs of Iraq and the adjacent lands. It was sometime after the Arab conquest of Sindh (711 A.D.) that during the second half of the 8th century changes took place on the instrumental side among the musicians of Baghdad. Musician Zalzal introduced a new type of 'Perfect Lute' (*'Udal-Shabbut*) which, however, still had 4 strings like the traditional Persian Lute.²⁴ Zaryab made some important modifications in this traditional lute while he was still in Baghdad. In his audience before Harun al-Rashid, Zaryab compared his own lute with that of his teacher Ishaq, and explained the basic difference between the two as follows:

I have designed it myself and based it on my own principles. Though it is of the same wood and size as Ishaq's, it is lighter by about one-third of its weight. My strings are of silk which are not affected by wetness. Also the gut-strings are of the intestine of the lion's cub, which excel in resonance, clarity, pitch, intensity and steadiness to the strokes of the plectrum.²⁵

Zaryab's invention became unique when he added a fifth string to this lute. But strange to say that in the world of music, the invention of the 5-stringed lute by Zaryab had a parallel only in the invention of the 5-stringed *Tanbur* in Sindh by the great poet-musician Shah Abdul Latif, though this happened some nine centuries later. As against the 4-stringed *tanbur* common in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from early times, Shah Abdul Latif invented this new 5-stringed *tanbur* for the first time as a unique instrument for his music institution (see infra XVIII). Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1752) had hardly any knowledge of Zaryab, or even of his name, but it appears that the tradition of a 5-stringed instrument was pervasive in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh since early times, which served as a common source of inspiration for both Zaryab and Shah Abdul Latif.

Zaryab's Role in Introducing Sindhian Melodies into Spain

For more than a century, both al-Andalus and al-Sind had remained under the same central Umayyid Government, paving the way for cross cultural influences over the lands of the Caliphate. The advent of Zaryab, the great figure in the world of music and the master musician of his times, in Andalus was a significant event in the history of world music. He introduced the music tradition of the Eastern Caliphate into Andalus and also laid the foundations of the new Andalusian music, which not only flourished in Spain but had lasting influences in the neighbouring European lands. In Andalus itself, it took permanent roots. The survival of some Sindhian melodies in the folk music of Andalus to this day indicates that, among others, Sindhian modes and melodies were a part of the music tradition which Zaryab had bequeathed to Spain.

Zaryab had founded a school of music, devised special methods of teaching and trained a host of students including his sons and daughters who continued on the music tradition widely diffused by Zaryab. This tradition took firm roots, and even after the fall of the

central Umayyid Government of Cordova, the provincial rulers continued to patronise the study and performance of music. Each of the provincial capitals had its music institutions, music scholars and professional musicians. Toledo had its renowned musician Abul Husain ibn Abi Ja'far al-Waqashi; Saragossa had its famous theorist in music Abul Fadi Hasady; and Seville had its jurist and music scholar Ahmad b. Muhammad Ishbili (d. 1253). Earlier under its Abbasid rulers (1032-91), Seville had become famous for its manufacture of musical instruments which were also exported. The fondness and taste for music by the inhabitants of Malaga and love of the people of Ubeda near Jaen in the 13th century has been recorded by contemporary writers.²⁶ But despite all variations and innovation, the influence of Zaryab's tradition had continued on over centuries after his death and the legacy left by him constituted a common denominator of the music of the different provinces. This is confirmed by Ibn Khaldun who, writing in the seventies of the 14th century, observed that "the music heritage Ziryab left in Spain was transmitted down to the time of *reye de taifas*' (The Provincial Rulers).²⁷

Sindhian Melodies Survive in Spanish Cante Jondo

The process of cultural assimilation had already commenced in the Moorish Spain. "As the Christian population accepted the lyric models of the Moslems, Arab songs grew popular throughout the peninsula."²⁸ Influence in the field of music was so pervasive that their music tradition continued on in Spain even after the Arabs were no more left in the country. "The remarks of the Spanish scholar Ribera", according to Hitti, "indicate that the popular music of Spain (*musica jieta*), in fact of all southwestern Europe, in and after the thirteenth century, like the lyric and historical romance of that region, is to be traced to Andalusian and thence through Arabic to Persian" and other sources.²⁹ It may be added that it can also be traced further eastward to the Sindhian sources.

This early *Andalusian* music tradition, representing a synthesis of the Arab, Persian and Sindhian styles—both in vocal and instrumental music—was conserved and continued on by the Christian masses of Southern Spain in particular. On the instrumental side, tambor (*tabl*), anafil (*nafir*) and timbale (kettledrum) continued to be played as before. But the most important instrument which developed from *al-Qittara* of the Arabs in Southern Spain was the Guitar which

eventually became the national instrument of all Spain, as it is today.

It has been noted above that as late as the 13th century each important Provincial city like Toledo, Saragossa, Seville and Malaga had its own music –scholars. Their influence gave a distinct style to the lyrics and songs popular in each city and its surrounding district. Thus, even after the Arabs had gone, the folks in the different districts continued to sing songs in their own styles. These folk melodies have survived to constitute the distinct music pattern known by the name of Cante Jondo. Some of the melodies, such as Granadinas, Malaguenas etc., have retained their original local names to this day.

Obviously, it is the far reaching background of historical, cultural and artistic factors which has contributed to the peculiar style and flavour which are common to the Cante Jondo and the Sindhian melodies. The people of Sindh and Balochistan sing devotional and love poems as also the age-old folk songs in their indigenous melodies which to a Spanish listener will be no other than Seguidilla, Soleares, Malaguenas, Fandangos, Companilleros etc.

The Cante Jondo of Andalusia is sung in couplets. This may not be true in case of all the Sindhian folk songs, but the verbal structure of quite a few of them is of a couplet form. One of the most typical songs of the western hilly region of Sindh is MORO. Its origin is now lost into oblivion and nothing can be said about it with any certainty; but, the very name, in a sense, reminds one of its Arabo-Spanish background.

'Sindhavi' (alias Sindhi Bhairavi) and 'Lorraoo' are, by common consent, among the most ancient melodies of Sindh. Among the more typical Cante Jondo melodies, the three viz. Seguidilla, Soleares and Fandangos belong to the pattern of melodies represented by Sindhi Bhairavi, while Companilleros equates with Lorraoo.

In 1955, Aziz Baloch who was well versed in the music tradition of Sindh (his native place) and also thoroughly conversant with Flamenco of Spain and an accomplished singer of Cante Jondo (vide infra Bibliography), explained and demonstrated that the origin of Cante Jondo could be traced to the Sindhian melodies introduced into Spain centuries ago.³⁰ He also subsequently demonstrated the identity between Seguidilla, Soleares, Fandangos and Companilleros melodies of Cante Jondo and Sindhi Bhairavi and Sindhi Lorraoo by producing

The first section consists of two staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written in a single line. The bottom staff continues the melody, ending with a double bar line.

Seguirilla.

The Seguirilla section consists of three staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a 7/8 time signature. The melody is written in a single line. The middle and bottom staves continue the melody, featuring various rhythmic patterns and ending with a double bar line.

Sindhi

Comparison with Soleares.

The section consists of three staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The melody is written in a single line. The middle and bottom staves continue the melody, ending with a double bar line.

Note:- For 'Sindhi' read 'Sindhi Bhairivin'; for 'Seguirilla' read 'Seguidilla'

The 'Sindhi' section consists of five staves of music. The first four staves contain a continuous melodic line with various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes. The fifth staff concludes the section with a double bar line.

Compañillero.

The 'Compañillero' section consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is similar to the 'Sindhi' section but includes a triplet of eighth notes. The second and third staves continue the melodic line. Below the three staves of music, there are three sets of empty five-line staves.

Note:- At the top, for 'Sindhi' read 'Siudhi Lorraoo'; for 'Compañillero' read 'Compañilleros'

The first section of the page contains four staves of musical notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a rhythmic style characteristic of flamenco, with frequent eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff features a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the notes. The third and fourth staves continue the melodic line with similar rhythmic patterns.

A set of four empty musical staves, serving as a separator between the first and second musical sections.

Sindhi Bhervi. *Comparison to Fandango.*

The second section is titled 'Sindhi Bhervi. Comparison to Fandango.' and consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in a rhythmic style characteristic of flamenco, with frequent eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melodic line with similar rhythmic patterns.

A set of four empty musical staves, serving as a separator between the second and third musical sections.

Fandango.

The third section is titled 'Fandango.' and consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in a rhythmic style characteristic of flamenco, with frequent eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff features a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above the notes. The third and fourth staves continue the melodic line with similar rhythmic patterns.

Note: At the top, read: 'Soleares.....comparison to Sindhi Bhairvin'

the texts of both the Spanish and the Sindhi songs and their music in notation.³¹

What was the nature of the Sindhian melodies in the past, what sources contributed to the development of the indigenous music element and their integration into the 'Sindhian System' – are the questions which can be answered, though partly, on the basis of the music variety current in Sindh today, and with reference to the ancient tradition of 'Hindu Music' and the later development of 'Hindustani Music'.

As compared to the other eastern regions of the Sub-continent, Sindh in the west remained outside the direct influence of Brahminism (except during the Brahmin rule in the 7th century), though it was Buddhist for centuries. Therefore, 'Hindu Music', as such, which developed as a form of religious worship did not gain ground in Sindh. The 'Sindhian System' of music remained a function of its own ethnology and culture and, hence, distinct from the 'Hindu System'. There was, however, a give and take between the 'Sindhian' and 'Hindustani' systems.

The geographical, historical, political and ethnological factors contributed to the identity of the 'Sindhian System' of music, the origin and development of which may be traced with reference to the three main eras: (i) The Pre-Muslim Period (early times to the 7th century A.D.), (ii) The Early Muslim Period (8th to 12th century), and (iii) The Later Muslim Period (12th to 16th century).

The Pre-Muslim Period

The earliest Sindhian melodies originated in (i) the ancient Dravidian music, (ii) the music of the Scythian period (2nd & 3rd century) and (iii) the folksongs of the different indigenous ethnic groups. *Belavali/Belawal*, *Asawari/Asa*, *Dhanasiree*, *Todi* and *Kamod* melodies, which have been an integral part of the Sindhian tradition and are widely diffused in folk singing to this day, were all adapted from the non-Aryan Dravidian melodies. The *Abheri* melody, adapted from the songs of the Abhers, has survived in the form of 'Abiri' to this day. The Scythian rule extended from Seistan to Sindh and further southward to Kathiawar-Gujarat. The Indus Valley was the central region of the Scythian Empire where cultural developments, including those in music, took place. Melodies of the Turkic origin received from

the Scythians were adapted and called as 'Saka Raga'. Being under a common domain, the *desi* (local) melodies of Sindh travelled to Kathiawar and Gujarat and vice versa. The *desi* melodies of the Gurjaras and of the peoples of Saurashtra and Cambay became popular in Sindh and were incorporated into the Sindhian System under the names of *Gujri*, *Sorath* and *Khambhat*.

From the folksongs of the ancient ethnic stocks of Sindh—the Mumed (Meds), Pania and Takas—developed the *Taka* (of the Takas) and the *Maadh* (of the Meds) melodies.

Later from the 5th century A.D. onward, mainly under the patronage of the Samma Rai Dynasty, professional musicians of the Lora /Lorra community gave new dimensions to the Sindhian Tradition through their creative genius both in vocal and instrumental music. The 'Lorraoo' melody, known after their community name and current in Sindhi Music to this day, is the reminiscent of their early contribution. It has been already noted that they introduced Sindhian music in Iran and, through a synthesis between Iranian and Sindhian music, laid the foundations of the SINDO-Iranian *Luriyan Music*.

Also it was during this early period that some of the typical melodies current in Sindh were introduced into the neighbouring Indian regions. The 'Saka Raga', the 'Taka Raga', and the indigenous melodies under the varying names of Saindhavi, Sindhavi, Sindhuri, Sindhura, Sindh etc., thus became incorporated into the early Indian Music Tradition during this period.

The Early Muslim Period

The Muslim rule in Sindh was established in the early 8th century (711 A.D.). As elsewhere in other provinces of the Caliphate, the tradition of learning and research gained momentum in Sindh and, among others, the study and development of music was also promoted.

From the 5th century onwards, the professional Lora/Lorra musicians and other bards attached themselves to the different ethnic groups in Sindh and performed for them on all important occasions. In particular, the munificent Samma chiefs patronized these professional minstrels liberally and they developed an orchestra of *Duhl-&-Sharnai* (Drum and Pipes) which became an indispensable feature of every important event in peace and war. When the Samma chiefs of Central

Sindh welcomed the young Arab General, Muhammad b. al-Qasim, with singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the 'Dhul - & - Sharnai', he and his lieutenants not only listened and enjoyed the music but highly appreciated their performance. An eye-witness account of the event quoted on the authority of *Amir* Muhammad, the ruler of the Sawandi district of the Sammas (the present Nawabshah district) is as follows:

He (Muhammad b. al-Qasim) then advanced to the Samma territory and when he reached their neighbourhood they welcomed him by playing *Duhl* and *Sharnai* and dancing. When he enquired 'what was all this about?', he was informed that it was their custom that at the advent of a new ruler they celebrate the occasion with sports and music. On this, Khuraim b. 'Amr (a lieutenant who was very much impressed) walked up to Muhammad b. al-Qasim and said: 'It is an occasion for praise to God that these people pay homage to us and our rule has been established in this land'. (His remarks were meaningful because) Khuraim was an intelligent wise man and also an honest religious person. Muhammad b. al-Qasim smiled and said: 'I entrust their governance to you'. He then asked them (the musicians) to perform before Khuraim who then rewarded them with 20 *dinars* of *maghrabi* gold".³²

This was a memorable event in the history of music in the Subcontinent, as it set an early precedence, viz. that the first Muslims not only listened and appreciated music but encouraged its performance as an art. Subsequently during the Arab rule in Sindh (711-1050), close cultural contacts developed between Sindh, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Spain, and there were frequent exchanges of poets, scholars, musicians, artists and craftsmen. That the Sindhian musicians settled in Baghdad and had distinguished themselves there has already been noted. A special event of this period was that Sindhian music and Indian music came under study. Al-Mas'udi, the prolific writer and a profound scholar, visited Sind and Hind (India) in the early second decade of the 10th century, and in his *Kitab al-Zulaf* (Book of Meadows) he wrote comprehensively on the Music and Musical instruments of different countries including those of 'Sind' and 'Hind'.³³

These developments in Sindh had a great impact on the Indian Tradition. The tradition of Hindu music was remarkable in many

respects, but it had originated as a form of worship and with the passage of time it became sacrosanct and confined to the pundits and the temples. Also it developed essentially as an art of worship rather than as a system of knowledge. Though the concepts of mathematics were sufficiently advanced, these were seldom applied to Music³⁴ because it primarily served the purpose of religious worship. As such, Hindu Music was being transmitted through hearsay based on the past traditions (*mutts*), with varying interpretations.

With the Muslims, music was far from being sacrosanct: it was a secular art for study and enjoyment. Participation of Muhammad b. al-Qasim and his companions in a sort of open air music performance along with the crowd set an example that music could be played in common assemblies outside of any holy premises. It also set an example that those who cultivated and played music ought to be rewarded for their professional performance, apart from any religious considerations. Al-Mas'udi's on the spot study of the musical instruments of Sindh and India, as early as the second decade of the 10th century, was the first example of its kind in the Sub-continent in so far as it represented a deliberate, scholarly and scientific study of the subject.

These developments which originated in Sindh were further strengthened with the advent of Muslims from Central Asia in the 11th century and the eventual establishment of their power in the Sub-continent. Their encouragement to music as a secular art and the influence of the Arab-Iranian-Turkish system of music, which they introduced here, had a great impact on the revival of the ancient Hindu music.

The Arab-Iranian system of music had made great advances up to the end of the 10th century. By this time such great theorists, professional performers and researchers as Abu Yusuf al-Kindi (d. 874), Farabi (d. 950), Mas'udi (d. 956) and Abu al-Faraj Isphahani (d. 967) had already made their pioneering contributions towards a scientific study of music, and more than fifty works had been produced on the subject when the Ghaznavides first entered the Sub-continent. From 11th to 13th century this study was further advanced, and among scores of other writers on the subject, Ibn Sina (d. 1037), Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) and Safiuddin Urmavi Baghdadi (d. 1284) in their works made substantial contribution to the scientific theory of music. By the end of

the 13th century, hundreds of works were produced of which the names and manuscripts of some 250 have survived.

This was within the knowledge of the Muslim scholars and professional musicians at the court of Delhi and in the provincial capitals. It was the availability of this much quantum of knowledge on music which enabled Amir Khusraw (1255-1350), the great scholar, poet, Sufi and master musician (well versed in the theory and practice of both systems) of Delhi to bring about a synthesis between the Arab-Persian-Turkish system and the ancient Hindu Music tradition, out of which was born the new 'Hindustani Music', which began to develop as a secular and scientific system. The trends towards such a renaissance were already initiated in Sindh

The Later Muslim Period

During this period, the Sindhian Music System developed in new dimensions and became more defined. Of the Arab-Persian modes and melodies which had become current during the earlier period, – such as *Husaini*, *Yaman*, and *Zangola*- became an integral part of the Sindhian System. *Zangola* was Sindhized as Jhanglo and is known by that name to this day.

A more original contribution during this period came from the Sufi saints on the one hand and the wandering bards, folk singers and professional minstrels on the other. According to the available evidence, beginning from the 12th century onwards the Sufi saints in Sindh and elsewhere listened to devotional music and patronized it. Among the first in the Sub-continent to promote devotional music were the two great saints: Saint Bahauddin Zakarya (a saint of Sindh and Multan and a renowned disciple of Shaykh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi) and Khwaja Mueenuddin, the founder of the *Chishtia* order, who arrived in the Sub-continent sometime by the end of the 12th century (1192) and took his abode at Ajmer.

Saint Bahauddin Zakarya (1182-1262) worked among the Samma masses of Sindh and, discerning their attachment to music, he patronized the singers of devotional songs, the *Zakirs* (ذاکر). In the course of time, these Zakirs of Sindh developed great professional skill in singing *Madah*, *Maulud* and *Kafi-&-Kalam*. In Sindhi, *Madah* (Ar. *Mad'h*) was a general term applied to the compositions in praise of

God, the Prophet, or the Saints. *Maulud* was a form of poetry composed specifically in praise of the Prophet. 'Kafi' & *Kalam*' poems in Sindhi were inspired by the Arabic *qasida* model,³⁵ and being wider in connotation these were used both for devotional singing as well as for didactic and Sufi teachings. Apart from their content and objectives, the Kafi compositions came to represent specific music modes and styles of singing. Of these, the 'Kafi' mode became so very popular even outside of Sindh, that it was incorporated into the 'Hindustani Music System'. We learn of the Sindhi *Zakirs* (the disciples of the line of Shaykh Hamiduddin Hakim, a son-in-law of Saint Bahauddin Zakarya) singing Sindhi *dohra*, an adjunct of Kafi, in the presence of Shaykh Abdul Jalil (d. 1504) and his nephew Shaykh Ali Barri in Lahore during the period 1490-1540.³⁶ Shaykh Laad Sindhi (whose ancestors belonged to the town of *Paat* in the present Dadu district of Sindh) who was settled in Burhanpur (India) excelled in the singing of Sindhi Kafi. Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* writing in 1605-1613 observed:

"Shaykh Laad was devoted to music and singing day and night. He used to sing Sindhi Kafis with such a feeling and pathos, that not only he got emotionally intoxicated but also the audience got spell bound while listening to him."³⁷

Ghausi has also observed that 'Kafi is the most popular music of Sind'. Mir Fazil, (the elder brother of Mir Ma'sum of Bakhar) who excelled in singing the Sindhi Kafi,³⁸ had popularized the Kafi singing at Emperor Akbar's Court. Raja Birbal who, according to Abul Fazl, was well-versed in Kafi singing, had probably acquired this art from Mir Fazil. Abul Fazl while enumerating some of the distinctive 'provincial' music traditions, observes that 'Kafi music belongs to Sindh'.³⁹

During the rule of the local dynasties of the Soomaras (1050-1350) and the Sammas (1350-1520), the professional minstrels received liberal patronage and, along with their progress in vocal and instrumental music, they developed the art of Musical Narration'. The great epic of 'Dodo-Chanesar' and other age old romances and popular stories came to be 'artistically narrated' by them in a variety of 'musical modes' (Surs). The following stories (supra No.VI), became the main 'Music Themes' during the Soomra period: Suhni-&-Mehar, Sasui-&-Punhun, Morirro-&-Machh, Lilan-&-Chanesar, Sorath-&-Rai Diyach,

Umar-&Marui, and Moomal-&Rano. During the Samma period, the art of musical narration was further perfected and the new theme of Noori-&Jam Tamachi was added.

Each of these stories interspersed with thematic verses (*gahoon*) was artistically narrated and sung in specific *Ragas* and distinct styles of presentation. The *Ragas* employed were mostly the result of the creative genius of the professional minstrels. Thus, Suhni-&Meher was sung in *raga Suhni'*, Sasui-&Punhun was sung in *Desi, Abri* and *Husaini* (later Shah Abdul Latif included two more melodies); Morirro in *Ghatu*; Lilan-&Chanesar in *Lilan*, Sorath-&Rai Diyach in *Sorath'*, Moomal-&Rano in *Rano* and Umar-&Marut in *Marui*. The music mode of *Suhni* became so very popular even outside of Sindh that it was incorporated into the Hindostani System.

These developments had two definite results: enrichment of the Sindhian music tradition, and emergence of the 'Thematic Sur Music'. In due course, each 'Mode' or 'Sur' came to be associated with the artistic narration of a specific theme, thus making 'Thematic or *Sur* Music' an integral part of the Sindhian music tradition. As a result, the 'Sur Music' became a distinct feature of the Sindhi music, unknown elsewhere in the Subcontinent.

Each Sur is rooted in the lore of a particular locality with a typical natural environment and geo-historical setting of its own. Also, each Sur represents a distinct music style and assumes the importance of a classical 'music mode'.

Though 'thematic music' became the dominant feature of the Sindhi music system, at no stage were all the current melodies tied up with the themes; the melodies always outnumbered the themes. Thus, even outside the area of the thematic 'Sur Music', there were melodies which enjoyed an unparalleled popularity due to their power and appeal. As we study them today, we find that some of them have retained a distinct identity of their own, despite the similarity of their nomenclature with the recognized melodies from the domain of the classical Hindustani Music. For example, the Sindhian melodies of Manjh, Joag, Jhangla and Kedaro all differ in composition from the classical melodies of Madh, Jogia, Zangola and Kidara.

The tradition of 'Sur Music' was subsequently epitomised in the 'Music Institution' of Shah Abdul Latif, known as 'Shah-jo-Raag'. Through this institution, the pattern of thematic music became more

clearly defined. The great poet had not only realized the essence of the early time-honoured music tradition but also explored the best of the then existing reservoir of folk songs and, conceiving the best synthesis between the two, he associated some typical melodies from the domain of each with the interpretation of his specific poetic themes (vide infra No. XVIII).



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1. For references to the event of marriage and musicians, see *Farsnamah* of Ibn al-Balkhi (Gibb Memorial Series), p.82; al-Tabari (*The Annals* 1/868); Ibn Miskawaih (*Tajarih*, 1/157); & Tha'alibi (*Ghurar*, pp.650-64)
2. The author of *Tabaqat-I-Nasiri* (Vol.1, p.162) mentions the local ruler as *Rai*. (رای). Firdausi in his *Shahnamah* names the ruler as Shangal (Sindhian 'Changal'):

به نزدیک "شنگل" فرستاد کس چنین گفت کای شاه فریاد رس
 از آن لوریان بر گزین ده هزار نر و ماده بر زخم بربط سوار
 که استاد بر زخم دستان بود وز آواز او رامشش جان بود
 چونامه بنزدیک شنگل رسید سراز فخر بر چرخ گردون کشید
 هم آنگاه شنگل گزین کرد زود ز لولی، کجاشاه فرمود بود

3. According to the lore recorded in *Raudat al-Safa* (1/763), Bahram Gur sent his emissaries who brought as many as twelve thousand singers from Hind. Firdausi puts the number at ten thousand.
4. *Sini Muluk al-'Ard wa al-Aubiya'*, p25.
- 5.

با ترکتاز طره هندی تو مرا
 همواره همچو بنگه لوری است خان و مان

6. The poet Kamal Ismail says:

فغان کین لولیان شوخ و شیرین کار و شهر آشوب
 چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان یغمارا

Hafiz says:

صبا زان لولی شنگول سرمت چه داری آگهی چونست حالش

7. al-Tabari, *The Anuals* 1/185.
8. *Fatehnamah-e-Sind* alias *Chachnama*, Persian Text, p. 315; Sindhi translation, pp.313-314. Quoting the Law of Manu, Hodivala concluded that Chach had treated the Juts like the Chandals (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p.86). Identity of Jut people with the low casts, is an interpolation by the tranlater Ali Kufi.
9. The 'Gypsies' of Europe; forgetful of their origin, now call themselves *Romani or Rom* (Romans).
10. As reported by Aziz Baloch, the author of *Cante Jondo Su Origin Y Evolution*, Madrid, 1955.
11. Baloch, Aziz (& Baloch, N.A.): *Spanish Cante Jondo And Its Origin in Sindhi Music*, p.42.

12. Abu Ya`qub b. Ishaq al-Kindi's Treatise, *في اللحن والنغم* (Baghdad, 1965, p.26); and the Treatise of Ibn Khurdadhbeh (Abu al-Qasim Ubaidullah) entitled *(اللهو والملاهي)*, published in the Magazine *(الدراسات الادبيه)*, Beirut, 1961.
13. Al-Jāhiz: *Risalat Fakhr al-Sudan `ala al-Bidan*, p.81.

وجودت الصوت انك لتجد ذلك في الفتيان اذا كن من بنات السند وانه لا يوجد
في العيد اطبخ من السند.

14. In al-Iqd al-Farid (vol.III/30), Ibn Abd-Rabbihi mentions him as a servant of Ibrahim al-Mausili. That he was a pupil of Ishaq is confirmed by al-Maqqari (*Nafh al-Tib*, II/749). Ibn Kāaldun mentions him as a "young servant" (apprentice) of the Mausilis (*The Muqaddimah*, II/405).
15. Dozy: *Spanish Islam*, p.216 (italics supplied)
16. Nicholson: *A Literacy History of the Arabs*, p.418.
17. عبداسود (*al-Iqd al-Farid*, VII/30).
18. *Kitab al Ma`arif*, p.523; *Mu`jam al-Buldan*, III/166.
19. Abu Marvan Khalaf ibn Hayε n al-Qurtubi, the author of *Kitab al-Muqtabis fi Ahwal Andalus*, quoted by al-Maqqari in *Nafh al-Tib* (II/749).
20. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon* (زرب).
21. Farmer: *A History of Arabian Music*, p.129 fn.; Hitti: *History of the Arabs*, p.514. fn.6.
22. Dozy: *Spanish Islam*, p.261, fn.I.
23. Farmer: (i) *A History of Arabian Music*, p.126; (ii) *The Sources of Arabian Music*, p.6.
24. Farmer: *A History of Arabian Music*, p.108.
25. Al-Maqqari: *Nafh al-Tib*, II/749.
26. Cf, Farmer: *A History of Arabian Music*, pp.187-88.
27. *The Muqaddimah*, Eng. Tr., F. Rosenthal, II/405.
28. Hitti, P.K.: *History of the Arabs*, p.599.
29. Loz. Cit.
30. Baloch Aziz: *Cante Jondo Si Origin Y Evolution*, Madrid, 1955.
31. Baloch, Aziz (& Baloch, N. A.): *Spanish Cante Jondo And Its Origin in Sindhi Music*, Chapter VII.
32. *Fathnamah alias Chahnamah*, Persian Text, pp.220-221 and Sindhi tr., pp.321-325.
33. al-Mas`udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, (Paris ed.) ii/321-22.

"وقد اشعبنا القول في المويقا... وما استعملته كل امه من الامم من اصنف
الملاهي من اليونانيين..... والسند والهند.... في كتابنا المترجم بكتاب الزلف."

34. As observed by Sir William Jones, the Hindu authors of Sanskrit books on music "leave Arithmetic and Geometry to their astronomers and properly discourse on music as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination" (Essay "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus", reprinted in "Music of India", Calcutta, 1962, p.95.
35. *Qafiyah* or *Kalimah* in Arabic, mean any complete poem or a qasida.

36. Allahabadi, Jamaluddin Abu Bakr: *Tadhkirah Qutbiyyah*. Persian Mss. dt. 1185 H. & the published edition Lahore, 1371 A.H., pp.131 & 136.
37. Ghausi, Muhammad: *Gulzar-I-Abrar*, Urdu translation entitled *Adhkar-i-Abrar*, p.443
38. Bakhari, Shaikh Farid: *Dakhirat al-Khawanin*, Vol. 1. p.201.
39. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Calcutta, 1877, Vol.III, p.139. The text has an error and instead of 'کافی' (Kafi) it has کامی and کالی readings.

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VIII

BOATS ON THE INDUS AND THE COASTLINE OF SINDH

Boats and boats men have played an important role in the cultural and commercial life of Sindh from times immemorial. The pre-historic antiquity of the Sindhian boat is attested by its representation in the Moenjodaro seal.

The rich variety of boat culture in Sindh has been due to its three natural water fronts: the river, the lakes, and the sea. Lengthwise, the mighty Indus has traversed the country in its main course of about three hundred miles, throwing off a number of deltaic branches through the course of history. In its large and small channels, the Indus has combed the entire middle belt of Sindh, forcing the ancient as well as the modern dwellers to learn to live with its waters and vagaries. Boats became the only means to cross the channels; transport grain and food stuff, and survive at all in periodic floods. The reverain belt abounded in thick forests with wood logs and reeds being easily available to make all sorts of floating devices. The changing course of the river left plenty of abandoned channels and depressions which developed into lakes. Beside the river, rain waters, though scanty, converging from vast catchment areas in the Khirthar range helped to create a series of lakes in the western belt. Of these, the Manchher (lit. 'a pleasing vast expanse of water') became the largest fresh water lake in the subcontinent (once in full inundation having exceeded 200 sq. miles). To the south, there was the sea with a coastline of 175 miles plus hundreds of square miles of saline back waters of creeks and abandoned deltaic channels of the Indus.

THE FIRST BOAT

An urge for food gathering prompted the communities living along the banks of the Indus, the lakes and on the sea shore, to enter into deeper waters for fishing. But the sea was rough and the currents of the Indus too strong to be negotiated; the lakes were comparatively calmer and less deep to venture an entry. Availability of timber and reeds made it easier to improvise all sorts of floating devices. Of these, the simpler one was named *Tarru* (lit. bottom, base frame, and float). It had the bottom-frame of long wooden bars placed side by side, stuffed in between and spread over with heavy layers of thick reed (mainly *dir*, *kaanh* and *sar*) and bound down with ropes made of the stems of *kip* and the peeled off stalks of the *akk* plant. The *tarru* which is being used in some of the isolated ponds and lakes to this day is the reminiscent of that wood-reed raft which was made by the Indus communities in ancient times

The next improved form of *Tarru* was *Turaho*, a sort of bigger and batter *Tarru*, by which a chance could be taken to cross the river channels. In literature, the earliest reference to *Turaho* occurs in a verse of the Sufi poet Qazi Qadan in the 16 century. Says he:

Prepare your *turaho* while the *kaanh* (reed) is on banks
A sudden erosion is likely to occur any time!

This shows that the *Turaho* was then made of stems of the *kaanh* reed. As such it was not all safe, survival on it depending upon sheer good luck. 'But for resigning to God', said the Sufi poet, 'it is difficult to cross the strong deeper current with *Turaho*'. And yet it was urged:

Better get ready your *Turaho* in shallow waters
Because none will help you in waters deep!

Both the *tarra* and the *turaho* were roughly square or rectangular in shape, depending upon the length of the available wooden bars used in the bottom frame. A boat-shaped float would appear to have been structured by modeling the *turaho* lengthwise and also adding *pasas* (sides) to it.

Later on, when planks were used *to berr* (to floor and close in from opposite sides)¹ the vacant enclosure in between the two *pasas* (sides) leaving only the *berr* or *pakh* on top flooring, the boat in its preliminary shape was created.

The *berr* or *pakh* being its typical feature, the new float was called a *berri* or a *pakharri*. This then became the generic name for the 'Sindhian boat', with the *tarr-u* and the *pasas* as its basic parts.²

SINDHIAN BOATS THROUGH HISTORY

The earliest reference on record to the Sindhian sea boats is of the first decade of the 8th century A.D. By about 91 / 92 A.H. (709 / 710 A.D.) the Muslim boats sailing from the side of Ceylon to Iraq were attacked on the Sindh coast line³ by the Meds of the Nagamarra tribe.⁴ As the then Brahman ruler of Sindh did not respond to Hajjaj's communications to secure and return the captives, Muhammad bin Qasim was sent against him in 711 A.D. He had marched overland while a naval fleet sailing from Basra (?) arrived in time to join the land force at the port of Debal (al-Daibul). After taking the port city, Muhammad b. Qasim sent his fleet of boats inland by the then Sakra mouth of the Indus.⁵ Thus, for the first time the Arab boats were introduced into the Indus, but engineers needed a large number of boats to construct a boat bridge. These were procured locally by Mokha s/o Basaya who was an ally of Muhammad b. Qasim. To prevent the crossing, Dahar's son Jaisinh took position on the opposite bank after having brought his men and material by boats through the Goong deltaic channel.⁶ These accounts show that in 712 A.D., there were plenty of boats on the Indus and its channels to become readily available for constructing a bridge. Obviously there must have existed an extensive boat building industry in the deltaic region.

A significant advance in boat building was presumably achieved early in the 5th/ 11th century when, in view of the increased sea trade, the need was felt for a multipurpose boat which would sail in the coastal belt as well as on the Indus so that merchandise from the ocean going vessels calling at the port could be transported into the interior. By that time, probably due to hydrological changes, it was becoming more and more difficult for the larger vessels to reach and anchor at the port of Debal. Therefore, a new type of boat called LAHIRI was constructed. Its typical structure can be guessed from the shades of the literal meaning of 'Lahiri', viz. 'the wave like, easy with waves, sailing along the wave'. It must have been a light weight vessel though with sufficient loading capacity. This Lahiri craft sailing on the Indus entered the sea from any of the more safe mouths of the Indus (depending upon the periodic change) and, after following the deltaic

channel, anchored about 12 miles south of Debal. This 'Lahiri Anchorage' soon became a more convenient inner deltaic port and came to be called Lahiri Bunder (the port of the Lahiri boats). Eventually it replaced the declining Debal and served as the main Sindhian port for the next six centuries (12 through 17 A.D.) Early in the 11th century its name was reported to Beruni as 'Loharani',⁷ though actually it was Lahiri as it came to be consistently called later and became known as Lahiri Bandar in the historical record of Sindh.⁸

In the 7th/13th century, Amir Khusrau Dihlawi made a poetic allusion to the Lahira with profuse decoration.⁹ Earlier in the 16th century, particularly during the rule of the Tarkhans in Sindh (1555-1591), the Lahiri or Lahira boats were used for transport on the Indus. There is a specific reference to one official Lahira boat having been loaded from Lakhawat to sail on the Indus and unload at Thatta.¹⁰ Also as Lahira was a more commodious and comfortable boat, one Lahira was specially equipped as 'royal boat' for Mirza Muhammad Baqi.¹¹ the Tarkhan ruler of Thatta. (973-8 Shawwal 993/1565-1585).

By the 16th century, the boat building industry in the lower deltaic region of Thatta was highly developed. The contemporary historian Mir Muhammad Tahir has recorded that Mirza Muhammad Baqi had appointed Muradya Mallah as his Mir-i-Bahr (Naval Chief) of the Thatta Province, commanding 'thousands of governmental boats-including the Ghurab Lahira, Dunej and Doonda- and the numerous boatsmen who were in regular employ drawing their monthly salaries.'¹²

The Lahiri boat remained in active service up to the decline of Lahiri Bandar in the 18th century. Its long survival for about eight centuries was due to its utility, both for passenger travel and for transport of goods. The references on record indicate that comfort and decoration were its two main features.

PARTS AND ACCESSORIES

The following information on parts and accessories of boats, particularly with reference to those vessels which once sailed inland on the Indus and its deltaic channels as well as outside in the open sea, is drawn from historical and literary sources and also from on-the-spot-study of the present day boats. The main literary sources used are the poetical works of the three great Sufi poets of 16th to 18th century: i.e. Qazi Qadan,¹³ Miyun Shah Inat¹⁴ and Shah Abdul Latif.¹⁵ Some of the

important parts and accessories are listed below in their long known nomenclature.

TARR/TARO (the bottom frame) and PASA (the sides) have already come under reference.

PUSSOON ('n' nasal), the parallaly framed wooden bars (60 or more) in the *tarr* (inside bottom) of the boat.

TAKHT (Per.), the boat's planked front platform.

AGEL, the frontage, bow, stem. In two sections in larger boats: the *manjan* or raised platform for keeping things and the lower *falka* for seating passengers.

FALKO (Ar.), the planked floor of the tarr (bottom base).

VANJH, the long pole for rowing the boat on lakes and along riverbank where water is not deep. The name would appear to have been derived from *baans* (bamboo) via the arabicised *vanahh*.¹⁶

CHHAJAHARI: The open sided shade room in the centre.

MUHRO / MUNNO / MUNARRO, the post affixed in the bow for tying up the pagah.

PAGAH or *Ghheri*, the strong rope which is tightened round the *muhro* and then fastened to a post on the bank for mooring the boat.

OLO (plu. ola), the oar / paddle to row the (smaller) doondi boat; *ganu* for the large river boat (two *gana*, one on each side of the bow, called *duhri* and *olisa*).

OLI, (plu. Oliyun), the smaller oar.

HALISO (plu. halisa), the small paddle to row the small horri boat.

CHAPPO: the smaller oar.

SUKHANN (Ar. Sukan), rudder or helm.

VEENNO, rudder or helm (of the river boat).

KHUHO, mast of the sea boat.

SHIKHLO, mast of the river boat.

PARMANN (in sea vassels) and Aad (in river boats), a long timber bar accross the mast which holds sails.

SIRRH (Ar. Shira'), the sail. The large sea boats having four sails: *Reep* or *Qalmi* (in the front), *Sirrh* (the largest sail in the middle), *Gabiyo* (high on top of the *Sirrh*) and *Jeeb* (behind the *Sirrh*).

LAJU, ropes / strings of sails.

BADWAN (Per.), sail of a large vessel / ship

NATARI, a smaller anchor, grapnel (for smaller boats)

NANGAR OR LANGEER, the heavy anchor for sea vessels. (Compare Ar. *Anjar*, plu. *anajar*).

BAIRAQ (plu. *bairaqun*), Ship's flag, banner, streamer. In the river boat, a bunch of banners are tied at the end of *Aad*.

WAN'UTI (plu. *Wan'utiyun*), smaller flags on top of the mast.

BANBUTO (plu. *banbuta*), two main flags, the one (national flag) on top of the mast, and the other to determine the direction of wind.

GHAND, the bell.

MARWAL, the long coloured ribben tied up on the *moar* (the mast top).

DHAGO, the special ribben indicating identity of the owner of the sea vessel.

RASSA, A number of ropes for different functions, such as: *tali*, *jalibi*, *lakara*, *bhandara*, *matela*, *choat* (all these pertain to mast); *marak*, *damann*, *potthi*, *chhabaen*, *dandarr*, *mundho*, *waddh or ghayr*, *chhikyun* (for tying up sails to the *aad*), *sallo* (for raising the *aad*), *tarani*, *hanjhun*, *værrha*, etc.

TYPES OF BOATS

The brief account here below centers mainly on (a) the generic name for the Sindhian boat, (b) types of boats for lakes and river channels, (c) the boats linking the river and the sea, and (d) the sea vessels

As already observed, *berri* and *pakhirri* became generic names for boat and, as such, were applied to all sorts of boats on lakes, river and the sea. The two classical poets, Shah Inayat and Shah Latif have

called the sea boat also a *berri*. The other name *pakharri* is used by Shah Latif in its plural:

“The sea is hitting hard the sides (*pasa*) of the *pakharriyun*”

The smaller size *berri/pakharri* was assigned a feminine gender with plural as *berriyun/pakharriyun*. The large size boat was referred to in masculine gender as *berro*, with plural as *berra*. The latter also signified a fleet or an armada. At an early period, this Sindhian word *berra* became current not only in some of the Indian languages (wherein, being a borrowed word, neither its original root *berr* nor its singular *berro* exist), but was also Arabicised as *bairaja/baraja*.¹⁷ As the Sindhian *berra* was a large size vessel (the smaller being the *berri*), so were the *bairaja/baraja* in the Arab navigation and the barge/barque/bark in the European naval craft. The one basic feature of the original model continued to be retained: the smaller Sindhian *berri* as well as the large size *berra* were both flat-bottomed, and so also the European ‘barge’ (‘a flat-bottomed freight boat for canals and rivers with or without sail’ – The Oxford Dictionary).

The following types of boats are known from the earlier period.

TARAAZ. Referred to seven times by Shah Inayat and Shah Latif in 17/18 century, the *taraaz* (plu. *tarazun*) was a light freight vessel though used in long commercial sea voyages. But it needed constant vigil, and hence the captain (*nakhua*) was urged (both by Shah Inayat and Shah Latif) to navigate it safely with all care and caution. The *Tarrad* (plu. *tararid*) vessels which Ibn Majid had countered off the coastline of Orissa (India) during the later half of the 15th century A.D.,¹⁸ could have been the Sindhian *Taraz* boats negotiating the Indian coastline in their commercial voyages to Sumatra/Java.

ZAURAQ. The present day ‘*zauraq*’ is typical in its structure with a high semi-circular curvature both on the side of the prow and the bow. It is one of the large type boats on the Indus, and also the chief freight vessel presently plying northward from Sukkur to Multan. It is longer in size but less in breadth than other large boats on the Indus. In earlier times, the *zauraq* boats sailed all along the Indus including its deltaic channels in the south. For instance, in the 16th century, a small *zauraq* boat became readily available to the ruler of Thatta, Mirza Muhammad Baqi (973-991 A.D.) after his royal boat Lahira was attacked and set on fire.¹⁹ Later, Mirza Ghazibeg, the ruler of Thatta, had also taken a

small *zauraq* as his royal transport.²⁰ Originally, *Zauraq* was an Arab boat as it is mentioned by this very name by Muqaddisi in the 10th century A.D.²¹ It was probably introduced into the Indus water-ways during the Arab rule in Sindh (8th-10th century A.D.) and, eventually, it became popular with the local boatmen in northern Sindh and Multan where it has survived as a freight boat to this day.

DOONDI. It was essentially a river boat. Presently the ‘small *kaunta’* (see below) on the Indus is called ‘Doondi’. In the 16th century, the small *Zauraq* was also being called *Doondi* or *Dunda* in the Thatta region.²² The name ‘doondi’ has survived, but now it is indifferently/figuratively applied to any small boat. It is no more applied to a *Zauraq* in the Thatta region.

DONGI/DUNGI. It is mentioned thrice by Shah Latif (18th century), and his allusions to it indicate that it was a sea going vessel and carried merchandise; that it was of indigenous make (the wooden beams in the bottom having been set and struck together with *soonhann*, the wooden nails). As a sea trade boat, it became known outside on the Indian/Arabian coastlines and its name Dongi/Dungi was reflected in the early Arab ‘Dungi’ boat (see below), the Indian ‘Dinghy’, and the Omani ‘Dingiya’.²³ Nowadays, the Sindhian *Wann/Rachhann* sea vessels are referred to as Dongi / Dungi by the boatmen of the river.

DUNEG. Both *bairaja* and *duneg* (*dunej*) are mentioned by Muqaddisi in 985 A.D., while *duneg* is mentioned by Buzurg b. Shaharyar (circa 930-947 A.D.).²⁴ Like the *bairaja*, *duneg* is also an arabicized name, and most probably *dongi* was arabicized as *duneg*. This happened at an early date so that later on *Dureg* also came to be used in Sindh. The author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (completed in 1030/1621) names *duneg*²⁵ (instead of *dongi*) among the main types of boats, which were then being used in the deltaic Thatta region (see below).

MAKURRI. The one smaller in size was known (in fem. gender) as *makuri* (plu. *makuriyun*) while the bigger one was called *makuro* (in mas. gender, plu. *makura*). Up to 17th/18th century, the *makuri/makuro* boats were in large number and are more frequently mentioned by Shah Inayat and Shah Latif. The correct name of the boat was probably *Makhri* which was later Sindhized as *Makri/makurri*. Driven from Arabic *makhar/makhr* (cleaving of water), the Sindhized *makurri* meant a type of boat that would cut through the water or cleave the waves. With this meaning implicit in the name, it would appear that it

was a new type of sea vessel with its angular stem and frontage. The possibility of its prototype being an Arab boat cannot be ruled out.

JAHAZ. This was a large size vessel, a ship of Arab origin. These ships frequented the Sindh ports from early times. The author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* writing in 1030/1621 confirms these “vessels of ocean” (*Jehaz-i-darya-i-kalan*) calling at the Sindh port of Lahiri Bandar, but anchoring off the port in deeper waters.²⁶ Jahaz as an ocean going vessel, later finds reference in the poetry of Shah Inayat and Shah Latif (17th/18th century). Both of them have also mentioned “Jung Jahaz” (in plu.) which literally translated would mean ‘very large ships’. Shah Latif further elaborates the description as “*Jada Jung Jahaz*”, wherein *jada* being the adjective (‘huge and strong’), “*Jung Jahaz*” could be the name of a specific type of large ship. The ‘Jung Jahaz’ may mean either one of the large Arab ships (*Marakib Kabir*) or possibly the Chinese ‘Junk Ships’. Earlier in the 16th century, the Sufi poet Qazi Qadan had alluded to ‘Jungyun’, (the fem. plural of ‘Jungi’) meaning ‘a large and strong boat’.

GHURAB. As the name would indicate, it was originally an Arab vessel which was later on used on the Sindh coastline as well as in the inland Indus waterways. As recorded by the author of ‘*Tarikh-i-Tahiri*’ (completed in 1030/1621), thousands of boats including the Ghurab, Lahira, Dunej and the Doondi type were then officially employed on the Indus and its deltaic channels.²⁷ The *ghurabs* were also used for transport from the seaport into the interior. There was a standing arrangement so that the bigger Sindhian vessels were piloted to the port area but the foreign ships were not brought inside. The latter stood anchored away from the port in deeper waters from where merchandise was unloaded into *ghurabs* which then came to the port and also sailed into the interior through the mouth of the Indus.²⁸ The practice of the *ghurabs* piloting and escorting the bigger Jahaz vessels is also alluded to (later) by Shah Latif in his verse:²⁹

“Oh (the big) Jahaz! Move ahead, and get going with the (smaller) gurabs”.

In those later times, the *ghurab* was a boat of smaller size because Shah Latif refers to it as “*ghurab of the poor*” (*gharibo ghurab*).

ROOBAN: A smaller boat which in later times was used as a pilot boat. The ship would anchor in sea at the head of a *nar/naar/khadi* (a

natural deeper channel in the sea bed leading to the coast) from where Rooban would pilot it (through the channel) to the port. This same function was performed by the ghurab in the 16th/17th century. In the 14th century (1350 A.D.), Ibn Battuta mentions the local captains and pilots of the Red Sea called Rubban.³⁰ On the Sindh coast also, Rooban (Rubban) originally meant a coastal pilot, but later on the pilot boat and the customs boat came to be called rooban.

BOATS IN LATER TIMES (19TH CENTURY)

After a period of decline, the boat industry as well as transport and trade by river and sea received a fresh impetus during the Talpur rule by the turn of the 18th century. Some details, as under, are to be found in the intelligence reports by two officers of the British Indian Navy, Lt. T. G. Carless (1837) and Lt. J. Wood (1838).³¹

The Boat Building Industry. The boats upon the Indus are of simple construction, and their figure is, perhaps, the best that could be given, considering the kind of navigation in which they are employed. They are easily constructed, not very expensive, and for stowage of cargo no form could be better devised. Their proportions, though not elegant, are pleasing; and tracking or under sail, their appearance is pretty. The employment of the Indus craft is confined to harvesting the crops, serving the ferries, and keeping large towns in fuel; for these purposes the supply is ample. (J. Wood).

Boat Building Materials. Boats are constructed according to established usage, which has fixed a certain proportion between the beam and length of each boat. The tonnage is calculated on the boat's bottom from the point where the stem and stern rise, the angle at which it takes place is matter of state: a high projecting stern improves the steering, and a low bow gives speed. The banks of the Indus are deficient in almost every article used in constructing the boats on the river. Lower Sindh is supplied with plank and spars from the Malabar Coast, and with coir and cordage from the same quarter. The Ameers of Hyderabad are, however, the chief, almost the sole purchasers. The Sindhi Mohana, unable to give the high price asked by Kutch boatmen for teak plank, exhibits both skill and ingenuity in building boats with timber of their own country's growth. For this the orchard is robbed, and the country for miles round lay under contribution. In the bottom of a single boat, teak, baire, fir, babool, and the kureel tree are

sometimes seen together, and in the same extent of workmanship six hundred and seventy three patches have been counted.

Form and Method of Construction. The hull, or body of the boat, is formed by the junction of three detached pieces, namely two sides and a bottom, at variance with our ideas of naval architecture: the three parts are first separately completed, and then brought together, as a cabinet-maker does the sides of a box. The junction is thus affected: when each of the three parts that are to form the whole is complete in itself, the sides are carried to the bottom of the boat, and at once secured, by crooked pieces of timber, to the flat future bottom of the doondee. To bring the bow and stern up to the corresponding parts of the sides is more difficult, and to affect this many days are necessary. Where the bow and the stern are to rise, the planks are lubricated with a certain composition, which gives them a tendency to curve upwards, and this is further increased by the application of force. The extremes thus risen, a tackle is stretched between them and by a constant application of the heating mixture, and a daily pull upon the purchase, they rise to the required angle, and are secured to the side, while an advantageous curve is imparted by this process to the planks in the boat's bottom. The bow of the doondee is a broad inclined plane, making an angle of about 20 with the surface of the water. The stern is of the same figure, but subtends double the angle.

Variety of Boats. The main type of boats on the Indus during the thirties of the 19th century such as Doondi, Zohruk, Doonda, the Cowtell (Kauntal), and Jumtee (Jhamti) have come under observation in the accounts of Lt. Carless and Lt. Wood, but not much had been said by them about the coastline craft. Wood did find the large sea-going vessels at Vikkur port (Vikkur Bandar, near Ghorra Bari) and referred to them as 'dinghees', without specifying whether these were the 'Indian dinghies'. As Sindhian vessels, these could be the Wadataniyun which find reference a century earlier in the 18th century in Shah Latif's verse (the large strong boats which 'also get sunk while negotiating strong ocean currents'). Of the boats on the Indus, the 'queen' of them was Jhamti, the royal boat of the Talpur Amirs, which had taken the place of the earlier royal boat Lahira. Given below is the description of the different types of boats on the Indus from the accounts of Carless and Wood.

Doondi. The doondi is the cargo boat of Sindh, her principal and almost

her sole employment being the transport of grain. Doondee as flat bottomed boat is well adapted to the navigation of the river, and there is no kind of vessel better calculated for the transport of goods. Many of the largest are eighty feet long, and sixty tons burthen: they have no keel, and both the bow and stern, which are perfectly flat, rise from the water at an angle of about thirty degrees. They are very high aloft, where there is a small deck, and are generally steered with a long curved oar. The boatmen are very expert in handling it, and frequently propel the doondee with it alone. These vessels have also a broad, triangular shaped rudder, which, as there is no stern-post, is hung over the slanting stern, and moved by ropes on each side. The masts are stepped on a plank, secured at each end to the gunwale, and are supported entirely by ropes. The after sail is square and very large, the foresail of a lateen shape; and in order to give them greater power, and they are usually hoisted abaft the mast. When laden, these vessels do not draw more than four feet. The chief defect in their construction is the small power possessed by the rudder, which arises from the great breadth of the stern below the water-line. This might easily be remedied, but any great deviation from the general principle on which they are constructed would not be an improvement. From the scarcity of large trees, and the high price of teak plank, the workmen are obliged to use the small wood of the country in building their boats, and most of them are formed of innumerable pieces, fastened by bamboo pegs, nails being only employed to secure the knees and ribs.

Cowtell. This again, is the ferry boat of Sindh: her construction adapts her for this service, and for conveying horses up and down the river. From her great beam and high draft of water she is a faster boat than the doondee. In all their excursions on the river, the Ameers are accompanied by many boats of this description. The class is not numerous, and most of the boats are the property of Government.

Doonda. It is common from the sea to Mittun (Mitthan Kot?), and the boat most generally used in the fisheries, both upon the river and its duds* (small lakes). It is the smallest, description of vessel upon the Indus and at the same time one of the most useful. Two men are ample to its management, but a man and wife is the usual crew.

Zohrak. What the Doondee is in Sindh, the Zohruk (Zauraq) is upon the Upper Indus, namely the common cargo-boat of the country. The

* i.e. dhandhs

planks of this vessel are held together by clamps instead of sails, and the junction is often neatly enough executed. This class of boats is not so strong as the doondee, but they sail faster, and draw less water. They are roomier than the doondee, and, though less adapted for the conveyance of goods, are much superior for transporting troops (J. Wood).

Jhamtee. The jhamtees, or state barges of the Ameers, are of the same form as the other flat-bottomed boats, and some of them are large and commodious. I saw one with four masts that measured ninety feet in length, and the natives told me there was another at Hyderabad twenty feet longer. These vessels are constructed entirely of teak brought from the Malabar Coast, and are much better built than any other description of boat on the Indus. They have generally two large open cabins, or rather pavilions, on deck, elaborately craved all over, and furnished on all sides with silk curtains: the foremost one, being considered the post of honour, is always occupied by the Ameers; and that aft which is the largest, is devoted to the use of the chiefs and followers in attendance. In going down the river against the wind, they are impelled by four or six oars, each of them so large as to require five men to pull it; and on these occasions they are always gaily decorated with flags and streamers innumerable (Lt. Carless).

The Jumptee is the state barge of the Sindh Ameers, and is used by them and their principal officers on all occasions, whether of business or pleasure. Perhaps the appearance of this boat, as she approaches the capital, is more characteristic of the Indus and of Sindh than aught else to be seen in the country. On this day her member puts on clean clothes, and the national cap, received from the Ameers in a recent river excursion: the bright hues of the cap, formed of the gaudiest coloured chintz, vie with those of a Kilmarnock bonnet, or a Paisley tartan. The crew is dressed becoming the occasion, and as they bend to the track-ropes, the breeze distends their ample robes, and further character of stateliness is imparted to the jumptee. Large red flags wave over her stern, and from the raking masts streams along party-coloured pennant, that anon skims the water as the breeze lulls and freshens. In the bow of the boat is a small crimson pavilion, in which royalty reclines, and in the other extreme of the vessel a roomy cabin of elaborately carved work for its numerous attendants. The steersman, on an elevated platform, stands out in bold relief, and, while he guides the boat, encourages the trackers. The jumptee's crew are a

noisy set, but, for aged men, wonderfully good-humoured: they are divided into two gangs, or watches, and are as partial to a cup of good bang* as sailors are to grog. These boats are decked, and of considerable tonnage. One which I saw at Hyderabad, measured 120 feet over all, with a beam of eighteen and a half feet; her draft of water was two feet six inches; she pulled six oars, and had a crew of thirty men. They are built of Malabar teak, chiefly at the ports of Mughribee** and Kurachee. Jumpteas are seldom lost; the only danger to which they are liable is that of having their bottom pierced by sunken trees. Their more substantial build keeps the frame of the boat together in situations where the poor placed-shell of a doondee would fall asunder (Lt. Wood).

BOATS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

(a) THE RIVER BOATS

Besides the Zauraq which continues to sail on the Indus to this day, the following may be identified as the boats which have continued to sail through the 20th century.

Doond. Not to be confused with *doondi*, the *doond* became the largest river boat of transport during the Talpur rule in the first half of the 19th century. Some of the large *Kauntal* boats which continue to sail on the Indus today may be of the *doond* type.

Jhamti. A specially made commodious boat, a kind of a barge, that was put into service on the Indus as a 'State boat' or the 'Amir's boat' during the Talpur rule. More oars and the specially arranged sails made it speedy and comfortable on the Indus even in times of flood.

Kauntal. The present day large type boat on the Indus usually referred to as '*Sindhi berri*' ('the Sindhian boat').

Baghochann. Pindochann and Dago are the three main varieties of the Zauraq which now ply mainly to the north of Sukkur.

Qalmi. The large type transport boat on the Indus. Possibly it came to be called 'Qalmi' when one more small sail (known as *qalmi*) was added to it.

* Bhang, Indian hemp.

** Mughulbhin, the present Jati.

Patri Berri. A 'Sindhi berri', with its sides raised by adding a double 'patari plus chawnk'.

Lassi Berri. A 'Sindhi berri' without its sides raised like the *patari*.

Kaunti. The boat with angular bow and prow.

Katar. A small *kaunti* used mainly for hunting. The semblance of this Sindhian name with 'Cutter' would seem to be accidental.

Kauntio and Hurrio. To seat one person, mainly for carrying message, or for hunting.

(b) THE SEA VESSELS

Wadatani Berri: The large size sea boat, its name being comparable to 'Chhappar Berri' of today. In the 18th century, Shah Latif has mentioned (in fem. plural) 'Wadataniyun' as the large strong boats which also 'get sunk while facing strong sea currents'.

Wann and Bachhann: The two large size freight vessels, with masts and sails, which once used to sail from Karachi to the Indian ports on the south and to the Iranian/Arabian ports to the north. These commercial voyages, particularly to the Indian coastline as far as Bombay, were cut off after 1947.

Jati: A large size sea boat used by the Jat (Baloch) seamen of the south eastern Thatta region.

Battelo: A small boat of which the main body is the same as that of the *Zauraq*, but its front and back are straight (not curved as of the *Zauraq*). Possibly, it was originally a small boat of Arab origin which was so named because of its prow's semblance to a duck (*batt*).

Horri/Horro: The smaller *horri* (in fem. gender) and the bigger *horro* (in mas. gender), were used to transport men and material from shallow coastline to the large Machhuo vessel anchored at a distance.

Machhuo: A large transport boat, with masts and sails plying closer to the coastline.

Rooban: A smaller boat which in later times was used as a pilot boat. The ship would anchor in sea at the head of a *nar/naar/khadi* (a natural deeper channel in the sea bed leading to the coast) from where *Rooban* would pilot it (through the channel bed) to the port. This same function

was performed by the *ghurab* in the 16th/17th century. In the 14th century (1350 A.D.), Ibn Bhuttuta mentions the local captains and pilots of the Red Sea called 'Rubban'.³² On the Sindh coast also *rooban* (*rubban*) originally meant a coastal pilot, but later on the pilot boat and the customs boat came to be called 'rooban'.

(c) THE BOAT BUILDING INDUSTRY

All the boats, which are still in use either on the Indus or in the coastal belt, are built by traditional methods and techniques by craftsman and carpenters from amongst the local boatmen themselves. The large river boats are constructed in Sukkur, while the smaller ones are made at Radhan, Talti and Bhanote in middle Sindh. Sea boats of all type are built on the Karachi coastline, mainly at Ibrahim Hyderi. Up to the first quarter of the 20th century, *sagwan* or *saag* (teak) timber was used to build all marine craft as well as larger river boats. Presently, *dayal* or pine timber is used in constructing the main bottom-frame and the side walls, while the local *babool* (*Arabia acacia*) and '*Talhi/Tari*' timber is used in constructing the upper sections. The *khuho* (mast) and the *aad* (the sail holder beam) of the river boats are taken from the '*lohirro*' tree. Everywhere, the carpenters and workmen engaged in boat making are from the local communities of boatmen themselves.

In Retrospect

Presence of the three natural water fronts - the Indus channels, the lakes and the sea - prompted the development of floats and boats in Sindh from early times. The antiquity of the Sindhian generic name *berri/berra* for 'boat' as well as evidence of the presence of a large number of boats in the Indus channels in the 8th century A.D. confirm the existence of boat building profession in the Indus Deltaic region prior to the 8th century A.D.

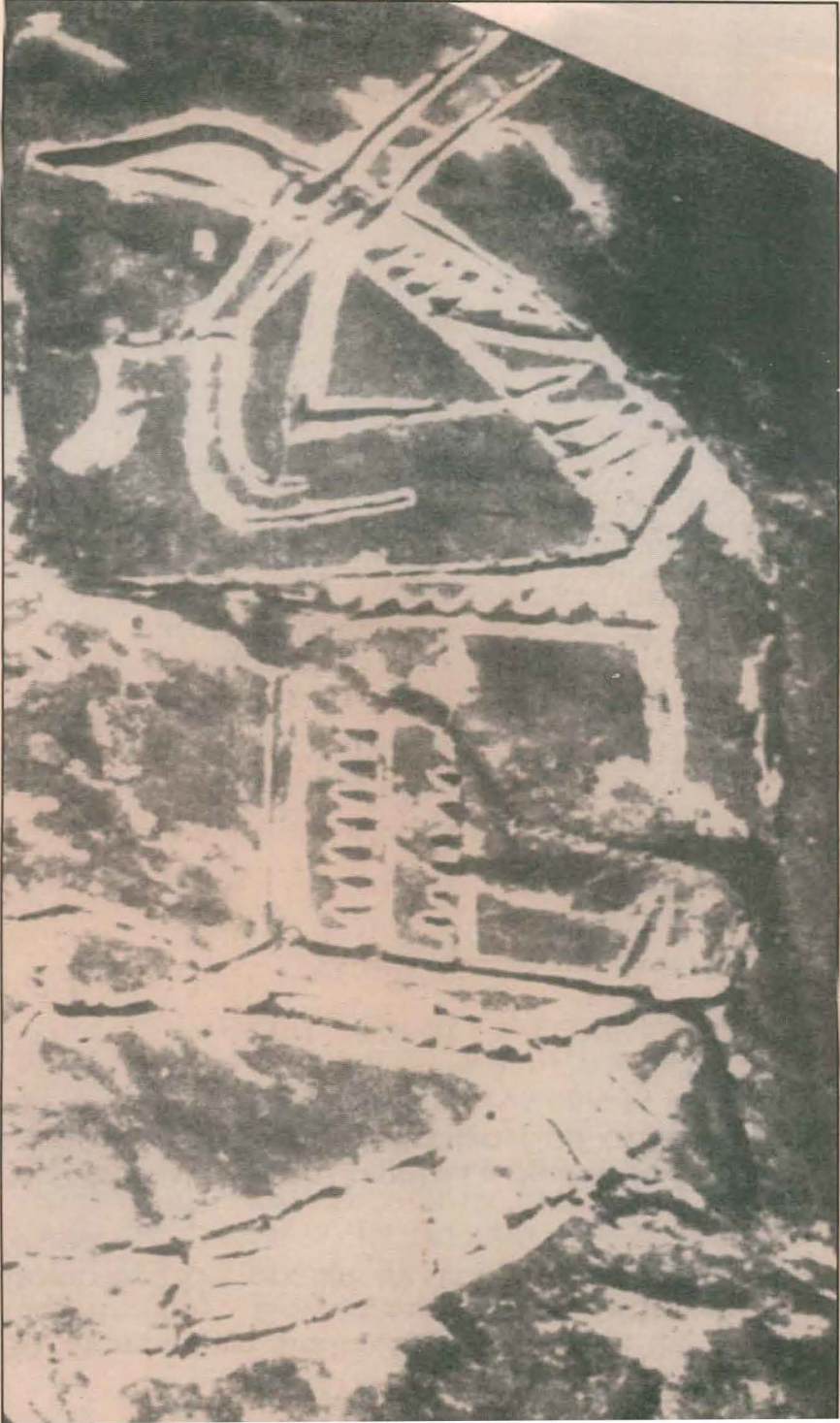
The Arab boats were introduced into the Indus channels for the first time in 712 A.D. From 8th to 10th century A.D., Sindh was a part of the Umayyid and the Abbasid Caliphates, and during this period boat-craft and navigational knowledge in Sindh were much influenced by the Arab/Persian system. This is confirmed by oral tradition and written record as well as by the varied terminology which indicate the existence of an early 'Sindhian boat building base' assimilating

Arab/Persian influence and experience.

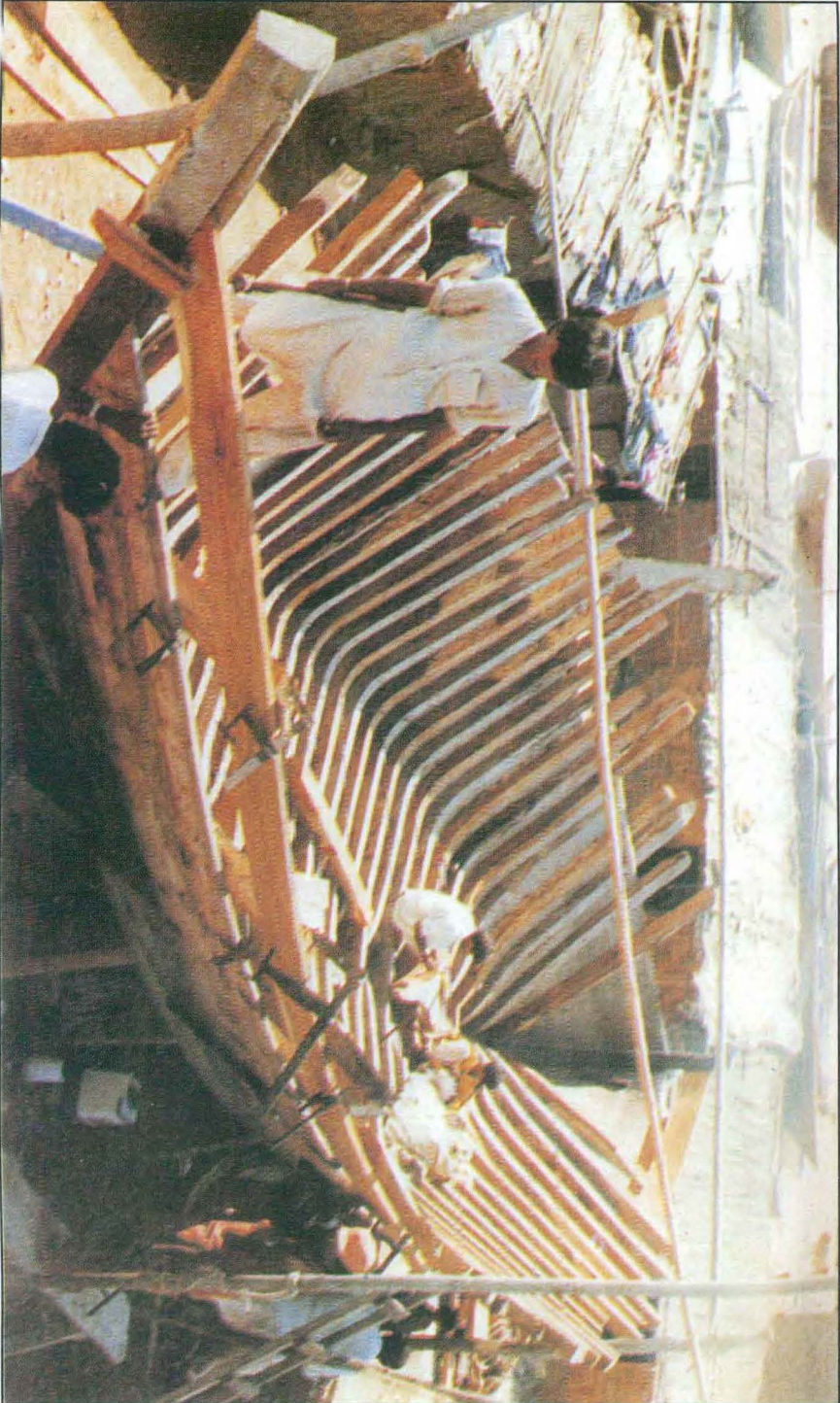
With the advent of Islam, the Arab and the Persian mariners and merchants, having been integrated into Islamic community, had sailed from the Arabian/Persian ports and opened up the ocean highways and byways along the East African coastline, the Arabian and the Sindhian/Indian coastlines, and further on the South Eastern and the Far Eastern shores as far as China and Korea. In effect, an Islamic maritime civilization was created in the eastern seas which continued to flourish until the belligerent intervention of the Portuguese in the 16th century. Sindh, like all other eastern littoral lands, was fully involved in the inter-Asian maritime trade during this period. The Arab/Persian *mu'allims* and *nakhudas* had been the pioneer navigators and guides, but eventually beginning possibly from the 10th/11th century A.D., sea men and sailors from the Sindh - Balochistan coast as well as from the Gujarat and Konkan coastline in South India became partners in the great enterprise. Mainly, the Chulian Muslim navigators in the South and the Sindhian *malums* (sic.) and *nakhuas* (sic.) in the north, initiated independent commercial ventures extending to the coastlines of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Far East.

Not much written record is available, but the long commercial tradition of Sindhian sailors and merchants stands epitomized in Sindhi vocabulary and literature. In particular, the classical Sufi poetry of Qazi Qadan (d. 959/1551), Shah Inayat Rizvi (d. 1133/1721) and Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1165/1752) contains numerous allusions which reveal that the Sindhian merchants and mariners used to frequent the ports of Hormuz, Basra and Aden on one side, and those of India, Sumatara, Jawa and further Easter shores on the other.

Despite all odds during the long period of colonial domination (19/20 century), the indigenous boat-building industry both on the Indus and on the sea coast has survived. Its further decline can be arrested by increasing its economic utility in the context of modern development.



The ancient Sindhian boat on the Indus Seal.



The Horra under construction, setting the bottom .
(Nakhua Ahmad Barwani, Ibrahim Hvdari)



The Zauraq Boat on the Indus transporting fuel from riverian forests.



The Horra and fishermen with their daily catch, Karachi

REFERENCES

1. Literally, *berr* is a hollow in between the two adjoining boughs of a tree, while *pakh* is a well-cut hollow/hole in a solid frame, such as the 'needle's eye'.
2. Referring to the unproductive life-span of an individual as 'a worn out boat', Shah Latif says:
"Water is leaking in through the numerous holes in its *tar-u* (bottom) and also from its *pasas* (sides)".
3. Baladhuri in *Futuh al-Buldan* (chapter on 'Conquest of Sind') mentions them as Meds (De Goejes ed., p.40), while in *Fathnama-e-Sind* (ed. N.A. Baloch, Islamabad, 1983, p.64) they are further identified as Nikamara/ 'Nakamara'. The community is still known as Nagamarra or Laghamarra.
4. *Fathnama-e-Sind*, *ibid.*, text p.85 and annotations p.74.
5. *Ibid*, text, pp.117-118.
6. *Ibid*, text, p.110.
7. Al-Beruni: *Kitab ma li al-Hind*, Arabic text, ed. E.Sachau, p.102, and English version *Alberuni's India*, pp.205-206.
8. Cf. (i) *Tarikh-i-Sind* of Mir Ma'sum (composed in 1600 A.D.), Persian text, ed. U.A. Daudpota, Poona, 1938, pp.6, 132, 256. (ii) *Tarikh-e-Tahiri* (1621 A.D.) ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad Sind, 1964, pp.73, 112, 133, 155, 202 (Lahiri/Lahori). (iii) *Tuhfat al-Kiram* (1767-8 A.D.), ed. H. Rashidi, Hyderabad Sind, 1971, pp.136, 162, 164, 178, etc.
9. His following two verses with allusion to the Lahira are in his Nuh Spihr (ed. By Mohammad Wahid Mirza, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp.59-60):

لاهره آرامته تختی چوروم مجلس بارو محل خلق و حرم

محترممان لاهرها کرده روان میوه خوش در نظر و مایه خوان

Though Amir Khusrau made this allusion in his poetic description of the royal forces crossing the Nerbada River, at the back of his mind was the Lahira of the Indus. He had stayed in Multan for five years (678-683 A.H.), and there is evidence to show that he had known enough of Sindh. In one of his ghazal poems, he also mentioned the city of Thatta as under:

سرو چو تو در اچه و در تته نباشد

گل مثل رخ خوب تو البته نباشد

He composed his Nuh Spihr in 718 A.H., much later after his stay in Multan, and could recall his own experience of Lahira on the Indus though he was producing a poetic description of the royal crossing on the Nerbada.

10. Cf. Idraki Beglari, *Beglarnama*, Persian text, ed. N. A. Baloch, Hyderabad Sindh, 1980, p.187.
11. *Ibid*, pp.106, 110, 113, 115, 119. Also *Tarikh-i-Tahari*, *op.cit.*, pp.128, 130.
12. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, *op.cit.*, p.130.
13. *Qazi Qadan-jo-Risalo*, by N. A. Baloch, Institute of Sindhology, Sindh University, 1420 H./1999 C.E.
14. The text ed. N. A. Baloch, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1963.

15. The text, Vol.II, ed. N. A. Baloch, Sindh Govt. Department of Culture, Karachi .
16. The words of Indic origin ending in a *ha* were usually Arabicised by changing the *ha* into a *jim*. Examples

حلیله	→	اعلیج
آمله	→	آملج
بودنه	→	فودنج
انبه	→	انج

Accordingly, *vanah* was further arabicized as *vanaj*, of which the Sindhian reminiscent *vanjh* has survived.

17. With the ending *ha* changed as *ja* (ft. note 16 above), *berrah* was arabicized as *bairaja* which later on became current as *baraja*. Muqaddisi, an early authority to have carefully recorded the names of the different types of boats in 985 A.D., has mentioned the arabicized form *bairaja* (cf. *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, De Goeoe's ed. 1906, pp.31-32).
18. Unless these *Tarrads* were Arab boats, there is a strong possibility of their being the Sindhian *Taraz* boats sailing along the Indian coastline on their commercial voyages to the South-East Asian countries. Tibbetts has observed that "they may be local boats, but if they are Arab, they must certainly be long distance ocean going ships although obviously of a smaller size". (Tibbetts, G.R.: *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean Before the Coming of the Portugues*, London, 1971, p.47).
19. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, op.cit., pp.128-129.
20. *Ibid.*, p.236.
21. *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, op.cit., p.31-32, 111.
22. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, op.cit., pp.129-237.
23. Tibbetts' view that the Omonian *dingiya* was taken from the Anglo-Indian *dinghy* (Arab Navigation, op.cit., p.48) needs further corroboration. One may see a semblance in the Maldevian *dhoni* as well.
24. *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, op.cit., pp.31-32 and *Kitab Ajaib al-Hind*, Lyden, 1883-86.
25. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, op.cit., p.130.
26. *Ibid.*, p.112.
27. *Ibid.*, p.130.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.112-113.
29. *Shah-jo-Risalo* (Sur Sri-Rag, dastan 3, bait No.17), ed. Baloch N.A., Hyderabad-Sindh, 1420 H./1999.
30. Tibbetts mentions Battil as "a double ended boat now used in pearl diving" in Persian Gulf (Arab Navigation, op.cit., p.48).
31. *Memoirs on Sindh* (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XVII – New Series), Bombay, 1855, pp.488-89 (Lt. Carless) and pp.557-59 (Lt. Wood).
32. fn. 30 above.

IX

KALMATI TOMBS IN SINDH AND BALOCHISTAN

Long back, during a field study (1944-1946) on the Arab-Islamic period of Sindh History, I had come across some graveyards with typically sculptured stone tombs, situated in the then Karachi and Thatta districts of Sindh and the adjoining Las Bela State of Balochistan.¹ It was in the early fifties that I persuaded Maulana Shamsuddin, the then Director of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, to accompany me to one of the nearest graveyards situated in the Landhi area, on the main Karachi-Thatta road. After the visit, he agreed that the site was important enough to be protected by the Department. This was done, and its typical tombs became the first to draw attention. In the reports, the tombs came to be called 'Chaukhandi tombs', the meaning and significance of which was hardly understood.

In the late fifties and sixties, details of the different motifs and designs artistically sculptured on the stone slabs of these tombs began to be publicized through the rice paper rubbings of the tombs' reliefs. These were fondly made by many individual fans, but the pride of performance in this early endeavour went to the indefatigable Mrs. Ethel-Jane Bunting (the talented wife of the American diplomat Fredrick Bunting). When she consulted me, I placed all the information I had about the different tomb sites in Sindh and Balochistan at her disposal, while our common friend the Late Mr. Justice Feroze Nana made it possible for her to reach some of these sites. An exhibition of the numerous rubbings made by her was held in Karachi and it threw a flood of light on the exquisite artistic details of design and motif engraved on the tomb slabs. It was for the first time that beside the "Landhi site tombs", Mrs. Bunting had taken rubbings from about ten more sites including some from the Las Bela side.²

By then, interest in the study of these burial monuments became widespread, and articles appeared in the Karachi papers and in some cultural publications. Subsequently, a more detailed study made by the German scholar Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath appeared during the seventies³, in which she covered more of the tombs sites in Sindh and Las Bela, and dealt with all types of stone tombs in general, discussing their structure, artistic features and centurywise approximation in chronology. Lately, during the eighties, another book on the subject was published by the well known journalist and writer Ali Ahmad Brohi, in which he presented material from different sources providing a broad perspective for the study of 'stone tombs' in general.⁴

The ground work done so far though substantial is of a preliminary nature, and there remains the need for a much more comprehensive and documented study of the subject. This is necessary because much of myth and misinformation is mixed up in what has been conjectured about the origin of these tombs. This study is intended to deal with the historical and ethno-cultural aspects of these burial monuments so that their origin and spread is seen in a proper perspective.

NAME AND ORIGIN

After the 'Chaukhandi Graveyard' of Landhi, the chisilled stone tombs came to be called as 'Chaukhandi tombs'. The meaning of 'Chaukhandi' was never inquired into or properly understood, and the wild conjectures made the confusion worse confounded. 'Chaukhandi' was imagined to be an ethnic name, and some free lancers asserted that these were the tombs of a foreign tribe called 'Chaukhandi'.

To begin with, therefore, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the word 'Chaukhandi'. Literally, it means a 'four-walled enclosure open from above' (without any roof on it in the form of a *suffa*, *qubba* or *rauza*). In the cultural tradition of Sindh, only that 'four-walled enclosure' is called a 'Chaukhandi' which is constructed, out of respect, around the grave of a revered person (saint, religions scholar, martyr, brave warrior or dear elder) and hence it also carries the sense of being sacrosent. *Chaukhandi*, as such, is not a grave or tomb in itself, but the 'four-walled enclosure' in which the revered person(s) has been buried. Referring to the burial place it would be said: 'There in no

rauza or qubba or suffa there, but only a *Chaukhandi*; i.e. there is no dome or covered roof over the grave but only a *Chaukhandi* around. The graveyard itself is not 'Chaukhandi'; it may be called 'Chaukhandi graveyard' because of a *Chaukhandi* there. Generally the graveyard is called 'after the name' of the personage buried, though among the folk (not familiar with the burial background) it may become known by the name of the locality in which it is situated.

The tombs which are the subject of our discussion have been known in Sindh and Las Bela by three general names: (i) 'Kalmati Baloch tombs', (ii) *Gharriyun* and (iii) *Rummyun/Roomiyun* — the first one referring to their ethnic origin and the last two to their style and structure. A further explanation of each follows.

Kalmati Baloch Tombs: The more knowledgeable elders⁵ from whom inquiries were made by the present writer decades back mentioned them *in general* as 'tombs of the Kalmati Baloch', or more specifically as 'tombs of the Kalmati Maliks' who came from the side of Makran long long ago. 'Karmati' is the Sindhized form of 'Kalmati', that is 'of Kalimat', the well known coastal region of Makran. We will advert to this later.

Gharriyun: To the people in general, the tombs are known simply as *gharriyun* (sing. *gharri*), that is 'the chilled ones'. Obviously, this name became current after the chilled stone slabs of these tombs.

Rummyun: This name, not as common as *gharriyun*, was originally used for those tombs, which were not only engraved, but also had a typical structural form resembling a *rummi* (a local cupping instrument). The 'rummi' shape, with a wider base and an apex, is also somewhat pyramidal; so also the tall tombs grounded on solid block bases, and rising high block by block to an apexed cenotaph. In view of their cupping vaults as also their tall triangular shape, these tombs presented the spectacle of *rummis*.

Roomiyun: The word *rummyun* was conveniently pronounced as *roomiyun* (plu. of *roomi*) particularly in literate circles in view of the artistic connotation implicit in it. Against the background of Persian literary tradition widely prevalent in Sindh and Balochistan until the twenties of this century, the term *roomi* was seen as reminiscent of *naqsh-i-Rumi* or *naqsh-o-nigaar-i-Roomi*, meaning 'unexcelled Roman (Greek) art design', as depicted in the 'Legend of Sikandar'

(Alexander).^{*} In pronunciation, the word '*roomiyun*' was construed to mean as 'of Rome', 'of Roman design', or even of 'Roman origin'. Accordingly, a foreign origin was assigned to these tombs. Later, when the tombs' photographs / rubbings were closely inspected, Islamic inscriptions on them clearly indicated that these were the Muslim tombs. And yet, arguments were advanced that the builders of these tombs were non-Muslims who were later converted to Islam, because human figures and other inanimate objects were sculptured on the tombs. All this speculation was from the different well-meaning writers who were unfamiliar with the history and cultural background of these tombs.

As mentioned above, in Sindh and Las Bela these tombs are known to be 'Kalmati tombs', i.e. tombs of the Kalmati sub-stock of the Baloch people who had come from Makran. More correctly, they had come from the coastal region of Kalamat / Kalamat (wherein the two ports of Ormarra and Pasni flourish today) and hence were known as Kalmatis due to their long stay in that region. This is substantiated by the fact that more of the earlier tomb sites, predominantly of the Kalmati groups, are situated nearer to the coastal belt through which lay the route leading from Kalamat to Sindh. The farthest site westward, where I located the early remnants of the Kalmati tombs, lies on this route on the left bank of the Hingol river in the Las Bela district, but their existence and widespread dispersion was noted and impressively described by Holdich in the last century. According to him:

"All these ancient cities eastwards from Makran are associated with one very interesting feature. Somewhat apart from the deserted and hardly recognizable ruins of the cities are groups of remarkable tombs, constructed of stone, and carved with a minute beauty of design, which is so well preserved as to appear almost fresh from the hands of the sculptor. These tombs are locally known as Khalmati... Invariably placed on rising ground, with a fair command of the surrounding landscape, they are the most conspicuous witness yet reminding of the nature of the Saracenic style of decorated art which must

^{*} As related by Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi in his Masnavi (Tomi-I), when Alexander was in China, the Chinese demonstrated to him their artistic ingenuity by producing a superb design. In response, his Greek artists and painters (referred to as 'Romans*') gave a much superior demonstration in design and artistry.

have beautified these cities. The cities themselves have long since passed away but these stone records of dead citizens still remain to illustrate, but with a feeble light, one of the darkest periods in the history of Indian architecture. These remains are most likely Khalmati and belong to an Arab race who were once strong in Sindh and who came from the Makran coast at Khalmat".⁶

The above account of Holdich recorded in the 19th century is clear enough on one important point, viz. the widely known name of these tombs. According to the local tradition in Makran and eastward, they were known as 'Khalmati' tombs. Holdich's "Khalmati" is understandable: being in British Indian Service, he had his assistants from the eastern zone of Balochistan who spoke Eastern Balochi and accordingly reported the name (Kalmati) to him in their Eastern Balochi pronunciation as 'Khalmati'. He considered the tomb architecture to be of Saracenic (Arab) origin, but placing Balochistan in British India he saw this architecture as representing a phase of the History of Indian architecture. He also mistakenly conjectured the Khalmatis to be 'an Arab race' though they actually belong to the Baloch race. We may now advert to their ethnicity, migration and settlement in Sindh in the light of history.

KALMATIS AND THEIR MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENTS IN SINDH

According to the universally accepted Baloch tradition, the Kalmatis / Kalamatis belong to the main Baloch ethnic stock of Hoat, being the progeny of Hoat son of Jalal Khan. The period of the life time of Hoat is not known, but it could not be earlier than 11th century A.D. The advent and settlement of the Hoat Stock in the Kalmat region is to be seen in the context of the migratory history of the Baloch people, but as it remains obscure only an approximate periodization can be visualised in the light of (i) the impact of events in the South Eastern Iran and Khurasan region, (ii) the later ethnic distribution of the Baloch clans and their known geographical locations, and (iii) their lingering lore and tradition.

The Baloch migrations from the regions of Iran-Kirman-Seistan to the regions of Makran-Eastern Balochistan-Sindh would appear to have taken place in three phases: under the pressure of the invading

Scythians and the Huns in pre-Islamic eras, as a result of operations against them under the Buwahids and the Ghazanwids in the 10th / 11th century A.D., and during the upheavals caused by the Mongol invasion of Khurasan in the 13th century A.D. The traditional 'Genealogical Ballad of the Baloch' alludes to the Baloch migration from Seistan (which possibly occurred in the 12th century A.D.⁷) and the subsequent settlements of their five main ethnic stocks (Rind, Lashar, Hoat, Korai, Jatoi) and their tribes. According to the Ballad, the Hoat had established themselves in 'Makran', and some of the Hoat tribes concentrated in the Kalamat region (Southern Makran) and consolidated their power there.⁸ Those of them who settled down and stayed for long in Kalamat/Kalamat became known as Kalmati / Kalamati.

Not much is known about the political history of Makran and other vast regions of Balochistan from 12th to the 15th century, but it was not all vacant during this period. The time honoured Balochi lore, both genealogical and poetical, brings under reference the Baloch principalities of Kech (Northern Makran), Kalamat (Southern Makran), Kahera Kote (the southern valley of the Purali river in Las Bela), Bala K'ote in the Vindur Valley, and the Hub river region of Sindh. Of them, some specific references are available about the 'Sultanate of Makran' and the 'Principality of Kalamat' both of which flourished during the post-Ghaznavid period from 12th to 16th century.

The Sultanate of Makran was founded by Hasan in the middle of the 12th century A.D., and Sultan Tajuddin and Sultan Nusratuddin were among the illustrious rulers of his house whose successors continued to rule thereafter.⁹ Probably, the Sultanate of Makran continued to flourish through the 13th century. With its possible eclipse in the 14th century, the Hoat confederacy of Kalamat emerged powerful and the Kalamat Principality replaced the Sultanate of Makran. As a littoral State, it extended its maritime commerce and influence along the entire coastline of Balochistan touching the Sindh coastline in the south, at the mouth of the Hub river. The maritime power and prosperity of Kalamat suffered a death blow by the destruction caused by the Portuguese in the 16th century. The Portuguese had attacked the Sindh coastline and wrought destruction by burning the capital city of Thatta in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.)¹⁰. Kalamat was probably attacked soon thereafter. The ruler of Kalamat, Mir Hamal, engaged the Portuguese in naval battles but was eventually defeated and taken away as prisoner. The heroic defense put up by Mir Hamal under Portuguese attack is the

subject of a moving elegy (*zahironk*), which was composed by his sister¹¹.

At the present stage of our inquiry, it is not possible to determine when exactly the different Baloch stocks including the Hoat migrated from Makran. So far as their advent in Sindh and Punjab is concerned, Dames puts it in the 15th century¹². More probably the migratory process began much earlier, because in the 15th century the Baloch of the Hoat stock had already become a powerful force to contend with in the Punjab. Shah Husain Langah the ruler of Multan (874-908/1669-1502) had enlisted the support of the Hoat clans, particularly of the Doda'is under their leader Malik Suhrab Khan¹³. Migration in these early times was not a non-stop journey to a destination, but a slow onward move with on-the-way settlements under constant struggle to hold on against other migratory groups as long as possible. The presence of the Hoat stock in the Punjab in the 15th century would indicate their departure from Makran in the 13th century.

We may now advert to those Hoat clans who had settled down in the Kalamat region for long and became known as 'Kalmatis'. It would seem that their territorial identity as 'Kalmatis' had submerged their specific ethnic identity at an early date. Curiously enough, confirmation of this comes from a written source as well as epigraphy. Like the adjacent Seistan, Makran also had produced eminent scholars in Islamic learning from 4th/10th century onwards. Some of those belonging to Kalamat had adopted their surname after their homeland as 'Kalamati'. al-Sam'ani (d.562/1167) in his *Kitab al-Ansab*, which he compiled after 551/1156, mentions under *nisbah* 'Kalamati' the learned "Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Al-Kalamati" and says that he and *others besides him* had then become known by the surname 'Kalamati'. However, as it was a non-Arab and a new *nisbah* for Sam'ani, he guessed it to be related to 'specialization in scholasticism/linguistics' (*ma'rifat al-kalam wa al-usul*). Though he recorded the orthography of the word according to its actual pronunciation as *Kalamati* (with a *fataha* on *lam*), his guess on the other hand seemed to have been based on the closely resembling reading *Kalimati* (with a *kasra* under *lam*) and its derivation from *kalimat* (words, semantics).¹⁴ According to Sam'ani 'there were others' also who were known as Kalamati. They were undoubtedly scholars from Kalamat/Kalamat, because this very surname of theirs is inscribed on their tombs. Sam'ani's reference

would indicate that *a literal society was in the offing in Kalamat in the 12th century*'; so also the inscriptions on the Kalmati/Kalamati tombs reflect the presence of a literary tradition among the migrating Kalmatis.

It is to be noted that the Doda'is and other Hoat clans proceeded directly from Makran eastwards (towards the Punjab) but not via Kalamat, and therefore they were not called 'Kalmatis'. Others of the Hoat stock migrated southward of whom some settled down in Kalamat while others of their collaterals proceeded onwards in their migratory move. The former became known as Kalmatis, while the latter retained their own names. Among the latter are to be identified the Gabols, Chandyas and the Nuhanis who departed from their collaterals (settling in Kalamat) and headed eastward towards Sindh. According to Dames, "some tribes wandered far afield. Among the first must have been Chandyas who gave their name to the tract known as Chandko along the Indus"¹⁵. Departing much earlier, the Chandyas had, according to the Genealogical Balled, inhabited the Hub river region first, while the Kalmati stocks were still behind them to the west.¹⁶

When and where did the Kalmatis migrate? In other words, when and where did the Hoat clans who had settled down in the Kalamat region and became known by their territorial name as 'Kalmati; migrate? On the basis of their later spread and settlements, it is to be inferred that, in general, they followed the same trails as other Baloch stocks, and while some Kalmati clans migrated north-eastwards to the Sulaiman hills others went Southeastward to the Khirthar hill country. Their migrations, not enblock but in groups periodically, most likely began in the 13th century. Those Kalmatis who went north-eastward did not leave behind any landmarks (unless these have not yet come to light) so that their exploits could be traced in detail. According to Longworth Dames, who had ample opportunities to study the Baloch tradition in N.E. Balochistan / S.W. Punjab in the 19th century, the territories now occupied by Marri, Bugti and Gurchani were once a bone of contention between the Buledis, Gorgezh Rinds and the Kalmatis. After the Buledis and the Gorgezh Rinds, the Kalmatis had held the Sulaiman hill country, and they also fought with the Marris. The Kalmatis were succeeded by the Hasanis who were eventually displaced by the Marris and the Bugtis by about 1830 A.D.¹⁷

The other body of the Kalmati clans migrated southward from

Kalimat, and after crossing the Hingol river they kept moving onwards in their stagewise settlements through the Las Bela country. There the Kahera Kot region and the Vindur valley were the main centres of their settlements before they moved onwards into the cis-Hub Khararri-Bhawani region and eventually into the Habb river region. From there they entered Sindh by the turn of the 13th century. In the 14th century, they were in substantial strength and joined the other Baloch stocks already in Sindh¹⁸ in supporting and strengthening the power of the Jam rulers of the Samma dynasty (1350-1520 A.D.). A reference is to be found to the Baloch presence, most probably Kalmatis, during the reign of Jam Tughlaq (1428-1453),¹⁹ but the Kalmatis played a more effective role later during the reign of Jam Nizamuddin (1461-1508/9) when maximum possible ethnic integration was achieved within the Sindhian society. The great Jam was the hero of all. The Baloch tribes joined in strength under the leadership of Jam Nizamuddin's trusted Minister and Military Commander Darya Khan alias Mubarak Khan who himself belonged to the Lashari Baloch stock.²⁰ The Genealogical Ballad's allusion to the Hoat joining hands with the Lasharis²¹, refers to the Baloch alliances of those times.

It was during the 15th century that inter-tribal Baloch alignments became more marked in the wake of the long drawn Rind-Lashar War. According to the local tradition, in Sindh also the two main Hoat clans, the Kalmatis and the Chandyas, joined the Lasharis during the reign of Jam Nizamuddin, and the three becoming the backbone of the powerful Sindh army under the command of Darya Khan inflicted successive defeats on the Arghuns.²²

Therefore, later on when the Arghuns conquered Sindh and established their rule there (1521-1555) which was followed by the rule of their chieftains the Turkhans (1551-1600), the Kalmatis in particular were kept under servilliance. They were then well established in the Malir region, not far from the Arghun/ Turkhan capital of Thatta. Also along with some other powerful communities of Sindh they kept rising against the Arghuns and the Turkhans periodically.

By the end of the year 944 A.H. when Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun was in Patan (Gujarat), reports had reached him both from Bakhar and Thatta (Upper and Lower Sindh) that the Kalmatis, the Jatois and other zaminders had joined hands, and by their hostile incursions they had plundered the country. He therefore hurried back via Radhanpur and reached Thatta early in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.).²³

This confirms that in the first half of the 16th century, the Kalmatis were economically and militarily strong in the Thatta region just as the Jatois were in the Bakhar region.

During the Turkhan rule, Mirza Muhammad Salih, who had taken over all powers from his father Mirza Isa and ruled recklessly from Thatta, led on attack against a Kalmati settlement resulting in the ruthless massacre of women and children. Murid Khan who was then in Gujarat and whose father and family and other men had been killed, vowed on return to avenge the loss by killing Mirza Saleh single handed in broad day light. He kept his word, snatched an opportunity and fell upon Mirza Saleh who was then riding his horse and injured him fatally. The Mirza died the same day soon thereafter on 23 Sha'ban 970 A.H. (1563). Such was the impact of this daring deed that no ruler thereafter proceeded against the Kalmatis arbitrarily.

This event has continued to echo through history and oral tradition. In historical works, the name of the Kalmati leader has been mentioned briefly as 'Murid Baloch' or 'Murid Jut from amongst the Baloch'. The event is recounted in some details both in *Turkhan Namah and Tarikh'i'Tahiri*²⁴. The Kalmati elders of Mirpur Sakro recite a contemporary Sindhi verse on the vow made by Murid Khan who, they confirm, belonged to the 'Rejera' clan of the Kalmatis.²⁵

The Turkhan rule came to an end in 1600 A.D. when Sindh was conquered for Emperor Akbar. It would appear that from the second half of the 16th century through the 17th century during the Mughal rule, Kalmatis were the most powerful community in the Lower Sindh, ruling in their Principality of Malir. Recognizing their strength and importance, they were befriended during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb whereupon the Kalmati Chiefs, Bijar and Babar, signed a Deed of Contract dated 14th Rajab. 1103 A.H. (1691 A.D.) with the Mughal Government undertaking to protect, from highway robbers, travellers and caravans *en route* between Lahori Bandar and Thana of Bhodeser. Emperor Augrangzeb. in the same year, granted them an allowance in *dams* which was declared in the Sanad to be the Land Grant in the form of *Jagir* and *Inam* in Sakra²⁶. Obviously, the power of the Kalmatis was then at its zenith in view of the State responsibility entrusted to them. They were strong and influential not only in the Sakra district but in the entire coastal belt of Sindh. Lahori Bandar was then a port of international commerce, while the overland trade route

from Sindh to Gujarat passed through Bhodesar, the frontier town situated near the present taluka town of Nagarparker.

With the grant of Jagir in 1691, the main body of the Kalmatis began to gravitate from the Habb-Malir area to Sakra where more stable and perennial waters of the Baghiar, the main deltaic channal of the Indus, were available for cultivation. By the first half of the 18th century, the Kalmatis were powerful in the Thatta province in general and the Sakra and the Malir districts in particular. The Jagirs granted to the Kalmati *Maliks* by Emperor Aurangzeb were confirmed on 27 Rabi-1, 1162 A.H. (1749) by the Abbasi rulers who ruled Sindh in the 18th century after the Mughals. But for political reasons (to divide the two communities) the new rulers favoured the Jokhia community, the erstwhile allies of the Kalmatis, who now turned adversaries and occupied the Habb-Malir region pushing the Kalmatis further south towards Sakra where they have remained concentrated to this day. The balance was somewhat restored under the succeeding dynasty of the Talpurs (1782-1843) who brought about reconciliation between the Kalmatis and the Jokhias. The Land Grant Jagir of the Kalmati Maliks was also reconfirmed by the Talpurs.²⁷

The Kalmati *Maliks* commanded respect and influence when the British occupied Sindh in 1843, and Charles Napier, the British Governor of Sindh, confirmed the Jagir without any deductions in recognition of their status and standing. He recorded his decision as under:

"I will grant to Hadji Khan Kalmati, the Jagir held by his late father without deducting the Fourth from either or from his co-heirs.

This is a special favour of Government because he is one of the ancient chiefs of Sindh."

C.J. Napier

Governor.

10th September, 1846.

The historical perspective of Kalmati migration and settlements in Las Bela and Sindh over centuries is confirmed by the 'Kalmati tombs', in hundreds, which lie scattered in these regions.

Beside the remnants of their age old narratives coming down from their ancestors, wherein contemporary verses authenticate the reports, a study of their considerable burial monuments leads to the following conclusions. (a) Their widely scattered necropolises show

the extent of their settlements and principalities along the Valleys of Hingol, Vindur, Hub, Malir and the western Indus delta in the Sakro region. Their earliest extensive 'Maqam' (necropolis) is that of Bala, overlooking the Vindur Valley. Further south-eastward, other important burial sites are those of Adam Pir, Pir Piroze at Bhavani, Pir Hasan Sarhani on the right bank of the Hub river, Mahairi necropolis at Hinidan on the left bank of the Hub, the Maqam of Haji Mahairi in Deh Jhang Kand to the north of the Mahair mountain, the more imposing necropolies of Malik Tuta in Malir, the Maqam of Mir Ibrahim at Landhi (the southern section of the Chowkhandi), and their last great necropolis of Raj Malik in Taluka Mirpur Sakro. They had also crossed the Karo Jabal (Black Mountain) and inhabited the Jugshahi region, where the Maqam of their Jamari substock in Jamarkas and the vast necropolis to the south of Kallo Khunhar are located.

(b) It is to be noted that, generally, Kalmati tombs carry the deceaseds' names and other writings. In any of their burial site, some tombs will invariably have names.* This feature indicates that the Kalmatis had a tradition of being a literate society.

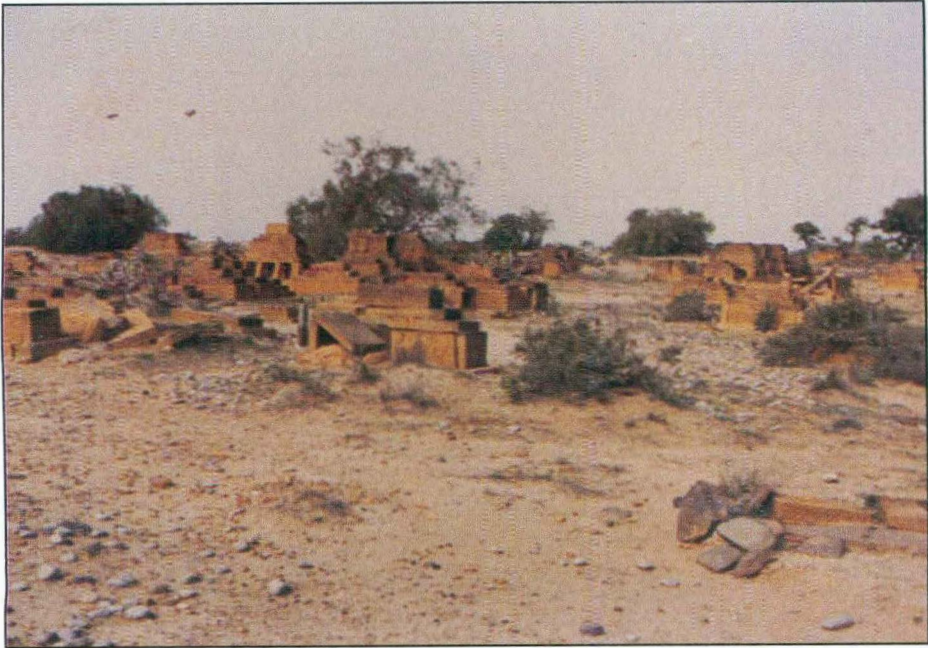
(c) The typically towering Kalmati tombs with exquisite sculpture, show that the community held their elders in high esteem so that after their demise they commemorated them by befitting tomb monuments. The Malik Tuta necropolis in Malir (along the Thadho hill torrent, adjacent to the Memon Goth) is the most extensive of all the Kalmati' necropolises, and though most of its fine sculptured tomb slabs have been plundered, it still remains the most impressive site. The male/female tomb representations in all these sites, show that they also held their women folk in high esteem. If tombs of male members are highly decorative, so are the tombs of female members decorated with fine sculpture of rich ornaments.

(d) Kalmatis were comparatively a strong community in peace and war. The bravery and valour of their heros is commemorated on their tombs with pictures of warriors riding their horses.

The above four aspects are illustrated in the photos that follow.

* The only exceptions are the tombs of the Mahairi substock of the Kalmatis at Hinidan. The Mahairis had inhabited the high hilly plateau which came to be called 'Mahair Jabal' after them. Traditional lore has associated fire and other unforeseen calamities visiting their habitat of Mahair resulting in successive deaths causing sorrowful scenes, and hence the absence of names and elaborates decoration on their tombs.

(A) THE WIDELY SCATTERED BURIAL SITES.



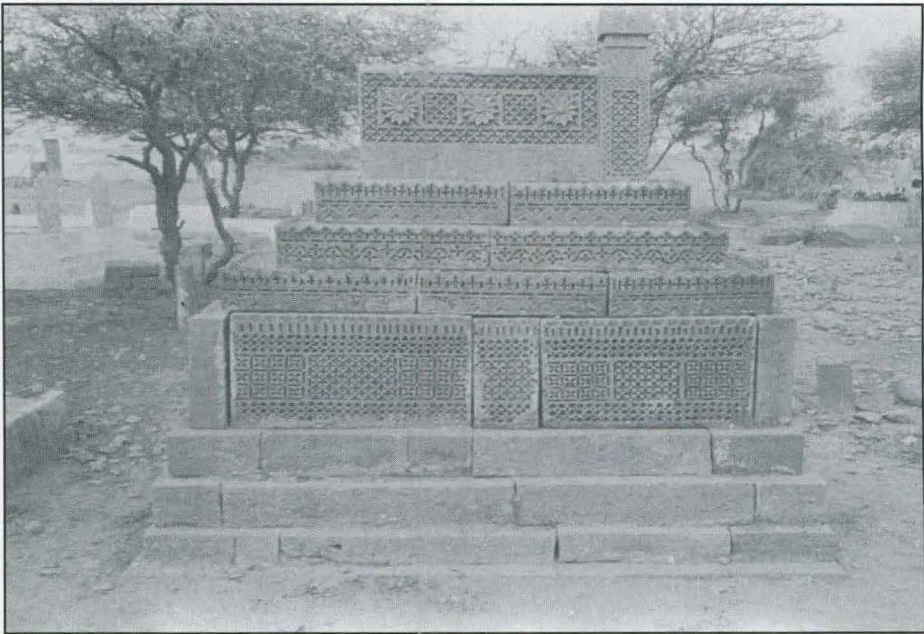
The earliest Kalmati necropolis of Bala



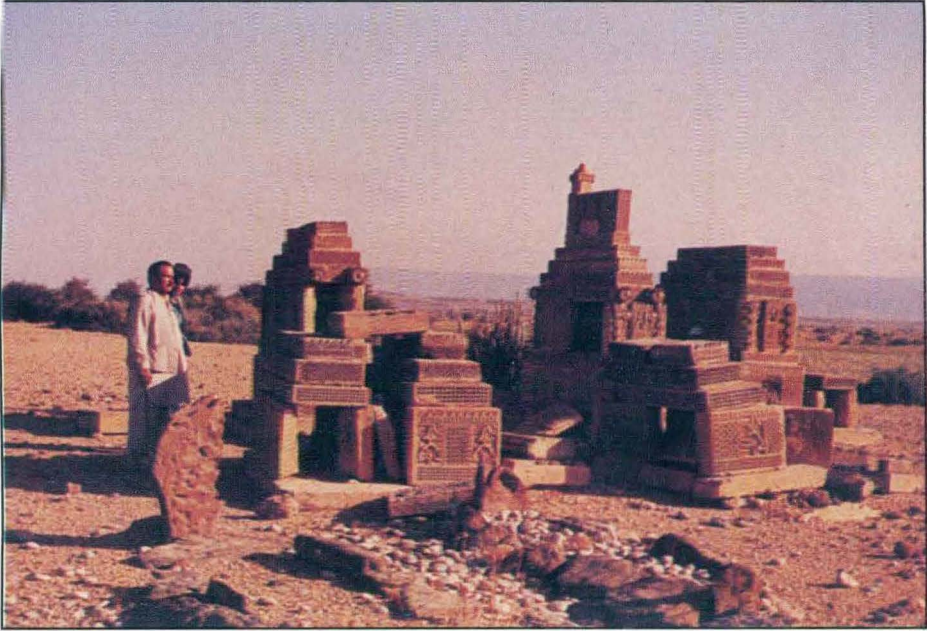
Tombs at Makam Bala



Three high tombs, Adam Pir Graveyard.



Maqam of Hamar Bhava Kalmati:



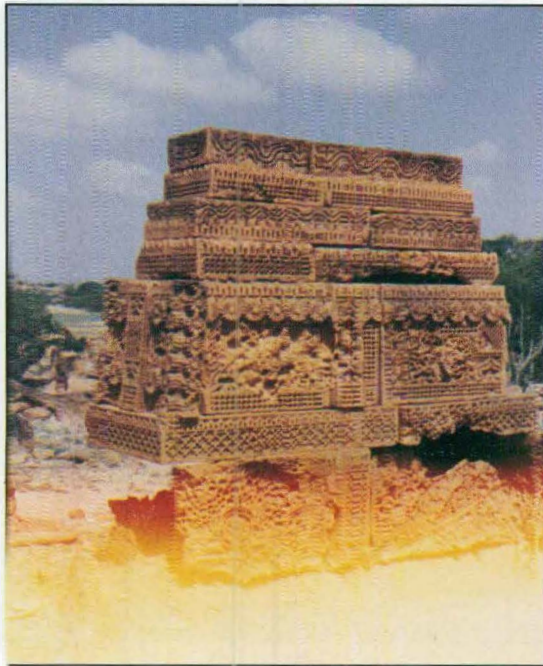
Maqam Haji Mahairi



Inscription at Maqam Haji Mahairi

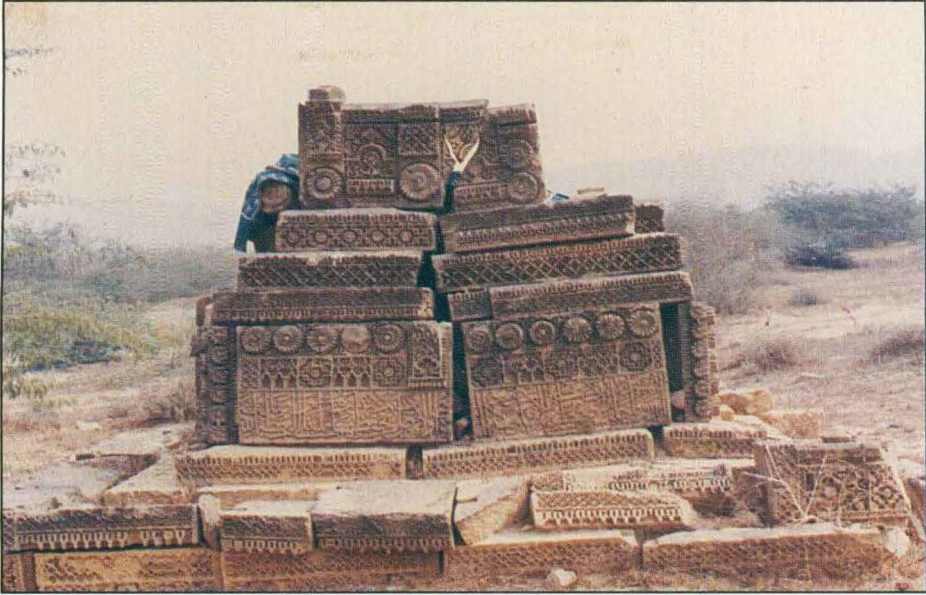


The Mahairi Necropolis at Hinidan

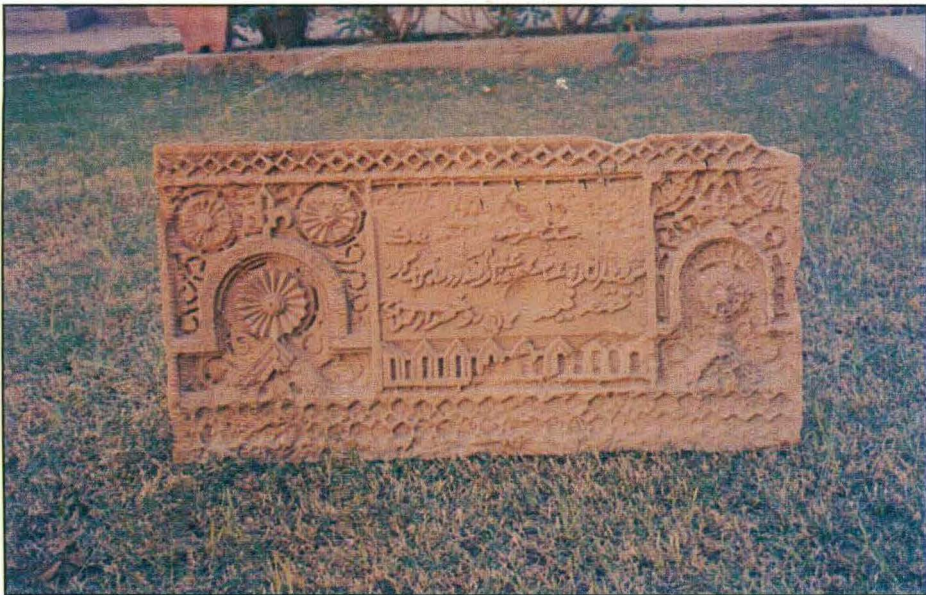


A tomb from Maqam at Jamarkas

(B) THE LITERARY TRADITION OF A LITERATE SOCIETY.



Tomb of Saint Pir Piroze
(at Bhavan).
with beautiful caligraphy.



A sculptured slab with inscription.
Malik Tuta Necropolis, Malir.



Gravestone with *ayat al-kursi*
from Quran on it.
Adam Pir Graveyard



Gravestone with deceased's name
"Jargi bin Murid Kalmati"
in bold letters.

(C) BEFITTING MONUMENTS FOR THE DEPARTED ELDERS



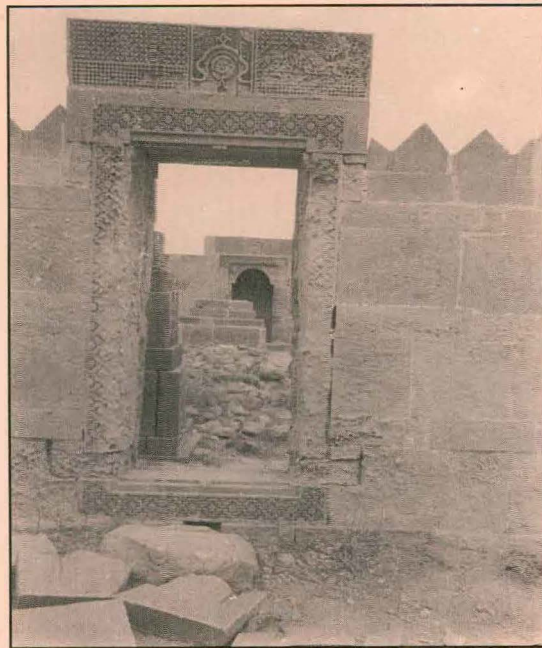
A High Towering Tomb,
the monument honouring a male member.
(Malik Tuta Necropolis, Malir).



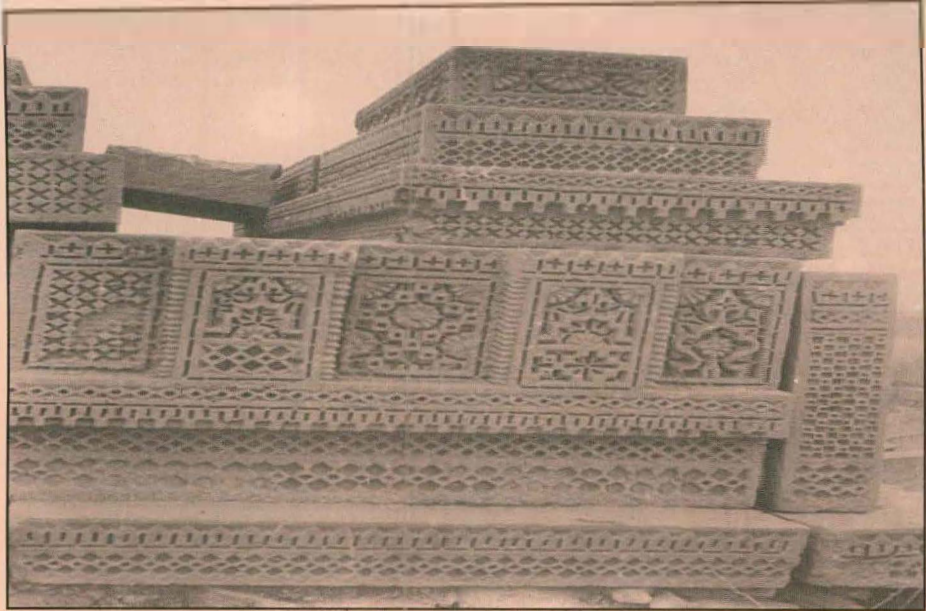
An Exquisitely Decorated Tomb.
The monument honouring a male member.
(Malik Tuta Necropolis, Malir.)



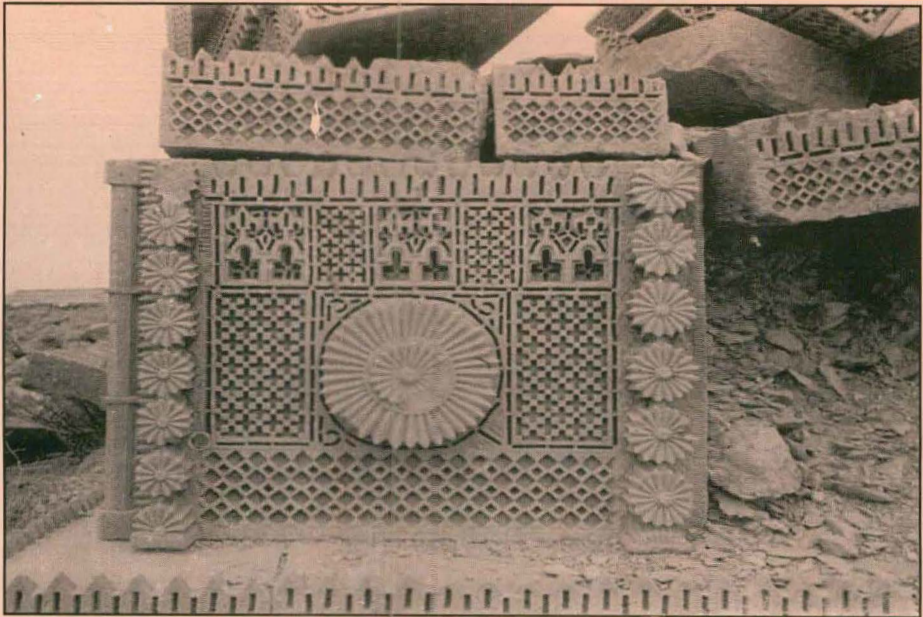
A prestigious chowkhandi, known as
'The Ladies' Chowkhandi'
built by Malik Muric
(Malik Tuta necropolis)



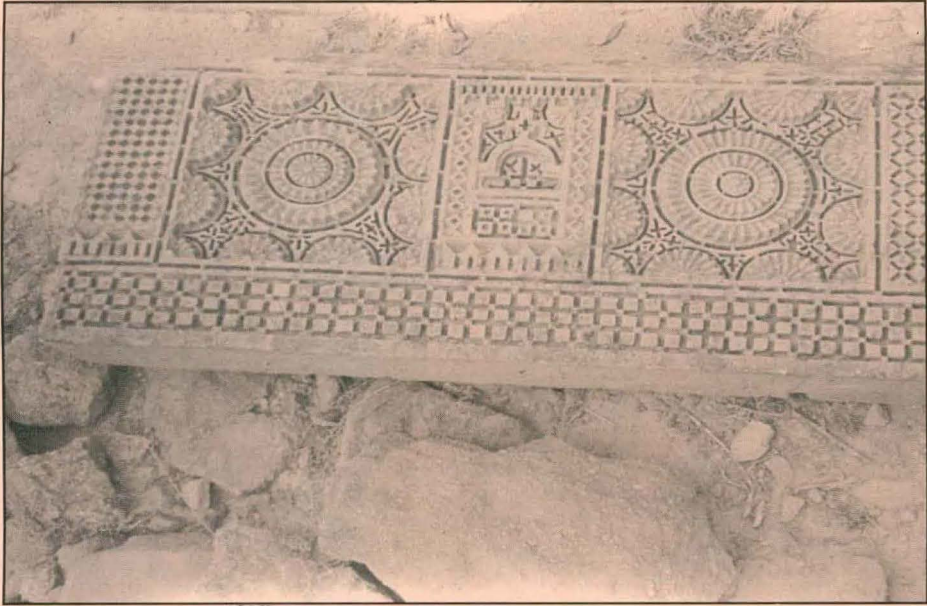
The entrance gate of 'The Ladies' Chowkhandi'
(Malik Tuta necropolis).



A beautifully sculptured
Lady's Tomb
(Malik Tuta necropolis)



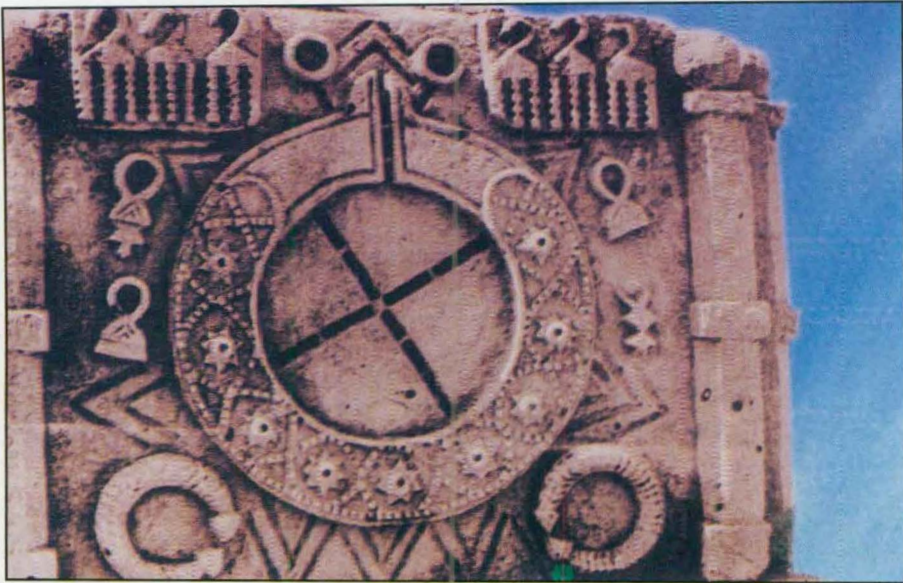
A fine sculptured lower slab of a lady's tomb
(Malik Tuta necropolis).



A slab from a lady's tomb with unique design.
(Malik Tuta necropolis).



The named grave of "Gawaran (d/o) Murid"
From 'The Ladies' Chowkhandi'
Built by Malik Murid.

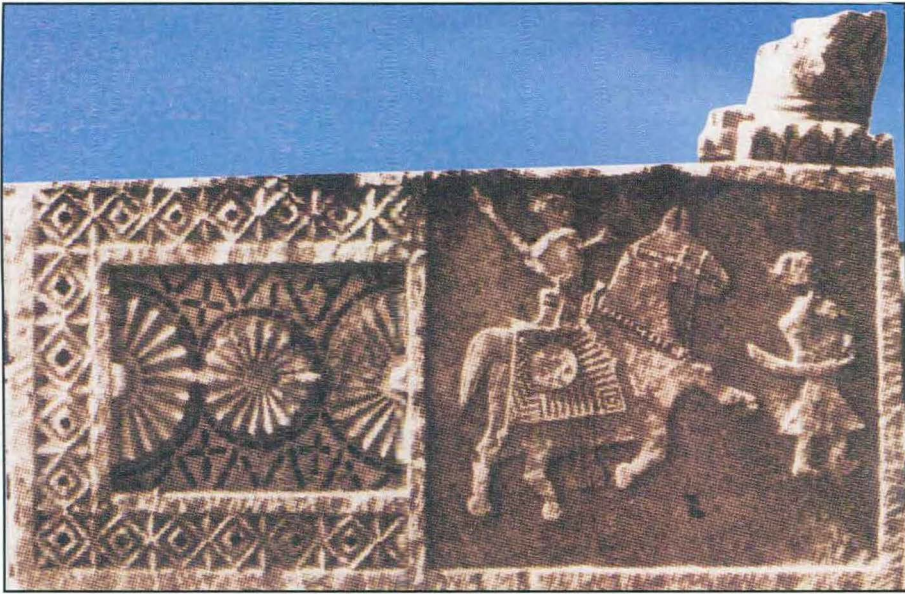


The tomb portraying valuable ornaments.
The monument honouring a female member.



Decorative tomb portraying valuable ornaments.
The monument honouring a female member.

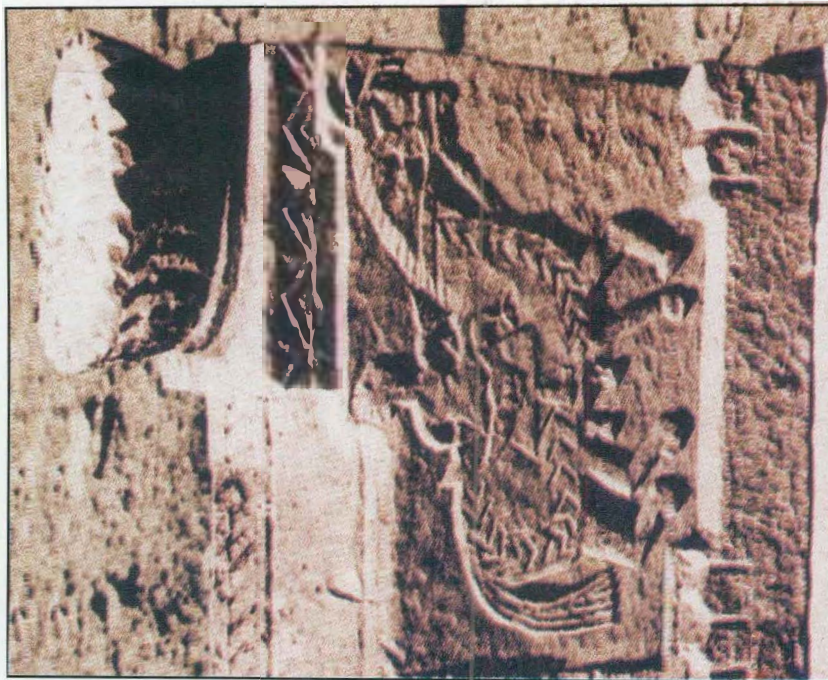
(D) VALOUR IN WAR: HEROES ON THE HORSE.



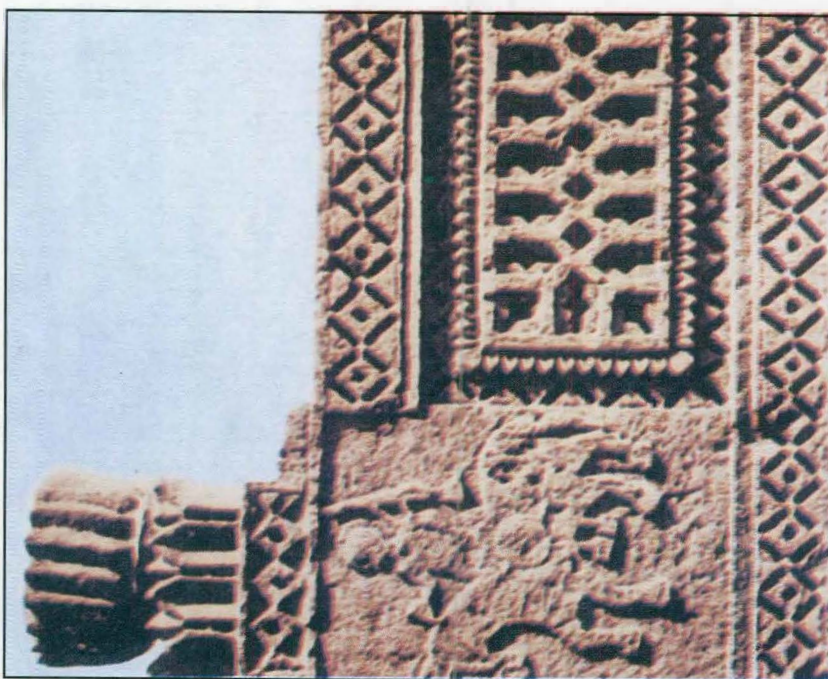
A commander and a foot soldier
(The side slab of a tomb)



A commander, and a foot soldier in action
(A side slab of a tomb)



The hero on his horse,
(A massive head slab of a grave)



The hero on his horse,
(A highly decorative head slab.)

REFERENCES

1. See photographs which show details of some important graves of the series and ornamentation carved on the slabs of the cenotaphs.
2. Later on her exhibition held at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology was epitomized in a special publication "Sindhi Tombs And Textiles: the Persistence of Pattern", (Maxwell Museum of Anthropology and the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, U.S.A., 1980).
3. Chaukhandi Graber: Studien Zur Grabkunst in Sindh and Baluchistan; Franz Steiner Verlag Gamb H Wiesbaden, 1978.
4. Brohi, Ali Ahmad; *History on Tomb Stones. Sindh and Baluchistan*. Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro-Hyderabad.
5. The more informed among them being Haji Sirman Baghiar of Mirpur Sakra Taluka (aged 80 in 1952), Haji Shahali of Malir (aged 75 in 1944) and wadera Ali Murad Burra of Uthal, Las Bela (aged 70 in 1967).
6. Holdich, Col. Sir T.H.: *Gates of India*. London, p.311.
7. Dames, M. Longworth: *The Baloch Race*. London, 1904, p.34
8. Its internal details indicate that the Balled was composed in later times, by the turn of the 13th century A.D. or thereafter. The text of the Balled which is current in slightly varying oral versions, has not yet been standardized. We may refer to the version produced by Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri in his *Baloches and Baluchistan* (Karachi. 1974, pp. 55-60). Therein, Halaba is misprint for Habbai so far as the following verses (relevant for our purpose) are concerned:

Hoat Makurana nindi...
 Hoat Korai awar_en
 E ma Lashar ghar_en...
 Ma Habb ai Chandiyaghen
 Kalamati-a logh pha--gwaren

(The Hoat settled in Makran... The Hoat and the Korai are (now united) with the Lashar. In Habb are the Chandyas, the Kalmati settlements are behind them.)

9. The Sultanate of Makran and some of its illustrious rulers have incidentally come under light in the *qasidas* of poet Siraji (Cf. *Diwan'i-Sirajuddin Khurasani*, ed. by Prof. Nazir Ahmad, Muslim University Aligarh, India, 1981, Introduction.). Tajuddin Makrani is also mentioned among the *maliks* of the Ghurids by the historian Minhaj-i-Siraj the author of *Tabaqai-i-Naslri* (quoted by Nazir Ahmad, *ibid* p. 14).
10. Cf. (i) *Tarikh-i'Tahiri*. ed N.A..Baloch, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 1384/1964, pp.111-114, pp. 325-27 fn. (ii) *Beglarnama*. ed. N.A. Baloch, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1400/1980, p. 40.
11. The Portuguese invasion of the Baluchistan coastline also reportedly finds mention in the 'Poem of Hotman*' which has remained beyond the reach of the present writer so far
12. *The Baloch Race*. op.cit., p.39.
13. The three sons of Malik Suhrab Khan became the founders of Dera Fatch Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. In 1519 A.D., there were

- Baloch (Dodais) in Khushab and Bhera as noted by Emperor Babar in his autobiography. In 1546, Shershah had conferred the country of the Derajat on the Dodai brothers. (*The Baloch Race*, op.cit., pp. 40-41,46-47, 55).
14. Al-Sam'ani's reference in *Kitab al-Ansab* (Gibb memorial Series, London, 1912) reads:

(الكلماتى) ظنى ان هذه النبة الى معرفة الكلام والاصول
واشتهر بها ابو الحسن محمد بن معين بن محمد بن محمود الاديب الكلماتى وغيره

15. *The Baloch Race*, op.cit., pp. 47-48.
16. The main stock of the Chandyas had moved further north of the Habb region. However, the Kalmatis in lower Sindh consider them to be their collaterals, and may be the Chandyas stayed for some time in the Upper Habb (northern) country when the Kalmatis were in the Lower Habb (southern) region. But, more probably, the Chandyas and the Nuhanis had directly reached the Mid-Khirthar tract, from where the Nuhanis moved to the Schwan region (district Dadu) while the Chandyas proceeded further north and settled in the country which then became known after them as Chandko (in the Larkana District).
17. *The Baloch Race*, op.cit., pp. 49, 50,55.
18. The presence of the Baloch people in Sindh during the Sumara period (1058-1349 A.D) is confirmed in an early historical work, viz. Mir Muhammad Ma'sum's *Tarikh-i-Sind* (History of Sindh, Persian text, ed. U.M. Daudpota, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, 1938, pp.77,180,249,291-93).
19. *The Baloch Race*, op.cit., p.40. Referring to the Baloch presence, Dames has bracketed the Jam's regnal period as (1423-1450). According to the present writer, the years as given above are comparatively more correct (vide Baloch N.A: *Chronology of the Summa Rulers of Sind*, Proceedings of the 2nd Session of Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission, Feb. 1954, Govt. Printing Press, Karachi, 1957, pp.23—29).
20. A critical evaluation of the relevant recorded reference in historical works as well as of the oral tradition lead one to conclude that he belonged to the Lashari stock (vide Baloch N.A: *The Genealogy of Commander Darya Khan*, the Sindhi Quarterly MEHRAN, First Issue 1981, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh).
21. Dames, op.cit., p.34.
22. The Arghuns are supposed to have thrown weight on the Rind side but the tradition has not preserved any details. It is more likely that after their presence in Qandhar and Quetra (Shal), they became interested in the Baloch conflict to extend their own power to Sibi and Sindh. Shah Beg Arghun later invaded Sindh in 890 A.H. (1485) but he was driven back by Jam Nizamuddin's forces at Jalugit in 1486. Another battle was fought near Sibi in 898 A.H. (1493) and again the Sindh forces under the command of Darya Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Arguns in the battle in which Mohammad Beg (brother of Shah Beg) was killed.
23. Mir Mohammad Ma'sum: *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, Persian text, op.cit., p.164.

24. Also see *Tarikh-i-Sindh* of Mir Ma'sum, op. cit., p. 208; *Turkhan Namah*, Persian text, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 1965, pp. 47-48 and the extract translated into English in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 324-25; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, op.cit. text p.208 and annotations p.323; *Beglarnama*, op.cit., p.50.
25. The Sindhi verse in which Murid Khan vowed to kill Mirza Saleh:

گهگهيليء جي گار تان ڪريان ڪاري گها
مرزا صالح ماريان هي نه ڪريان ڪا

26. 'History of Alienations in the Province of Sindh', Karachi 1988, Vol-II p.31. This official statement preserved in the British Government record of the Sindh Province was based on the original Land Grant Document (*Sanad*) of Emperor Aurangzeb which was confirmed from time to time by the rulers of Sindh before British occupation (1843). The original document was produced by Malik Haji Khan (a descendant of Babar) before the British Governor C.J. Napier in 1846 when its contents were noted and the Jagir was reconfirmed.
27. *Ibid*, pp. 31-32,34-35.
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X

SINDHI SCRIPT, ORTHOGRAPHY AND CALLIGRAPHY

Sindhi is an ancient language of the Indo-Aryan family. For long it was believed to have been derived from Sanskrit, but modern research has discredited the theory that the modern vernaculars of the South Asian Subcontinent, including Sindhi, are all derived from Sanskrit. The early origin of modern Sindhi, which developed in the lower Indus Valley of Sindh, is to be sought for in Prakrits of the pre-Sanskrit eras spoken by the people in the Indus land.

The language represented in the Moenjodaro seals is of pre-Aryan / pre-Vedic times. The seals have not yet been deciphered, and in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to establish a historical link between the 'Ancient Indus Valley Language' of Moenjodaro and 'Modern Sindhi' as it is known to us today.

The more authentic references to 'Sindhi Language' (historically related to the present form of Sindhi), to Sindhi words, proper names of persons and places in Sindh, Sindhi script and Sindhi numerals date back from 8th to 11th century A.D., with a possible stretch of time to the 6th century A.D. The whole of this record has come down to us as a result of the writings and researches of early Muslim scholars. Amongst them, Jahiz (d.912), Ibn Khurdadhbih (d.868/69), Mada'ini (circa 850), Baladhuri (d.892), Mas'udi (d.946), Ya'qubi (d.circa 900), Ibn Hauqal (d.977), Istakhari (circa .950), Muqaddisi (wrote in 985/86) and Beruni (d. 443 H./1051) may be counted as the more distinguished ones who have contributed substantially to our knowledge of the history, language and general culture of Sindh up to the mid-11th century A.D.

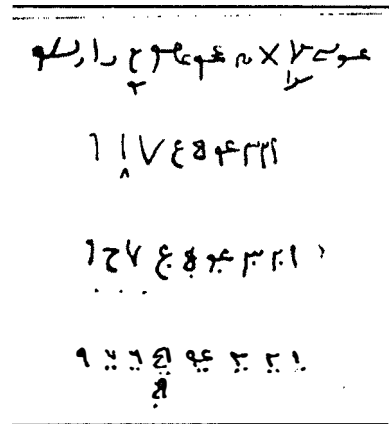
Beruni, in particular, has left a wealth of material having bearing on the history and geography of Sindh, the Sindh Era, the

Sindhi scripts and Sindhi vocabulary, in his two important works – ‘Book on India’ and ‘Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica’. The former he wrote in 1030 A.D. and the latter in 1050/51 A.D. In his ‘Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica’ (*Kitab al-Saidana fi al-Tibb*), Beruni has listed the names of about 75 herbs and drugs in Sindhi (al-Sindhiyya).¹ This would indicate that by the turn of the 10th century A.D., Sindhian names of herbs and drugs were of importance in the pharmacological terminology current in the Islamic world.

Beginning from its initial formative stage during the 6th and the 7th century A.D., Sindhi attained its full-fledged development during the Arab-Islamic period (8th to 11th century) as a result of general scholarly interest and educational expansion. During the next epoch of Sindh history, viz. the Soomra rule (1050-1350 A.D.), Sindhi became an effective lingua franca and a common language of lore and verbal narration. During the Samma rule (1350-1520), Sindhi attained the status of standard speech with rich vocabulary to express literary and sufistic thought of high order. During the long period of Arghun / Turkhan / Mughal supremacy (1520-1680), intensive interaction took place between Sindhi and Persian which had already become State Language during the Samma rule (14th century). As a result, the local writings of the one became interspersed with the vocabulary of the other. A more significant trend took place in the field of education. Under the influence of an important educational work, Nahj al-Ta'allum² (*Method of Education*), published by the great educator Makhdum Ja'far in 1568, wherein he had emphasized the importance of the learner (the pupil) whom the teacher was obliged to treat with consideration, the Ulama' of Sindh soon thereafter decided to facilitate the child to learn through mother tongue Sindhi (instead of Persian) at the elementary maktab stage. This led to the production of text books and a variety of general reading material in Sindhi. The new practice of teaching through ‘mother tongue’ gained momentum by the end of the Mughal rule and subsequently during the dynastic rule of the Abbasi Kalhoras and the Talpur Amirs (1680-1843). This resulted in academic advancement of Sindhi and enrichment of its literature. It was during this period that the classical Sindhi poetry reached its climax in ‘Shah-jo-Risalo’, the Poetic Compendium of Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1752 A.D.). All this contributed substantially to the standardization of Sindhi script and development of Sindhi orthography and calligraphy.

SINDHI SCRIPT

With the discovery of pictographic seals at Moenjodaro, the earliest use of a script in the Lower Indus Valley goes back to pre-historic times. But there is a void of almost three millennia between the Indus Pictographic and the known use of common scripts in Sindh. Information about the latter comes from the erudite scholar Al-Nadim (d. 380/990) who recorded in his monumental work AL-FIHRIST that a number of scripts were in vogue in Sindh in the 10th century



Sindhi Script from K. Al-FIHRIST

A.D.³ No further details are left by him, and even though the possibility of the presence of a vulgar descendant of the Indus pictographic or some other ancient script may not be ruled out, it is to be presumed that most of those scripts were the regional Sindhian scripts being used internally along with some other non-Sindhian characters for external trade. Specimen of the latter are to be found on potsherds discovered at Banbhore.⁴ Al-Nadim's reference, however, shows that up to the 10th century A.D. no single unified script was in use in Sindh.

During field researches extending all over Sindh (1951-1975), the present writer had collected potsherds and clay artifacts with letters on some of them, but only a few of those have remained preserved with me during the long intervening period. These include one larger tablet with buldge and letters on both sides, one small circular tablet with letters on one side, one round piece with an inset in centre and lettering in its bottom, and one paired seal (see photos). These were picked up from different sites mainly in South-western Sindh (present Badin district), such as Nuhato, Rajpal, Markhan, Koonjsar etc. (Vide supra No.I).

The discovery of a well shaped baked clay tablet may remind one of the ancient Sumerian (2700 B.C.) and Hammurabi's tablets (1700 B.C.) of Babylonia (Iraq). Any ancient clay tablets discovered in Sindh, would indicate cultural communication between the Indus Valley Civilization and that of the Euphrates in Iraq. However, such an inference can only be substantiated after a complete decipherment of the



The baked clay tablet with buldge and letters on both sides.



A backed clay circular tablet,
with plain suface on both sides, and letters on one side.



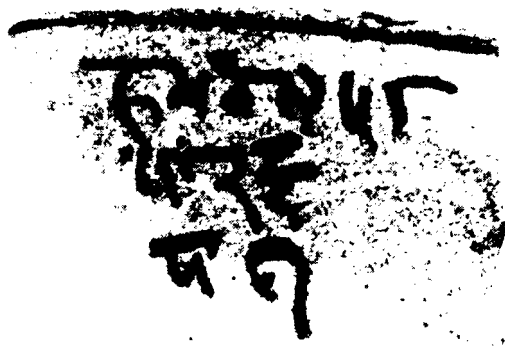
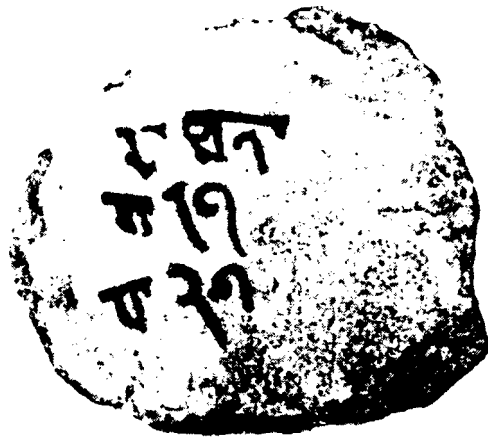
A baked clay piece with an inset and letters.



A baked clay paired seal.



A baked clay? seal from Moenjodaro

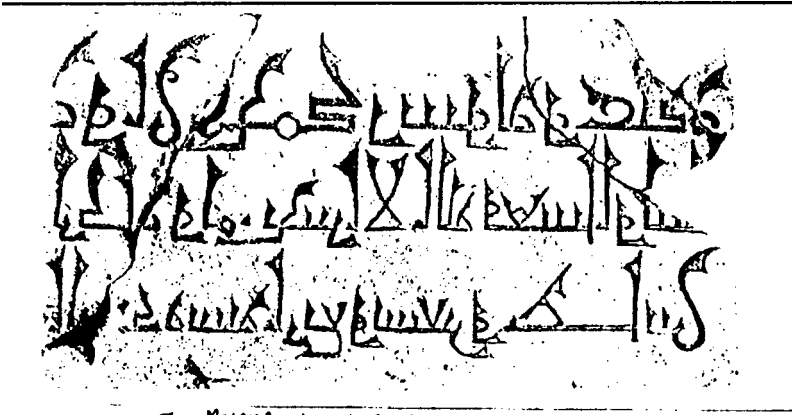


*Potsherds with letters, from the
site of Banbhore (old Debal)*

lettering on such tablets. Long back, discovery of a tablet with pictograph from Moenjodaro had shown that such tablets were in vogue in the Indus Valley Civilization.

The potsherds with lettering were discovered from excavations at Banbhore. These indicate units of measure which were in vogue in the port town of Debal for purpose of business in the 8th century A.D. or thereafter.

Beginning from the 2nd century A.H. (8th A.D.) when Arabic became the language of learning and official communication in Sindh, a new Arabic-based script for writing Sindhi began developing gradually. For convenience's sake, and appropriately enough, we may call it 'Arabic-Sindhi Script'. No information is available on the long drawn process of its development but its first adoption obviously must have been limited to the few concentrated Muslim community settlements in Sindh. As more and more of population accepted Islam during the course of centuries, the new script was adopted all over the country.



The Mosque Inscription in Arabic from Banbhore

In its first phase, during the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, the new script is likely to have been adopted in the Kufic style which was then being used in Sindh as confirmed by the Mosque inscriptions discovered at Banbhore, the ancient Debal. With transition from the Kufic to the Naskh in the 4th/10th century, the Naskh script became the permanent model for the Sindhi-Arabic script. In the 4th/10th century, Sindhi had already become a copartner with Arabic in the process of urbanization and communication. It was then being used along with

Arabic in the regions of Mansurah, Multan and Debal (Ar. Al. Daibul) as confirmed by Istakhari, Ibn Haukal and Muqaddisi in their travel accounts.⁵

As the record of Sindhi writing during the early Islamic eras has not survived, nothing can be said with certainty about the nature of the Arabic-Sindhi alphabet which was then being used, - in particular, how the more specific Sindhi phonemes were symbolized in letter forms in the new alphabet. On the basis of the earliest extant specimen available, it may be surmised that the Arabic-Sindhi script developed in two stages and on two distinct lines, both continuing concurrently. At the initial stage, the Arabic alphabet as such (in Kufic or in Naskh form) was used for writing Sindhi – each one of its eight letters (ب ت ث ج د ر ف ک) representing one or more than one Sindhi sounds. At the second stage, beginning from the 4th/10th century separate letters for Sindhi sounds were symbolized by adding dots to these eight Arabic letters.

The first line of development, i.e. the use of the Arabic alphabet for Sindhi writing, continued on at least up to the 17th century A.D. when we find the scribe Izzat b. Sulaiman transcribing some thirty-nine Sindhi treatises using Arabic alphabet only. The manuscript of his compendium dated 1067-1069 A.H. is the last single example on record of the use of Arabic alphabet for Sindhi writing.⁶ Probably this practice had fallen into disuse much earlier, having been supplanted by the popularity of the other line of development based on the tradition of dotting the Arabic letters to represent the Sindhi sounds.

As no specimen of the earlier period have survived, it is not possible to trace the origin of the dotting tradition in the development of the Arabic-Sindhi alphabet. By about 1020-1030 A.D., Beruni mentions only one script by the name of ‘*Sayindab*’ (i.e. *Saindhav/Saindhavi or Sindhi*) which was being used in the al-Mansura country⁷ (mainly, the central Sindh of today). This was the Arabic-Sindhi script, the ‘Sindhized Arabic script’ or the truly Sindhi script. On the basis of indirect evidence, it may be presumed that the graphemes for the more typical Sindhi phonemes were devised by adding dots to the corresponding Arabic letters. That there was in Sindh a long standing tradition of using dots in the writing system is confirmed by Al-Nadim who mentions the dots being supplied to the numerals for purpose of new values.⁸ Beruni who in particular was researching and re-

يا ايها النعمان فبوءه اسما جان كفون عاين كنوا ابو جسيبي نكود نكن مو
 دودن ديدي ديدي برتوتستابوا ابو جسيبي اسنو و تيلاي تيعو
 چيكي اونوزا كرو اسما كالا ابو الهي الفوق كرتيخ تبه سدوق
 اساي اسلام نه ثابت تو كدو ديدي جي ايمان بي حله خان لودو
 تو سايه يا تو جو اتوي لالا تو جيا لودو يا شاه سليمان كيدو
 خستيمان سرخو جيتي تو ويري و دو كدا يا كرم تو باري نادا ابو
 كرا يا موت جي اساتو ركدو بر ساهي ساه كنهو ساهي يا كرم
 مون و خست كنهو حله مان صبو مع جيا اخرا هو تي كنهو جون صيق
 بجه ويدا جنه تي راء حساب و جيت تان تاغي اكنو نير فرما يو
 من قار لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خالصا مخلصا دخل الجنة
 بلو حساب ولا عذاب حديث غيا او دودو كيه بهرينه بهير افينو
 چيكي ويري جني صفت بمات كينو ساغي ساري كمنسو توري كندو دودو
 اشهد ان لا اله الا الله و فده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمد عبده و رسوله

محراب الهادي ١٠٦٨
 كاسه و مال كاهو
 محمد بن محمد
 سلمان

مُؤْمِنِينَ جَنَّتْ رُؤُوسُهُمْ وَوَجَّهَتْ
 مَوَاجِيَهُمْ مَرِّهِمْ نَتَيْكَ كَلِمًا وَجِيحًا
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 راقه التفرق مولانا فقير عبد الغفور بن شيخ ابوالعزم
 اولاد شيخ احمد قاتل القربى صديق قاضي رضي الله عنه

ابن حسن

ابن نصره قريظ

هرگز دعا کند دعوا از طلبت
 او سزاوار است لعن العظماء کریم

مَرْحِي مُؤْمِنِي مَيْتِي ۛ أَحْيَا

هِيَ خَيْرٌ مِنْهَا ۛ وَتَكَلَّمَ جَدُّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ

عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ۛ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ۛ

مُحَمَّدٌ ۛ

الْمَرْحُومِي تَابِعِي تَرْجِعْهُ إِلَى جَدِّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ

الرَّقِيقِ ۛ وَتَقْرِئْهُ بِقَبْرِ أَصْنَفِ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ ۛ وَتَقْرِئْهُ

بِكَبْرِ نَبِيِّهِ عَلِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ ۛ وَتَقْرِئْهُ بِمَكْنَانِهِ ۛ

زِيَادَةً زِيَادَةً خَيْرِيَا

الْبَيْتِ الْبَارِئِ الْبَارِئِ
عَقَلِكُمْ وَحَسْبُكُمْ زِيَادَةً

الْبَيْتِ الْبَارِئِ الْبَارِئِ
عَقَلِكُمْ وَحَسْبُكُمْ زِيَادَةً

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مَقْرُونٌ
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

7
م

Mss. of 'Faraizul Islam'
Dated Bhuj (Kachh, India), 1142 H.
(British Museum).

جِي كُجَاڪِ مِ
 جِيڪِي پَدَمَا
 كِ مَرْتَن سِينِ
 كُنَا هُنُونِ اءِ تُوْبَه
 تُوڪِ رِيَانِ اڪِ
 مِيَنِ مُسْلِمَانِ اَمِيَا

هان



The present Sindhi Alphabet.



SHAH-JO-RISALO



SHAH-JO-RISALO
 12th century H.



SHAH-JO-RISALO

Scribe: Haji Hidayatullah of Hala, 1270 H.



SHAH-JO-RISALO

Scribe: Abdu'l Haq of Ha'a, 282 H.

-cording local traditions made use of the dotting practice in writing out the indigenous terminology. With his stay and inquiries in Multan, and his possible extended visits more southward as far as Mansurah,⁹ Beruni had opportunities to familiarize himself with the dotting practice followed in the Arabic-Sindhi script. He also found it convenient to use it himself because most of the vernacular words then being employed by him were more akin to the Sindhian than to any other vocabulary. According to Sachau, who edited the Arabic text of Beruni's work and later produced its English version in 'Alberuni's India',

“The numerals as well as a great many other words seem to show, as far as I have been able to compare Indian dialects, that the vernacular of Alberuni is more nearly related to Sindhi than to any other of modern Neo-Aryan languages of India”¹⁰

For his vernacular terminology, Beruni improvised new letter forms for local phonemes by supplying dots to the Arabic letters' e.g. ذ ڙ ڻ¹¹

No letters of the 'dotted Sindhized alphabet' used in Sindhi writing during the long period of six centuries following Beruni have survived. Judging by its consistent use in later times, all that can be said is that this alphabet had its continuity though no uniformity. Each scribe was adopting the dotting scheme of his own. This is to be inferred from the variety of practices followed in the manuscripts, which have survived from the 12th/17th century onward. It is in the manuscript dated 1115 A.H. (1703 A.D.) of the book *Muqaddamat al-Salat* ('Introduction to Prayer') by Makhdum Abul Hasan of Thatta, that most of the letters representing typical Sindhi sounds carry additional dots. Since this happens to be the first known work so far in which additionally dotted Arabic letters have been used for most of the Sindhi phonemes, it has been presumed that Makhdum Abul Hasan was the creator of this 'Sindhized Alphabet'. This would mean that the transition from using only the Arabic Alphabet for Sindhi phonemes to the 'Sindhized Alphabet' (using increasingly the additionally dotted Arabic letters for Sindhi phonemes) took place beginning with Makhdum Abul Hassan's work. It would also mean that the extensive pattern of dotted letters in this work had no past history. But the letter-dotting tradition in Sindh had existed long before Makhdum Abul Hasan who flourished in the 11th/17th century. Secondly, if his was the

newly created model, it would have been universally adopted subsequently. But we find the scribes of the next generation using varying patterns of dotted letters for Sindhi phonemes, even in copying out Makhdum Abul Hasan's own work. Therefore, the dotting pattern employed by Makhdum Abul Hasan, at its best, may be regarded as the more representative one of its times.

A study of the varying letter forms for Sindhi phonemes employed by different scribes in their manuscripts during the long period of more than one and a half century (1115-1270 A.H./1703-1855), shows that gradually the variety was converging to a uniformity, and a natural process of standardization of the dotted letter forms was taking place. This trend became instrumental for the adoption of a uniform Sindhi Alphabet later during the British period.

Following the British conquest of Sindh (1843 A.D.), Sindhi was adopted as the language of official business, administration, and record in 1851.¹² But simultaneously opposition was stirred up, mainly by the officials based in Bombay, against continuing the use of Arabic-Sindhi script. Captain G. Stack spearheaded this movement advocating the use of the Devanagari script for Sindhi. He even authored a dictionary and a book on grammar to demonstrate the facility in using the Devanagari script. To minimize the importance of the Arabic-Sindhi script, as being one among the many, Stack brought on record ten more scripts which were then being used by different trading communities in Sindh. His scheme of reversing the historical process of development and usage of the Arabic-Sindhi script was defeated by the more realistic views expressed among others by the two eminently qualified and knowledgeable scholars, Richard Burton and B. H. Ellis. The latter was also Chairman of the Committee on Script. In effect, opposition by the Muslim majority to the adoption of Devanagari and the continuing popularity and success of the Arabic-Sindhi script became the decisive factors for the latter's official adoption. Finally, the highest colonial authority, the Court of Directors of the Company in London, decided in their Despatch No.46 of the 8th December, 1852 "in favour of the Arabic character".¹³

It has often been assumed that 'a newly devised alphabet' was officially adopted for Sindhi under the British rule, and that it was Mr. Ellis who had 'invented' this alphabet. As already discussed, the Arabic-Sindhi alphabet had evolved as a result of scholarly effort and

usage over the past many centuries, and that it was already in vogue when Mr. Ellis considered the issue. He did not create a new alphabet but brought about uniformity in the usage of letter forms for the Sindhi phonemes by choosing one particular form for each letter out of the two or three available alternatives. In his judicious choice, Mr. Ellis was guided mainly by the usage of the Muslim scholars in their writings which he had studied meticulously.

Thus, the key role was no doubt played by Mr. Ellis who, in the words of Sir Henry Bartle Frere, Commissioner of Sindh, had “mastered Sindee to a remarkable degree”. Being guided by the written record of the early Sindhi Muslim scholars, demonstrating the use of a variety of Sindhized letter forms “invented by them or their predecessors” who had adopted Arabic alphabet to Sindhi writing, “he selected the best of the various letters so offered to his choice adding a few which were necessary to express some uncommon sounds, and to make the alphabet theoretically complete”.¹⁴

Finally the “sheet containing the alphabet revised was published in July 1853”, and “by lithographing copies, and insisting upon its being learned by all the . . . government servants, the introduction of the alphabet (was) fairly accomplished” by the year 1855.”¹⁵ obviously, it was the ‘alphabet revised’ rather than the one ‘readily devised’ that was officially introduced. No original lithographed sheet of it has become available for a proper scrutiny, but the approved alphabet as it was introduced in schools thereafter is found recorded in a contemporary manuscript dated 1270 A.H. (1855 A.D.)¹⁶, which shows that the changes made in the already current alphabet were minimal, - consisting mainly in fixing one single form (out of two or three which were in vogue) for each of the few letters and modifying the shape of some others.

ORTHOGRAPHY

Letters of alphabet are the written symbols of the specific sounds of language, while words are the self-contained meaningful symbols of language. Orthography is the way the letters are joined together to form ‘words’ and the way some words, or parts thereof, may be joined or integrated. The artistic way of shaping the letters and the stylistic form in which they are joined in word structures is calligraphy.

Sindhi orthography during the long period of its development got patterned after Arabic writing. This can be discerned from its practice of joining or not joining together some letters, as also from the initial, medial or the final letter forms in words. The formation and function of long or short vowels are also similar to Arabic. And yet, some deviations became the distinctive features of Sindhi orthography. The most typical was its use of the *tanwin*; besides its original function, as in Arabic, the *tanwin* in Sindhi was also employed for vocalization-cum-nasalization. Letter *mim*, instead of *noon*, was used to denote the long vowelised nasal word-endings – a practice that continued on up to the 13th century A.H. As in pre-modern Arabic writing, all letters in Sindhi writing were invariably vocalized. This was necessitated by the requirement of the *i'irab*, whereby the diacritical mark carried by the last letter of a noun/adjective determines its position in syntax. Besides using all the diacritical marks of Arabic, the Ulama' of Sindh invented two more marks, an inverted *pesh* and a perpendicular *zer* to denote 'o' and 'ay' sounds. Also they always wrote the words involving *tr* and *dr* phonemes by supplying an 'r', e.g. *putr* (son), *chandrr* (moon) etc.

With the introduction of the revised alphabet in 1855, school text books were required to be written in the 'Vicholo dialect' of Sindhi, i.e. the more commonly understood and hence, the standard speech of Central Sindh. But actually, the speech of the city of Hyderabad and its district towns predominated in the written texts, because the newly educated class serving in the Education Department belonged mainly to these places. As a result, the clustered *ya* sounds, the trilled 'r' sounds, and some aspirated sounds (e.g. *rrh*, *lh*, *mh*, *nh* etc.) remained neglected in the new writing system. The main loss consisted in discontinuing the use of diacritical marks, thus complicating the problem of vocalization and of the *I'irab*. These and other considerations call for streamlining the Sindhi orthography even though it stands sufficiently developed.

CALLIGRAPHY

The art of calligraphy was developed early in Sindh, and, side by side with Arabic and Persian, it was also cultivated in Sindhi writing.

The ornamental floriated Kufic inscription from the Jami'a Mosque of Banbhore shows that the art of Arabic calligraphy in Sindh

was highly developed as early as the 3rd century A.H. There is a long gap of more than four centuries following this early monumental specimen of calligraphy as no earlier comparable examples of later period have come to light so far. But the tradition would appear to have continued on, and eventually it flourished in the city of Thatta which was founded in the 14th century A.D. and remained the capital of Sindh for the next four centuries during which arts and crafts received full patronage. Talented calligraphers thronged Thatta, not only from different cities of Sindh but also from the distant city of Herat which was on the decline due to the rise of the Safavids in Iran.

Though no earlier work on Sindh's or Thatta's calligraphers has survived, histories of the later Mughul period and the two important works *Tuhfat al-Kiram* and *Maqalat al-Shu'ara* of Mir Ali Sher Qan'i of Thatta carry numerous references to the calligraphers who flourished in Thatta during the rule of the Sammas, the Arghuns, the Turkhans and the Mughals (15th-17th centuries). During the rule of the Kalhoras (18th century), Thatta ceased to be the capital and the tradition of calligraphy also received a set-back, but soon thereafter it was revived with vigour during the Talpur rule (1783-1843). "The Talpur rulers were also liberal patrons of learning. Every prince had a library of his own and the institution of library demanded a large number of professional calligraphers. Many calligraphers flocked to their court. Apart from Sindhi calligraphers, many calligraphers from Iran and other parts of India also assembled in their courts. Among the Iranians, Syed Ali Shirazi. Mir Husain Ali Naqash. Ali Bab Shirazi, Ghulam Ahmad Khattat, Ali Murad Khattat, Syed Muhammad Raz Husaini, Mushkin Qalam were prominent"¹⁷

Thus, up to the 12th and the 13th centuries A.H. (18th and 19th A.D.), the art of calligraphy, including Sindhi calligraphy, was widely practised in Sindh and some of its techniques were so very familiar that the great poet Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1752) employed a simili from calligraphy in one of his verses:

As the scribes write *alif* and *lam* entwined together
So has the beloved remained close to my heart.¹⁸

Writing in the middle of the 19th century, Richard Burton observed:

"The people of Sindh were at one time celebrated for their skill in calligraphy. At present, however, they have only three hands— *Naskhi* ... *Nasta'lik* ... *Shikastah* ... I have seen some

excellent specimens of the *Naskhi*, and generally speaking, this character is well written in Sindh ... The Talpur Ameer were great patrons of calligraphists, and used occasionally to send to Persia for a well known penman".¹⁹

Like Persian manuscripts, some of the local scribes also produced Sindhi manuscripts in excellent calligraphy with decorated front pages and borders. The art of calligraphy declined after the Maktab (lit. 'the place for writing'), which had been the strong base for training in calligraphy, lost its importance under the new school system introduced during the mid 19th century A.D. after the British occupation of Sindh (1843). And yet, a number of specimens from the manuscripts of the latter half of the 19th century show the continuity of a high level of achievement. Scholars may identify some of the more specific features of the Sindhi calligraphy from the record of specimen illustrated in the book "Sindhi Script and Orthography," published by the Sindhi Language Authority.²⁰ The manuscripts of *Shah-jo-Risalo* scribed by Abdul Haq in 1270 A. H. (1854) and Haji Hidayatullah in 1282 H. (see photos) are examples of Sindhi calligraphy-cum-decorative art practised in later times.

With the introduction of litho printing in Bombay in the last quarter of the 19th century, the tradition of calligraphy in Sindh further declined. Sindh was then a part of the Bombay Presidency and being in close communication, Sindhi books were soon printed in litho from Bombay. Businessmen from the Memon community of Kathiawar set up Litho Printing Presses in Bombay and employed scribes from Sindh to copy out Sindhi manuscripts for print. A lithographed edition of the whole text of *Shah-jo-Risalo* was published from the Haidari Press, Bombay about the same year (1282 / 83 A.H.) in which Ernest Trumpp published an incomplete text of the *Risalo* (in 1866 A.D.) from Leipzig (Germany) in the Sindhi type-script especially devised by him. The place of honour from amongst the scribes goes to Haji Muhammad Sammo of Sindh (later settled in Makka) who transcribed *Shah-jo-Risalo* for litho printing for the first time. He also transcribed other texts, and subsequently others followed him. They kept copying Sindhi manuscripts in good hand for litho printing up to the middle of the 14th / 20th century.

REFERENCES

1. Of these names, Beruni gives more than forty (40) Sindhian names on the authority of Kitab al-Adviyya authored by an earlier scholar Bishr b. Abd al-Wahhab Al-Fazari who had collected his information in Sindh probably during the 4th century A.H. The rest he has supplied from his own inquiries at Multan and probably also at Mansurah. The count (75) is based on my study of the manuscripts of Kitab al-Saidana, particularly the oldest one (originally of the Qushun lu Oglu Collection) preserved in the Public Library of Bursa, Turkey. The book has lately been published by the Hamdard National Foundation, Pakistan (Karachi 1973) and is available for a more detailed study.
2. This work, a detailed one, was in Arabic. Subsequently, in 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.), the author prepared a digest of it in Persian for wider use in the teaching profession. The main work which was extant up to the 12th/18th century is probably lost, but the digest, *Hasil al-Nahj*, has survived. It was edited and published by me from Institute of Education, University of Sindh in 1969 A.D.
3. Al-Nadim, Muhammad b. Ishaq: *Kitab al-Fihrist*, Arabic text, Cairo, 1348 A.H., p.27.
4. C.f. Report by the Pakistan Department of Archaeology entitled BANBHORE, third revised edition, 1969 (photo on p.16).
5. Istakhari: *Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik*, Leiden 1870, p.177. Ibn Hawkal: *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, Leiden 1872, p.232; Muqaddisi: *K. Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, Leiden, p.479.
6. Discovered and edited by N.A. Baloch, published by Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad Sindh, 1414/1993.
7. Beruni has recorded the names of eleven main scripts which were in use in the whole of India of his times. He has also given the names of the countries in which each script was being used. When he said that 'Sayindab' script was being used in Al-Mansura, he meant the country of Al-Mansura, i.e. Sindh proper as distinct from AL-SIND which was the name of the whole dominion. Occurrence of the name of 'Al-Sind' in his description of the two other scripts, *Ardhanagari* and *Malaphari*, has created a misunderstanding (to which I also fell a prey) mainly due to Sachau's somewhat confused English version of Beruni's description (vide *Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, Vol. I, p.173) as if these two scripts were also being used in Sindh proper. For Beruni's text, see *Kitab ma-li al-Hind* etc., Arabic text, Hyderabad Daccan, 1377 A.H./1958 A.D., p.135.
8. Al-Nadim: *Kitab al-Fihrist*, op. cit., p.27
9. Vide, Baloch N. A. (ed): Al-Beruni's "*Ghurra al-Zijar*", Sindh University, Hyderabad Sindh, 1973, Introduction, pp.39-43.
10. Sachau: Edward C.: Introduction to the Arabic text of 'Alberuni's India', p.xxxv. Also *Alberuni's India*, London 1910, Vol. II, p.399 (annotations).
11. For instance, in such words as *بشتہ — ملتغاري* (pp.135, 142) *متر — متر* (pp.163, 176) *مژند* See *Kitab ma li al-Hind*, Hyderabad Deccan edition which is based on the oldest extant Mss. of the Bibl. Nationale

- (Schefer 6080), Paris.
12. Under a circular of the Bombay Government, No.1825 of 6th September, 1851.
 13. Report on Education in Sindh, Bombay, 1856, paragraphs 37-42.
 14. Paragraphs 3 and 9 of his letter forwarding the 'Report on State of Education in Sindh' drawn up by Mr. B. H. Ellis, to the Director of Public Instructions, Bombay.
 15. Sindh Commissioner Mr. H. B. Frere's forwarding letter, paragraphs 3 and 9.
 16. See the photo,
 17. Cf. Ghaffur, M.A: 'The Calligraphers of Thatta', Pakistan-Iran Cultural Association; Karachi, 1963, p.47.
 18. The verse is from 'Sur Yaman' of *Shah-jo-Risalo*. In love poetry, *alif* symbolises beloved's tall stature, *qaf* the rings of curly hair over cars and temples, and *alif* with *lam* entwined being the symbol of love embrace.
 19. Burton, Richard F: *Sindh and the Races That Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, W.II, Allen and Company, London, 1851 (Chapter VI).
 20. Baloch, N. A.: *Sindhi Surat Khatti aen Khattati/Sindhi Script and Orthography*, Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 1413/1992.
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XI

THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF HOLY QURAN

In his book *'Aja'ib al-Hind*, Buzurg b. Shahryar has reported what might have been a translation-cum-commentary of Holy Quran done in the year 270 A.H. (July 883-June 884 A.D.) by a scholar of Mansurah, the capital of 'Al-Sind', for the benefit of a ruling prince on the side of Kashmir. According to this reference, it would be the first translation of Holy Quran made in 'Sind—Hind', as the South-Asian Subcontinent was then known, and even perhaps the first one (?) ever made in any language anywhere else. For, no other reference is available for any other translation having been made prior to this date. But the report is a unique one which though quoted in some modern works,¹ has not been evaluated in the light of history. Its direct confirmation in contemporary or later sources is not available. It is, therefore, proposed to examine whether the fact of the translation having been made as early as the third century of the Hijra can be substantiated on the basis of circumstantial evidence. The original Arabic text of the report is appended for reference. The following is its close translation:

'Among the other (wonders) in Hind is what I was informed about it at Basrah by Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. 'Amr b. Hammawaih b. Haram b. Hammawaih al-Najirani who said:

I was in Mansurah in the year two hundred and eighty-eight (of the Hijrah) when some of the pious and learned men of the city whose word could be trusted related it to me that King Rai—who is one of the great rulers in the territories of Hind, and whose kingdom is situated between Upper Kashmir and Lower Kashmir—Mahruk b. Rayaq by name, wrote to 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the ruler of Mansurah, in the year two

hundred and seventy (of the Hijrah), requesting him (to arrange) to explain *Religion of Islam* to him (the Rai) in *Hindiyyah* (language). Abdullah then sent for a man who was (then living) in Mansurah but was of Iraq by origin (birth), and was very intelligent, of fine understanding and a poet: also he had grown up there among the people of Hind and understood their languages with all the difference in them. He (Abdullah) explained to him (the scholar) what King Rai had asked for. He (this scholar) then composed a poem in which he explained what he (the Rai) needed and sent it to him. When it was read out to King Rai, he very much appreciated it, and wrote back to AbdulJah to send the composer of the poem to him. So he was sent to him, and he stayed with him for three years and then returned. Then, Abdullah inquired from him about the affairs of King Rai and he gave him all information about him also (mentioning) that when he departed from him, he (the Rai) had accepted Islam by inner conviction as well as by word of mouth, though he could not openly declare (his acceptance of) Islam for fear of his status and loss of his kingdom.

And among what else he reported about him was that he (the Rai) had asked him to translate and explain the Quran to him in *Hindiyyah* (language), and he did it. He (the scholar) said: I translated and explained (from the beginning) till I reached the Surah *Ya'sin*. Then he said: I translated and explained (therein) to him the word of Allah the Most High and Mighty.

He said: Who will bring to life the bones that have crumbled to dust! Say: He Who brought them into being in the first instance, will bring them back to life—and He is All-Knowing about all the creation².

He (the scholar) said: When I translated and explained this to him—and he was sitting on his throne of gold inlaid with priceless jewels and pearls—he asked 'Repeat it to me', and I repeated it. He then got down from his throne and started walking on the ground which was sprinkled with water and was wet. He then (prostrated and) placed his cheek on the ground weeping, till his whole face was smeared with mud. Then he said to me: 'Indeed He is the Sustainer Worthy of Worship and the First Eternal and none is like Him'.

He (the Rai) then built a house for himself and announced that he was going into seclusion for something important. There (in fact) he used to offer *Salat* (prayers) secretly so that none would know it. And also thrice he (the Rai) gifted me six hundred *manns* of gold’.

The main ingredients of this report are as follows. (i) The request was addressed to the ruler of Sindh, (ii) whose capital was the city of Mansurah, (iii) whose name was 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, and he was ruling therein the year 270 A.H. (iv) The request for explaining the 'Religion of Islam' (*Shari'at al-Islam*) and thereafter for translating/explaining the Holy Quran in the *Hindiyyah* language was met by a scholar from the city of Mansurah who had the necessary expertise in that language. (v) The request was made by the ruler whose kingdom was situated close to the territories of Kashmir.

These specific aspects of the report are proposed to be examined in order to determine whether each in itself is plausible enough in its historical context and whether, when all put together, they provide the cumulative evidence relevant to the confirmation of this report.

(i) SINDH AND THE STUDY OF ISLAM AND QURAN

Sindh came under Muslim rule with the conquest of Muhammad b. Qasim as early as 93-96 A.H. (712-715 A.D.) Mosque being the central institution of Islam, Muhammad b. Qasim founded mosques in towns and cities, such as the port of Debal, Nirun, Siwistan, and he sent a letter to Hajjaj informing him that everywhere mosques and pulpits had been founded, and the prayer call (*adhan*), congregation and the *khutba* had been established³. Following the conquest of Multan, an official communication was received from Hajjaj directing, among others, that in every important village, town and city, mosques and pulpits be built, the Friday *Khutba* be recited, and coins struck in the name of the Caliph⁴.

The first mosque was the one which was founded in Debal, as early as the first month of 93 A.H. (Oct.-Dec., 711) as specifically mentioned by Baladhuri⁵. Its foundations have been brought to light in the course of archaeological excavations at Banbhore, the site of Debal about 40 miles S.E. of Karachi along with its 17 Kufic inscriptions, one of them commemorating the rebuilding or repair of the mosque in the

year 274 A.H. (887—8) and the other perhaps even of an earlier date⁶. A part of the arch of the main gate of the *Jamia* of Aror rebuilt during the Moghul period (16th/17th century), still stands on the original site. Also the *Jamia* of Multan stood on its original site until it was demolished by Jalam b. Shaiban⁷ in 357 A.H. Not only Muhammad b. Qasim founded mosques but also appointed *Imams* and *Qadis*. *Fathnama* preserves the information that he had appointed *Imam* at the mosque founded in Nirun, while at the mosque founded in the capital city of Aror he had appointed Musa b. Yaqub (b. Ta'i b-Muhammad b. Musa b. Shaiban b. 'Uthman) al-Thaqafi and entrusted the functions of *imamah* and *qada* to him⁸.

These and other mosques established in the early 2nd century of that Hijra (8th A.D.) became educational centres for the study of Islam. From the very beginning, attention remained centered on the study of the Holy Quran and the Hadith, For the benefit of the new Sindo-Muslim community entering into the fold of Islam, it was but essential to literally translate and explain the word of Allah and the tradition of the Prophet strictly in accordance with the text without devastation. During the next two centuries, Debal became a centre for the specialized study of the Hadith and the newly founded capital city of Mansurah (see below) became a centre for the study of Quran. Abu Ja'far al-Sindi and other scholars from Debal made distinct contributions to the study of Hadith. Dhahbi (in *Mizan al-'itidal*, quoting Tirmidhi) says that according to Bukhari, 'Amr b. Malik al-Rasibi was a *kadhhab* (liar) because he had the Hadith book of Abu Ja'far al-Sindi with him into which he made interpolations. Ibn al-Nadim (*al'Fihrist*), al-Sam'ani (*Tadhkirah and Mizan*) and others have mentioned a number of scholars from Sindh who flourished from 3rd/4th century A. H. onwards. Just as in Andalus (Spain) and Central Persia (Isfahan) so also in the distant non-Arab Sindh, the obvious literal meaning of Quran and Hadith were taken to be the sole guide for formulating the laws of Islam (*Shari'at al-Ialain*). This led to the development of the *Zahiriyyah* School of Jurisprudence (Fiqh). In the very same year 270/884, as mentioned in the report under consideration, Abu Sulaiman Dawud b. Khalaf of Isfahan founded the *Zahrriyah* School. In the institutions of Sindh study of Holy Quran and Hadith and the formulation of laws of Shari'ah had been proceeding on the same lines, and the scholars who had emerged from these institutions readily agreed with and accepted what had been established

independently by Abu Sulaiman Dawud of Isfahan. Among them, the most prominent was Qadi Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tamimi of Mansurah, a renowned jurist whom both Sam'ani (the author of *Kitab al-Ansab*) and (in 357 A.H.) Bashshari al-Muqaddasi (the author of *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rafat al-Aqalim*) had met personally.

The tradition of studying and literally translating Holy Quran established since the 2nd century of the Hijra continued in Sindh, though the city of Mansurah had lost its prominence and eventually fell into ruin⁹ some time during the 7th/13th century. Thus, even the earliest Persian translation of Holy Quran, which has survived and which might be the very first one in Persian produced in the Subcontinent, was made in Sindh by the saint scholar Makhdum Nuh (d. 988 A.H.) of Hala some time during the last years of his life in the second half of the 10th century A.H.¹⁰ A number of translations have been made into Sindhi (the earliest available one made in the 12th/18th century having survived) including a versified one made lately (1415 A.H.) by Maulana Ahmad Mallah.

It is, therefore, understandable that the request for the explanation of *Shariat at-Islam* should have been addressed to the ruler of Mansurah which was a centre of study for Islam and Quran in 270 A.H., as it had been before that year and subsequently.

(ii) THE CITY OF MANSURAH

Mansurah, the Arab capital of Sind, comes under frequent reference during the 4th century A.H. and subsequently in a number of contemporary sources, but its existence prior to 270 A.H. also finds mention in earlier and authentic works such as *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik* of Ibn Khurdadbeh compiled in 232 A.H. (846 A.D.),¹¹ and in *Futuh al-Buldon* of Baladhuri (d. 279/80) in the context of earlier events¹² of the Abbasid period beginning from al-Mansur till the reign of al-Mu'tasim Billah (218-227/833-42). Baladhuri has made a special mention of the foundation of the city of Mansurah by 'Amr (the son of Muhammad b. Qasim) during the governorship of Hakam b. 'Awanah al-Kalbi (112-124 A.H.) under whom 'Amr was serving as a commander. It was named *al-Mansucah* ('The Victorious') in order to commemorate the victories achieved at that time.¹³

As already observed, as early as 94 A.H./712 A.D., following

the conquest of Multan, Hajjaj had directed Muhammad b. Qasim in one of his letters that, among others, *coins be struck* in the name of the ruling caliph. These instructions, like others, must have been carried out. Numismatic evidence shows that, later on, immediately after its foundation during the years 112-116 A.H. Mansurah had become a mint centre in Sind. A copper coin struck during the year 116/734-5, has fortunately come to light and is preserved in the British Museum.¹⁴ Thus, by the year 270 A.H not only the city of Mansurah was very much there, but it was highly developed and had a history of more than 150 years behind it.

(iii) THE RULER OF MANSURAH IN 270 A.H.

'Abdullah b. Umar b. 'Abd ol-'Aziz is mentioned in the report as the ruler of Mansurah. Both he and the Habbari dynasty to which he belonged are well known.¹⁵ He belonged to the *qabila* of Habbaris (of the Banu Asad sub-stock of the Quraishites) who had established their first dynastic rule in Sind with the weakening of the central authority of the Abbasid Caliphate. His father 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubair b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Habbar b. al-Aswad) was the founder of this dynasty, being the first one to rule independently in Sind, from the capital city of Mansurah, following the death of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 247/847.

According to Buzurg b. Shahryar's report 'Abdullah, the son of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, was the ruler of Mansurah in 270 A.D. This is as it should be, because his regnal period came in between his father 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz who had assumed power in 247/847, and his own son 'Umar b. 'Abdullah who had succeeded him and who was still ruling in Mansurah when Mas'udi visited the city in 302 A.H. (27 July 914-17 July 915).¹⁶

(iv) THE MANSURAH SCHOLAR'S EXPERTISE IN TRANSLATING/EXPLAINING INTO HINDIYYAH

The process of learning the local languages of Sind and Hind had commenced with the campaigns of Muhammad b. Qasim (92-96/711-715). Numerous references in *Fathnama*, *Futuh al-Buldan* and other sources show that, during this period, communication was established with the local people, information was gathered for purpose of strategies, messages were exchanged between opposite camps,

emissaries were sent to chiefs and rulers, and peace treaties were negotiated with them. Muhammad b. Qasim's transactions were not limited only to Sind and Multan but extended up to the frontiers of Kashmir in the north, the Gurjara Kingdom of Kannauj to the north-east, the kingdoms of 'Bhatiya' and 'Ramal' (Jesalmer/Bikaner?) to the east of Sind, the kingdom of Bhinmal (*Bailman*) to the south-east, and the kingdoms of Kutch (*Qassah*) and Sauashtra (*Surest*) in Kathiawar, and Kheda (*Kaira*) in Gujarat to the south¹⁷. Therefore, acquaintance with languages of the countries and their rulers there must have become a practical necessity.

Muhammad b. Qasim had officers in his army who knew Sindhi and also possibly some other languages. After the surrender of the city of Brahmanabad, the peace treaty was negotiated through two officers, Tamim b. Zaid al-Qaini and al-Hakam b. 'Awanah al-Kalbi'¹⁸, who had gained confidence of the city chiefs probably due to their language ability, and who were therefore appointed later as Governors of Sind¹⁹. Also, some local scholars and chiefs had accepted Islam and they became available for communication, translation and teaching²⁰. With the passage of time, learning of local languages came to be dictated by administrative and diplomatic needs. Junaid b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Murri was probably the first Governor of Sind (724-729 A.D.) who appointed Bukair b. Mahan, an accomplished linguist originally belonging to Kufah, as his official translator²¹.

A significant contribution towards learning and teaching the local languages would appear to have been made by Muhammad b. al-Harith al-'Ilafi and his men (more than five hundred of them) who had sought refuge with Dahar²², became the mainstay of his army and fought for him against his neighbouring adversaries. They were there for about six years (87-93) prior to the arrival of Muhammad b. Qasim. Muhammad 'Ilafi had remained a trusted advisor of Dahar, was his chief commander in the battle against the ruler of Ramal and, probably, had been visiting for him the neighbouring rulers, particularly of Bailman (Bhillamala) who might have been Dahar's ally against Ramal. It was through Muhammad 'Ilafi's influence that some of the native *Bailmani* families had accepted Islam and studied Arabic with the result that a number of them became distinguished traditionists.²³ This first generation of Bailamani Muslims helped other Muslim scholars from outside to learn some of the contemporary local languages and also Sanskrit. After its foundation, Mansurah had

become a centre not only for the study of Quran and Hadith but also for Indo-Arabic studies almost three decades before the foundation of Baghdad in 762 A.D. The ruler of Bhillamala had concluded a peace treaty with Muhammad b. Qasim and had also accepted Islam. This city had a flourishing tradition of astronomical studies, and it was probably through the assistance of some Bailmani scholars that the two important works of Brahmagupta of Billamala, viz., *Karana Khandakhadyaka* and *Brahma'Siddhanta* were translated into Arabic by Ibrahim b. Habib al-Fazari and his son Muhammad al-Fazari, the former at Mansurah in 117A.H. within a few years after its foundation (112-116/730-734)²⁴.

The scholarly circle of Indo-Arabic studies in Mansurah continued their work on mediating knowledge by translating from Sanskrit into Arabic and vice versa. Mansurah, the Arab capital of Sind, was the most closely located centre for the study and translation of original Sanskrit sources. As a result, scholars in Baghdad continued to get first hand information from scholars who came from Sind including those who visited as members of official deputations from Sind²⁵. Such deputations from Sind are known to have visited the Abbasid court in the years²⁶ 136 A.H. / 754, 154 / 771, 156 / 773, 161 / 777-78. According to Beruni²⁷, Muhammad al-Fazari, Ya'qub b. Tariq and Abu al-Hasan of Ahwaz had discussions with the scholar member of that particular delegation from Sind that had visited in the year 154 / 771. These events of the early Abbasid period indicate that Mansurah had continued on the scholarly tradition of the study of Sanskrit works which was established there some decades earlier. Visits between the Arab scholars and the Sindhian scholars of different pursuits come under frequent reference during later period, indicating that the tradition of language study had continued in Sind. Subsequently, it was at its best in the capital city of Mansurah, probably during the second half of the 3rd century A.H. when the request for explaining *Shari'ah of Islam in Hindiyyah* was made to its ruler.

Mention of *Hindiyyah* in this report happens to be one of the earliest references on this subject on record. In Arabic works (religious, literary or scientific) produced before the year of this report, 270 A.H., or for that matter before 300 A.H. by which year Buzurg's own book probably stood completed, a similar reference to the language by this specific name is nowhere to be found (?) though *al-Hind* as the name of the country and as the territorial name for its people is frequently

mentioned. The reference in the report may be to the commonly spoken vernacular which was then a sort of lingua franca, but probably Sanskrit is meant here. That Sanskrit was called *Hindiyyah* a century and a half later stands confirmed. Beruni in his works authored during the 1st half of the 4th /11th century uses the general term *Lughat al-Hind*²⁸ for Sanskrit; but he also sometimes names it as *al-Hindiyyah*²⁹, or at times more specifically as *al-Hindiyyat al-Qadmah*³⁰. Referring to the Indian terminology used in the works produced during the early Abbasid period, he says that he also found therein some terms of *al-Hindfyyah*,³¹ meaning thereby Sanskrit. As already observed, study of Sanskrit and translation from it were being made in Sind during that early period and, thus, *al-Hindiyyah* was probably the name for Sanskrit contemporarily used both in Mansurah and Baghdad. It is also to be noted that the request had come from the side of Kashmir where Sanskrit was the language of religious knowledge, and also the request was made to the ruler of Mansurah where the knowledge of Holy Quran and Islam as also the expertise of translating from and into Sanskrit was available.

(v) THE RULER WHO MADE THE REQUEST

According to the report, the request was made by the ruler whose kingdom was situated between 'Upper Kashmir' and 'Lower Kashmir'. Obviously, it was located somewhere in the northern Punjab. Its identification with the Takia, Takian or Takka country (the ancient Tseh-Kia / Takkadesha) is plausible in historical context. During the Islamic period beginning from the 8th century, it is referred to as *Bilad-i Takiya* in *Fathnama*, and as *Taqi*, *Taqan*, or *Taqin* in the geographical literature during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Thus, Ibn Khurdadhbeh (232/ 846), Merchant Sulaiman (237/851), Ibn Rustah (300/912), Mas'udi (332/943), and the author of *Hudud al-'Alam* (372/982), all mention it. Both the Takka country and Kashmir are mentioned together, as being adjacent to one another. Mas'udi also mentions the two rulers, the 'Rai of Kashmir' and the 'King of Taqan' together. Takesar (Taxila) was the capital of *Bilad-i Takiya* in the 7th/8th century A.D. From its central Takesar (Taxila) region, its boundaries extended to the Indus in the north and west and to the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers to the south and the east. This location is approximately in between the southern regions of Kashmir.³²

In the report, the title of the King is given as 'King Rai' (*Malik*

al~ Ra). Mas'udi who mentions Kashmir and Taqan (Takka) together, has also referred to the two rulers together but with different titles : he has mentioned the ruler of Kashmir as 'Rai' and clarified that 'Rai' is the special title of the rulers of Kashmir (just as *Baura* is of the rulers of Kannauj and *Balahra* of the rulers of Mankir/Deccan), with a further observation that others also use this title.³³ This was when Mas'udi wrote about four decades later.³⁴ Earlier in 270 A.H., as mentioned in the Buzurg's report, the title of the ruler was *Malik al-Rai* from which it may be inferred that he had attained the political power and status to take the additional title of 'Rai' along with their hereditary title of 'Malik'(which is obviously an Arabic toponym for the original one which is not recorded).

The relevance of the request and the time period in which it was made raise the question of its motivation, particularly when King Rai and his kingdom were situated far north at a considerable distance from Mansurah. Was it that the message of Islam had reached him earlier from Sind, or had the Muslims arrived in his kingdom and met him there?

Fathnama which is a translation of the early Arab records and which has preserved a detailed account of Muhammad b. Qasim's campaigns in Sind and beyond Sind, has also preserved the information that after his conquest of Multan (713 A.H.), Muhammad b. Qasim had marched on to the north and subjugated Karor, Ishbhar and Brahmapur (situated on the bank of the Jhelum river), and reached the frontiers of the Takka country and Kashmir.³⁵ Later on during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Mansur (136-158 A.H./754-775 A.D.), his governor in Sind, Hisham b. 'Amr al-Taghlabi was victorious in Kashmir.³⁶ However, it was not the military prowess or the victories of the Muslim commanders which had motivated the rulers in the far north towards Islam. This was the result of the personal contacts made with them by some devoted Muslim individuals. Among them was Muhammad b. al-Harith al-'Ilafi whose success in spreading the message of Islam in Bailman has been mentioned earlier. Sometime before the decisive battle between Muhammad b. Qasim and Dahar (93 A.H./712), the latter had attached Muhammad Ilafi with Jaisinh (Dahar's son) with whom Muhammad 'Ilafi had accompanied to Chitor on Dahar's death in the battle. At Chitor, Muhammad 'Ilafi separated from Jaisinh and went along with his men to *Bilad-i Takiyu* (Takka country) and then to

Kashmir. *Fathnama* has preserved a detailed account of his sojourns there as under:

From there (Chitor), 'Ilafi separated from Jaisinh and reached 'Bilad-i Takiya'. Then he decided to offer his services to the ruler of Kashmir, and traveled onwards till he arrived in the vicinity of Rustan on the frontier of *Ruyam/Ravim*³⁷ which is a barren desert-like region. From there he sent letters to the capital city of Rajairi situated in the mountains. King of Kashmir read his despatches and issued an order whereby Shakalhar (district) was granted as an estate to 'Ilafi. When 'Ilafi had personal audience with the King, he gifted 250 horses of best breed to him and his companions. He (Muhammad 'Ilafi) then sent (his deputy) Jahm b. Samah al-Shami to manage for him the estate of Shakalhar. When he (Muhammad 'Ilafi) had a second audience with the King he was given a crown (*chhatr*), a chair (*kursi*), a *nava* (?) and a palanquin (*doli*)—an honour which is only bestowed on great kings. The King then ordered a royal escort for him to (another estate granted to him in) the district of Sahal where he stayed for some time. Thereafter he lived in Shakalhar and died there. Jahm b. Samah succeeded him, and his descendants continue to be there to this day (613/1216). He founded mosques, attained highest status and position, and was held in high esteem by the King of Kashmir.³⁸

The last lines are noteworthy. Jahm b. Samah who had succeeded Muhammad 'Ilafi continued to spread the message of Islam and founded mosques (plu.) there and elsewhere. Ali Kufi who translated the original Arabic record as *Fathnama* in 613 (1216) says that the descendants of Jahm b. Samah *are still there at Shakalhdr in Kashmir* (in that year). It is to be presumed that after the death of Jahm, his son and their sons continued the mission of Muhammad 'Ilafi in Kashmir and in the neighbouring countries including the Takka Kingdom. It was probably the result of their devoted work that the beliefs and ideals of Islam had a lasting impact in the northern region, where sizeable Muslim communities would appear to have grown up within the next two centuries. Thus, writing in 232/846 Ibn Khurdadhbeh considered it necessary to mention the direction of *qibla* for Kashmir³⁹ along with other places where there were Muslims. Also Baladhuri has recorded an important report that during the reign of the

Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim Bi'llah (218-227 A.H./833-842), the ruler of Usaifan situated in the region between Kashmir, Multan and Kabul, having lost faith in his temple gods, invited some Muslim merchants who explained monotheism to him and he accepted Islam and became a Muslim⁴⁰. It was only about four to five decades after this, in the year 270 A.H. that King Rai from the same northern region was looking for a knowledgeable Muslim scholar who would explain *Shari'ah of Islam* to him. His identification with the ruler of Takesar and the Takka country having been affirmed, it also stands confirmed that though King Rai had not openly declared his Islam, it must have been obvious to his sons, courtiers and people that his attitude towards Islam was most favourable and that he had held his visiting teacher (and any other Muslims who might have met him) in high esteem. This probably left a lasting impression on them all, including his heir who succeeded him. Four decades later, when Mas'udi wrote, King Rai must have been an old man (or may be that his son had already succeeded him). Mas'udi who had first hand information available to him, specifically records that (the ruler of) Taqan or Taqin (Takka country) was on conciliatory terms with the neighbouring rulers and that he held the Muslims in high esteem.⁴¹

CONCLUSION

All the aspects of Buzurg's report have been examined in the context of their historical setting. This evaluation is necessarily circumscribed by the evidence which has become available to the present writer so far. Though largely a circumstantial evidence, it clearly and conclusively reveals that no contradictions are involved in any of the ingredients of this report, and that it stands substantiated on facts and valid inferences. As such, it is to be regarded authentic and correct in content. Its internal validity also confirms its authenticity. It is factual and detailed in giving the specific year, the name of the reporter, the place where the report was made, the name of the ruler of Mansurah, the name and the title of the king who had made the request and the general location of his kingdom, the arrangement that the ruler of Mansurah had made, and the background of the scholar who carried out the assignment. A further examination of the different aspects of this unique report, for which there is certainly still room left, is most likely to confirm it.

كتاب عجائب الهند، بره و بحرہ و جزایرہ

تصنيف بزرگ بن شهریار

الناخذاه الرام هرمزی

طبع لائیدن - برل، ۱۸۸۳ - ۱۸۸۶ء (صفحة: ۲-۴)

فمما فى الهند ما حدثنا به أبو محم الحمن بن عمرو ابن حمويه بن حرام بن حمويه النجيرمى بالبصرة قال: كنت بالمنصورة فى سنة ثمان و ثمانين و مائتين، وحدثنى بعض مشايخها ممن يوثق به أن ملك الراى * وهو أكبر ملوك بلاد الهند والناحية التى هو بها بين قشمير الاعلى وقشمير الأسفل، وكان يسمى مهروك بن رايق - كتب فى سنة سبعين و مائتين الى صاحب المنصورة - وهو عبد الله بن عمر بن عبدالعزيز - يسأله أن يفسر له شريعة الاسلام بالهندية - فأحضر عبد الله هذ رجلا كان بالمنصورة اصله من العراق حد القريحة حسن الفهم شاعراً، قد نشأ ببلاد الهند و عرف لغاتهم على اختلافها - فعرفه ما سأله ملك الراى - فعمل قصيدة و ذكر فيها ما يحتاج اليح وأنفذا اليه - فلما قرئت على ملك الراى استحسنها و كتب الى عبد الله يسأله حمل صاحب القصيدة فحمله اليه و أقام عنده ثلاث سنين ثم انصرف عنه - فسأله عبد الله عن أمر ملك الراى فشرح له أخباره و أنه تركه و قد أسلم قلبه ولسانه، وأنه لم يمكنه اظهار الاسلام خوفا من بطلان أمره و ذهاب ملكه.

وكان فيما حكاه عنه أنه سأله ان يفسر له القرآن بالهندية ففسر له - قال: فانتهيت من التفسير الى سورة 'ياسين' قال: ففسرت له قول الله عز وجل ﴿قَالَ مَنْ يُحْيِي الْعِظَامَ وَهِيَ رَمِيمٌ﴾ قَالَ يُحْيِيهَا الَّذِي أَنْشَأَهَا أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ ﴿﴾ قال: فلما فسرته له هذا، وهو جالس على سريره من ذهب مرصع بالجواهر والدر لا تعرف له قيمة، قال لى: اعد على فاعدت - فنزل عن سريره ومشى على الأرض و كانت قد رشت بالماء و هى ندية، فوضع خده على الأرض و بكى حتى تلوث وجهه بالطين. ثم قال لى: هذا هو الرب المعبود و الأول القديم الذى ليس يشبهه أحد - و بنا بيتا لنفسه، و أظهر أنه يخلو فيه لمهمة و كان يصلى فيه سراً من غير أن يطلع على ذلك أحد و أنه و هب له فى ثلاث دفعات ستمائة مناً من ذهب.

* الأصل. ملك الرا

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2. Cf. the verse of Surah *Yasin*, No. 78 (the second half) and No. 79.
3. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, De Goeje's ed. Brill, 1866, pp. 437 and 439; *Fathnama* (erroneously called 'Chachnama'), Persian text ed. N. A. Baloch, Islamabad, 1982, pp.87, 183.
4. *Fathnama*, op. cit., p. 93.
5. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, op. cit., p. 437.
6. Khan, F. A.: *Banbhore*, A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archeological Excavations at Banbhore, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, 4th ed., 1976, pp. 24-31 and 52.
7. *Alberuni's India*, Eng. tr., Lahore reprint, 1962, Vol. I, p.157.
8. *Fathnama*, op. cit., pp. 87 & 179.
9. The most extensive and imposing ruins of the city, lie about seven miles to the S.E. of Shahdadpur, in the Sanghar district of Sindh.
10. The manuscript completed by his disciple Bahauddin Godirio in the year 1013 A.H. has survived and it has now (1402 1982) been printed and published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro, Sindh, Pakistan.
11. Ibn Khurdadbeh, *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, De Goeje's edition, BGA Series, No. V (See the Index). The second draft was made by the author in 272/885.
12. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, op. cit., p. 445.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
14. John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, Vol. II, 1956, No. 927, p.281.
15. An evaluation of relevant references in the different sources (particularly *Futuh al-Buldan* of Baladhuri, *Tarikh* of al-Ya'qubi, *Jamaharat Ansab al-Arab* of Ibn Hazm, *Jamahrat Nasab Quraish* of Zubair b. Bakkar and geographical-cum-travel works of al-Istakhari, Ibn Haukal, Bashshari Muqaddasi) lead to the following information on this dynasty. Umar's great grandfather Mundhir b. Zubair had served with Hakam b. 'Awanah al-Kalbi who was Governor in Sindh (circa 730-742 A.D.). Mundhir had subsequently left Sindh and was put to death in Qirqisia in 732 A.H., but it would appear that his son Abd al-Aziz came to Sindh and settled down in Baniyah near Mansurah. Later on his son 'Umar became a powerful chief of Sindh. Bing a partisan of the ethnic stocks of Banu Nazaar, he attacked and killed 'Imran b. Musa the Governor of Sindh who had sided with the Yamaniyyah stocks, sometimes during 843-840, i.e. after the death of Caliph al-Mu'tasam Billah (227 H./842) and before the take over by al-Mutawakil (232/847). Thereafter, when the (next?) Governor of Sindh, Harun b. Abi Khalid, died in 240/854, Umar b. Abd al-'Aziz wrote to Caliph al-Mutawakil that if he were appointed in Mansurah he would be responsible for establishing law and order. Accordingly, he was appointed. He then served as Governor of Sindh during the next seven years (240-247/854-861) of Mutawakil's reign. But immediately on disorders following the death of

- Mutawakkil (247/861), 'Umar assumed powers as an independent ruler of Sindh. He being the founder of the new independent dynasty of Mansurah. his son and successors i.e. the rulers of his line became known by the *Dynasty of 'Umar b. Abd al-Aziz*. They continued to rule Mansurah till the last of their line, Khafif, who had come under the influence of either the Qarmathians or the Fatmid agents, was attacked by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and the dynasty came to an end sometimes after 416 A.H.
16. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahb wa Ma'adin al-Jauhar*, Dar al-Andalus. Beirut, 1393 A.H. / 1973, Vol. I, p.189.
 17. *Fathnama*, op. cit., pp.122, 150, 153, 166, 185-186; Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 440.
 18. *Fathnama*, p. 163.
 19. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 443-44.
 20. For instance, Maula-i Islam of Debal was one such eminent person who had accepted Islam under Muhammad b. Qasim. He served as translator with Muhammad b. Qasim's emissary to Dahar. The Muslim commander Nubatah b. Hanzalah had his own translator with him when he confronted Mokah, the son of the chief of Bet (cf. *Fathnama*, pp. 101-102).
 21. Tabari. *History*, ed. De Goeje, II/1467; *al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*, Cairo 1960, p. 333; Ibn Khaldun, *History*, Bulaq ed., III/101.
 22. In a partisan feud, the Governor of Makran was killed by the llafis sometime before 85/704, and they fled to Sindh by the turn of 86 A.H. (Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 435; *Fathnama*, p. 63).
 23. For instance, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Bailmani who is mentioned by Bukhari in his *al-Tarikh al-Saghir* (d. circa 140-150 A.H.), by Nasai in *Kitab al-Du'afa*. by Ibn Hajar in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, and by Yaqut in *Mu'jam al-Buldan*. Yaqut also mentions another eminent Bailamani traditionist Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Bailamani. from whom 'Ubaidullah b. al-'Abbas & al-Rabi' al Najrani had heard the Hadith. Quite a few other Bailamani traditionists find mention in other works.
 24. Beruni's *Ghurrat al-Zijat*, Arabic text, ed. N.A. Baloch, Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, Hyderabad-Sindh, 1973, *Introduction*, pp. 19-20.
 25. Sachau's view in his annotations in *Aiberuni's India*, London, 1910, Vol. II, p. 313.
 26. *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, ed. Houtsma, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 233-34; Tabari, *Tarikh*, De Goeje's edition. Vol. III, pp.359-360; *Alberuni's India*, op.cit., Vol.11/67 and 11/313 (Sachau's annotations).
 27. *Kitab ma li al-Hind* etc., Arabic Text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1377 A.H./1958, pp.351, 356. 370 and 379.
 28. For example in the title of his following three works and elsewhere:

١- ترجمة كتاب اصول الهندسة لافليدس إلى لغة الهند

٢- ترجمة كتاب المجسطى لبطليوس إلى لغة الهند

٣- ترجمة كتاب في الاضطراب لأبي ريحان إلى لغة الهند

29. For instance, in his *Kitab ma li al-Hind* (Arabic text, Hyderabad Deccan, 1958, p.53):

فهذا ما قال ياتنجل في العلم المخلص
للفنسى ويسمون خلاصه بالهندية 'موکش'

30. In his *Kitab al-Saidanah* (published by the Hamdard Foundation of Pakistan, Karachi, 1973), however, Beruni uses the term *al-Hindiyyah* as a generic name (comparable to *Hindvi* of Amir Khusrau) for all the vernacular names of herbs and drugs as they were then known in the Subcontinent though for the Sindhian names he specifically uses the term *al-Sindiyyah*. His predecessor Abdul Wahab al-Fazari (whom Beiruni quotes) had probably done the same in his *Kitab al-Tafasir al-Adviyyah*. Because of the general sense in which Beruni used *al-Hindiyyah* in this particular work, he referred to Sanskrit specifically as *al-Hindiyyat al-Qadimat* under:

(شيخ) الشيخ بنات هلى كثير الوجود فى ديار نجد ...
وهو بالفارسية درمنه بكس ففتح فكون او درمنه
بكر فكون ففتح - وبالهندية القديمة درمنه دشيه
بفتح دال درمنه واسكان الرء والميم (كتاب الصيدنه)

31. *Ifrad al-Maqal fi Amr al-Zilal* published along with other epistles under the title *Rasa'il al-Beruni*. Hyderabad Deccan, 1948, p. 144.

وقد وجدت فى الكتب التى لاقف من السنة الهندى
اول ايام بنى العباس وثبتت فيها الاسامى الهندية
من غير ان تترجم او ينقل معناها الى العربية
(افراد المقال، ص ۱۴۱)

32. Baloch, N.A.; *Taxila and the Marigala Range Centered Taxila Region* etc., a research paper published in the monograph entitled "Islamabad: The Picturesque Capital of Pakistan", Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamabad, 1982.
33. Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahb*, Beirut, 1393/1973, Vol.I, p. 187.
34. Mas'udi completed his monumental work *Muruj al-Dhahb* in 332 A.H. (943). His information about Kashmir and Taqan (Takka country) incorporated in this work, must have been collected earlier when he was in Sindh in the year 302 A.H./914-15.
35. *Fathnama*, p. 185.
36. Batadhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, p. 445. The original words are "افتتح قشيراً" "but the region conquered may be a part of Kashmir."
37. Here the text is confused due to some lacuna.

38. *Fathnama*, pp. 153-154.

39. Says he in his *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*:

”(قبلة) بلاد الخزر وقشمير الهند إلى حائط الكعبة الذى فيه

بابها، وهو من القطب الشمالى عن يساره إلى وسط الشرق“

40. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Biildan*, p. 446.

41. For Mas'udi's text, see *Muruj al-Dhahb*, Dar al-Andalus publication, 2nd ed., Beirut 1393 A.H./1973, pp. 100, 191. 192. and 246. For translation, see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, London, Vol.I, 1876, pp.21 and 25.

XII

THE FIRST BOOK ON 'METHOD OF EDUCATION'

In the Muslim society, education received the greatest possible attention from the very beginning. The concept of compulsory learning for every individual member of the society, man and woman, originated in the injunctions of Holy Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet (may peace of God be on him). He selected a team of teachers and sent them to the various sections of the new Muslim community throughout Arabia. His direction to the teachers – “Make it easy, do not complicate” – underlined the basic principle of methodology in teaching and gave impetus to the development of the teaching profession.

The contributions of Muslim teachers and educators towards educational theory and practice are just beginning to be known. Al-Zarnuji's “Education of the Learner: The Method of Study”,¹ incorporating some of the basic principles of educational psychology and methodology, was written by the turn of the 12th century A.D., thus indicating an early development of professional thought in education. *Nahj al-Ta'llum*, a comprehensive work on education written in Sindh in the 16th century, confirms continuous development of educational thought and practice in the Muslim society. This became the first book on professional education written in the South Asian Subcontinent.

THE AUTHOR

The author, Ja'far b. 'Abd-al-Karim alias Miran b. Y'akub al-Bubakani, belonged to the town of Bubak in Sindh.² His father who died at Thatta in 949 A.H., was a scholar of great repute and Mirza Shah Hasan, the Arghun ruler of Sindh,³ and other distinguished men were among his students. There is no record of the early life of the author. He was a man of broad general education, and was even

considered as an authority in astrology and other occult sciences. He was also a poet of merit and composed in Persian.⁴

For his learning and scholarship, the author was held in high esteem by the people, the rulers as well as the *sufis* of Sindh. Mir M'asum records that *Makhdum* Ja'far used to quote Mirza 'Isa, the Turkhan ruler of Sindh (d.973 H./1565-66 A.D.), about Shah Beg Arghun's early incursion (1515 A.D.) in the Kahan and Baghban districts of Sindh.⁵ This indicates that he was a companion of Mirza Isa. There is also a cryptic reference in *Maqalat al-Shu'ra'* to the effect that *Makhdum* Ja'far used to visit Delhi and Lahore,⁶ where he had probably access to the royal courts. He also visited the *sufi* saint *Makhdum* Nuh of Hala Kandi (d. Sept.1590 A.D.) and corrected him in his view of the personal experience pertaining to the vision of God.⁷ He performed the pilgrimage in the year 959 H. (January, 1552).⁸ The year of his death is not known but probably he died towards the end of the 10th century Hijra. He was buried near his home town Bubak where his grave stands to this day in the family graveyard of Pir Mubo.⁹

HIS WORKS

Makhdum Ja'far wrote a number of books of which at least the following nine have been well known to the scholars in Sindh: (i) *Al-Matanah fi Marammat al-Khizanah*, a work in *fiqh*; (ii) *al-Bisarat fi al-Aml bi al-Isharat*, a treatise in *fiqh*; (iii) a treatise entitled "*al-Sadiq al-Muhaqqaq bi al-Dalail al-lati hiya bi al-Taqdim Ahra wa Ahuqq*" adducing authentic evidence regarding correct belief and conduct; (iv) *Ijlat al-Talibin*, concerning the authentic traditions; (v) *Fath al-Darain*, assembling instructive material from *hadith* and the sayings of saints to help oneself to get rid of poverty; (vi) *Hall al-Uqud fi Talaq al-Sunud*, a treatise interpreting the pronouncements of the people of Sindh used in their own language 'Sindhi' at the time of divorce; (vii) *Qarnah fi Marnah wa Parnah*,¹⁰ a treatise pertaining to matters about marriage and death; (viii) *Nahj al-Ta'llum*, a comprehensive work on education; (ix) *Hasil al-Nahj*, a digest of *Nahj al-Ta'llum* (No.viii).¹¹

The nature of the titles and contents of these works would indicate that the author was not merely a theorist but a scholar of practical bent of mind who wrote to improve the individual and social conduct leading to the improvement of society.

Makhdum Ja'far was essentially a teacher who endeavoured to educate people on the observance of *Shara'* and the true Islamic tradition governing individual belief as well as social custom. By profession also he was a teacher, being the son and grandson of distinguished teachers. Therefore, he gave special attention to promoting the cause of education and stressing the importance of learning. In his '*Ijalt al-Talibin*' we find the section on 'knowledge' (*Ilm*) divided into two chapters: (i) "The superiority of scholars' ink and their books, and an attitude of reverence in this respect' and (ii) "The scholars without action' – thus emphasizing, from the point of the Holy Prophet's tradition, the superiority of an educated individual and the one who acts upon what one learns. As an educator, he wrote 'The Method of Education' (*Nahj al-Ta'llum*), and later on prepared a digest of it to help teachers and students alike to understand the purpose and problems of teaching and learning as well as the practical measures to be adopted.

THE METHOD OF EDUCATION

The exact date of the compilation of *Nahj al-Ta'llum*, 'The Method of Education' is not known, but most probably the author wrote this book when he was actively engaged in teaching and had sensed the problems of both the students and the teachers. As a teacher, he succeeded his father who died in 949 H./1542 A.D. He seems to have been fully engaged in teaching for 9 years, from 1542 to 1551 when he probably proceeded for pilgrimage and was in Mecca in January 1552. Thus, he might have written *Nahj-al-Ta'llum* during the period between 1542 and 1551 A.D. From internal evidence in his other works in *Fiqh* and *Hadith*, wherein he quotes a number of original works which he seems to have studied at Mecca, Medina and elsewhere, it appears that he stayed abroad for quite sometime before he returned to Sindh. Allowing for 5 years stay abroad, we may presume our author returned home by 1556. In August 1568 A.D., he prepared 'The Digest' of the more detailed *Nahj al-Ta'llum* which work he might have written earlier, between 1556 and 1566 A.D.

In the introduction to the 'Digest of the Method', *Hasil al-Nahj*, which he finished in Safar, 976 H. / August 1568 A.D., he says:

After writing the book *Nahj al-Ta'llum* on the method of education, I have again prepared a summary of its contents separately and entitled

it *Hasil al-Nahj*, so that every beginner who acquaints himself with this 'Digest', gains a complete insight into the process of education. Anyone who needs to know the details and the basis of arguments should refer to the original (*Nahj al-Ta'llum*).

It is this Digest, *Hasil al-Nahj*, which is before us. It gives an indication of the organization and contents of the original and more comprehensive *Nahj-al-Ta'llum* which, though not available at present, was extant until the late 18th century A.D.¹² The full titles of the 19 Sections of 'The Digest' and the relevant parts of the contents which are important from the point of the author's ideas and the modern educational concepts and practices, are being reproduced below.

SECTION – I EXCELLENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND INTENTION AND ACQUISITION OF IT

Excellence of knowledge and the intention to acquire it for higher ends is emphasized. Mere intellectual superiority for selfish ends is of no avail.

SECTION – II MEANING OF KNOWLEDGE (ILM), JURISPRUDENCE (FIQH) AND LAW (SHAR'A)

The main purpose of *Fiqh* and the relative importance of knowledge are underlined. "An accomplished *Faqih* (the one well-versed in *fiqh*) is he who combines knowledge with action." Thus, the merit lies in acquisition of knowledge and its righteous use.

SECTION – III CLASSIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE

There are the following three main divisions:

I – Religious Sciences (*Ulum-e-Shara'iyah*): Five kinds:

1. Kalam.
2. 'Usul Fiqh.
3. Fiqh.
4. Quran.
5. Hadith (including the knowledge of Usul, Rijal etc.).

II – Polite Literature (*'Ilm-e-Adabi*): Twelve (*sic*) kinds:

1. Lexicography.
2. Etymology.
3. Morphology of words.

4. Syntax 5. *Ma'ani* (Rhetoric: style) 6. *Bayan* (Rhetoric: expression). 7. *Badi* (Rhetoric: Elocution). 8. Prosody.
 9. Rhyme. 10 Scanning 11. *Insha* 12. Prose.
 13. Conversation.

III –Philosophy (*'Ilm-e-Hikmati*), subdivided into (a) Practical and (b) Theoretical.

- (a) 'Practical' includes: 1. *Tadbir-e-Mudn* (Political Science) and 2. *Tadbir-e-Manzil* (Economics). These include the welfare of the settled and the moving population. 3. Ethics (*Ilm al-Akhlaq*), which religious scholars also call *Tasawwuf*".
- (b) 'Theoretical' includes: 1. *Natural Sciences (Tabi'i)*: Physics, including the study of matter, its changing conditions, e.g., when it is at rest and in motion. Other branches include Medicine, Anatomy, Magic, Occult Sciences and Chemistry. 2. *The Computational Sciences (Riyadi)* including the four basic sciences-viz., Geometry, Astronomy, Mathematics including Algebra, and Music – and other branches such as study of Perspective (*Ilm-e-Manazir*), Mechanics (*Ilm Jarr-e-Athaqal*), Moving Spheres (*Ilm Ukar-e-Mutaharraka*), and Engineering (*Ilm-e-Ha'i wa Alat*). 3. Metaphysics.

SECTION – IV

THE 'PRAISEWORTHY' AND THE 'BLAMEABLE' STUDIES

The 'Praiseworthy' or useful ones are recommended for study. These are classified into Compulsory, Optional, Additional and Voluntary.

- A. *Compulsory (Fard-e-Ain)*; To acquire knowledge of God and His Unity; know the basic principles and laws of Islam; and to understand the nature of human feelings (heart) and of worthy and unworthy conduct, both from teachers as well as from a direct study of relevant books.
- B. *Optional (Fard-e-Kifavat)*: (a) Study of the Quran, Recitation (*qir'at*), Memorization, and the study of other religious subjects; (b) *'Ilm-e-Kalam* for those who are more intelligent, but the study should be a balanced one.

- C. *Preferable Choice (Mustahab)*: Specialization (*tabahhur*) in such subjects as (a) Basic Principles and Contradictions (*Ilm Usul wa Khilaf*), (b) *Subtleties (Ilm Haqaiq)*, (c) Admonitions and Biographies of distinguished personalities, and (d) Medicine.
- D. *Permissible Choice (Mubah)*: Such as, Mathematics, History, Genealogy, Study of Space, Bequests (*Ilm-e-Auqaf*), Observation of Skies and Time (*Taksir Asma'wa Irsad-e-Saat*), and Poetics (*Ilm-e-Sha'r*). Besides these, there are other subjects about which there is no unanimity whether these are permissible or non-permissible. One who studies these – for instance, Polemics (*Kalam*) or Logic, must use them judiciously and not for self – aggrandizement or belittling others.

The 'blameable' subjects which are not recommended for study, are those which lead to the perversion of belief and faith, which distract from useful studies, and result into other harmful effects and absorb all energies – such as Astrology, some forms of Music, and Occult studies such as Geomancy, Pseudo-Chemistry, Magic, Apocryphal writings of Jews and Christians etc. "However, any one who pursues such studies, should be aware of what is harmful in them".

SECTION – V ORGANIZATION OF 'PRAISEWORTHY' AND 'PERMISSIBLE' STUDIES

At the time of teaching, the teacher should begin with the superior study or, according to another view, with the superior students. In case the students disagree to the procedure, he should decide by toss. In case giving priority leads to dispute or in case all the students (of different abilities) are in attendance together, he should give them priority by turn... But while educating, he (the teacher) should attend to all alike.

To the beginner, the teacher should first educate in faith. Then, he should introduce him to literature. In each art, beginning should be made with smaller and basic treatises followed by more comprehensive works. At the third stage, attention should be paid to rhetoric and prosody. During the process of teaching, words of admonition

regarding faith should be appropriately introduced. Also there is no harm if during this course, some principles of mathematics and the basic concepts of logic are introduced. At the fourth stage, the entire time should be devoted to *Hadith, Tafsir, Theology* and Law of Inheritance, following any one School of Law. At the fifth stage, attention should be centered on Polemics (*Kalam*) and Jurisprudence (*Usul-e-Fiqh*). At the sixth stage, the advanced works in Theology, Medicine, Anatomy, and the Study of Time and Directions should be introduced. But Mathematics should be given priority over Inheritance (*I'lm-e-Fra'id*), Time (*Ilm-e-mi'at*), and Directions (*Jihat*).

Entire life-time should not be spent in studying different problems from different fields of knowledge. Nor should one be contented with mere selections. So far as *Tasawwuf* is concerned, only that which is correct and established should be acquired. This should be done at the end of the day, from the 'asr prayer to sunset.

Any one who follows the above organization (of studies) will attain the objectives earlier.

SECTION – VI

CHOICE OF A FIELD OF STUDY, THE BOOK AND THE TEACHER AND STEADFASTNESS IN IT, AND CHOICE OF AN ASSOCIATE

In the first instance, consultations be held with one who is of sound judgment, who is trustworthy, who can give helpful advice, who is sincere and who fears God. Then in the choice of the field of knowledge, priority should be given to that *which one needs....*

So far as the type of study or the choice of a book is concerned, this should be left to the teacher, who should not merely point out what should be studied, but his suggestion should be based upon the field in which the student shows a marked ability, which is not hard for him to follow, and in which he does not become disinterested.

In the choice of teacher, it is necessary to take time and think seriously. One should not hurry to begin one's studies with any one. Thereafter, one may choose the most learned teacher, outside or in one's own country, who is pious and is of advanced age, good natured, forbearing, sober and patient. In case the 'most learned teacher of advanced age is not available, the youthful but the most learned teacher

may be chosen..... So far as an associate in the study is concerned, the one who is intelligent, pious, just and of clear thinking should be chosen.

SECTION – VII REVERENCE FOR KNOWLEDGE AND SCHOLARS

Reverence for knowledge, scholars and the teacher is a necessary, and a student who lacks this cannot achieve the objective ...etc.

SECTION – VIII SERIOUS EFFORT AND ATTENTION IN THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE, AND SLUGGISHNESS IN IT

One must know that knowledge cannot be acquired *without effort*, as forbearance cannot be developed without forbearing. Therefore, pursuit of study is obligatory, and putting in effort in this pursuit is necessary. The student can achieve his objective in proportion to his capacity (of will and effort: *himmat*).... etc.

SECTION – IX FACTORS DESTRUCTIVE OF KNOWLEDGE

Among the many factors, the most destructive are some unworthy personality traits, particularly sluggishness which deter one from learning from others. Other factors are the death of scholars, inclination towards committing sins, or engaging one self in useless activity. Feeling shy to ask questions deprives one of learning and leads to ignorance. Early marriage also hampers study. Associating oneself with wealthy persons and the officials, or with men of low behaviour are the other causes. Attempting to become an author before developing a sound understanding of the different sciences is another factor.

SECTION – X THE PERIOD AND THE PLACE OF STUDY

What one learns in childhood lasts longer in memory, but even the one who has not taken to education in youth, need not lose hope because many persons started their education in advanced age and yet

achieved the highest attainment. It has also been said that the period of learning extends from cradle to grave.

“The place of study should be clean and sweet-smelling so that the king of the light of knowledge may enter it.” In a dark place, there is usually less clear thinking and comfort. The place should be free from all odour. Preferably, the (educational) town should be situated in a temperate climate, neither too cold nor too hot.

SECTION – XI METHOD OF ACQUIRING EDUCATION AND THE CONDITIONS AND FACTORS GOVERNING IT

(Intellectual, physical, social and spiritual factors are enumerated for achieving success in one’s educational programme). Repetition of a lesson is necessary, not merely with tongue but with interest. Attention to what the teacher says is necessary; it should be preserved and pondered over.

The student must always keep ink, pen and white paper ready for purpose of study. He should avoid gaining personal ends from others. Piety and righteousness are most instrumental for acquiring knowledge. The student should not be jealous or quarrelsome. The (*market*) food (i.e. unclean food) and association with trouble-makers, the sinful and those who talk too much, should be avoided. The student should talk less. He should avoid mixing too much with people.

The student should ask questions even about what he knows, and should not be self-complementary. What he does not know he should ask from others, and what he knows he should share with others. He should be prepared to spend money and effort. He should be sincere in what he does, and be always after learning more and more. He should get up early in the morning and offer his prayers punctually. Sleeping at the time of sun-rise should be avoided. He should have faith in God and reliance on Him.

SECTION – XII PREPARATION OF INK, TRANSCRIPTION, NARRATION AND COLLATION OF BOOKS AND THEIR STUDY

(An easy method of preparing black ink from the soot of an oil

lamp is described. Attention is drawn to transcribing certain letters of the alphabet properly, and placing the diacritical marks and points carefully). While transcribing a book, the copy must be collated carefully. The writing work should not be done in the late afternoon. The one whose eye-sight is weak should not look into the book in the afternoon and onwards, unless very necessary; he must not do the writing work in a place that is not free from darkness, and he should not adopt transcription as a profession for earning remuneration. (Techniques of mending and handling the pen are explained. Attention is drawn to the quality of paper that is used). Comparison and collation of the copy should be done carefully and at a time and place that attention is not distracted. (Instruction regarding reading under the supervision and guidance of the teacher, and the formulae, in words, seeking the teacher's permission and authority in what is read under his guidance are laid down). Study of a subject should be undertaken under the guidance of competent teachers, and authoritative books should be used.

SECTION – XIII

THE ETIQUETTE OF PUPIL-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP

The etiquette of pupil-teacher relationship is indispensable. What is incumbent on both, in teaching and learning, is the sincerity of purpose. They should entirely devote themselves to knowledge without paying attention to any jealous person. Their intention should be free from all selfish ends.

They should make it a habit to be of charming manners. They should be well-dressed at the time of study.

The teacher should be just and should always uphold truth. He should not feel shy of this, and he should not deny or hide the excellence of anyone.

He should not claim what he does not know. He should admonish the student but should be lenient to him and not harsh or angry.

The teacher should not lecture in a way that the student does not understand. In explanation, he should adopt a method whereby the purpose could be easily understood. In case the student does not grasp the significance of his lecture, the teacher should not look down upon

him; rather he should realize that once he too was like him. The teacher should not humiliate knowledge by running after the rich and influential people.

The place of study should be spacious enough so that all those who are sitting could be seen and there is no congestion. The teacher should explain in detail the view-points of the different Schools of Law. He should organize his arguments, beginning with those which are easier to comprehend and then those which are more weighty.

The teacher should not introduce the student to a book or a subject of study which is above his ability level, but to that which he comprehends easily and is naturally inclined to.

The teacher should give the student guidance that is beneficial to him both in the progress of study as well as faith. Even if the student happens to do certain things which are not desirable, the teacher, like a kind father, should exercise grace and forbearance towards him. The teacher should not stop teaching or refuse instructing the student on account of any personal prejudices.

While teaching a lesson, the teacher should not impart what is not proper. In the process of teaching, the teacher should not be brief but he should explain in detail.

The teacher should not make the sons of the rich, the noble, and those of his friends as his favourites. He should teach equally to all.

The teacher should not seek publicity of his own book, interpretation, or narration.

The teacher should not be after increasing the number of his students. He should first test the (new) student whether he is serious to pursue his studies or not; in case he finds him serious and eager, he should admit him and give him the best guidance.

The teacher should not mind the student frequently visiting other teachers. He should not profess his own superiority or equality to others, in scholarship and experience.

In case the student happens to commit some errors, the teacher should pass over them; he should not hold him to account for every genuine mistake or slip of memory. However, if the teacher finds that the student does not give it up he should first bring it to his attention by

throwing a hint. The hint is enough if it works; in case it does not, then the teacher should explain to him gently. Thereafter, he should admonish him firmly. However, if the student gives a valid reason (for his shortcomings) the teacher should accept it.

In case the student happens to criticize the recognized authorities (*mashaikh*) or does something which may lead to parting of ways (between the teacher and the student), the teacher should excuse him three or four times. If, even after this, there happens something causing dissociation, the teacher should inform him about his (the student's) misgivings so that he is not lost in the wilderness of his negative attitude.

The teacher should hold a test of the student's ability and interest in his study.

The teacher should not be harsh while addressing the student, nor should he indulge in jokes with him. Even though the teacher may be inclined to any particular field of study, he should not disapprove of the student's interest in other praiseworthy fields.

The teacher should not delay the lesson unless necessary; also if the student is unable to attend, the teacher should not press him to do so.

The teacher should cover the subject matter to the extent that the student is able to assimilate; he should not exceed the ability level of the student. Besides, the teacher should not want that the student should attend to more lessons than he gives, but should rather aim at a thorough understanding by the student (of what he learns).

In case the number of students is large, the teacher should assign one group to the study of one book and the rest to the study of another, irrespective of the arrangement for each class regarding a fixed period and place of study.

In case the teacher is asked a question about a subject he does not know, he should say 'God knows better, I do not know'. If he has the information that some one else knows it, he should inform (the student) that so and so knows this. This he may do preferably before such a question is raised by the student who may or may not know about it. In case he is asked, who is the greatest scholar in this country or in the world, he should not say 'I am the one, even though he may

excel all. He should positively forbid the student from placing him above the present or the past scholars.

He should not want that the students should revere him and that they should stand up when he comes (to the class). He should not place them under obligation for being their teacher; rather he should thank God that through them (the students) he propagates knowledge and earns his remuneration. The teacher should prefer the student to be engaged in beneficial activity, whenever an occasion arises, to being busy with teaching and instruction, because the main objective of knowledge is righteous action.

It is incumbent upon the student to thank God that he has attained the position of a learner (student). He should first learn the etiquette of acquiring knowledge (*adab-e-ilm*) before he gets absorbed into it so that he may achieve great success in it. At the time of choosing an accomplished teacher, he should resolve that until his objective is achieved he shall not depart from him. He should first seek the teacher's permission to associate himself with him. He should strive to be his (the teacher's) best associate, and should show him the utmost respect.

For putting a question, the student should seek the teacher's permission. He should not raise the question until the teacher has finished his explanation. In the teacher's presence, he should not discuss with any one but with his (teacher's) permission. The student must not ask a question more than three times. He should be brief, clear and courteous in questioning so that he may get helpful and courteous replay.

Whatever he (the student) learns, he should go over it again if he is all alone; otherwise whatever he learns or studys, he should teach to all those who want to learn. But he should keep his own study in the forefront in relation to his teaching others.

He should not study any book or subject, which is above his ability to understand, as this causes dejection and is a waste of life-time. Whatever he studies, he should give a share (*zakat*) of it - i.e., he should, by turn, act up to it at least the 40th part of what he learns so that his capacity for action increases and his status enhances. He should not stop to learn due to shyness or haughtiness, nor even if he finds that the teacher is after money or does not live up to his learning.

The students should not indulge in noise between themselves in fun and frivolity or mock at any one – because these things darken the heart. They should rather be courteous and friendly towards one another, should support one another in propagating goodness and righteousness and preventing evil. They should make it a habit to talk slowly. In a symposium (*mudhakira*), they should not talk at the same time, but by turn and in an organized manner. The students must observe the necessary etiquette required at the time.

SECTION – XIV

CAUSES OF RETENTION AND FORGETFULNESS OF KNOWLEDGE, AND THE HARM THEREOF

Reading in childhood is basic to retention. Persistent effort, repetition and writing down are the other agents. Besides, the conditions and requirements of learning and study described in the previous chapters should be fulfilled- such as questioning and putting questions in the best form, seeking explanations from the teacher frequently, and being grateful for what one learns. (Formulae regarding memorizing the Holy Quran are given)... Association with good persons, lessening of ambition and avoiding sins are the other factors. Also eating of anything that increases phlegm (*balgham*) or moistures (*rutubat*) in body be avoided. So also it is necessary to avoid taking things which have an extremely dry effect, particularly for the one who has a melancholic or bilious constitution.

Following are the causes of forgetfulness: lack of attention and diligence in learning and its retention: teaching one who is unfit for learning; learning solely for gaining personal ends; discussing what is false and futile; talking too much; indulging in fun and frivolity; being inclined (in religious matters) too much towards exemption (*rukhas*) and interpretations (*ta'wilat*); giving up questioning and not putting questions in the best form; associating with the licentious, the talkative and the sluggish ones; entertaining high hopes; forgetting previous books; being inclined towards committing sin and persisting in it; turning towards untruth and giving thought to it; indulging in laughter; not acting up to what is clearly understood; eating too much; neglecting to remember God; lack of interest in discussing religion and sciences; sleeping after eating....etc.

SECTION – XV
FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROMOTION OF
KNOWLEDGE AND ATTAINMENT OF EXCELLENCE IN IT

Among the essentials for promotion of knowledge are effort and hard work and acting up to what one learns; association with renowned scholars; limited interest in worldly affairs and choosing smaller share thereof; being grateful for having acquired knowledge and acting up to it and for having got the book and the teacher; sincerity of purpose along with the training of self; entertaining fear of God without losing hope in His mercy; good company and reverence for one's teacher; avoiding innovation, sins and useless activity; strong perseverance and less of eating.

Among the factors responsible for attaining excellence in knowledge are: continuity of association with scholars and recognized authorities and referring to them the problems although the same might have already been referred several times; to observe what has been said in this book regarding conditions, causes and etiquette of acquiring knowledge; and observing the requirement of curriculum (*Nahj*)....

SECTION – XVI
WHAT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THOSE SEEKING THE STATUS
OF ACCOMPLISHED TRADITIONALISTS & RECOGNIZED
COMMENTATORS OF THE QURAN

(To become an accomplished traditionalist, it is necessary to follow in detail, and in an organized manner, what is given in the works on *Usul-e-Hadith*. In the study of *Hadith*, utmost effort to be put in and travels be undertaken. One must follow the example of Imam Bukhari, the great traditionalist and his admonition etc.).

About one who wants to be a recognized commentator of the Holy Quran, there is a difference of opinion. Most of the people think that with all the knowledge one may possess, it is not for one to say that this is what God says, except on the authority of what has been transmitted from the Holy Prophet. According to great many others, only he can interpret Holy Quran who combines the study of 15 sciences and is well-versed in them – viz., lexicography, syntax, grammar, philology, rhetorics, recitation, jurisprudence, theology, tradition etc. The commentator should first seek explanation from the

Holy Quran, next from *Hadith*, and then from sayings of the Prophet's companions and their companions, etc.).

SECTION – XVII

WHAT IS OBLIGATORY FOR THE ONE WHO ASPIRES TO ATTAIN THE STATUS OF INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT (IJTEHAD)

(It is not impossible to achieve the status of *Ijtahad*, but it depends upon attaining perfection in all the sciences, grasping the basic principles and deducing the rules of application, always remaining devoted in faith, being righteous, etc., etc.).

SECTION – XVIII

SOMETHING ABOUT SEEKING AND GIVING A LEGAL DECISION

(It is incumbent upon the faithful to seek legal decision from those who are God-fearing. The one who seeks a decision should state the case clearly and in detail. The one who gives the legal opinion (*Mufti*) should not hasten in it; he should also keep in view the decision given by others, etc. etc.).

SECTION – XIX

IN PRAISE OF THE LEARNED MEN OF RIGHTEOUS ACTION AND CENSURE OF THE MISGUIDED SCHOLARS, JUDGES AND ADMINISTRATORS

The traditions of the Prophet and also some verses of the Holy Quran confirm the excellence of knowledge combined with righteous action, and scholars who are righteous. According to one tradition, the learned men are the impartial judges and, as such, they should not mix up with the ruling authority or meddle with temporal affairs. Dissociation from injustice is necessary. The men of learning should call upon the rulers so that customs contrary to faith do not prevail. But they should not visit the rulers unless it becomes absolutely necessary lest frequent visits leading to obtaining personal benefits might deter them from remaining firm on the path of truth and justice, etc.

There are numerous traditions condemning the misguided administrators and judges. We seek God's unlimited grace and favours

so that He guides us as He pleases, protects us from all the pitfalls, and promotes our welfare to the best status and highest positions.

“Completed in Safar, 976 of the Hijra era”

REFERENCES

1. Burhan-al-Din al-Zarnuji: *Tulim al-Muta'allim: Tariqat al-Ta'llum* of which the Arabic text was published from Bombay (1307 A.H) and Cairo long ago. It has been translated into English under the title “Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning” by G.E. Von Grunebaum & Theodora M. Abel and published under the auspices of ‘The Iranian Institute and School of Asiatic Studies’, Kings Crown Press, New York, 1947.
2. Bubak is a village in the District of Dadu of Sindh, Pakistan. Our author in his book *al-Matanah* says that “Bubak is a ‘town of Sindh’ situated about five miles (two *farsakh*) from Siwistan (Sehwan) towards the west. Bubak was the name of the ancestors of this place and is a short form of Abu Bakr.”
3. *Tarikh-e-Sindh* by Mir Ma'sum (1611 A.D.), Persian Text, ed. U. M. Daudpota, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938, p. 202.
4. *Maqalat-al-Shu'ara* by Mir Ali Sher Qani' (d. 1789 A.D.), the Persian text, edited by Sayyid Hussamuddin Rashidi and published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi, 1957, pp. 151-52.
5. *Tarikh-e-Sindh*, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
6. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara*, *op. cit.*, No. 152.
7. *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* by Mir Ali Sher, Persian text, vol.III, p. 147, Nasiri (Litho) Press, Delhi, 1304 H.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. Situated about 5 furlongs north-west of the town of Bubak. It is a large yellow stone grave in the northern square of the family burial of the Makhdums of Bubak.
10. Sindhi *marnah* = death, *parnah* = marriage.
11. All the works except No. (viii) were available in the Pir Jhando Library (District Hyderabad, Sindh) and were entered in the Catalogue used by the present writer in 1944, under Nos. 799-*fiqh* (i), 810-*fiqh* (ii), 796-*Hadith* (iii) with the title ‘*Kashf al-Haqq*’, 796-*Hadith* (iv), 1230 (v), 799 (vi), 797 (vii). No. 1 is available in the Sindh University Library and in more than one private library and has also been printed by the Sindhi Adabi Board. No. (iii) is preserved in the Sindh University Library Nos. (iv) & (v) are preserved in more than one private collections. These and others have been listed in detail in a doctoral Thesis filed recently (2002) in Sindh University.
12. It was used by the renowned scholar Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta (d. 1174 H. / 1760 A.D.) who has quoted it in his *fatawa* compiled under *al-Bayad al-Hashmi* (mss).

XIII

SAINTS OF SEHWAN

The book TADHKIRAH-I-MASHAIKH-I-SIWSTAN is the earliest available source on the saints of Sehwan. Biographical literature, particularly of the *tadhkirah* and *malfuzat* type,¹ concerning Sufi saints is an important source for understanding the religious life and value pattern of the people in particular and the socio-cultural conditions in general. What the works of history lack is often supplied by the biographical literature in important side lights on the life and living of the people. Sometimes useful references are found to the political and economic conditions of the times. This source material, which is still available and is not yet published, needs to be studied before it is lost to the students of history.

A number of *tadhkirahs* and other works containing biographical notices of saints and sufis were written in Sindh from the 10th century of Hijra (16th A.D.) onwards and, chronologically, the Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan ranks fifth after the following first four of them which are known to us.

1. *Tadhkirat al-Auliya* by Qadi Mahmud of Thatta compiled in 980 A.H./ 1572 (not yet located).
2. *Hadiqat al-Auliya* by Sayyid Abdul Qadir of Nasarpur, compiled in 1016 A.H./1607 (published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, 1967).
3. *Tarikh-i-Sind* by Mir Muhammad Ma'sum who has included brief biographical notices of renowned saints of each period in his history which was compiled by him in 1017 A.H./1608.
4. *Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i-Sindh*, which is quoted by the author of the *Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan* regarding the advent of Makhdum Uthman Qalandar-Shahbaz in Sehwan. Probably this

work was available in Sehwan in the 12th century A.H. when it was quoted in his *Tadhkirah-i-Ma'athir-al-Kiram* by Mir Ghulam Ali Azad of Bilgram who served as an official chronicler at Sehwan beginning from 1143 A.H. (1730 A.D.).

The *Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan* (hereafter referred to as 'Tadhkirah') was available to Khudadad Khan, the author of *Lubb-i-Tarikh-i-Sindh*² (1900 A.D.) who extracted from it inscriptions and other details regarding the construction of the mausoleum of Qalandar Shahbaz, the renowned saint of Sehwan. Later, in Dhu-al-Q'adah 1323 A.H. (1906), one Ubaidullah Gad, the scribe of a manuscript of *Lubb-i-Tarikh*, copied a long extract from the *Tadhkirah* (quoting it by name) pertaining to the construction of the mausoleum of Qalandar Shahbaz and appended it to the copy of *Lubb-i-Tarikh* transcribed by him.³ By about the same time or somewhat earlier, another scholar Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwanī wrote a monograph⁴ on the life of Qalandar Shahbaz and reproduced the same account, regarding the construction of the saint's mausoleum, from the *Tadhkirah* quoting it by name.

Thus, the work has existed in manuscript form, but except the references from it regarding Qalandar Shahbaz, it has not been available to scholars for nearly half a century. Its discovery, therefore, provides access to an original source which hitherto was known only through references in later works.

The copy acquired by the writer is a complete one and indicates that it is a small monograph of some 21 *waraqas* (folios) measuring 6½ x 2¾, with 16 lines on each page.⁵

THE AUTHOR AND HIS OBJECTIVE

The author is Abdul Ghafur b. Haider who belonged to Sehwan. He does not give the year of compilation but says that when Nawwab "Sayyid Muhammad Bahwah entitled Dindar Khan Ghazi—may Allah protect him, grant him longevity and enable him to achieve what he desires" —arrived at the "capital of Siwistan" (*baldah-i-Siwistan*), i.e. Sehwan, he asked for information about the saints, but since the people did not have any written record in the form of "a *Risalah* or *Tadhkirah* they would only report from hearsay". Therefore, it occurred to the author "to write a few pages based on the earlier works and the current reliable reports", and entrust the same to the keepers of the shrines for their information. He then entitled this short work as *Tadhkirah-i-Mas-*

haikh-i-Siwistan.

DATE OF COMPILATION

Sayyid Muhammad Bahwah emerged into prominence during the 18th year (1031/1621) of Emperor Jehangir's reign,⁶ and rose higher in rank during the reign of Emperor Shahjehan who conferred upon him the title of "Dindar Khan" and entrusted him with the administration of the 'Province of Siwistan' (*Sarkar-i-Siwistan*) in Sindh. The author of the *Tadhkirah* gives his full name and title as "Sayyid Muhammad Bahwah, entitled Dindar Khan Ghazi, Bukhari", and records his arrival at Sehwan in 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). From the inscriptions he himself left at Sehwan, it is obvious that Nawwab Dindar Khan had stayed there during the years 1040-1043 A.H. His administration of 'Sarkar-i-Siwistan' during this period is fully discussed by the contemporary historian Yusuf Mirak in his *Tarikh-i-Mazahar-i-Shahjahani* which he wrote in 1044 A.H. From his account, it is clear that in the *Kharif* and the *Rabi'* seasons of the year 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.) Dindar Khan was still in Sehwan. It was during the *Rabi'* of 1043 A.H. that he was replaced by Jam Nasir Khan.⁷ Dindar Khan died in 1055 A.H.

The compilation of the *Tadhkirah*, therefore, can be placed during the year 1043 A.H. (1633) because the author has quoted the inscriptions of that year, and he wrote when Dindar Khan was still in Sehwan.

SOURCES USED

The author proposed to base his monograph on earlier works and the then current reliable reports. Accordingly, he has quoted elderly persons of Sehwan while writing about some saints. Of the earlier works, he has quoted (i) *Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Sindh* (twice) and (ii) *Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi* under the short title "Tarikh-i-Ferozi". Also he consulted some works on history of Sindh, having referred to "Chachnamah and others". It is very likely that "*Tarikh-i-Sindh*" of Mir Ma'sum compiled some 26 years earlier in 1017 A.H. was before him. The author is the first among the early scholars of Sindh to mention *Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi*, i.e., the history written by Zia Barni who has mentioned the advent of "Shaikh Uthman" (Qalandar Shahbaz) in Multan.⁸ In all probability; Mir Ma'sum had used Zia Barni's

history, though he seldom mentions his sources while writing.

CONTENTS AND CONTRIBUTION

The *Tadhkirah* contains biographical accounts of 14 saints buried in Sehwan, in the following serial order; (1) Hazrat Makhdum Uthman Qalandar "Lal Shahbaz", (2) Hazrat Shaikh Ghhuta Imrani, (3) Makhdum Qadi Burhanuddin (originally of Transoxiana), (4) Shaikh Nukhrij, (5) Sayyid Muhibb (of Afghanistan), (6) Haji Sardah Lakha, (7) Shaikh Doda, (8) Qadi Dita s/o Makhdum Rahu, (9) Qadi Idris (brother of Qazi Dita), (10) Shaikh Topan, (11) Makhdum Iskandar, (12) Sayyid Salar Ghazi, (13) Shaikh Ahmad Sandani, and (14) Sayyid Miyan Jalal.

The biographical notice of the renowned saint Makhdum Uthman Qalandar "Lal Shahbaz" of Sehwan, is one of the earliest and the most copious one on record. The year of the saint's death at Sehwan is given as 673 A.H. (1274). For this account the author has used earlier sources, but the accounts of the remaining 13 saints are his original contribution. "These" he says "are not found even in the *Tadhkirah-i-Mashatkh-i-Sindh*' (an earlier work which is not extant now).

The author was the first to record the inscriptions on the mausoleums of Qalandar Lal Shahbaz and other attached mosques and buildings. The later writers have used his *Tadhkirah* for reproducing these inscriptions which are the earliest Persian inscriptions found in Sindh. Of these, two were originally inscribed on the mausolea of Hazrat Qalandar Shahbaz and his attendant and associate Sayyid Ala-al-Haq Ali of Baghdad, which were built during the reign of Sultan Ferozeshah by his Governor *Malik Arshad* Ikhtiaruddin in 757 A.H. (1356). These inscriptions though somewhat effaced have survived to this day. Presently, these are placed in a room, the original walls having been pulled down under new constructions.

There is another inscription, the earliest one, giving 752 A.H. as the year of death and burial of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq. This inscription had led the late Dr. Muhammad Shafi to believe that the Sultan remains buried at Sehwan.⁹ He was followed in his view by late Dr. U.M. Daudpota.¹⁰ This view was corrected by the present writer by concluding that the Sultan was buried at Sehwan temporarily as a trust (*amanat*), but his coffin was subsequently removed and taken to Delhi,

and he was buried there permanently as confirmed by Sultan Ferozeshah in his autobiography, *Futuh-at-i-Ferozeshahi*.¹¹

The inscription in question reads as follows in two parts, the one in 6 lines and the other in 4 lines:

۱. جهان مردم کش است ای دل مباح از جان وفادارش
که جزکین و جفا نامد ز بیدادی دگر کارش
 ۲. تواز حال محمد شاه برگیر اعتبار از وی
که چون اورنگ شاهی در ربود ابن دور غدارش
 ۳. هشاهاست ابن ای خواجه کش بینی به خاک اندر
که همچون بند گان بودند شاهان جهاندارش
 ۴. اگر چه پیش ازین صدمبار در بازش چنان دیدی
کنون چشم خرد بکشا در اینجا بنگر این بارش
 ۵. هان بکشاد از مردی و بخشید از جوان مردی
بدهر از کوشش و بخشش فراوان بود کردارش
 ۶. شد از ماه محرم بیست و یک کاندر شب شب
گذشته هفصد و پنجاه و دو شد عزم آن دارش
-
۱. بمهد دولت فیروز شاه خسرو گیتی
که یزدان بر سریر سلطنت بادا نگهدارش
 ۲. بران سلطان دین پرور برآمد این چنین گنبد
که آمد پیش پای گنبد گردون دوارش
 ۳. بسال هفصد و پنجاه و چار از هجرت احمد
قبول بنده در گاه او سرمت معمارش

(Not deciphered).¹²

This inscription which is on two slabs¹² gives the date of the Sultan's death as "21st *Muharram*, Saturday night, 752" and also the year 754 A.H. (1353 A.D.) of the construction of "the dome over the (grave of) the Sultan". It is clear, then, that the Sultan lay buried at Sehwan at least for more than two years (752, 753, 754), before the dome was constructed over his tomb. Obviously Sultan Ferozeshah did not immediately take the coffin of the deceased Sultan on the elephant back with himself while marching back from Sindh to Delhi as presumed by the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.¹³

For how long, then, did the late Sultan remain buried at Sehwan? In the year 754 A.H. when construction of the dome over the late Sultan's grave in Sehwan was completed, Sultan Ferozeshah was busy with his campaigns in the eastern provinces of Lakhnauti and Bangala. It was from the end of 1365 A.D. to the middle of 1367 A.D. that he was again in Sindh fighting against the Sammas. It appears that after a permanent peace was established (near Thatta) between Delhi and Sindh, through the good offices of Sheikh Rukn-i-Alam and Makhdum Jahanian Jahangasht of Uch, sometime about the middle of 1367, that Ferozeshah found the climate favourable and took with himself the late Sultan's coffin from Sehwan for permanent burial in Delhi. The construction of the Mausoleum in Delhi might have taken place well in advance while the body was brought back from Sehwan for burial at a later date.

We may now advert to the valuable testimony of the author of *Tadhkirah-i-Mashaikh-i-Siwistan* regarding the burial place of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlak at Sehwan. From the inscription, we learn that Sarmast, the building engineer, had done an excellent job and completed the construction of 'an impressive dome' over the Sultan's grave at Sehwan in 754 A.H. This dome still stood in tact some 290 (lunar) years later in 1043 A.H. when our author wrote his *Tadhkirah*. Says he:

"Adjacent to the mausoleum of the Makhdum (Uthman Qalandar), on the southern side, stands a high dome in which they had buried Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq Shah by way of trust. That dome stands in tact to this day".¹⁴

This statement confirms the viewpoint advanced by the present writer (in 1948) that the Sultan was buried at Sehwan temporarily as a *trust*. The statement also substantiates the contents of the above inscription (which, however, is not quoted in the *Tadhkirah*) that a *high dome* was constructed over the grave of the Sultan at Sehwan. Further, the inscription also gives the exact location of the dome, and hence of the grave, as being adjacent to the Saint's mausoleum and on the *southern side* of it. This should correct our misunderstanding about the original site of the Sultan's temporary grave, arising out of the location of the small enclosure on the *north-western side* of the saint's mausoleum in which the two slabs bearing the above inscription were found affixed.¹⁵



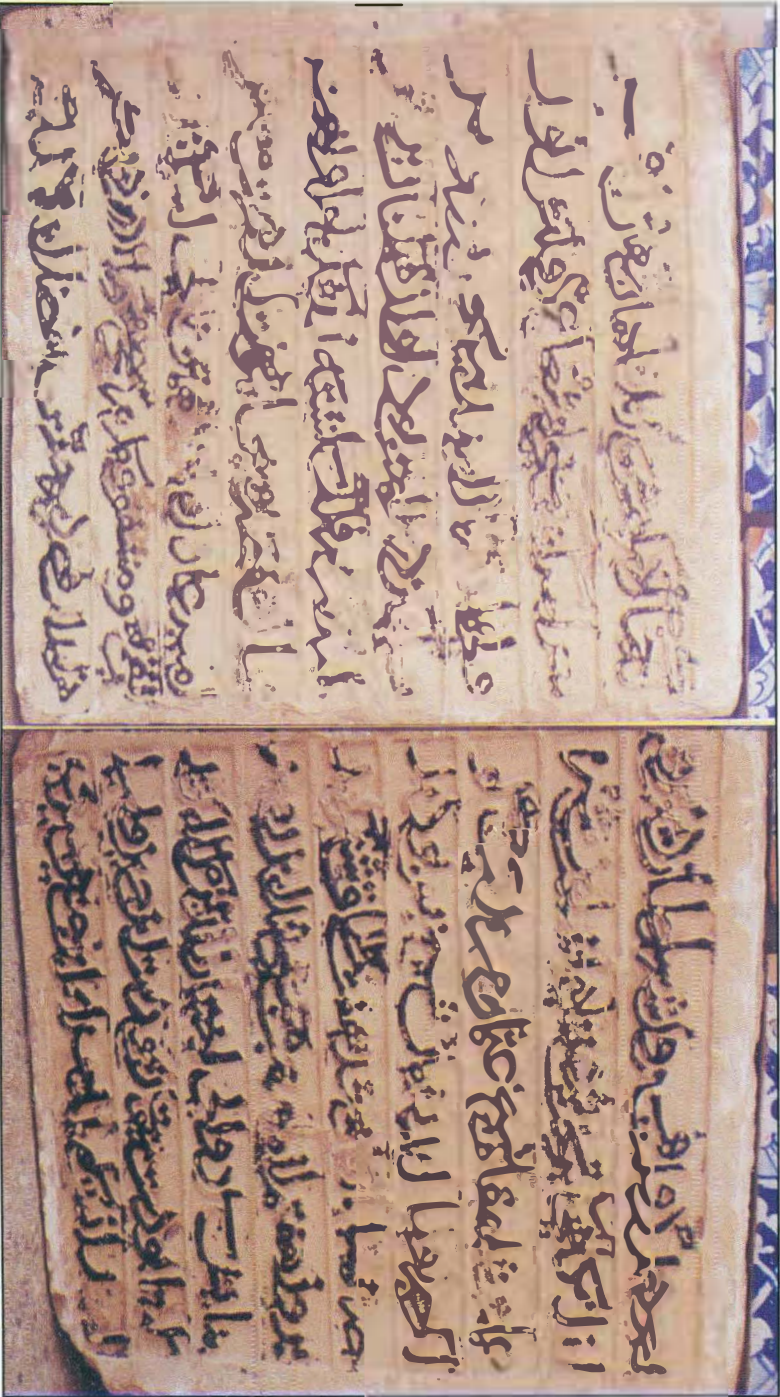
THE FIRST INSCRIPTION

Giving the date of death of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk :
Saturday night, 21st of Muharram, 752 H.

SECOND INSCRIPTION

Giving the date of construction of Gunbaz (dome) on the Sultan's grave, 752 H.





THIRD INSCRIPTION

Renovation of Dargah of Qalandar Shahbaz by Malik Ikhtiaruddin,

Governor of Sultan Feroze Shah, 7- Rajah, 757H.

REFERENCES

1. The other types include *maktubat* (letters), *Ansab* (genealogies), and *salasil-tariqa* (pupil-teacher lineage of the sufis).
2. This work was completed in Rabi 1, 1318 A.H., (5th July, 1900 A.D.) The inscription is quoted on pp. 7-8 of the lithographed edition (Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar 1318/1900). The author does not mention the source and would wish to leave the impression that he himself had copied these inscriptions from the buildings.
3. This extract is now printed as an Appendix to *Lubb-i-Tarikh* edited by the present writer and published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, 1959.
4. Entitled "Makhzan-i-Raz Tadhkirah-i-Shabaz mulaqqab bi Qalandar-Namah-i-Sindhi" (lithographed edition, Lahore).
5. The mss. was discovered by the present writer and was introduced in a research paper. Later on, another scholar (Hussamuddin Rashdi) hastened to print the text from a weak mss. which had fallen into his hands. A critical edition is needed.
6. Ma'athir al-'Umara', Vol. II, pp.23-24.
7. Tarikh-i-Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1962, pp.164-177.
8. Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi, pp.67-68.
9. Vide the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1935, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 156-161, and the proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Trevandrum, Tranvancore, 1937, pp.273-277.
10. In his annotations on Mir Ma'sum's *Tarikh-i-Sind*, Persian text, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 1938, pp.281-282.
11. See "The Burial Place of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq", in "Sindh: Studies in History", Pakistan Study Centre, Sindh University, Jamshoro, 1424/2003.
12. Ibid. Probably, two separate inscriptions, the one (in 6 lines) giving the year of the Sultan's death having been inscribed immediately after his demise, and the other (in 4 lines, the first three couched in the same meter and rhyme but on a separate slab) having been supplemented later after the construction of the dome. A line is drawn in between the text to indicate two separate stone slabs (Photos I and II). The two inscription slabs were removed during the sixties of the last century from Sehwan and preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi. It may be noted that credit for deciphering these inscriptions goes to Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwan who published them first in 1904 in his monograph on Lal Shahbaz.
13. Royal Asiatic Society Edition, Calcutta, 1931, p.119.
14. The Mss. in the present writer's Library reads:

"وَمَمَل رَوْضَةُ مَخْدُومٍ [لَعَلَّ شَهَازِ] جَانِبِ
جَنُوبِ گَنبَدِي عَالِي اسْتِ كِه دَران سَلْطَانِ
مَحْمَدِ بِنِ تَغَلَقِ شَاهِ رَا بِطَرِيقِ اِمَانَتِ
نِگَاهِ دَاشْتِه بُوْدَنَد وَا نِ گَنبَدِ تَا حَالِ باقِي اسْتِ "
15. During the fifties of the last century I had seen the two slabs affixed there (before these were taken to Karachi). Obviously, these had been removed from the original location of the grave and put there after the Sultan's body was taken away to Delhi.

XIV

THE SUHRAWARDI MIYANWAL TARIQA: ITS INITIAL FORMULATION AND LATER ACCRETIONS.

The ruler of Sindh Miyan Noor Muhammad Abbasi has stated in his TESTAMENT OF WILL (Manshur al-Wasiyyat) that he and his ancestors have belonged to the Suhrawardi Tariqa, but he does not say how the first ancestor came into the fold of this Tariqa. The Suhrawardi Order was founded by the great Sufi 'Shihab al-din Abu Hafs Umar al-Suhrawardi (539-632 A.H./1145-1234 A.D.) and the Order had spread in Sindh during his lifetime. His disciple Nuh, of Bakhar in Sindh, was the first to have initiated the Shaikh's teachings in Sindh. Thereafter, another eminent disciple and Khalifa, Baha'al-Din Zakariya of Multan (d.661 A.H./1262 A.D.), spread Suhrawardi Order in 'Sindh and Hind'. He had been informed by his Shaikh of Nuh's presence in Bakhar, but by the time Baha'al-Din Zakariya had reached Multan and Bakhar, Nuh had died.¹ Baha'al-Din who came to be revered as 'Ghous Baha al-Haqq wal al-Din', soon became the sole Patron Shaikh of the Suhrawardi Order in Sind and Hind.

The ancestors of Miyan Noor Muhammad, locally known as Kalhora, originally belonged to the House of Banu Abbas, but for centuries they had lived in the SIRO/SIRA Region of Sindh, in between Dera Ghazi Khan and Bakhar, and became known by the appellation of SIRA'I, i.e. 'belonging to SIRA'. Though their ancestor's initiation into Suhrawardi Order took place in the Bakhar-Siro region, it was not under the influence either of Nuh or Baha al-Din Zakariya (7th century A.H.), but much later in the 10th century A.H. through the disciples of Sayyid Muhammad Miran of Jaunpur (874-910 A.H.), who was a disciple of Shaikh Daniyal Suhrawardi.² Sayyid

Muhammad Miran was an accomplished scholar of Islam and excelled in piety and devotion. He came to believe that he was ordained by God with superior spiritual knowledge and, accordingly, declared himself as 'Mahdi Mo'ud' (the Promised Mahdi), a claim which was accepted by some and rejected by others. Though he became controversial, he remained spiritually influential and brought a large number of disciples into the fold of his teachings. While adhering to the precepts of the Suhrawardi Order, he initiated new practices and new devotional norms for his followers.

As such, his Tariqa may be distinguished as 'Mahdavi Suhrawardi Order', with nominal conformity to the original path. Though the precepts of Islam were regularly observed, Sayyid Miran placed a special emphasis on some specific practices such as follows:

- *Dhikr* was common in the teachings of all the Sufis, but he attached a special importance to it, so much so that *Dhikr* came to be regarded as an article of faith.
- *Hijra*, i.e. leaving one's home and hearth and migrating in order to spread the spiritual message, was emphasized.
- Accumulation of wealth was to be shunned and regarded as un-Islamic.
- *Da'ira*. The disciples were to form communities, each community belonging to a specific 'Da'ira' (community circle).
- *Saviyyah* (Equalization). Any property, any income in cash or kind, and any other thing in a Da'ira, was to be regarded as the joint community property and shared equally by all in the Da'ira. This arrangement, which was originally initiated for joint welfare of disciples, later on came to be regarded as a fundamental precept.

It is obvious that the Mahdavi Suhrawardi Order was not confined to mere religious observations but had other obligations as well, the most important of all the disciplined community life and living.

Sayyid Muhammad's influence in Sindh was direct. He himself arrived in Sindh in the year 905 A.H. (1499/1500 A.H.) and remained here for more than one and a half year, with eighteen months stay in Thatta, the capital of Sindh. It has been surmised that starting from Burhli in Gujarat, where he had declared himself as 'Mahdi Mo'ud', he came to Jalore, and then to Nagore and Jesalmer from where he reached Nasarpur in Sindh and then Thatta.³ Since the well established

convenient routes from Jesalmer to Sindh were via Northern Sindh (the present Ghotiki District), Sayyid Muhammad Miran is more likely to have passed through Bakhar.

Adam Shah was the first ancestor of the Miyan Abbasi/Kalhora House who entered the fold of Sayyid Muhammad's Tariqa through a chain of his disciples in the Bukhar-Siro region. Of them, Isa, Abu Bakr Jatoi and Muhammad are named by Miyan Noor Muhammad.⁴ Mir Ali Sher Qani mentions 'Shaikh Ilyas Langraja, and 'Shaikh Abu Bakr Jatoi',⁵ – and the former could be 'Muhammad (Ilyas)' of Miyan Noor Muhammad. They were both 'Shaikhs' (spiritual heads) of the Mahdavi Tariqa in the Da'ira (circle) of Siro-Bakhar. Abu Bakr's Shaikh was Isa, and the Shaikh of Muhammad (Ilyas) was Abu Bakr. According to the tradition, initially Shaikh Abu Bakr Jatoi had influenced Adam Shah, his other disciple Muhammad (Ilyas) being younger, of the same age as Adam Shah. After Abu Bakr's death, Muhammad (Ilyas) became the Shaikh, but probably he did not live long and Adam Shah became the Shaikh (circa 995 A.H.). As stated in *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Adam Shah adorned the supreme everlasting spiritual attainment (*atam tahqiq wa ma'rifat-i-sarmadi*) in the Tariqa of Sayyid Muhammad Miran Mahdi Jaunpuri'.⁶ Thus, it stands confirmed that Adam Shah was a 'Shaikh' in the Mahdavi Suhrawardi Order as it was formulated and preached by Sayyid Muhammad Miran to his disciples, including those of Bakhar in Sindh, of whom Isa had become the first 'Shaikh'.

When Adam Shah died in Multan (circa 1010 A.H./ 1602 A.D.), his two sons Ibrahim and Daud were minor. His faithful disciple Aqa Shah Muhammad Kaheri Baloch, who had been Kotwal of Multan but originally belonged to Chhatr in SIRO, brought the body and buried it prominently on the hillock outside Sukkur. He then went to Adam Shah's home in Hutri (in the present Larkana district) and there he settled his minor sons who were helplessly moving from place to place. As their guardian, he also succeeded as head of the Tariqa.⁷ Up to that time, the headship in the Mahdavi Tariqa had not become hereditary.

On attaining maturity, Daud (or Dad Muhammad) became the Shaikh. According to the lore, Ilyas Nangerja (Langraja) had passed on the 'keys of spirituality', given by Adam Shah, to Daud while he was still a child. Daud was succeeded by his son Ilyas and he by his brother

Shah Ali. They all adorned the masnad within the fold of the Mahdavi Suhrawardi Tariqa in which Sayyid Muhammad Miran was acknowledged as 'Mahdi Mo'ud'.

A change came under Shah Ali's son Nasir Muhammad, when Mahdavi Tariqa was eclipsed by the 'Miyan-wala Tariqa' (i.e. Tariqa of the Miyan) which became popularly known as 'Miyanwal Tariqa'. And yet, a formal affiliation to the Mahdavi Tariqa, as also recognition of Sayyid Muhammad Miran as the spiritual guide, continued to be affirmed. Later on, Miyan Noor Muhammad affirmed and elaborated as under:

Of the fourteen Khanwadas in the line of Tasawwuf, our ancestors have belonged to the Tariqa of Sayyid Miran Muhammad of Jaunpur, the chain line being: "Noor Muhammad, from Yar Muhammad, from Din Muhammad, from Nasir Muhammad, from Shah Ali, from Ilyas, from Daud, from Adam, from Muhammad, from Abu Bakr, from Isa, from Sayyid Miran Muhammad Jaunpuri who is our spiritual sire and guide (*Pir-o-Murshid*) in the aforesaid (Suhrawardi) Tariqa.⁸

At the mass level also affiliation to Sayyid Muhammad Miran continued to be pronounced in the popular Aazi Recitation or Invocation; so also the symbolism of Da'ira was perpetuated in the *Shadmana* ceremonial (see below).

With Miyan Nasir Muhammad becoming the Shaikh, a change took place in the concepts of affirmation and observation of the Tariqa, as also in the status of the spiritual guide and in the disciple's allegiance to him. This brought about a transition from the traditional 'Mahdavi Suhrawardi Order' to a more personalized 'Miyanwal Suhrawardi Order'.

Miyan Nasir Muhammad became the head of the Tariqa on the demise of his father Shahul Muhammad (Shah Ali) in the year 1068 A.H. (1657/58 A.D.).⁹ He was a pious man with qualities of leadership, both in religious and temporal affairs. Because of his piety, power of his personality, and his capacity for some sort of mystical charm, people flocked to him. But to avoid any suspicions being created against him in the ruling circles, he took to hijra and went away to Multan and Lahore where he stayed for long,¹⁰ and returned when conditions were more favourable.

He probably spent most of his time far beyond Multan and Lahore

which were the headquarters of the Mughal Governor controlling Sindh. According to the evidence available, it may be surmised that Miyan Nasir Muhammad had gone as far north as Sahanpal in District Gujrat and had also stayed in Chuniyan in the Lahore District. At both the places, he was well received due to his spiritual attainments. At Sahanpal, he met the Sufi saint Naushah Ganj Bakhsh, the founder of the Naushahi Qadiri Order.¹¹ He also stayed with the Bukhari Sayyids at Chuniyan who had entered the Naushahi Qadiri Order. During these contacts, while Miyan Nasir Muhammad acknowledged his ancestral affiliation to the Mahdavi Tariqa of Sayyid Muhammad, he also enlightened his own spiritual path, viz. the 'Miyan's Tariqa'. He left an abiding impression so that the contacts were continued later on by his faqirs and the Bukhari Sayyids of whom Sayyid Ghulam Muhiyyuddin Naushahi Qadiri (1154-1229 A.H.) was the more renowned. He was more directly influenced by his elderly contemporary Miyan Manjhi Sultan from Sindh, an eminent faqir of the Miyan's Tariqa.

The above perspective of Miyan Nasir Muhammad's sojourn in the Punjab can be visualized from the writings of Faqir Sayyid Ghulam Muhiyyuddin Naushahi. It is significant that though he attained a high position in the Naushahi Qadiri Order and became known as 'Naushah Thani' ('Second Naushah'), he had chosen to call himself 'Faqir' in the tradition of the Miyan's Tariqa. In his *Bayad* (a hand written register), 'Faqir' Sayyid Ghulam Muhiyyuddin' has left notings pertaining to Miyan Nasir Muhammad and his devotees. He has recorded the name as 'Miyan Nasir Muhammad' with due reverence. He also specifically mentions himself as being from amongst 'the friends of Miyan Manjhi Sultan'. Manjhi Faqir, having attained a high status in the Miyan's Tariqa, became known as 'Miyan Manjhi Sultan'. He was probably from the same family stock as Miyan Nasir Muhammad, and belonged to what is now known as the Wadho Kalhoro Village in the Larkana district. Faqir Manjhi Sultan had influenced Faqir Sayyid Ghulam Muhiyyuddin so that the latter composed a specific treatise by the name of 'Miyan-Nama'.¹²

After return from the Punjab, Miyan Nasir Muhammad settled down at the strategically situated Garrhi village, with sweet water flowing on its East and the high mountains rising on the West. Here he initiated his long term plan to build up his power base.

It was mainly during his stay at Garrhi that Miyan Nasir Muhammad concentrated on the formulation of 'Miyanwal Tariqa'. As

the very name 'Miyanwal' would indicate, it was to be essentially the 'Tariqa of the Miyan' (*Miyan Wala Tariqa*), with the disciple's allegiance exclusively to the Miyan. After the name of the Tariqa, the disciple also came to be called 'Miyanwal'. In belief and practice, a Miyanwal Faqir was to be a faqir 'of the Miyan' and 'for the Miyan'.

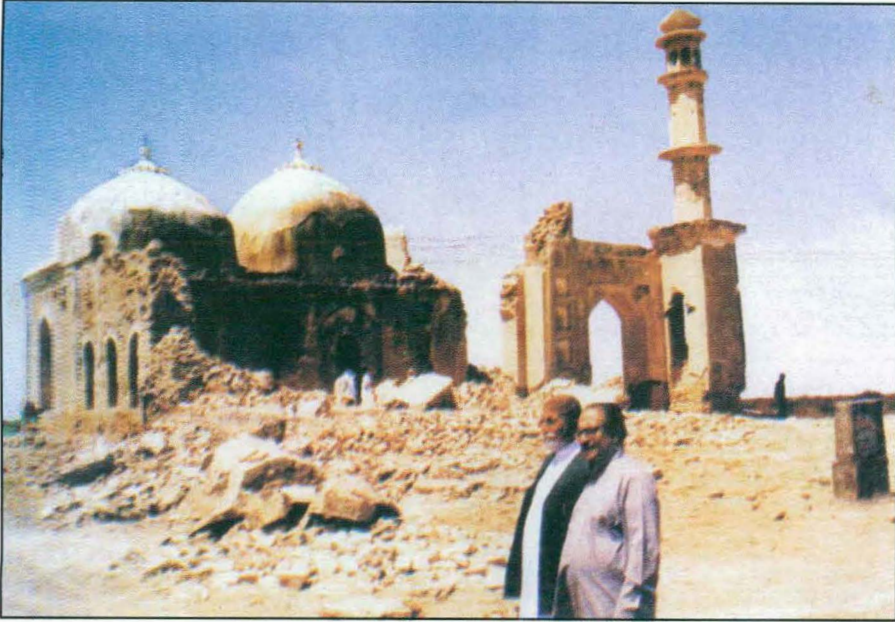
To make the Tariqa more acceptable and effective among the disciples, Miyan Nasir Muhammad considered guidance and training for them to be essential. Towards this end, he built a Jamia Mosque at Garrhi and founded a madressah there. The ruins of the massive mosque can still be seen at Garrhi in Taluka Khairpur Nathan Shah (formerly 'Kakar') in the Dadu District. Up to the late fifties, the inside walls of the mosque, which were well plastered in chirol, had preserved the writings of students of those days. Some names which I found inscribed on the walls were those of the second generation of the students who later on served under Miyan Nasir Muhammad's successors.¹³

In their religious persuasion, the House of the Miyan belonged to the Hanafi Fiqh, and maintained a midway position, avoiding any extremes. In his WILL, Miyan Nasir Muhammad clarified this position for his sons as under:

"Each one of the four *madhhabs* is to be regarded as righteous. However, our ancestors have belonged to the *madhhab* of Imam Abu Hanifa, may God's mercy be on him, and you should also remain on that *madhhab*, even though some ignorant *rafizis* and some *kharijis* (have deviated): - the former from the *Ashab Kiram* (noble companions of the Prophet), the two father-in-laws of the Sire of the Past and Present generations, on whom be the best of the *salwat* and the most complete salutations; and the latter (deviated) from the two noblest sons (sons-in-law). If this is so, then where do we people stand as to the four heroes (*chahar gohar*), some to be chosen and to have heart's demise for others!

Whosoever deviates from the Prophet
Shall never reach the destination.¹⁴

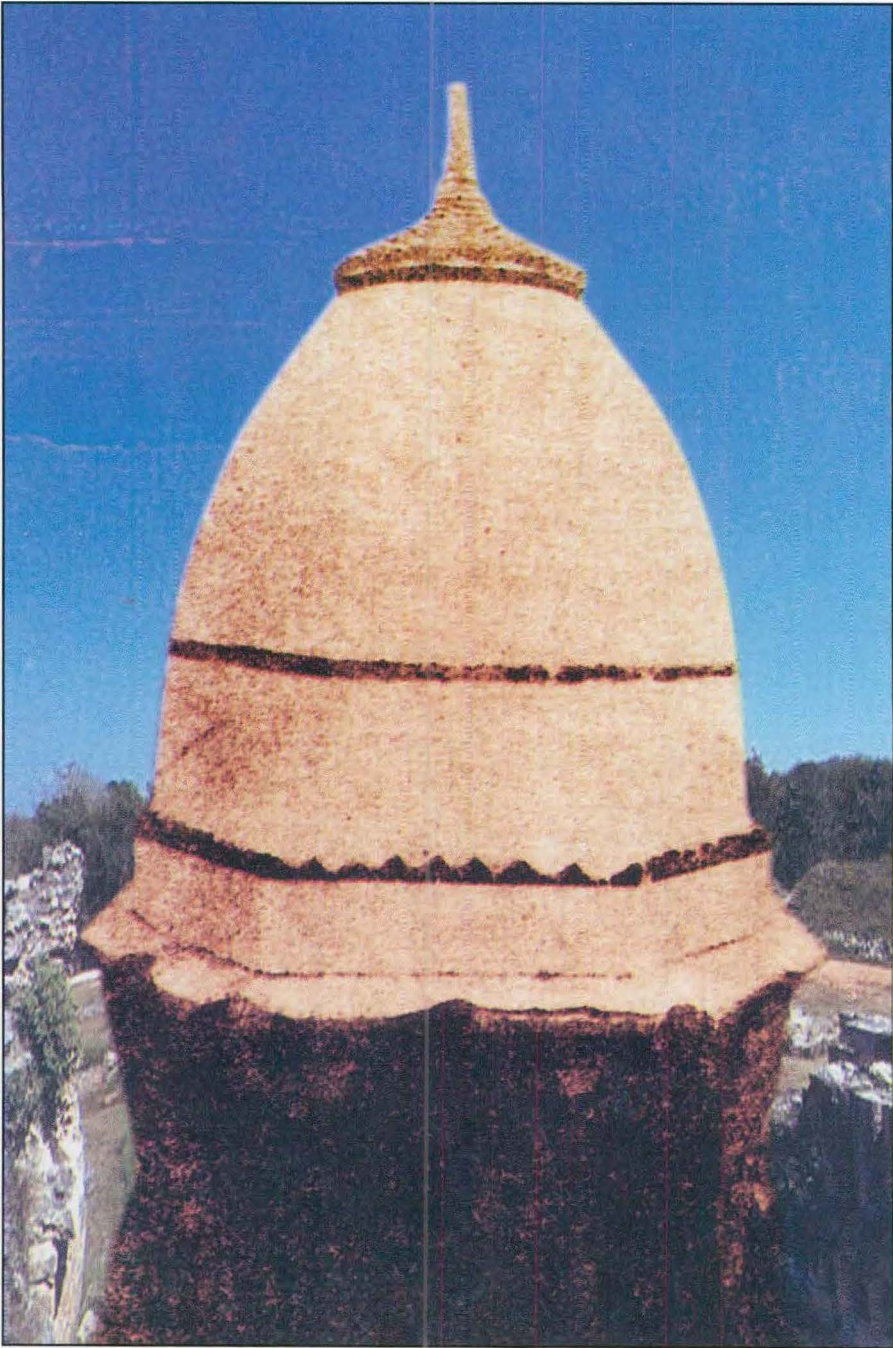
Obviously, the Miyans were orthodox Muslims shunning sectarianism. Therefore, in his formulation of the Tariqa, Miyan Nasir Muhammad capitalized on the concept of 'The Miyan', with no reference



**Miyan Nasir Muhammad's
Mosque at Garhi
District Dadu, Sindh.**



**Miya Nasir Muhammad's Mausoleum
District Dadu, Sindh.**



**Canopy over Miyan Nasir Muhammad's Grave
Symbolic of a Sufi's *Kulah*.**

either to the ‘imams’ or to the ‘ashab’. The concept fortified by him was that there is God Almighty, then the Prophet, and then the Miyan. To consolidate this belief, the followers were to be motivated by the four rituals of ALATOHAR, DU’A, AAZI and GUFTAR. These became the four pillars of the Miyanwal Order.

1. ALATOHAR was to be the call for Divine Succour. It was a contraction of “ALLAH TO AHAR” meaning “Oh God with Thy Support”. ALATOHAR was to be the ceremonial pronouncement to precede every act and undertaking. In case of a collective effort, the formula for the pronouncement was to be:

“YARO! KARO ALATOHAR!”
(Friends/Companions! Say ALATOHAR).

In essence, this pronouncement was equivalent to ‘Bismillah’, as also it was an acknowledgement of the supremacy of ALLAH and affirmation of faith in Him. Soon ALATOHAR became a watch word, rather a magic word in the Tariqa. It inspired the followers to make a start with faith and firm resolve in order to accomplish and succeed. Also it became a code word to begin to march and attack in case of war, and a blessed word to begin any ceremony.

2. DU’A, THE BLESSING. A brief formula to announce blessings was devised, wherein after ‘Allah’ and ‘Nabi’ (God and the Prophet) was placed the ‘Miyan’ to grant the needed relief. The blessing was to be bestowed in the following words:

“ALLAH NABI TAY MIYAN KARESI”
(God, the Prophet and the Miyan will do it).

To this, ‘Aba’ (son!) or ‘Amma’ (daughter!) was to be prefixed in accordance with the addressee being a male or a female.

3. AAZI, THE INVOCATION. Aazi, i.e. *aajizi* or *ardas*, was to be an invocation to God, the Prophet and the Miyan for resolving a problem, removing a difficulty, or for granting health, happiness, peace and prosperity. The AAZI was to be ‘recited’ ceremoniously by a more pious faqir of the Tariqa. He would perform ablution, put the *khathi* (see below) around his neck (with its two ends hanging down on both sides) as a mark of submission, face the Ka’aba, and then recite the AAZI with calls for help to God, the Holy Prophet and the Miyan, i.e. Miyan Nasir Muhammad. Later on, after the Miyans ceased to rule, the

Aazi calls were elaborated to include the *Imams* as well as the *Miyanwal faqirs* of the past.

4. GUFTAR, OR PRAISEWORTHY NARRATION. On all occasions, when the *Miyan's* followers came together, the more knowledgeable among them were to join in *GUFTAR*, wherein each one was to narrate the praiseworthy deeds of *Miyan Nasir Muhammad*. Later on, deeds of other *Miyans*, as also of their renowned *faqirs*, came to be narrated.

Texts of such pronouncements show that the *Miyan's* mother tongue, the *Siraiki*, became the language of the *Tariqa* to be used in all the ceremonies. It was also the language of informal communication in the administrative circles.

In the homage paid in the *Guftar Narration*, the *Miyan* stood only next to God and the Prophet. This enhanced the spiritual stature of *Miyan Nasir Muhammad* verging on divinity. In effect, 'The *Miyan*' was deified. Not only in their formal allegiance but as an article of faith, most of the devoted disciples came to believe that *Miyan Nasir Muhammad* was invested by God to intercede with Him for his disciples even on the Day of Judgement. Accordingly, they had it willed that after their demise, the name of 'Miyan Nasir Muhammad' be enshrined (inscribed) on their tombs, after the first two great names 'ALLAH' and 'MUHAMMAD' (peace be upon him). Not only the ordinary folk, but also some highly educated and well placed disciples held this belief even in later times. Thus, the tomb of *Jam Feroze Talpur* and other tombs in the graveyard of 'Mir *Shahdad-ja-Quba*' in District *Sanghar* carry the name of 'Miyan Nasir Muhammad'. The allegiance to and belief in 'Miyan' reached its climax, and *Miyan* replaced *Mahdi* as also the 'Miyanwal *Tariqa*' eclipsed the 'Mahdavi *Tariqa*'.

Beside the spiritual domain, the privileged position of the *Miyan* was also to be fortified in temporal domain. The *Sayyids* were the only community who had enjoyed all and exclusive reverence in *Sindh*. But they were the *Alides*, while the *Miyans* were the *Abbasids*. Being conscious 'of belonging to the House of *Banu Abbas*', the *Miyans* maintained a discrete line of demarcation in the *Miyanwal Tariqa* between the *Miyan Abbasids* and the *Alides*. The *Sayyids* were to be highly respected,¹⁵ and yet those of them gaining popularity or

power were to be kept under surveillance (as in case of Shah Abdul Latif). However, the Sayyids within the Tariqa were generously accommodated if they acknowledged the Miyan in all respects and to all intents and purposes: but they were to submit and not to supersede. Two Sayyids, Inayat Shah and Hamid Shah, were among the first devotees of Miyan Nasir Muhammad, and though he honoured them he kept them close to himself. The prestigious title 'Shah' which hitherto was invariably suffixed to a Sayyid's name was now bestowed also on distinguished non-Sayyid disciples in the Tariqa. This, in relation to the Miyan, toned down the name-wise superiority of the Sayyids. Thus, by the blessings of Miyan Nasir Muhammad, Panja (a Dahot by caste) became Panja Shah or Shah Panja; Abdullah, the Abra, became Abdullah Shah; Gaji, the Khosa, became Gaji Shah*; and Wasao, the Chandia, became Shah Wasao. The honorific appellation of 'Shah' continued to be approved for the non-Sayyid stalwarts even by the later Miyan rulers. Thus, during the rule of Miyan Noor Muhammad, Baharo, the Jhijhin, became Baharo Shah, and also Allah Bakhsh, Jhijhin, became Allah Bakhsh Shah

Belief in Miyan Nasir Muhammad's divinity became widespread among the people due to some inexplicable phenomena having been wrought by him. According to the popular tradition, which has continued on to this day, the Miyan had his disciples among the 'invisible beings', the Jinns, who would procure any thing wished by him. Those who saw some unusual happenings were spellbound and readily believed in his powers divine.

It was on his return from Multan and Lahore that the Miyan started to gain followers and impress the people with his mystical charms. According to Mir'at-i-Daulat-i- Abbasiya,¹⁶ there were then two opinions about the Miyan—some believed these phenomena to be his '*karamat*', while others took them to be '*Istidiraj*', (the beguiling acts and hallucinations manipulated by nonbelievers). This adverse opinion expressed by a few was of no consequence in view of the Miyan's adoration by the masses. The belief in the jinns being the followers of the Miyan, was not a part of the Miyan's Tariqa. Also there is no evidence that on any occasion he had urged his followers to be privy to any causations by the jinns; and yet, such notions

* According to one version, he was an orphan Sayyid child nurtured by a Khosa family

prevailed in the Mianwal Tariqa as accretions in later times. Tales linger on to this day that the Miyan had three armies, - of the faqirs, of the jinns, and of the Kani (the curses that killed the adversary); that the Miyan used to ward off the jinns afflicting their victims among men and women; that he would want the Suranda music to be played on the occasion in two specific tunes, Majh and Sammi, to sooth the patient and pacify the jinn.

Some believed that Sammi or Sammirri was a she-jinn, and a Jevotee of Miyan Nasir Muhammad, on whose death the Miyan was much grieved. According to another lore, she was a human devotee who was imprisoned by a cruel king, and then she was rescued by the Miyan's blessings. Therefore, the music tune 'Sammi or Sammirri' was named and played in her memory. The practice of playing the two tunes, Majh and Sammirri, continues on to this day. A Miyanwal faqir supposedly in communication with the jinn would sit by the side of the afflicted patient and perform the *maoj*: i.e. he would put off his turban, dishevel his long hair, and whirl his head vehemently. Often he would perform some deceptive tricks to beguile the simple folk sitting around, and also 'talk to the jinn' (in the patient) cajoling and threatening him in the name of Miyan Nasir Muhammad. This ceremonial performance is known as 'Jagar' or 'Saroz': a fire is lit and the Suranda player sits by the side of the faqir who gives the call of ALATOHAR on the occasion.

Such accretions took place in the process of socialization which was initiated under Miyan Nasir Muhammad but became more formalized thereafter. The different ceremonials were intended to create identity and discipline among the Miyan's followers as a community. The following practices, which have continued on to this day, were the more significant ones intended for this purpose.

KHATHI. A hand woven coarse black woolen cloth was given by the Miyan as a mark of distinction to those faqirs who were devoted to him and who were to play a leading role amongst the followers. Khathi was a symbol of the Miyan's authority, and the faqir having a Khathi was highly respected. Later, the Khathi was used by the faqirs to fan out the evil spirits from the patient and from the house.

BACHI. This was the turban tied in the Miyan's style, winding it first half on the head anti clockwise, and the second half of it clockwise, thereby creating a nitch in the centre just above the forehead.

MAOJ. The Bachi was to be taken off to perform the Maoj to ward off the jinn. This innovation of Maoj is ascribed to the crafty Raja Likhi or someone else of his house.

KHATHI BACHI DA KHAIR! This formula, meaning ‘all good for Khathi and Bachi’, became a form of mutual salutation whenever the more senior faqirs of the Miyanwal Tariqa met.

CHASSI (literally, Enjoyment). A form of handshake, which probably came down from the days of Miyan Nasir Muhammad. The one who ‘gives chassi’ will put his hand on the backside of the friend’s hand and then kiss it. The friend’s hand will not be directly kissed (being sacroscent) because it was kissed while having ‘chassi with the Miyan’.

KHUSHI (literally, Pleasure/Joy). This was the fine imposed for violating any rule under the Tariqa, or committing aggression, crime or sin. The one on whom *khushi* was imposed was also to be deprived of the pleasure of *chassi*. Only when he paid the Khushi, he was to be admitted to the rituals of the Tariqa. The amount received from the payment of Khushi was to belong to all the faqirs concerned.

SHADMANA, OR CEREMONIAL FESTIVITY. This was conceived as an occasion for ceremonial rejoicing by the faqirs. Shadmana was originally a formal feast and celebration on the occasion of Miyan Nasir Muhammad’s visit. Later on, it became a ceremonial feast among the Miyanwal faqirs themselves. The Shadmana was to be hosted by any follower when his/her wishes were fulfilled, or were hopefully to be fulfilled. The Shadmana festivity was restricted to the followers of the Miyan, and it was to be a special feature of the Miyanwal Tariqa. As initially formulated, this was to be a well organized ceremonial with the symbolic features of the Da’ira life being enacted on a small scale but more frequently. With its later accretions, the Shadmana ceremonial came to be performed as under:

- Only the qualified and confirmed Miyanwal faqirs are to perform the Shadmana ceremonial.
- The faqirs assemble ready with all the necessary food provisions (the animal to be slaughtered, flour for bread, rice to be cooked, spices, fuel etc. etc.) on a spacious ground.

- A daira or d circle is then drawn around. It serves as 'rakh', to reserve the enclosure. No one then enters or leaves the daira.
- The faqirs perform ablution, slaughter the animal and cook the food. If it is to be Mitha Shadmana (sweet shadmana), the sweets brought are distributed.
- They eat the food together, and also give a loud call for others to share. This ceremonial call is known as HOKO.
- After serving food, all the garbage is buried inside the 'rakh' circle.
- Lastly, the AAZI is recited and the ceremony concludes with DU'A.

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2. Ibid, Vol. II, p.22. In Urdu Encyclopedia of Islam, he is mentioned as 'Shaikh of the Chishtiya Order'.
3. So stated by Mir Rahimdad Maulai Shaidai in his Urdu tract '*Balochistan Mey Mahdavi Tahrir*', published in Jumada-II, 1371 A.H. He has stated it emphatically that Sayyid Miran reached Thatta via Nasarpur.
4. Cf. *Manshur al-Wasiyyat wa Dastur al-Hikmat*, Persian text, ed. Husamuddin Rashdi, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1964, p.15.
5. According to the popular tradition, Shaikh Abu Bakr Jatoi had a son by the name of 'Adam' and also a devoted follower by the name of Adam. The Shaikh in his last days wanted to nominate his successor and gave calls 'Adam'! Adam!. The Shaikh's son was not present but Adam faqir who had never been away from the Shaikh responded 'Here is Adam, your servant'. "Then be Adam Shah"! blessed the Shaikh and he expired.
6. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, ed. Husamuddin Rashidi, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1971. p.430.
7. Ibid, 1971 ed. p.431. Mir Ali Sher, specifically mentions that in the Tariqa he succeeded (*ja nisheen shud*) Adam Shah. Ghulam Rasul Mihr in '*History of Sindh: Kalhora Period*' (Vol. II, pp.158-161) has tried to speculate as if this may not be true.
8. *Manshur al-Wasiyyat*, op. cit., p.15.
9. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, 1971 ed., p.432.
10. *Mir'at Daulat-i-Abbasiya*', quoted by Ghulam Rasul Mihr in 'History of Sindh: Kalhora Period' (Urdu), Vol. II, 1958, p.167. The author of *Jawahir-i-Abbasiya* repeats the same story.
11. A detailed account of the saint is given by the late Sharafat Ahmad Naushahi in his voluminous history of the Naushahi family. It is an admirable work

but a few points need further consideration. The year of Naushah Ganj Bakhsh's death is given 1064 A.H., but 1102 A.H. as given by Munshi Ghulam Sarwar Lahori is probably more correct. Miyan Nasir Muhammad went to the Punjab after he had succeeded his father who died in 1068 A.H.

12. Sayyid Sharafat Ahmad Naushahi thought that 'Miyan Namah' was composed by Naushah Ganj Bakhsh. But the reference to Manjhi Sultan conclusively proves that it was composed by 'Naushah Sani' Faqir Ghulam Muhiyyuddin.
13. I had an opportunity to inspect the mosque in detail on 24th January 1958. Numerous names, written and inscribed, partly erased and effaced, were seen mainly on western and northern walls. Through the kind cooperation of two able officers (Late Muhammad Ismail Khan Noon, Deputy Collector of Dadu, and Qazi Muhammad Ibrahim, Mukhtiarkar of Kakar now Khairpur Nathan Shah), some necessary repairs were carried out (after 1958) to prevent further damage. Regrettably, the keeper (Mujawir) also got the inside walls white washed blotting all the earlier writings. Some faulty repairs were carried out later on, and the mosque is in ruins now (as seen in Photo).
14. *Manshur al-Wasiyyat*, op. cit., p.14. The four 'madhhabs', i.e. Hanafi, Maliki, Shafa'i and Hanbali.
15. Miyan Noor Muhammad in his Will enjoined respect for 'Ahl-i-Bait'. Cf. *Manshur al-Wasiyyat*, Ibid., p.15.
16. Quoted by Ghulam Rasul Mihr in '*History of Sindh: Kalhora Period*', Vol. II, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, 1958, p.169.

XV

JAMI' SAHIH OF IMAM BUKHARI: STUDIES OF ATRAF BY 'ULEMA' OF THATTA.

Imam Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari (13 *Shawwal* 194-256 A.H./809-870 A.D.) and his *Jami' Sahih* occupy a unique position of first importance in the *hadith* literature.

Imam Bukhari's piety, prodigious memory, intellectual ability to detect a defective *hadith* and his capacity for utmost effort to travel and collect *ahadith* from distant destinations, made his collection a superior one. For 16 long years (216-232 A.H.) he continued his inquiries and heard *ahadith* from more than one thousand *shaykhs*. He had it ensured that the person narrating the *hadith* was upright, honest and praiseworthy, with good memory and the ability to recall and report clearly, and that he should have met the person from whom he was narrating. It was not enough to have been a mere contemporary. Above all, the transmission chain (*isnad*) must be continuous, without any break. Further, to guard against any inadvertent error on his own part, he would take bath, perform ablution and offer two *rak'ahs* before entering a *hadith* into his record.

The unique value of Imam Bukhari's work was not fully realised immediately after its publication (transcription of copies, or transmission through teaching), or even soon after his death. It was only after *Jami' Sahih* was read and re-read and studied meticulously and critically that eventually it was widely acclaimed as being the most authentic book, next only to the Holy Qur'an. Also in grateful acknowledgement to the great service rendered by the devoted author, the *Jami' Sahih* became widely known with reference to his name as *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

Imam Bukhari had expressly entitled his work as *al-Jami' al-Musnad al-Sahih al-Mukhtasar min umur Rasul Allah, sala-Allah 'alayhi wa sallam, wa Sunanhi wa Ayyamhi*. It is obvious from this elaborate title of his work that Imam Bukhari was not intending only to produce a collection of the authentic *ahadith*: his primary purpose was to highlight the affairs (*umur*) of the 'Prophet (P.B.H.), his traditions (*sunan*) and his '*days*'/*jihad* expeditions (*ayyam*) through the most authentic record of the *ahadith*. As such, if a tradition contained matter on more than one subject, he repeated (cited) the same *hadith* under all such subjects. He included only the most authentic (*sahih*) *ahadith* to have the book of an optimum size (*mukhtasar*). Reportedly, Imam Bukhari had collected six hundred thousand *ahadith* of which one hundred thousand met the minimum necessary requirements to be possibly regarded as the *sahih* ones. And yet he finally included only seven thousand and a few hundred in the text of his compilation.¹ Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani has quoted Imam Bukhari as saying:

I did not include in my book, the *Jami'*, except what was authentic, and left out the rest so that it (*Jami'*) did not increase in volume.²

The earliest studies of *Sahih al-Bukhari* commenced by the turn of the 3rd century A.H. and continued on progressively thereafter. The learned scholars of *hadith* in Central Asia, Iran and the Middle East led the way. It was from the 7th/13th century onwards that *Sahih al-Bukhari* came to be intensively studied in 'Sind and Hind', the present day Pakistan and India.

Jami' Sahih has been the most elaborately studied and researched book for more than a millenium since the demise of Imam Bukhari in 256/870. It was studied from different stand points: (i) to facilitate its understanding, (ii) to evaluate it critically, and (iii) to explain it rationally. Numerous studies, such as under, were made before the '*ulama*' of Sind and Hind made their contribution:

Shuruh, Commentaries and expositions. Long back in 1012 A.H.; Haji Khalifah in *Kashf al-Zunun* mentioned as many as fifty *shuruh* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Of these, *Fath al-Bari* of Ibn Hajar (d. 852), and '*Umdat al-Qari* of 'Ayni (d. 855 H.) are comprehensive and of great merit. *Irshad al-Sari* of Qastalani (d. 923 H.) is counted as the third one in order after the above two.

- *Tajrid*, e.g. the *Tajrid al-Sahih li Jami' al-Sahih* by Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Latif al-Zabidi (812-893 A.H.).
- *Takhrij*, of the *ahadith* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* with alternate lines of transmission (*turq isncd*), e.g., *al-Mustakharaj 'ala al-Sahihayn* by Abu Nu'aym al-Isbahani.
- *Rijal*, e.g., *Rijal Sahih al-Bukhari (al-Hidayah wa al-Irshad fi Ma'rifat Ahl al-Thiqqah wa al-Sidad)* by Kalabadi (323-398 A.H.).
- *Istadirak*, bringing to light additional *ahadith* from other sources, as *al-Mustadarak 'ala al-Shaykhayn* by Hakim.
- *Tanqih*, correction/edition, e.g., *al-Tanqih* of Badr al-Din al-Zirkishi (d. 794).

Similarly, other aspects of *Sahih al-Bukh'ari* such as *Thalathiyat*, *Ta'liqat*, *Mutabi'at*, *Shawahid*, *'Aillah*, *Tarajim al-Abwab* and *Atraf* were brought under study.

STUDY OF SAHIH AL-BUKHARI IN SIND AND HIND

With the conquest of Al-SIND in 712 A.D. by Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi, the port town of Al-Daybul (Debal) and, thereafter, the new capital Mansurah and other cities in Sindh became centers of learning. In particular, Daybul became an important centre for the study of *hadith*, the first such great centre in the 'Sind and Hind' Subcontinent. Many scholars of *hadith* emerged from the *madaris* of Daybul in the 2nd/3rd century A.H. and they also became transmitters of *hadith*.

The study of *hadith* in Al-Sind (present Pakistan) continued on up to the 5th/11th century when it became a part of the Ghaznawid Empire and other studies such as *adab*, *mantiq*, philosophy, *fiqh* took precedence in curricula. It was again in the 7th century A.H. that the great lexicographer-scholar Hasan b. Muhammad al-Saghani of Lahore (577-650/1181-1252) revived the study of the *hadith*. He composed (637-40/1240-42) a text book, *Mashariq al-Anwar al-Nabawiyyah 'ala Sihah al-Akhh'ar al-Mustafawiyyah*, including a selection of 2253 *ahadith* from the two *Sahihayn* of Bukhari and Muslim. This book was widely studied as a *hadith* text and commentaries were written on it. As observed by Saghani in his introduction, he himself had taught this book both in Sind and Hind.³

Saghani also became the pioneer to underline the importance of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. He prepared a standard edition of it, which was widely used. According to one view, the texts of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, more commonly used in Arabia, Iraq, Sind and Hind, are based on the standardized text which was established by Saghani.⁴ He also wrote a brief commentary (*sharh*) on *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

Beginning from the 9th/10th century A.H., a large number of scholars from Sind and Hind travelled abroad and studied the *hadith* and other 'ulum, and returned to teach the same at home. They also wrote books on the subject. On the other hand, scholars from Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Khurasan (Central Asia) came to Sind and Hind and advanced Islamic learning, including the *hadith*. Mention may be made of those who promoted the study of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Among them were some distinguished scholars belonging to the families who had migrated from Bukhara in the long past and settled down in different parts of Sind and Hind beginning from the rule of the Turk monarchs in the early 7th/13th century. The following were the more prominent among them:

- Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq (958-1052 A.H./1551-1642 A.D.) b. Sayf al-Din b. Sa'd Allah of Dehli who was a descendent of his Turk ancestor Muhammad of Bukhara. He was a great scholar and historian and wrote more than one hundred books on *hadith*, *tarikh*, *tasawwuf*, biography etc. After him, his son Shaykh Nur al-Haq (983-1073/ 1575-1662) excelled in *hadith*, *fiqh* and *tarikh* and wrote an elaborate commentary (in Persian, five volumes) on *Sahih al-Bukhari* entitled the *Taysir al-Qari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* (Alavi Press, Lucknow, 1305/1887).
- Shaykh al-Islam b. Muhib Allah Bukhari of Dehli (from the above family) wrote a comprehensive commentary in Persian on *Sahih al-Bukhari*.
- Shaykh Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Husayni al-Bukhari (a descendent of Sayyid Jalal Jahaniyan of Uch who had settled down in Gujarat) wrote *al-Fayd al-Tari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* in Arabic in two volumes (mss. in Asfiyyah, No. 433/34 *Hadith*).
- Sayyid Siddiq Hasan al-Husayni al-Bukhari al-Qannawji (whose family had settled at Qannawj) wrote a commentary in

Urdu on the *Thalathiyat al-Bukhari*, entitled *Ghuniyat al-Qari*.

There were other distinguished scholars who taught and wrote on *hadith* in general and on *Sahih al-Bukhari* in particular. Like their predecessors in the Middle East, Iran and Khurasan the '*ulama* from Sind and Hind brought under study different aspects of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

- *Shuruh*. A large number of commentaries were written, first in Arabic and Persian and then in Urdu, beginning from the 13th/14th century A.H. (19th/20th A.D.). The scholarly 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni (1286-1341 A.H.), enumerated as many as fourteen *shuruh* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, which had been written by that time.⁵ Of these, the *Fayd al-Bari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* written by Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Abd al-'Ala' al-Husayni Zidpuri (d. 968 H./1560) was the first one. The next was written by Shaykh Yusuf b. Hasan Sarafi al-Kashmiri (d. 1003/1595). Subsequently, commentaries were written mainly in Urdu with the exception of perhaps the one in Arabic, *Tafhim al-Bukhari* by Zuhur al-Bari A'zami (Karachi 1985). Of the commentaries in Urdu, which have appeared lately, mention may be made of *Fadl al-Bari* by Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani (10 vols, Karachi, 1973), *Anwar al-Bari* by Muhammad Ahmad Rizwi, *Irshad al-Bari* by Sa'id Ahmad Ludhyanavi (Karachi 1386 A.H.), *Nuzhat al-Qari* by Muhammad Sharif al-Haq Amjadi (Karachi, 1989).
- *Tarjumat*. Of the Urdu translations, the more popular one is that of 'Abd al-Hakim Khan Akhtar Shah-Jahanpuri (d. 1401 A.H./1980).

Tajrid. *Muqaddmah Tajrid al-Bukhari*, a translation in Urdu was published from Lahore. *Ilham al-Bari* is a translation in Sindhi (of part I) by Din Muhammad Wafa'i, which was published from Karachi in 1350 A.H. Earlier, a Sindhi translation *Irshad al-Bari* by Ghulam Qadir Pirzada was published in 1933.

Rijal. The earliest work was by Shaykh Tahir b. Yusuf al-Sindi Burhanpuri (d. 1004/1595) who made a digest (*talkhis*) of Kirmani's *Sharh Asma' Rijal al-Bukhari*. He also wrote a commentary based on Qastalani's *Irshad al-Sari*.

- *Thalathiyat*. Three commentaries have been written on *thalathiyat* of Imam Bukhari (the *ahadith* transmitted through three authorities): *I'anat al-Qari* (Arabic) by Shaykh Yahya b. Amin al-'Abbasi of Allahabad, *Nazm al-La'ali* (Persian) by Shaykh 'Abd al-Basit b. Rustam of Qannawj, and *Ghunyat al-Qari* (Urdu) by Sayyid Siddiq Hasan al-Husayni al-Bukhari.
- *Ta'liqat*. Shaykh Ahmad 'Ali b. Lutf Allah Ansari Saharanpuri (d. 1207 A.H./1880) wrote on *Ta'liqat al-Bukhari*.
- *Tashih*. Shaykh Ahmad 'Ali b. Lutf Allah (above) also edited the text of *Sahih al-Bukhari* and wrote copious annotations.
- *Sirah*. 'Abd al-Salam Mubarakpuri has written in Urdu a biography (*Sirah*) of Imam Bukhari.

Other aspects such as *Mutabi'at* and *Shawahid* of *Sahih al-Bukhdri* have also come under study, but notice may be taken particularly of two other aspects which have engaged the attention of 'ulama' from Sind and Hind. These are: (i) *Tarajim al-Abwab* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, and (ii) *Atraf of Sahih al-Bukhari*.

TARAJIM AL-ABWAB

Imam Bukhari has composed his *Sahih* in an arrangement of 'books' and 'chapters', *Kitab* (book) being the main heading, and *abwab* (chapters) as subsidiary headings. In all, there are 97 'books' (*Kutub*) with 3450 chapters (*abwab*) under them. He placed one or more *ahadith*, relevant in meaning and purport, under each 'chapter heading'. Explanation and rationalization of this 'relevance' has been referred to as *Tarajim al-Abwab*.

The need for explanation of this relevance, as also other points in *Sahih al-Bukhari*, was felt long back. Ibn Khaldun had observed that a proper exposition of Bukhari's work was a debt (*dayn*) to be paid by the *Ummah*.⁶ Subsequently, Ibn Hajar and Ayni, in their copious commentaries covering all aspects of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, were supposed to have paid this debt to a large extent. However, the eminent *Shaykh al-Hind* Mahmud al-Hasan of Deoband (d. 1339 H./1920) was of the opinion that while Hafiz Ibn Hajar had paid the debt, so far as the *sharh* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* was concerned, the debt so far as *Tarajim al-Abwab* was concerned still remained to be paid.

Imam Bukhari had composed the *Jami' Sahih* by setting the main titles as 'books' and the subsidiary headings as 'chapters' (*abwab*). He then placed the *ahadith* under 'chapter headings'. It would seem that this process of composition continued during his life time, because no original manuscript of the *Sahih*, as it was finally completed and concluded by him, has come down to the posterity. In the copies which subsequently became universal, some traditions as recorded under 'chapters' do not seem to be relevant to the chapter titles. Some 'chapter headings' have no tradition(s) recorded under them: these were to be added later. And yet, to be able to understand the purport of the traditions and their relevance under 'chapter headings' (*tarajim al-abwab*), the *hadith* scholars have attempted to offer their explanations. Shah Wali Allah of Dehli (d. 1176H/ 1762) was the first one who wrote a brief treatise on *Tarajim. al-Abwab of Sahih al-Bukhari*;⁷ Sayyid Siddiq Hasan Bukhari Qannawji wrote a more elaborate commentary, the '*Awn al-Bari fi Hall 'Adillat al-Bukhari*, in four volumes; Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri and Muhammad Zakariya wrote the *Lami' al-Dirari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* with their explanation of *Tarajim al-abwab* (in the first part of it only)

ATRAF AND THE ATRAF METHODOLOGY

Atraf, sing. *taraf* meaning a part, portion, side, or a section has a specific connotation in the *hadith* literature. *Taraf* would be that part or portion or words of the *hadith* text by which it can be conveniently recalled and identified. The *taraf* may not be the most important or conspicuous portion of the *hadith* text, and yet specific enough for purpose of recognizing the *hadith*. The term *taraf* came to be used by the turn of the 1st century. Reference to it goes back to an early report by al-Nakha'i (d. 96 A.H.) in a *hadith* narrated from Ibn Sirin (d. 110 A.H.). By the middle of the 2nd century A.H., *Atraf* as such had already become a subject of study and compilation as confirmed by the following report:

Waqi' (d. 197 A.H.) said "Isma'il, that is Ibn Ayyash al-Himsi, studied under me the work on *Atraf* by Isma'il b. Abi Khalid (d. 146) and I found him mixing up what he had heard".⁸

After the codification of *ahadith* in the *Sihah Sittah* and other works, the need was felt to locate a given *hadith* in different books. A further scholarly interest developed to know all that was recorded

about that *hadith* in different source books. This led to the development of a complex reference methodology known as *Atraf*.

This development was a bi-product of the considerably enlarged study of *ahadith*. It involved two concepts: the concept of indexation to conveniently locate a *hadith* and the concept of cumulative encyclopaedic reference to bring together all available information about the *hadith* from different sources.

As *Atraf*, a methodology of multiple indexation came to be adopted to indicate alphabetically: (i) the source persons (*Sahaba*), (ii) the next persons (*Tabi'in*) narrating from the *Sahaba*, and (iii) the next persons (*Taba' Tabi'in*) narrating from the *Tabi'in*. The modern *Miftah* (The Key) type of indexing is more limited in concept than *Atraf*: it is generally a single alphabetical index of a single category of nomenclature, – e.g. the names either of persons or places.⁹ *Atraf* is conceptually more complex, in so far as more than one subjects are involved, e.g., (a) the textual identity of each *hadith*, (b) indication of its *isnad* lines (*turq*), and (c) its textual readings from as many different sources as the author of an *Atraf work* would intend to bring under study.

The *Atraf* compositions are based essentially on the *asanid* (chain of narrators) rather than the texts of *ahadith*. The names of *Sahaba*, and of *Tabi'in* and *Taba' Tabi'in* are all listed alphabetically. The purpose is to bring together all *asanid* and *turq* of the *hadith*, referred to by its *taraf*, to be able to see and study it as a whole, in all its dimensions.

ATRAF OF JAMI' SAHIH

Atraf of *Sahih al-Bukhari* came to be composed from the 2nd half of the 4th century A.H. onwards, jointly with other canonical works on *hadith* as under:

- (a) together with the *atraf* of *Sahih Muslim*, in four different works, all entitled *Atraf*, of Ab'u 'Ali Khalaf b. Muhammad al-Wasiti (d. after 400 A.H.), Abu Mas'ud al-Dimishqi (d. 401 A.H.), Abu Nu'aym al-Isbahani al-Haddad (463-517 A.H.), and al-Hafiz Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (773-852 A.H.);
- (b) together with the *atraf* of four other canonical works (of Muslim, Abu Da'ud, Tirmidhi and Nasa'i), by Ahmad b. Thabit

al-Taraqi (d. 521 A.H.) in his *al-Lawami' fi al-Jami bayn al-Sihah al-Jawami'*;

- (c) together with the *atraf* of *al-Sihah al-Sittah* by three different authors: (i) by al-Qaysari Muhammad Ibn Tahir (448-507 A.H.) in his *Atraf al-Kutub al-Sittah*, (ii) by Qutb al-Din al-Qastalani (614-684 A.H.), and (iii) by al-Hafiz Jamal al-Din Abu al-Hajjaj Yusuf Ibn Zakki al-Mizzi' (d. 742/1341 A.D.). In his *Tuhfat al-Ashraf bi Ma'rifat al-Atraf*, Al-Hafiz al-Mizzi generally relied on *Atraf al-Sahihayn* of Ab'u Mas'ud al-Dimishqi and on *Ahadith al-Sahihayn* of Khalaf al-Wasiti.¹⁰

Thus *atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* remained a subject of study continuously for five centuries, from the 4th to the 8th century A.H. But all these works were joint compositions, i.e. the *atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari* being composed jointly with the *atraf* of one or more of the other books of the *Sihah Sittah*. It was in the 12th century A.H. (18th A.D.) that two eminent *hadith* scholars from Thatta (Sindh, Pakistan) centered their attention specifically on the *atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. As these important works have remained more or less unknown, it is proposed to discuss them and their authors in some detail in the following pages.

ATRAF OF SAHIH AL-BUKHARI BY SHAYKH ABU AL-HASAN OF THATTA

Abu al-Hasan Nur al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi was born in Thatta, Sindh, in the 2nd half of the 11th century A.H. He had his education in Tustar (Shustar in Iran) and then in Madinah where he studied *hadith* with two eminent teachers, Sayyid Muhammad Barzangi (1040-1103 A.H.) and Ibrahim Kurdi (1025-1102 A.H.). He settled down in Madinah, taught *hadith* at the *madrasah* of Dar al-Shafa', and became well known for his specialised knowledge of *Hadith*. He wrote annotations (*hawashi*) on the *Sihah Sittah* (manuscript preserved in Khadiwiya Library, Cairo) and on the *Sunan* of Nasa'i (published). He wrote a *sharh* entitled *Bahjat al-Nazar* on Ibn Hajar's *Nukhbat al-Fikr*, and also a comprehensive *sharh* on the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal. He died on 12 *Shawwal* 1138 H. (June, 1726).

Abu al-Hasan was the first scholar of *hadith* from 'Sind & Hind' to have written on the subject of *Atraf*, and he specifically chose

to write on the *atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. A manuscript of this work, transcribed in 1363 A.H., is preserved in the Library of Effendi Muhammad Nasif at Jeddah.¹¹

ATRAF OF SAHIH AL-BUKHARI BY SHAYKH MUHAMMAD-HASHIM OF THATTA

A second work on the *Atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, and a more comprehensive one, was composed by Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta (Sindh, Pakistan). Though a younger contemporary of Abu'l Hasan Nur al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi, he was a renowned scholar of his time, well versed in the knowledge of Qur'an, *hadith*, *tafsir*, *fiqh* and *tarikh*. Like al-Suyuti, he was a prolific author, and it has been surmised that he wrote about three hundred books and treatises.¹² It was in the later years of his life (1102-1174 A.H.) that he composed this important work on the *Atraf* entitled *Hayat al-Qari bi Atraf Sahih al-Bukhari*. He began writing on 18 *Sha'ban* 1164 A.H. and completed the work on "Thursday afternoon, the 7th of the month *Safar* in the year 1166 A.H." He explains in his introduction as under:

This is a treatise in which I have composed the *atraf* of *ahadith* of *Kitab Sahih* of the great Imam, Proof of Islam, Muahmmad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari ... In this I have relied upon and taken what was relied upon and taken by Hafiz Abu al-Hajjaj al-Mizzi in his '*Atraf* on the *Sihah Sittah* as indicated by him with a specific sign for al-Bukhari.

Though this book is based on Hafiz Mizzi's work and incorporates his references and comments in so far as these refer to the *ahadith* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the learned Muhammad Hashim has not only updated Hafiz Mizzi's contribution but also of Abu Mas'ud al-Dimishqi and al-Khalaf al-Wasiti.

I have added my comments in brief with references to the *Kitab al-Atraf* of Abu Mas'ud al-Dimishqi and *Kitab al-Atraf* on *ahadith* of the *Sahihayn* by Khalf al-Wasiti and the *Kitab al-Atraf* of Hafiz Mizzi ... Besides what I have taken from these books, I have included such *ahadith* and information as they had either left out or (which) were not within their reach. I have corrected what I noticed to be their wrong notions and mistakes.

The learned author's main contribution consists in having added "such *ahadith* and information" as are not to be found in the works of his predecessors. This makes his work more complete and a standard one on the *Atraf* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.

Also in his introduction, he has made a final count of the *ahadith* of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. After considering the figures given by Ibn Salah and Nu'uwi on the one hand, and Hafiz Ibn Hajar on the other, he has reached the conclusion that the figure given by Ibn Hajar is to be taken as correct: that is, the total number is 7397 of which the *marfu'* ones are 2623.

For purpose of reference, he has further extended the method of multiple indexing to facilitate quick reference by the reader:

I have compiled this *Mukhtasar* (Treatise) in two 'Books': Book-1, comprising the *ahadith* which are *mawsul*, and Book-11, the *marsul* ones. Each (book) is again divided into two parts: the 1st covering *asma al-Rijal*, and the second *asma' al-Nisa'*. Each part is subdivided into two 'chapters', the first covering 'names' and the second *kunya* (nick names).

MANUSCRIPTS

Presently, it has been possible to locate two manuscripts of *Hayat al-Qari*, which may be designated as *Mss. J.* and *Mss. N.*

MSS J.

Mss. J. is preserved in the *Maktab* of Shaykh Ihsanullah al-Rashidi in the village of Pir Jhando (New), District Hyderabad, Sindh (Pakistan), and bears the library number B-9/5. It is a voluminous *Mss.* with 380 full size folios, each carrying 29 lines with the *taswid* area of 10x6 inches. It was copied by Muhammad Ibrahim b. Nur Muhammad Jamali of the nearby village Bhaikhan Jamali. Shaykh Sayyid Rashidullah, who got it copied, added the following note in his own hand at the end:

This copy was collated with the manuscript from which it was copied and which carried the following colophone:

"This copy was collated and corrected from the copy which was compared and corrected in a number of sittings with the author,

was completed on Sunday, the 8th of *Ramadan* in the *Hijra* year 1167. Written by 'Abd al-Rahman b.' great shaykh Muhammad Hashim al-Sindi".

This fresh copy was collated by Khalifah Muhammad Khan Jamali and Muhammad Ibrahim b. Nur Muhammad Jamali.

MSS N.

It is preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, and carries the entry No. "*N.M. 1980-1181*". It is written in good, clear hand and bears 27 lines on each page. It is defective on both sides, with a number of folios missing from the beginning and the end. A photo of the existing last page is appended, with acknowledgement to the authorities of National Museum.

REFERENCES

1. According to Ibn Salah, the total number is 7275 and deducting the repeated ones there remain 4000. According to Ibn Hajar, the total is 7397 of which the *marfu'* ones are 2623.

2.

ما أدخلت في كتابي الجامع الأصح
وتركت من الصحيح حتى لا يطول
[فتح الباري في شرح صحيح البخاري لابن حجر العسقلاني،
طبع اميريه، ج 1 ص 5]

3. Saghani composed *Mashariq al-Anwar* for the 'Abb'asid *khalifah* al-Mustansar Bi'llah in 624/1227, when he was in Baghdad. He taught this book thereafter, during the years 625-650 A.H. In his lexicographical work *Al-Ubab* (under word *Tawq*) he says that he stayed in Sindh for some years.
4. Cf. Migana: *An Important Manuscript of the traditions of Bukh'ari*, Oxford, 1936.
5. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, *al-Thaqafat al-Islamiyyah fi al-Hind*, Damascus, 1377 H/1959 A.D., pp. 150-151.
- 6.

وقال ابن خلدون: ولقد سمعت كثير
من شيوخنا رحمهم الله يقولون، شرح
كتاب البخاري على الملة دين إن احدا من
علماء الملة لم يوف ما يجب له، من الشرح بهذا الامة باباً.

7. Its 2nd edition was published in Hyderabad Deccan, India, in 1357/1938.
 8. *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* (1:324), quoted by Zuhair b. Nasir in his introduction to *Musnad al-Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal*, Kuwait-Damascus, 1414 H./1993 A.D. (introduction).
 9. The more typical among the *miftah* type is the *Miftah Kunuz al-Sunnah* (Cairo, 1935) by Muhammad Fuad 'Abd al-Baqi who has given a comprehensive alphabetical index of the topics/subjects of the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and other works.
 10. A scholarly edition of Hafiz al-Mizzi's *Tuhfat al-Ashraf bi Ma'rifat al-Atraf* has been published (in 16 vols.) by 'Abd al-Samad Sharafal-Din, Dar al-Qayyima, Bhindi, Bombay, 1384 A.H./95 A.D.
 11. It was during the sixties of the last (20th) Century that by the kind courtesy of Effendi Muhammad Nasif, the present writer had an opportunity to see this and other manuscripts of the books of the *ulama'* of Sindh. I have not been able to consult this *Mss.* presently, but that it remains well-preserved is confirmed by a recent reference to it by Zuhair b. Nasir al-Nasir in his edition of the *Atraf al-Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal*, Kuwait-Damascus, 1414 H./1993 A.D. (introduction).
 12. Cf. the detailed list given by Makhdum Amir Ahmad Abbasi in his edition of another work of Makhdum Muhammad-Hashim, *Badhl al-Quwwah fi Hawadith Sini al-Nubuwwah*, published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sind, Pakistan, 1386 A.H./1966 A.D. (introduction, pp. 11-30). In a doctorate thesis on Makhdum Muhammad Hashim filed in Sindh University (1997), the researcher Abdul Rasul Qadiri Baloch has listed almosts all the works of Makhdum Muhammad Hashim.
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XVI

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN LITERATURE

Persian became the State Language of Sindh beginning with the rule of Sultan Nasiruddin Qabaja, (602-625 A.H.) in the 7th century A.H. His capital Uch was the rendezvous of scholars who excelled in writing Persian prose and composing poetry. Ali b. Hamid Kufi translated from Arabic into Persian and his *Fathnama-e-Sind* became one of the earliest works in Persian prose. Awfi composed his *Lubab al-Albab*, a remarkable anthology of Persian verse. In the next 8th century, Persian, became the language of official record in Sindh. This is confirmed by the three historic inscriptions in Persian fixed officially, –one at the *mazar* of Shaikh Turab in District Thatta and the other two at the mausoleum of Qalandar Shahbaz at Sehwan (Vide supra No.XIII). This was during the reign of the first Samma rulers of Thatta under the sovereignty of Sultan Feroze Shah (752-790/1351-1388).

It was from the 9th century Hijra onward that Persian in Sindh developed more effectively as a language of literature, culture and education. This development had achieved the level of excellence during the Talpur Rule in the 13th century A.H. (19th century) but it was abruptly cut short with the British occupation of Sindh in February 1843 when English replaced Persian as State Language.

For seven centuries, from 7th to 13th century Hijra (13th to 19th A.D.), when Persian was the State Language as well as the language of literature, culture and education, considerable progress was made not only in the study of Persian as a language and as medium of communication but also in its effective use in the official record. Besides, Persian became the medium for general education and a vehicle for creative thought in the different areas of knowledge. This

may be briefly outlined as under:

EDUCATION (THROUGH PERSIAN)

After Islam had spread in Sindh by the turn of the first century Hijra, Arabic was used as medium of instruction during the next three centuries. By the turn of the 4th century A.H., when Sindh came under the political influence of the Ghaznawid and the Ghurid Sultans, use of Persian became more popular. Being comparatively easy to learn, it soon replaced Arabic as medium in Maktab and Madrasahs. Also some Persian terms were adopted more widely than of Arabic in religious life, such as نماز and روزه (for. صلاة and صيام).

At the elementary Maktab stage, Persian was used as medium of instruction along with Sindhi, and instructional material was improvised accordingly to enable pupils to learn Persian and Sindhi simultaneously. Charts, in bilingual vocabulary, known as *Du-wayya* (*du* meaning two and the Sindhi word *wayya* meaning speech or language), were made and simple story readers in Persian were prepared. Manuscripts of some such charts and readers of the later period have survived. Nizamuddin wrote انيس انجمن , of which he made a digest (شمع انجمن) in 1112 H. (1710 A.H.) for teaching elementary Persian, Sarf (Grammar), and graded vocabulary. Arabic also came to be taught through Persian and Sindhi simultaneously.

Subsequently, (حسن الفوائد واحسن تعليم الصبيان) authored by Akhund Muhammad in 1293 A.H. specially aimed at teaching Persian vocabulary through Sindhi. These later works represent the continuity of such instructional guides from early times.¹

A landmark in producing a scientific work in Professional Education was achieved in the middle of the 10th/15th century, when the great scholar teacher Makhdum Jafar of Bubak (district Dadu) wrote his (نهج التعلم) (Method of Education) in Arabic of which, later on in 976 A.H., he made a digest in Persian entitled (حاصل النهج) for the benefit of teachers.² This shows that Persian was then more commonly used and understood in educational institutions.

HISTORY

A large number of books were written on Sindh's history, all in Persian. 'Fathnamah-e-Sindh' is the earliest work though it was translated from Arabic. 'Tarikh-i-Sindh' by Mir Muhammad Masum

was the first work in Persian which brought the history of Sindh to the end of Emperor Akber's reign. Later on, Mir Ali Sher Qani wrote a universal history *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* wherein he brought history to the reign of the Abbasid ruler Miyan Ghulam Shah (end of the 12th/18th century). The following and other works covered the different dynastic periods.

(a) The Arghun-Turkhan period

- بیگلار نامہ by Idraki Beglari (1017 – 1034 A.H.)
- تاریخ بلده تہتہ تاریخ طاہری by Mir Taher Muhammad Nasyani (1030 A.H.)
- ترخان نامہ by Sayyid Jamal al-Husaini (1065/66 A.H.)
- نصرت نامہ ترخان by Sayyid Mir Muhammad (962 A.H.)

(b) The Mughal Period

- منتخب التواریخ by Muhammad Yusuf Ataki
- تاریخ مظہر شاہجہانی by Yusuf Mirak
- تاریخ امین الدین by Aminuddin
- تاریخ محب اللہ بکھری by Muhibullah of Bakhar
- ذخیرۃ الخوانین by Muhb Ali of Bakhar

(c) The Abbasid/Kalhora Period

- گلدستہ نورس بہار (ناپید است)
- تاریخ عباسیہ by Mir Ali Sher Qani (not extant)
- تحفۃ الکرام by Mir Ali Sher Qani'
- تحفۃ الطاہرین by Shaikh Muhammad Azam

(d) The Talpur Period

- تاریخ بلوچی by Abdul Majid Jokhia (1199 A.H.)

- فتحنامه by Azimuddin of Thatta (1199 A.H.)
- فتحنامه by Mir Sobdar Khan Talpur (1254 A.H.)
- فریتر نامه by Mir Yar Muhammad (1857 C.E.)

Because of the long tradition, 'history writing' in Sindh was invariably linked with Persian as the medium. Thus, even when English had eclipsed Persian during the British period, three histories authored by local scholars at the behest of some British officers were all written in Persian. These were:

- تازه نوای معارک by Munshi Atta Muhammad
- تاریخ جهان نمایی by Makhdum Muhammad Aqil
- لب تاریخ سند by Khudadad Khan

TASAWWUF, MALFUZAT AND MASHA'IKH

Almost all works in the field of *Tasawwuf*, and the related subject of *Malfuzat* and biographies of the *Mashaikh* (saints) were composed in Persian. Some of these are listed below:

(a) Works on Tasawwuf (Sufism):

- ☆ ینابیع الحیاة الابدیة، ابو الحسن الداهری
- ☆ معیار سالکان طریقت، میر علی شیر قانع تنوی
- ☆ مشویات عبدالوهاب عرف سچل رهبر نامه، عشق نامه، راز نامه، گدار نامه، تار نامه
- ☆ مصنفات عبد القادر بیدل: (سلوک الطالبین، سند الموحدين، رموز العارفين، تقوية القلوب، ونهر البحر)
- ☆ فتح الفضل و شرح ابیات خواجه محمد زمان، (شیخ عبدالرحیم گرهوری)
- ☆ ساقی نامه و مشنوی صفت میخانه، (میر جان الله شاهه رضوی)
- ☆ درد نامه، ملفوظ فضل الله شاه قلندر تالیف نور الله شاه بروایة فقیر محمد صدیق صوفی سومره
- ☆ آئینه سلوک، غلام محمد گدا قادری

(b) Malfuzat: Discourses of Saints:

- بیان العارفين، ملفوظ شاه عبدالکریم، مرتبه محمد رضا تنوی در سال ۱۰۳۸ هـ
- رساله فتحی، تصنیف مخدوم فتح محمد
- دلیل الذاکرین (فقیر حاجی پنهور)

- ارشاد الطالبین در ارشادات مخدوم نوح
- فردوس العارفین، در ملفوظات ولسلسله طریقت مخدوم نوح، مرتبه میر بلوچ خان تالپور (تصنیف سال ۱۲۰۱ھ)
- جامع الفیوضات، ملفوظات پیر سید محمد راشد، بانی سلسله راشدیہ قادریہ مرتبه خلیفہ محمود نظامانی
- خزانه المعرفت، ملفوظات سید صبغت اللہ شاہ (اول) جامع فرزندش سید علی گوہر شاہ (پیران پاگارد).

(c) Biographies and Saints

• تذکرہ اولیاء، تصنیف قاضی محمود تنوی در سال ۹۸۰ھ (ناپیدا است)

• تذکرہ مشائخ سیوستان

• حدیقة الاولیاء، سید عبد القادر نصرپوری

• تراجم مشائخ، محمد عابد سندی

• معارف الانوار، تذکرہ و ملفوظ شاہ مراد شیرازی

• طومار سلاسل، میر علی شیر قانع تنوی

• تذکرہ مخادیم کھڑا، مخدوم اللہ بخش

• گلشن اولیاء خلیفہ محمود نظامانی

• مرغوب الاحباب، درباب بزرگان لواری، مرتبه میر نظر علی خان تالپور

BIOGRAPHIES OF POETS & ANTHOLOGIES

The beauty and sweetness of the Persian *ghazal* and the spiritual content of the *Masnavi* had great impact on the receptive mind of literatuers, scholars and teachers in Sindh. A large number of poets flourished so that a number of biographies and selective anthologies were produced. Some early scholarly works, like Awfi's *Lubab-ul-Albab* (618 A.H), Fakhri's *Rauzat-ul-Salatin*, and Ghulam Ali Bilgramy's *Yad-e-baida* were composed in Sindh though mainly dealing with poets from outside Sindh. However, these works motivated Mir Ali Sher Qani' of Thatta to compose *Maqalat al-Shuara*' (1174/75 A.H.), the first important anthology of poets of Sindh.

Writing some fifty years later, Makhdum Muhammad Khalil saw the need of updating Mir Qani's *Maqalat* and, in 1305 A.H., he composed *Takmilat Maqalat al-Shu'ara* as Supplement to *Maqalat*. But even he did not exhaust the list of the poets who had composed in Persian before him. Also a number of poets flourished after the

composition of Khalil's *Takmila*. Thus the need remains for composing a (تَمِّمَهُ) though it may further need its own (تَمِّمَهُ).

The Talpur Amirs of Sindh were great patrons of fine arts and Persian literature. It has been observed: "The volume of Persian poetry produced during this period, however shows that never before in the history of Sindh did such a large number of ruling princes take to the composition of verse as in the Talpur regime".³

Beside *Tazkiras* (the biographical compendia), *Mathnavis* and *Dawavins*, a number of anthologies were produced with selections from the verses of different poets such as:

- محک فخری هروی of فخری هروی (Mss. in the Royal Talpur Library, Hyderabad).
- جواهر العجائب of فخری هروی in 962 A.H.
- مجمع الفصحاء of غلام علی مانل in 1218 A.H. (now lost), by way of Takmilah of 'Maqalat Shu'ara'.
- میر علی شیر قانع of بیاض محک الشعراء
- محمد محسن تنوی of محک کلام
- میر کرم علی خان of مجموعه دلکشای
- محک خسروی dedicated to Mir Karam Ali Khan
- تذکرہ زبدة المعاصرین of شیرازی dedicated to Mir Murad Ali Khan.

The tradition of composing poetry in Persian continued on after the British occupation of Sindh in 1843 A.D. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil in his *Takmila* has included most of the poets who flourished during the 2nd half of the 19th century. This tradition, though weak, continued during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Mir Abdul Husain Khan 'Sangi', Mirza Qalich Beg and others were the last of the line.

After the Talpur princes, Pir Pagara Sayyid Hizbullah Shah 'Miskeen' was the great patron of Persian poets during the last quarter of the 19th century. Eminent poets like Bahauddin Bahai, Nabi Bakhsh Kolachi, Muhammad Aqil 'Aqili' and others were the luminaries of his court. The last two and many others of this era, are not mentioned by Khalil in his *Takmila*.

A number of 'dawavin', though known and available, are not yet published, and this heritage of Persian language and literature in Sindh is likely to be lost with the passage of time. The names of some such 'dawavin' may be mentioned:

- دیوان مسکین، میر سہراب خان تالپور، والی خیرپور
- دیوان ولی، وزیر اعظم نواب ولی محمد خان لغاری،
- دیوان حاتم، محمد حیات قادری، شاعر پُر گو پروردہ میر سہراب خان تالپور
(در مکتبہ سید غلام میران شاہ مخدوم الملک)
- دیوان صوفی، نواب اللہ داد خان بن وزیر اعظم نواب ولی محمد خان
- دیوان حیدری، میر شہداد خان تالپور
- دیوان پیر پاگاہ سید علی گوہر شاہ اول
- دیوان نوری، نور اللہ شاہ نصرپوری
- دیوان شاہنشاہ نصرپوری
- دیوان علی، علی اکبر خان لغاری بن نواب غلام شاہ تاجپوری
- دیوان روشن، آخوند محمد روشن حیدر آبادی
- دیوان علی، میرزا بندہ علی بن میرزا باقر گرجی
- دیوان فتح، فتح الدین شاہ بخاری حیدر آبادی
- دیوان خلیل، محمد ابراہیم خلیل تنوی
- دیوان بیدل، قادر بخش بیدل، روہڑوی
- دیوان جان اللہ شاہ روہڑوی
- دیوان عاشق روہڑوی

COMPOSITION AND GRAMMAR

Persian was fondly cultivated for purpose of effective communication and artful expression, and a number of works were composed in different styles of INSHA such as:

انشاء مہنتہ سلامت، انشاء عبدالرؤف، انشاء قانع، انشاء عطار د

Mir Ali Sher Qani in his نصاب البلاغ (۱۸۱۸ء) set a course for an accomplished scribe in the use of idiomatic Persian in different

professions. Ghulam Ali 'Ma'il' in his composition set a high standard in rehtones (تدبیر معنی). Muhammad Saleh wrote a treatise دستور البیان in علم سیاق. Works on Persian grammar were written for correct use of the language. The great teacher scholar Abul Hasan Dahiri (d. 1182 H.) wrote a treatise on صرف فارسی and also Shaikh Ismail composed رساله منظومیه در صرف

WORKS OF PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC NATURE

Though excellence was achieved in the use of Persian in arts, it was also employed with skill in specialized studies of scientific and technical nature such as medicine, cosmography, geography, mathematics, hunting, falconry and astronomy. Some of the known works may be listed:

طب:

. طب دانودی، تصنیف دانود خان پسر میان یار محمد عباسی

. طب مهته بولچند سیوهانی، از شاگردان دانود خان عباسی

. طب میر مرادعلی خان تالپور

. طب میر صوبدار خان تالپور

. طب مراد، میر علی مراد خان تالپور

. طب نزهة المشتاق، نواب ولی محمد خان لغاری

. لغات میزان طب، عبدالقادر بیدل

. فرهنگ همایونی، عبدالغفور همایونی

علم هینت:

. رساله در علم هینت محمد حسن تنوی

صید:

. سید المراد فی قوانین صیاد، دانود خان عباسی، چاپ کلکنه

بازنامه:

. بازنامه خدایار خان عباسی، چاپ کلکنه

فنون:

. رشحات الفنون، میر امین الدین خان

آفاق:

. معلومة الآفاق، میر امین الدین خان

علم نجوم:

. رساله در قوانین اهل تنجیم، تصنیف ملابرهان

. رساله در علم نجوم، حاجی فقیر الله علوی (ف ۱۱۹۵ هـ)

. زیج سندی، تصنیف سلطان علی تالپور حیدرآباد (رمضان ۱۲۱۹ هـ)

Sultan Ali b. Sa'id Khan Talpur was a scholar and Sufi. He was the follower of Makhdam Muhammad Zaman Luwarvi. He excelled in the study of *Zij* (Handbooks of Astronomy). He found some classical *Zij* inadequate to determine the time of eclipse etc. in Sindh. He therefore, studied the Indian *Zij* from a learned Pundit who had come from Kashi, and composed a *Zij* based on the Mahadevian method. The original passage from it quoted by late Din Muhammad Wafai (in 'Tazkirah-i-Mashahir-i-Sindh', vol.3, p74) reads:

”چون در عمل زیجات قدیم مثل زیج یزدجردی و زیج مامونی و زیج ملکی و زیج سمرقندی ای الغ بیگی تفاوت در تفاوتیم خصوص در کسوف و خسوف از مرور دهور یا از اختلاف عرض اقالیم در ملک سند بنظر رسبد و تصحیح آن بغیر از ارساد جدید متعذر آید و حساب اهل هندچه در تفاوتیم و چه در کسوفات و خسوفات در این دیار بی تفاوت و برقرار چرا که این ملک تعلق به هند دارد زیجات اهل هند مثل زیج مهادیو و زیج برمن و زیج چندرازکی و زیج قرن قیصری و زیج انت منجری که بزبان شاستر اند از حکیمی ماهر که از کاشی با اراده سیر در اینجا رسیده در معدوم الایام بجدو جهد مالا کلام بمطلع آورده، زیج نو بزبان فارسی موافق زیج مهادیوی که عمل آن بموجب هفتده هزار بانصد سال بحال خواهد ماند املا نموده شد“

It may be concluded that Persian was studied and cultivated vigorously in Sindh beginning from the 11th century A.H., A high standard was achieved in the use of Persian as a universal medium in educational and scholarly circles in Sindh. This standard was comparable to the

excellence achieved elsewhere in the Subcontinent. In the domain of poetic excellence, Mir Muhammad Masum of Bakhar (Sindh) composed his *Khamsa* comparable to the *Khamsa* of Nizami Ganjavi. The command of Persian language and lexicography was demonstrated by Sayyid Abdul Rashid al-Husaini of Thatta who composed the following two dictionaries which proved to be the pioneer works in the field of Persian lexicography:

- فروهند رشیدی first published in two volumes, Calcutta, 1872, 1875.
- منتخب اللغات شاهجهانی Published by Naval Kishore, 1891.

The use of Persian with confidence reached the advanced stage so that after initially teaching Persian through Sindhi, Sindhi itself came to be taught through Persian, as demonstrated in the following works:

- In the 12th century A.H., the learned Makhdum Muhammad Hashim of Thatta first authored his work in Sindhi on observation of the fast, but then for further clarity he prepared a Persian version of it.
- In 1122 (1710) Nizamuddin in his treatise *أنیس انجمن* (a digest of *شمع انجمن*) made a beginning to compose a dictionary of Sindhi words with meanings in Persian.⁴
- In 1269/70 (1853-54), Akhund Abdul Rahim composed (*جواهر لغات*), a dictionary of Sindhi words with meanings in Sindhi.⁵

Probably as early as the 10th/16th century, Sindhi grammar was also being taught through Persian. Photo of a page from a manuscript of 10th /11th century A.H. is placed in the Appendix (next page) in which the following verses etc. show that the instruction was composed in Persian verse.

هم معارف پنج اند، نی فزون نی کم
مضاف مضمّر ذواللا مبهم است علم
علامت خبر لفظ 'آهی' بدان
بدل 'کین'، 'سو'، 'کهر'، است عطف میان

بابا الحسن علیا الفاظ التاید نفس وعین وکلا
 زکلتا وکل واجم وکتع وابعع وابعع نخوجاء
 القوم کلهم اکتع ابعع ابعع واوفاء و
 ثم لکن لاوبل اوواما وام وحتی لتیس بمعنا
 یخزنی فزون نی کم مضاف مضمز ذواللام مبهم مستعلم
 علامت خبر لفظ ایی بیان بدل کینی سو کپروت عطف
 سوسی صفت لزومی و هم کری علامت تمیز لہتی شہتی
 جو حالت میں حال ہوئی انجی چه منعول دارد نشان کی کری
 له وستی ہم بیتی منجی معرسان جو باضافت منج
 المعرفة ما وضع لشی معین والنکر ما بخلافه
 اثنان واثنتان وثلثان واسم و است و
 ایما و ابن و ابنة و امرء و امرئة والا و الما من الا
 فعال المنتعبد غیر اکرم و متضاد صا و الالف التي مع

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1. For example, a page from an early manuscript in the teaching methodology already cited by N. A. Baloch in 'History of Sindhi Language and Literature'.
2. Ed. N. A. Baloch, published by University of Sindh, 1389/1969. (Vide supra No.XII).
3. Sadarangani, Dr. H.I.: 'Persian Poets of Sindh', Sindhi Adabi Board, 1958, p.152.
4. For details, see N. A. Baloch 'Sindhi Boli Aen Adab Ji Tarikh', 4th edition. Pakistan Study Centre, Sindh University, 1419/1999, pp.445-448.
5. Ibid, p.449.

XVII

EDUCATION IN SINDH PRIOR TO THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

An Islamic system of education prevailed in Sindh prior to the British conquest in 1843. Generally speaking, after the age of Alberuni (d.443 H/1051), the great mathematician, study of mathematics and sciences had lost ground in the seminaries of higher education in the Muslim countries. However, significant advances came in general education, religious studies, logic, philosophy, historical studies, geography, lexicography, literature and, above all, in the area of professional education.

During the 10th / 16th century, the elementary Maktab education in Sindh was wide spread and advanced, so that the great teacher Makhdum Jafar Bubakani wrote a book on Method of Education (No.XII). Another significant development was the emergence of a professional viewpoint among teachers that primary instruction must be imparted through mother tongue of the child. In the long past, children in Maktab had learnt directly through Arabic, and by the turn of the 7th/13th century, the primary leaning came to be imparted through Persian. This became the general practice during the Mughal rule except in Sindh where by the turn of 10th/16th century had dawned the realization that the child learnt better and progressed faster if instructed through Mother Tongue.¹ Towards that end, a large number of versified treatises were produced in Sindhi of which thirty nine transcribed during the years 1067-1069 H. (1655-1657) have come to light.²

Later on, during the 18th/19th century, Elementary Maktab Education and Higher Madrasa Education were wide spread in Sindh. During the Talpur Rule (1782-1843), educational establishments

received liberal grants and teachers and eminent scholars received stipends and were held in high esteem. The learned British scholar, Richard Burton, who was then in Sindh and had an opportunity to study the prevalent educational system, was particularly impressed by the higher Madrasa institutions. According to him:³

“If the scholar was determined to become one of the Olema, he proceeded to one of the Madressa, or college, at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Sindh, in the time of the Talpurs, contained, it is said, six of these establishments:

1. At Sehwan; 2. Trippat, near Sehwan; 3. Khohra, north of Sehwan; 4. Matalawi, generally called Matari; 5. Mohar or Walhari, near Omerkot; 6. Chotiyari, on the Narrah River.

The college was supported by Wakf, or presents and bequests made by the wealthy and religious. The system is one of the redeeming points and meritorious institutions of Islam, which encouraged its followers to support seminaries and schools, instead of monasteries and convents.

In 1852, B.H. Ellis, an Assistant Commissioner, prepared his ‘Report on Education in Sindh’⁴ at the behest of Sir Henry Bartle, an enlightened Welshman and able administrator, who had taken over as Commissioner of Sindh in January 1851. The Report, comparable to Adam’s Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal,⁵ along with a Forwarding letter by Sir Frere, clarified and put on record some of the basic educational policies followed in Sindh after the conquest (1843) and prior to the Court of Directors’ Education Despatch of 1854. These were: (i) the adoption of Sindhi as an official provincial language, (ii) standardization of the Sindhi alphabet, (iii) use of Sindhi as the medium for vernacular education and preparation of Sindhi text books and reading materials, and (iv) sanction of funds for the extension of the new Anglo-vernacular education in Sindh.

Sindhi was adopted as the language of official business, administration and record in 1851 under a circular of the Bombay Government No.1825, of 6th September 1851. All officers, the British and the native, were directed “to undergo an examination to test their proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Sindhi”.

So far as the survey of the indigenous school system is concerned, Ellis’s Report is couched in quantitative rather than

qualitative terms, the figures having been based on returns supplied by the Revenue Officers in 1852. The total number of the indigenous schools in Sindh was put at 643 with 7,443 students, of whom one-ninth were females. According to the Report: "These returns do not exhibit the total number of persons receiving education, for many of the better class maintained instructors for their children in their own homes and these have probably found no place in the Collector's returns".⁶

Apart from these private *Home* Schools, the returns of the Collectors have not mentioned even some of the great educational institutions such as those of Chctiyari, Khohra, Trippat, which the contemporary writer, Richard Burton, mentions as *colleges* of the Talpur period.⁷ These were still flourishing when the returns were being collected.

It is, however, important to note that like W. Adam, H.B. Ellis also was of the view that the indigenous school system should have formed "a basis for future extended operations."⁸ Noting the professional devotion of teachers, Ellis concluded that it proved "that education is not unappreciated in Sind, and that judicious efforts for its extension have chance of being rewarded with success."⁹

FEMALE EDUCATION. Ellis went on to underline the fact, that female education was an integral part of the indigenous system.¹⁰ There was evidence of women teachers teaching at the secondary level—"a boy and two girls are taught Arabic and Persian gratuitously by the wife of a Mochee (cobbler) at Soong, in Obowra (in the present Sukhur District); and (also) two boys are instructed in the Koran by a blind woman at Tanga in \ Obowra".¹¹

A NETWORK OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. Elementary schools or *Makhtabs*, with the teaching of Holy Quran (to the Muslim children) as their main feature, flourished as a free service almost everywhere. According to Ellis "teaching, in charity, a few pupils beneath a shady tree, in the courtyard of a mosque, cannot fail to inspire respect, though we may be unable to admire either the nature or the method of the instruction".¹²

SECONDARY-CUM-HIGHER EDUCATION. According to Ellis, a vast network of these elementary schools had been the backbone of the secondary-cum-higher educational institutions, which were likewise "scattered over the country, not always in the most populous and best

known towns, but often in remote villages, where some preceptor, having acquired a name by his skill in teaching, and a skill for superior learning, has drawn together pupils from distant districts".¹³

These were the common schools admitting both the Muslim and the Hindu students – a majority of the former specializing in religious studies through Arabic and the latter specializing in literature, secretarial work and accounts through Persian. These institutions were the hall-mark of the Muslim Educational System in Sind. As regards their condition, Ellis observed that "the state of the schools in which Persian and Arabic are taught is more promising".¹⁴

Some of these institutions in the cities had a long history and great reputation. "In Thatta, for instance, one school numbers about 100 scholars. The master adopts teaching as profession which has been handed down to him from his father and grandfather, & boasts of having educated many distinguished servants, both Mussulman and Hindoo, of the late (Talpur) and the present (British) Government."¹⁵

TEACHING PROFESSION. This shows that teaching as a profession was well established. It had a long tradition and good reputation to attract men and women to work as teachers. Most of the men and women who taught children at the elementary level did so as a matter of religious duty "*fee sabeel-Oolla*, in the way of God".¹⁶

Others, both at the elementary and secondary level accepted whatever meagre remunerations accrued to them, from pupils and parents, but were devoted to teaching "We may wonder", observes Ellis, "not that the masters are so few and ill qualified, but rather that so many well-educated men are content to undertake the task",¹⁷ A school master in Upper Sind was not only teaching gratuitously, "but feeds and clothes at his own expenses the 14 pupils whom he instructs in Arabic and Persian."¹⁸

CURRICULUM AND METHOD OF INSTRUCTION. Richard Burton in his account of the Muslim education in Sindh, has described in detail the curriculum requirements from primary through higher stages. He has named the particular text-books and the sequence in which these were taught, and referred to the method of instruction followed.

It may be noted that because of an early development of professional thinking on the part of teachers in Sindh¹⁹, they departed from the strictly traditional system of instructing the child directly

through Persian or Arabic, which was in vogue in almost all parts of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. They recognized the importance of instructing the child through Mother Tongue, and took practical steps to impart elementary education through Sindhi. Abul Hasan b. Abdul Aziz, a renowned scholar of Thatta, wrote the first text-book in Sindhi sometime in the last quarter of the 17th century. Being an innovation *in Sindhi*, the book came to be called “**Abul Hasan-ji-Sindhi**” (*The Sindhi of Abul Hasan*). Other Sindhi books were produced soon thereafter and the elementary curriculum was enriched.

The elementary Sindhi curriculum followed during the 2nd quarter of the 19th century is described in detail by Richard Burton who records that after reading Holy Quran and making exercises in writing and spelling, the child, about nine years old, “proceeds to the next step, *the systematic study of his mother tongue the Sindhi*”.²⁰

FINANCIAL SUPPORT. Burton, in his account has thrown some light on the internal administration of the institutions of higher education – the Time Table, holidays, the salient features of student life and the way it was regulated. He has noted the strength of the staff and their salaries. He has confirmed the policy of State support to education during the Talpur period in terms of “a monthly sum proportioned to the expenses of the several establishments”.²¹ As to the main source of income, he has mentioned, in particular, the institution of Waqf bequests and charitable endowments in Sindh – “the meritorious institutions of Islam, which encouraged its followers to support seminaries and schools, instead of monasteries and convents”.²²

In a passing reference to the educational conditions during the rule of the Talpurs, Ellis remarks that some learned men “were in the enjoyment of liberal allowances from the State” which encouraged them to promote the cause of education.²³ But he says:

“When the British Government succeeded the Talpurs, such occasional presents of cash or of loongees as were not uncommonly bestowed on learned men on special occasions by even the least refined of the Meers entirely ceased, and at the same time the large allowances of the Tatta Syuds were confiscated, notwithstanding the enjoyment for centuries under successive dynasties.”²⁴

By cutting off these “sources of emolument” and effecting their “sudden withdrawal”,²⁵ the colonial government dealt a death-blow to the national system of education which had been in vogue in Sindh for centuries.

It was not on mere 'religious grounds', as is often argued, that the Muslim parents hesitated to send their children to the new schools. The Muslims, from whom the country had been conquered, were deliberately alienated by acts of commission which prompted the Muslim community to suspect the very motives of the colonial power in spreading their new Western education which, besides, remained aligned with the missionary work during the initial decades.

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XVIII

SHAH ABDUL LATIF AND THE MUSIC INSTITUTION OF SHAH-JO-RAAG

As one thinks of the life and times of Shah Abdul Latif, no written record of his life becomes available. This has been the case of many great persons of the past. But a reasonably valid outline of his biography can be sketched by assembling and evaluating the scanty references scattered in different sources. On the other hand, much can be said on Shah Latif's times. Born in 1102 A.H. (1690/91), he flourished in the first half of the 18th century A.D. (12th A.H.). This was during the late Mughal period. Shah Abdul Latif was about 18 years old when Emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707. With the weakening of the Mughal power, Sindh was soon lost to Delhi. This change from the imperial to the local dynastic rule in Sindh was indeed a significant event of Shah Abdul Latif's times, and one may be tempted to draw conclusions. Indeed there was much turmoil following the rise of the Kalhora Chiefs in Upper Sindh against the administration of the Mughal Governor of Multan who tried in vain to suppress them. Eventually in 1737 A.D. (1150 A.H.) when Miyan Noor Mohammad Kalhoro established his firm control in the North, the 'Sarkar of Thatta' i.e. Southern Sindh was also leased out to him by Delhi. By that time Shah Abdul Latif was a mature person of 48 years of age. Two years later in 1739 A.D., when he was fifty, Nadir Shah invaded Sindh and subdued Miyan Mohammad Kalhoro taking him unawares in the fort of Umarmkot.

All these were momentous events to have led us believe that they might have greatly influenced Shah Abdul Latif. But it is difficult to find any allusions in Shah Abdul Latif's Poetic Compendium, the RISALO, to the contemporary political events or to the power struggle

that had taken place. Some allusions can, however, be detected in the *Risalo* to certain contemporary or earlier *situations* as distinct from specific *events* of the time. A few examples may be cited.

In the chapter 'Sur Samundri', i.e. 'Theme of the Sea Farers', the once flourishing sea trade between Sindh and the coastlines of South-East Asia comes into lime light. The mariners and marchants from Sindh used to take their merchandise all the way to Malayasia, Sumatara and Jawa. This trade was disrupted by the Portuguese intervention about two hundred years before Shah Abdul Latif, and subsequently it continued to be further squeezed by the other European powers, –the Dutch, the French and finally the English who established their first factory in Thatta in 1635 A.D. The Sindh's sea trade and boats were in a real danger during the days of Shah Abdul Latif; as such he would seem to have alluded to this situation in one of his verses as follows:

The *mu'allims* (mariners) are not (strong) in their former position, while the Firangis (Franks) are frequenting the inside (of the coastlines). Beware oh mariner! The thieves have already boarded your boat.

In 1699 A.D. when Shah Abdul Latif was about nine years old, the Scot Captain Alexander Hamilton had seen cotton industry flourishing in Thatta. The highly organized assemblies of spinners, mostly women folk, were the backbone of this industry. 'Sur Kapa'iti', 'The Spinner', presents a perspective of the homely assemblies of the women folk (*Aatan*) engaged in the spinning profession. There were bankers (Saraf) who paid to each spinner for her daily output, the amount depending on the weight of the spun yarn as well as its quality. Accountability for the quality is the main strain running through the Kapa'iti' theme. This would indicate that cotton industry was still flourishing in Sindh during Shah Latif's time. However, as he puts in some verses, the days of the more competent professional spinners had already gone by.

In 'Sur Dahar', a number of verses allude to the drying up of the deltaic Patihal Channel of the Indus, which flowed through the western part of the present Badin District. The old name Patihal has survived in the name of the present Revenue Deh/Circle in the area (to the S.W. of Tarrai). The allusions would indicate that this change in the courses had occurred there long back in chief Jasodhan Agro's

principality. But Shah Abdul Latif had seen an old *Kanda* tree still standing on the bank of the empty bed (dhoro) of the Patihal channel and addressing it (in his verses) he inquired about the days when the Patihal was still a full-flowing channel.

These and some such other allusions either to the situations or to the changing way of life of the people can be gleaned from the RISALO. Some verses possibly give an indication of the external pressures being exerted on Shah Abdul Latif himself. The later part of his life time was a period of trial for him. The irony of the circumstances was that Miyan Noor Muhammad Abbasi who had extended his rule in 1150/1737 over the ‘Sarkar of Thatta’ – the region of Shah Abdul Latif’s own abode (Bhitshah) as well as of his ancestors (Bulri and Matiari) – was not favourably disposed to him because Shah Abdul Latif was held in high esteem by the people and his popularity was increasing day by day. Miyan Noor Muhammad, though an energetic ruler and also highly educated, was haunted by the prestige and popularity of saints and scholars of his time. This was because his own ancestors had gained political power from the initial stage of sainthood. Under the spell of his own inhibitions, Noor Muhammad got killed eminent influential religious scholars of Northern Sindh. Earlier, his father had participated in the martyrdom of the great Sufi saint Inayatullah Shah of Jhok in 1130 A.H. Shah Abdul Latif was then 28 years of age. These events must have moved him. Also it was within his knowledge that the suspicious ruler Miyan Noor Muhammad was keeping his moves under surveillance. But as a man of faith, he feared not the ruler. May be that verses such as under represented the poet’s response to all sorts of provocations. Said he:

Do not retort when they ta k against you
Loss is to him who commits aggression
No gain is to him who breeds enmity.

Shah Abdul Latif’s life story still remains to be fully told. Ever since his demise (1165 A.H./1752) it has continued to be recounted on the basis of hearsay. It is only recently that his biography has been studied critically in the light of the more reliable evidence becoming available to the present writer. Thus, the long prevailing wrong notions about his birth place, childhood and education have been corrected.¹ The main facts and features of Shah Latif’s life may be recounted as under.

- He belonged to the 'Karim-pota' sub-branch of 'Jarar-pota' branch of the main stock of the Matiari Sayyids who had settled at village 'Matiari'. There they became known as 'Muta'lavi' which was a misnomer for the actual 'Mutahalavi', i.e. belonging to Mutahala (Ta'luka Sinjhor, Dist. Sanghar) where their first ancestors had migrated from Hala Kandi.
- Shah Abdul Latif was born to the saint poet Habib Shah in 1102/(1690-91) from his second wife who was the daughter of Urs Faqir Dero of the 'Sabit-pota' saints of Soee-Qandar. Shah Habib's home where Abdul Latif was born was then situated in what is now Survey No.134 of 'Deh Soee-Qandar Jagir' of taluka Shahdadpur, a few miles east of Bhitshah. Abdul Latif was the third son, his two brothers by the same name died earlier and were buried in the graveyard of Soee-Qandar where their graves stand to this day.
- Habib Shah took a good care of his last surviving son, and brought good teachers for his instruction. Among them, the more well known was Noor Muhammad Bhatti of Waeen (with nasal'n'). Young Abdul Latif completed his Maktabi education which, besides the study of Holy Quran and religious precepts, included elementary instruction in Persian. All evidence on record, including Shah Abdul Latif's letter to Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in of Thatta (about the 'Uwaisi Tariqa') requesting him to reply *in Simple Persian*, contradicts the popularly publicized view that he was an illiterate.
- Young Latif's childhood and early boyhood were spent near Bhitshah, in and around Soaee-Qandar, in the villages of the Dera community. He was about twelve years old, when his maternal grandfather died and Shah Habib shifted to Kotri, two miles south of Bhit. This village belonged to Mirza Beg Mughal who was a disciple of Shah Habib. Abdul Latif, who was in his advanced boyhood, now turned to a different way of life, contrary to the prevailing norms. He would leave home and seek seclusion and abstinence in isolated places in the jungle around Kotri, and devote himself to prayer and meditation. His loving father would come in search for him, find him and cheer him, but would not discourage him.

- As a youth, Shah Latif extended his wanderings far and wide, visiting the abodes of saints, making inquiries and mixing and living with the common folk in all walks of life. The freedom to find his own path contributed a great deal to his spiritual advancement. His strenuous wanderings were, however, disturbed when he was twenty-two years old. In 1124/1712, Mirza Beg the chief of Kotri was killed and there remained no one to take care of his family except Shah Habib. To ensure full protection and care, Shah Habib married the chief's daughter Sayyida Begum to his own son Abdul Latif. The turbulent youth was then deeply involved in the long drawn self-directed process of self development, but he respectfully obeyed his father so that the marriage was solemnized. This, however, did not deter him from the course of his continued inquisitive journeys which now took him to far more distant destinations out of Sindh – to Las Bela and Khuzdar, Kachh and Kathiawar, Baharmer and Jesalmer. Nearer home, he was much attached to the elderly Inayatullah Shah Rizvi (d.1133 A.D.), the most eminent and popular poet of the time.
- By about 1142 A.H. when he was forty years of age, he settled down and took his permanent abode on top of BHIT, the high sand dune with scenic beauty all around. He planned the whole settlement including his family quarters, a mosque and hutments for his numerous disciples. Two years later in 1144 A.D. (1731 A.D), his dear father Shah Habib died and he buried him behind the mosque. A low ceiling dome was subsequently built and the versified chronogram in Persian, composed by the great teacher scholar Mukhdum Muhammad Sadiq of Thatta, a disciple of shah Abdul Latif, was put above the entrance gate. It is in its place up to this day.
- Shah Abdul Latif had thoughtful compositions to his credit ever since his association with the elderly poet Shah Inayatullah Rizvi. By the time he settled down at Bhit, his devoted followers had committed numerous of his verses to memory which they were now singing together. Shah Abdul Latif encouraged them to sing regularly, every 'Friday night' (evening of Thursday), following the death of his father.
- He got a special *danburo* (Ar. *Tanbur*) instrument made at

Thatta so that the mature musicians would learn to sing his *bait* and *wace* compositions properly to the accompaniment of the instrument, in specific thematic modes or 'Surs'. Thus, Shah Abdul Latif founded the music institution of '*Shah-jo-Raag*' (SHAH'S MUSIC) which became a permanent feature at Bhit with effect from the year 1144/1731, and continues on to this day.

- The period of the next fifteen years, from 1145 to 1160 of the Hijra was the most productive period of Shah Abdul Latif's life in terms of developing a full understanding of the way of life of the people in differing environs, and also gaining an insight into the cultural traditions of Sindh. Inwardly, it was for him a period of intensive thinking, introspection and self-appraisal towards spiritual advancement. This resulted in the best of his thoughts and spiritual experiences being symbolized in poetry, yielding the bulk of his Poetic Compendium, the RISALO.
- During this period, there were continued contacts between him and some of the most eminent scholars/ teachers/Sufis of Sindh, who were known by their name and fame. Outside of Sindh, particularly during the visits to his followers in Kachch and Jesalmir, he would appear to have met the Nath-Panthis, Hut-Yogis, Kanphatas, Kapadiyas, Swamis and Sanyasis. There are allusions to them in the numerous verses in '*Sur Ramkuli*' of the Risalo, and compliments are paid to those who were the true Unitarians and followed the path of Tauhid, their 'Nath' and 'Ram' symbolizing 'unity of being'. This was also the period when Shah Abdul Latif familiarized himself more and more with the Mathnavi of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, listening to its expositions daily after the Zuhr prayer from his scholarly disciple Muhammad Salah. The Quran, the Mathnavi, and his great grandfather Shah Abdul Karim's *malfuzat* (discourses) '*Bayanu Arifin*', now became his constant companions even in journeys.
- During this period, he undertook to build the mausoleum of his great grand father Shah Abdul Karim with beautiful tile work, and completed it along with a mosque in the year 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.).

- This was also the period when he frequently visited Thatta where some of the most eminent scholars became his close associates or disciples. The foremost among them was the great scholar/author/poet Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in. It was in the year 1161 A.D. (1748 A.D.) that they had their last meeting in Thatta. Shah Abdul Latif had come all the way from Bhit to see him. Shah Abdul Latif asked his disciples to sing and the Mukhdum was so much overwhelmed by the power of the devotional music that he died while the performance was on. Shah Abdul Latif was very much grieved and said: "This is to be our last visit to Thatta".
- In effect, his visit to Thatta proved to be his last visit anywhere else. For the remaining five years of his life (1161-1165 A.H.), he stayed at Bhit. There in 1161 A.D. (1748 A.D.), he built the large three domed pacca brick mosque in place of the earlier kacha mosque. Now his admirers and disciples continued to visit him from far and wide. Under his guidance, arrangements at his abode at Bhit had become institutionalized so that specific duties were assigned to different individuals or groups from among his disciples. There were those who were looking after the mosque and arrangements for prayers, others after kitchen, others receiving the guests, and still others looking after the mare, the dogs and so on. All carried out their duties with devotion. The panel of the Ragai Faqirs sang every Thursday evening. Bhit resounded with music and peace prevailed all around. Time came when Shah Abdul Latif was taken ill, but he continued to perform his prayers and meet the people. All looked normal when one day he asked the Faqirs to sing, and as the music continued on he breathed his last. It was the 14th day of the month of Safar of the Hijra year 1165.

As the total picture emerges, Shah Abdul Latif's life story appears to be a marvel and model of its own: he was still named '*Abdul Latif*' by his father even though two of his brothers so named had already died one after another; he was born in a lush green tract but took his lasting abode on top of a sand dune (bhit); he received elementary Maktab education but transcended the maturity of the highly educated; he wandered far and wide for about twenty three years and had also a settled life for the next twenty three years; he had

surprised all by his long indifferent living away from home, and also impressed all by his perfectly planned living at Bhit; he had his admirers and disciples among the illiterate folk as well as among the most learned of their time; he was pious, prayed, and listened to the expositions of Mulana Rumi's Mathnawi; and he himself founded the music institution of "Shah-jo-Raag" and listened to music in the nightlong weekly sittings every Friday night.

'SHAH JO RAAG': THE MUSIC INSTITUTION

Shah Abdul Latif's overwhelming popularity as a great poet has eclipsed his genius in music. Actually, poetry and music became synonymous in his art, his poems representing music in words. He was a composer of poetry and music at the same time. Beside this subjective mood of a poet-cum-musician, which is discernible through the inherent rhythm of his surperb verse, there is enough external evidence in the content of his poetry as well as in the institution of music that he established, to show that Shah Abdul Latif was the pioneer of a new era in music. Since the revolution brought about by Amir Khusraw (1255-1350) in the theory and practice of Hindustani Music, Shah Abdul Latif (1690-1752) stands unique in his great vision of a fresh renaissance in the field of music.

It needs to be remembered that the synthesis that Amir Khusraw worked out between the Arab-Pcrsian-Turkish system and the traditional Hindu system of music was principally in the domain of high art. The basic features of the two classical traditions were reinterpreted, co-ordinated and integrated. Outside the domain of high classical art, Amir Khusraw invented the *qawwali* style which was to be used as a vehicle for singing devotional songs.

Nearly four hundred years after Amir Khusraw, Shah Abdul Latif appeared on the scene. He was a great poet and a sufi like the Amir. He preferred to use the people's language, Sindhi, as a medium of expression though Persian was still the court language. Amir Khusraw had used Persian but he also composed in Bhasha, the people's language, and actually took delight in the use of the indigenous idiom.

Shah Abdul Latif appears to have been well-acquainted with the tradition of Hindustani music, its origin as well as its later development. He brought about a synthesis between Sindhian and

Hindustani Music traditions.

THE NEW INSTRUMENT

First of all, Shah Abdul Latif devised a new instrument for the new music and called it the *danbooro*. The selection of *tanboor* was in line with the historical continuity of the Indo-Muslim music tradition, the *tamboor* having been originally invented in Egypt and later on adapted in the Middle East and Persia, from where it was introduced into the S.A. Sub-continent. The stringed instrument used by the early Arab musicians had four strings, and so also the conventional *tamboor* of the Sub-continent remained a *chao-tara* or the four-strained instrument. Shah Abdul Latif made his new *tamboor* a five-stringed instrument.

So far as the composition of notes was concerned, its five strings were tuned as follows. At one end, the outer string was tuned at the *pancham* note of the *Madh Saptak* (the Medium Octave). This string was called *zuban*, i.e., the tongue of the new *tamboor* which was to spell out the melodies. Thus, *pancham* was to be the basic performance note. This principle was in line with the original Arab-Persian tradition, and even today the Arab-Iranian melodies are sung at a higher pitch.

The remaining four strings of the *danbooro*, starting from the other end, were tuned as under: the first one, called *ghore* after the Balochistani *danbeera*, tuning at SA note of the *Mandar Saptak* or the Lower Octave; second and third, the *Jarryoon* or the 'twins', tuning at SA note of the *Madh Saptak* or the Medium Octave; and the 4th one, the *teep* (adjacent to 'Zuban') tuning at SA note of the *Tar Saptak* or the High Octave.

Secondly, the *danbooro* was also to serve the purpose of a *duff* or *dholak*. When music begins, the melody of the new *Sur* (Theme) is first spelled out on the *danbooro*. It is called *tand waja'in*. Thereafter when vocal performance of the *Wae* composition begins, the rhythmic beats on the *danbooro* with the right hand of the performer provide the necessary *tal*. Shah Abdul Latif's purpose was to simplify the complicated technique of the *tal*. Therefore he devised only two basic *tals*, which were called the *dedhi* (1-1/2 time) and the *duali* (the double time), to which all the melodies could be sung. *Jharr* which was invented by Yakub Shahid later is played during intervals. Shah Abdul

Latif also evolved a kind of free rhythm on his tanboor, called *Chherr*, to which the Wae compositions under specific Surs were to be sung without a *tal* (time beat) in the traditional sense of the term. In this style, the *alaps* (voice modulations) were not to be subject to the rhythmic beats of any external *tal* but they were to conform to the inherent *lai* and the internal rhythm of the melody itself. This brings us to the consideration of the vocal music organized by Shah Latif.

Thatta, the old capital of Sindh, had been a centre of music and musicians even before the Mughal period. During the reign of Akbar in India and of the Tarkhans in Sindh, music was so much in vogue in Thatta that, according to a competent authority, 'every home resounded with sweet melodies and the rhythmic beats of the dholak'. Both Mirza Jani Beg (d. 1601) and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg (d. 1612) were master musicians, excelling in the performance of the *Todi Raga*. Mirza Ghazi was well versed in '*Ilm al-Adwar*, composition of the *ragas* and manipulation of a variety of *Tals*.²

This classical tradition had continued on to Shah Abdul Latif's time, and the court of the Mughal Governors at Thatta reflected new tastes and techniques in music including those which originated at Delhi. The institution of Hindustani Music, after its continuous development from the days of Amir Khusraw, had reached its zenith during the Mughal period, and began to decline with the decline of the Mughal glory. Shah Abdul Latif lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A.D.) at whose court the easy style and the more sophisticated music forms and technique had replaced the earlier vigorous style and vital forms. Even the Sufi music came to be dominated by the monotony of the *qawwali* style which had ceased to evolve.

In order to bring about a renaissance, Shah Abdul Latif founded the music institution of 'Shah-jo-Raag' at Bhitshah in 1731 A.D. when he had permanently settled there. He invented a new instrument, trained *raga'is* (singers) from amongst his followers to sing in a new style, detailed the bulk of his compositions under different Themes which were called Surs, and each Sur was specified by the *raag* in which it was to be sung. In order to enjoy the essence of music in calm and tranquility, the night was chosen for the performance of the new *Raag*, the time having been fixed between the 'Isha and the Fajr prayers.

During the next ten years of Shah's life, 'Shah-jo-Raag' and its mode of performance were perfected, and a trained group of musicians under the leadership of Tamar, were finally put in charge of this Institution. After Shah Abdul Latif's death (1752 A.D.), the night preceding Friday came to be regularly observed as the night of Shah-jo-Raag, and this has continued or to this day.

This Institution had a great impact on the revival of music in Sindh, and the nature of its influence on the regional music as well as the continuity of the institution enable us to study and analyse its nature, purpose and implications.

Tamar Faqir³ was the leader of the group of musicians who sang Latif's poetry in new *surs* and in a new style devised by Shah Latif. Fortunately, the tanboor used by Tamar is still preserved at the poet's mausoleum at Bhitshah by the musicians who succeeded him. Every Thursday evening, it is taken out and its strings are touched first by the leading musician, as a mark of respect to the first leader who lived and played during Shah Abdul Latif's time. This tanboor was the first one to be made under personal supervision of Shah Ablul Latif at Thatta.

Shah Abdul Latif frequently visited Thatta to meet his friend, the eminent scholar Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in (d. 1161 A.H. / 1748 A.D.) who used to listen to music. It was during these visits that Shah Abdul Lalif got the new tanboor made at Thatta and then handed it over to Tamar who was destined to play a leading role in the new music institution of Shah-jo-Raag.

Tamar's tanboor preserved at Bhit is a 5-stringed instrument, as all other tanboors which have been used for Shah Latif's *Raag*, but it is simple in make and less decorated. Its main characteristic is that it has a single-whole chamber (*Yak-bhandyo*) which is not pieced together: it is carved out of a single-piece of wood. After this first prototype, two more tanboors were made at Thatta, one of which remained with the associates of Tamar Faqir and the other was given to Khalifa Muhammad Alam Dero, who was a maternal cousin of Shah Abdul Latif. Subsequently, three more tanboors were made⁴ and all these were also single-chambered (*Yek-bhandya*). Later on, and in more recent times, pieced-chambered (*phākdār*) tanboors were made (and are still being made) and these became more popular with the musicians specializing in Shah-jo-Raag. However, Tamar Faqir's tanboor

is of historical significance both as an instrument devised by the great poet himself and as a new kind of tanboor that was invented in the Subcontinent.

VOCAL MUSIC

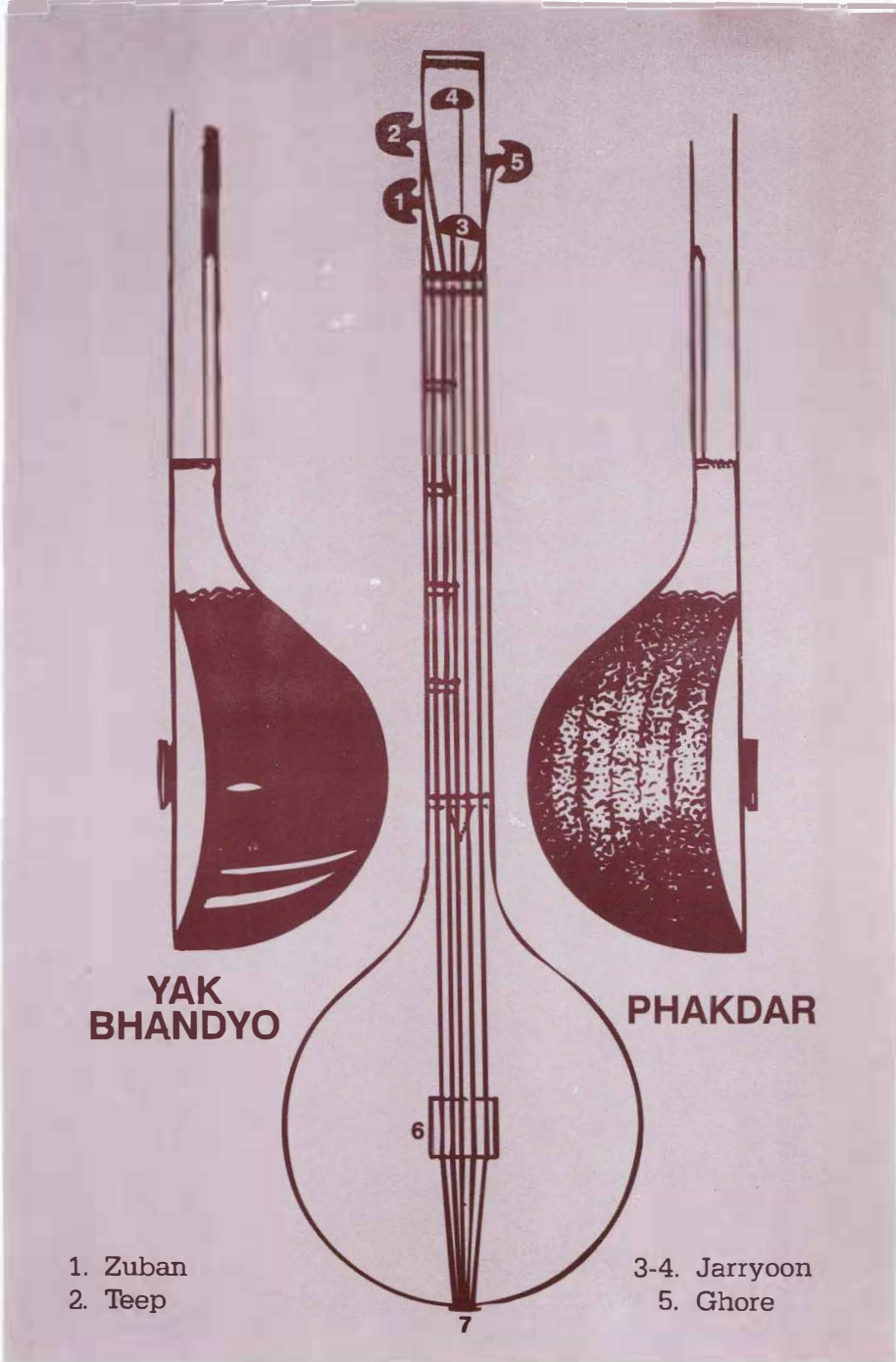
It needs considerable research to evaluate the pattern of vocal music of 'Shah-Jo-Raag'. A study of the '*Surs*' which are noted in the Poetical Compendium (Rasalo), or which are actually being sung till today, leads us to the following conclusions.

(1) In all, 36 *ragas* are known to have been performed under Shah-Jo-Raag. Of these, 29 were used exclusively for singing Shah's own poetry, while 7 were used for singing other compositions. Presently, eight of these *ragas* are not being sung, having been forgotten long after the demise of Shah Abdul Latif (1752).

(2) In order to call attention to the original Arab-Persian tradition, the two melodies, 'Yaman' and 'Husaini', were included in this selective pattern of 36 melodies. 'Husaini' is one of the twelve basic *maqams* or *ragas* in the Arab-Persian system. 'Yaman' also belongs to that system. Both these melodies, in whole or in part, had been used by Amir Khusraw in combination with the indigenous Indic melodies to invent new *ragnis*. Thus, 'Aiman' and 'Aiman Kalyan' were derived by the use of the 'Yaman' tune, and so also the 'Husaini' tunes were crossed with local melodies. By using Amir Khusraw's 'crossed tune' of Husaini, the later masters invented such melodies as Husaini Kanra and Husaini Todi. But Shah Abdul Latif was the first to select the two original melodies by the original names of 'Yaman' and 'Husaini', and to include them in his *RAAG*.

(3) Of the remaining melodies, 15 were selected from the domain of the Hindustani tradition and 19 from the indigenous Sindhi tradition. Those selected from the domain of high art were: i. Kalyan, 2. Khambat (Khamaj?), 3. Siri-raga. 4. Sarang, 5. Kedara, 6. Desi, 7. Baruva Hindi (classical), 8. Ramakuli, 9. Bilawal, 10. Asa, 11. Dhanasiri, 12. Purbi, 13. Kamod, 14. Basant and 15. Dhol-Maru. The actual performance of these melodies under the Institution of 'Shah-jo-Raag' indicates that Kalyan, Bilawal and Khambat were retained in their classical (*shudh*) form, because these constituted the three basic *Tthaatths* to which also belonged some other melodies of the group. Some melodies of the classical tradition were retained in the

TANBOOR



form in which *they were being sung by the people*. Thus, the functional composition of each of these melodies under Shah-jo-Raag does not conform exactly to the classical compositions.

(4) The following 19 melodies were chosen from the Sindhi tradition: 1. Samundi (the Sea-Farers' Song), 2. Abri (of Waterless Desert), 3. Desi (of the people), 4. Ma'zoor (Song of the Helpless One), 5. Kohiyari (of the Khuzdar Region), 6. Rano (of the Moomal-Rano romance), 7. Khahorri (of the Toiling Workers), 8. Rip (of Love's Agony), 9. Suhni (of the Suhni-Mehar romance), 10. Lilan (of the Lilan-Chanesar romance), 11. Dahar (of Devotion), 12. Kapaitee (of the Weaver Girl's Song), 13. Pirbhati (of the Dawn), 14. Ghatu (of the Expert Fishermen), 15. Baruva Sindhi, 16. Soratth (of the Soratth-Rai Diyach story) 17. Marui (of the Umar-&-Marui story), 18. Hir (of the Hir-Ranjha romance), and 19. Karayal (of the Black Swan). Also 'Seenh Kedaro' is listed as a separate 'Sur' in some manuscripts of RISALO.

A thorough study of the nomenclature as well as the composition of these melodies derived from the indigenous Sindh tradition is yet to be made to discover their origin as well as significance. Of these, some melodies have been lost to us because their performance under the 'Shah's Raag' was forgotten due to disuse at some period during the last may years. The only melody that I was able to discover independently outside the Music Institution of Shah-jo-Raag is *Mazoor* which is the indigenous melody of the Western Hilly Region and Las Bela area and is most popular there till today. Also Kohiyari was originally the melody of the Khuzdar region, Kohiyar being the Sindhi name for Khuzdar.

The inclusion of an approximately equal number of melodies from the classical Hindustani tradition and the indigenous Sindh tradition shows that Shah Abdul Latif raised the status of the people's own music and used its inexhaustible and ever-fresh reservoir for revitalizing the high music art, which due to the dominance of technique and formalism, had come to a dead end and lost its appeal.

The Shah-jo-Raag founded by Shah Abdul Latif had a tremendous influence on the development of music in Sindh. From amongst the classical melodies, Kalyan, Sarang, Kedaro, Kamod, Asa, Bilawal, Dhanasiri and Basant became again popular throughout the country. On the other hand, such melodies as had a local status and

significance, gained wider popularity and came to be sung all over the country. By now, Kohiyari and Rano have gained national popularity through the medium of Radio Pakistan.

Mention may be made of one more significant contribution of Shah Abdul Latif. So far as the actual performance of *raag* (vocal music) was concerned, Shah Abdul Latif discarded the solo performance and established the chorus in its place. Under the new mode of performance, the function of the group of 5 to 6 musicians was divided as follows: one member of the group was to be the leader (conductor) whom the group was to follow. But as the melody developed while singing the *Wcicee* composition, half of the group performed the notes of the higher octave and the other half the notes of the lower octave. This division resulting in the overlapping of the high and the low pitch tunes, created the effect of harmony which was, perhaps, the first development of its kind in the history of music in the Subcontinent.

To conclude, Shah Abdul Latif invented a new musical instrument and a new mode of performance, and he founded a new institution of 'Shah-jo-Raag' based on the synthesis of high art and folk art.

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2. Ma'athir-e-Rahimi, II/353; Tuh̄at-al-Kiram, Litho ed., Delhi, III/87; Maqalat al-Shu'ara (WAQARI)
3. Tamar Faqir Salario belonged to the village of Khandu situated about 4 miles west of Bhit (Dist. Hyd), the abode of Shah Abdul Latif.
4. Of these, the existing ones are those which are known after the names of Pir Ali Bakhsh, Laiq Dino Fakir, and Miyun Husain.

XIX

MAULANA JALALUDDIN OF RUM AND SHAH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT.

The Mathnawi unfolds Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi's universal mind transcending the barriers of time and space, of race and colour, and embracing the whole humanity, in his approach towards explaining the divine purpose of human existence and evolution and helping man to achieve his destiny.

As a manifestation of his all-embracing approach, religions, races, and lands of both the East and the West have come under reference in Maulana's works; the cultural traditions of Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity have found a mention in Maulana's similitudes and analogies; and the mystic experiences of the early sages, ascetics and gnostics have been cited by way of examples. Beside the ancient lands of Egypt and Babilonia, almost all the countries of the contemporary Muslim world have come under reference in the stories of the Mathnawi. Thus Hejaz, Syria, Iraq, Uman, the cities of Iran (Tabrez, Tirmidh, Rayy, Sabzwar, and Kashan), Khurasan, Turkistan, Transoxiana, Ghazni and Kabul (Afghanistan), and Sind and Hind (or Hindustan) have had all their share in the Mathnawi. By placing them in his roll call of honour, Maulana undoubtedly laid them under a heavy debt, which has been paid back but partly during the course of the subsequent centuries through studies of the Mathnawi undertaken in these countries.

RESPONSE FROM 'SIND AND HIND'

The earliest contacts between Sindh and Qonia were initiated by Iraqi (Fakhruddin Ibrahim), the devoted disciple of the 'Saint of Sind'¹ Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan. After the death of the

Shaikh (661/1262 H.), Iraqi left Sindh and eventually reached Qonia where, among others, he had his contacts with Maulana, as confirmed by Aflaki in his *Manaqib al Arifin*.² After leaving Sindh,³ Iraqi did communicate with his Shaikh's son, Sadruddin Arif of Multan, and therefore the possibility of his communications from Qonia about Maulana and others cannot be ruled out.⁴ As such, the disciples of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya in Multan and Sindh might have been the first ones in 'Sind and Hind' to be acquainted with Maulana Rumi's name.

The earliest copies of the Mathnawi were transcribed within three or four years of Maulana's death (672 H.) and, soon after, other copies travelled in all directions.⁵ The news about Maulana and his Mathnawi appear to have reached the saintly circles of Hind, particularly in Delhi, by the end of the 8th century Hijrah, i.e. some 125 years after Maulana's death (672 H.). Khwaja Muhammad Gesudaraz (d. Gulburg, Deccan, 825 H.), an eminent saint of the Chishtiya Order, was among the earliest saints who had known Maulana's views. This was when the Khawaja was still living in Delhi, i.e. prior to 800 H.; for, we find him referring to "Maulana Jalal Rumi" (sic) in his *Haza'ir al Quds* which he compiled in 803 H., during his journey from Delhi to Deccan. In this work he speaks about Maulana rather disparagingly, opening his remarks with the statement that "Maulana Jalal Rumi is either a mad man of no consequence or a lover who does not know".⁶ In his Epistles (Maktubat), he is still more critical. That Maulana should have been misunderstood in a distant land like India was not unexpected; he was grossly misunderstood even in his own country, by those who were mean, jealous and ignorant, and therefore they criticized the Mathnawi unjustly.⁷

Thus, the first impact of Maulana's Mathnawi in Hind, particularly among the saints of the Chishtiya Order, was not favourable. On the other hand, the saints of the Naqshbandiya Order appear to have cherished the sublime thoughts of Maulana, beginning with Shaikh Y'akub Charkhi (d. 851 H.), who in his *Risalah-i Abdaliyyah* referred to Maulana by name and gave two long quotations from the Mathnawi.⁸ This *Risalah*, being a biography of Shaikh Ali Hujwairi alias 'Data Ganjbakish' of Lahore, introduced Maulana's Mathnawi into the Punjab (Pakistan) by the middle of the ninth century. The later Naqshbandi saints who had their influence in Hind continued to quote and write about the Mathnawi.⁹ Shah Muhammad

Nurullah Ahrari (Akbarabadi, who had also lived in Arcot) became one of the earliest Naqshbandi authors in Hind to write a commentary on the Mathnawi.

When exactly Maulana and his Mathnawi received universal applause and recognition in 'Sind and Hind' remains to be ascertained. But judging from the available record, it would appear that though the Mathnawi was read and studied earlier, it received a considerably more responsive appreciation in the Hijra 11th century, which gained further momentum in the 12th century and continued on subsequently.

THIS RESPONSE WAS AT THREE LEVELS

Firstly, a literary interest in reading and enjoying the Mathnawi, or a more devoted interest in 'reciting' the Mathnawi by way of *barkat* or blessings. The latter practice was developed and consolidated into a more formal 'artistic recitation' giving birth almost to a 'music form' known as '*Mathnawi*', which became a regular feature of entertainment in the Madrasah educational institutions and other literary circles. It gained popularity all over Sind and Hind, and some saintly circles (e.g. Rashidiyyah Qadiriyyah saints in Sind) and some families (e.g. Sayyids of Phulwara in Behar) and individuals attained fame in 'Mathnawi' recitation. This tradition, though losing grounds, is continued on to-day.

Secondly, this response was at a more scholarly or artistic level, in the production of 'selections' or 'especial editions' of the Mathnawi, transcription of its copies in beautiful calligraphy, of writing commentaries and preparation of glossaries.

This was a tremendous effort, the full dimensions of which have not yet come to light, but the following works may be counted among the early important contributions. The first critical edition of the Mathnawi *Nuskhah-i-Nasikhah-i-Mathnawiyat Saqimah* (1032 H.), an elaborate commentary (*Latif-al-Ma'nawi min Haqiq al-Mathnawi*) and a glossary (*Lata'if al-Lughat*) were produced by Abdul Latif al-Abbasi¹⁰ during the first half of the 11th century, thus lending momentum to the study of the Mathnawi in Hind. He was followed by other scholars who wrote their commentaries one after another during the next few decades, e.g. Shah Mir Muhammad Nurullah Ahrari of Akbarabad (*Sharah-i-Mathnawi*),¹¹ Muhammad Abid (*Sharah-i-Mathnawi* entitled *Mughni*, 1100 H.),¹² Abdullah Khweshgi of Kasur

(*Asrar-i-Mathnawi wa Anwar-i-Ma'nawi 1100 H.*),¹³ Muhammad Afzal of Allahabad (*Hull al-Mathnawi or Sharah Mathnawi-i-Ma'nawi, 1104 H.*).¹⁴ With these works, which were essentially the product of the 11th century, the study of Mathnawi became a specialized pursuit with numerous scholars, constituting a tremendous response at literary-cum-intellectual level.

Thirdly, the response to Maulana's thought and teachings (mainly as contained in the Mathnawi) was given at higher intellectual and spiritual levels. The rudiments of this type of response could be discerned in the different commentaries of the Mathnawi, those cited above and the others produced later such as *Sharah-i-Ayub* (1120 H.) of Khwaja Muhammad Ayub Quraishi of Lahore (d. 1155),¹⁵ *Bahar* of Abdul Ali alias Bahr al-Ulum (d. 1225), or the still more nearer ones in time such as *Kalid-i-Mathnawi* (Urdu) of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanavi and *Miftah al-Ulum* of Maulavi Muhammad Nazir Arshi Naqshbandi Mujaddidi.

But if one were to identify the greatest and the most typical representatives of this type of response, the place of honour will go to Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit (Sind), and Allamah Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore (Punjab), the two great figures from the lands of Pakistan. Shah Abdul Latif was a saint and a great poet whose thoughts embodied the spiritual response of the highest order to Maulana's ideas. Allamah Muhammad Iqbal was a modern scholar-cum-philosopher and an eminent poet whose response to Maulana commenced at intellectual level and progressed to spiritual level.¹⁶ His *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Javid Namah* represent the best of his spiritual response to Maulana who is symbolized by him as 'Asrar' and 'Khizr-i-Rah' in the latter work.

One might speculate if there had been some other contacts with Maulana from Sindh so that the differential of 'Sindhi and Hindi' (speeches) had remained fresh in his mind to have been cited in the Mathnawi.¹⁷ As Islam had entered Sindh early in the eighth century (711 A.D.), this land became saturated with Sufi teachings before any other part of the sub-continent. One of the preceptor of the great saint Abu Yazid of Bistam whom Maulana mentions reverently in his works, was Saint Abu Ali of Sindh.¹⁸ Because of their early acquaintance with the Sufi doctrine, both the learned and the saintly circles in Sindh became receptive to the teachings of Maulana ever since Mathnawi

was introduced into Sindh. A work of Ahmad Rumi (a disciple of Maulana) also appears to have reached Sindh and lent impetus to the study of the Mathnawi.¹⁹ This early tradition of scholarship based on the study of the Mathnawi continued in Sindh through the 13th/19th century., and the poet Qadir Bakhsh 'Bedil' of Rohri (d. 1289 H.) may be regarded as the last great scholar of the Mathnawi in Sindh.²⁰ He was a devoted admirer of Maulana, and composed (1264 H.) his own *mathnawi* entitled *Nahr al-Bahr** (a channel from the Mathnawi's ocean) and also quoted from the Mathnawi in his other works, mainly the "Panj Ganj" (1264 H.).

When Shah Abdul Latif (b.1102 H./1689) received his early education and grew up as a young man, it was almost a fashion in Sind to read and recite the Mathnawi and to have the *wa'az* based on it. The Mathnawi and the teachings of Maulana were a favourable subject for discourse among the Ulama' and Shah Abdul Latif would often be in their company. Thus, Shah Abdul Latif had the first impact of Maulana's ideas, which became stronger day by day to the extent that Maulana's Mathnawi became his constant companion. Knowing this, Miyan Noor Muhammad Abbasi, the contemporary ruler of Sindh, sent a beautifully transcribed copy of the Mathnawi as a present to him.²¹ In the later part of his life, Shah had always carried three books with him: the Holy Quran, the Mathnawi and a biography-cum-malfuzat of his grand-father Shah Abdul Karim (d. 1032H.).²² According to an authentic report,²³ Maulavi Muhammad Salah, a disciple companion of Shah Abdul Latif, an authority on the Mathnawi, was assigned the duty of conducting regular *wa'az* of the Mathnawi after the 'Zuhr' and the 'Jum'a' prayers.

THE MATHNAWI AND THE RISALO

A *bait* (verse) found in almost all the copies of the Risalo, the Poetic Compendium of Shah Abdul Latif, alludes to the wailings of the *Nai* though the instrument is not mentioned by name:

The one (Nai) that is cut (from the reed-bed) is wailing,
The other (animal) that is slaughtered is loudly crying,
That one in remembrance of its reed companions,
This one for its own body bones is sobbing.²⁴

Most probably, this verse was composed directly under the Mathnawi's

* Vide XX infra, fn.8

influence. Though set in an indigenous metre, its two lines rhyme together in the 'mathnawi form'. Secondly, one of the best informed compilers of the Risalo, being convinced of the parallelism between the Risalo and the Mathnawi, opened his edition of the Risalo with this verse.²⁵

The scholars who have studied Maulana Jalaluddin and Shah Abdul Latif have invariably noticed some parallelism between the Risalo and the Mathnawi. Qadr Bakhsh 'Bedil' (d. 1289 H.) was the first to cite verses both from the Mathnawi and the Risalo having a common bearing on at least 40 different points of thought which he has elaborated in his book "Panj Ganj".²⁶ As the two great minds were concerned, though each in his own way, with such basic issues as human existence, ultimate reality, Tauhid, love, self, suffering etc., some similarity in their views was inevitable. But the coincidence in some aspects of their thought pattern is so very significant that Sorley in his thesis on Shah Abdul Latif hastened to clarify that "Shah Abdul Latif is no mere imitator of Jalaluddin Rumi. He is actually expressing his own ideas".²⁷ Confirmation of this comes from Shah himself in his reference to the 'new message'

A new message came from Beloved last evening
 We had bounty bestowed, says Latif, from Benevolent Giver:
 He inquireth not to what race one belongs
 But favours all those who would come to Him.

In general, having the more familiar image of the Mathnawi as the 'Quran in Persian', the scholars of the Risalo see its close affinity, in meaning and idea, with the Mathnawi, particularly in view of the following *bait* of Shah Abdul Latif:

Those which you regard as mere baits (verses)
 Are in fact the ayat (lit. verses of the Quran), the Signs:
 They lead the mind in the direction of the Beloved.

Like the Mathnawi in Persian, the Risalo is more voluminous than any other poetical work composed in Sindhi. Beside the higher mystic meaning, which in essence is the common denominator between the two, the following two important features are common to both the compositions, the Mathnawi and the Risalo.

a) STORIES

Tales and stories provide a frame for ideas in both the works.

Maulana uses the tales derived from different sources,²⁸ and hence spells them out in some details. Shah has used the most popular local Sindhian stories and other common themes (love and lovers, trades and occupations, characters of brave and generous individuals, the wandering faqirs, the professional minstrels, the monsoon rains, the behaviour of some of the typical animals such as the lion, cobra, moth, flamingo, swan) and takes their knowledge on the part of his audience for granted. Therefore, instead of recounting a story or recording the details of a theme, he touches its more significant aspects to bring out what is most meaningful. The only common story that is found both in the Mathnawi and the Risalo, is that of the elephant and its varying descriptions. Recounted in detail by al-Ghazali in his *Ihya'* '*Ulum al-Din*, Maulana has given its substance (in 8 verses) which is followed by his own meaningful generalizations.²⁹ Shah Abdul Latif treats it in a single *bait* of four lines, and his version of the story also differs. As related in the Mathnawi, some Indians brought an elephant for presentation and placed the animal inside a dark house. The four individuals who had touched the different parts of the elephant's body gave their own varying description of what the elephant was like. In the Risalo, it is some blind men who are touching a dead elephant and describing it differently. The way Shah Abdul Latif uses a story may be illustrated by translating this particular bait poem about the elephant and the blind men:³⁰

The blind ones were involved with a dead elephant:
 They touched with their hands but didn't see with their eyes.
 Only those wholly normal can recognize the elephant in reality:
 It's the insight of the superior ones which restores the sight.

b) MUSIC

Secondly, both Maulana and Shah Abdul Latif recognize the power of music and its inspiration for spiritual advancement. Hakim Sanai had referred to the appeal of the *Nai* music in his *Hadiqah* and following him, Maulana opened his Mathnawi with a detailed and meaningful analysis of the significance of *Nai* and its music. The *Nai* is undoubtedly the ideal instrument with Maulana, but he is equally thrilled by the music of other instruments such as *daff*, *rabab*, *surnai*, *duhl*, *naqur* and *tambur*.³¹ Maulana became one with music in whatever form it was. After the disappearance of Shams, Maulana took to dance and music and, finally, even the elemental music of rhythmic

beats of the hammer of a goldsmith, Shaikh Salahuddin, not only sent him into ecstasy but also opened the lock of an inexhaustible aesthetic-cum-spiritual treasure for him, –which was all beautiful, and most meaningful and most wonderful.³²

Shah Abdul Latif's feelings also represented a confluence of music and poetry. In the words of the learned I. I. Kazi, an authority on Shah Abdul Latif's thought and poetry:

“The music became the vehicle by which he conveyed his words that were literally packed with transcendental music of their own and had unique mystical significance, which is still in the course of being comprehended. Strange to say that the inherent music of the lines surpassed the music that accompanied them and, therefore, in this case music became the vehicle of poetry”.³³

In ‘Sur Sorath’ of the Risalo, the power of music is exemplified in the highest response given by Rao Dayach, who placed his life in the hands of Beejal, the master musician. With Shah Abdul Latif, *danburo* (tambur) became the favoured instrument of music, and was used in the ‘Music Institution’ founded by Shah himself in his life time, which later became known as “Shah-Jo-Raag”, and has continued on to this day. Like Maulana, Shah also applauds the music of other instruments, but he keeps yearning for that ‘divine melody’ which transcends all the apparent music forms.³⁴

A study of Maulana's Mathnawi and Shah's Risalo shows that the two great saints, each with a sphere of his own, are joined in a common vision, have a unity of purpose, and are often using some common ‘forms’ (in stories, imageries, examples) as means for one and the same end. Even by taking different paths they meet at a higher destination. Maulana Rumi and Shah Abdul Latif both believe in man's higher evolution and hopeful destiny. In his Mathnawi, Maulana has traced MAN's evolution from inorganic matter to plant life, and from there to animal state and then to human form. But the change will continue on:

Of his first soul, he has now no remembrance
And he will again be changed from his present soul.

Says Shah Abdul Latif:

“Na ka ibtada abda ji, na ka intaha”
(The *abd* has neither a beginning nor an end).

Replying to Parvana, in one of his discourses, Maulana explains that man's true destiny lies far beyond mere worldly things.³⁵

And Shah says:

Were the Beloved to meet in *qayamat*,
He is nearer in time:
Far beyond lie the greetings for the union.

No words could be adequate to describe the greatness of Maulana Rumi. The poet philosopher of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, regarded Maulana as his spiritual guide. According to Browne, "he was without doubt the most eminent Sufi poet while his mystical *Mathnawi* deserves to rank among the great poems of all time". Nicholson considered him to be "the greatest mystical poet of any age". These views were quoted by A. J. Arberry to illustrate the highest tributes paid to Maulana's greatness.³⁶ Arberry, himself an eminent authority on Maulana, observes "that Jalal-al-Din Rumi (1207-1273) has long been recognized as the greatest mystical poet of Islam, and it can well be argued that he is the supreme mystical poet of all mankind".³⁷

Shah Abdul Latif came five hundred years after Maulana, yet it was recognized that "Shah Abdul Latif is a poet in direct line from Jalaluddin Rumi . . . , i.e. he is one of the great poets of the world".³⁸ But as he wrote in Sindhi, his *Risalo* remained a closed book to the outside world, until Burton (1830), Trumpp (1866) and Sorley (1940) introduced him abroad. "His poetry" said Burton "is delight of all that can understand it. The learned praise it for its beauty. Even the unlearned know select portions from it by heart". Trumpp observed that "Abdul Latif . . . has risen to the rank of *Mashaikh* or Master of *Tasawwuf*."³⁹ In Sorley's study of 13 eminent world poets (excepting Maulana Rumi), "the first place goes to Shah Abdul Latif of Sind in whose verse it is impossible not to detect the music and ecstasy of sublime adoration".⁴⁰ According to the great authority on Shah and his *Risalo*, I. I. Kazi, "Latif was a poet born, not made, and he brought most things from Eternity".⁴¹

Spiritually advanced, Shah Abdul Latif appears to have identified himself with the spiritual base (rather than the dialectical or philosophical aspect) of Maulana's thought, and became one in spirit with him in higher inspiration. In six *baitis* under 'Sur Yaman' of the *Risalo* (Appendix-II), Shah has named "Rumi" and paid homage to

him though in a highly mystic, rather enigmatic, manner. These may be translated⁴² (or mis-translated) as under:

1

Talib qasar sunha sar,
inside is the prince Rumi
There is no other presence beside him
But a cobweb of magic surrounding!

2

Talib qasar sunha sar,
is the composure of Rumi
Those who saw the scene,
uttered not a word!

3

Talib qasar sunha sar,
such is Rumi
If he opens the window
there will be the inner vision.

4

Talib qasar sunha sar,
is the discourse of Rumi:
First negate the 'I',
then see the Beloved.

5

Talib qasar sunha sar,
is Rumi's ecstasy,
Those who saw the gathering,
were dumb founded!

6

Ta'ib qasar sunha sar,
is the abode of Rumi
Be baked in separation
to have the inner vision.

The first coded hemstitch in each bait may be translated as under:

The Seeker (of Truth), is like a Mansion on Water Front

OR

The superior pupil is like a Mansion on Water Front

The first page from the manuscript of Shah-jo-Risalo dated 1207 A.H. and commencing with the bait referring to the reed which is cut from the reed bed.

سرود سبئي

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 بیت وِ دِي تِي وَايِ كَرِي كُنْ عَوَّطَا
 هُنَّ يَنْ يَاهِجَا سَارِيَا هُوَ هَدِيَا يِي هَارِيَا
 بیت جَا سَا مَلِي سَسِي تَوِي سِرْ وِ دِي جَوِي
 لَآيِي لَنَكْ لَطِيفُ جِي تِي يِكَا رِيَا نِي بُو تُوِي دِي
 بُوِي دُو رَا كِنَا هُو ت حَضُو رِي بِي ت كُو جُو
 وِ دِي وِ دِي جِن وِ رُو دِي نَا وِ دِي سِي دُكْ دُكِي
 دِ دِي جِن دِي نِي سِي دُكَا تَا بِي تَا دُكِي سَدِي دُنْكَ

APPENDIX-II

Text of six bait from 'Sur Yaman' of Shah-jo-Risalo in which Shah Abdul Latif alludes to Rumi in a highly mystical manner.

طالب قصر سونه سر، ايء روميء جي روء
جنبي ڏني جوء، تنبي ڪچوڪين ڪين.

طالب قصر سونه سر، اندر رومي راء
مائھوات ڪناء، مندر نه پسين مندئو!*

طالب قصر سونه سر، رومي جو آهي
تاڙي جي لاهي، ته منجهن مشاهدو ٿئي.

طالب قصر سونه سر، ايء روميء جي رهائ
پهرين وڃائڻ پاڻ، پسڻ پوء پرينء ڪي.

طالب قصر سونه سر، ايء روميء جي راحت،
جنبي ڏني ست، تنبي ڪچوڪين ڪين.

طالب قصر سونه سر، اي روميء جي اوطاق،
پڇين در فراق، ته منجهن مشاهدو مائين.

*بي پڙهڻي: جنبي ڏني جاء، تنبي ڪچوڪين ڪين.

REFERENCES

1. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya worked among the masses of Sindh and his main achievement was that he brought the entire Samma people of Sindh within the fold of Islam. The contemporary Shaikh, Fariduddin 'Ganj-i-Shakar' used to call Multan and Sind as the 'territory of brother Bahauddin Zakariya' (Amir Hasan Zijzi: *Fawaid al-Fuad*, p.138).
2. *Munaqib al-Arifin wa Mir'at al-Kashifin*, Agra, 1897. According to the late Said Nafisi. Aflaki has referred thrice to Iraqi's meetings with Maulana (*Kulliyat-i-Iraqi*. Tehran 1338, Introduction, p.24).
3. One of his poems in praise of Sadruddin Arif was composed by Iraqi during the time of his pilgrimage to Mecca, in response to a letter from Multan.
4. Conversely, may it be inferred that Maulana's following reference to a 'man of fragrance' in Sindh was a reminiscent of what Iraqi might have told him about Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya? Maulana said: "Men have left their own country, their fathers and mothers, their households and kinsmen and families, and have journeyed from Hind to Sind, making boots of iron until they were cut to shreds, haply to encounter a man having the fragrance of the other world". (*Fih ma Fih*, Discourse No.22 in A. J. Arberry's English translation "Discourses of Rumi", London, 1961, p.106).
5. As observed by Nicholson, soon after the first copies were transcribed "there would be many partial or entire copies of the Mathnawi in circulation". (*The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Vol.III, 1929, Introduction, p.xix).

6.

مولانا رومی دیوانہ است نامعلوم عاشقی است نامفہوم ختم اللہ علی قلوبہم و علی ابصارہم. وقتی بحقیقت معنی او خواندہ چنان مسائل العلم حجاب اللہ الاعظم. نظری بی فکری است. صم بکم عمی فہم لا یعقلون. گم گردہ محقق است - نظم:

باز آمدم چون عبد نو - تا قفل دندان بشکنم. الخ

آنکہ دیدی آن دیوانہ را - جلال جز تخم ضلال و نہال و بال نکاشتہ و حر آن خود کامی

و تربیت بدننامی دگر نہ نبشتہ است.

[حظائرالقدس معروف بہ رسالہ عشق حقیقی، مطبوع حیدرآباد کن، ۱۳۰۹ھ ص ۱۸۷]

7. In the third 'Daftar' of the Mathnawi, Maulana has referred to their arguments and refuted them vigorously:

خربطی تا گاہ از خر خانہ سربرون آورد چون طعانہ

کین سخن بتت یعنی مثنوی قصہ پیغمبرست و بی روی

8. See Ethe, No.1774.

9. e.g., 'Selections' from the Mathnawi by Khawaja Muhammad Parsa (d. 822), entitled "*Lubb-i-Lubab-i-Mathnawi*", and by Darvesh Muhammad Bukhari Ahrari (d. 970) entitled "*Lubb-i-Lubab wa Risalah-i-Intikhab*" (Shamsi Press, Hyderabad Deccan, 1910). Later, the Mathnawi was quoted

by such eminent Naqshbandi saints as Khawaja Baqibillah (d. 1012, vide his *Kulliyat*, Lahore, 1967, p.148) and Shaikh Ahmad alias 'Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani' (d. 1034, vide his *Mukashifat-i-Ainiyyah*, Karachi, 1964, p.38 and also his *Maktubat*).

10. Abdul Latif b. Abdullah al-Abbasi died in 1048/49. For his works, see Rieu II/589, and Ethe Nos. 1088 & 1102.
11. He is mentioned as 'Akbarabadi' but, as recorded by Sprenger (Catalogue), he had also lived in Arcot. (Rieu II/592).
12. He quotes Abdul Latif. (Rieu II/591).
13. In private collection in Kasur (Punjab, Pakistan). For details, see, Mujaddidi, Muhammad Iqbal: *Ahwal-o-Athar Abdullah Khweshgi Kasuri*, Lahore, 1972, pp.104-109.
14. The author died in 1124 H. The Punjab University Library (Lahore, Pakistan) manuscript gives the year of compilation as 1104 H. Also see Rieu II/592.
15. A manuscript copy is preserved in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.
16. "Maulana Rumi, the Persian mystical poet whom he (Iqbal) later on chose as his spiritual guide in the way of theistic mysticism". (Schimmel, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing, A Study of the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963, p.38).
- 17.

سندیان را اصطلاح ہند مدح

ہندیان را اصطلاح ہند مدح

Nicholson's ed., Book II, line 1757.

18. For Abu Ali of Sind, see:

کتاب اللمع فی التصوف لشیخ عبداللہ بن علی السراج الطوسی المتوفی ۷۳۸ھ

19. Ahmad Rumi himself records in his *Daqaiq-i-Tariq* that he had traveled all the way to Awaz (i.e. Oudh in Hindostan). Most probably he went to the interior through Sindh. His book *Daqaiq* has been popular in Sindh. My friend Dr. N. B. G. Qazi informs me that he found a copy of *Daqaiq al-Tariq* (sic) of "Ahmad al-Rumi" who calls himself a disciple of Maulana, in one of the old libraries of the Qadis of Rohri (Sindh). I myself have an excellent Mss. of "Risalah" of "Ahmad al-Rumi" entitled "*Daqaiq al-Haqaiq*" which was composed in 720 H., and transcribed in 725 H., most probably by the author himself. The cover has the signature of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan.
20. In the traditional sense. Maulana Din Muhammad 'Adib' Ferozeshahi's versified Sindhi translation is a more recent (1950-1956) achievement.
21. SIGMA (Dayaram Gidumal): *Something About Sind*, Hyderabad Sind, 1882, p.426.
22. Mir Abdul Husain Khan 'Sangi', who was the first to collect (1305 H./1888) biographical data on Shah Abdul Latif, had seen these three books preserved among the belongings of the saint [*Lata'if-i-Latifi*, Persian text, edited by the writer and published by the Shah Abdul Latif Bhitshah Cultural Centre Committee, Bhitshah, Sindh, Pakistan, 1967, pp.122-123].

23. Recorded by the writer from Maulavi Abdullah (a grandson of Maulavi Muhammad Salah) who died in 1968 at an advanced age of 110 years. He heard from his father (who also died at an advanced age) to whom his father Maulavi Muhammad Salah himself had told that Shah Abdul Latif held him dear due to his *wa'az* of the Mathnawi. Once, when he explained some verses from the Mathnawi, Shah Abdul Latif got up and embraced him. On another occasion, they were in a village mosque with a thatched roof from the openings of which hot sun was coming in while he was engaged in *wa'az*. Shah Abdul Latif got up and held his own cloth-sheet as an umbrella over him and asked him to continue on the *wa'az*.
24. The first two lines in Appendix – I.
25. This edition known as “Ganj”, the only manuscript of which is preserved reverently at the mausoleum of Shah Abdul Latif, was made for Khalifa Ismail, an eminent ‘Faqir’ and a leading figure in ‘Shah’s Music Institution’ (Shah-jo-Raag). It was transcribed by Sayyid Abdul Azim in 1207 H. (See Photo, Appendix-I).
26. In our own times, Maulavi Salamullah Qureshi of Hala (Sindh) in the margin of his printed copy of the Mathnawi, noted down *baitis* from the Risalo reflecting the same purport and meaning as the verses in Mathnawi.
27. Sorley, H. T.: *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, Oxford University Press, London, 1940, p.207.
28. From the works of Sanai and Attar and other sources (cf. Arberry, A. J.: *Tales from the Masnavi*, George Allen and Unwin, London).
29. R. A. Nicholson: *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Vol. III, text, Book-III, lines 1259-1361, and Vol. IV, Eng. Tr., pp.71-72.
30. Shah-jo-Risalo, Sur ‘Asa’ (the chapter entitled ‘Asa’).
31. c.f. the following passages:

دفتر سوم

رقص آن جماعتن که خود را بشکني	ببهره را از ریش شهوت برکني
رقص و جولان بر سر میدان کنند	رقص الدر خون خود مردان کنند
چون رهند از دست خود دستي زنند	چون جهند از نقص خود رقصي کنند
مطربانان از درون دف مي زنند	بحرها در خور شان کف مي زنند

دفتر چهارم

نیک بد مقصودش از بانگ رباب	همچو مشتاقان خیال آن خطاب
ناله، سرنای و تهدید دهل	چیز کی مانند بدان ناقور کل
بس حکمان گفته اند این لحنها	از دوار چرخ بگرفتیم ما
بانگ گردشهای چرخست این که خلق	می سرایندش بطنبور و بحلق
مومنان گویند کائار بهشت	نغز گردالهد در آواز ز شست

32.

يڪي گنجي پديد آمد ازين دڪان زر کوبي

زهي صورت، زهي معنيٰ، زهي خوبى، زهي خوبى

33. I. I. KKazi, *Bar at law, Vice Chancellor of Sindh University, in his 'Appendix' to Risalo of Shch Abdul Latif (Selections)*. [Translated in verse by Elsa Kazi, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1965:, p.226].
34. A *wae* poem under 'Sur Ramkali' in the *Risalo* spells out, after recounting the music of a number of instruments, his yearning for that 'unique' melody.
35. A. J. Arberry: *Discourses of Rumi*, op. cit., Discourse 5, p.32.
36. A. J. Arberry's 'Foreword' to Afzal Iqbal's "*The Life and Thought of Mohammad Jalal-ud-Din Rumi*", Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, 1956.
37. A. J. Arberry: *Discourses of Rumi*, London, 1961, Preface.
38. Sorley, H. T.: *Musa Pervagans*, Aberdeen, 1953, p.3.
39. Trumpp, Ernest: *Shah-jo-Risalo*, Leipzig, 1866, Preface.
40. Sorley, H. T.: *Musa Pervagans*, op. cit., p.3.
41. *Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif (Selections)*. Translated in verse by Elsa Kazi, Appendix, op. cit., p.232.
42. For the text see Appendix-II. Apart from other expressions, difficulty lies in comprehending the repeated 'code words'. 'Talib' is obviously 'the seeker'. The possible variations of the next word (and its meanings in Sindhi are): *Qasar* – a palace, *Kasar*-falling short; *Kather* increasing, advancing, superior to; *Sunha* is 'beau-y' and 'Sar' = (head, big pond, small lake).

XX

THE NAY AND THE NAY MUSIC

Among the varied music instruments and the performance practices which have survived, the Nay and the Nay Music can be singled out as being the most representative of the common heritage of Turkey, Iran and Sindh-Balochistan in Pakistan. An attempt is made in the following pages to highlight some aspects of this common Nay Music Tradition.

‘Nay’ is commonly translated as ‘reed’, though it is only from the stalks of some particular varieties of reed that the *nay* instruments are improvised. Generally, the ‘nay-reed plants’ grow in the beds of the hilly streams fed by rain or spring waters; more specially, the plant flourishes where water accumulates in permanent pools alongside the stream embankments. The best variety grows in those regions where temperatures do not drop below 25 degrees. The nay-reed plant is common to the Middle Eastern regions, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries; and the stalks yielding excellent nay instruments are known to have been taken from ‘Ain Zarqa’ in Syria, Samandag in Antakia (Turkey), Kashan (also parts of Mazandran and Khuzistan) in Iran, and the Kech Valley in Balochistan (Pakistan). The nay-reed plant became known by different names in different linguistic regions –e.g., *qasab*, *ghab*, *Qamish*, *hulqum* in Arab regions. In Iran and the neighbouring Persian speaking regions, it has been known as *nay*, *nay shakar*, *kilk* and *Qalam*. In Pakistan, it is called *Qalam* and *girav* in Balochistan, and *kamoo* and *kangore* in Sindh.

The nay used in Turkey (and other Turkish regions) is of a broader girth and greater length than anywhere else. In length, nay *davud* ranks the first, nay *shah* the second and nay *mansur* the third. This was mainly due to the availability of a superior quality of the reed plant. Invariably the length of the reed pipe used as nay in Turkey is of nine sets of the stalk. The stalk whose sets measure ‘four finger’ each

in length, is the best choice for nay making. The nay in Turkey has seven holes, six on the front side (with two in each of the 6th, 7th, and 8th set) and the seventh on the back side in the 5th set. The exceptions are: the smaller one Shah Nisfiye and the Girift (which is of seven sets and has seven holes on the front and one on the backside).

In Iran, the reed pipe used as nay is invariably of seven sets in length and has five holes on the front side and one on the backside. In Balochistan and Sindh, the nay reed is of seven sets in length, but has only four holes on the front side. There is no hole on the backside.

Historically speaking, the nay has been essentially the instrument of pastoral peoples, mainly of the migratory herdsmen moving in search of new pastures and grass lands. The 'reed nay' originated in such rural tribal stocks, possibly first in Turkish/Iranian regions. Some sort of *nay* or *nai* flute, i.e. *mizmar*¹, was current among the early Arab tribes. It finds mention in a verse of the Arab poet A'sha Hamdan (6th century A.D.), while "nay al-Iraqi" (nay of Iraq) and "nay Zunami" come under reference in Islamic literature.¹

In Iran, the pastoral communities particularly in the southern regions of Pars took to the 'reed nay' performance earlier; also the Baloch communities there and the Turk communities (who had migrated from Turkish regions to Iran) became well known for reed-nay playing. Up to now, the Iranian Qashqaris of Turkish origin and the Iranian Mamsanis (Muhammad Hasni) of the Baloch stock are known for reed -nay playing in their pastoral style. An early Turkoman and Baloch linkage in reed-nay playing can be inferred from close semblance in their linguistic names for nay, viz *quray* of the Qabchaq Turks and *girav* of the Marri/Bughti Baloch communities. However, it was under the all pervading influence of Persian as the language of court, culture and commerce, beginning from the 5th/11th century and covering both the Iranian and the Turkish regions from Iran to Transoxiana, that *nay* became the more commonly used and accepted name for the instrument. In Balochistan, *qalam* has been the more popular name for nay, while in Sindhi the indigenous word *narr/nadr* (lit. any long hollow stalk) came to be used for the instrument.

Five stages may be discerned in the evolution of Nay Music. (i) It was a discovery at the initial stage when some one from pastoral communities, — of different ethnic stocks, at different places, and at different periods of time — identified the reed being capable of

producing notes when hollowed and skillfully blown into its pipe. (ii) The 'mouth-lip blowing into the reed and producing simple pleasing notes' went on for centuries. It was then a solo entertainment for self satisfaction. (iii) A further development, and an important one, came when the pastoral performer joined his own guttural sound with the reed notes; this increased the volume and the timber of notes. (iv) A further achievement came in the consummation of the *nai* (larynx) tone and the *nay* (reed) notes. An emotionally charged 'nai-nay music' was thus created by tuning the ringing chords of the larynx in unison with the reed notes. (v) Lastly, a further sophistication created the present popular nay music.

According to the tradition current among the *naarries* (nay players) in Sindh, the nay music was born in pangs of sorrow and separation. According to the more popular version, it originated in the love pangs of Shams Tabriz. 'When Shams Tabriz was skinned (sic.), he took abode in a reed grove. There he cut a reed stalk and made the nay to give vent to his feelings of sorrow and separation. So it was that the nay became loaded with emotions'. (It may be recalled that Shams-i Tabriz belonged to the stock of the Qabchaq Turks). According to another version: 'Love stricken Zulaykha used to perform ablution remembering Hazrat Yusuf all the time. A *kangore* plant grew up in that ablution water, and hence the music of its reed pipe became charged with pain and sorrow'. Yet according to another version, the nay music became emotionally charged because of the sufferings of the reed itself. Its green stalk was cut and separated from its grove-bed fellows; it was shorn of its green leaves; its marrow was removed and belly hollowed; it was then left to dry up; then its skin was fired to turn it red in colour; finally holes were pierced into its body. Because of these inherent sufferings, the reed nay continued to cry for ever.²

(a) The Nai-Nay Music. The 'nay-with-nai' music which was created at pastoral stage developed further under the umbrella of Sama' of the Sufis by the turn of the 6th/13th century. In sophistication and impact, it reached its climax in the Sama' of the Maulawiya Order, founded by Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi (604-672/1207-1273) during the years 1248-51 A.D. The composite Nai-Nay Music was created when *nai* and *nay* were integrated in resonance; when the emotionally charged ringing of performer's *nai* (larynx) was perfectly attuned to the notes of his *nay* (reed).

However, the Nai-Nay Music received universal recognition after it was glorified by Maulana Rumi in the First Daftar of his Mathnawi which he composed some time before 662/1263. For long, the Maulana had remained afflicted with sorrow and separation as a result of having lost his spiritual friend and guide, Shams of Tabriz, in 643/1248. In the Mathnawi, Maulana Rumi recounted the ‘story of nay’ forcefully, the more powerful verses being:³

Listen to the nay what story it’s telling
Of separation it is complaining:

Ever since they cut me from my reed-bed fellows,
Men and women at my laments are wailing.

I have continued crying in every gathering
Associating with the unhappy and the ones rejoicing

The note from the *nai* is not wind but fire
Naught be the one devoid of this fire.

It’s the fire of love that is in the nay-reed
It’s the fervour of love that is in the wine.

NAY is telling of the path full of blood
It is recounting the stories of Majnoon’s passion.

Were I joined to the *lips* of my *breath*-soothing friend
Like nay I would also be telling what is worth telling.

Whoever was parted from his chum of same speech
Became *bi zuban*, though having hundreds of melodies.

It is to be noted that Maulana Rumi has brought under reference both NAY and NAI and, beside any metaphors involved, the two terms stand for REED PIPE and the performer’s THROAT (Layrnx). He also mentions ‘lips’ (indicating the ‘lip style’ playing of nay in his days) as well as ‘breath’ (*dum*) occurring in the composite word (*dumsaz*). Also in a verse in one of the ghazals in his Divan, Maulana underlined the importance of ‘breath’ in producing the nay music: “thou art the secret of my *nai*, so do not lament without my ‘*breath*’”.⁴

The pangs of separation inherent in the notes of reed and the passion of love in the performer’s warm breath, along with the emotionally ringing chords of his throat, invested the integrated ‘NAI – NAY’ resonance with pensive emotions. In other words, when passionate notes from the nayzen’s NAI (*hanjara/larynx*) harmonized

with the notes of NAY, the music was invested with the superb quality to arouse emotions and feelings of ecstasy.

Hossein Ali Mallah in his valuable work '*Hafiz-o-Musiqi*' has brought under discussion the literal meaning of (نای) (*nai*) which according to him is (throat/larynx). He also affirms that Hafiz throughout his Divan, except in one place, has used (نای) as *گلوھنجره آدمی* and (نی) as the instrument. Therefore, Mallah has inferred that (نی و نای) means (ساز و آواز).⁵ It may be observed that it is not the mere sound (آواز) of throat/larynx but its musically oriented emotional ring attuned to the vibrant notes of Nay.

In Sindh and Balochistan, Nay is played in pastoral style, and the emotionally sweet ringing of throat is joined with the notes of the nay. It would appear as if the performer is pouring his soul's warmth and heart's yearning into the nay reed. That is why the nay has been known as instrument of love, and of sorrow and separation. When passionately played by the love stricken narri (*nayzen*), it created restlessness in beloved (listening to it). Thus, in Sindh, in the 'Romance of Suhni and Mehar', Suhni became restless while listening to the *narr* (nay) of Saharr; and in the 'Romance of Sabul-&-Bahram', Sabul became restless while listening to the *narr* of Bahram Jamali.⁶

A new era of highly sophisticated and emotionally elevating Nai-Nay Music was initiated under Maulana Rumi's inspiration beginning from the 8th/14th century. After Maulana Rumi's high praise for the emotionally charged and inspiring Nai-Nay Music, some other great minds, either following Maulana Rumi or independently, pronounced their own admiration. Sa'di, the sage of Shiraz (580-692/1184-1292), who was a senior contemporary, admired nay music in the same vein as Maulana Rumi, referring to 'the *atish* (fire) that is in 'nay', hearts being consumed in fire like the nay, and the listening to nay creating restlessness'.⁷ Though Sa'di mentioned only 'nay' in his verses, he most probably ment the 'nai-nay' resonance; for, others continued to applaud the power of 'nai-nay' even after Sa'di. Thus, Ubaidullah Zakani (alive in 1367 A.D.) who was an intermediary between Sa'di and Hafiz, and also Hafiz (762-792/1325-1390) both brought the 'nai-nay' (sic.) music under reference in their verses.⁸ Most likely, they had both listened to the Nay Performance. On the other hand, due to Maulana Rumi's immortalization of NAY and NAI, 'nai-nay' became a symbolic metaphor for exegesis by some great Sufis

after him. The pious Ya'qub Charkhi (763-851 A.H.) belonging to the district of Charkh in Afghanistan, and the highly admired literatuer-cum-poet and Sufi Abd al-Rahman Jami (870-897/1414-1492) of Central Asia, wrote treatises which came to be called *Nay-Nameh*, giving esoteric interpretation of Maulana Rumi's verses about NAY. Jami was more clear: 'the melodies of Nay are due to the breath of Nai'.⁹

The tradition of the highly artistic and inspiring Nai-Nay music which developed as part of Sama' under Rumi may be distinguished as the classical tradition. In Qonia, and in the whole of Asia Minor and elsewhere, popularity of the nai-ray performances as part of the Sama' sessions led to the creation of different nay types with reference to their melodic modes and the *naghmat* produced on them. The names of as many as ten different nay types, with names of their professional performers recorded, are to be found in the following sampling of the instruments preserved in the museum at Maulana's mausoleum in Qonia.¹⁰

1. *	Davud	1184
2. *	Shah	1185
3. *	Shah	1131
4. Burhauddin Chate Hediyesi	Mansur	378
5. *	Mansur	1187
6. *	Mansur	1174
7. Onkarali Mehmed Dedeye Aittir	Mansur	1257
8. Neyzen Emir Dedeye Aittir	Mansur	1258
9. Mehmet Kalayli Hedeyesi	Bolahenk	1172
10. Mevlana Dergahina Aittir	Mabeyn	
11. Cemil Buyukaksoy Hediyesi	Kiz Nayi	1188
12. Abdul mucib Hediyesi	Sah-Nisfiye	1931
13. Cemil Bukyukaksoy Hediyesi	Mustahsen	1187
14. Camil Bukyukaksoy Hediyesi	Dugah	1179
15. Neyzen Tevfike Aittir	Nisfiye	1166
16. Mevlana Dergahina Aittir	Girift	386
17. S. Tabanli Hediyesi	Mansur	1247
18. Neyzen Nayyi Tumer Hediyesi	Shah	1390

*The five names were not legible.

The classical tradition continued on in strength as part of the Sufi Sama' down to the dawn of the 20th century. In that last phase, the

recognized masters were Baba Rashit, Hakki Dede, Jamal Efendi, Rauf Yakta, Binbashi Siddik, Hilmi Dede, Mustafa Izzet Efendi (Kazi Askar) and others.

(b) Modern Popular Nay Music: Side by side with the classical tradition flourishing in the urban areas of Turkey, and also in Tabriz and some other parts of Iran and Khurasan, the pastoral tradition of nay performance continued on, as it has continued on to this day, among rural communities in Turkish regions, in Iran, and in Sindh and Balochistan (Pakistan). Lately, it has been on the decline every where due to the impact of modern developments and change in life style in rural areas. Also the simple pastoral nay tradition has been overwhelmed by radio music even in the more distant rural areas. But this has also been responsible for the development of nay as an instrument of popular music. The progress may be noted in Pakistan, Turkey and Iran.

DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN¹¹

Nay was brought to Balochistan and Sindh by the Baloch communities migrating from Southern Iran in early times, and it continues to be played there in its original reed-nay folk style form. The larger reed nay, about 2 to 3 feet (60 to 100 c.m.) in length, is called *narr* and the smaller one (1x1/2 feet/40 c.ms.) *kani* or *narrati*. Some typical features of the age old pastoral tradition are clearly marked. The nay has only four *taras* (holes) on its front side. There is no *tara* (hole) on the backside. It is without any additional artifice at the top. It is held on lips without touching the teeth, and is always titled at an angle. It is played in accompaniment to vocal singing, the *bait* songs in Sindh and the *dastanagh* in Balochistan. It is essentially a *nay plus nai* performance: the ringing of the *nai* (throat) being prominent particularly in *dastanagh* singing in Balochistan and in *Katth* pattern in Sindh.

The dawn of the 20th century saw the rise of a number of skilful nay players in Sindh and in the adjacent Sibi Division of Balochistan. Bahram Jamali, Gulsher Baladi, Mauladad Laghari, Ganhwar Chahvan, Sukhayoon Jut, Ali Bakhsh Lakher, Sultan Junejo, Jado Kaheri, Bakhshan Chandio, Misri Rind and others were the great names until the twenties, and their equally skilled pupils prolonged their excellence until the forties. For long, different forms, features and styles of nay

had become popular in different regions of Sindh, but all these had developed within the perspective of the pastoral tradition. The nay had not yet become an instrument of popular music, though there were some strains of popular music in the *roop* and *desi* patterns of the old (19th century) tradition, - the predecessors transmitting the patterns to their successors.

Ganhwar Chahvan who flourished by the turn of the 19th century (d. circa 1910-1915) popularized a scale in terms of a set of principal or base notes, for spelling out different melodic matrices or patterns of melodic compositions. It may be termed as a 'modal scale' with its seven melodic modes defined as under:

1. *Roop or Sur*. To have the principal or base note for this pattern of melodies, the upper three holes are to be held closed (with finger tips) and the lowest one is to be left open. This is the basic *giram* or modal note for playing popular as well as classical melodies.
2. *Katth*. For this principal note, all the four holes are to be held closed. Katth takes its name from *kanth*, meaning throat, and is so called because the pitch is low, being attuned to the guttural sound. This is the basic *giram* for playing the traditional *Gur* style of music.
3. *Murhalo or Morhalo*. For this principal or base note, the upper two holes are to be held closed and the lower two are to be left open. This is the basic *giram* for playing the Lahra style (particularly the *ucha sara lahra*, or the high pitch lahra) and some varieties of the Gur style.
4. *Kharaz*. For this principal note, the top most hole is to be left open and the lower three holes are to be held closed. This is the basic *giram* for playing *mathahan gur* (the high pitch Gur variety) and some of the Lahras.
5. *Phook*. For this principal note, the top most hole is to be held closed and the lower three are to be left open. This is the basic *giram* for playing the Phook style.
6. *Nutt*. For this principal note, the upper two holes are to be held closed and the lower two left open, like Murhalo (No.3) which is played at higher pitch while Nutt is played at lower pitch. It is a subsidiary supporting pattern to Murhalo.

7. *Phookun-jo-Katth*. Like the Phook (No.5), the top most hole is to be held closed and the lower three are to be left open. In this case, the throat sound is to be attuned at the highest pitch pattern of the Phook (No.5).

This scale was used with further expertise by Ganhwar's pupils and their pupils. The most prominent among them were Bakhshan Chandio (a pupil of Jado Kaheri who was influenced by Ganhwar), Fateh Khan Khoso, Sobho Chandio and their pupils Dost Ali Khoso, Ahmad Chandio and others. Bakhshan Chandio, the 'master of melodies', firmly established this new trend of 'popular nay music' as distinct from 'traditional nay music'. The introduction and popularity of the gramophone records gave a further impetus to this trend of melodic nay music.

Dost Ali Khoso and his pupil Dino Khan Lund had another achievement. They equated the Seven Principal Notes of the above scale with the SAPTAK scale (Octave) of the classical Hindostani Music. They demonstrated as under:

1. The notes of Roop or Sur are tuned at Rekhav Sharp. However, if the lower most hole is held half closed, the notes will sound at Rekhav Soft.
2. Notes of Katth are tuned at SA, the Kharaj of Madh Saptak.
3. Notes of Murhalo are tuned at (higher pitch than Nutt, No.6) at Dhaivat Sharp.
4. Notes of Kharaz are tuned at Pancham.
5. Notes of Phook are tuned at Madham Sharp.
6. Notes of Nutt are tuned at (a lower pitch than Murhalo, No.3) Gandhar Sharp. The *ragas* derived from the Kalyan Thatth are played at this giram. It may have been called Nutt because the *raga* Chhaya Nutt can be played at this pitch.
7. Notes of Phookun-jo-Kattah are tuned at Madham Sharp (as in No.5 above but the throat sound is to be attuned at a higher pitch).

Dino Khan's son and pupil Mir Muhammad excelled in the use of this new scale and played not only popular melodies (*raginis*) but also classical *ragas* with competence. He played from Radio/T.V. Pakistan.



(1-7) Top to Bottom: Nay instruments used by some famous players in Sindh (1920-1980).

1. Played by Bahadur Unar (and by Ghazi Jhulan before him).
2. Played by Manghan Khaskhelly (alive) aged 67 years.
3. Played by Adam Khaskhelly, a large size *narr*, more suitable for playing *Roop* and *Katth* patterns.
4. A plain dyed reed (kangore) nay, suitable for Phook patterns, played by Mir Muhammad Baloch.
5. Played by Manghan Khaskhelly (more suitable for Gur and Phook patterns).
6. Played by famous Allah Dino Khan Lund Baloch (1925-50). He purchased it in exchange for a milch buffalo.
7. Last played by Adam Khaskhelly (previously by Dodo Gaho who had mortgaged it with Khabhar Kaheri for Rs.10 in 1925; then, Adam purchased it by giving Khabhar two heads of best breed she goats).



L to R: (1) Hussain Hingora reciting *Lair* (ballads), to the accompaniment of *Narr* (*gur* & *phook* style) being played by (2) Adara Khakhelly and (3) Maghan Khakhelly (Radio Pakistan).



Mir Muhammad Balch, playing *Narr* (*nay*) in popular music style, to the accompaniment of *dambura* and *jingling bells* which he plays at the same time)

Independent of this line, another genius Shah Muhammad Nabina (The Blind) of the Bikak community had developed his expertise vicariously by listening to the Radio music programmes. I discovered him during the early fifties when he was playing Narr as an instrument of high music art. In his hands, the simple reed nay became a powerful instrument of music. He died in 1965.



SHAH MUHAMMAD NABINA

(Centre)

Performing Nay Music with dedication and devotion

Thereafter Mir Muhammad remained the only accomplished naari (nayzen) who continued to play nay as an instrument of high music art. He died in April 1997. With the demise of these two masters, Nay Music has suffered a great set back in Sindh from which it can hardly recover. They did not leave behind any accomplished pupils to continue on with their achievement. Strange enough, the down fall of Nay Music as high art has come when it was at its climax in Sindh.

DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY¹²

During the 20th century, while nay still remained the time honoured instrument of the Sama' music of the Maulawiya Order, it

was also groomed as an instrument of modern music. In Iran, development during the same period was more akin to that in Sindh, i.e. transition from the pastoral tradition to the nay being developed as an instrument of popular music. In Turkey, it was a transition from the classical Sama' tradition to popular music.

Long back, nayzens in Turkey and Iran conceived and brought about an important change in the technique of blowing into the nay. In the early pastoral tradition, the nay was in its natural reed pipe form, hollow from within and open at its two ends. Now it was supplied with a head piece at its upper mouth, called bashpara or filizza. This facilitated the performer to regulate the process of blowing in into the nay so as to condition the resonance and also to spell out naghmat smoothly. Also the pastoral style of placing the reed pipe on lip curvature and holding it slantingly on the side was altered: the reed pipe was held in mouth's centre, and vertically down. Thirdly, as innovated by the nayzens of Isphahan, the upper nay end was held on teeth instead of lips, so that the performance now was based on a 'teeth wise – blowing technique'.

Amongst the more prominent masters in Turkey who played Nay with excellence and contributed to its prestige and popularity during the first half of the 20th century, the following names may be added to those whose nays with their names are prereserved in the Mevlana Museum in Qonia. They were Sheikh Saeet Effendi, Mustafa Izzet Effendi, Salim Beg, Yusuf Pasha, Aziz Dede, Emin Dede, Sheikh Husain Fakhruddin Dede (d. Istanbul, 1946), Ahmad Jelaluddin (d. Uskudar, 1946), Suleyman Erguner (d. Istanbul, 1953), Hayri Tumer (d. 1973), Halil Jan (d. Istanbul, 1973), Hasan Dede (d. 1973) and Alavi Erguner. Of them, credit goes to the creative genius of the most influential Suleyman Erguner who removed shortcomings in the traditional performance and made the nay technically a more perfect music instrument. Previously, performers used to ignore the backside hole; under Sulaiman's creative setting, it became functionally purposive for higher pitch.

The different nay types were long back identified with reference to their principal notes as Davud, Shah Nisfiye, Mansur, Kiz Nayi, Mustahsen, Dogah, Supardeh, Bolahenk, Girift etc. Some were improvised later such as the Mabayn (lit. 'the in between') being in between Shah and Mansur; likewise the *nisfiye* represented half of the

given note. Under Suleyman Erguner's initiative, the principal or the base notes were equated with notes on piano. For example,

Davud = do or la of Piano	Mustahsen = fa of Piano
Shah = C of Piano	
Mansur = la of Piano	Supardeh = mi of Piano
Kiz Nay = Sol of Piano	Bolahenk = hi of Piano

During the fifties emerged the most accomplished nayzen Niazi Sayin (b.1927), who later played nay from Radio with masterly skill. A pupil of Halil Dilkmen, Director of the Fine Arts Academy (and a pupil of Emin Dede), Niyazi Sayin excelled in playing nay as an instrument of high music art. He continued on as an unexcelled nayzen during the seventies of the 20th century. Among his more prominent contemporaries may be counted Salami Bertug and Mahmud of Ankara, and others of Istanbul such as Aga Giunduz, Dogan Ergun, Jemil Keskin, Fikret Bertug, Varol Shar, Umit Gulerman, and Sheikh Husain Fakhruddin. Nayzen Tawfik also won recognition as popular nay player during the seventies, while the four pupils of Shaikh Husain Fakhruddin, viz. Ihsan, Sharfeddin, Ayetullah and Ahmad were amongst the beginners.

DEVELOPMENT IN IRAN¹³

After the death of Maulana Rumi (1273 A.D.), the tradition of playing nay as an accompaniment to *naghmat-i Mathnavi*, particularly to the recitation of *Nay-nameh*, which was current among the derwishes in Kirman and Khurasan, had also reached the urban centres of Iran such as Tabriz, Ahwaz, Shiraz, Isphahan and Tehran. Though the continuity of this classical tradition in Iran is not traceable, some of the same classical *naghmat* being played by the nayzens in Turkey and Iran would tend to indicate a common origin. However, it was the pastoral nay tradition of the rural communities, particularly those from the south of Fars, which introduced nay into urban areas.

Nayib Husain, Nayib Alikhan and Nayib Asadullah, all of Isphahan, are to be credited for the development of modern nay music in Iran. By the turn of the 19th century, the pastoral tradition of nay performance was popular among the rural communities around Shiraz and Isphahan; and Husain (living in the Lonban Masjid quarter of Isphahan) who was an official as a nayib (i.e. nayab-i sultanat) and had contacts in rural areas became a nayzen in the pastoral tradition. He

also learnt the technique and took to the business of making and supplying nay reeds in the country. It was due to Nayib Husain and his class of nayzens in towns and cities that a number of pastoral naghmat such as under became known in urban circles:

Shutr dukhan	(camels are brought together)
Shutr Qatar	(camels fall in line)
Dashtistani	(of Dashtistan, to the south of Shiraz)
Dashti	(of Dasht, probably the same as above)
Luri	(of Luris, in the past; presently popular among the Mamsani Baloch communities)
Chuhrami	(of Chuhram, a town in Fars)
Afshari	(of the Afshar tribe)
Bakhtiyari	(of the Bakhtiyari tribe)

After Nayib Husain, his son Nayib Alikhan, who excelled his father as nayzen, extended the supply line. Indeed he and his father played an important role in so far as they made nay reeds available in towns and cities to all those who were interested in having the instrument. Nayib Alikhan died in October 1973 aged ninety. Thereafter, the supply service from Ispahan was continued on by Abbas Wuhushi and Reza Najjarpur. Also there were some others elsewhere who were making and supplying nay reeds, the stalks being taken from the nayzar of Kashan.

By the turn of the 19th century, Nayib Asadullah played a pioneering role in bringing about a creative change both in technique and performance of nay. Some progress had already been made before him. Sulaiman Ispahani had started playing nay in a style other than the pastoral. His contemporary Ibrahim Agha Bashi (a high dignitary, Rais-i Tashrifat) also played in the same style but with less competence than Sulaiman. By that time, a young army officer Asadullah (later 'Nayib Asadullah') who used to play on trumpet, turned to Nay and succeeded in achieving excellence as nayzen. Departing from the pastoral tradition, Nayib Asadullah perfected the practice of playing 'distinctively the *nay* (reed), without any accompanying sound from the *nai*' (throat).

He also made another innovation, viz. placing the upper blowing end of nay on teeth instead of lips, - the wind being blown into it from mouth and by exhalation. Beside this technical change, Nayib Asadullah identified precisely the function of each of the nay holes,

while held closed or left open, in affecting the tone, timber and pitch of the sound produced. He was the first to use the backside hole functionally for purpose of raising the pitch. He also identified an octave of 'basic notes' by the different settings of the six holes, some being held closed and others left open. This helped to spell out the varying naghmat, each one more precisely. Nayib Asadullah also trained younger fans to play nay in this new style which then became the popular practice. He made Alikhan as sole supplier and continued to advise him in selecting the stalks and making nay reeds of superior quality.

Thus, Nayib Asadullah played a key role in opening up a new era of nay music as high art in Iran. He died by about 1935 in Isphahan. The last eminent nayzens of the new era were Nayib Asadullah himself, his pupils Abdul Khaliq Isphahani (died in his youth) and Mahdi Nawai'who excelled in the new style. Hussain Yavari who had benefited both from Nayib Asadullah and Mahdi Mawai'also played with equal excellence. Thus, up to the fifties of the 20th century, Sulaiman Isphahani, Nayib Asadullah, Mahdi Nawai, Hussain Yavari and Ustad Abbas Najjar were the leading nayzens in Iran. There were also others, somewhat less accomplished, such as Alikhan, Shah Zaidi, Qulikhan, Sarmast Iraqi, Nayastani (in Kirman), Ustad Karim Najjar, Abbas Maulavi and Abbas Wuhushi.

During the fifties, a young nayzen, Hasan Kasai of Isphahan, who was a pupil of Mahdi Nawai, rose high as a brilliant star on the firmament of nay music. In view of his eminence, a brief introduction of him may not be out of place here. Hasan (b. Muhammad Jawad b. Jafar b. Mir Ali Raza) was born in a Sayyid family in Bidabad quarters of Isphahan in 1307(s). His father Muhammad Jawad was head of the City Council as well as of Commercial Chamber for twenty years. He had also established the textile industry. But when young, he took to selling cloths (kasa-o-aba), went to Rasht and did good business. On return to Isphahan, he preferred to call himself by his vocation as 'Kasai', a surname by which his son Hasan also became known as Hasan Kasai. Muhammad Jawad also used to invite musicians and hold functions. When Hasan was a lad of seven years, there came an elderly nayzen from rural area and for the first time young Hasan saw the nay being played and he became interested. Mahdi Nawai, who was then an elderly nayzen also used to come to these gatherings, and Hasan became his pupil when he was 15 years old. Over a period, he acquired

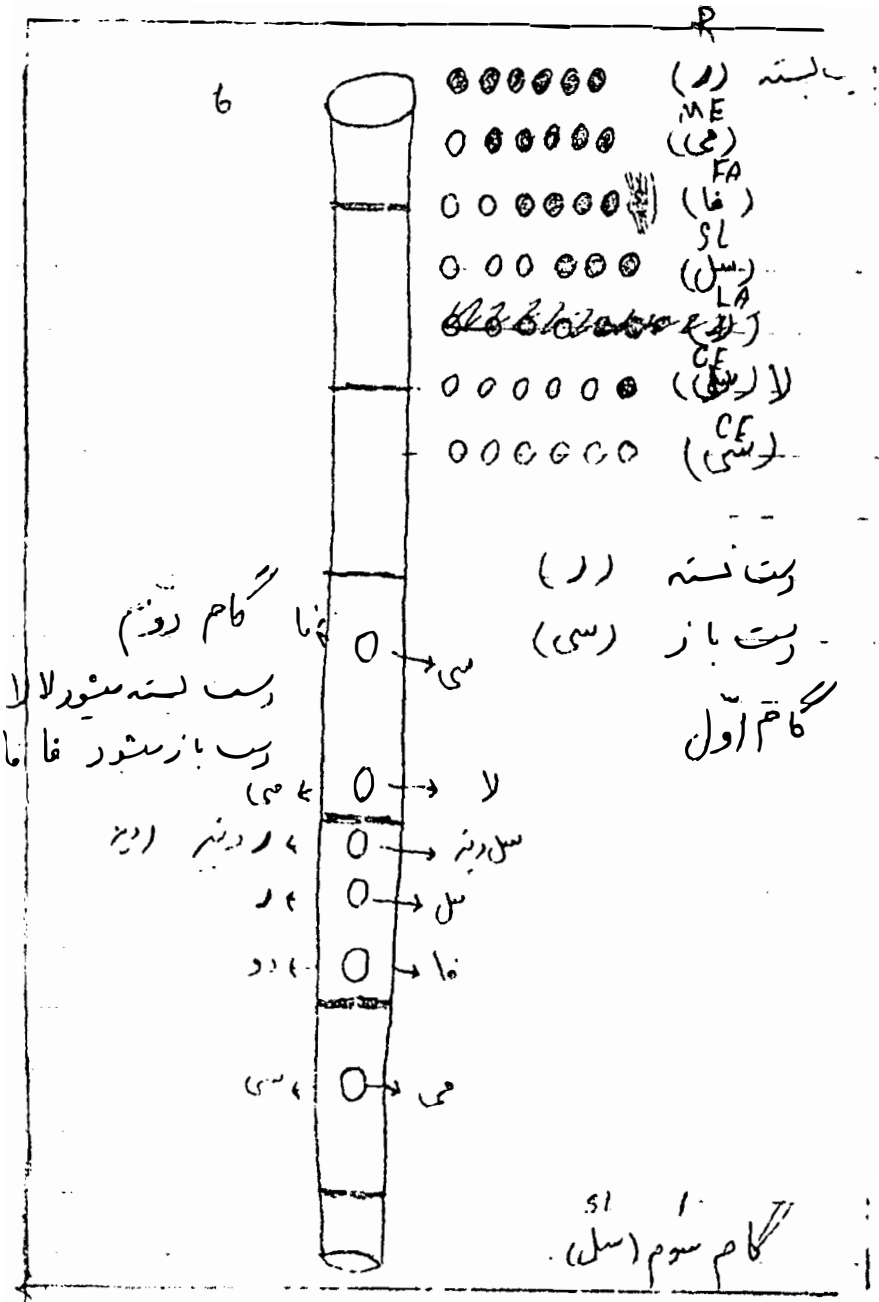
professional skill to play nay with confidence. Thereafter, he learnt music from Ustad Abul Hasan Saba of Tehran who then excelled in the traditional Iranian music; he had also written two books, one on musiqi and the other on musical instruments. With insight into musiqi and expertise in nay performance, Hasan Kasai emerged as an accomplished artist. While still in his blooming youth, he could play nay with amazing skill and competence. Indeed, he had emerged as the greatest nayzen of Iran in the third quarter of the 20th century.

A versatile genius, Hasan Kasai made nay music more soft with wave like modulations. Above all, he infused the warmth of his breath into the reed's resonance: it was the warmth of his feelings. Said he: "Nay is close to the heart's feelings while other instruments are close to the mind"¹⁴ A contemporary poet from Rasht complimented Kasai:

ازان روزی که نی دیده است نائی نه دیده همدمی همچو کائی
لبّ نی از دم نائی نوا یافت وگر نه نی کجاو این خوش نوائی

Aqa Hasan Kasai's name and fame spread far and wide when he started playing from Radio Tehran. All those who listened to him were moved. Said younger nayzen Musavi: "I was ten years old in my home town of Ahwaz when I heard Aqa Hasan Kasai's nay from Radio Tehran, and I was so much overwhelmed that I wept for the day when I would become his pupil. Then I purchased, in Ahwaz, a nay reed of the make and mark of Alikhan of Isphahan, and later on reached Isphahan when I was 16 years old. There I fondly attached myself to Aqa Hasan Kasai for 12 years". Muhammad Kazim Musavi was 29 years old when he was talking to me in Tehran in 1973. So was another youth of the same age, Hasan Nahid, who on listening to Aqa Hasan Kasai playing on the Radio hastened to become his pupil.

'Nay haft bund' (of seven sets lengthwise) has been the standard nay in Iran, and has six holes on the front side and one on the backside. An advance in nay music came when a scale structure of modal notes (the base pitch notes) was determined by Nayib Asadullah. With the growing popularity of the Radio/T.V. programmes and the availability and use of the piano, these modal notes were equated with the notes of the piano keys. The two pupils of Hasan Kasai, Muhammad Kazim Musavi and Hasan Nahid, drew up rough sketches for me (as attached) to explain the equated pattern as it was then



A rough sketch of the different settings of nay holes, remaining closed or open, to produce 'Principal' note, and their equation with Piano keys.
 (By Mohammad Kazim Musavi. Tehran, 1973).

re \nearrow re_2
 me \nearrow ma
 fa \nearrow fa
 sol
 #sol
 la
 si \nearrow si
 do
 re
 #re
 mi
 fa
 sol

A rough sketch of the different settings of the nay holes, remaining closed or open, to produce 'Principal' notes, and their equation with the Piano keys.
 (By Hasan Nahid, Tehran, 1973).

commonly understood. This equation of nay notes with piano keys has ushered in a new era of modern nay music in Iran.

REFERENCES

1. 'Nay' in Arabic was mizmar, and Zunam was the famous mizmar performer (at the courts of Ha'un, Mamun, Mu'tasim and Wathiq) who invented a reed pipe called *nay zunami* or *nay zulami*, (Cf. Farner: A History of Arabian Music, pp.29 & 131). It would seem that reed pipe was used as a component in these early instruments; the nay we talk about is the reed itself.
2. Baloch, N. A.: *Narr-ja-Bait*, Sindh Folklore and Literature, Book XIX, published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 1970, introduction, pp.20-21.
3. The text (from Nicholson's edition) is as under:

بشنو از نی چون حکایت می کند	وز جدائی هاشکایت می کند
کز نیتان تامرا بیریده اند	از نفیرم مرد و زن نالیده اند
من بهر جمعیتی نالان شدم	جفت بد حالان و خوش حالان شدم
آتش این بانگ نای و نیت باد	هر که این آتش ندارد نیت باد
آتش عشقست کاندلر نی فتاد	جوشش عشقست کاندلر می فتاد
نی حدیث راه پر خون می کند	قصهای حال مجنون می کند
بالب دماز خود گر جفتمی	همچونی من گفتنیها گفتمی
هر که او از هم زبانی شد جدا	بی زبان شد گرچه دارد صد نوا

4. The verse which is also quoted by Shaykh Charkhi:

تو چو سیر نای منی، بی دم من ناله مکن
تا چو چنگت ن، نوازم، ز نوا هیچ مگو

5. Mallah Hossein Ali: *Hafiz-o-Musiqi*, Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1351/1972, p.207.
6. Baloch N. A.: *Narr-ja-Bait*, Sindhi folklore & Literature Book XIX, op. cit., introduction, pp.20-21.
7. Sa'adi. quoted by Khalili in his MEINAMA, Kabul, 1973, p80.

شکر لب جوانی نی آموختی	که دل هادر آتش چونی سوختی
به دربارها بانگ بروی زدی	به بندی که آتش دران نی زدی

شبى بر نوائى بسر گوش کرد سماعش پريشان و مدهوش کرد
 همى گفت بر چهره افگنده خوى كه آتش بمن در زد اين بانگ نى
 نه دانى كه شوریده حالان مت چرا بر فشانند در رقص دست
 گشاييند درى بردل از واردات فشانند سر دست بر كايينات

8. Quoted by Hossein Ali Mallah in 'Hafiz-o-Musiqi' (op. cit).

به نای و نى نفسى وقت خويستن خوش دار
 چو نای و نى چه دهى عمر خويستن برباد
 (عبید الله زاکانی)

اول به بانگ نای و نى، آرد به دل پيغام وى
 و آنگه به يك پيمانه مى، با من وفادارى كند

(حافظ)

Even as late as the 19th century, a Sufi poet Qadier Bakhsh 'Bedil' of Sindh (d. 1289/1870) opened his Mathnavi *Nahr al-Bahr* (a 'Channel from Maulana's Ocean') with naynameh:

بشنو از نى نفمه سر المت تاچه مى گوید اذان عهد دست
 ملعمفات حشرت همتى گداز مى سرايد باهزاران سوز و ساز
 كز نيتان شهود بيچگون تا بریدندم به تشويش شيون
 زار من نالم بچندين اضطراب كآتش غم كرد جانم راکباب

9. Cf. Jami's (رساله النايه) , the text in Khalili's MEINAMA.

عشق جز نای و ماجز نى نه ايم او دمى بى ما و مابى وى نه ايم
 نى كه هر دم نغمه آرائى كند در حقيقست از دم نايى كند

10. Copied by the writer (N. A. Baloch) at the mausoleum. The first few entries could not be read due to an obstacle.

11. For what follows in this section, see Baloch N. A.: Musical Instruments in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh, Hyderabad Sindh, Pakistan, 2nd edition, 1975, pp.17-29.

12. What follows in this section is based on the writer's inquiries during visits to Turkey, in the sixties & seventies of the last century. Assistance and information then received from the Imam of the Jehangiri Mosque, Istanbul, and others is gratefully acknowledge.

13. What follows in this section is based on the writer's inquiries in Tehran and Isphan during the seventies.

14. Said Aqa Hasan Kasai (when I met him at his home in Isphahan on 12-1-1974 and exchanged ideas with him on nay and nay music):

این ساز نزدیک تر است
با احساسات انسان، دیگر سازها بدماغ



يُمَيِّزُ دَوْلَابَ آءٍ وَعَمُودَ كَءٍ وَأَصْفَعِلَ الْبَعْرَةَ فَوْقَ الْقَنْبَرِ وَمِوَدَّءِ
 فِي زَانِ الْعَمُودِ وَالذَّوْلَابِ السِّيْدِيَّ وَيُطْبِقُ الْمِخْلَانَ وَالْجِرَانِ مَحْتَدَةً



THE SINDHIAN WHEEL
 From Al-Jazari's work
 11th century A.D.