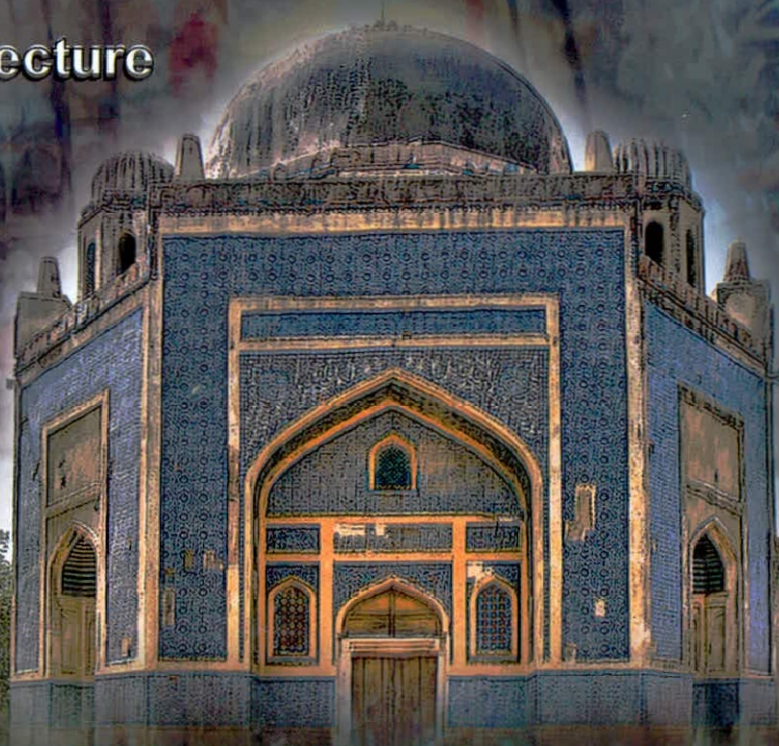


Studies in Kalhora History

**Economy
&
Architecture**

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.



Edited by
Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

SBK

SINDH HISTORY & CULTURE SERIES BOOK: I

Studies in
KALHORA HISTORY
Economy and Architecture

Edited by

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

SINDH *BOOKS* KARACHI

Cover

Tomb of Mian Ghulam Nabi, Hyderabad

Cover back

Inscriptions in the tomb of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro

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To my Parents:
Mir Muhammad Kalhoro and Sahib Khatoon

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Publisher's Note

After 17 invasions by the Arab imperialists, especially after the invasion by Bin Qasim and in reality the arrow that killed Raja Dahir, it has been extrapolated in history that the arrow had been aimed by a Sindhi..., what can one do?! Be it religion, ideals, philosophy or associations, greed has never been defeated by anything...

It is true that the wars by Arabs against Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Romans, Greeks and other nations were fought on the base of the war booties filling their coffers and their target was the golden civilization of Sindh about which tourists have written that: "The land that produces gold, where people knead the soil to make *borindo* (a Sindhi musical instrument) to form melodies turning silence into lyrical notes and enrich the hearts providing solace to the nomadic souls in order to take away the fatigues of a day's work...

Where people retire at night only after listening to the bells hanging in the necks of their cattle or the chirping birds finding their nests; where they sit on the banks of the canals welcoming the fresh breeze of the evening and entrusting the universe with the early rays of dawn...

War was something they detest but when they prepare to fight, they become the verses of Bhittai:

I left them under the dark clouds

Holding black axes, I saw them in combat

These were people, who take retreat as an insult

Sindh extended up to Kashmir in those times and the Maharaja Dahir of the Greater Sindh had travelled from Kashmir to fight a decisive war with the Arabs; a great war was fought. The battleground had roared and Bin Qasim was confused; he was shouting and saying: "Give me water to eat!" but an arrow

arose from the depth of greed and the Maharaja of Greater Sindh sacrificed himself for the homeland.

Sindh is bearing the brunt of that arrow thrown by someone among us till now in various forms; at times at the hands of Iranians, Sasanis, Greeks, Portuguese, Tartars, Afhans, Arghuns, Tarkhans, Khiljis and at other times by Moghuls, British to the point that Sindh has now become the size of a fist on the map. Despite all that she has endured, it refuses to part ways with love and devotion. People like Dodo Soomro, Doolah Daryah Khan, Hosh Muhammad Sheedi, Pir Pagara (Soorhia Badshah Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi), Hemoon Kalani and recently the great son of Sindh Mr. Saeen G.M Syed threw away the throne to save the motherland and get her its due state and spent their lives in prison..., and Saeen too sacrificed his life for Sindh...

Today when one throws a glance on the history of Sindh, one sees complete and absolute darkness.... From the turn of the century and later, apart from Soomro, Samo and Kalhora and others had to face invasions and wars... Today when Sindhi language and its culture has been put into confines and given the attacks on the book stores and libraries of Sindh, we can hardly find anything about the history of Sindh through the centuries... Only a few verses, riddles and stories have been found from the Soomro and Sama periods; the period of Kalhoros is not that distant... The period of 1947, British, Mirs and later Kalhora period who had gathered the separated parts of Sindh at one place, dug numerous waterways and strengthened the irrigation system; they created armed wings and gave them military training, fought wars achieving numerous victories at the same time acquiring numerous martyrdoms as its share... There are very few history books about the Kalhora period; many books were burnt in the invasions of Baghdad so that their notorious activities remain hidden from the pages of history...

Sindhi scholars were hanged in squares because they had announced: "If you read Persian, you will always be a slave!"

We are wandering in a wilderness trying to find the pages of our history and after a lot of struggle, we have been able to find some of them that are presented for your perusal. All

Sindhis and lovers of history should be grateful to Zulfiqar Kalhoro who has compiled important pieces of the broken history for us and has presented them for us...

We are in fact in search of information about the arrow that hit Raja Dahir, the amputated arm of Baghi, the blood of Dodo, the bravery and wisdom of Daryah Khan and collecting stories from the sad days and the golden periods of Sindh in order to show them to those who cannot stop being happy about converting Ram Bagh to Aram Bagh. We want to show them the immortal rays of strength of Sindh and the colours of its rainbows by gathering all the pieces of our broken up and shattered pages of our history so that we can spread the galaxy of stars of Sindhi beauty over the entire universe...

This is the beginning of an unending business and of Sindh...

Sindhi Inam

Chairman

Sindh Books, Karachi

Introduction

Kalhoras occupy the pivotal position in the annals of Sindh. This book, *Studies in History, Economy and Architecture* is a collection of 27 articles written by different archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and other social scientists. Most of these articles were earlier published in those journals, which were not easily accessible to many of the scholars, working on the history of Sindh. For instance, all the articles by Mirchandani on 'English Factory in Sindh and Cutch and Sind' first published in the journal of *Sind Historical Society*, which was literally unapproachable to the students of history, anthropology, and archaeology. The journal of *Sindh Historical Society*, published its first issue in 1931 and ceased to publish in 1948. A few issues are still available in some libraries of Sindh, but majority of these can be found in private libraries of some of the eminent scholars of Sindh. The idea, therefore, was to make all these articles available to the readers in a single book.

This book deals with three broader themes: History, economy and architecture of Kalhoras. I have tried to edit most of the articles, especially the ones save by Mirchandani, as all of these were published during the British period. There are many inconsistencies in these articles, which I did not edit, assuming that editing may change the original meaning of the author. Therefore, Editor's note has also been given considering that some readers may find it hard to identify some of the places names. For instance, the spelling of Kandhar was written as Candhar and Khudabad as Cudaabad etc.

For the sake of originality and reverence, I deemed not to change anything in Mirchandani's articles. In all other articles, to maintain coherence and persistence, I came over in incorporating the in-text citation, which was no less than a daunting task. All these papers followed footnotes and endnotes citations with incomplete references in most of them. Moreover, titles of some of the books, articles, along with the year of

publication, and place of publication were also found missing. To deal with such issues, I got assistance at www.archive.org and placed all the missing links in the concerned articles to facilitate the readers to the best of my effort.

As discussed above, the book is titled on three broader themes of history, economy and architecture. The first article by Mohammad Qasim Soomro gives an insight into historical and economic perspectives. Likewise, an article by M.H. Panhwar deals with thriving irrigation system that took place during the rule of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhora. He praised Mian Noor Muhammad for his special interest in developing and focusing on the agriculture of Sindh. According to him, 700-900 canals were dug during Kalhora's period as they were master in canal building in the annals of Sindh. Whereas, articles by Firchandani on English Factory in Sindh from part I to IV, deal with trade during Kalhora period.

Majority of the articles largely covers events that took place during the reigns of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhora, Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhora, and Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora. In brief, passing remarks from the authors have also been extended to the other rulers of the time. Almost every author has briefly touched upon the origin of the Kalhora in his article, before dealing with his focus on the paper. Therefore, readers might come across with the repetition of the same facts repeatedly, but taken as individual papers, I let the preamble go as it is to preserve the stylistic competence in each article.

I intend not to repeat the history of Kalhoras which has already been discussed by almost all the authors in their respective studies. Rather, I am more inclined to elucidate Jam Channey on the earlier history of Kalhoras which is mostly shredded in mystery.

As discussed by many authors in this book, that Mian Odhano was the first person in the family who reached to Makran from Arabia. Many people became his disciples and his name and name spread far and wide. He left behind many children and grandchildren (Qani 1989:255; Bhatti 2002:6).

Haig believes that Kalhora are supposed to have derived their origin from Mian Odhano, reputed to have descended from Abbas, the uncle of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him), which led a tribe to be known as Abbasi (Haig 1972:110). Other

scholars and writers also trace his ancestry from Hazrat Abbas (Qani 1989:255; Brohi 2005:44; Mahar 1996:37).

The name of Thal, fifth in generation from Miar Odhano, is prominent in the genealogy of the Kalhoras who expelled the Gujar tribe from Kaher Belo near Sistan (now Sehwan) and founded its capital there. After the death of Thal his son Bhel also called Bhala succeeded him. Moreover, Barlas fort and *foti* (dead) tombs are remnants of Bhel (Qani 1989:255). Bhel had several sons. However, one of his sons named Channey Khan gained some popularity. He left Kaher Belo due to differences with his brothers, along with his, and settled in Khambat *pargana* among the Odheja tribe.

He got married to the daughter of Dhara Palal, landlord of the Kangra region of Khambat, who bore him two sons named Muhammad Mehdi and Muhammad Daud. Muhammad Mehdi was the grandfather of the Kalhoras (Qani 1989:255-56; Mahar 1996:90).

Over a period of time, Jam Channey Khan emerged as a political leader and reached to Multan, and then got access to the then Ghorid ruler of Multan. He became the chief of seven Rana of Khambat and neighbouring regions. Thus, he achieved the title of Jam (chief or head) and got married to each of Rana's daughters (Qani 1989: 256; Mahar 1996:90).

Taking the story from two manuscripts *Jawahar and Maraat*, Mahar (1996:84) argues that Muhammad Channey Khan presented valuable gifts to the then ruler of Multan who bestowed upon him *jagir* (fiefdom) and title of Jam. After his return from Multan, Muhammad Channey Khan founded a town Jhangara-Bajara, which was 30 km west of Sehwan Sharif (ibid 85). Now, there are two prospering towns instead of one Jhangara and Bajara in Sehwan Tehsil.

Channey Khan subdued many tribes particularly those of Korejas, Sahitas, and Channas etc. who were known by the titles of Ranas. Jam Devo, the powerful ruler of Kakralo, sent him a mare to make friendship with Jam Channey Khan. The dominion of Jam Channey Khan extended up to Ganjaba in the east, Daud Jal in the north, Rohri and Bohar in the east and Marwar in the west. Shaho Sammo was his minister and Jar Mahar as a friend and chief advisor (ibid:85-86). Moreover, Mahar states that: the ruler of Multan bestowed *jagir* upon him and issued a *farman* (order/decreed) that Jam Channey Kha

would collect taxes from Ubaro (in upper Sindh) to Lahari Bunder (in lower Sindh) (ibid: 82).

Mahar (1996:88) states that there is another story about the friendship of Jam Channey Khan with Jam Palanger or Jam Peenghar, who was the ruler of Ganjaba, Mastung, Karta, Sibi and Dhaddar regions of today's Balochistan. Jam Peenghar presented five horses, a sword and some amount of money to Jam Channey Khan. Mahar (1996) believes that "there is no such person by the name of Jam Peenghar/Palanger, if one studies the history of Balochistan". Nonetheless, he argues that he might have been the local chief. However, when I visited the region of the Ganjaba, now called Gandava in the present district of Jhal Magsi, Balochistan, and found the mound of Jam Peenghar, which lies west of the town of Gandava. The purpose of visit to the mound was to collect stories about him. There are some local historians in Gandava who mentions about his rule which extended up to Mastung, Sibi and Dhaddar (Baloch 2002:29). They also talk about Jam Peenghar but refrain themselves to discuss about his rule. Rather Baloch also argues that Kararo Samo who was the son of Jam Peenghar got married to daughters of Saro Sanghar Mujajil and Kapurin. Saro Sanger was the ruler of Nir Wari Wai in the Jaro (karo) Jabal in the Khirthar region of Sindh.

Death of Jam Channey Khan

Jam Channey Khan died on the right bank of river Sakaro at Khambhat and was buried there (Qani 1989:256). The British writers and modern historians could not find his burial place. I found the burial place of Channey Khan some years ago near Gambat at Khuhra Sharif in Khairpur District. Gambat may be a phonetic variation of Khambhat as mentioned in the historical chronicles. Channey Khan is locally called Mian Channey Faqir. Mian was the title of all Kalhoras who later succeeded them. The tomb of Mian Channey Faqir lies about 7 km north of Gambat town. There are at least five tombs and one mosque in the necropolis of Mian Channey Faqir . The old tomb of Mian Channey Faqir collapsed some 40 years ago, which was believed to have been built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro (1757-1772).

Later, the new tomb was built in 1972, as seen in the inscription on the wall, by Mian Ghulam Muhammad. There is also inscription in Sindhi inside the tomb which was copied from

the Persian inscription that only bears the name of Mian Channey Faqir.

The tomb of his minister, Jaro Mahar which is now known as Jaral Shah, lies 8 km west of his tomb near the Larkana-Khairpur road. The tomb seems to have been built during the rule of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. The distinctive feature of the tomb is an ornamental lantern which surmounts the dome. The lantern is a special feature of Kalhora architecture.

Moreover, Jam or Mian Channey had 12 wives from whom he had 18 sons (Qani 1989:256). However, Mahar argues that there is no mention of his 18 sons in other manuscripts except *Tufat-ul Kiram*. In addition, *Maraat* and *Jawahan* mention, two of his sons Muhammad Mehdi and Muhammad Daud. Both Muhammad Mehdi and Muhammad Daud were born from the Rani Dahri who was the daughter of Shaho Sami (Mahar 1996:90).

Jam Channey wrote his will during his life that the turban should be given to Muhammad Mehdi and *musalo*, rosary and dress (*juba*) to Muhammad Daud to continue his religious thought and political power. According to another tradition, the sword was also given to Muhammad Mehdi (ibid: 90).

After the death of Channey Khan, Muhammad Mehdi succeeded him because the giving of the turban and sword to him indicated his potential candidature for *gaddi* (seat). Muhammad Daud accepted this decision whole-heartedly. After the death of Muhammad Mehdi, Muhammad Daud was supposed to be the next successor because he was the son of Jam Channey Khan and brother of Muhammad Mehdi. However, Muhammad Ibrahim alias Kalhoro Khan, son of Mehdi Khan, objected and instead claimed to be the successor. Thus differences between the followers of Jam Channey cropped up; some supported Muhammad Ibrahim and the others Muhammad Daud son of Jam Channey Khan (ibid:95).

The descendants of Muhammad Daud II were called Daudpotras who founded the state of Bahawalpur, whereas the descendants of Muhammad Ibrahim were called Kalhoras. Muhammad Ibrahim was supported by Rano Dahro who also served as his chief advisor. After the death of Rano Dahro, some followers left Muhammad Ibrahim and became associated with Muhammad Daud. However, Muhammad Ibrahim's son Shal

Muhammad alias Shahal continued the spiritual mission of his father (ibid:96-7).

After the death of Muhammad Ibrahim, the activities of their descendants remained obscure until Mian Adam Shah who rose to religious prominence in the sixteenth century. Pir Hisamuddin Rashidi in his unpublished English translation of *Mansur al wasiyat wa Dastoorul Hukumat* and Haig (1972) have tried to establish the chronology of early Kalhoras, which has also been discussed by Mahar (1996:120-21). The chronology of early Kalhoras is as under:

Jam Channey Khan	1220 A.D
Muhammad Mehdi	124 A.D
Muhammad Ibrahim alias Kalhoro Khan	1280 A.D
Shah Muhammad alias Shahal Muhammad	1300-1320 A.D
Mian Rano	1350-136
Mian Tahir	1400 A.D
Mian Khan	1440 A.D
Mian Sahib	1480 A.D
Mian Gajan Shah	1520 A.D

I am sure that this brief note on the early history of the Kalhoras will be useful and helpful to the readers to understand later history of Kalhoras.

In more than one century rule (1680-1783), Kalhoras prominently progressed in the fields of art and architecture. Three of the most famous builders were Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, and Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro (third name is missing). All of them introduced new features in the building structures that they commissioned which were distinctively came to be known as 'Kalhora Architecture'.

The imperial women also contributed to the field of architecture by commissioning mosques and palaces. Some of the prominent Kalhora women's contribution has also been discussed in the last article of the book.

This is the first book under the 'Sindh History and Culture Series'. The forthcoming books in the series are as follows:

2. Perspectives on Kalhora History and Religion
3. The Nobility under Kalhoras

4. Mians and Mosques: Development of religious Architecture under Kalhoras
5. Essays on Kalhora Art and literature
6. Religion and Culture of Kalhora Kingdom
7. Identity, Art and Religion in Sindh
8. Buddhist Sindh
9. Sindh Under Persians
10. Talpur History and Architecture

In the end, I thoroughly believe that the book is a must read, and consummately fulfills the purpose of educating students, scholars, academicians, and researchers in such a manner that they can extend their studies beyond. All the photos, except one of the Pucca Fort which was provided by Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, have been taken by me.

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Islamabad
20.4.2017

(Zulfi04@hotmail.com)

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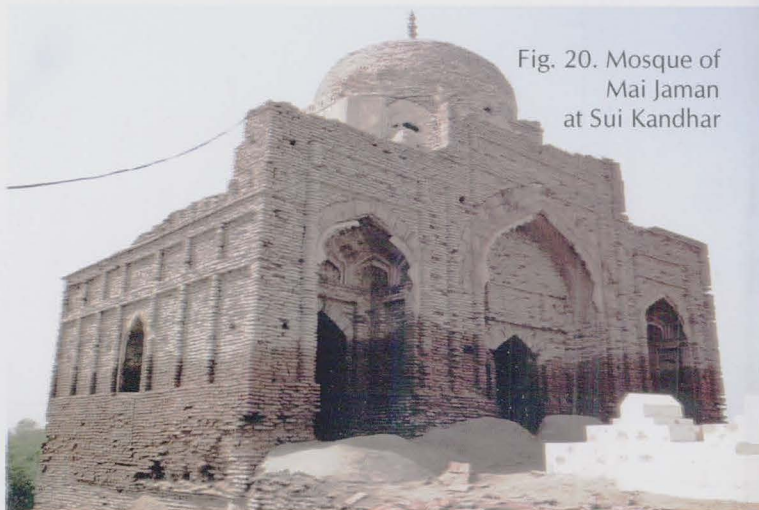


Fig. 20. Mosque of
Mai Jaman
at Sui Kandhar

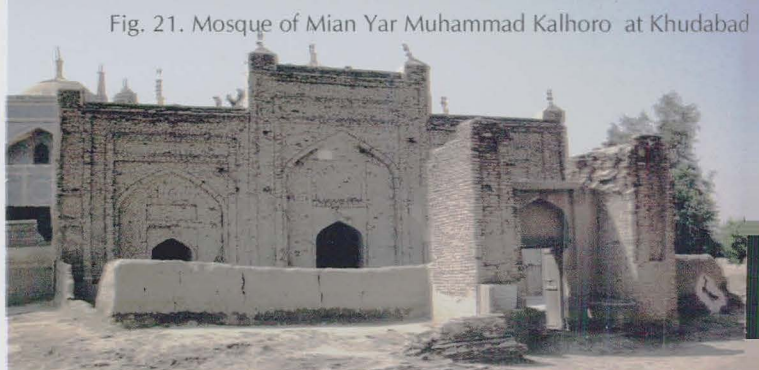


Fig. 21. Mosque of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro at Khudabad

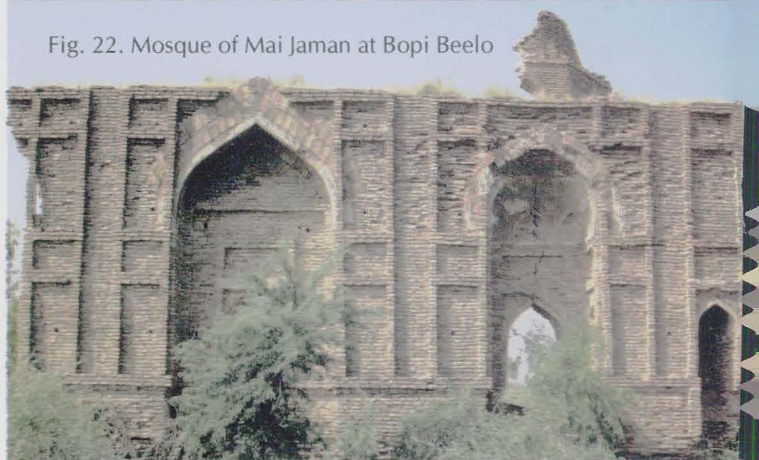


Fig. 22. Mosque of Mai Jaman at Bopi Beelo

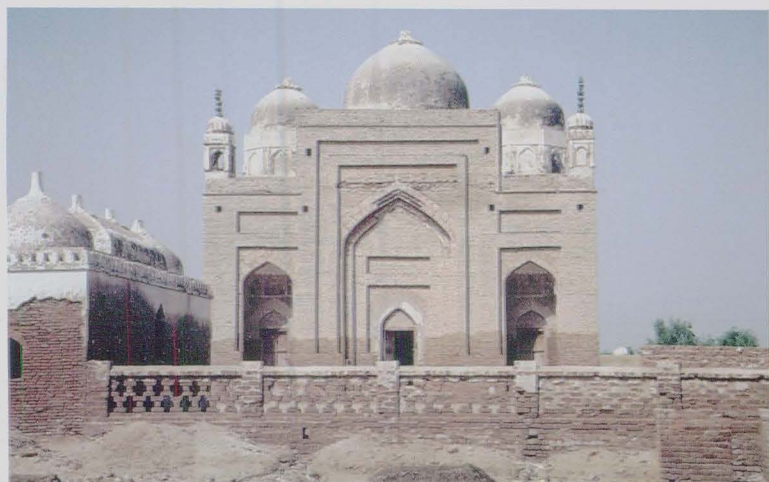


Fig. 18. Mosque of Miyon Jiando at Matiari



Fig. 19. Mai Jaman Mosque at Tando Mitha Khan



Fig. 10. Tomb of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro at Hyderabad



Fig. 11. Cenotaph of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro



Fig. 8. Inscription in North entrance of the tomb of Mian Noor Muhammad



Fig. 9. Inscription in South entrance of the tomb of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro



Tomb of Mian
Fig. 5. Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro

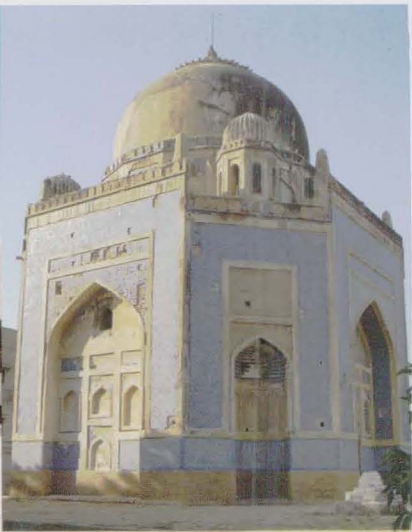


Fig. 6. Tomb of Ghulam Nabi
at Hyderabad



Fig. 7. Tomb of Muhammad Murad Yab at Khudabad



Fig. 3. Tomb of Mian Yar Muhammad at Khudabad



Fig. 4. Tomb of Mian Noor Muhammad at Moro



Fig. 16. Mosque No.1 at Dhonra Hingora

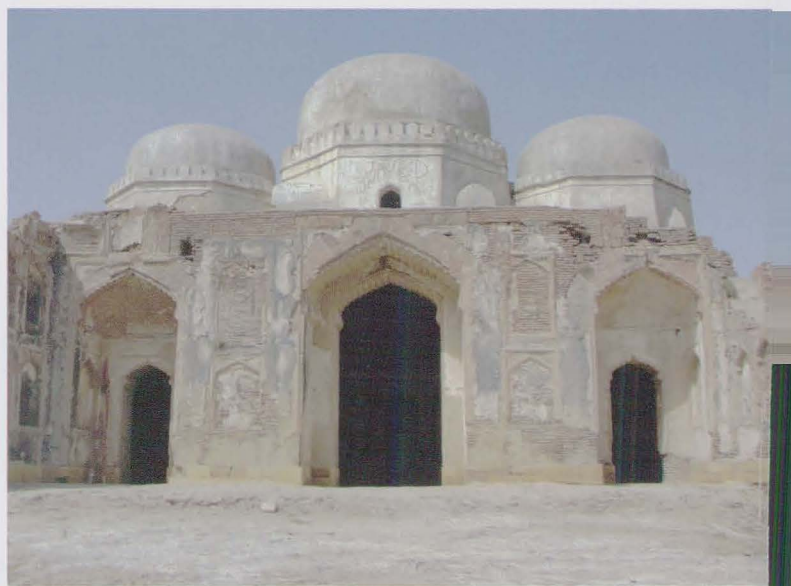


Fig. 17. Mosque No .2 at Dhonra Hingora

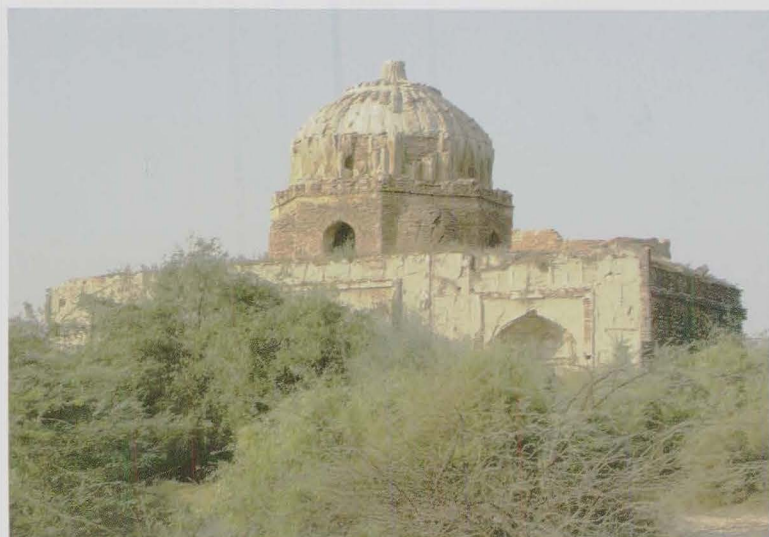


Fig. 14. Mai Jaman mosque at Chuteyarun



Fig. 15. Mosque of Ghulam Nabi at Hyderabad



Fig. 12. Pucca Qila at Hyderabad



Fig. 13. Umarkot Fort



Fig.1. Tomb of Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro at Sukkur



Fig.2. Jami Mosque at Khudabad

Sindh during Kalhora Period: A Historical and Economic Perspective

Mohammad Qasim Soomro

In this paper, two important aspects of the history of Sindh, during the eighteenth century, have been discussed. The Kalhora tribe came into power in Sindh after a long political struggle. The struggle and achievement of power with respect to the Kalhoras have been focused with special references to Yar Muhammad Kalhor, Noor Muhammad Kalhor and Ghulam Shah Kalhor. After describing history, economic progress peace and prosperity in Sindh during the Kalhora rule has also been highlighted.

The Arghuns conquered Sindh in 1520 AD. In 1556 AD, they were replaced by their colaterals the Tarkhans in Lower Sindh (Thatta-Sehwan areas). It was the time when the country was bifurcated. Northern Sindh was taken over by Sultan Mahmud Bakhari who used Bakhar as his headquarter (from Ubaoro to Darbelo). He died in 1574 and before his death gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar but still the Tirmurid Mughals seized the region while the Lower Sindh still remained under the Tarkhan rule. During Mirza Jani Beg's reign in 1592 Akbar's army tried to invade the rest of Sindh. Eventually, after a year and a half the Mughals captured the whole of Sindh (Bakhri 1959 :117, 232, 278).

The local people did not recognize the reigns of the Arghuns, Tarkhans and Mughals and kept on fighting against them about two centuries. The history written about this period is replete with such wars. Many tribes challenged the foreign

invaders. One of these tribes i.e. “Kalhora” had remarkable success. Not only they defeated the Mughals, but succeeded in establishing their government.

The Kalhora Government

Muhammad Adam was the first person of the Kalhora tribe who took interest in the politics of Sindh and was killed by the Mughals. After his martyrdom, he became famous as Adam Shah. This incident took place in Akbar’s era. Later on Shah ‘Ali got to be active. He is also called Shahal Muhammad. He got killed, fighting against the army of Shah Jahan in 1657 near Chandka (Qani 1978: 255-258). Nevertheless, the Kalhoras did not quit political struggle. Mian Nasir Muhammad, Shah Ali’s nephew, succeeded to be the new leader. He was arrested twice but kept political activities alive.

Eventually Mian Nasir Muhammad became successful in his struggle. Emperor Aurangzeb recognized his leadership. Some areas were granted to him where he built his official headquarter and named it “Garhi”. This center remained their capital for about twenty years. From this place the Kalhoras made future political and military plans. The Mughal emperor also granted him some *parganahs* in Bakhar and Sehwan divisions (Lakho 1991). M.H. Panhwar believes that Nasir Muhammad became the ruler of the Upper Sindh in 1680 A.D (Willem 1993:28). This year could be accepted as the beginning of the Kalhora rule in Sindh.

Mian Nasir Muhammad died in 1692 AD, after twelve years of local rule. His son Mian Din Muhammad became the new ruler and he ruled for eight years. He extended his rule to more areas of Sindh. After eight years, clashes started between the Mughal authorities of Bhakar and the Kalhoras. The Prince Mu’iz al-Din was viceroy of Multan in those days. He attacked the areas of the Kalhora rule. Din Muhammad surrendered and was taken to Multan where he was hanged. In the meantime, fierce battles took place between the Kalhoras and Mughals. Many brave soldiers were killed on both sides. On Mughal side Raja Gaj Singh Bhatti, Surajmal Udaypuri and many others were killed. Tajo Faqir, Jado Faqir and Bakhtawar Faqir were killed

from the Kalhora army (Qani 1978: 261-62). This incident took place in 1700 AD. The first phase of Kalhora rule thus ended.

While Mian Din Muhammad was hanged in Multan, his brother Mian Yar Muhammad continued his struggle. For some time Yar Muhammad obtained political asylum in Qalat.

Only after one year's break Yar Muhammad returned to Sindh in 1701 AD, and recaptured the areas, which his brother Din Muhammad had governed. He also captured some other areas of Sindh. Then he occupied Shikarpur town of the Panhwar tribes near Dadu. The name "Shikarpur" was changed to "Khudabad" and was made the new capital of the Kalhora rulers. The Mughals tried to make Mian Yar Muhammad a failure but could not succeed in doing so. At last Prince Mu'iz al-Din recognized the rule of Yar Muhammad Kalhora. This decision was also accepted by Emperor Aurangzeb. The Kalhora ruler was given the title of "Khuda Yar Khan". In this way stable steps were taken for the strong Kalhora power in Sindh. Yar Muhammad ruled for eighteen years on most of the areas of the Upper Sindh and he also extended his authority upto certain lands of the Lower Sindh. When he died in 1719 AD, from Sibi to Sehwan all the territories were under his authority (Mahar 1963: 195, 285).

Mian Noor Muhammad became ruler in 1719 AD, after the death of his father. Delhi emperors recognized his rule. He had also strong will power like his father Yar Muhammad. He made planning as to how to extend his rule upto the coastal areas. In those days Shikarpur was in the control of Da'udputras. After a battle the army of Kalhora ruler occupied it. In 1733 AD, 'Abd Allah Khan Brohi the ruler of Qalat attacked Sindh. The army of Mian Noor Muhammad challenged the attacker near Khanpur.

In a fierce war the Brohi ruler was killed. After five years, the Mughals gave the whole of Thatta province in the authority of Noor Muhammad. This incident occurred in 1737 AD. In fact this was a great achievement of the Kalhora rulers. By this change Noor Muhammad became the sole ruler of the whole Sindh. He occupied and obtained some coastal areas, few places in Kutch and extended his rule upto the desert territory of Sindh (Qani 1978: 265-70). Two years after these achievements,

Nadir Shah attacked Sindh in 1739 AD. This event made the Kalhora rule weak for a short time (Mahar 1963: 431-39). Nadir Shah was killed in 1747 AD. and thus Noor Muhammad became again an active ruler. At this time another powerful invader appeared on the scene. He was Ahmad Shah Abdali who was the founder of modern Afghanistan. Ahmad Shah attacked and subjugated the Kalhora ruler in 1753 AD. In this year Mian Noor Muhammad died after thirty five years long rule.

Murad Yab Khan became the new ruler of Sindh after the death of Noor Muhammad. He was deposed by his courtiers in 1757 AD. His brother Mian Ghulam Shah succeeded to his throne. Ghulam Shah faced, for early two years, the problems created by his brothers. Eventually he became strong and a powerful king of Sindh. Ahmad Shah Abdali recognized him as the sole ruler of Sindh. By Ghulam Shah's orders a new capital "Hyderabad" was built, at the old site of Nirun Kote (Qani 1978: 271-72). A strong fort was also built which is still present. He attacked Kutch and succeeded in his purpose. Ghulam Shah died in 1772 AD after fifteen year's rule (Mahar 1963). All the historians have praised the character of Ghulam Shah.

After Ghulam Shah his son Sarfraz became the new ruler of Sindh. He ruled for three years. During his period civil war broke out into the country. Sarfraz was removed and Ghulam Nabi was made the new ruler. The last Kalhora ruler was 'Abdul Nabi, who waged war against the Talpurs who had been their main supporters. This incident took place in 1782 AD and thus ended the Kalhora rule in Sindh (Moulai Shadai 1958:557).

Economic Conditions

Before the Kalhoras, the Mughals ruled over Sindh (Akhtar 1990). The economy of Sindh was destroyed during the Mughal rule. During the Arghun, Tarkhan and Mughal rules, this province was divided into different sections in such a way that there was no political unity and so economy was also absolutely worst. Common people were continuously fighting against alien rulers since two centuries. In this perspective agriculture was destroyed. The commerce was finished. All important commercial centers declined.

Irrigation system became a failure. Due to these reasons unemployment increased and so law and order became an important problem. As a result economy of Sindh was totally destroyed. M.H. Panhwar rightly observed that, “there were chaotic conditions in Sindh during the 16th and 17th centuries and some improvement had taken place from 1701 to 1772, when situation deteriorated again. Law and order situation was so bad that trade and traffic by river and land were not possible without paying taxes imposed by local tribes, especially the Sammahs in the Indus plains and Baluchis in South- Western Hills (Willem 1993:47).

H.T. Sorley has also written “By this time the Company’s business was very badly affected by the prevailing unrest, and the head factors at Surat were seriously considering closing down a business in which profits were becoming precarious.” The forthcoming termination of Sindh factory is hinted at (Sorley 1966:47).

It is a fact that throughout centuries, Sindh’s economy had been totally dependent on agriculture. So as agriculture was destroyed, all economic activities became suspended. Why agriculture of Sindh was finished? Its simple answer is that its irrigation system was destroyed as the Mughal emperors paid no attention towards irrigation of Sindh. According to Sorley the Sindh canals, Persian wheels and wells were constructed by the natives of the land, without any assistance from the empire of Delhi, which showed no interest in them at any time (Sorley 1966:113).

From this brief survey of economy of the Mughal period, bad position of Sindh’s economy becomes clear. When Yar Muhammad Kalhoro became the ruler, the Mughal emperors got assurance from him that he would improve law and order situation and would make sure the safety of roads, and to bring economic harmony in the province (Mahar 1963:195). Thus we know about the bad economic conditions in Sindh at the end of Emperor Aurangzeb’s rule.

Kalhora dynasty produced three powerful rulers i.e. Yar Muhammad, Noor Muhammad and Ghulam Shah. Their rule is praised by all the historians. From Yar Muhammad to Ghulam

Shah, law and order condition was nice enough. Hence economic activities began and commercial conditions improved. The Kalhora rulers paid much attention to the irrigation system also.

According to Sorley, it is therefore, quite fair to assume, that the canal system taken over from the Talpurs in 1843 represented a series of public works which had been even more efficient in the Kalhora days (Sorely 1966:129).

He further writes that, “oral tradition in Sindh today ascribes many of the older canals now existing due to the energy of the Kalhoras. There is no doubt that the Kalhoras as Sindhis themselves realized the importance of maintaining the system (Ibid., p.129). Shah Ji-Kur, Nusrat Wah, Bag Wah, Noor Wah from Ghar, Noor Wah from Western Nara, Noor Wah from Begari, Sher Wah, Mirza Wah, Date-Ji-Kur, Maqsuda Wah, Shah-Ji-Kur etc. (Panhwar 1991: 68-70).

M.H. Panhwar has pointed about the growth of agriculture in this period as the Kalhoras were master builders. Their secret lay in quick restoration of the system and settlement of farmers on it. There are different estimates as to the area under cultivation in Sindh under the Kalhoras. Lambrick thinks that they had achieved a figure of 3.0 million acres, while Chablani considers it as 2.1 million. The present writer accepts a conservative estimate of 2.1 million acres as each acre of land needs and supports about 1.5 persons in the rural community and Sindh's population could not have been more than 3.0 millions by about 1757 AD., when under the Kalhora's cultivation reached its zenith (Ibid., p. 68).

Indus changed its course in 1758 AD. and began to flow by Hyderabad instead of Nasarpur. (Mahar 1963: 593). Due to this change agriculture was affected for a short time. In spite of it economic activities were in full swing during the period of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. In his times during 1758 AD East India Company started again its commerce with Sindh. But it again ended when Sarfraz Kalhoro became the ruler of this country. It happened in 1775 AD (Moulai Shedai 1958:538,549). Sorley also says that the second English factory in Sindh was established in a period of civil war between Ghulam Shah

Kalhoru and his brother and was given up because of the commotion consequent on the mal-administration of Sarfraz Khan Kalhoru which made utterly impossible any settled trade of the kind the Company desired (Sorley 1966:48).

Thatta, Nasarpur, Rohri, Sukkur, Lahari Bunder, Sehwan, and Bakhar were important commercial centers, during the Mughal rule. When the Mughal rule declined these centers also started to be less important.

Chablani has rightly observed about this change, "Cities and towns in Sindh", as elsewhere in India, were the chief centers of population, industry and trade. With the development of industry and commerce new towns and cities arose and the older ones grew larger still, and the population from the village was attracted to them more and more. The reverse of this is equally true, and with the decay of industry and trade many of them, which were rich and populous once, have declined (Chablani 1951:51).

During the second half of the 18th century, Shikarpur, Hyderabad and Karachi were becoming important political, industrial and commercial centres. Therefore, these centers replaced the old economic cities and towns.

Shikarpur got its importance not because of any industry or manufacture as its own, but for the extensive banking business carried on by its people from all over India to Central Asia. Hyderabad was a manufacturing center for ornamental silks and cotton, but more particularly of high grade arms of all kinds. Karachi had no manufacturing of its own, but it had considerable trade with Kutch, Kathiawar, and Bombay and the ports on the Malabar Coast, Bunder Abbas and Zanjibar, and a number of its Hindu merchants had their agencies and offices at Shikarpur, Bahawalpur, Multan, Mandvi, Bombay, Muscat, Bahrain, Herat, Kabul and Qandahar (Chablani 1951: 62,64,66).

The Kalhora court was divided into two sections and had two strong tribes i.e. Lekhis and Talpurs who became enemy of each other. Due to this bloodshed broke out in Sindh during 1775 AD. The civil war continued for ten years. When political unstability started, it was natural that economy began to suffer.

Commercial activities became less. In this way we can say that the achievement of the Kalhora rulers was lost rapidly.

The Kalhora and their opponents the Talpurs fought near Halani in 1783 AD. As a result of this war the Talpur Amirs became new rulers of Sindh and they worked hard to bring political and economic harmony in the province.

Conclusion

As discussed above, during the Imperial Mughal rule, Sindh lost its independence. Due to the weakening Imperial rule after Aurangzeb political uncertainty adversely affected agriculture, economy and business of Sindh. Due to these circumstances local people started struggle against the alien rule. As a result the Kalhora dynasty succeeded and came into power in the early eighteenth century in Sindh. Rulers of this dynasty brought peace and harmony and then marched towards economic stability. Thus agriculture developed and commerce enhanced. But at the end of eighteenth century civil war broke out between the Kalhora rulers and their courtier Talpurs. So the achievement of Kalhora rulers also ended disappointingly.

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Kalhora Architecture

Ihsan H. Nadiem

Architecture is a form of art, which vividly portrays the life-patterns of a particular society at a given time. The Kalhoras in Sindh contributed to it in their own magnificent way when in the eighteenth century CE they established their sovereignty over the area of Dadu and Larkana. The Mughal rule remained restricted to Thatta during these early years of the Kalhora rule. Later on, however, Kalhoras also conquered the latter mentioned capital to include it into their domain.

The Kalhoras trace their pedigree back to Hazrat Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib, the uncle of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). Their ancestors seem to have come to Makran with the army of the second righteous Caliph. They later on migrated to Siwistan (Sehwan) from Makran and settled here permanently (Mehtar 1958; Qani 1971).

Mian Adam Shah was the first notable of the Kalhora family, who gained fame. He lived at Chandka or Chandko-modern Larkana. He then shifted to Multan where he gathered a force of disciples. He revolted against the governor of Multan on which he was arrested and then executed, attaining the status of a martyr in the eyes of his followers.

He was succeeded first by his son and then brother to hold the flag of Kalhora tribe. However, it was not before the third generation when Mian Yar Muhammad became the chief of the tribe in 1700 CE. He received the title of Khuda Yar Khan from Emperor Aurangzeb and was awarded governorship of Sibi and Shikarpur. He founded a new town of Khudabad the site of which now lies on the Indus Highway between Sehwan and Dadu.

Mian Noor Muhammad, son and successor of Mian Yar Muhammad, assumed power in 1718 CE. On successful invasion of Sindh by Nadir Shah from Iran in 1739, the Kalhora rulers became their subjects (Qani 1971). Noor Muhammad's death saw their country in turmoil over the right to rule Sindh. This period lasted for three years when finally Ghulam Shah Kalhoro was nominated as the ruler of Sindh, in 1761, by Ahmad Shah Abdali, who ruled over Afghanistan and large territories around it (Meher 1958).

Khudabad remained the seat of the Kalhora rulers until the foundation of Hyderabad by Ghulam Shah Kalhoro in 1768. This shift in the capital city induced decline of Khudabad. A few years later in 1781 the defeat of Abdul Nabi, the last ruling Kalhora by the Talpur chiefs completed the ruin of the latter-mentioned city. The Talpurs plundered it and set the houses on fire. This resulted in the utter desertion of the city by the inhabitants though Hyderabad was kept as capital by one of the three ruling factions of the Talpurs.

Despite many ups and downs throughout the Kalhora rule, they proved themselves to be a race of high class. They were also great patrons of knowledge and art. They erected many grand buildings throughout their domain, which mostly comprised mausolea, mosques, defence establishments like forts etc. Their main contributions in this art can still be seen in Dadu, Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Larkana. The famous tombs of this period are those of Mian Adam Shah at Sukkur, Mian Nasir Muhammad and Mian Yar Muhammad in Khudabad district Dadu, Mian Noor Muhammad at Moro, Mian Ghulam Shah, Mian Ghulam Nabi and Mian Sarfraz Kalhoro at Hyderabad (Cousens 1975, Memon 1994; Bokhari 2006; Hasan 2001, 1996). One of the main features of the tombs built during the Kalhora period is the provision of mosque with each of them. Amongst the defence establishments the most outstanding are the two forts at Hyderabad, Pucca Qila and Katcha Qila, the former having built by Ghulam Shah when the seat of his rule was shifted from Khudabad to Hyderabad (Hasan 2005).

The style and pattern of architecture of Kalhora period have a visible link with the past. With the exception of the tomb of Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro, which is constructed with stone. all the other buildings are mainly built in burnt-bricks and

decorated with *kashi* work or glazed tile mosaic. During the later period, however, the Kalhoras seem to have abandoned the use of these media of decoration and relied instead on plain plastering of the walls with lime or *chioli* (paste prepared of calcinated gypsum powder). The bricks of the period were produced in a variety of shapes, from rectangular to geometrical, and their use presents a work of extreme perfection.

The tomb of Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro is constructed on a small hill to the west of Sukkur. Its main importance lies in the fact that the person lying buried in it was the first from the Kalhora family, who rose to great prominence and heights of fame. He was martyred by the governor of Multan and, in accordance with his last wish, buried here. The tomb is very simple in its construction and devoid of any embellishment¹.

In Khudabad is situated the tomb of its founder, Mian Yar Muhammad, which he is said to have built himself during his lifetime. It is a square, massive structure built on an elevated platform, which measures a little over 65 metres in length and 32 metres in width. The front of the tomb is fully decorated with enamelled tiles while on its three sides there are large arched windows fitted with perforated terracotta screens of delicate geometric tracery (Cousens 1975; Hasan 2001, 1996).

At this place also lies the Jami Mosque built by the founder of the place. The mosque which is fairly large brick edifice, measuring 57 metres by 36 metres, gets its magnificence from the raft foundation shaped into an earth-filled raised platform. It is thus about 2 ¼ metres higher than the surrounding ground, and accessed through a flight of semi-circular set of steps on the eastern side. The stairs lead to an imposing arched entrance opening to a large courtyard. On the western side is placed the prayer chamber, which consists of two bays of considerable dimensions. A rich embellishment in *kashi* tiles and fresco paintings is found inside the building while on the outer side it is decorated with blue *kashi* tiles on the parapet and the squinches of the true and false arches. The mosque thus is a unique blend of delicate decorative art and bold architecture depicting local traditions.

¹ The tomb was decorated with glazed tiles but frequent renovations it has lost the original beauty.

Still another tomb, that of Mian Noor Muhammad of the Kalhora period lies at Moro on the other side of the river Indus. It is a massive structure, constructed on an elevated platform measuring about 27 x 21 metres in dimensions. It rises to a height of about 14.32 metres with the lime-plastered dome surmounted by a lantern².

The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhoru, the founder of Hyderabad is another monument representative of the Kalhora architecture. The tomb is a massive structure standing on a square platform surrounded by a great wall in the shape of a fortification. The whole of the exterior of the tomb is covered with glazed colour tiles, in a great variety of geometric and floral patterns. The interior has been very elaborately painted, and deep bands of coloured glazed tiles run around the walls (Hasan 2001, Lundkhwar 1988, Memon 1994; Bokhari 2006).

The Pucca Qila (burnt-brick fort) was built by Mian Ghulam Shah in 1768 with a view to turn this place into his future capital. Although it had residential as well as administrative buildings inside it yet it has now been encroached upon. The unique feature of the fort is its outer wall, which ranges in height from over 12 to 15 metres, having a circumference of over 2 ¼ kilometres. The fort has two gates on the north.

When Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoru decided to abandon Khudabad, possibly due to shifting away of the River Indus, he chose the place at the Ganjo Takar as his new capital. Here he ordered the construction of a new fort, and designated it as Hyderabad after the name of the fourth Pious Caliph, Hazrat Ali. It was built on the plateau about 3.25 kilometres long and rising to some 8 metres. The fort is located at its southern extremity with its outer wall supported by the perpendicular elevation of the plateau thus furthering its strength and impregnability.

The location of the fort, overlooking the surrounding areas, adds to its strategic importance and is enough to overawe any army designing to invade or put it under siege. Its

² This is a special feature of Kalhora tombs. Majority of tombs of nobility is surmounted with elegant lanterns. Notable amongst these include the tombs of Sakhi Bahadur Khan Rind, Mir Allahyar Talpur, Qaim Khan Korai, Bhandu Qubo etc. Likewise the domes of a few mosques of Kalhora period were also surmounted with lanterns.

construction work was supervised by Mirza Ahmad Khurasani, a renowned architect of the time: Among the artisans, some historians say, was *ustad* (master) Shafi Muhammad Multani, who was assisted by scores of other bricklayers and craftsmen. The inscription on the stone fixed at the main gate bears date of its foundation as AH 1182, corresponding to 1769 CE. There is also an Arabic supplication, [transliteration] "*Rabbi_j'al ha_zal balada a_minaw*", a verse from the Holy Quran (*Surah* 14, *Ayah* 35), which translates into English as 'O my Lord, make this city one of peace and security'. This also is the chronograph, which calculates the date as AH 1182. The inscription also bears:

At the left side: *Allah-o Akbar Allahumma salle ala wasallam ala Muhammadan wa al Fatimah;*

Above: *Wal Hasan wal Hussain wa 'Ali wa Muhammad wa Jaafar wa Musa wa 'Ali;*

At the right side: *Wa Muhammad wa Ali wa Hasan wa Hussain wa Muhammad al Mahdi al Hadi.*

Below: *Ba amr 'aali mazhar walayat Mian Ghulam Shah Khan 'Aali bin Mian Noor Muhammad bin Yar Muhammad bin Mian Naseer Muhammad 'Abbasi bana yaft.*

The first-mentioned two lines denote the blessings and peace being prayed for the Messenger of God (Peace and blessings be on him) and members of his house. These are followed by the mention that it was built by Mian Ghulam Shah Khan son of Mian Noor Muhammad son of Mian Yar Muhammad son of Mian Nasir Muhammad.

The fortification wall rises to over 12 to 15 metres. In length it runs over a circumference of more than 2.5 kilometres. The longest part of the fort, from east to west, is a little over 740 metres while the widest point measures 274 metres from north to south. It is all built in baked clay bricks, varying in texture and size depending on the period of their use in its building or subsequent repairs. These bricks, however, generally measure 25.5 x 17.8 x 3.8 centimetres. The thickness of the wall varies at different points and different heights. The wall is supported by semi-circular bastions only in its northern length.

The fort had only one access provided on the northern side, facing the Shahi Bazaar. The gate was named as *Shahi Darwazo* or the Royal Gate and above its arch it has the

aforementioned stone inscription. The Gate was provided with thick wooden leaves, and was decorated profusely. On the outer side, the leaves had strong iron spikes against any eventuality of breaking open by force in an invasion.

It is perhaps one of the most neglected monuments which, ironically, stand on the protected list of the Federal Government. All of the historic buildings inside the Fort are occupied by the departments having their functions not compatible with those of the antiquity. The buildings that could be spared from the establishment of a *Thana*, Police Station, were later occupied by other law-enforcement agencies. The shabby encroachments, not built against the fortification, are so close that no space is left to work on any conservation plan, if there would be one ever formulated for the purpose.

Another fort on small hillock lying to the west of Pucca Qila is believed to have been erected by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro (Hasan 205). This fort is known as Katcha Qila, sometime also called as Pir Makki Fort. It is called Katcha (unbaked) because of its fortification having been built with sun-dried bricks without the use of the baked clay bricks even on its faces. However, baked bricks could be seen used in the foundations which infact suggests that the builders resolutely wanted it to stand the test of time. The affect of centuries of rains is very obvious on the whole structure as furrows and cavities are seen all over the fortification wall.

The fort is built in the shape of an elongated triangle, with two sides having long arms and the third one much shorter span. The wall has seven bastions, three on the corners and two each further strengthening the longer arms. The drains meant to discharge out water from inside the fort are also made with burnt clay bricks.

There are two gates provided in the length of the southern fortification wall. One of them is the main gate to reach the interior of the fort while the other, which is smaller in size, is meant to access the tomb of Pir Makki Shah, lying in the western side. To access the fort there is a long landing before the gate, after a considerably stretched flight of steps. The gate presently at the site is a simple arched entrance without any ostentation of the like of other forts. It is generally said that the fort also had a secret gate, which though is not traceable at the moment.

The saintly personage lying in the tomb inside the fort is Pir Makki Shah. He was known as Makki because of his birth in

Makkah, Saudi Arabia, sometime in A.H. 510. He was named as Hamza in the childhood but came to be known as Muhammad in the Arab society. He is said to have migrated from there to Sindh in A.H. 560 to preach Islam as he was commanded in his dream by Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him). Here in the South Asia Subcontinent his fame as a pious person spread far and wide when he was known as Pir Makki to all and sundry. It is also said that during his sojourn to this part of the world he also went to Punjab where, in Lahore and Ludhiana (the latter now in India), he also had many followers. He finally settled at Hyderabad in Sindh where he died on 8 Zilhajj, 658 A.H. The interior of the tomb of the Pir is constructed with marble brought all the way from Jaipur.

Some writers are of the opinion that Pir Makki had founded the Katcha fort but there is nothing on ground to support this idea. The date of founding, which is derived from the chronograph in Persian still found on the inscription, is A.H. 1083 corresponding to 1671 CE, a period preceding that of the founding of the Pucca Fort. However, Khan (1959) says “a little distance from the Pucca Qila, there is another fort which is constructed with sun-dried bricks. Its foundation was laid by Waliullah Muhammad Makki. This Fort is perched on a higher ground as compared to Pucca Qila but was razed to ground in A.H. 1185 (corresponding to 1771 CE) during the reign of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoru. He had then built it afresh keeping in view the requirements of watch and ward of the other Fort”.

The famous historian of Sindh, Mirza Qalich Beg (1999), records that this fort was founded in 1772 CE, towards the south of the Pucca Fort to serve as a watch-station for the latter. Some other writers also give the credit of its founding to Ghulam Shah Kalhoru saying that he built a fort of sun-dried bricks at the place where there was the tomb of Pir Makki, in addition to many other graves.

Although the historical importance of the Katcha Fort, having association with the Kalhoras in addition to one of the most pious personages in the annals of Sindh, is clear even to the semi-literate persons yet the authorities have so far failed in giving it any recognition. The fact that the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, never thought it worth including in the official list of Protected Antiquity could only be lamented. One is bound to think that if such a prominent

landmark of the second largest city of Sindh is treated so callously what could be expected of the concerned department in listing and preserving the smaller sites in the interior of the country.

These by far are not the only monuments in Sindh with their origin in the Kalhora period. At a number of places, especially scattered in the districts of Dadu and Larkana, there are tombs of lesser-known personages. But while the earlier-mentioned monuments have the status of officially protected antiquity under the Antiquities Act of 1975, others are left to ruin even without bringing on official records. One thing, which is common in both the categories, is their dilapidated state of preservation. Even the protected among them are not being attended to any degree of required preservation measures. They are mostly left to their fate hence easy prey to nature's vagaries and human plunder.

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Islamic Monuments of Kalhora Period in Sindh

Ali Mohammad Khan Lundkhwar

The Kalhoras of Sindh traced their descent from Hazrat Abbas, uncle of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) (Mahar 1963). They derived their direct descent from Muhammad of *Khabata* or Khambat³ who lived in the twelfth century during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Qubacha. It has been related that the family migrated from Mekran to settle in Sewistan. They remained in obscurity till the middle of 16th century when Adam Shah Kalhoro, their progenitor, became the Khalifa of Mian Muhammad Mehdi, and thus founded a kind of oligarchy which eventually combined secular and spiritual authority in Sindh. Soon, however, a conflict arose between Adam Shah and the governor of Multan in which the former, was put to death. His body was brought from Multan to Sukkur and was buried on a hill (Mahar 1963). The inauguration of the Kalhora rule may be said to date from the beginning decades of the eighteenth century, but they were active in Sindh since much earlier date. Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro succeeded his father Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro who died in 1692 AD, and buried at Ghari, and obtained governorship of Derajat and the title of Khuda Yār Khan from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1701 AD. He may be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty.

³ A small town in Khairpur District. The tomb of Mian Channey Faqir lies about 7 km north of Gambat town. There are at least five tombs and one mosque in the necropolis of Mian Channey Khan now called as Faqir. The old tomb of Mian Channey Faqir collapsed some 40 years ago which was believed to have been built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

His son and successor, Mian Noor Muhammad, not only consolidated the rule but extended his influence over the entire Sindh. The Mughal Emperor recognised the Kalhoras as semi-independent rulers of Sindh in 1737 AD. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, however, they became subordinate to the Persian monarch, and, in turn, to Ahmed Shah Durrani.

After the death of Mian Noor Muhammad in 1753 AD, the erstwhile Afghan king recognized his son, Muhammad Murad Yab Khan as his successor and was awarded the title of Sarbuland Khan. Meanwhile, as a result of some family feud, his brother Ghulam Shah deposed Murad Yab. The Afghan king, however, gave the *sanad* to yet another brother, Atur Khan, who was then living as a hostage at his court. This chaotic situation resulted into a civil war between the three brothers.

Sindh therefore, witnessed a period of unrest and uncertainty from 1750 to 1758, until Ghulam Shah Kalhoro finally emerged as victor. Ahmad Shah Abdali recognized him as supreme ruler of Sindh, in 1761, and awarded the title of Shah Wardi Khan (Mahar 1996).

After the death of Ghulam Shah on 12 August 1772, Sindh again plunged into a state of anarchy and civil war, ultimately bringing the Talpurs in power.

The Kalhoras' contribution to the art of building is mainly represented by mosques and tombs. While secular buildings confine to the two forts in Hyderabad. The tombs and mosques are scattered in the province of Sindh, right from Sukkur to Hyderabad. Some of the more important specimens are detailed as below:

Overlooking the old city of Sukkur in the locality called *Adam Shah Takri* is located the tomb of Adam Shah in shape of a brick-masonry edifice. The tomb, the earliest of the group, is a domed structure, square in plan measuring 29 feet side. It rises to the height of 42 feet, 3 inches without plinth. The exterior is relatively plain and each face has a recessed arch, 8 feet 5 inches high and 3 feet 9 inches deep, with solitary entrance from south. The interior has four-arched squinches thus converting its square plan into an octagon, on which rests the rim of the drum which

has four arched clerestory windows above which is placed a broad base of the dome. The interior of the tomb has regular recessed panelling which might have possessed painted decoration, now completely white-washed. Without a parapet and having no enclosure wall, the tomb of Adam Shah has an appearance of purposeful strength combined with simple elegance.

Khudabad and its Monuments

The ruins of Khudabad, now almost beyond recognition, spread over an extensive area covered with its unsubstantial buildings. The ruined buildings were built predominantly of mud brick enclosed by mud fortification wall, and no remains of imposing buildings are discernible except the Jami Masjid and the tomb of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro.

Built on a raised platform with a notable gateway approached by flight of semi-circular steps, the uninterrupted expanse of open quadrangle enriched with glazed tiled *maqsura* manifest its breadth and decoration.

The sanctuary structure is clearly divided into two equal horizontal divisions, while *maqsura* presents a wide central archway flanked by two comparatively smaller arched-entrances, one on each side. The three sides of the courtyard possess cloisters no tall minarets grace the façade to give it elevation. Nonetheless, it has compensating attributes. The main features of this mosque are the pleasing distribution of the arches forming its *maqsura* with intervals. Every portion of the structure, both inside and outside, is enriched with a variegated scheme of colours either executed in fresco paintings or in lustrous glaze. The wall surfaces of the sanctuary and entrance gate are divided into bands and panels of different sizes to contain the ornamentation.

The prayer chamber is divided into two equal compartments. The eastern compartment, now rendered roofless, is a small hall, originally having a low flat roof, has an access to the gallery achieved at the squinch level of the domed western compartment. Massive piers supporting the arches divide the

western hall into three aisles, the central larger than these on its either side. Each bay has an arched *mehrab* sunk in the western wall.

The tomb of Mian Yar Muhammad, one of the early monuments of Kalhora dynasty in Sindh, is believed to have been built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. According to a local tradition the construction began by Yar Muhammad himself and completed by his son and successor, Mian Noor Muhammad.

Erected on a raised platform 214 feet long and 105 feet wide on western side and 8 feet high from the surroundings, the tomb is enclosed by a 5 feet high wall and is approached by a flight of semi-circular steps on the eastern side of the platform, similar to the one leading to the Jami Masjid, Khudabad.

The tomb is a massive square with an unassuming entrance in a high arched alcove. The façade including parapet is profusely decorated with enameled tiles in regular panels. Cousens (1975) has in particular appreciated the panel above the entrance and writes, “The great panel of coloured tiles above the entrance is a remarkable piece of work. Nearly ten feet square, it is made up of no less than 240 square tiles, no two, except in the outer border, being alike. The tomb is imposing by virtue of its height, specially due to its gallery. The lower part of the drum is pierced at regular intervals by arched windows, filled with grills. The gallery is approached by a flight of steps in the thickness of wall with an entrance from the north-western exterior corner.

The interior has a masonry platform possessing the cenotaph of the grave embellished with a turban. The platform has a wooden canopy. In the western arched recess is another platform for the grave of Muhammad Khan son of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, while to the south of his tomb is an exquisitely carved stone grave, with a railing of six different geometrical patterns, of Mian Shafi Muhammad, son of Muhammad Khan. The grave stone has *Ayatul Kursi*, Persian couplets and dated inscription. Outside the tomb in the enclosure are other graves of the Kalhora family and *Faqirs* laid on masonry platform and in domed structures.

The dated inscription on the tomb of Mian Shafi Muhammad indicates that the tomb was built prior to 1156/1742.

Built on a raised rectangular platform, 3 feet 10 inch high, measuring 118 feet by 114 feet, the tomb is 36 feet high and square on the exterior, each side 56 feet, has its entrance in the eastern side in a recessed tall pointed archway. The exterior is divided into three horizontal panels above the dado level, covered with glazed tiles of floral patterns.

The tomb of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, son of Mian Yar Muhammad, a prototype of his father's tomb at Khudabad, is situated about 6 miles towards west of Moro in District Nawabshah. The rectangular walled enclosure, it has a single domed entrance in the centre of the eastern wall. The wall 8 feet high has regular arched-recessed panels on the interior and exterior with inscription at the arched portal.

The domed tomb is located on a platform 80' x 70' x 3' in the western part of the enclosure. 57' high the tomb structure is rectangular in shape 48' x 45' with a gallery at squinch level and 4 octagonal kiosks on the roof. Internally the plan is converted into octagonal. A sixteen-sided drum, supporting a hemispherical dome, has eight arched clerestory windows.

The tomb of Shah Baharo at Larkana built by Mian Ghulam Shah is another domed cube erected on a high podium and converted internally into an octagon to huge masonry lantern on the dome is noteworthy. The octagonal lantern is 6 feet high excluding finial which is itself 2 feet 9 inches.

Mian Nasir Khan Kalhoro, father of Mian Yar Muhammad, died in 1692 and buried in an exquisitely carved octagonal pillared stone canopy. Erected on a raised platform, the canopy has a compound wall built in stone. The platform 4'-10" high, covered with beautiful carved *jandoti* sand stone has 2'-2" high stone railing running all around. The perforated railing has small pillars at regular interval with an opening on the southern side. The tomb stone lying on the platform and elaborately carved with geometric patterns and interlaced Arabic inscriptions has another carved stone railing. The corners of the rectangular

canopy structure have been cut to form an octagon, the dome being supported by two pillars in each of the four sides of the pavilion.

Situated south of the tomb of Ghulam Shah at Hyderabad, the tomb of Ghulam Nabi Kalhoro consists of the usual combination of a tomb and mosque thus comprising what is termed by Percy Brown (1964) as Rauza. The mosque outside the enclosure is similar to that near the tomb of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro at Khudabad and has a three-domed sanctuary, tastefully decorated but now white washed. The screen of the prayer chamber consists of three arched entrances, central one larger than the flanking one leading to the three bays of the chamber. The tomb stands on a low, square terrace 116' side, without a railing, giving an unfinished appearance. The platform is reveted with buff sand stone having interesting masons' marks. In the centre of the platform is the cenotaph, a solid octagonal brick structure. Each outer face has deep arched recesses of different sizes. A sixteen sided drum supports a hemispherical dome. Each face of the drum has a shallow sunken pointed arch. A staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to the roof with an entrance from south-western corner. The parapet is devised to break the monotony of the façade, as the parapet over the façades towards the cardinal points are higher than the alternate one, which have each a heavy masonry kiosk with ribbed cupola.

The exterior was reveted with glazed tiles now almost completely missing. The arched alcove on the east provides the solitary access to the sepulchral chamber through marble rectangular frame work. The interior was decorated with paintings and glazed tiles. Decoration in glazed tiles is restricted to a horizontal recessed band. The rest of the interior including the dome was richly painted in floral and interlaced decoration. The paintings have faded now. However, the painted designs on the soffit of the dome are good examples of the tradition of the period.

Forts at Hyderabad

Irregular on plan, the Pucca Fort, Hyderabad, built by Mian Ghulam Shah at the south end of the old town served the

purposes of defence as well as the residence of the Kalhora and later Talpur Chiefs. The ancient buildings within the fort were nearly all cleared away by the British in 1857, who, used the place for sometime to accommodate their troops and their equipments. A small room on a raised platform, known as “Painted Chamber” and a few hells known as old offices of Mirs, are of later period.

The most impressive feature of the fort at present is its imposing fortification which varies from 29 feet to 40 feet due to the uneven topography of the hillock. The extent of the perimeter wall is about 2 miles. The fortification is built of country bricks of 9"x6"x 1 ½" laid in mud-mortar. The tapering wall 5' at the base and 2'-9' at the top has round tapering bastions at irregular intervals. Along the crest of the fortification wall are ornamental *Kanguras*, or merlons. The fort has the main entrance in the northern part, while a small entrance penetrates the eastern fortification wall.

The other fort known as *Katcha Qila* was also built by Mian Ghulam Shah in 1772 AD to cover the main fort on the northern side. Rectangular in shape the tapering fortification wall has semi-circular bastions at regular intervals. Laying on a hillock the fortification has one arched entrance on the southern side. The wall is not one compact mass, like the *Pucca Qila* to the south, but the interior is of mud bricks encased by burnt bricks on the inner and outer face, now mostly disintegrated and disappeared. Inside the fort the grave of a local saint, Haji Muhammad Makai is of interest. Both the forts are now occupied and serve as the residential areas of the city.

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The Mausoleum of Adam Shah Kalhoro

Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bokhari

Mian Adam Shah was the first person in the house of Kalhoro, whose presence after mid sixteenth century was perceived challenging in the political arena. It cost him his life. His body was brought from Multan, as per his will, to be buried at Sukkur (Mahar 1996; Memon 1994). According to another tradition he died in a battle at Bukkur. He was, however, laid to rest on the top of a hillock, which later was called after him as, "*Adam Shah-Ji-Takri*".

The mausoleum

Though in its present form it appears more antiquated and obviously obviates architecturally its construction to be attributed to Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, yet historically it is said so. And if it is so, then the monument could be considered as younger over the interment of a past saint of the family after the lapse of about one and three quarters of a century.

Because of its lofty location from the surroundings while looking at the mausoleum with the worm's eye view, one feels dwarfed. The mausoleum is erected simply on rock without any podium or platform, which has otherwise been a common feature of the Kalhoro monuments. This may perhaps have been so due to its height redeeming the dearth of any sub-structure to avoid additional elevation. The same could be the reason for the lack of enclosure or compound wall.

The mausoleum is a square in plan measuring about 29' 8" x 29' 8" exteriorly and rising to the height of about 42' 6". Only one entrance to the tomb has been provided on the southern side through a deep recessed arch slightly pointed in shape.

admeasuring about 8'-5" in height from the ground level and from 3'-9" to 4'-2" in depth. The feature of lofty central recessed arch occurs in the Kalhora architecture passim. These arches above, the springing level here bear the stalacti form decoration. Between the raised borders surrounding the door arch, has now been provided, a border of modern coloured tiles.

The monument is simple and substantial in appearance yet either side of the central arches are flanked by the vertically arranged rows of four, arched and rectangular, panels alternating one another above *dado* level on the exterior. The chamber, of the mausoleum, has a low embattled parapet. To the one, who has seen the old photographs of the mausoleum, the parapet and finials would occur as an addition for previous double angular sturdy cornice on top of an octagonal neck of the dome which originally was simple without any decorative element. It has since been replaced with a bizarre grille, filling the spaces between the goglet-like turrets furnished on each angle of the neck. The dome has an over turned lotus like pinnacle with a finial at the summit.

The stunted dome has in fact retarded the proportions of the building. The cardinal sides of the octagonal drum sustaining the dome are pierced with the clerestory windows having slightly pointed arches. These openings were probably either square or rectangular originally. And, who knows, whether or not those too were original or transformed at some stage by the restorers during the past centuries. Interiorly, a square (c.615 cms. on each side) chamber of the mausoleum has been converted by four corner squinches, apparent also exteriorly, into an octagon to hold the base of the dome. It is presumed that the panels ornamenting the interior were perhaps once decorated with painted designs but distempered after wards by means of restoration, as has been done at several other places. Located within the mausoleum are two graves. The one, on the west, appears to be that of Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro. If the second tomb/grave in the mausoleum does not pertain to Daud Khan son of Adam Shah, of whom it could then be? We should not be mistaken to infer that the person sharing the shrine of an awesome and pious man, like Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro, can be less than his close kindred or at least an alter ego, who is not acquainted with the history. Someone at home in the history from among the keepers of the mausoleum and or the descendant could add to our acquirement.

Some more details

The dado on exterior is about 157 cms. high and the floor of the chamber is circa 50 cms. high above the ground. The height of the arch containing the door is about 190 cms. from the floor level and its width is about 106 cms. This arched door is contained in and like a big arch which is about 405 cms. height from enclave its bottom, 190 cms. wide and 110 cms. deep. Other such arches on the north, east and west vary in measurement by a few centimetres from one another.

Interiorly in the centre of each side is a very shallow arch rising from the floor to a height of about 236 cms. The interior dado is about 104 cms. high. The chamber has been converted into an octagon by constructing squinches at the corners. The cornice over which the squinches rise is about 425 cms. high above the floor, which is of cement tinted in maroon. In the centre of the chamber is a platform lately laid with chips. Its measurements are height 42 cms. east-west side 460 cms, north-south side 411 cms. Built over the platform are two graves. The bigger one on the west is said to be that of Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro, and the other on the eastern side is, according to one tradition, that of Akram Shah, who is believed to be the brother of Mian Adam Shah. The history is perhaps silent about the latter. Very sporadic traces of some fresco paintings beautifully done, that still (in Sept, 1995) existed, were indicative of the original decoration in painted designs on the interior of the mausoleum.

In the *Sahn* in front of the mausoleum are located three graves. One of the two made with carved buff stone is inscribed with the name of Jam Feroz Faqir Talpur, and bear the date (Mah Shawwal, year 1214 (AH?). The third grave could be that of Shabaz Khan “Golaandaz”, who fled from Hyderabad, when the Talpurs succeeded the Kalhoras, died in Upper Sindh, and is said to have been buried on Adam *Shah-Ji-Takri* at Sukkur.

Surroundings

There are three rather than four structures besides the main mausoleum. These are: a mosque on west, two mausoleums and a dwelling quarter of the caretaker.

One walking on the edges of the knoll would see certain structural remains on the north-west, north, east and south-east, built in whitish limestone ashlar and burnt bricks looking like walls, conduits, bastions, etc. One of the visitors said that once there was a fortification around the *buthi*. In the stone structures surviving up to six courses were fitted heavy iron chains (only two links left). The purpose of these remnants and fixtures was not known.

The history, however, peaks that against the political and perhaps military inroad of Russia, the British Govt. strengthened their defensive by fortifying the elevations around Sukkur. And Adam Shah-Ji-Takri was considered to play some crucial role, because of its height and the strategic location. So the vestiges, most probably pertain to the English battery and entrenchment arranged over there. Therefore, from 1890 to 1914 AD, the visitors were not allowed to frequent the mazar of Adam Shah Kalhoro.

Presently the Sukkur Municipal Corporation has established water supply system for the area on the immediate south of the mausoleum which has not only disturbed the view of the monument on that side but is a source of degradation of the limestone rock itself. Between the two visits (in 1998 and 1995) the monument has suffered a lot. And now that plaster over a dome is coming off, the whole roof is at stake.

Besides, the disordered mushroom the growth of shabby hovels necessitates proper planning after creating a recreational zone around the hill.

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History of Khudabad City

M. H. Panhwar

Introduction

Shikarpur renamed as Khudabad was the capital city of Panhwars (Mahar 1996: 191). It was located in the centre of a number of their settlements in the present Dadu, Johi, Nathan Shah and Sehwan talukas, but called Baghban, Bubakan and Nerun Qila or Nerun Kot Pargunas of Sehwan Sarkar in the sixteenth century. The other important towns of theirs were Akbarabad (near Chhini or Chhini itself), Samtani in Sehwan taluka and Garhi (13 km north-west of Kakar). After conquering Khairpur Nathan Shah, Dadu, Johi and Sehwan talukas from the Panhwars, the Kalhoras renamed Shikarpur as Khudabad, Fatehpur as Garhi and Akbarabad as Chhini. This may have been done after Yar Muhammad Kalhoro was given Sanad and title Khuda Yar Khan by Emperor Aurangzeb, to rule the area. This town now in ruins was 12 km south of Dadu and was about 1.6 km long north to the south and 3.2 km east to the west. This location for township was selected as a branch of the River Indus was flowing about ½ km to its west. The branch had become the main river some times in the fourteenth century and was abandoned before the end of the 16th century and took off from the River Indus between Mehar and Radhan, passed along alignment of lakes Maha, Jakhpari, Sutiario, Pir Ghunio and Talti, and even after change of course some water passed through it as Wahur and as a perennial stream, either from the river or the Western Nara, which in turn took off from the river above Sukkur. The Western Nara, which was perennial channel of the river, could also supply water to Khudabad easily as the town was at the lower level than the Nara.

It seems that in Sammas' rebellion against the Soomras, Panhwars, who were settled mostly in the Lower Sindh, were re-settled on the western branch of the River Indus, which passed from Rajankot to Thul and then to Janani (2 km west of Warah town), where from it reached the Manchar Lake. When the above change of course of river from Radhan-Mehar to Talti took place, the Panhwars occupied both of its banks with active assistance of the Sammas.

The concentration of the Panhwars' settlement at the present is near this branch and also the Western Nara. They were settled near the Soomra strong-hold Janani too, as they built an important canal Panhwarki, which even now takes off from Warah Branch and is located along the old alignment of western branch of the Indus of the fourteenth century.

The Panhwars' rise to power and fall is discussed in paragraph that follows. The sources used are Mazhar Shah Jehani for Panhwars, "History of Kalhoras" by a Fakir called Wakeit-I-Sindh, edited by McMurdo (year and author's personal knowledge of the area when he had travelled vastly in Sindh in connection of ground water investigation and land reclamation by bulldozers.

Origin and Rise of Kalhoras

The Kalhoras were a local Sindhi tribe and like the Soomras, Sammas and Panhwars called themselves outsiders. The Kalhoras claim their descent from Miaan Odhanno, who migrated to Makran and his son Muhammad, a mendicant, who had from different wives 18 sons, two of whom are important; one Daud an ancestor of Daudpottas of Bahawalpur and other whose descendants are the Kalhoras. The first most important figure in history was Adam Shah, who was a disciple of Mehdi of Jaunpur and had collected a large number of mendicants around him (Qani 1989: 255). He resided in Chanduka Parguna, which area was assigned to him by Abdur Rahim Khan-I-Khanan, when the latter sought blessings of the former for conquest of Sindh from Mirza Jani Beg. Blessings were given in return for protection of his people and territory by the powerful Mughals, but this protection lasted only nine years. Adam Shah and his followers kept extending area under their control by usurping lands of their neighbours. The aggrieved complained to

the Mughal governor of Multan, who raided and captured Adam Shah and took him to Multan, where he was put to death. To their luck a friend in the capital brought his body to Sukkur (Mahar 1996:135). This friend, a civil officer, established his son Mian Daud in the chair of their father. McMurdo thinks that it is possible that these two actions were taken, the first to create a severe example and the second that government may not be subverted by roaming mendicants. Mian Daud was succeeded by Mian Ilyas and the latter was succeeded by his brother Mian Shah Ali, known as Shahal Muhammad in the mid seventeenth century. He increased number of followers and resources of land. It was his followers who attacked the Abra and Sangi zamindars, drove them out and divided their lands among themselves. It also appears that simultaneously they had conflict with the Panhwars, who then were settled on a branch canal called Panhwarki in Kamber-Warah talukas. The Panhwars then seem to have moved out of the area and concentrated in the present northern Dadu district. On complaint from the Abras, the Mughal governor of Bakhar defeated the Fakirs in a number of battles. Shahal Muhammad was killed, though Fakirs by this time had gained experience of warfare and had fought well.

Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro succeeded his uncle Shahal Muhammad in 1657 (Mahar 1996:148). Under him as saint, his Fakirs⁴ assumed the characteristic of military bevy. It was worse period of Little Ice Age, discussed separately below and due to it famine and pestilence raged not only the whole province but also the whole northern atmosphere of world, discussed separately. The cold spell, drought and less water in the river facilitated encroachments, which continued and provided opportunities, which the Kalhoras did not miss and occupied more and more territories and when attacked, escaped. Finally negotiations were opened to Mian Nasir, but he was arrested and sent to court of Alamgir and reportedly, while being sent to Gawalior as prisoner, he escaped and led his followers to Panhwars' district, captured their important town Garhi, made it his capital and was successful in opposing the Mughal Subahdar (Subedar) of Bakhar militarily (Qani 1989:258-59; Mahar 1996:158; Khanai 1998 32-33). Even during this period, he got Parguna of Lakhat on lease from governor of Sehwan, which

⁴ This term was used for disciples of Mian Nasir Muhammad –Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro.

was followed by acquisitions of other parts of similar nature. Thus he was able to assume role of an organised government. Dr. Ghulam Muhammad Lakho is of the opinion that story of escaping is concocted only to give him credit for his bravery. In the opinion of the present author it was meant to show its similarity with Shivaji's escaping from the Mughal court. Actually it may have been effect of Little Ice Age, which reached its worst in 1665 AD and led to compromise by emperor.

Mian Nasir was attacked by the governor of Siwi (Sibi) to dislodge the Fakirs but after repeated defeats and disgrace was replaced by Shaikh Jehan. The latter, though aided by Subahdar of Bakhar, was killed in surprise attack near Gerello village. On Mian Nasir's death in 1691/2 AD he was succeeded by his son Din Muhammad. Panhwars then waged a war against the Kalhoras but were suppressed and their lands occupied by Din Muhammad (Mahar 1996).

To avenge death of Shaikh Jehan, Prince Muizuddin, the governor of Multan, marched himself, but Din Muhammad sent his brother Yar Muhammad for negotiations, which were successful. While the prince was returning, some ignorant Fakirs attacked the royal forces from behind in Ghotki district and the infuriated prince destroyed Garhi and other important towns of the area. Din Muhammad personally went to the camp of prince to procure pardon, but meanwhile his brother Yar Muhammad opposed the Mughals, defeated them and their two important high ranking officers namely; Raja Gaj Singh Bhatia⁵ and Raja Suraj Mal Khatri were killed⁶. The prince who was satisfied with burning and destroying Garhi and other towns retired to Multan and put Din Muhammad to death (Qani 1989:260-2).

However, Yar Muhammad was unable to regain his territories, which the Panhwars and other tribes occupied during the Mughal intervention and he led his adherents to Kalat, where Brahuis considering them as enemies attacked them, but after negotiations he was given an asylum in 1699 AD(III AH). In the meantime the Panhwars re-occupied their lost territories.

In 1701 Mian Yar Muhammad was invited by Serai chieftains from Kalat to help in re-establishment of his family

⁵ Bhatti- Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

⁶ The graves of both Mughal generals are located in the Khore graveyard on right bank of Gaj hill stream- Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro.

and he accepted the offer. Brahuis too joined him. They conquered Murgpur (Markhpur) and Fatehpur (Garhi) from Afghans of Siwi who were appointed to look after them on behalf of the Mughals. The success was so rapid that people assembled around their standard and in a few months he conquered from Panhwars their capital town Shikarpur, which was renamed as Khudabad, after Mughals awarded him the title Khuda Yar Khan. Panhwars still persuaded their case with Muizuddin, but Mian Yar Muhammad succeeded persuading the prince to allow him to act as an agent of imperial government. A *farman* was issued giving him title of Khuda Yar Khan (Qani 1989; Mahar 1996). This ended Panhwars' struggle to become and remain Mughals' contractors on fixed payment. As a result of this compromise of Yar Muhammad with the Mughals, Panhwars lost most of their fertile lands to the Kalhoras.

The Little Ice Age facilitated rise of Kalhoras

All this was caused by Little Ice Age, which gripped the whole world in cold and drought from 1430-1850 AD, for some 400 years and Sindh from 1550-1700 AD and again from 1750 to 1850 AD. It is described below.

The climate has never remained constant even for a century, but major fluctuations are only a few. The period from 8500 BC to 2000 BC, was wet period with rainfall 2½ times than to-day and then it was intermittently arid and super-arid up to about 500AD. The period 700-900 AD, was dry and arid and 900-1250 AD was wet and warm period. From 1250 to 1550 AD, was moderately dry, but 1550-1700 AD, was a colder period with a low rainfall, longer winter and shorter summer seasons, low river discharge, less water in the river, many canals drying up or flowing late and receding early, making only short summer season crops a possibility. Winters were long, but with limited water in the river. Main summer crop was rice; but only short season, poor quality rice with low yields grew. As rainfall was less, the Thar and Kohistan pastures were poor and supported less animals and human population. On the top of it the Arghuns, Tarkhans and Mughals, who had left their lands due to aridity caused by the Little Ice Age, were interested in only collecting taxes. No attention was paid to silt clearance of canals and they choked up, further reducing the areas under cultivation, producing less food, causing famine conditions to

prevail and many tribes went into rebellion against the government, which invariably used force. As "Little Ice Age" became severe, more people from the Central Asia and Iran migrated to the Mughal Delhi in search of jobs, food and shelter and this caused further pressure to collect more taxes and consequently more rebellions by the local communities. The worst period of the Little Ice Age was 1665 AD, when revenue to the government from Thatta Sarkar reduced to 20% of 1600 AD. The situation was the same in the whole Mughal Empire, which started breaking up by local rebellions, planned or unplanned. In this turmoil, in Sindh the centre of rebellion was left bank of the River Indus below Rohri, where contours do not permit easy flow of canals against right bank where as canals could easily flow from Kandhkot to Sehwan. The tribes on the left bank were in rebellion soon after 1550 AD, but on the right bank went into rebellion after about 1620 AD. Sindh's population had majority of the Samma tribes accounting for more than fifty percent, followed by Soomras, then Hindus and lastly Brauhi tribes of Balochistan.

The Samma tribes and many sub-castes, and only Samejas, who formed majority of them, were leading rebellions. Many tribes tried to take over from weakening Mughal governors, but the central leadership lacked and finally the Kalhoras succeeded in removing their adversaries- the Daudpottas, Abras, Sangis, Panhwars and others, by themselves being considered Pirs, saints or holy men. The Sameja tribes took leading part in this struggle and were chased and killed. Orders of Sehwan's governor to bring one bullock cart load of Samejas' heads daily, shows extent of resistance and massacre of this tribe. Other tribes also rose and either joined the Sammas or fought as an individual tribe. In the process Sammas lost central leadership as they were chased from place to place and had turned into nomadic pastorals in Thar. The taking over of various areas by various tribes, refusing to pay taxes and fighting Mughal officers shows general uprising against them under disorganised and scattered leadership and in small bands. Some tribes like Panhwars organised themselves as contractors to govern the land, collect taxes and pay the government, but with no aim to throw out the Mughals. The Kalhoras' rise is connected with their being mendicants (Sufi saints) and therefore acquired hereditary holiness and obedience of not only their followers, but

also some kind of tolerance among other sects and also followers of other saints. Among their followers were Bālōchi chiefs of Balochistan and D. G. Khan, both barren and desolate areas and more so due to Little Ice Age. They were willing to sacrifice their lives for the Kalhora cause, if their descendants, kith and kin tribes had future safeguards, which Kalhoras offered by excavating new canals, renovating old ones and settling these followers on the new lands and granting them *jagirs*, but expecting loyalty, supply of soldiers for future warfare against the Mughals and other enemies and paying some amount of taxes. The central figure in their success was "Holiness of the Kalhora rulers". The other tribes lacked this. Panhwars for example did not excavate a single canal for northern Dadu taluka where they were concentrated in large numbers. The Kalhoras seem to be least interested in that area of potential opponents and the British had to give new mouth to Dadu Wah from Nasrani to irrigate the whole Dadu taluka instead of only southern most one quarter. In general the Kalhoras offered spiritual salvation in after life and land and water for agriculture in this world and people rallied behind them.

It seems that Panhwar chiefs fought Kalhoras not jointly but individually. Mian Nasir conquered Garhi from Mir Panhwar around 1681 AD and Panhwars must have had control over the area at least for some 25 years so as to build the town and a mosque, which has survived more than 300 years. They may have taken over the area soon after 1635 AD and paid fixed contractual amount to the Mughals. However that on the fall of Garhi to Mian Nasir, Panhwars of Shikarpur (Khudabad) Akbarabad and Samtani did not take any action, shows lack of unity or Kalhoras offering them some guarantees. The Panhwars were always dependent on military help from Multan-Delhi whom they paid contractual amount most probably regularly and maintained no strong army. Thus taking over of Shikarpur (Khudabad) from Qaiser Panhwar, without use of swords was military weakness of the Panhwars. The Kalhoras were the first South Asians to lead to the downfall of Mughal Empire followed simultaneously by Marathas and later on in the eighteenth century by the Sikhs.

We are concerned here with Khudabad a town of Panhwars, who probably had parts of Dadu district specially Khairpur Nathan Shah, Dadu, Johi and Sehwan under contract from the Mughals, possibly latest from 1650 to 1700 AD and

came in direct conflict with the Kalhoras. The strong point of Kalhoras was being master canal builders, and providing land they occupied, canal water and settling their followers on such lands, in gratitude of this, these tribes laid their lives for a combined cause of the Kalhoras as well as their future generations, but making sure that they were not to be displaced from the lands once occupied. The heads of these tribes became Kalhoras' Jagirdars and gathered enough manpower and strength to make other local tribes to submit to them peacefully, although they were to be converted into serfdom, i.e. tenant cultivators or small land holders. The miracle of being spiritual leaders has worked successfully in Sindh throughout the history. Simultaneously the Sikhs under their spiritual leaders were fighting the Mughals, in the same way as the Kalhoras, and Marahatas in South India. All this was taking place when Aurangzeb Alamgir (the World Conqueror) had his brothers eliminated and his father and a sister imprisoned in 1658 AD. The anti-Mughal uprisings would have happened even if Akbar the Great had returned back to preside over the Mughal Empire, as the Little Ice Age had reached its worse, not only in Sindh but through one word out the world. The World Conqueror was not personally responsible for the downfall of his empire. It was environment created by climatic change. If he imposed Jaziyah on Hindus, it was not his intolerance, but a method to reimburse his treasury. If he became staunch Sunni, it was because he had no new territories to conquer except the Shia kingdoms of South India with his troops, who were Sunnis. Climatic change had made it difficult to rule peacefully and he and his noble men had to use methods exactly opposite to those of Akbar, to survive as long as they could.

Historical background of Panhwars of Dadu area

Parguna of Alore belonged to Dharejas, though people of Pawar (Panhtar) clan were settled there in large numbers. They possessed large number of camels and plied them to Jaisalmir, Multan and Qandhar.

In the province of Nerun Qila (Nerun Kot) taluka Johi, there were four streams descending from the mountains and used for cultivation. The area belonged to Machis, who paid no taxes. Bakhtiar Beg Turkhan exterminated them, named place as

Akbarabad and handed it over to the Panhwars by names Isa, Musa, Daud and Jalal and they continued to occupy it. The area is recognised as part of Baghban Parguna, which was inhabited by the Maliks, Panhwars, Abras, Samejas, Junejas, Buryah (Burrhas) and Bukya (Bughias), all of whom were peasants and paid taxes. In Kahan (Ghaha) Parguna, Panhwars and Samejas outnumbered others, were peaceful peasants and accompanied Jagirdars to collect revenue. However, Ahmed Beg Khan, the governor of Sehwan, laid waste this Parguna.

In Bubakan Parguna, the tribes settled were the Bubaks and Makhdooms (descendants of Makhdoom Jafar), Dais, Sameja, Bughias, Khawajas (new Muslims) and Bahjahs (Bajars? Or Bajhars?)⁷/ Barejas.

Parguna Junejah, on the left bank of the River Indus, had several tribes, Korejahs, Panhwars and Shaikhs. All these three were peace loving and resisted the other tribes namely Samejas, Bughias and Chandias. The Chandias had led Pargunas of Baghban, Patar (Pat) and Akbarabad to waste and the Panhwars had suffered badly. In an attack on Chandias, Bakhtiar Beg used Panhwars, Korejas and some Samejas and leaders of Panhwars, Isa, Musa and Jalal to accompany him as guides. Chandias' crop was cut down by Shamshir Khan with swords. They approached the Panhwars to act as mediators and the Chandias accepted the peace terms.

Four rain-fed streams from hills, met north of Chhini. Their present names are, Nari, Shol, Kahi and the last one Malang, which may have been the tail end of Naing. On these four streams were settled four Panhwars; Musa, Isa, Daud, and Jalal. The nearest village is Chhini and it might have named as Akbarabad by Bakhtiar Beg⁷. Initially it was part of Baghban Parguna, but later on it was transferred to Nerun Kot (Nayrun

⁷ Later this town became stronghold of Kalhoras. Mian Yar Muhammad handed over the region of Chhini to Shahdad Khan Khoso who was son of Golo Faqir Khoso. Golo Faqir was a disciple of Mian Nasir Muahmmad. The tomb of Golo Faqir lies 3 north of Chhini village. The tomb of Shahdad Faqir Khoso still dominated the landscape of Chhini. Later, many nobles of Shahdani khosas served the Kalhoras. Apart from the tomb of Shahdad Faqir Khoso, the village also boasts stone canopies of other Khosa dignitaries who largely served Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro 1719-1753-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro.

Qila) in Sehwan Sarkar. The Panhwars of Ghaha Parguna called themselves Qureshi and claimed descent from Bibi Halima the nurse of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Panhwars were also present in Bubakan Parguna. The Samejas attacked Panhwars and Korejahs in Nerun Kot, Bubakan, and Baghban etc. The Panhwars jointly with other tribes collected 5000 cavalymen and foot soldiers, crossed the river and attacked Samejas. Bahauddin Panhwar of Samtani also joined them and killed Samejas, leader Paryo and saved Panhwars from further attacks of Samejas. This battle was fought near Guchero village of taluka Moro. Up to time of Shamshir Khan Uzbek, Panhwars of Kahan could raise a fully equipped army of 1000 horsemen and 4000-5000 foot soldiers.

In Nerun Qila, lands of Arbab Bahauddin were assessed on the basis of 3 shares i.e., $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ of the government and $2/3$ with Bahauddin and in case of peasants $4/9$ was resumed and $5/9$ left to peasants. Isa, Musa, Daud and Jalal Panhwars paid only $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ of produce as land revenue and took $2/3^{\text{rd}}$.

Mirza Yusuf in 1044 AH (1634 AD) subjected Panhwars' lands near Akbarabad Wahi, to dabt system instead of crop sharing as $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ share of the government and also ordered branding of cattle and imposed tax on cattle abolished by Akbar Badshah. Bahauddin Panhwar whose village was Samtani made good his escape in the dark of night but his enemies Arbab Ali and Arbab Daud Panhwar did not flee. Mirza Yusuf sent 41 of chiefs of Panhwars to assess Bahauddin Panhwar's land by dabt system. Bahauddin had all 41 Panhwar chiefs killed and escaped. Yusuf Beg put all of rest Panhwars, whether they were chief Arbabs, Muqaddams, Patwaris or Qanungos, in jail.

Panhwars then rebelled and attacked Bubakan and Kahan with help of the hill tribes. Ahmed Beg came out of Sehwan and camped in Samtani the village of Bahauddin Panhwar. Ahmed Beg's brother Mirza Yusuf had not paid the soldiers, for 4-5 months and in the former's expedition against Panhwar Bahauddin, he was defeated. Ahmed Beg had 10 Pargunas of Sehwan and part of Parguna of Chanduka, but he was defeated by the Panhwars time and again.

Shamasuddin (Sharir ul Mulk) sent Khawaja Arif to crush Sameja and Thebas. Having failed he came to Akbarabad village of Panhwars. Here he came across two Sameja guests of Panhwars and captured them. The Panhwars protested, gave him

a fight and defeated his army and chased him, but he killed two Samejas and rushed to Sehwan fort for safety.

These incidents were turning point in the Panhwars' rebellion and finally their occupying the present northern Dadu district and it may have led to Panhwars being accepted as local rulers and payment of some contract value. What were their titles is not known.

Khudabad town under Kalhoras

Khudabad was devastated and destroyed by the Khosas in 1759 AD, when there was chaos in the country for some four years after Noor Muhammad Kalhor's death and Atur Khan wrote to Ghulam Shah to take over the reigns of the government, as he had decided to leave the country. To avenge Khudabad's destruction Ghulam Shah crushed their power and had their leader Jafar Khoso killed. The town never recovered fully as after 1759 AD, due to recurrence of Little Ice Age (1750-1850), level of water in the river went down and much water did not flow through Mehar-Radhan-Maha-Talti branch and also water in the Western Nara canal reduced considerably and the southern Dadu Wah from it did not carry adequate water. The Khosas had ruined almost the whole city, leaving only Khudabad mosque and Yar Muhammad Kalhor's tomb. The suburbs of town extended outside the mud fort on the east of Khudabad mosque as well as on the west of Yar Muhammad's tomb and also to the north and south of the town. The Kalhoras had changed their capital a number of times after 1751-1768 AD, due to continuous hydrological changes, seeking suitable spots on the new unstable and changing courses of the Indus between Hala-Shahdarpur and Hyderabad-Shaikh Bhirkio and abandoned Khudabad as capital for good. The town and area surrounding it being at tail end of canal Dadu Wah, never fully recovered it was burnt by the Talpurs in 1781 AD.

The British gave it a new mouth near Nasrani and the whole Dadu taluka became prosperous but with opening of Dadu canal from Sukkur Barrage it further deteriorated. If water from the River Indus on up-stream side of Dadu-Moro Bridge is injected into Dadu canal and because of no water-logging and good soils, the Khudabad-Bubak area can be turned into very fertile land. The ruins of town are above surroundings and it being free from water- a logging, the surface soils were being

removed and put on adjoining in fertile lands for at least the past one century and now most of area of this historical town is under cultivation except small village, which was shifted there after 1942 floods.

In 1906 such an earth mover was able to find a vessel filled with gold coins buried underground and while selling the coins, he was caught, tried by court, treasures confiscated and jailed. Case was in the court of Mukhtiarkar Dadu and Sessions Court Larkana. It would be interesting to find out final destination of this treasure. The Kalhoras did not mint any gold or silver coins and these must have reached through trade channels, and interesting study in itself of countries Sindh traded with.

Of the artifacts, the present author was shown six pieces of tobacco smoking pots of the era. They are highly decorative and the circular top being notched for decoration. It is not sure how they used them as hubble-bubble top. However they are highly decorative and not similar to the eighteenth century tobacco holding top of Hubble-bubble.

The Khudabad mosque and Yar Muhammad's tomb dating back to 1701 to 1719 are excellent pieces of the Kalhora architecture especially in terms of *kashi* tiles of mosque and *kashi* grills of tomb. Photographs of them show excellent workmanship in blue tiles. Kashi grills of Yar Muhammad's tomb are unique that they consist of small pieces prefabricated by *kashigars* and glazed both on inside and outside and assembled at the site to fit into windows pre-built in the original structure. Grills of stone invariably are in single pieces, but in this case a few dozen pieces combined make an artistic piece, a task difficult to execute as its planning takes place before kiln firing of different pieces. Besides this, thirty two windows have ten different types of grills and in task like this; interchangeability is to be ensured on the principles of mass production.

Importance of Khudabad lies in the fact that both Sehwan and Thatta lost their importance socially, politically and commercially after the Kalhoras made it their capital. The Kalhoras' administrative and tax officers were Hindu Amils, who proudly called themselves Khudabadi Amils, showing their superiority over Amils from other areas like Hyderabad. Khudabad then could easily be reached from north via the

Western Nara canal flowing to its west or from south via the Aral, the Manchar and the Western Nara. Although, Thatta was most important town of Sindh, but it too lost its importance gradually. Decay of Thatta is well documented in travel accounts of Europeans and East India Company's employees trading during Ghulam Shah Kalhoro's rule (1759-1772 AD).

Khudabad City under Kalhoras

1. Yar Muhammad took over Guchera, Shikarpur of the Upper Sindh, built by Daudpottas, Garhi and Kandiaro and also Larkana from nephew of Malak Allah Bux.
2. The title Khuda Yar Khan to Yar Muhammad Kalhoro came from Aurangzeb, who was in Deccan then, fighting Marathas after reducing Birar and Golkanda two Shia states, which had controlled Marathas for some 200 years. With title Khuda Yar Khan, he also got governorship of Sibi or Siwi.
3. Tomb of Yar Muhammad was constructed by himself at Khudabad and not by Ghulam Shah as Ghulam Rasul Mehar thinks. It is erroneous as art of decoration of grills and glazed tiles had started decaying after death of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro and it was comparatively weak by 1759-1772 AD.
4. At the end of his rule Noor Muhammad handed over Khudabad to his son Murad Yab and he himself went to a new city Muhammadabad, built by him.
5. On 29th May 1759 Attur Khan wrote to Ghulam Shah that he was leaving the country and he and Ahmed Yar Khan can do anything with succession. Ghulam Shah reached Larkana and punished the Khosa Sardars who had looted Khudabad, during chaos created by the dispute of succession between the brothers after their father's death.
6. Khudabad (old) is reported in dispute between Abdul Nabi and Mir Fateh Ali. The latter informing him that his troops will take him safely to Khudabad, but he should not try to cross the River Indus and come on the left bank. Khudabad-II or Khudabad New was also constructed by the Kalhroas.

7. The Talpurs burnt Khudabad in 1781 AD, after Abdul Nabi had assassinated Mir Abdullah Khan and Mir Fateh Khan.
8. City had decayed between 1758 to 1781 and then it ceased to exist.
9. Khaif's description of the town in Namah-e-Naghar states: *"Its air makes heart happy and its gardens entertain the heart. Khudabad city was a model of paradise. The fruits available there were orange, sanober, grapes and papers. There were trees of sanober and sarao. Among flowers were roses, chambeli, nargis, nasreen, nilofar, sosan, sumbul, hazarah and gulkhara. There were watercourses and Shikargarhs."*
10. Shaique describes the Kalhora places in centre of city and a garden in the palace. The palace was lofty. The garden called Ali Bagh had a swimming pool big and deep enough needing a boat to move. The story of swimming pool may be eulogy to please owners.

Fatehpur town

Mian Nasir conquered Garhi from the Panhwars around 1681 AD and they re-occupied it, whenever the Mughals attacked Kalhoras.

Mian Din Muhammad with help of Serais conquered Garhi (Fatehpur) from Mir Panhwar. Soon after death of Mian Nasir Muhammad, the local tribes including Panhwars had re-occupied lost territories, but Din Muhammad threw them out. Mir Panhwar complained to the governor of Multan against the Kalhoras. The governor wrote to Subahdar of Sibi, Mirza Khan Pathan to help Panhwars but he was unsuccessful. After death of Shaikh Jehan and Din Muhammad's arrest, Yar Muhammad with help of Serais reached Sarwah and Naing in taluka Hatri, captured Samtani from Qaiser Panhwar, camped in Ghaha and sent troops under his brother Mir Muhammad, who captured Markhpur, Gahi Jamsheed, and freed Fatehpur from Panhwars. Next Yar Muhammad took Gachera, Shikarpur (Khudabad), Garhi and Kandiaro. In his Wasiyat Miyan Noor Muhammad wills that Parguna Baghban, Kachho and Fatehpur to go to his brother Muhammad Khan's son Fazal Ali.

Present conditions of Khudabad Mosque

Khudabad Mosque has two compartments 80x21 and 80x25 feet and is 34 feet high. The mosque had excellent tile work. These had deteriorated in some places and Archaeological Department undertook renovation in nineties of the last century. The original tiles were removed new tiles of extremely poor designs different from originals and under burnt, have replaced the originals, some of which were thrown away in 1979, and rest afterwards. The Present writer copied one mosque tile and repeated over the tower of house 157-C, Unit No. 2, Latifabad, Hyderabad and could be inspected by anyone interested. Renovation is specialized job of archaeologists and others in the trade and not of engineers or DCOs.

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Khudabad and Its Monuments

Ali Muhammad Khan Lundkhawar

Khudabad, 7 miles south of Dadu on the Indus Highway built by Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (1701 AD to 1718 AD) was the sixth Kalhora seat in Sindh. Kahira Bela was the first Kalhora seat, whereas new Khudabad, 2 miles from Hala built by Mian Sarfaraz Kalhoro in 1772 AD was the last seat of the family. Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the first Talpur chief also lived here before he transferred his headquarters to Hyderabad.

According to Tufatul-Kiram the name of the place was originally Shikarpur (Qani 1959). After capturing Gachero he (Yar Muhammad) named Shikarpur, the capital of Panhwars, as Khudabad repeated by Mehar (1958) and Quddusi (1971). Mirza Qalij Beg (1966:25) describes Shikarpur as"

شڪارپور: هي شهر دائود پوٽن جو هو. سن 1617ع ۾ جڏهن هن
لکي مھرن کي جنگ ۾ شڪست ڏني تڏهن هي شهر ٻڌائين ۽
ڪلهوڙن جي وچ ۾ ان شهر کي هٿ ڪرڻ لاءِ جهيڙو هليو.

"The city of Shikarpur was founded in 1617 AD by the Daudputras after defeating the Lakhi Mirs. For 100 years the Kalhoras and Daudputra struggled for this city.

Further he (Ibid.,p.333)describes the city as;

خداآباد: ميان يار محمد ڪلهوڙي جي وقت ۾ سن 1113ھ
(1701ع) ڌاري ڪلهوڙن زور ورتو ۽ ٻنوهرن کان شڪارپور هٿ
ڪري اتي پنهنجو مکيه شهر ٺهرايائون ۽ ان تي خدا آباد نالو
رکيائون.

"During the time of Yar Muhammad in 1113 A.H. (1701 A.A.) the Kalhora family was dominant in Sindh affairs and captured Shikarpur from Panhwars and built a grand city. The city was named Khudabad".

It can fairly be concluded that the new city was built in the area and Shikarpur was not renamed as Khudabad".

Mian Noor Muhammad and Muhammad Khan sons of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, who lived in Kalat till this time, also shifted to Khudabad. In 1170 A.H. (1757 AD) the river Indus stormed the city and Ghulam Shah who was in power built a new city near Muhammadabad, built by his father and named it Allahbad. At that time Muhammad Murad Yab Khan his brother lived in Khudabad. Ghulam Shah Kalhoro came to Khudabad in 1172 A.H. (1759 AD) and killed leaders of Khosa tribe, who had looted the city (Mahar 1958). He also appointed a garrison for its proper protection.

Yar Muhammad Kalhoro gave the name of Khudabad to his capital, perhaps, due to his title Khuda Yar Khan from the Mughal Court (Mahar 1958). Khudabad was a flourishing city till the court shifted to Hyderabad inducing the large trading, military and court population to migrate to the new seat of royalty. Soon Khudabad sank into insignificance, as is the fate of all such towns, when royal courts are shifted. A few years later the defeat of Mian Abdul Nabi, the last ruling Kalhora by the Talpurs, completed the ruination of the city and set the houses on fire, resulting in utter desertion of the city.

The ruins of Khudabad, now almost beyond recognition, spread over an area of about 50 acres, are covered with its unsubstantial buildings. The buildings as indicated by the ruins were built predominantly of mud bricks enclosed by a mud bricks fortification wall. Today no remains of imposing structures can be observed, save Jami Masjid and the mausoleum of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro.

Mausoleum of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro

Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, son of Mian Nasir, was the sixth Sajjada-Nashin of Adam Shah after the death of his elder brother Mian Din Muhammad in 1111 A.H. (1699-1700 AD). The Kalhora family, who claims to be the descendants of Hazrat Abbas, remained somewhat obscure till 1558 AD when they revived in the person of Adam Shah. Head of a large sect of mendicants in the Chanduka Pargana, Adam Shah was the first in Kalhora family who stands clearly out of the mist. He was killed at Multan in the middle of the sixteenth century and buried at Sukkur (Mahar 1958; Qani 1959). For four generations his

descendants lived in the area of Larkana, multiplying their disciples, acquiring land and increasing their influence.

Mian Din Muhammad was proclaimed as the fifth *Sajjada-Nashin* of Adam 'Shah in 1103 A.H. (1692 AD), after the death of his father Mian Nasir Muhammad. The Panhwars attempted to recover their lost lands, but only to be defeated. Even Shaikh Jahan, an officer of Dehli Court, deputed to exterminate Kalhoras, was defeated and killed. The insult was intolerable and Prince Muizuddin, the eldest son of Emperor Bahadur Shah, and governor of Multan, took the field against Kalhoras. He swooped down on the Kalhora possessions, destroying Garhi and other towns. Din Muhammad fled, but on promise of pardon eventually surrendered. His brother Yar Muhammad persisted in rebellion and even attacked a body of royal troops and defeated it. Din Muhammad was taken prisoner and put to death.

Yar Muhammad, the younger brother of Din Muhammad took refuge in Kalat for two years and then started a fresh career. Entering Sindh near Manchhar Lake, he defeated the Panhwars and took Larkana and other towns. Prince Muiz-ud-Din marched down again to chastise him but with different results. Yar Muhammad Kalhoro was pardoned, even received into favour and honoured with the governorship of Derajat, as well as the title of Khuda Yar Khan (Qani 1959). Thus Kalhora family as a dynastic force rose gradually into dominance and strengthened secular with spiritual authority in Sindh.

Yar Muhammad may be regarded as the real founder of Kalhora rule in Sindh and held the chieftainship of the family for 18 years (1701-1718 AD). He succeeded in wresting Shikarpur from the Daudputra, founded in 1616 AD. After acquiring legitimate position of authority from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, one of his early acts was to build Khudabad. He had over run Kandiaro and Larkana tract, in addition to the country round Sukkur by 1711 AD. And he was the real effective power in the Upper Sind. He lived peacefully during his last 9 years rule, except the battle of Jhoke. He was awarded lease of the area of Sainvati, Chakakan partially, as he helped the Mughal Prince in the Battle of Jhoke. He also farmed the paragona of Rupa in the Northern Sindh, after Nawab Shakir Khan quitted the area.

Yar Muhammad Kalhoro died in 1718 AD and was buried at Khudabad. According to Tuhfatul Kiram (Qani 1959)

he died on Monday or Tuesday 15th Zulqad 1131 A.H. after ruling for 18 years, whereas, Mehr prefers 11th Zeqa'ad 1131 A.H. (1718 AD) the date of Merathe-Abbasia. He died during the reign of Rafiud-Daula, four days before the accession of Muhammad Shah.

The mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad, one of the early monuments of Kalhora dynasty in Sindh, is said to have been built by him in his life time. However, most of the scholars believe that the mausoleum was constructed by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. According to the local tradition the construction of the mausoleum was started by Yar Muhammad himself and completed by his son and successor Mian Noor Muhammad.

Erected on a raised platform 214 feet long 105 feet wide and 8 feet high, the lofty mausoleum is in the western half of the enclosure. The mausoleum enclosed by a 5 feet high wall is approached through an entrance gate. similar but certainly diminutive in details to one at Jami Masjid, Khudabad. The entrance gate, 8 feet high from ground level, projects inside the Sahn and is approached through a flight of steps in semi-circular shape. The entrance within a high arched alcove, 32' x 22' is topped by a semidome. The alcove has floral and geometrical fresco paintings, while the outer facade of the gate, though panelled, is destitute of any decorative scheme. Originally the façade of the gate must have been decorated with glazed tiles, which slowly and gradually fell down and were lost.

The single domed tomb of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro is a massive square building 53 feet on the exterior, with an unassuming entrance 5'-2½' in a high arched alcove. The lofty façade 39 feet including the parapet is profusely decorated with enamelled glazed tiles in regular panels. The arched alcove is contained within a frame having geometrical decoration in miniature glazed tiles. On either side of the frame is vertical panels, in three equal parts. having shallow arched recesses. Similarly the interior of the alcove is also divided into panels of different sizes. All these panels have geometrical and pseudo floral decoration in glazed tiles. Henry Cousens (1929), expert on Sindh tiles, has in particular appreciated the panel above the entrance which he describes as, "The great panel of coloured tiles above the entrance is a remarkable piece of work. Nearly ten feet square, it is made up of no less than 240 square tiles. no two, except in the outer border. being alike". While commenting on these large single pattern panels. Cousens opined. "the usual

way in which these large single pattern panels are drawn out by the present makers, is by laying the plain tiles out upon the ground, closely packed to the same size as the panel, and then drawing and painting in the pattern as if the whole were on flat surface, and with what success, may be judged from the photograph. The tiles are then again fired to fix the colours, and attached to the building in their respective positions to reproduce the design; In this case, the great size of the panels must have made this a difficult piece of work, considering the rough tools and appliances used. The result, however, is perfect. The arched panels on either side of this, and below are also worked out in the same way, though their designs, being that of a diaper, do not produce the same effect. The great central panel recalls, the great rose windows in gothic work", Even the local tradition supports the idea. For the construction and decoration of such structures the artisans used to work on the spot to fulfil the requirements. Bricks and tiles were manufactured near the building. Thus even the minute details were worked out and completed on the spot. The situation was different and more practicable from the present day, in which bricks are manufactured at one place, tiles supplied from another, without assessing the requirements by the artisans themselves.

The other exterior sides of the mausoleum are relieved each with three arched recesses 23 feet high, feet wide and 1½ feet deep terminating at squinch level. These are also richly covered with glazed tiles in floral and geometrical designs in panels. High-up above internally at squinch level is a vaulted gallery, over the thickness of the walls. The mausoleum of Yar Muhammad Kalhor is imposing by virtue of its height, especially due to the gallery, which also masks the zone of transition and forms the drum on which rests a hemispherical dome. The gallery is pierced at regular intervals by arched windows filled with a pair of grills on exterior and interior, each composed of powerful arabesque and geometric designs, Thus the light and air so doubly broken and filtered is shed inside the chamber, the gallery approached by a flight of steps in the thickness of the wall with an entrance from the north-western exterior corner.

Entered through an arched entrance in the eastern facade, now fitted with a modern two leaved door, the mausoleum is a square on plan. A deep arched recess above the dado level is

alternating with low arched recesses at each cardinal point and the square ground plan has been developed into a domed octagon interiorly. Each corner arch, in reality a gigantic squinch, reaches down the dado level. These have the same colour and dimensions as the four main arches, thus transforming the basically square chamber into an octagon, ideally used earlier in the Shaikh Lutfullah mosque (1601-1628 AD) at Isfahan, Iran (Pope 1965:73) and Anarkali's tomb, 1615 AD (Rehman 1981:34). The hemispherical dome 33 feet in diameter rests on an octagonal drum which forms the interior face of the gallery. The parapet above the alcove of the entrance is high enough to conceal considerably the dome. A masonry 8 pillared kiosks on each corner has improved the elevation considerably.

Interiorly the mausoleum is white washed, except the drum, which is painted in floral design in irregular rows in yellow, red and green colours. Dadois veneered with glazed tiles in a geometrical pattern, while the floor is of green glazed tiles. The colourscheme in paint and tiles sufficiently proves that the white washed interior of the mausoleum was once tastefully decorated with paintings.

In the centre of the mausoleum on a masonry platform 13' x 8' x 2½' is the grave of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro with a wooden canopy. In the western arched recess is another masonry platform with the grave of Muhammad Khan, son of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro. While to the south of his tomb is an exquisitely carved stone grave with a railing of six different geometrical patterns of Mian Shafi Muhammad Khan. The grave stone has *Ayatulkursi*, Persian couplets and a dated inscription. Outside the mausoleum in the enclosure are many graves of the Kalhoro family and Faqirs laid in masonry platforms and in domed tombs. A wagon vaulted domed tomb of Mian Muhammad Murad Yab, son of Mian Noor Muhammad, grandson of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro is in the north-western corner. In northern side of the enclosure are two domed tombs; one of Muhammad Daud and the other of Ghulam Hussain, sons of Yar Muhammad. While on the southern side are domed tombs of Mir Muhammad, brother of Yar Muhammad and Ali Muhammad, his cousin. The *majawars* are on platforms.

The dated inscription of the tomb of Mian Shafi Muhammad inside the mausoleum of Yar Muhammad clearly indicates that the mausoleum was built prior to 1156 A.H. (1742 AD). The mausoleum is either constructed by Mian Noor

Muhammad, or as the local tradition says, started by Yar Muhammad in his life time and completed by his son and successor.

Jami Masjid Khudabad

The mosque is imposing by virtue of its moderate size, isolated location and high platform. The platform, 6th in height, projects along the outside of the prayer chamber. Thus a 10 feet outer platform is created on three sides of the prayer chamber, a rare feature in mosque architecture. Along the northern side of the platform, in the eastern half, are 6 chambers each 9'x 13' with tunnel vaulted roof having wide arched openings. The wide opening suggests the purpose other than residential for the Khatib and others. This idea is also endorsed by the local tradition.

The recessed portal in the centre of the enclosure wall a modest structure, is approached by circular steps. The portal 29 feet long, 16 feet wide and 40 feet high projects inside the courtyard with a flight of steps leading to the roof. The portal has a deep arched alcove, 11 feet long and 9 feet in depth, roofed by a half dome. The unimpressive entrance with modern wooden door, leads into a small flat roofed vestibule which in turn opens through an arched opening into the courtyard of the mosque.

It is the decorative scheme of not only the imposing entrance but the whole mosque, which have always been admired. The entrance was faced with glazed tiles in floral and geometrical designs, while other sides of the structure has floral painted designs in arched recessed panels. The same decorative scheme of paintings and glazed tiles present a rich interior of the entrance as well.

The courtyard of the mosque 135 feet 88 feet has no feature except the enclosing wall 6 feet high. Even the usual ablution tank inside the Sahn is wanting. During enquiries it was revealed that a water tank existed along the northern half of the eastern side near the gate. without any evidence, now. The present floor is lime neru and freshly laid in the recent past.

The main prayer chamber is the most remarkable and important part of the mosque. The facade of the main prayer chamber consists of three entrances, the central one, bigger than the flanking ones. Each entrance is set in an arched alcove roofed

with semi-domes. The northern entrance has a stair case in the thickness of the wall leading to the roof of the facade. For keeping symmetry the southern entrance had also a staircase, which was blocked, perhaps in the same period. Later an explorer has re-opened it partially, leading to the popular folk stories; such as killing of the mason by the ruler after completing the mosque, so that he may not construct another such 'building'. According to another fabulous narration, the mason remained for one year in this hiding, as the ruler intended to kill him. Yet another describes these steps leading to a tunnel below the Sahn. The entire façade along with the parapet wall 25 feet high is profusely decorated with glazed tiles.

Each arch of the alcove is set in a double frame. The inner frame of the central alcove, divided into rectangular panels, in two sixes have geometrical and arabesque designs in miniature tiles, alternating with each other. The frames of the flanking alcoves have uniform geometrical designs only. The outer frame over the arched alcoves has a basket weave pattern instead of geometrical and floral pattern-arabesques, recalling the tomb of Ismail in Bokhara and the facade at Natanz. However, the spandrels of the arches, alcoves, entrances & blind arches on the interior and exterior of the mosque have arabesque floral patterns as we see every where in the Shah Jahan mosque, Thatta. The dado, 5 feet high, is of blue glazed tiles on edge alternating with thin white courses. Here on either side of the central entrance, set in the alcove, is a beautiful panel, which Henry Cousens (1929) has particularly mentioned and I quote "on either side of the entrance to the mosque is a beautiful panel, which is quite the best thing in tiles to be found in Sindh. Unlike the general run of designs, which however floral the patterns, are disposed, more or less, geometrical forms, this design reveals in its very realistic and unconventional treatment. It represents a tall and graceful plant of the lily order, whose lanceolate leaves, flowers, buds spout from the central stem and falls over right and left in easy natural curves. It has not slightest stiffness and is full of soft flowing lines, which produce a very pleasant effect. The whole plant is white, upon a dark blue ground. Both panels which are alike, have suffered at the hand of the despoiler, but not to the extent of the wall within, it looks as if the beauty of the panels had successfully appealed to the better feelings of some, and held the hand of the barbarians, whose mischievous fingers have disfigured the interior.

The prayer chamber has two distinctive parts, viz., the eastern rectangular ones 88'x24' without a roof, and the three domed western part consisting of three bays. The dado of the prayer chamber was covered with two types of geometrical designed glazed tiles alternating with each other. The prayer chamber was also lavishly decorated with paintings, mostly in floral designs. Besides the three main domes, the central one, higher than the flanking ones, 18 number small domes immediately brings the question of their function. These small domes are over a gallery, 8 feet high. The gallery is formed over the thickness of prayer chamber walls. To give sufficient light to the gallery 15 arched windows with perforated jail in different geometrical designs have also been provided. For regulating fresh air in the prayer chamber an arched opening in the northern and southern walls of the western part have been provided. Similarly the eastern part of the prayer chamber had three arched openings on the same sides, which were blocked at a later stage.

The first or eastern part of the prayer chamber, which is roofless, provides an interesting feature in mosque architecture, derived from an earlier mosque situated at Garhi, built by Mian Nasir Muhammad, father of Mian Yar Muhammad, in taluka Khairpur Nathan Shah, District Dadu. The eastern part of both the mosques sanctuaries are roofless and bear no material evidence of masonry roof. During conservation of Khudabad mosque pieces of wood were reported from this part of the prayer chamber, suggesting a flat wooden roof. The floor of the two parts of prayer chamber was originally of blue glazed tiles, still preserved in patches.

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Khudabad and Its Architectural Suburb

Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bokhari

Architecture both public and private has been the index indicative to some score of social, religious, economic, political, artistic etc., aspects of a clime and time, especially in the past. Besides, it ranks in the necessities of the life next to the food. Observing the vicinity of Khudabad (old), from the architectural point of view, we have some clues and expressions of surviving private and regnal buildings of different kinds to assess the constructional genius and capability of the people of this part of Sindh. Some of those, however, are described, in fine, as follows:

(a) Religious and Semi religious (Mosques and Mausolea)

i. Jami Mosque Khudabad

The monument said to have been built at the behest of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, who ruled from Khudabad (old) as his capital from AD. 1700-1718/19 with the title Khuda Yar Khan, is now situated at the eastern verge of the Indus highway near the present village of Khudabad.

Its highly placed main monumental gate/portal to the east is approachable by ten '*ardha-chandra*' steps. The vast rectangular now dull courtyard, six feet higher than the ground level is enclosed with a wall ranging in height from 6'-6" to 7'-6" including its dentate summit. To the west of this courtyard is a double prayer chamber of the mosque entered through a triple

arched façade, of which central part looks like a pylon. It is richly decorated with azulejos. The lofty walled space behind the '*maqsura*' presently appearing as a hypethral, was once covered with a flat roof and served as the ante-'aiwan' to the main prayer chamber of the mosque. The important part of the monument is its western and main '*Aiwan*', which is divided and inter-communicated by two pairs of opposite arched pilasters into three bays, each accessible also through separate arched opening from the ante-'aiwan' of the mosque.

The mosque has been mentioned almost in all the books on the architectural achievements made in Sindh, particularly during the 18th century AD. It however, bears certain curious, initiative features besides, being slightly un-conventional from the standard or classical (save '*Kharoths*', made of unhewn stone in either circular or square shape in the hilly region of Sindh) mosques built in this part of the province.

Quite prominent and curious feature, no like of which is seen any where else in Sindh, is the dumpy rampart raised on three sides (South, West, North) of a double '*Aiwan*' of the mosque built during the British period perhaps as conservation measures, to substantiate the undermined foundations and also protects the walls and the mosque from profanation. Today, however, this structure guards the mosque from the traffic hazards. Another strange feature is a cellular construction attached abextra to the eastern portion of the northern side of the platform. It comprises six cells of almost similar shape and little different in size open to the north. They have '*Gaya Prishtha Kriti*' like ceilings'. The appropriate use and antiquity of this feature is yet questionable.

Covered Galleries

Though the author has beholden the feature initiated in a very rude form in the historical mosque at Samtani, yet it is introduced as an elaborate labyrinth at Khudabad. The galleries ranging from 70 to 80 centimetres in width are covered with 18 cupolas excluding the three main domes spanning the bays of the mosque. In all there are 21 domes of four different sizes arranged longitudinally in three rows of seven domes each. The galleries are lit to some extent by 12 latticed windows opening both to exterior and interior. Besides, four grilled windows are furnished in the galleries constructed on the pilastered arches between

three main domes covering the bays. Access rather adit to this Labyrinthine super structure is provided from two points: from the north-eastern corner of the roof of the western "Aiwan" and 2 hypaethrus like inlet from the roof by descending six steps from northern bays of the mosque.

Otherwise conventional building of the mosque strangely lacks certain customary element as minarets, 'Pushkarani', Ambo etc. Aesthetically, however, its glazed tile panels on either side of the entrance are reckoned the best in Sindh because of their eurhythmy.

ii. Ancient Mosque at Village Noorja

The mosque is situated in village, Deh and Tapo Noorja of taluqa Dadu. It is about 3 km and 2 km away respectively from village Ameenani and new Chanerath. According to a tradition the village (Noorja) was founded by Mian Noor Muhammed Kalhoro while ruling from Khudabad. The site is located on the bank of 'Phitto' an abandoned flood channel parting from the River Indus about 10 km north and reaching probably Manchhur area via Khudabad and served as ferry for the latter and many other places enroute.

Located to the west of the present village and beside the newly built primary school, the residue of an ancient mosque is noticeable on an elevated place, which obviously represents the remains of still greater antiquity. The long axis of the mosque is planned in three width wise bays partially separated by massive pilasters taking the load of traversing arches. Each bay was covered with a dome (only a fragment of the southern dome now survives). The whole structure was made of sun-dried bricks. Burnt bricks were, however, used sparsely in the super structure i.e. domes and arches. The niches in the western wall and the windows in northern and southern walls of the 'Zulla' were set in slightly pointed arches sunk in bigger arches of the identical shape in the interior of the mosque. The domes were rising directly from the extrados of the arches. A niche in the western wall was decorated with a pattern showing triple arched lowly set panels and a cornice below the stalactite work in its intrados and the back surface. The survivals are in an irreparable state now.

iii. Ancient mosque in village New Chanerath

A very simply mosque at village and Deh New Chanerath, Tapo Noorja is situated at a distance of some 11-12 km from Dadu. The prayer chamber of this mosque built with adobe is subdivided in three bays. Small 'Sahn' enclosed with a low wall had an access from the east. The arches were actually cusped of which some traces were visible. Burnt-bricks were used at some places in the arches and in domes. The squinches in the interior are built above the cornice running over the arches. Also there are some indications of stalactite work. Each of the three bays is covered with a dome and entered separately through an arched opening. Each dome is surmounted with a finial. Finials also occurred on four corners and at the ends of the central pylon-like feature. Traces of lime-plaster were also visible at some places. The southern and were also visible at some places. The southern and northern walls had decorative arched panels with few small perforations to admit light and the air. The mosque is in a very bad state of preservation.

iv. Old mosque at village Phakka

The Jami Mosque located at village and Deh Phakka, Tapo Badani and about 3 km from Khudabad, is structurally and materially very simple but comparatively better preserved than that of New Chanerath. Many residential quarters of the village and the said mosque underlay dusty mass, which is most probably the cultural debris of the antiquarian's interest. The mosque is located nearly at the centre of the village. It has small precinct in the east and the prayer chamber entered through triple doorways placed under simple, rather crude Tudor type lowly sunk arches, separated by panelled slightly projecting pilasters. The parapet is furnished with simple cops. The prayer hall of the mosque is designed in three bays, each covered with a dome bearing crude inverted lotus like pinnacle with traditional finials atop. The corners and the ends of central rise of the façade also have the same kind of finials. The mosque certainly lacks simultaneity with the Kalhora period monuments.

v. The mosque adjacent to the Mausoleum of Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhoro

Near Khudabad the mosque is constructed on the general ground level. It is a simple and utilitarian building of burnt- bricks. The main gate of the mosque also simple and small but having distinct individuality was once probably covered with a half dome. The outer arch of the gate has since collapsed leaving only the traces at the springing level. The whole structure of the gate projects out of the plan of the sept.

Between the gate and the prayer chamber is the 'Bamti' or 'Sahn' measuring to some 60x41 feet respectively from north-south and east- west. The façade of the mosque is accessible through three gate ways, each with an arch and panelled frame. The elevation of the screen has three parts. The central and comparatively higher one is linked by two lower ones. Stumpy projections at the top of the angles of the facade had finials. The entire mosque was actually plastered and painted with simple designs. The sides of the mosque are decorated exteriorly with panels.

The prayer chamber of the mosque is subdivided into three bays. A flight of 22 steps is provided in the western side soffit of the deep alcoves built in the northern and southern bays of the sanctuary to approach the roof of the mosque.

vi. Mausoleum of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (Deh Phakka Tapo Badani)

The site is approachable by a metalled road for a distance little more than 1 km, linking the Indus Highway with Khudabad village. The mausoleum is erected on an elevated ground beside a huge cemetery. The 'Sahn' of the tomb is entered through a simple but monumental doorway set within a deep and high alcove accessible by a flight of semi-circular steps from the east. In the courtyard there are dozens of ordinary graves on plinths and platforms, small mausolea and vaults including that of Mian Muhammed Murad Yab Kalhoro. The main building in the group is, however, mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro also titled 'Khuda Yar Khan'. It is a massive quadrangular building of predominant verticality. Its façade on the eastern side is exuberantly bedecked with kashi tiles. The ingress to the tomb

through a very high alcove like arch is fixed with a disproportionately small door. Interiorly the structure is a square comprising three graves. The one in the centre built over a platform is the grave of Mian Yar Muhammed Kalhoro covered with a cavity. The other graves are those of Mian Shafi Muhammad and Mian Muhammad Khan. The walls and the domed ceiling of the tomb bear some painted designs. Exteriorly a narrow 'sopana' is provided in the northern wall to ascend up the upper story or the covered bazaar gallery built round an octagonal drum over the thickness of the walls. Another staircase built in the south western corner of the bazaar leads up to the roof. The chamber of the tomb is covered with a dome and four corner kiosks introduced perhaps for the first time in the Kalhora monuments in Sindh.

vii. Rank of Mangoo Faqir Jatoi

Architecturally important among the existing monument in the graveyard of Mian Yar Muhammad is the Rank of Mangoo Faqir. Situated on the south- west, say at a distance of about 200 paces from the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, the monument is built with water moulded 3-1/2 cem, thick burnt- bricks. The chamber is square on plan with the façade towards east. All the exterior sides of the mausoleum have same kind of decorative arrangement. On the north and south of the chamber there are at present wooden windows fixed in the centre of the arched openings originally reaching the ground level but later closed almost to the dado level.

Square plan of the mausoleum has been converted interiorly into an octagonal from the ground level by creating huge corner arches to end as squinches at the top. Inside the building there are two graves; the one in the centre is perhaps that of Mangoo Faqir Jatoi who was traditionally known as one of the commanders of Mian Yar Muhammad, performing an extra duty of supplying milk for the house of Mian Sahib. The drum of the dome is converted into sixteen sides by means of niches sunk in shallow recessed arches, each alternate being open. A 'mehrab' is built interiorly in the 'qibla' side wall.

Exteriorly a flight of steps leads up to the north- western corner of the roof. The neck of the dome is an octagonal, each face of which is decorated with three arched panels, the central one is, however, open. The dome was originally crested with an

octagonal lantern of considerable size, now extinct stretches of lime-plaster and streaks of paintings can still be seen.

viii. Vaulted tomb of Mian Muhammad Murad Yab (Fig.7)

Another monument of historical importance is the Tajjar-like tomb of Mian Muhammed Murad Yab Kalhoro, who ruled over Sindh for about four years. It is with simple oblong plan and structurally stunted façade on the east. It has an indented parapet with small corner turrets.

An elongated vault like roof has also a short finial at either end. The sides and the rear bear same decorative elements i.e. the panels. The central panel is pierced with latticed arches, to illuminate and aerate the mausoleum abintia. The monument is located to the north western corner of the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro.

In the graveyard of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro there are some other monuments like the stone canopy of Shahdad Khan Langah, painted remains, pavilion of some others.

B. Secular

i. Landhi

A building of simple constructional plan is and has been reckoned in the popular architecture of Sindh since the hoary past. The Kalhoras, however, are thought to have standardized the type for more grave and democratic intent and most probably used it for multipurpose, as Deewan-e-Aam and or as the centre of judicial, legislative, administrative and consultative business. It is variously planned but usually used to be rectangular and built either with mud / lumps or pises and or adobe, with walls on three or four sides shaded with reedy or thatched roof supported by wooden carcass in the gabled shape. Specimen can be seen near (about 50 paces from) the outer/ main portal of Mian Yar Muhammad's mausoleum.

ii. Khudabad Fort

Mention regarding the extent and features of the fort said to have existed at Khudabad, in historical accounts and tell tales was hardly historical accounts corroborative to the remains there few

decades back. The author also had an opportunity for the first time in mid-seventies to visit the site for study purpose and could see some structural oddments of the fortification in the north, west, south and beside the famous historical Jami mosque in the shape of broken architectural trails (many of them are now extinct) for a distance little more than a kilometre to each direction. The remnants revealed no elements identical to a big fort commensurate to the lodgement of an army or the host. The area fortified was conformable to its being a fortalice or a roomy citadel enough to accommodate the royalty and the aristocracy along with their guarding small contingent or garrison. If, however, there was another fort of huge dimensions circumscribing the said fortress or aloof, it probably was razed to ground much earlier.

Whether some map of the old city of Khudabad or its fort has been published somewhere, I am not aware of it. But I had a chance to come across a manuscript illustrated with a roughly drawn, presumably suppositious (unless supported by some authentic source) map, by late Muhammad Sujaan alias, Muhammad Shujaa, resident of village Ghulam Khan Chandio, but later migrated and settled at village Chhano (now Shahabad) near Dadu, in the library of my friend Muhammd Usman Memon. If nothing else is available, it can be updated with help of literature and the local know how for the future research. Besides, the remains of the tombs of Sadiq Faqir Thathyo, Hajan Faqir Dahyo and Daood Kumbhar etc. also bear witness to the extensive architectural activities at Khudabad.

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Khudabad: the Forgotten City of Sindh

Shaikh Khurshid Hasan

Khudabad, situated on the Indus Highway, some 18 kilometres from Dadu, was the capital of Kalhora rulers till 1768 AD when Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro shifted it to the new city of Hyderabad. The city of Khudabad was founded by Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (died 1131 A.H/1718 AD) (Qani 1971:443-44), who in fact laid the foundation of Kalhora rule in Sindh. The place was named Khudabad (Mehtar 1958:1080) in keeping with the title of "Khudayar Khan" bestowed on Mian Yar Muhammad by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Khan (1994:393).

With the gradual stability in the rule of Kalhoras, the capital city of Khudabad also progressed. In due course, it became a prosperous city, endowed with lofty buildings and beautiful gardens. The gardens were providing picturesque scenes with enormous varieties of flowers such as rose, jasmine, water-lily, lotus, narcissus etc. The gardens were also having such ornamental trees as cypress, pine, fir, quince etc. The gardens were echoed with the melodious voices of nightingales, peacocks, cuckoo etc. There were water channels which further added to the beauty and grandeur of the city. Close by, there was a hunting resort.

Bagh Ali Khaif, composer of "Nameh Naghaz" has praised the city of Khudabad in one of his couplets (Mehtar 1958:1081) as follows:

ویر خدا بادع کہ اندر وی خدا آباد کرد
ہم چون نام خود خدا اباد است شیر جانفرا
باد خود آباد چون در سینہ اقلیم سند
راحت دلہائی پچال چون دم روح خدا
خانہ عیش چون جنات، جانانہ رخ عیش جاں ستاں
دلبر آتش و لہر باد و لہذا کائناتش در عدا
گل مزار آتش بہ زیبا چہرہ چون لہلہ زار

خوش مقامال در بند فهم و نکته دال و آشنا
 قعر سلطان در میان و در میانش گلستان
 دست دولت را انگار و پائی قدرت را حنا
 از قفاش را فلک بیند امطر آب شمس
 قدر مقدارش خداوند در جانی محفل ما

Translation

In this Khudabad (area settled by God) he founded Khudabad.
 As its name suggests it is a city cheerful,
 Khudabad is like a pride (or good wind) on the chest of the
 dominion of Sindh,
 Which wreathes the hearts with repose like a breath of Divine
 Spirit,
 Its houses are like paradise and its beauties are ravishing, (They
 are) lovely, heart-ravishing, consoling in calamity (grief).
 Their cheeks are beautiful like a garden of tulips,
 Of good status, understanding of cues and subtle points &
 friendly.
 The palace of the Sultan in the centre and in its centre the
 garden,
 (Are) something written by the hand of wealth (state
 sovereignty),
 And its foot is coloured like henna by Nature.
 Its height eyes (rivals) the astrolabe of Sun in the sky,
 Its quantity (height) is beyond the reach of my understanding.
 Mir Ali Shah Shaiq had eulogized Mahar 1958:1082) the city of
 Khudabad during the reign of Miyan Abdul Nabi Kalhoro as
 under:

هو خوش دل و باغبان دل یزیر
 خدا باد شهر است جنت نظر

Translation

Hear refreshing wind and pleasant gardens,
 Khudabad is a city like paradise.

The name of the royal garden was "Bagh-e-Ali" according to Shaiq; there was a water channel which was used by the ruler for recreational activities like boating. The scenic beauty of the city could be compared with the fascinating valley of Kashmir as well as the enchanting Nile valley (Mehar 1958:1083)

The city, however, lost its importance and became desolate when Mian Ghulam Shah shifted the capital to

Hyderabad in 1768 AD. Later on, the Talpurs ransacked the city in retaliation for the murder of Mir Abdullah Khan Talpur and Mir Fateh Khan Talpur by Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhoro (Mehar 1958:1081).

The ruins of Khudabad are spread over an extensive area. The only surviving buildings are those of Jam-e-Masjid and the mausoleum of Miyan Yar Muhammad Kalhora. The present paper deals with the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad, which has got interesting architectural features.

Mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro

Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro died in 1718 AD. According to some scholars, he himself got his mausoleum constructed (Beg 1999:43). However, according to local tradition the mausoleum was constructed by Mian Ghulam Shah. This presumption does not appear to be correct. To the south of the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad, is an exquisitely carved stone grave of Mian Shafi Muhammad, the grandson of Mian Yar Muhammad. It contains a dated inscription which indicates that the mausoleum was built prior to 1156 A.H./1742 AD (Lundkhawar 1988:54). The construction of the mausoleum by Mian Ghulam Shah, who ruled from 1761 to 1772 AD., therefore, seems to be questionable. Mian Ghulam Shah had constructed a number of buildings. He usually mentioned the fact that a particular building was constructed by him through an inscriptional tablet. For instance, the mausoleum of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was constructed by him. This fact has clearly been stated in one of the inscriptions affixed on the southern entrance of the mausoleum (Ahmed 1986:185). Similarly main entrance to the Dargah of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar was constructed by him. This fact has also been mentioned by Mir Muohammad Sabir Thattavi in versified form (Baloch 1996:101). No such inscriptional or historical evidence is available to confirm that the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad was constructed by Mian Ghulam Shah. In all probability, the construction of the mausoleum was started by Mian Yar Mohammad during his life time and completed by his son Mian Noor Muhammad.

The mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad is located in a walled enclosure having a height of about five feet. The edifice is erected on the western side of the enclosure, on a raised

platform. It is 214' long and 105' wide with a height of 8' from the ground level. The entrance to the mausoleum complex is through a gate, which projects inside the courtyard. The entrance is in fact within a high arched alcove measuring 32' x 22'. It is topped by a squat dome. The arched alcove is flanked by two square recessed panels on each side arranged in vertical order. The parapet is bedecked with merlons. The entire gate was originally embellished with colour glazed tiles. But due to weathering effects, almost all the tiles have either been fallen down or have lost their colour and glaze. To the right of the arched gateway is a mosque built by Mian Yar Muhammad. However due to ill-conceived repairs undertaken from time to time, it has lost its original features to a great extent.

The present writer, who has made an in depth study of the Kalhora funerary memorial architecture, has come to the conclusion that it has greatly been influenced by the funerary architecture of Sayyid and Lodhi periods (1414-1526 A.D), which in turn had got inspirations from the Central Asian architectural traditions (Hasan 1996). All the ingredients of Sayyid and Lodhi periods architecture such as entrance (Peshtaq), super-structure, façade etc., are fully represented by the Kalhora funerary architecture. In some of the mausolea of the Kalhora period, there is a provision of ambulatory gallery, which has been borrowed from the Seraiki Architecture (Hassan 2001a). The mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad is the first Kalhora funerary memorial, the conceptual plan of which is mostly based on Sayyid and Lodhi periods architecture. It also served as model for the subsequent mausolea/tombs constructed during the Kalhora period. The prominent architectural features of the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad are described as under:

I. General Plan

The mausoleum is a lofty structure of a square shape measuring 53' externally. Internally the mausoleum is octagonal on plan. This has been achieved through an innovative device. A deep arched recess above the dado level is alternating with a low arched recess at each cardinal point. Thus a square ground plan has been developed into a domed octagon internally. Each corner

arch in fact serves the purpose of a squinch for raising the super-structure of a dome.

II. Ambulatory Gallery

There is a vaulted gallery on the upper part of the squinches, which also marks the zone of transition for the dome. The gallery is approachable through a flight of steps provided in the thickness of the wall with an entrance from the north- western exterior corner. The ambulatory gallery in the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad and in some other Kalhora tombs has been provided as a mark of veneration. Because the Kalhoras deriving their descent from Hazrat Abbas, the paternal uncle of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H), were held in high esteem. They were infact the 'Spiritual Guide' for their devotees.

III. Dome

The drum of a hemispherical dome forming the upper part of the ambulatory gallery is 15'-9" in dia. The lower part of the drum is pierced at regular intervals by arched windows (clerestory) which are filled with a pair of grills on exterior and interior, each composed of beautiful arabesque and geometric designs. The provision of clerestory provides proper ventilation inside the burial chamber and keeps its interior quite airy and pleasant. The dome is crowned by a finial made-up of beads.

IV. Burial Chamber

The grave of Mian Yar Muhammad is in the centre of the burial chamber constructed over a raised platform measuring 13' x 8' x 2½'. It has a wooden canopy over it. The grave of Muhammad Khan son of Mian Yar Muhammad is located in the arched recess towards the western end. It is also erected on a raised platform. In the south of the burial chamber there is a grave of Mian Shafi Muhammad son of Muhammad Khan. It contains a railing constructed with exquisitely carved stones depicting beautiful geometrical patterns. The burial chamber was originally decorated with floral paintings. But it has now been white-washed. The interior surface of the dome is divided into several registers. Each register is painted with floral designs in

different colours i.e. yellow, red and green. The dado is bedecked with glazed tiles of different geometrical patterns. The floor is covered with green glazed tiles.

V. Entrance

The notable feature of the mausoleum is its monumental entrance. Its height is 39' including the parapet. It has been so designed as to have the central position in the shape of a recessed arched-way set in an ornamental rectangular frame (32' x 22') covered with multi-coloured tiles, occupying nearly the total height of the structure almost to the parapet. Within this arched recess is the doorway (5' x 2 ½') of the beam and bracket order. The space above the apex of the arch is occupied by an arched window. It is fitted with beautiful tiled lattice work. On both sides of the ornamental rectangular frame, there are three blind arches one upon the other giving an impression as if the building contains more than one storey. This device is represented at its best in the JamiMasjid, Khudabad, which was constructed by Mian Yar Muhammad. Where from this device was originated and how it came to be used in the tombs of Sayyed and Lodhi periods and subsequently in the Kalhora architecture has been discussed in one of the articles of the present writer (Hasan 2001b). There is a minaret on each corner of the ornamental frame which is decorated with multi-coloured glazed tiles. The interior of the recessed arch is richly covered with colourful tiles. Worth-mentioning is a square panel measuring 10'. It contains 240 square tiles. The panel is dominated by a star pattern of exceptional beauty.

VI. Façade

The remaining three sides of the mausoleum have been adorned according to a well thought-out plan, with coloured tiles containing floral and geometrical designs. Each side is relieved with a three equal arched recesses (23' x 14' x 1½') terminating at squinch level. High-up around the three sides, touching the apex of the arched recess (below) are rows of nine arched windows fitted with perforated terracotta screens of geometric tracery. Each corner of the mausoleum contains an eight pillared kiosk which further adds to its beauty and grandeur.

VII. Wooden Batons/Dandas

There is a collection of wooden batons inside the mausoleum. According to Cousens, these were meant to show that Sindh was taken over by Kalhoras easily from the Panwhars, as the former did not have to use their swords (Cousens 1975) . A ‘Danda’ or wooden baton is undoubtedly an emblem of power. But the view expressed by Cousens is not very much convincing. There is a common practice in some parts of the country that whenever the supplication of a devotee is granted by Allah through the blessing of a saintly person, something is offered at his grave as a mark of gratitude. For instance at the mausoleum of Mian Noor Muhammad, one can find a number of yokes. The yoke is an emblem of agriculture. Since Kalhoras were basically agriculturists so the ‘Yoke’ in a sense is symbolic representation. However according to a local tradition childless people come to the grave of Mian Noor Muhammad with bequeaths for a child. When they are blessed with twins, the same pair presented at the grave with a model yoke on their necks. After the rituals are over, the happy parents take their twins, while the yokes are left at the grave (Ahmed 1986:184). Likewise at the mausoleum of Sadan Shaheed circa 13th century A.D) in Muzaffargarh District, instead of yoke, miniature cradle is offered (Hassan 2001a).

VIII. Graves outside the Burial Chamber

Outside the burial chamber and close to the enclosure wall on its both sides are several graves of the members of the Kalhora family and Faqirs. A wagon vaulted tomb of Mian Muhammad Murad Yab son of Mian Noor Muhammad is in the north-western corner. The graves of Mohammad Daud and Ghulam Husain are in the northern side of the enclosure. On the southern side are the graves of Mir Muhammad, brother of Mian Yar Muhammad and Ali Muhammad, his cousin. All these graves are crowned by beautiful domes, bedecked with inverted lotus on their tops.

In short the mausoleum of Mian Yar Muhammad stands out to be the most beautiful funerary memorial of the Kalhora dynasty. However, this glittering jewel of Kalhora architecture is

gradually loosing its beauty and splendours, due to weathering effects and continued neglect.

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Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhor's Rule in Sindh and its Impact on Sindhi Society (1719-1753)

Lal Bakhsh Jiskani

After the fall of Thatta in 1520 AD the last Sindhi King Jam Feroz of Samma dynasty lost crown of Sindh and consequently the country went into foreign hands viz Arghun dynasty (1520-1555) which was followed by Tarkhans dynasty (1555-1591) and Mughals (1591-1737) AD respectively. The ruling span of these three dynasties was more than two centuries, and during this period people of Sindh underwent a worst type of colonial rule and thus all the social institutions were destroyed by the rulers. Such were the conditions under which various tribes of Sindh, which included the Dhareja, Sameja, Mangneja, Channa, Panhwar, Jatoi, Sodha and many other Muslim and Hindu tribes united themselves on one platform and raised their arms against alien rule (Meerak 1994:11).

After a long and gruesome interval, the Kalhoras being native of Sindh first appeared as ruling dynasty on the political arena of Sindh at the dawn of the eighteenth century. The Kalhoras acquired a reputation of sanctity, indicated by the title of Mian and wielded themselves with spiritual authority (Aitken 1986:107). In fact they first appeared in the affairs of the country sometime in the middle of eighteenth century, they were appointed the governors or viceroys in 1701 and finally they seized total power in 1737. The long political struggle of dynasty along with the common people of Sindh can be traced back with the name of Amir Muhammad Channey Khan (d.1220) who enjoyed power and prestige in the court of Multan during the reign of Ghaznavid and Ghorid dynasty (Qani 1957:255-56). The next prominent person in the lineage of Amir Muhammad

Channey was Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro. (d.1600). In the beginning Kalhoras were believed to have been mendicants and later on they used to preach religion and had become spiritual leaders, especially in the days of Mian Adam Shah who brought the name and fame to dynasty.

With large number of disciples, Mian Adam Shah had wealth, therefore, he purchased huge lands in Upper Sind and settled down in Chandka Pargana, thus he wielded much influence as prominent landlord as well as spiritual leader (Pir) in Upper Sindh (Qani 1957:257).

At that time the great Mughal, Akbar was not happy with Mirza Jani Baig, the ruler of Sindh, and therefore, he assigned an important task to Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan his army commander. Khan-i-Khanan came to Sindh and stayed at Bakhar where he heard about Mian Adam Shah, he went to a mystic man and asked him that he intended to invade Sindh, if Mian Adam Shah would pray for achieving his goal, and in return he would be pleased with good reward (Qani 1957: 256-7).

Later on Sindh was conquered and annexed with the Mughal Empire in 1591 AD and Mian Adam Shah, a traditional Pir of Sindh, received fertile lands in Chandka Pargana (old name of the present Larkana district in Sindh) as a reward for his blessings for the Mughal general.

The rising influence of Mian Adam Shah and his involvement in religion and politics agitated minds of the alien rulers, and very soon, on the orders of the governor of Multan, he was eliminated. Mian Shah Ali Kalhoro, another survival of the family was also found involved in politics, therefore, he was also assassinated by the governor of Bakhar. Mian Nasir Muhammad was the first person in the family who continuously fought desperate battles for more than three decades against alien rulers in a well organized manner and as a result he took control of some parts of Sindh (Qani 1957:258-59). After the death of Mian Nasir Muhammad, his son, Mian Din Muhammad Kalhoro fought against the prince Muizuddin a grandson of Aurangzeb and the governor of Multan. He extended his territories and gained enough political power. Now it become evident to the Mughal rulers that Kalhoro family was rising as a rival political power in Sindh and posed a potent threat to the Mughal rule in Sindh. They took pains to have him executed. Mian Din Muhammad was the third member of the family who fell prey to

the Mughals but even that did not shake the determination of the Kalhoras to grab power from alien rulers. With full support of the people of Sindh the family continued its struggle under the leadership of Mian Yar Muhammad who succeeded his slain brother Mian Din Muhammad. Yar Muhammad ruled more or less half of Sindh for about eighteen years, and died in 1718 AD and was succeeded by his illustrious son Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.

Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was enthroned on 13th November, 1719 as the new ruler of Sindh. Very little is known about his early life, it is believed that he was born about 1680 A.D (Mahar 1969:539). He received traditional education under the supervision of his father, Mian Yar Muhammad. Mian Noor Muhammad was crown prince, therefore, he had received best education and his long association with his father, Mian Yar Muhammad, who gathered, or better to say got freed, most part of Sindh bit by bit. Mian Noor Muhammad held command of many war fronts and fought many fierce battles during the time of his father. More experienced and matured he had great insight in war strategy and militarism. Thus Mian Noor Muhammad took reign of Sindh at an appropriate time, when he was groomed enough to run the affairs of the kingdom. He proved himself an able administrator and tackled the affairs of the country with ease and confidence. Let it be borne in mind that the Sindhi society was then passing through a critical period. Political chaos, lawlessness and social disorder prevailed all around. Agriculture, the mainstay of the people of Sindh as well as other sources of their livelihood, was completely destroyed during the alien rule. Not only economic and political institution but also the family institution was badly affected by the perpetual tyranny of the alien rulers. The peasantry class had abandoned their villages, farmsteads, houses to seek refuge elsewhere in order to fight against tyranny and the tyrants (Meerak 1994: 60-61).

Mian Noor Muhammad realized the misery of the people and attributed it to the singular act that people of Sindh had been trampled under the feet of aliens. Therefore, the foremost task he set for himself was to rebuild Sindhi society and restore confidence among its people with this object in view he changed his attitude towards his subjects and saw to it that whatever he

did had a soothing effect on them. The way he galvanized the people of Sindh and prepared them for bringing about a definite change in the country was a great distinguished achievement.

Infact, Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro may be regarded as the real founder of the Kalhora dynasty (Sorley 1968:168). He took control of parts of Shikarpur, Kandyaro, Larkano and Sivi(Sibi) and in addition an area between the Indus River and Nara obtained from Aurangzeb and therefore, he had right to call himself Khuda Yar Khan, and thus he claimed strong hold in the Upper Sindh. Immediately after taking reign of Sindh Mian Noor Muhammad made his allegiance to Emperor Muhammad Shah and in return received like his father, the title of Khuda Yar Khan and a province of Siwistan. Mian Noor Muhammad had the plans in mind to capture the remaining Sindh also but was prevented from it by the conflicts with the ruler of Kalat and Daudpotras which he had inherited from his late father (Mahar 1969:228). Mian Noor Muhammad was forced to attack Shikarpur, the stronghold of Daudpotras, with 60,000 soldiers under the command of his generals namely Shah Baharo, Murad Kaleri and Raja Lekhi. In the battle heavy losses were suffered by both parties, meanwhile conditions for peace were accepted by both parties and thus war was stopped. As the matter was not fully resolved war broke out again and immediately one more battle was fought between the two, in which Shikarpur and Khanpur came under the control of Mian Noor Muhammad (Mahar 1969:376-78).

The chief of Kalat, Abdullah Khan who claimed himself ‘falcon of Mountains’, after violating peace treaty had attacked Kachhi, an area under Sindhi territories. The battle between Sindhi forces and Balochi forces was fought at a place known as Jandari (in the present Khanpur) in which Abdullah Khan the ruler of Kalat was killed (Mahar 1969:395-96). At that moment if Mian Noor Muhammad had wanted to take control of Kalat he could have done it easily but he did not. It was simplicity and sincerity of Mian Noor Muhammad because he respected Balochs of Kalat as they were also rulers and happened to be living in the immediate neighbourhood. It evidently shows that Mian Noor Muhammad was a man of great character and did not believe in land grabbing or expansionism. Very soon Mian Noor Muhammad was appointed as the governor of Thatta by the Court of Delhi, and later on he also occupied province of Bakhar

then the strongest fort of Sindh, in 1737 A.D. By this time Mian Noor Muhammad became virtually the ruler of the whole Sindh, the Upper and lower, from the desert of east to the rocky hills of the west, including territories of former- Bahawalpur State (Sorley 1968:167). The unification of Sindh was result of Mian Noor Muhammad's sagacity. His military organization was so efficient that colonial rule of more than two centuries crumbled before it and Sindh was once again reunited under his dynamic and courageous leadership. The total emancipation of the country was a good omen for the future of Sindh. For this purpose tremendous sacrifices were offered by the common people of Sindh along with Kalhora dynasty. The achievement of this noble cause added further prestige to Mian Noor Muhammad's name.

Allegations were made against Mian Noor Muhammad that he was involved in the assassination of Makhdoom Abdul Rehman of Khura, a prominent religious leader of the Upper Sind. All these allegations were false. It may be mentioned here that, first of all Mian Noor Muhammad himself descended from a religious family and he always held all religious scholars and men of letters in great esteem. He had never been in any manner involved in this murder. Makhdoom Muhammad, the elder son of the deceased would not have accepted Jagirs (huge-lands) granted to him by Mian Noor Muhammad in different parts of Sindh (Mahar 1969: 414-415).

Mian Noor Muhammad was busy in consolidating his power, when Nadir Shah, on his return from India, and on way back to Iran invaded Sindh. On hearing of this sudden attack, Mian Noor Muhammad left Khudabad and fled to the desert of Thar where he put himself in the fort of Umerkot. Nadir Shah chased him and reached Umerkot where he accepted defeat. As a result Mian Noor Muhammad paid 10 million cash and promised to pay 2 million as an annual tribute and made his allegiance to the Court of Persia. Nadir Shah took away two sons of Mian Noor Muhammad as hostages to the Court of Persia where they remained till the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747 A.D. It may be mentioned here that Mian Yar Muhammad and his son Mian Noor Muhammad through a relentless struggle had after a long time reunited Sindh in its original form and shape. Now with one blow of the tyrant, once again, the unity and cohesion

of the country was shattered. Nadir in his attack on Sindh, looted and burnt invaluable goods and killed hundreds of thousands innocent people of Sindh. He took with him books from Royal Court of Sindh to Persia. Thus Sindh lost its rare books for ever. That how Sindh suffered a lethal blow at the hands of the Persian monarch Nadir Shah, in which it once again lost its sovereignty and independence. Nadir Shah divided Sindh into three parts viz Sibi and Kachhi which were given to the rulers of Kalat as a blood money (Mahar 1969:451) for the slain ruler Abdullah Khan, Shikarpur was awarded to Daudpotras and rest of Sindh to Mian Noor Muhammad. Thus the country suffered a national tragedy which led to its disintegration and resulted in spreading chaos and lawlessness in Sindhi society. Mian Noor Muhammad first restored law and order in the country and then fought against the rulers of the states located in the Indus delta country; say Daharaja, Jam of Kakarala and Kanji. He won these battles and once again established his military supremacy (Mahar 1969: 491-500).

After the assassination of Nadir Shah, the sons of Mian Noor Muhammad returned safely from the Court of Persia where they had been in captivity for a long time. Mian Muhammad Murad Yab Khan was made crown prince and Mian Noor Muhammad handed over reign of government to him and he left for Khudabad and retired from active life. He spent last four years of his life at Muhammadabad another capital built by him which was located in the present district of Nawabshah.

After the death of Nadir Shah he was succeeded by Ahmed Shah Durani who claimed parts of Persia and Afghanistan as his Kingdom. He forced Mian Noor Muhammad to pay tribute to Kabul. Mian Noor Muhammad avoided its payment. After sometime he threatened to attack Sindh to extract the tribute. Finally Ahmed Shah invaded Sindh and stayed at Siwistan in 1753 to collect the tribute. Mian Noor Muhammad again fled to the desert of Thar, where he died on 9th, December, 1753 and was laid to rest at Muhammadabad.

The people of Sindh welcomed Kalhoras and they were the first among the Sindhi to wield permanent power since the fall of Samma in 1520 A.D., It may be noted here that Samma was the Sindhi dynasty which built Thatta and ruled Sindh for two hundred and thirty years before the invasion of Arghun and

Turkhans from Central Asia. The Kalhora rule had therefore, some elements of popularity at grassroots level in the countryside, especially during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad who was held, in great esteem by the people.

It may be mentioned here that alien rulers imposed an economic system in Sindh which tended to exploit the Sindhi society (Hess 1928:10). It caused a great setback to the economic conditions of Sindh especially to its agro-based economy. The wide spread poverty resulting from it gave to many social evils, say theft, robbery, murder, cattle lifting, piracy and other criminal activities. As highway robbery was common, trade and commerce could not flourish (Mahar 1969: 566-69). This phenomenon does not suggest that Sindhis were habitual criminals; on the contrary, 'the sociological perspective emphasizes the importance of environmental factor in determining an individual's internal state and subsequent behaviour.' It further suggests that: 'Depressive states result from unemployment. Men, who are unable to function as breadwinners, which is a crucial basis of masculine identity in our society, will experience unemployment as a loss of self-worth and will display depressive symptom as well as anger. 'The cure is not more mental health clinics but more jobs for unemployed (Hess 1928:4). However, Mian Noor Muhammad gave priority to law and order situation, improved administration of the province and gave special attention to agriculture and excavated many canals, as Kalhoras were great canal builders. Thus crime rate was reduced and peasantry made concentration on agriculture. Highway and water-ways being safe and sound, and agriculture greatly improved, trade and commerce of Sindh also flourished (Mahar 1969:4). Mian Noor Muhammad put his country on the road to progress and prosperity. Henry Pottenger, who was a member of the British mission to Sindh in 1809, has given a vivid account of the conditions of Sindh during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad. It shows the prosperity of Thatta, the largest river port and commercial emporium of the Lower Sindh. He says that 'even so recently, as the period of Nadir Shah visiting Thatta on his return from Delhi. it is said there were 40,000 weavers of calico and *loongees* in that city and artisans of every other class and description to the number of 20,000 more, exclusive of bankers, money changers, shopkeepers and sellers of grain. who were estimated at 60.000 more (Atiken 1986:116).

The social and cultural milieu during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad was also very impressive. Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was also contemporary of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhitt (1689-1752). Shah Abdul Latif is the poet par-excellence of Sindh and Sindhi language. Through his poetry he has opened new vistas on Sindhi language and literature, especially on poetry. The poet, realizing the agony of the people during the colonial rule, had expressed in his poetry the visionary ideas of sovereign and independent Sindh.

Through collective struggle Mian Noor Muhammad changed the dream of the great poet into reality. Mir Ali Sher Qani (1727-1788) AD the first Sindhi historian also lived during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad. He was author of more than 42 books on different aspects of Sindh. Historians like Shavakram Attarad, Maulvi Abdul Rauf, Bagh Ali Khaif and poets like Mohsan Thattavi and many others were patronized by the royal court. All these prominent literary figures used to participate in the literary discussions at the court of Mian Noor Muhammad regularly. Renowned religious scholars, such as Makhdoom Muhammad Moin Thattavi (a friend of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhitt) and Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattavi also lived in this period and imparted Islamic education and gave guidance to the people of Sindh.

Mian Noor Muhammad was himself a scholar and copied the Holy Quran, which was taken away by Nadir Shah and is still preserved in Imam Reza memorial library Mashhad, Iran. He also has written Munshoor-ul-Wasiat in Persian-language which gives insight of the man who possessed more virtues than weaknesses.

Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, who ruled Sindh for about 35 years, was a man of iron will. His name deserves special mention for effective administration and deep knowledge of military science. It goes to his credit that he waged war against the alien rulers through collective struggle. People of Sindh joined hands with him and ousted invaders and alien rulers and succeeded in achieving national liberation. Unfortunately he could not preserve the hard earned freedom of the country for long due to blunders which he committed during the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durani. He, however, deserves full credit for standing firmly against enemy along with the common people of Sindh whom he gathered at the time of distress. He thereby proved that he had the qualities of the people's leader.

His long reign is remarkable not only for unifying the country but also bringing unity and cohesion among the people of Sindh. His outstanding achievements include building of the grand irrigation system, improvement of agriculture and economic betterment of Sindhi society. During his reign there was a remarkable change in the qualities of life and people lived in peace and harmony. After a long time common man in Sindh felt a sigh of relief and Sindhi society as a whole got a new release of life

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Mian Noor Muhammad Khan and Nadir Shah

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The rise of Nadir Shah in the wider historical context of Iran and of the Kalhoras in the provincial limits of the history of Sindh and their inter-political relation have not received dispassionate study on the part of the scholars. Nadir Shah, or as a matter of fact, all other Asian empire builders, such as Changez Khan and Amir Timur, should not be bracketed together as looter, plunderer and destroyer of cities and civilisations. While the last two were founders of new empires, Nadir Shah restored the integrity of Iran and redirected it on a new path of glory. They are no doubt conquerors and their conquests followed consolidation of the state power and building up of a new socio-economic order. The rise of Nadir Shah is inseparably related to the historical events connected with the decline and fall of the Safavid Empire in Iran, when the Turks, the Russians and the Afghans as represented by Gilzais and Abdalis, had occupied parts of Iran and made a bid to dismember the country. Nadir Shah forged ahead to upset these plans of external aggression against Iran, and not only saved the country from disintegration but also pushed forward to recapture Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Peshawar and advance further towards Lahore and Delhi, as a result of which the growing influence of the Marathas over the Mughal emperors for the time averted. It was Nadir Shah's upsurge in Iran that made room for the rule of the Qajar dynasty. In Delhi after the death of Aurangzeb the tripartite political struggle among Iranian, Turanian and Hindustani groups had led to party power struggle and brought in the Marathas to Delhi and Lahore. Nadir's advance proved to be the first blow to Maratha

ambitions that were finally crushed in the Third Battle of Panipat by Ahmad Shah Abdali, a later successor of Nadir Shah and founder of the Afghan State.

As Ahmad Shah Abdali is known to have been invited by Shah Waliullah, so we are told by Lockhart (1938: 124), who has cited contemporary historians and writers, both Indian and European, “that Nadir entered India at the invitation of the Nazamul-Mulk, the veteran Viceroy of the Deccan; it has also been asserted that Saadat Khan, the Subedar of Oudh, was jointly responsible with the Nazamul-Mulk for inviting Nadir to come.” Nizamul-Mulk was of Turanian extraction while Saadat Khan was of Iranian origin, both were certainly against Khan Dauran, leader of the Hindustani group that was strong in Delhi. It was the last leader who was emboldened by his partisans to face Nadir Shah and put up a fight at Karnal. However, in his scheme the Marathas, who were already in Delhi, did not support him and they withdrew to bide time. If the Marathas had not withdrawn, Ahmad Shah would not have later occupied Punjab and the Sikhs would not have got opportunity to rise.

Nadir’s advance has been generally treated as a great blow to the Mughal empire while in fact he came to Afghanistan and Punjab in pursuit of the fugitive Afghans. His further advance towards Delhi was due to non-cooperation of Muhammad Shah, the Delhi emperor, in checking the Afghan rebel escapists and also due to the ill-treatment of Nadir Shah’s ambassadors. His advance certainly resulted in the great blow to the Hindustani party that was strong in Delhi and thus provincial subedars became more powerful. They became almost hereditary hereafter, a process of weakening of the central authority that had begun after the death of Aurangzeb. Even in Aurangzeb’s time the Mughal authority had shifted to the Deccan with his prolonged stay in the south, as a result of which the Marathas had started their scattered activity. After Aurangzeb’s death they concentrated their strength and pushed ahead towards Delhi and Punjab. Nadir’s advance to Delhi resulted in the break of Maratha push to the north.

The decline of the Mughal empire should be traced to the drain of the revenue that was spent in Aurangzeb’s campaign against the Marathas in the Deccan. His long absence from the capital loosened the administration and opened the doors for jealous ambitions among the princes who were supported by one

or another political group. The demand of revenue from the provinces increased the power of the Subedars and hence they later began to interfere in the group fighting in the centre as we find in the case of the Nizamul-Mulk and Sa'adat Khan. This growing need of the revenue had an adverse effect on the provinces which were thus left to their own management. Sindh' was one such area under the province of Multan, governed along with Lahore by the Stibedar Zakariya Khan. Sindh was subdivided into two sarkars, each ruled by a Mughal governor, one posted in Lower Sindh at Thatta and another in upper Sindh at Bakhar.

The Mughal Subedars were "mere farmers of revenue" but they depended on the local chiefs for its proper collection, such as the Raja of Dharaja and Jam of Kakrala in Lower Sindh. According to Tuhfatul-Kiram, after the end of the rule of the Tarkhans and with the death of the their last ruler Ghazi Beg in 1612 AD, forty Mughal Subedars followed one after the other for 127 years until Nadir Shah annexed Sindh in 1739 AD. It is in this period that the Daudpotras, the ancestors of the later rulers of Bahawalpur, established themselves in Upper Sindh, made themselves powerful among the local zamindars and founded Shikarpur in 1617 AD. The main contenders against them were their own kith and kin, who distinguished themselves as Kalhoras. One of their chiefs, Yar Muhammad Khan, who later got the title of Khudayar Khan, was made in charge of Sibi in 1701 and he managed to push out the Daudpotras from Shikarpur. His family continued to rule until 1783 for 82 years and rose to be the chief feudal lord in Sindh first under the Mughals, then under Nadir Shah and finally under the Abdalis. Mian Noor Muhammad Khan, the son of Yar Muhammad Khan, was responsible for the great glory of the Kalhoras. His exceptional rise and meeting with Nadir Shah deserve to be studied in this historical background.

This entire political development has been misrepresented by the British to justify their own imperial design and to grab India as their colony. One example of such misinterpretation is given below from Sorley's Gazetteer of the Former Province of Sind (1968:164)

• "Meanwhile the Marathas were spreading over Central India from the south-west like a devastating flood. The Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude, swaying to and

from in the political storm and clinging to any power, natural or super-natural, that seemed likely to protect them. It was during this period of tumultuous confusion that the English and the French first appeared as rivals upon the political arena of India. Such was the lawless, troubled and tumultuous eighteenth century in which Sindhi dynasty of Kalhoras wielded power from 1701 to 1783, the Kalhoras were unlucky in their time. They did little to raise the standard of public life and good government in Sindh."

In fact the Mughal empire had overgrown in the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir. While Mughal administrative set-up was well organised in the north, there was hardly time to consolidate the Mughal conquest in the south, which was more or less under military siege. In due course of time the power in the south consolidated under the Subah of Deccan with Nizamul-Mulk at the head. But the Marathas were let loose to prowl in the area. The north had well defined Subedari system: Bengal and Bihar on the east, Oudh in the middle, the home province of Delhi and Agra, in the mid-west Punjab, Multan and Sindh, and Kabul-Peshawar as the west Frontier Subah. It is in the home province that the princely struggle for the Mughal throne was waged. In this struggle the provincial Subedars sometimes interfered but otherwise they controlled large feudal revenue. The central revenue and exchequer continued to be depleted and overspent on the maintenance of the army, the bureaucracy and the nobility. The Rajputs, having been allies to the Mughal emperors, gave their support to one or the other prince. As the Marathas were emerging in the south so the Afghan tribes were rising to share in the spoils. The Mughal authority in Delhi continued to hold its prestige but power had weakened from the hands of the Mughal emperors and the Subahs more or less became semi-autonomous the administrative system continued in the name of the emperor but the political will had no force behind and lost unanimity. It is under this Indian scene that several external factors appeared to take advantage of the political disunity, among them were the Dutch, the English and the French who came here just for trade in the beginning but later developed political ambitions. Nadir Shah was another external factor that arose out of the situation in Iran and gradually extended his power towards Afghanistan, Pakistan and India in pursuit of his aim to consolidate his strength in Iran. He

had no desire to conquer India nor did he aim at destroying the military strength of the Mughal empire because he had no desire to impose his supremacy over the Mughals. His activity certainly affected the growing influence of the Marathas, enriched him with the spoils that he gathered in Delhi and finally occupied the territory west of the river Indus most probably to have a complete control over the Afghans. It is this territorial gain that brought Nadir Shah in close touch with the feudal lords of Sindh, particularly the Kalhoras.

Here we are not concerned with the origin of the Kalhora dynasty, which has been discussed in several books and summarised by Mehar (1958) in his *Tarikh-e- Sindh*, Ahd- i- Kalhora but what is important is to understand the relationship of the Kalhoras with the Mughal emperors and the Mughal governors. In this relationship the Kalhoras came in conflict with the Daudpotras and the Brahui rulers of Kalat. Ultimately it was Yar Muhammad Khan who laid the foundation of a new role for the family. His position completely changed when he was posted over Sibi by the Mughal prince Moizuddin - a position which went beyond the feudal lordship and enabled him to ride on political power in Sindh. This position considerably increased when Yar Muhammad Khan seized Shikarpur from the Daudpotras and drove them away to the north to take shelter in Multan. Thus Sindh was practically left with the Kalhoras to deal with but in close relationship with the Mughal governors.

The two factors, one of the Daudpotras and another of the Mughal governors, were very important as they continued to bear their burden on the Kalhoras. After the death of Yar Muhammad Khan in 1718 AD, his son Mian Noor Muhammad Khan had to put up the struggle. The different authorities give different versions of the struggle between Mian Noor Muhammad and the Daudpotras for power and position in Sindh. for which the approval of the Mughal emperor was necessary. How far Mughal authority was enforceable is difficult to say but ultimately it was the local strength of military power that decided the issue. In the two continuous fights that followed Mian Noor Muhammad got the upper hand and in spite of Mughal emperor's decision in favour of the Daudpotras, they had to leave Shikarpur and Khanpur and take refuge in Multan. Mian Noor Muhammad Khan had also to come into grips with the Brahui rulers of Kalat but in spite of the loss of life of the Kalat ruler they came to terms and marriage relations were established among them. In

1737 Mian Noor Muhammad also received the sarkar of Thatta from the Mughal emperor after the failure of the full payment of taxes by the Mughal governor Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, who had so far held it as his jagir this addition considerably enhanced not only the revenue but also the power of Mian Noor Muhammad Khan. In February 1739 Mian Noor Muhammad fought with Rana Arjun, Raja of Dharaja and Jam of Kakrala and after defeating them extended his control over Southern Sindh. Thus in nearly forty years' time the Kalhoras established their complete mastery practically in the whole of Sindh and assumed also the power of the local governor.

Mehar (1958) sums up the historical events as follows: "The Kalhoras started the work of reconstruction in the capacity of an humble zamindar. Facing various oppositions and overcoming the difficulties, in the time of Yar Muhammad Khan the administration of one area (Sibi) was secured (from the Mughal emperor). Then gradually there began the extension, of the areas of administration. In the time of Mian Noor Muhammad Khan the administration of Thatta was added. Thus the unity of Sindh was finally achieved. This was a great achievement as the geographical unity of Sindh had been earlier finished after the death of Ghazi Beg. In its place we had administrative centres at Bakkar, Sibi, Siwistan, Ganjaba and Thatta. By uniting all these centres into one administration, Sindh once again rose to be a single geographic and administrative unit, (Mehar 1958:418).

It was in 1739 that Nadir Shah advanced towards Delhi and obtained from Muhammad Shah all the territory beyond the Indus. So far Nadir Shah had no eye on Sindh although some authorities speak of Nadir Shah's desire to follow the Bolan Pass route on his way to Delhi but it is said that it was blocked by Mian Noor Muhammad. However, it was only on his way back that Nadir Shah summoned all the sardars and noblemen to present themselves at Kabul. The same order was also sent to Noor Muhammad but he refused to go. This refusal brought Nadir to Sindh. He marched from Kabul all the way to Dera Ismail Khan, crossed the Indus river and reached Dera Ghazi Khan, Larkana and finally Umarmkot where Mian Noor Muhammad had taken refuge. Even after such a disobedience no harm was done either to Mian Noor Muhammad personally or to

his family. According to Masirul-Umra, when Nadir Shah asked him why he lied to Umarkot, Noor Muhammad replied:

“We have been obedient servants of the emperors of Hindostan for generations. If we had submitted to you, what guarantee was there that we could have won your trust? This answer was acceptable to Nadir Shah and hence he returned the territory to Noor Muhammad.”

However, the Kalhora territory was subdivided into three parts: one part, including Sibi and Kachhi, was given to Mahabbat Khan Brahui, son of Abdullah Khan Brahui, the ruler of Kalat. It is said that Mahabbat Khan's mother had appealed to Nadir Shah for revenge against the murder of her husband. The second part that included Shikarpur was given to Sadiq Muhammad Khan, the Daudpotra, who had already expressed his loyalty to Nadir Shah and spoken against the Kalhoras, the remaining part of the territory was given back to Mian Noor Muhammad.

Lockhart (1938: 161) confirms this division and remarks: “Since Nadir was pleased with Khuda Yar Khan’s bearing and behaviour after his submission, he forgave him and made him Khan of Thatta and part of Sindh, which formed approximately one third of his former dominions; Nadir also conferred on him the title of Shah Quli. In return, Khuda Yar Khan had to undertake to pay an annual tribute of 10 lakhs of rupees to furnish a contingent of 2000 cavalry under the command of one of his sons.”

E.H. Aitken (1907:108), in the old Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh, says: “The invasion of Nadir Shah opens another chapter in the history of Sindh.” Sorley, in the new Gazetteer, remarks: “The invasion of Nadir Shah, however, in 1739, put an entirely different complexion upon things and removed from Noor Muhammad’s mind the fear of Delhi, which hitherto he had hesitatingly acknowledged. He was emboldened to oppose Nadir Shah and paid very dearly for his temerity” (Lockhart 1938:167). On the other hand Mehar (1958:448-450) has high praise both for Yar Muhammad Khan and Mian Noor Muhammad and speaks of their great efforts to unite Sindh and establish a good administration and raised the revenue income. But all the wealth that was collected, was taken away by Nadir Shah, and Sindh was again divided into three parts. Yet just as Muhammad Shah was not removed from the Delhi throne so Noor Muhammad was not thrown away from his position and he

was allowed to continue to exercise his authority from Thatta to the sea coast. As long as he observed truly his commitments of paying the annual tribute first to Nadir Shah and later to Ahmad Shah, his position in Sindh was duly recognised. The only fundamental change that occurred was that Sindh no longer remained a part of the Mughal empire but it was tagged on first to the territory of Nadir Shah and later to that of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Even when the Daudpotras were driven away from Shikarpur by Ahmad Shah, the descendants of Noor Muhammad continued to rule in Sindh until they were superseded by Talpurs in 1783.

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Purchase of Guns by the Kalhoras from the East India Company

(1748-1751.)

B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I.C.S.

The following extract from the record in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office will be of interest to the students of Sindh history. "Bombay Castle, 26th January 1748."

Some messengers lately come hither from the Scindy Rajah (1) wanting to purchase fifteen brass Guns of the following size:-

							Cwt.	Qr.	Lb.
One	3 Pounder	9	0	6
Four	4 do.						50	2	10
Six	6 do.						108	0	9
Four	7 do.						115	2	3
						Total	283	1	0

It is observed that these Guns with several others were sent out for sale so long ago as 1738 and would have been sent to Madras with other stores conformable to the Hon'ble Company's orders under the 15th March 1744 had any proper conveyance

offered before the loss of that place, (2), and as they are now wanted by these people for sea service but for a fortification far inland at Scindy it is agreed that the price of one hundred twenty rupees per hundred weight being near an hundred per cent on the prime cost be asked for them to be paid for on delivery at the fort of Auranga Bunder.”

(Public Department Diary No. 21A, 1748, PP. 36-37).

.....

“Bombay castle, 5th February 1748.”

The Scindy⁸ Messengers being willing to take the Brass Guns on the terms mentioned in consultation of the 26th Ultimo the store-keeper is directed to send them on board the first ship bound to Scindy and that directed to send them on board the first ship bound to Scindy and that they be paid for on delivery to Mr. George Heron Ruttu, who resides there for transacting business for the President and others here, (3) with orders to ship the amount being 33990 on any of the Hon’ble Company’s vessels that may be at that place, or otherwise to remit the same by bill of exchange to the Chief and Factors at Surat.”

(Public Department Diary, No. 21A, 1748, p. 46).

.....

(Extract from a letter, dated 8th May 1748, from the Chief and Factors at Surat to the President and Council at Bombay).

“By the Dadaly from Scinda Mr. Rutty forwarded to the Chief sundry bills of exchange drawn on merchants at this aplice in favour of the Hon’ble Company, amounting together to the sum of Rupees twenty nine thousand seven hundred and one (29701) which all have been accepted, they are payable at different times and we shall be mindful to recover the amount as they respectively become due, crediting your Presidency for the same.”

(Secretariat Inward lettwe Book No. 7, 1747-48, p. 385)

.....

“Bombay castle, 21st march 17849.”

The Scindy Rajah who purchased the Brass Guns mentioned in consultation the 26th January 1748, offering to take ten more on the same terms of one hundred and twenty rupees per hundred weight to be paid for on delivery to Shaikerlow (4) Governor at Tatta. Agreed that they be sold him accordingly and

⁸ Sindh-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

sent thither on the Drake Ketch when she returns from the Coast, charging thereon the sum of three thousand Rupees for freight.

And as Mr. Williams Hornby Factor is expected here on said vessel and it being the Hon'ble Company's orders that one of their Covenant Servants should be employed on such occasions DIRECTED that he proceeded thither for that purpose with instructions to receive the amount of the Guns on delivery, and if good bills upon Surat are procurable at reasonable rates the said amount is to be remitted in such manner to the Chief and Factors there; otherwise to be brought hither with him on the Drake. He reserving in either case, a sufficiency to purchase fifty Candy's of good wheat, as likewise such a quantity of rice, as will load the vessel, provided those articles are to be had at reasonable prices and can be shipped on board without delaying the vessel purposely for it. However, if freight for Surat of about three thousand Rupees should offer that the season will permit of being delivered there before the rains, he is to give that the preference.

(Public Department Diary No. 22, 1749, p. 80).

.....

Letter from Mr. William Hornby at Sindh

“Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Agreeable to Your Commands to me of the 3rd Ultimo, I proceeded on the Drake Ketch to Scindy and on my arrival at Aurangabunder I was acquainted that Shaik Shaikerlow was gone up to Codabad (5) to the Prince; and afterwards being acquainted that the Prince was going to run out of the country. I wrote Capt. Dick to keep the Guns on board or in case they were taken out to detain the boats alongside till he had further advice from me as I had sent boats down for them the night I arrived at the Bunder; and then I proceeded up to Tattah where on my arrival I waited on Jefferlow, the then acting Governor in Shaikerlow's absence, and acquainted him my business and at the same time I wrote to Shaikerlow as did Jefferlow to acquaint him of my arrival and to desire he would order the money to be paid, that the vessel might get away it being very late in the Season. The third day after came his answer to Jefferlow, ordering him to pay a part and get the Guns out and weighted, and that he should be down in four or five days on which I waited on Jefferlow and told him the consequences of such delay and at the same time pressing him for the full amount. He at last

ordered it to be paid when I sent Capt. Dick an order to let the boats come away with Guns; and on the 1st instant i left Tattah when the Governor and the Merchants left the town and took to their boats on the River.

There was a freight of patchuck to be got, but it being so late and no probability of getting it down in time it blowing very hard, I did not think it prudent to detain the vessel, though I did agree with the freighters to take it on board if they could get it down which i found was impracticable they having set out from Tattah two days before I did and not got six miles down the river.

It being late when I came down to Aurangabander. I did not purchase any grain, and on inquiry I found there was no quantity to be got, so that I proceeded directly down to vessel with the money, Capt. Dick having acquainted me it was very hazardous to stay longer; there having vessel, returned up the River which could not get over the Barr.

There being no pills procurable I have brought the whole amount on this vessel being Rupees Sixty three thousand eight hundred fifty two, three quarters and forty two Reas as you will observe by the invoice and Bill of lading enclosed with my account charges and a list of what privilege is on board.

I am
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient H'ble, Servt,
WILLIAM HORNEY.

Gorah River Scindy,
The 6th May, 1749.

P. S. Not having time to settle the account charges of Hammalage, Carthire and Boathire etc., on the Treasure have left it to Mr. Sumption who will transmitt that account to the Governor.

(Secretariat Inward letter Book No. 8, 1749-50, pp. 144-45).

“Bombay Castle, 17th May 1749.”

Read the letter from Mr. William Hornby dated in Scindy the 6th Inst. enclosing invoice of five Chests of Treasure amounting to Rupees sixty three thousand and eight hundred and fifty two, three quarters and forty two Reas (63, 852.3.42) being the amount of Brass Guns sold the Scindy Messengers as noticed

in consultation the 21st March last and in the Diary under the 10th instant.

(Public Department Diary No. 22, 1749, p. 143).

.....

“Bombay castle, 24th September 1751.”

The President acquaints the Board that he is strongly solicited by the Prince of Scindy for some large Brass Cannon on the same terms he purchased the last. It is therefore agreed to let them have what can be consistently spared from the Island as he will give a very high price for them, and they will never be employed to the Hon’ble Company’s prejudice being intended for inland service.

(Public Department Diary No. 24B, 1751, p. 400).

.....

I have not been able to find out if any more guns were actually sold to the Sindh ruler or not.

The documents only vaguely inform us that the guns were required by the Sindh Government for ‘inland service.’ It is very likely that they were intended for employment against the rebellious chiefs in Lower Sindh. According to the Sindh Gazetteer Mian Nur Muhammad was “constantly fighting with local chiefs, who appear to be semi-independent and some of whom are clearly Hindus. Six of these, by name Tamachi, Toghachi, Tharu, Silah, Kahah, and Asu Sumra, are described as Chiefs of Wangah in the Chachikhan taluka. This was the region to the southwest of Tando Bago in the taluka of that name. Much more important were the Jam of Kakrala, who held a tract of country between Shahbander and the Indus, and the Rana of Dharaja in the Mirpur Sakro taluka. The latter is said to have instigated the hill tribes to come down and attack Tatta, and Thano Bula Khan marks the camp of Bula Khan Naomardia⁹ who went out to oppose them. A member those same hill tribes, one Bijar Jokiah¹⁰, was afterwards employed to assassinate the Rana, which he did. The Kalhoras thus got possession of Dharaja and extended their power to the sea, while Bijar was rewarded with the title of Jam of the Jokias.”

Fifty years later Nathan Crow describing the Talpur artillery in his report to the Bombay Government wrote:

⁹ Numurdia Burfat are numerous in Karachi, Jamshoro and Thatta districts of Sindh live-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

¹⁰ Jokhia tribe inhabit Karachi and other district of Sindh

Mir Fatteh Ali Khan has abundance of choice artillery consisting chiefly of purchases or presents from the English during their ancient connections with Gholam Shah (which was of the most intimate and friendly nature) with many likewise of Portuguese and Dutch Manufacture. He has no better people at present to serve these but a Surhung, a Tindal and some Lascars, deserters from the English but an expert European or two might soon put this train into a formidable state."

Bijapur.

8th September 1937

- (1.) Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhora, on whom after the defeat at Umarmkot in 1740, Nadir Shah had conferred Lower and Central Sindh on condition of his paying an annual tribute of 20 or 21 lakhs of rupees.
- (2.) Madras was seized without any serious resistance by a French fleet under Captain La Bourdonnais in September 1746, but was returned to the English in 1749 in accordance with the terms of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle which concluded the war of Austrian Succession.
- (3.) The East India Company did not have a Factory in Sindh till 10 years later, in the reign of Ghulam Shah Kalhora.
- (4.) Sheikh Shukrullah who along with other generals repulsed the attack of Rana of Dharaja on Tatta in 1747-48. Shortly afterwards he succeeded in getting the Rana killed by Bijar Jokiah by treacherous means. He died in 1751. Kalich Beg's History of Sindh, Vol. II, pp. 149-51.
- (5.) Khudabad founded by Mian Yar Muhammad (1700-1718) who bore the title of Khudar Yar Khan conferred on him by the Moghal Emperor of Delhi.
- (6.) President and Governor of the Presidency of Bombay from 1770-1783.

Notes by the Editor on some of the words used in the above paper.

LASCAR (also spelt Lashkar-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro). The word was formerly used for “soldier”; but it is never used so now. It is in general the equivalent of Khalasi, in the various senses of that word; viz., 1, an inferior class of artillery man (gun-lascar); 2. A tent-pitcher; 3, a sailor. The last is the most common Anglo-Indian use, and has passed into the English language.

Pyrard de Laval writes in 1610 “tous ces gens de mer les appellant LASCARS, et les soldats LASCARITS.”

Fryer writes in 1673: The seamen and solidiers differ only in a vowel the one being pronounced with an “u,” the other with an “a,” as Luscar, a soldier, Lascar, a seaman.

Bishop Heber states in 1824, “If the tents got dry, the clashes (tent pitchers) allowed that we might proceed in the morning prosperously.”

TINDAL. The head or commander of a body of men; but in ordinary specific application a native petty officer of LASCARS whether on board a ship (boatswain) or in the ordinance of department; and sometimes the head of a gang of labourers on public works.

PATCHUCK. Patchouli, patch-leaf, putch, putcha-leaf.

These are trade names of the dried leaves of a labiate plant and allied to mint (*Pogostemon patchouly*). It is supposed to be a cultivated variety of *Pogostemon Heyneanus*, a native of the Deccan. It is grown in native gardens throughout India, Ceylon, and the Malay Islands, and the dried flowering spikes and leaves of the plant, which are used, are sold in every bazar. The patcha-pat is used as an ingredient in tobacco for smoking, as hair-scent by women, and especially for stuffing mattresses and laying among clothes as we use lavender. In the fluid form Patchouli was introduced into England in 1884, and soon became fashionable as a perfume.

Persian Inscriptions From the Tomb of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro

Afzal Ahmed

The province of Sindh is richly endowed with inscriptional wealth of the Muslim period from the earliest centuries of the advent of Islam in the South Asia Sub-continent to the dismal days when it came under the British rule. The inscriptions elaborately carved in stone with arabesque, floral or geometrical patterns adorn the ancient graves and tombs of tribal chieftains, ruling potentates and their family members, the shrines of saints and sufis, and occasionally the mosques and forts. The importance of inscriptions in archaeological studies of an area and in the reconstruction of its history can hardly be over-emphasized. It is true that on many an occasion a chance discovery of an authentic inscription has pushed further the frontier of the known history or helped in bridging the lacunae in continuity of events by providing important clues. Even the inscriptions consisting simply of Quranic verses or panegyrics in poetic strain, give at least the indication of the religious devotion of the time, the literary taste of the bards and the artistic talents of the engravers. All these factors are clearly discernible in the inscriptions seen affixed to graves, tombs, shrines, mosques and forts in the province of Sindh, and provide an opportunity of consistent study of the social, cultural and historical changes from the eighth to nineteenth centuries AD.

It is an unfortunate fact that epigraphical studies in Sindh have not attracted the amount of attention they deserved. So far, no systematic and concerted efforts have been made to compile a corpus of inscriptions of the province, and even a thorough survey of the surviving inscriptions has not yet been attempted. Some of the inscriptions with relatively easy access

had been studied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by the British scholars and are referred to in various District Gazetteers. Since Independence a number of our great scholars, historians and enthusiasts of the Muslim history have also taken pains to publish some of the important inscriptions; to name late Pir Hussamuddin Shah Rashidi (1967), late Dr. Moulvi Mohammad Shafi, Dr. M.A. Ghafur (1968), Moulvi Shamsuddin Ahmed (1952) and others. Lately the Epigraphy Branch of the Department of Archaeology and Museums has come up to this important work and has on top of its list the stupendous job of compiling a corpus of historic inscriptions from the Makli monuments having a bearing on the cultural history of Sindh.

It was during a preliminary survey of the group of historic monuments, when I happened to be at a small village named "Noor Muhammad" in taluka Moro, Nawab Shah district. On the north-western outskirts of this village there is a large graveyard extending over an area of about 3 acres. In this graveyard is located a complex of monuments consisting of tombs and graves of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, his friends, relatives, courtiers and servants in addition to dilapidated structure of a mosque.

Among these ruins the tomb of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro stands out prominently. The nearest town, Shahpur Jahanian, on National Highway, is about six miles from the monument. Its gigantic dome as well as palatial enclosure walls is visible from miles away. The enclosure wall has an entrance on the east through a vestibule. There are two Persian inscriptions, one on either side of the entrance. Both the inscriptions are in *Nastaliq* script on yellow sand stone. After passing through an extensive courtyard, one finds on the extreme west, the burial chamber of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro on a raised platform. It has a door on the east. Its facade is profusely decorated with colourful tiles. The entrance arch and the lintel are of wood which are carved with "*Ayat-ul-Kursi*" and "*Kalma-e-Tayyaba*". On the northern side of this door there is yet another Persian inscription in *Thulth* script on yellow sand stone. This elegant edifice is crowned by a huge dome and a finial post. The outer surface of the tomb was once richly decorated with floral designs in colours. The interior walls, *Mehrab*s, and dome have been profusely decorated with colourfully painted floral designs. The entire structure stands on a high plinth of yellow sand stone, which has been suitably decorated with engraved floral designs.

The rest of the building is in burnt bricks with a layer of plaster. In later times more graves were added inside the enclosure. The superstructures of these new graves have covered the front view of the tomb and have marred its beauty.

In the following pages I have deciphered and translated these inscriptions which have a definite historical value in the chronicles of Kalhora rule. But, before dealing with these inscriptions it would be appropriate to give in brief the life sketch of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.

Noor Muhammad Kalhoro had a stormy career in life. His actual date of birth is not known. However, Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar (1958:538-39).has made a reasonable surmise about his age and concludes that he might have been born approximately in 1090-91 A.H.(1679-80 A.D). The Kalhora Dynasty from the time of its founder, Mian Adam Shah upto the time of Mian Yar Muhammad, the father of Noor Muhammad, was known for its spiritual qualities. It was only in the last days of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro that he captured large part of Sindh by his personal valour and got the title of *Khuda Yar Khan* (from the Mughal Court at Delhi). Thus, this spiritual family got temporal power. However, most of the historians consider that the Kalhora rule virtually started from the time of Mian Noor Muhammad (Khan 1959:121).

Mian Noor Muhammad during his princehood remained a hostage in the court of Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Kalat (Mahar 1958:359-60). It was an eventful time in his life which witnessed attempt for freedom, heroic escape and unfortunate arrest. On release from Kalat, prince Mian Noor Muhammad assisted his father Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, in various important state affairs, such as a campaign against highway robbers and marauders of Thatta, streamlining the administration of Sibi and Dhadar, and his services at Multan which adorn the pages of history (Ibid., p.361). In addition to these services, he was also appointed as Naib Faujdar of Sehwan by the Imperial court of Delhi (Ibid.,p.363).

After ruling for eighteen years, Yar Muhammad died on 15th *Dhilquadh* 1131 A.H (Qani 1971:443-44) and Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was accessioned to the throne on the 11th of *Muharram* 1132 A.H. (13th November, 1719 AD) (Mehar 1958:354). There must have been a plausible explanation for the gap of two months between the time of the death of his father

and his accession to the throne. In *Guldasta-e-Nanras Bohiar*, however, the date of his ascending the throne is given as 1131 A.H. which makes the controversy irrelevant (Ibid., p.355).

After accession to the throne, Mian Noor Muhammad had a tedious job of consolidating the state of his father, maintaining law and order in it and extending the Kalhora rule to the east of Indus. However, his ambitions received a setback due to the treacherous expeditions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali. As a result of Nadir Shah's expedition two of his sons, namely Murad Yab Khan and Ghulam Shah were kept as hostages in Iran (Ibid., p.451.) After the death of Nadir Shah and during the family feuds of his relatives, the two sons of Noor Mohammad Kalhoro, managed to return to their country. The crown prince, Murad Yab Khan, reached Sindh in 1164 A.H (Ibid., p. 525-26). On this occasion the joy of Noor Muhammad was so great that he gave to Murad Yab Khan the royal court and offices, settled him at Khudabad and he himself went to Muhammadabad, a new city founded by him (Qani 1971: 459).

But, it appears that Mian Noor Muhammad was not satisfied with the administration of Murad Yab, hence he once again ruled the country till at last driven out by Ahmad Shah. He died in exile at Jaisalmer on 12th Safar 1167 A.H. (9th December, 1753 AD). His corpse was brought to Muhammadabad and was buried there (Quddusi 1974:446). The contemporary sources and other historical accounts do not provide sufficient information about Muhammadabad although it has been referred to many times (Ibid., p.1085). This city now exists only in the form of a small village in taluka Moro. In this regard, Ijaz-ul-Haq Quddusi has simply stated that Muhammadabad was founded by Noor Muhammad and it was a beautiful city (Ibid., p.591). About the tomb of Noor Muhammad he mentions that it was probably built in the reign of Murad Yab Khan (Ibid., p.593).

In this uncertain state of our knowledge about Muhammadabad, and builder of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's tomb, it is hoped that following text and translation of the inscriptions which have definite bearings on these unknown points, will be of sufficient interest.

1. INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTH OF ENTRANCE DOOR AT DAHLEEZ. (Fig.8)

- ۱- چون شد تمام ز تعمیر روضه اقدس
ز کارداری باقر محب خاص شبان
- ۲- ز سال فوت چو تاریخ خواستم دل گفت
حبیب و نور محمد ولی خلد مکان
- ۳- بخواب رفته، قبل زمان عباسی
در ین مقام و در روضه بهشت نشان
- ۴- بناز مصرع تاریخ تازه شد صابر
از خلد و زیده به طوف مرقدان
- ۵- خوش آنکس که چون مردان دین ز ملک جهان
سفر کند سو دار بقا بشوق جنان

Translation

1. When this most sacred mausoleum was completed by the good service of Baqar, the favourite of the kings.
2. I reckoned the year of his (Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's) death and the heart said "Beloved saint Noor Muhammad found abode in Heavens."
3. That elephant of the world, Abbasi has fallen asleep in this place and in this mausoleum which is emblem of paradise.
4. "Sabir" improvised a verse for its date which has descended from the heaven to adorn these graves.
5. Happy is he who is pious and travels from this ephemeral to the eternal world in the desire of paradise.

This inscription gives names of "Baqar and Sabir" which have been dealt with some-where else in this article. The word *Vali* (Saint) appearing in the second verse indicates that even after gaining the temporal power Mian Noor Muhammad preferred to be known as a spiritual person. Even today his devotees prefer to be buried in the Noor Muhammad Kalhoro graveyard. Issueless people still come to his grave with bequeaths for a child and it is believed that they get twins which are called سائین جو ڏاند (Bulls of the saint). They are presented at the *mazar* with a model yoke on their necks. After the rituals are over the happy parents take their twins, while the yokes are left at the *mazar*. The author found a number of such yokes lying at the *mazar*, and the Muta-walli explained their importance. It may, however, be mentioned that Kalhoras were originally *Zamindars* (landlords). Their interest in agriculture is indicated by the fact that they dug canals for irrigation. The *Noor Wah*,

named after Noor Muhammad, shows his definite interest in agriculture. My friend Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bukhari, who hails from district Dadu, is of the opinion that these model yokes might also indicate Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's interest in agricultural development of Sindh. In support of his views he has quoted an instance from the tomb of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, father of Noor Muhammad. On his *mazar* at Khudabad in District Dadu, devotees hang wooden batons as mark of their bequests. A "Danda" or wooden baton is undoubtedly an emblem of power, as a yoke is an emblem of agriculture. In whatever sense these model yokes and wooden batons might be taken by the devotees of the Kalhoras, they still denote a personal quality of the saints. Therefore, the model yokes may indicate that originally these were liked most by Noor Mohammad and in later times used as a cult for winning his favour.

The word *Abbassi* in the third verse, is due to the fact that the Kalhoras claim their descent from the uncle of Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) namely Hazrat Abbas. Therefore, they use *Abbassi* as their surname, Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar, has discussed this point in detail with the help of all the genealogical tables which could possibly be collected (Mahar 1958:35-60).

The word مردان appearing in the fourth verse has got a special significance. It is plural form of مرد which shows that there were more than one grave when these couplets were composed. It, therefore, indicates that the mausoleum was not completed even after the death of Murad Yab, who is also buried on the platform in front of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's tomb. Murad Yab Khan, died in Shawal, 1171 A.H (Mahar 1958:592). (June, 1757 AD) as such, it seems more probable that these couplets were composed and the inscription was installed after that date.

2. INSCRIPTION ON THE SOUTH OF THE ENTRANCE AT THE DAHLEEZ. (Fig.9)

- ۱- ولی عہدی و جانشین وارث ملک
غلام شاہ سخاوت دان عالی شان
- ۲- امیر و پیرسان صاحب کرم خصلت
عدو شکار و نظر کردہ شہ مردان
- ۳- چہن سرفراز شد از عطائی مصطفوی
نمود روضہ ز تعمیر روضہ رضوان
- ۴- چہ روضہ منزل و آرامگاہ اہل بہشت

۵- که پرز نور و تجلا است ظاهره پنهان
 زیر نورش دل اهل نظاره روشن شد
 چون دید از درو دیوارو بام نور افشال

Translation

- 1-3. When by the grace of Mustafa (may peace be upon him) crown prince, heir apparent and lord of the country Ghulam Shah who is an excellent liberal, a benevolent Amir (king), a benefactor of (his) nobles, terror for (his) enemies and appreciator of brave persons became exalted (i.e. became king) then he built this tomb on the pattern of heavens.
4. What a destination and abode for the people of paradise is this tomb that it is full of light and reflection of God manifestly and concealedly.
5. Under its rays the heart of onlooker is suffused with light emanating from its walls, doorways and stairs.

Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, referred to in the first verse of the inscription was the son of Noor Muhammad and the founder of Hyderabad. He was very fond of constructing elegant buildings. The tomb of Shah Baharo at Larkana, tomb of Adam Shah at Sukkur, tomb of Shahal Muhammad at Kamber, tomb of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai at Bhit Shah Hala, were also constructed by him (Quddusi 1972:592).

INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTH SIDE DOOR AT THE BURIAL CHAMBER.

- ۱- همیشه زنده بود سرکه نام نیک گداشت
 که روشن است مزارش (؟) ز رحمت یزدان
- ۲- چون در هزار و صد و شصت هفت در هجری
 وفات یافت دلی شد گشته روان
- ۳- مرد بر روضه و آهسته تر خرام صبا
 شگوفه ریز مه داد شود گل ریحان
- ۴- ز فرقتش دل ارباب دین که خون کردید
 چکد از مژه چون اشک در جگر جان (؟)

Translation

1. The person who leaves a good name (in the world after his death) becomes immortal (because his) grave gets light from the benevolence of God.
2. In the year one thousand one hundred and sixty seven of Hijra the king of Sindh passed away.

3. O breeze do not rush over his grave, but move slowly lest the buds of lily should be shaken down.
4. On his sad departure the hearts of pious people have become blood which flows from their eyes instead of tears.

These inscriptions are of great historical importance. The inscription on the north side of the burial chamber gives the date of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's death as 1167 A.H. (1754 AD) which conforms with the contemporary sources and historical narratives (Mahar 1958:539).

The inscription on the north side of the entrance door at the *Dahleez* also gives versified date of founding in the verse which gives a date 1167 A.H. (1754 AD) Another chronogram gives a date of 1166 A.H.²³ (1753 AD) which is apparently the date of the beginning of the construction of the mausoleum. It means that at least the construction of this tomb was started in the life time of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro. A tradition current among the local people is that this tomb was built by Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro. A critical examination of this tradition reveals its correctness in historical perspective. We know from *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* that on receiving confirmed news of Ahmed Shah's expedition, Noor Muhammad Kalhoro departed from Muhammadabad towards Jaisalmer on the fourth of *Muharram* 1167 A.H. Where he died on the 12th of *Safar*, the same year. It confirms the tradition that the tomb was built, or at least its construction was started, by Noor Muhammad. The work must have been incomplete when Noor Muhammad had to leave Muhammadabad under fear of Ahmed Shah (Qani 1971:459-60).

This inscription also gives the name of "*Baqar*" who was engaged for the construction of the tomb. The inscription does not give any clue whether he was an engineer, architect, or superintendent of construction. The pen name "*Sabir*" occurring in the inscription indicates that he was the author of these couplets. "*Sabir Ali Sabir*" is a well-known figure of the Kalhora period. He is, however, not the author of these couplets because he died in 1286 A.H. i.e. 119 years after the construction of this mausoleum. It is, however, for the historiographers and research scholars to ascertain further particulars of "*Baqar*" and "*Sabir*" mentioned in this inscription.

The inscription on the south of the entrance at the *Dahleez* is an eulogy on Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, who is said to have constructed the tomb. Keeping in view the great zeal with

which he had constructed a number of other buildings, we are inclined to believe that he should have completed the tomb of his father.

The study of these inscriptions has, therefore, thrown a new light on the history of the Kalhoras. We know for certain that Noor Muhammad Kalhoro died at Jaisalmer in 1167 A.H. (1754 AD) while driven by Ahmed Shah Abdali. He was succeeded by his son Murad Yab who ruled from 1167 to 1170 A. H. 26 (1754 to 1757 AD). The ceremony of his accession was performed in a camp near Nasarpur, where he founded a new city called Muradabad in 1754 AD. It was washed away by floods after sometime and now it does not exist at all (Ibid., p.458).

According to the inscription on the south at *Dahleez*, Ghulam Shah is the builder of this tomb. Ghulam Shah held the reigns from 1170 to 1186 A.H. (1756-57 to 1772 AD). He is said to have founded another new city Allahabad near Muhammadabad of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (Quddusi 1974:646). It is, therefore, improbable that Noor Muhammad Kalhoro should have been buried at village Noor Muhammad in preference to the place of his death i.e. Jaisalmer or his capital at Khudabad or one of the cities founded by himself and his son Muhammad Murad Yab, namely Muhammadabad and Muradabad, unless we accept that the suburbs of the present village Noor Muhammad indicate the location of a forgotten city Muhammadabad, which was founded by Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro and where according to historical accounts he was buried after his death at Jaisalmer. The presence of a dry river bed nearby is an indication of the probable reason for the abandonment of Muhammadabad. By the passage of time Muhammadabad, having lost its importance, might have been forgotten and existing graveyard with the tomb of Noor Muhammad still reminds us of the glorious days when there was a prosperous city, Muhammadabad.

We may, therefore, safely conclude that the study of these inscriptions has provided authentic information which is helpful in removing the lacunae in history as to the date of the construction of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's tomb, name of its builder and location of a non-existent city Muhammadabad which was founded by Mian Noor Muhammad. Now we know that Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro had started the construction

of his tomb at Muhammadabad in his own life time viz, in 1166 A.H. The tomb was not completed even after the burial of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro and his son Murad Yab. Ghulam Shah having completed the tomb got the credit for its construction. Moreover, the tomb of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro indicates the site of an abandoned and forgotten city Muhammadabad.

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Irrigation under Noor Muhammad Kalhoro

M.H. Panhwar

Irrigation in Sindh dates back to the Indus Times i.e., about 3,000 B.C. It appears that around Amrian Times (3500 B.C.) irrigation had yet not started but by Kot Dijian Times (2800 B.C.), rudimentary irrigation had already begun. Next 500 years were the period of its ascendancy and by the beginning of Mohenjo-Daro Times (2300 B.C.), irrigation had spread to most of the Central Indus Plains. A vast civilization, more than ten times bigger than contemporary Mesopotamian and Egyptian Civilizations, in an arid land, could only have survived on irrigation, summer crops like cotton, jowar and bajra could not have been grown, only on rain water to support large populations in a vast area, and could have produced enough surplus food and clothing to support city population, artisans, religious centres and administrative set up. From the present experience of arid areas of Thar and Kohistan it is evident, that they produce only a small percentage of their cereal requirements. The surplus can only come from irrigational area.

The behaviour of the river Indus in Sindh has become clear only during the past 100 years. The river comes laden with silt, which in the inundation season, easily reaches 6 parts per thousand parts of water. In Sindh, the slopes do not permit adequate velocities to water, to hold all this silt in suspension. This specially happens in areas where water overflows the bed of the river. The silt thus gets deposited on the banks and in the bed of the river. The process continues for many decades, until the river flows on a ridge above the surrounding country. One of the days, then, it leaves the ridge and starts flowing in a low lying area, gradually raising it again. This process of the river Indus has been in action, throughout Sindh's recent geological history.

The ancient courses of the river Indus were almost parallel to its present course and they have left ridges, on which the major canals of to-day are aligned. The branch canals are also aligned on some other ridges and so are the minors. The courses drawn from aerial photographs show that there is no place in Sindh more than 5 miles long and 5 miles wide, which has not been intruded by the river Indus at one time or another, during the past 10,000 years, after Sindh emerged out of receding sea, which 20,000 years back had flooded the whole of Sind upto Multan. I have drawn a map of this course from aerial photographs, on one inch to 4 miles scale and size 40" to 90". The ridges so left have served for alignment of canals since the times of the Early Indus Civilization. Some old beds of the river were actually utilized as canals as much by ancients, as by latest ruling dynasties, Kalhoras and Talpurs and also the British. When the river changed its course, the irrigation system in the affected area was totally destroyed, bringing about migration of people, chaos, disease, famine, starvation, death and decrease in population. This has been the history of Sindh for the past 5000 years; that of prosperity, high population, depression, reduction in population, change of dynasties, and rise and decline of civilizations.

The irrigation system in Sindh invariably consisted of short length canals, taking off from the river and running obliquely to its course.

If river was stable in its course for considerable decades, a large number of canals were constructed over years, the population increased and so did the cultivated area.

But a disaster usually took place almost once in a century or two, when river changed its course, the canals dried up, lands were abandoned, people had to migrate and usually turn into pastoral nomads, grazing their flocks in Thar and Kohistan after summer rains and returning to the Indus plains in winter, where after being in spate in summer, the receding river Indus left enough moisture in the soil, to support grasses for winter and spring.

Sufficient portion of Sindh's population thus became, alternatively cultivator and pastoral. In practice each farmer was part time pastoral. They maintained cattle, goats and sheep for milk: butter, meat, wool and hides and grazed them on agricultural wastes like straw, bam, oil cake and natural grasses

supported on the preserved moisture, left by flood waters of the Indus.

Whenever a major river change took place in the course of the river Indus, lands, village and towns depending on canal system-of the old course were abandoned. The turmoil depended on the extent of abandonment of old course and if it was large, there was misery, famine, starvation, migration and reduction in population.

This reduced revenue of the government and also their hold on the old settlements. The interaction of economic forces, caused resentment against the government, rebellion, new loyalties, rising of new forces and finally change of the government, either by internal revolts or foreign conquest. This has been the process of Sindh's history since introduction of irrigation some 5000 years ago and is evident from following major historical incidents.

- a. Decline of Mohenjo-Daro' came due to abandonment of old course of river which passed near Mohenjo-Daro, Loham-jo-Daro (Piyaro goth railway station) and Chanh-Daro, either too far to the east or too far to the west, from where water could not be brought to the central plains near the abandoned cities. The civilization started its quick decline in 1650 B.C., and for another 1000 years conditions were chaotic, canals if restored did not cover areas large enough to cause any cultural impact. Consequently, the population declined. Rough estimate of population of Sindh is 250,000 from 3000-2700 B. C., or Mid-Kot-Dijjian Times and 500,000 to 600,000 mid Indus Times or 2000 B. C.
- b. Somewhere in early 6th century B. C., or in the late 7th century B. C. canal system was restored, area became populated, cultivation extended and area of Sindh below Multan became the richest area in the world. Darius-I conquered Sindhu for its wealth and got 1/4th of total revenue of his Empire from Sindh. The canal system seems to have been restored for the first time, after about 1000 years and caused much prosperity.
- c. Somewhere at the middle or the later part 5th century B. C., the river again had a major change in its course. Achaemenians lost their hold on Sindh. Small independent local rulers rose to power. They built the

canal system again. The old course of the Indus and abandoned lands were witnessed by Alexanders' men with surprise. These lands were at a such height that water could not be laid to them from the new course adopted by the Indus.- The abandoned course was in Khairpur, Nawab Shah, Sanghar districts and the new course was in the same districts to the west of it. On this new course enough land was cultivated that full prosperity had returned to Sindh, as Alexander's historians perceived and area was annexed to the Greek Empire. Sindh's population during (b) and (c) above may have been 500,000 to 1,000,000 and area under irrigation 400,000 to 700,000.

- d. There is not enough information on irrigation in Sindh from Mauryan rule (323 B.C.) to the rise of Vahlikas in 356 A. D., due to lack of excavation of Buddhist cities in Sindh. However under Vahlikas 356-415 A D.. Sindh was very prosperous, its king strong and Chandra Gupta-II failed in his attempt to conquer Sindh.
- e. The disappearance of Vahlikas from Sindh's scene may have been due to a major change in the course of the river Indus and destruction of irrigation system.
- f. Irrigation system was again restored and with this change, rose Rai Dynasty, (499-641 A.D.), to be replaced by Brahman Dynasty (641-711 AD). The Indus was stable and irrigation system helped to extend boundaries of Sindh to Baluchistan, Multan, Bhatinda and Kutch. By about 700 A.D. or soon after, there was a major change in the course of the river in the Lower Sindh, causing destruction of irrigation system, abandonment of agricultural land and settlements. Brahman dynasty had repelled fifteen Arab attacks on Sindh in the past 50 years but in the 16th attack, the Arabs conquered the Lower Sindh without shedding blood and facing any resistance. The area was vacated due to abandonment of irrigation lands and the farming population, which was mostly Buddhist, joined Arabs under the hope that the irrigational system will be restored and they will be re-settled on some suitable agricultural lands.
- g. Arab governors of Umayyids and Abbasids ruled Sindh from 714-854 A.D. Since Arabs were not familiar with

- irrigation requirements of a river like the Indus, the canal system was not restored quickly as the Buddhist population, who mostly were farmers, had expected and rebellion started. The 140 years of the Arab rule saw wars, chaos, removal, dismissal and recall of governors. Out of this chaos rose a local dynasty, the Habaris, who descended from a local Arab chief settled in Sindh for more than a century and involved in agriculture in Sindh.
- h. Habaris (851-1011 AD) being familiar with canal irrigation, seem to have restored canal system. To their luck was not only stability of the Indus but natural establishment of a few major branches of the Indus in the Upper and Lower Sindh, which also supported canals. Habaris had a stable and prosperous period in Sindh's history.
 - i. Soomras ruled from 1011 to 1351 A.D. It was a peaceful take over from Habaris. During their rule, the Indus changed its course three times, twice it was another Soomra family that took over but the third times after 1333 A.D. when river changed its course, Sammas first replaced Soomras in the Central Sindh and soon after 1351 they took over the whole of Sindh. Cultivated area under Habarians may have been 1,600,000 acres and population 2,500,000.
 - j. Sammas had good luck of no major change in the course of river Indus until the end of their rule in 1525 A.D., a total period of about 175 years. The prosperity brought by the irrigation system resulted in a series of defeats of Feroz Tughlaq at the hands of Sammas between 1365-1367 A.D. The same factor got the Sammas independence from the Delhi Sultanate and the Central Asian Mongols, although both had designs on Sindh, from time to time. Area under cultivation under Sammas may have reached 1.6-1.7 million acres and population 2.5 million.
 - k. Sindh was conquered by Arghoons in 1525 A.D. They were replaced by Tarkhans in 1555 A.D. and by Mughal governors in 1587 A.D. (Upper Sindh) and 1591 A.D. (Lower Sindh) Mughal governors ruled different parts of Sindh up to 1736 A.D., although they had lost control over most of Sindh soon after 1680 A.D.

The Mansabdari system adopted by them was not suitable to the conditions of Sindh, where a land-owner or Zamindar was responsible for digging new canals, maintaining old ones by annual de-silting, land clearance and levelling, bringing new areas under cultivation by extending canals and etc. The Mansabdars or Jagirdars, imposed on the cultivators, being un-familiar with the Indus canal systems, were not in a position to provide proper planning for canals, organizing labour co-operatively and relax taxation in case of crop failure. They used armed forces to recover the taxes. Farmers rebelled lands were abandoned, canals silted up and more land went out cultivation. People of Sindh turned pastoral and fought the government forces. By 1644 the whole of the Upper Sindh was in rebellion. Local tribes organized militarily. Local chiefs took over various areas, restored canal system and paid no taxes to the Mughals. Due to political turmoil area under cultivation in 1700 A.D. may have been about 1000,000 acres and population on 1500,000.

In this chaos, Kalhoras the local land-owners also rebelled. They were also hereditary Pirs or holymen. They started organising resistance against Mughal governors. More and more land owners and farmers joined them. By the end of the seventeenth century, they were a formidable force to be reckoned with. Between 1650 and 1700 A.D., they had occupied most of the present Jacobabad, Shikarpur and Larkana districts. Upper Dadu (i.e. Sehwan, Dadu, Johi, Khairpur Nathan Shah, Mehar talukas) and some parts of Kambar taluka were occupied by Panhwar's with headquarters at Garhi and Samtani. Panhwars were loyal to Multan's governor Muizuddin son of Aurangzeb. They, therefore, became target of Kalhoras. Kalhoras had hitherto used mostly local Zamindars but hereafter they used Balochi tribes of Sibi, Karachi, Dera Bughti and D.G. Khan, as mercenaries, to fight the Mughals. Balochi had accepted Kalhoras as their spiritual guides or Pirs. Kalhoras had never suspected that these disciples of theirs one day will chop off their descendant's heads and occupy Sindh. In 1701 A.D. they displaced Panhwars. The Mughal governors having become helpless accepted them as governors of areas occupied. Under Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (1701-1718 A.D.). more areas were added to their principality.

Noor Muhammad Kalhoro became ruler of Sindh on the death of his father Yar Muhammad Kalhoro. The task of expansion and occupying more territories continued until 1736 A.D. when the Thatta, Sarkar of the Lower Sindh, was also handed over to them by Delhi, on a nominal acceptance of Mughal sovereignty. Task before Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was to re-organize irrigation system, as his father and uncle had done before him.

The Kalhoras were master builders. Their secret lay in quick restoration of the canal system and settlement of farmers on it. There are different estimates as to the area under cultivation in Sindh, under the Kalhoras. Lambrick believes that they had achieved a figure of 30 lakh acres, while Chhablani (Economic History of Sindh) considers it as 21 lakhs. The present writer accepts conservative estimate of 22 lakh acres as each acre of land needs and supports about 1.36 persons in the rural community, and Sindh's population could not have been more than 30 lakh by about 1757 A.D., when under Kalhoras cultivation reached its zenith. What canals did Kalhoras build? This is a matter which could be worked out only by considerable research. Sir Charles Napier's canal department had collected some records, which soon were lost. No attempt was ever made to put this information together again.

On the basis of scanty information available, the Kalhoras excavated the following canals:

- a. Shah-ji-Kur, constructed by Shah Buharo, Vazier of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.
- b. Nusrat Wah, excavated by Nusrat Khan Chandio, in the days of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.
- c. Murad Wah, excavated by Murad Yab Khan Kalhoro.
- d. Feroz Wah, excavated by Feroz Virar during Kalhora dynasty's rule.
- e. arfraz Wah, excavated by Mian Sarfraz Kalhoro.
- f. Bag Wah, excavated by Bag of Sial clan, who were brought to Sindh from the Punjab by Kalhoras.
- g. Noor Wah, from Begari canal, excavated by and named after Noor Muhammad Kalhoro.
- h. Noor Wah from Ghar, excavated during Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's rule.
- i. Noor Wah from Western Nara also excavated during Noor Muhammad Kaloro's rule.
- j. Noor Wah from Nasrani to Dadu and South.

- k. Begari, as the name implies, excavated by statutory labour may have been commissioned during early Kalhora rule, from which Noor Wah, a branch canal took off.
- l. Ghar appears to be a natural branch of river Indus, which may have been commissioned by Kalhoras or it may even have been the Abro canal of Summa period.
- m. Western Nara was natural branch of river Indus and was in commission during Kalhora-Talpur rule.
- n. Date-ji-Kur (constructed by Dato Khuhawar).
- o. Shah-ji-Kur (constructed by Noor Muhammad Kalhora).
- p. Naulakhi, Dad and Dhambhro wahs are old channels of the river Indus and were converted into canals by the Kalhoras.
- q. Gungro, a natural branch of Indus, which may have been commissioned by Kalhoras after 1758 A.D., when the Indus took the present course below Hala.
- r. Baghar, a natural branch of the Indus in 1699 A.D., may have become a non-perennial stream after 1758 A.D., and, therefore, may have been commissioned as canal by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro.
- s. Same could be said of Ochto or Hajamro and Kairi canals of Thatta district.
- t. Three canals from Makhi Dhand, namely Mithroa, Din and Heran, which started operating, when Fife gave new mouth to Eastern Nara above Rohri, may have been old canals belonging to Samma-Soomra period and may have flowed occasionally as and when spill waters from the Indus and the Sutlej discharged into the Eastern Nara. They were probably in use occasionally during Noor Muhammad and Ghulam Shah Kalhoro's rule, as the latter took care that no spill water from Eastern Nara reached Kutch via Puran. Many of old canals belonging to Kalhora, Talpur and British period were absorbed in the new canal systems of Gudu, Sukkur and Kotri barrages. Only by extensive local investigation at the level of sub-divisional engineers, could the antiquity and history of old canal system be ascertained. Unfortunately, this study does not have any engineering applicabilities, and so the irrigation department will have little use for it. It is hoped that some day economic and

social historians and anthropologists would undertake this study.

The Kalhora period's irrigated agriculture reached a minimum area of 22 lakh acres by 1740 A.D., but a major hydrological change took place in 1755-58. The Indus changed its old course at Hala deserting its main branch which passed near Uderolal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio, Thari, Old Badin and Rahimki Bazar.

It swung westwards, taking the present course thus destroying the old irrigation system below Hala. At least one million acres must have gone out of cultivation bringing about economic chaos. The Kalhoras do seem to have taken immediate steps but to revive the canals through almost half of the irrigated area which was deserted would take about 50 years. In the meantime, internal feuds held Kalhoras in their grip for the next 25 years, after which this dynasty was replaced by Talpurs.

The British historians seem to have had great regard for the canal management of Kalhoras and even as late as 1937 A.D., Lambrick (*Journal Sind Historical Society*, 1937) stated, that by 1930, within 87 years of their rule, the British had just achieved what Kalhoras had already done, by the mid 18th century.

By 1758 A.D., even if Lambrick's figure of 30 lakh irrigated acres is replaced by Chhablani's conservative estimate of 21 lakh acres, Sindh's population would be about 30 lakh. Chhablani thinks that near about 1600 AD., the area under cultivation in Sindh was 13 lakhs which in accordance with the rate of taxation, yield per acre and price of grain, fetched the government of the day 66,215,395 Dams, as reported by *Ain-i-Akbari*). This would put Sindh's population at 19 lakhs in 1600 A.D. Under Aurangzeb, considering also the inflated revenue, the area under cultivation in Sindh must have further reduced to about 9 lakhs. It is fair to assume that before Kalhora's dynasty gained power in Sindh in 1701 A.D., its population thus could not have been more than 14 lakhs.

Again knowing the circumstances between 1525 and 1701 A.D., it could be stated that under the Sammas total population may even have been 30 lakhs and the area under cultivation 20 lakhs, through conservative figures of 16 and 26 lakhs have been assigned to it. In the intervening 175 years, not

only Sindh's area under cultivation reduced but also its population. The same was to repeat between 1758 and 1843 A.D., due to new circumstances for which very detailed data, records, reports and travel accounts exist. This is the Talpur period discussed hereafter.

Since Talpurs took hardly any efforts to increase more area under cultivation and under them cultivated acreage decreased from 22 lakh in 1754 (death of Noor Muhammad Kalhora) to 9 lakh in 1843 and population reduced from 3 millions or 30 lakh to 1.4 millions or 14 lakh people.

It can be said that at 90% of some 750 canals existing in Sindh in 1843, but listed by Public Works Department in 1876 A.D., belong to the Kalhora period. Again out of these canals some 250 canals were built between 1758-1781 A.D., by Kalhoras. It would be safe to conclude that Yar Muhammad Kalhora, Noor Muhammad Kalhora and between 1700 and 1754 A.D., the early Kalhoras, built some 550 canals of these, in all probability, 50% belong to Noor Muhammad period. The rest 50% were definitely extended to new areas in the Upper Sindh.

The figure of 22 lakh acres under canal cultivation was matched by the British around 1910 A.D., after ruling Sindh for some 67 years.

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The Golden Age of the Kalhora Rule: An Account of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora's Reign

Abdur Rehman

Mian Ghulam Shah, the fifth son of Mian Noor Muhammad, stands prominently among the Kalhora rulers of Sindh as a sagacious and brave person. He ascended the throne on 13 Dhu al-Hajj, 1170 (6 Aug. 1757), after the deposition of his elder brother Murad Yab Khan, who, after a short rule, was commonly disliked the people because of his cruelty and was eventually overthrown and imprisoned by the nobility for various reasons including his intention to migrate to Muscat after hoarding the wealth of Sindh (Qani 1971:340). Ghulam Shah ruled for sixteen years, restored law and order and successfully rooted out the elements of dissention and disruption saving the country thereby from permanent partition. His successful campaigns earned for him the appreciation of the Afghan king Ahmad Shah Abdali, his overlord, who twice conferred grandiose titles on him. He captured Basta Bandar and Lakhpat from the Rao of Kacch, Fort Sabzal and Uch from the Daudpotras, and Karachi and the neighbouring tracts from the Brohi Khan of Qalat and incorporated them into Sindh (Quddusi 1980:481). Besides paying attention to adopting measures aimed at bringing prosperity to the country, he also took conscious steps to promote moral and religious values among his subjects.

Initial Difficulties

Ghulam Shah was raised to the throne by a common consensus among the nobility who took this unusual step without obtaining prior approval of their suzerain, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan ruler of Qandahar, who considered Sindh as a tributary State. This apparently was a serious lapse which hampered the cause of Ghulam Shah on more than one occasion and strengthened the claims of his rivals who, for a short while, even succeeded in forcing him out of the country. His chief rivals were Ahmad Yar Khan and Muhammad Atur Khan, the real brothers of the deposed Murad Yab Khan. Of these two Atur Khan, who lived in Qandahar as a hostage at the Afghan court, moved immediately as soon as he heard of the imprisonment of his brother, and succeeded in getting for himself a patent for the government from Ahmad Shah Abdali (Quddusi 1980:482). In Sindh itself Ahmad Yar Khan who was then stationed at Khudabad rose in revolt and started raising a force to help his real brother against Ghulam Shah. Similarly, the main supporters of the latter, the Sarai *sardars* (chiefs), having heard of the new political developments, could not come out openly in favour of Ghulam Shah and willy nilly joined the forces of Atur Khan (Ib'd., p.462) After all, it was argued, Atur Khan was coming to uphold a righteous cause.

Out-witted and broken-hearted, Ghulam Shah left Sindh on 25 Safar 1171 (8 Nov. 1757) for Jaisalmer and then set out for Bikaner where he contacted Muhammad Mubarik Khan, the ruler of Bahawalpur, who graciously consented to give him quarters. While he was in Jaisalmer, it is stated; even his close confident Mir Behram Khan Talpur parted company with him so that he was left with only a few soldiers. Meanwhile, a certain Maqsud, son of Bahara Shah took Murad Yab with him and set out to join Atur Khan.

Atur Khan's arrival in Nowshera in Sindh (Qani 1971:466) aroused the false hope that, instead of installing himself in the government, he would simply help in restoring the rule of Murad Yab Khan. This was considered to be a legitimate case. But as the curtain rose and real things became visible to everyone the people in general and Ahmad Yar Khan in particular was stunned to find out that 'Atur Khan had no sympathy with Murad Yab. He, in fact, refused even to see him. what to speak of going straight to meet him. as courtesy demanded, to express his sympathies. Quite on the contrary of what was expected, Atur Khan himself had no experience in

running the administration of a country and soon proved himself to be an incapable and ill-tempered despot whose cruelty ultimately drove his well wishers to the enemy camp. Thus his *sardars* got secretly in touch with Ghulam Shah and urged him to return to Sindh.

Ghulam Shah immediately seized upon the opportunity and consulted Mubarik Khan, his host, on the matter and requested him for military assistance. Mubarik Khan, who was thoroughly sincere with him, sent his close relatives such as Fateh Muhammad Khan, Mahru Khan and Ahmad Khan Firuzani and also Jam Khan Alani, a trustworthy chief, with Ghulam Shah, who, on his own part, quickly dispatched messengers to Multan and employed Sadullah Khan Dabi, Sher Muhammad Khan and some other Afghan chiefs in his army. Leaving his son Sarfraz Khan behind to look after his family, Ghulam Shah himself proceeded to Sindh in the middle of Ramadhan at the head of a considerable force (Mehtar 1958:598-99).

The Battle of Rohri

Meanwhile Atar Khan and Ahmad Yar Khan brought out a huge army and encamped just outside Rohri. Towards the end of Ramadhan (Quddusi 1980:464) 1171 (11 June 1758), the armies clashed on the banks of the Amarkas canal in a fierce but a decisive battle. Ghulam Shah, in spite of his numerical inferiority, inflicted a crushing defeat on them and successfully crossed over to the other side of the canal, while Atar Khan and Ahmad Yar precipitately fled to Qalat where they were detained by Muhammad Nasir Khan, the ruler of Qalat, who had friendly relationship with Ghulam Shah (Ibid., p.465). After the victory Ghulam Shah set out for Siwistan (Qani 1971:363) where he condoled the death of Murad Yar who had expired by that time. Towards the end of Shawal 1171 he was in Allahabad where his son along with the ladies joined him. Having stayed in Allahabad for a few days he moved on to Muhammadabad.

This, however, was not the end of Ghulam Shah's difficulties. Atar Khan and Ahmad Yar Khan, although detained in Qalat, were still eagerly waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon him. In fact, Diwan Gidmal, the Wakil (or ambassador) for them in Qandahar, had already taken up the matter with the

ruler of Qalat to secure the release of the two brothers, and then, like a bolt from the blue, the much awaited opportunity presented itself unexpectedly in Nasir Khan's inability to help the Afghan army on one occasion. When he was seriously reprimanded for this negligence, he took up arms against the Afghan government and revolted. Ahmad Shah Abdali therefore dispatched a force which besieged Qalat and, besides achieving other objectives, also got the release of Atur Khan and Ahmad Yar Khan. Moreover, the royal army was also instructed to accompany Atur Khan to Sindh and install him there as a ruler, while Ahmad Yar Khan was detained at the court as a hostage (Mehar 1958:600).

Having heard about the Afghan support for Atur Khan, Ghulam Shah, with a view to finding a secure base for future operations, moved to Kaji, renamed it Shahgarh and built a strong fort to serve as his headquarters. Opposite to Kaji, he built a harbour under the name Shah Bandar to strengthen the defense line. Leaving his family securely fortified under the charge of Sarfraz Khan, his eldest son, Ghulam Shah himself proceeded to face the combined forces of his stepbrothers.

Supported by Atur Khan and with Maqsuda Faqir as the commander of his front line, 'Atar Khan harried the country side on the way and reached Chachkan where he came face to face with Ghulam Shah. After a few skirmishes however it became meaningfully evident to 'Atar Khan that the chances of success were remote. He therefore initiated a dialogue with Ghulam Shah as a result of which the parties agreed to partition Sindh into three portions. According to the lines thus drawn most of Lower Sindh from Shahgarh to Nasarpur including Thatta fell in the lot of Ghulam Shah, while the rest of the country was taken over by his brothers (Qani 1971: 468).

In view of the belligerent and mutually suspicious attitude of the parties there were little chances of the success of the partition formula. Nevertheless it was instantly put into practice to avoid further bloodshed. By the month of Ramadhan 1172 (May 1759) however serious differences between Atur Khan and Ahmad Yar Khan cropped up which gave an altogether new direction to political forces in the country. Ahmad Shah Abdali, the chief supporter of Atur Khan, got seriously disgusted with Atur Khan's inability and issued the patent for the rule of Sindh to Ahmad Yar Khan, who, leaving his son at the Afghan court as hostage immediately proceeded to

Sindh to take over charge of the country (Quddusi 1980:467). This move frightened Atur Khan out of his wits and, finding no better solution, he decided to leave the country forever. Consequently, on Shawwal 1172 (29 May 1759) he informed Ghulam Shah of his intentions and took refuge at Garhi Ikhtiar Khan with the Daudpotras (Ibid., p.467).

Atur Khan's departure from the scene offered Ghulam Shah a rare opportunity of consolidating his grip over the country. Taking full advantage of the situation he quickly proceeded to Larkana with full might and punished the Khosas who had plundered Khudabad, once the capital of the Kalhoras, during political disturbances and uncertainties. He chased them to Job and Nali Lak, the Khosas' hideouts, and returned victoriously (Qani 1971:344-46). Meanwhile Ahmad Yar Khan was on his way to Sindh. Ghulam Shah's successful campaign against the Khosas made it plentifully obviously to Ahmad Yar Khan that the former had got the muscle to deal with any kind of situation. He in fact got so much unnerved that, in spite of the royal patent he had with him, he never dared to push his claim through and found it expedient to quietly slip away from the scene requesting the Daudpotras for asylum. As a result of his continuous misfortunes, he left for Hindustan after a short stay at Garhi Ikhtiar Khan. Having consolidated his power, Ghulam Shah appointed Muhammad Qaim Kokaltash governor of Thatta to put the affairs of that unfortunate city in order.

The Battle of Abaera

In spite of a singularly unsuccessful political career Atur Khan still had a ray of hope and started making preparations for the final bid with the active help of the Daudpotra chiefs of Western Bahawalpur, namely, Ikhtiar Khan Mandhani and Bahadur Khan Alani. The ruler of Bahawalpur, Mubarik Khan, who had earlier favoured Ghulam Shah with military assistance, tried to dissuade the Daudpotra chiefs but in vain. Besides this, Ghulam Shah's untimely letter telling Bahadur Khan to restore the captured territories of Jaisalmer also added fuel to the fire. Instead of returning the territories Bahadur Khan first marched upon Jaisalmer and then took up the cause of Atur Khan more vigorously trying also to persuade other chiefs in his favour. Meanwhile Ghulam Shah tried to undo this difficult knot

diplomatically and offered a *jagir* and a subsidy to Atur Khan through the courtesy of the ruler of Bahawalpur. But the battle-happy Bahadur Khan, the main supporter of Atur Khan, hardened his attitude so much that he refused to listen to anything less than installing Atur Khan in the government of Sindh. Even Ali Murad's tactics to frighten Bahadur Khan by exaggerated accounts of the power of Ghulam Shah bore no fruit (Mehtar 1958:609-611; Qudus 1980:469-70). Having realized that fighting was inevitable, Ghulam Shah brought his *lashkar* including six thousand cavalry into the battlefield near Abaora and engaged the enemy. Bahadur Khan to his utter disaster was soon spotted by a certain Bahu Afghan who immediately raised a loud cry to make him a special target. Thus, the unlucky Daudpota chief who had championed the cause of Atur Khan with sincerity and zeal, and also the horse he was riding upon, were instantly shot dead! One of the soldiers, spurred by the greedy lust for a rich reward, rushed upon Bahadur Khan's dead body and chopping the head off to be presented to Ghulam Shah. Bahadur Khan's fatal end unnerved his brothers, Ahmad Khan and Qaim Khan, who quickly collected Atur Khan from the battlefield and took to their heels (Qani 1971:613-14; Mehtar 1958:446-47). After this decisive victory, our sources say, Ghulam Shah eagerly looked forward to raise Garhi Ikhtiar Khan to the ground but, having been dissuaded, by his friends Mubarak Khan and 'Ali Murad he returned from Abaora without striking at the Daudpota power base. On 25 Muharram, 1173 (A.D. 1759), he laid the foundation of a new city named Shahpur and sent for his son and family from Shahgarh.

Expansion

Ghulam Shah's preoccupation with the Daudpota chiefs encouraged the elements of disruption who boldly took to the path of disobedience and resurgence. Thus the ruler of Kokrala, Jam Desar, also called Rao, refused to accept Ghulam Shah's supremacy and asserted his own independence. Taking a serious view of the situation, Ghulam Shah appointed Muhammad Siddique Vais and some other chiefs to take the refractory Jam to task. Consequently, the Jam suffered a series of defeats until he was ousted on 7 Safar, 1174 (8 Dec. 1760) from his last stronghold, Qila Abad, and pushed into the wilderness of Kacch. The Rao's son Hardowriji, however, continued in the service of

Ghulam Shah (Qani 1971:347). The successful campaigns of Ghulam Shah did not go unnoticed at the imperial court in Qandahar. Diwan Gidumal was still working there as ambassador for Sindh. Through wise tactics and clever diplomacy, he prevailed upon the Afghan government to issue patent for the rule of Sindh to Ghulam Shah who was also honoured with the title (*Hazbar Jang Shah Wirdi Khan*) and other royal favours including the gift of an elephant (Mehtar 1958:613-17; Qani 1971:347-47).

First Invasion of Kacch¹¹

On 9 Rabi' al-thani 1176 (28 Oct. 1762) Ghulam Shah proceeded (Qani 1971:348) at the head of a 10,000 strong force against Kacch then ruled by the son of Raja Lakha whose real name has not been specified. The main reason behind this campaign appears to be Ghulam Shah's expansionist policy, for, a comparatively feeble Kacch posed no immediate threat to his authority. Equally important was probably the role of a certain Poonja Seth whose father, Devkarn (Devakarna), was murdered by Raja Lakha and who eagerly wished to avenge the death of his father. Finding himself no match to the Raja, Poonja inculcated friendship with the Raja's son as a matter of strategy and tried to brainwash him against his father. However, the Raja's son, on assuming the rein of power after the death of Lakha, manoeuvred, contrary to Poonja's expectations of being honoured with a ministerial position in the government, to get rid of him. Thus, the frightened and frustrated Poonja first fled to Kanthkot and then reached Wirawah where he wrote to Gidumal for asylum. It was probably at Gidumal's recommendation that Poonja was at last invited by Ghulam Shah to stay with him. It may reasonably be assumed therefore that Poonja Seth's vindictive and revengeful advice might have at least helped the Kalhora ruler to make up his mind against Kacch (Quddusi 1980:372-73).

Whatever the case may be Ghulam Shah, at the first stage of his invasion of Kacch, took Sundri Fort and then marched upon Mount Jara where 6,000 infidels were put to the sword (Qani 1971:348). Reaching Jara with a huge army was by

¹¹ Also spelt Kutch –Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

itself a great adventure for the Rao, the ruler of Kacch, had already filled up the roadside water wells (Mehtar 1958:626) making Ghulam Shah's advance doubly difficult. Of the chiefs of the invading force, the first to reach the top of Mount Jara was Mir Behram Talpur whose bold action saved the Sindh army from total disaster, for, had the top not been occupied in time, Rao's men would have poured a deadly rain of stones upon Ghulam Shah's men leisurely encamped at the foot of the same hill.

Having taken Jara, the Sindh army took control of Basta Bandar and Lakhpat Bandar and reached within 12 *kos* of Bhoj¹², the capital of Kacch (Qani 1971:348). Seeing the enemy right at the door step the Rao perforce negotiated a settlement through Poonja Seth, his old friend. It was stipulated that Basta Bandar and Lakhpat, already annexed by Sindh, would not be restored to Kacch and that a sister of the Rao would be given in marriage to the Kalhora ruler. To make it sure that the conditions laid down in the agreement were honoured in letter and spirit by the Rao, Poonja Seth took the responsibility upon himself (Mehtar 1958:628) and stayed back in Kacch while Ghulam Shah returned to Shahpur (Qani 1971:348) on 2 Rajab, 1176 (17 January 1763).

Second Invasion of Kacch

Poonja was however foolishly mistaken by the Rao's assurance and was soon poisoned to death (Quddusi 1980:474) in open infringement of the agreement. This cowardly and immoral act of the Rao infuriated the Kalhora ruler who in 1178 (A.D. 1764-65) once again marched upon Kacch and, taking Fort Moro on the way, reached within five *kos* of Bhoj (Ibid. p.475). The Rao again sued for peace and brought out his cousin's daughter to be given in marriage to Ghulam Shah. Ghulam Shah gave his new wife the title of '*Sindh Rani*', i.e., the Queen of Sindh. On returning to Sindh Ghulam Shah laid the foundation of a new city, also called Shahpur and shifted his residence there. His brilliant success in Kacch won him the title of Samsam ad-Daula from the Afghan overlord (Ibid., p.475).

Control of Derajat

¹² Also spelt as Bhuj-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Impressed by the wonderful administrative acumen of the Kalhora ruler, Ahmad Shah Abdali handed over the charge of Derajat (comprising Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan) to Ghulam Shah who in the beginning of Rabi' the same year personally went there to put the administration of that area in proper order. Ghulam Shah stayed there for three months, appointed his own governor and curbed lawlessness with an iron hand. Soon after his departure however the elements of resurgence led by a certain Nusrat raised their heads almost everywhere in the area and it took the Kalhora administration one full year to put them down. Meanwhile Sardar Jahan Khan, the commander-in-chief of Ahmad Shah Abdali, managed to get the patent for the rule of Derajat for himself and expelled the governors of Ghulam Shah (Ibid.,p.477-78). But this arrangement did not work for long and the area was once again handed over to Ghulam Shah in 1183. (A.D. 1769). According to the Tuhfat al-Kiram the administration of Multan as well was placed, with the consent of its ruler, in the hands of Ghulam Shah (Qani 1971:472).

End

With a vast territory under his control extending from Multan to Karachi and Dera Isma'il Khan to Lakhpat, Ghulam Shah shifted his capital in Dhu al-Qa'ada, 1182 (March 1769) to Nirunkot (Ibid.,p.349-50), renaming the place as Hyderabad, where he built a strong fort and supervised the administration with the cozy feeling of being the most powerful man in Sindh. There he fell seriously ill because of paralysis and soon lost his speaking power. He was given various treatments but in vain. At last he died on Thursday, 13 Jumadi 1, 1185 (12 Aug. 1772) and was buried in Hyderabad.

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Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro **(1757 AD to 1772 AD)**

Muhammad Siddique G. Memon

Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro was the fifth son of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro. He was raised to the 'masnad' of Sindh by the nobles and officers of the court as Mian Muhammad Murad Yab Khan proved to be a tyrant, and was deposed and confined. Mian Attur Khan who was next in age to Mian Muhammad Murad Yab Khan was at that time a hostage at the court of Kandhar. On hearing with envy of his younger brother's elevation, he exerted himself with several of the king's principal officers and procured a 'sanad' (nomination) in his own name with which he made his appearance in Sindh. The chiefs and the grandees of the country, not choosing to dispute the authority of the King's 'farman' resorted to his person. Mian Ghulam Shah after a reign of few months only, finding himself so deserted, fled to Jaisalmer. The reign of Mian Ghulam Shah was interrupted by four acute spasms of civil war. There was the first phase of Mian Ghulam Shah's rule i.e. he ruled from 1170-AH (1757 AD) to 1171-AH (1757-AD) when he left for Jaisalmer.

Mian Attur Khan had hardly occupied the masnad for more than twelve months, when Ghulam Shah fell upon him in rapid and unexpected manner with a body of troops which by different means he had contrived to raise when a fierce and obstinate struggle took place at Amarkhas canal near Rohri, which terminated in the flight of Mian Attur Khan. This event took place 1171-AH (7th June, 1758-AD).

It is from here and onwards started the second phase of Mian Ghulam Shah's rule which took place from 1171-AH (June,

1758). Mian Atur Khan proceeded to Kandhar. Here he laid complaint before the throne and the king to support an authority he had himself bestowed, sent him back with an army under the Afghan General Haji Atai Khan upon whose arrival, Mian Ghulam Shah himself had to flee again. He took refuge at Kujah a deserted town. He ordered all the residents of the port of Oranga to remove to Kujah which he named Shah Garh. He established it as his headquarters and its vicinity; he founded a new fort called Shah Bander. He built a castle and collected all material of war there. He then advanced himself to meet his brother Mian Muhammad Atur Khan who was already advancing with his Afghan force laying waste the country, and on his way, Maqsoodo Faqir being the leader of the advance party also joined him. At Chachkan, the two armies met for some time fighting indecisively but eventually Mian Atur Khan losing all hopes of success, sought for peace which was concluded. The country of Sindh was divided into three shares. The share extending from Shahgarh to the limits of Nasarpur and Thatta fell to the lot of Mian Ghulam Shah and the remaining portion of Sindh was given to the two brothers as their two shares. This was the third phase of Mian Ghulam Shah's rule.

Now we discuss the final fourth phase of Mian Ghulam Shah's rule when whole Sindh came under his possession.

A few months only had expired after this arrangement and return of king's troops when disagreement appeared on the surface between the two brothers Mian Atur Khan and Ahmed Yar Khan. It was reported to the Afghan King that Mian Atur Khan was incapable of carrying out the administrative duties of a country. It was therefore arranged that Ahmed Yar Khan should leave his son with the king as a hostage and himself to go to Sindh with the Sanad appointing him the ruler of the country. On hearing this, Mian Ghulam Shah started for the fight to hold Sindh in the month of Ramzan 1172-AH (1759 AD). When Mian Atur Khan learnt that Mian Ghulam Shah was coming, he lost heart and fled from Naushahero Feroz. Mian Ghulam Shah got this news near Nasarpur and he immediately advanced to take advantage of the situation. As Ahmed Yar Khan was yet far away, the country fell easily into the hands of Mian Ghulam Shah.

On the second of Shawal 1172 A.H (1759 AD) Mian Ghulam Shah received a letter from Mian Atur Khan that he was

going to leave the country for good and that he and his brother Ahmed Yar Khan might do whatever they liked. Being still more encouraged by this news, Mian Sahib advanced further and secured the men left behind by Attur Khan to his own side.

In the beginning of the next year, 1175 AH (1762 AD), the royal sanad was received from Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Afghan king confirming Mian Ghulam Shah as the ruler of Sindh giving him the title of "Shah Wardi Khan" and bringing elephants, robe of honour and some other presents.

In the year 1178 AH (1765 AD), Mian Ghulam Shah was conferred a fresh title of "Samsaam dulah" by the king in addition to the former one in consideration of his deeds and successful management of the state. The title literally means the sword of the state, a very appropriate title for the Mian.

During 1181 AH (1767 AD), Mian Ghulam Shah was entrusted by the king of the charge of the Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan where some disturbance was recorded. Accordingly Mian proceeded there and he settled all matters and returned to Shahpur.

On his return from Deras in Zulhaj 1183 AH (1769 AD), Mian Ghulam Shah went to Nerunkot where in 1182 AH (1768 AD), he commenced a strong fort with a view of turning that city into a city of future. This fort built on a hilly ground was named Hyderabad and Mian Sahib remained there for the rest of his life.

During 1186 AH (1772 AD), the foundation was laid for a mud fort on a hillock to the south-west of the fort of Hyderabad for the city's protection. The hillock was sacred to Haji Muhammad Makki and was called after his name, his remains had been buried there and round his tomb a spacious grave yard had been formed.

A large numbers of tombs had to be razed to the ground to lay the foundation of the fort, legend has it that, it proved to be a bad omen on account of the disrespect that of thus shown to the dead especially to the saint. Unfortunately after the fort was built, Mian Sahib died all of a sudden on 3rd 1186 AD (2nd August 1772 AD), due to paralysis on the previous day.

Law, Order and Justice

The administration of criminal justice under Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro was prompt and vigorous. It was better adopted to ensure the punishment to the guilty. He used to deal lawlessness

with an iron hand, ensuring security of life and property in general. The few examples are quoted here:

i) On 2nd Shawal 1172 AH (29 May 1759 AD), Mian Ghulam Shah received a letter from Mian Muhammad Atur Khan that he was leaving the country for good. On hearing this, Mian Ghulam Shah advanced further and came as far as Larkana.

He put to death all the Khosa chiefs who had invaded and plundered Khudabad during the period of anarchy and posted a permanent force about the place to keep a watch on that tribe and to chastise them whenever necessary.

ii) He proceeded to Sehwan and took the fort of Joya and Lakhah which had served as a rendezvous to the Khosas and killing some of the chief leaders of that side and capturing others; he retraced his steps.

iii) During the year 1173 AD (1760 AD), Jam Desar, chief of Kakrala, who during Mian Ghulam Shah's absence at Shahgarh had taken to offensive activities, and was defeated and driven away by Muhammad Siddique Vais, another general who had been specially sent there for the purpose. On 7th Saffar 1174 AH (1761 AD), the Jam was compelled to leave the fort of Abad and to seek shelter in Kutch. His son Hardarji who some time before had come to the camp of Mian Ghulam Shah was detained by the Mian as aid-de-camp.

iv) Thatta was very important town, in the days of Mian Attur Khan. People suffered heavily in his days; lawlessness was at its peak so much so that some dacoits of Jokhia community looted and plundered the town. The Afghan forces also played havoc. Mian Ghulam Shah appointed Muhammad Qaim Kokaltish as administrator of Thatta. He did his best to relieve the residents of the place from the oppression of the old officers and the tyranny of the Afghans.

v) On 27th April 1776, Dr. Thomas Sumpton of East India Company was killed by some dacoits of Kutch near the office of the East India Company. On receiving the information, Mian Ghulam Shah sent condolence messages to the British officers and ordered arrest of killers. He appointed special officer who arrested the culprit and he was hanged at the place where he murdered the English doctor. It is an example in the history of

Kalhora dynasty where such an exemplary punishment was awarded. It served as an eye-opener for others.

vi) From the papers of East India Company, it appeared that during 1768, the Sardar of Numrias took 10, 12, thousand people to attack Jam Bijar Jokhia. Jam fled to Thatta. On hearing the news, Mian Ghulam Shah deputed six thousand people and posted two thousand people at Thatta. The conflict was averted and peace was restored in the area.

vii) In the reign of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, Bijar Jokhio, who was a sepoy in the service of that prince, obtained the chieftainship and title of Jam for the service rendered by him. The District Sakro including Darajah and Soori Bunder were at that time governed by a Hindu Rana or Chief, named Arjoon, a man of great bodily strength and possessing great influence in the Delta. Mian Ghulam Shah was anxious to depose him from his territories but having no ground for attacking him, he was anxious to have him assassinated. This however was no easy matter to accomplish as the Rana was noted as a brave and powerful man and being on his guard, he had constructed a temporary building on an island, to which he retreated every night with a few followers to sleep. Bijar Jokhio, however, undertook to accomplish his destruction and having collected about twenty resolute men of his own tribe, he and they swam at night to the island where the Rana reposed, and making a sudden on-slaught, sword in hand, killed him and all his followers, before they recovered from their surprise.

Mian Ghulam Shah, on hearing his success, seized upon Ranas lands and appointed Jam Bijar of the Jokhia tribe. He was granted the title of Jam, and won the chieftainship of Jokhia tribe.

Viii) Capitals

Mian Ghulam Shah after occupying the seat of throne established a new town "Allahabad" near Muhammadabad, the town of his father. He then established Shahpur but as it was ever shadowed with dust. He established a new town with the same name Shahpur which is still in existence.

Mian Sahib finally selected Nerunkot as his capital and laid its foundation stone during Zulqad 1182 AH (March 1769 AD). It was completed during 1770 AD. He named it Hyderabad.

Governors

Thatta was very thickly populated town during Mian Ghulam Shah's rule. It necessitated the appointment of an able governor, Muhammad Qaim Khan Kokaltash there, who was later succeeded by Habib Faqir Naich (1184 AH) (1770 AD) who was followed by Muhammad Hussain and finally Murad Faqir Nizamani in 1188 AH (1774 AD).

Advisers and Ministers

Diwan Balakram was his special adviser and Dewan Chellaram Sehwanandini was his Finance Minister. The name of Dewan Ghanshamdas is also being quoted.

Army

Mian Sahib had about 12000 thousand armed man-force under the command of Mirza Ahmed Khorasani. He was very fond of horses and used to keep good horses generally. These horses were being looked after by Mirza Foulad Khan, Munwar Khush Chasham and Doulat Afzone.

Foreign Wars

Mian Sahib had two wars with Rao of Kutch, one during 1176 AH (1763 AD). On the 9th Rabi-u-usani, Mian Ghulam Shah marched towards Kutch in order to punish the Rao of that place. He took the fort Sindhri on his way and in the heights of Jara mountain, killed about 6000 men of Kutch; continuing his victorious march, he came within 12 koses of Bhuj, plundering the villages and towns in the vicinity of the city. He was successfully resisted, but revenged himself by damming the Puran so as to turn its water into his own territories turning the fertile tract into a virtual desert that extended himself his frontier to Lakhpatt. At the entreaties of the Rao of Kutch and on his suing for peace, Mian marched back arriving at Shahpur on the 2nd Rajjab 1177 AH (1764 AD).

In 1178 AH (1764 AD), Mian Sahib again invaded Kutch and took the fortified town Maru on his way. He made a halt at 10 miles in Kutch. The Rao of Kutch again applied for

peace and fresh treaty was concluded. The Rao gave the daughter of his cousin in marriage to whom Mian gave the title of "Sindh Rani". The marriage took place on 28 Shawal on 1176 AH, 13th March 1762 AD.

Relations with British India

The connection of the British India government with Sindh had its origin in AD 1758 when Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro on the 22nd September 1758 granted a 'parwanah' or order to Mr. Sumpton of the East India Company Service for the establishment of a factory in the Sindhian territories with a view to the encouragement of trade between the Indian territories and Sindh. He granted to this permission, certain immunities and exemptions of customs which were in those days considered of great value, and which certainly proved, on the part of the Sindhian ruler, an earnest to cultivate friendly relations with British India.

Subsequently on the 11th December 1758 further order was issued by Mian Ghulam Shah to the same gentlemen Mr. Robert Symptom, remitting all unjust duties but those of export to be paid as usual.

On 22nd April 1761, Mian Sahib issued a further 'parwanah', on the occasion of the arrival in his court to the same gentlemen Mr. Robert Symptom, remitting all unjust duties but those of export to be paid as usual.

On 22nd April 1761, Mian Sahib issued a further 'parwanah' on the occasion of the arrival in his court to Mr. Erskin a resident in Sindh for the affairs of the Company. This document ratified all former advantages and excluded all other Europeans but the English from trading with Sindh.

These commercial connections continued uninterrupted until the year 1775 when during the reign of Mian Sarfraz Khan Kalhoro, the political excitement and revolution of Sindh offered so little security to the company's factory that it was withdrawn.

Foreign Policy

Nobody gives you freedom. You have to fight for it, No body fights for you. You have to fight for yourself.

Mian Ghulam Shah's policy had a deep moral content. The principal objectives of Mian's policy were the security and

development. The security of the country would always remain vulnerable without complete unity. His purpose was no other than the happiness and progress of his people according to their faith. After the death of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, there was confused civil war between the three sons. The effect was that from 1756 to 1758, Sindh was in pitiable condition and unrest which did not terminate until Ghulam Shah finally emerged as victor in 1758. The troubled condition in Sindh at this period of 1754-58 was merely typical of what was happening elsewhere in most parts of India. In the end, Mian Ghulam Shah became "The Prince of Sindh." (as called in the East-India company's letters of that period) but was forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of Ahmed Shah and to pay a yearly tribute to Kabul. During this unhappy generation not only the Kalhoras were fighting amongst themselves but they were also engaged in a complicated political game of chess with Pathans, Kalat, Kutch and the Chief of Kakrallah presumably a Samma chief of the lower delta of the Indus who had somehow managed to retain a little petty authority of his own.

Faced with these problems, Mian Sahib was deeply struck by the geopolitical situations of the country. He therefore wanted to establish normal relations with the neighbouring countries; if not normal relations, at least to have better understanding with them.

Mian Ghulam Shah had friendly relations with the Rajas of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer and Bikanir. When Mian Attur Khan brought Sanad from Afghan Government, Mian Sahib left Sindh on 8th November 1757 (25th Safar 1171 AH) for Jaisalmer along with his courtiers and some army men. It is pertinent to state here that during 1741, Mian Noor Muhammad Khan exchanged turban with Raja Zarwar Sing of Bikanir and subsequently Mian Ghulam Shah himself exchanged turban with Raja Ganjsing. Now Mian Sahib wanted that his son Mian Sarfaraz should exchange turban with Raja's son Kounraj.

Mian had also good relations with Nawab Muhammad Mubarik (Second) of Bahawalpur State. He remained as his guest for about three months during the days of turmoil. Nawab Sahib rendered him all help through thick and thin against Mian Attur Khan.

Mian Sahib had friendly relations with British. It was customary for the European traders to send gifts to the kirgs of Sindh.

Although East-India Company had no factory in Sindh but they were sending gifts to the king every time their ships visited the Sindh port. The English government of East-India Company of Bombay also used to send gifts annually. They were regular year after year irrespective of visits of ships. That friendship continued till 1771 AD when Mian Sahib died.

Mian Sahib had brotherly relations with a neighbouring Muslim State of Muscat. The agent of the Imam had two large vessels lying at Karachi about 15 or 20 leagues to the westwards. He had purchased the bad unrefined sort of Saltpetre but as Mian Sahib and the Imam were on good terms, he allowed the agent to purchase the Saltpetre ignoring the East India Company's interest.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai

The Kalhoras were greatly influenced by the Sayeds and the holy men whom they dared not to antagonize. This fact must explain the early hostility of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro to a young religious leader of independent and unorthodox views. Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, however, became later convinced of the sincerity and worth of this remarkable young man. Attached himself to him in friendship, as tradition has it, the birth of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro was a result of the blessing of Shah Abdul Latif.

The fine mausoleum of Shah Abdul Latif was built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. It was ornamented by a well known mason of the time, one Edan from Sukkur. Since Shah Latif's death, his poems have been recited on every Friday in the mausoleum which has become a kind of holy shrine and which draws crowds from all over Sindh.

Conclusion

Mian Ghulam Shah was a great man having won his throne by his own sword. He was much more independent of Kalhoras than even his father had been. He made a solid kingdom of Sindh and pushed its frontiers southwards to the sea boards and turning out the Jam of Kakarala and founding a new seaport of Shah Bander with a strong protecting power.

Mian Ghulam Shah was the last representative of Kalhoro strength of character and governing ability. His strong

hand was felt everywhere throughout the country and could at least ensure that the privilege of wrong could not be claimed as a right by anyone under him. With his death, this soon came to an end and once more Sindh entered times of uncertainty and unrest, if not stark fear and anarchy.

He was also masterful and aggressive in the high degree characteristic of his family and tribe. Having nothing further to gain and nobody else to put down in Sindh, where to dispute his authority was an act of rebellion to be put down with a heavy hand.

He was more experienced and mature and had a great insight in foreign policy, war strategy and militarism and tackled the affairs of the country with ease and confidence.

Mian Ghulam Shah, the heir of Mian Noor Muhammad ruled for 16 years (1170 AH to 1186 AH). This period also witnessed harsh and troublesome but through his efforts, social justice was guaranteed to every man. History has recorded his concern for the well being of the masses, as was bequeathed to him by his father in his will - "Manshoor-ul- Vasseat wa Dastoor-ul-Hakoomat".

Mian Ghulam Shah was the greatest builder in the history of Sindh.. In his short tenure of sixteen years, he built a number of cities, forts, seaport and tombs all over Sindh. He died suddenly of paralysis on the second of Jamadi-ul-awal 1186 AH (1772 AD).

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A Study of Social Conditions in Sindh under Ghulam Shah Kalhora

Lal Muhammad Jiskani

The Kalhora as a dynastic force rose very gradually to predominate. They did not disappear in a sudden debacle. The nature of their vague and indeterminate rise will be obvious to those who consider the general features of the Moghal period. As rulers Kalhoras may be said to date from 1737; but members of their tribe had been prominent in Sindh affairs for at least half a century before that date. Similarly the Kalhora were not swept away in 1778 by a coup d'état of Mir Bijar Khan Talpur resulting in the defeat and death of Ghulam Nabi Kalhora. They continued to survive as a disturbing influence till the very end of the eighteenth century. The object of my article is not to describe in detail the history of Ghulam Shah Kalhora but merely to indicate its salient characteristics with special reference to the social history of Sindh during the period from 1761 to 1772. Kalhoras were a Sindhi tribe of obscure origin of the type that is now classed as Jamot (Census of India 1931:495) that is non-Baloch original inhabitants of the Indus valley, settled in a portion of Upper Sindh in the area that now forms part of Larkana and Sukkur districts. They were the first Sindhi dynasty to wield permanent power since the fall of the Samma and the builders of Thatta, who had ruled Sindh for two hundred and thirty years before the advent of Arghuns and the Turkhans from Central Asia. Their popularity was strengthened by the peculiar character of their reputation as holymen, descendants of sainted mendicant, a kind of being who has always made a very vivid appeal to the Muslim inhabitants of the lower Indus valley.

In the year 1739 Nadir Shah on his return from Hindustan to Persia invaded Sindh, Noor Muhammad retreated to the fort of Umerkot. Nadir Shah forced his submission, granting him pardon on his promising to pay a tribute of 2 million (twenty lakhs rupees). As security for the payment of the tribute he took with him the vanquished Kalhora's three sons, Ghulam Shah, Murad Yab and Atur Khan as hostages to his court, where they remained for several years. In 1746 Nadir Shah was assassinated and these three sons held as hostages at the Persian court returned to Sindh. Thus after the death of Mian Noor Muhammed from 1756 to 1758 Sindh was in pitiable condition of unrest which did not terminate until Ghulam Shah finally emerged as victor in 1758 at the very time while the East India Company were endeavouring to establish their second Factory in Sindh. The troubled condition of Sindh at this period, (1754-58) was merely typical of what was happening elsewhere in most parts of India. In the end Ghulam Shah Kalhoro became the Prince of Sindh, but he was forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of Ahmed Shah and paid a yearly tribute to Kabul. During this unhappy generation not only were the Kalhoro fighting amongst themselves but they were also engaged in a complicated political game with Pathans, Kalat, Cutch¹³ and the chief of Kukrallo presumably a Sammo of the lower delta of the Indus who had somehow managed to retain a little petty authority of his own. Once established on the throne of Sindh, Ghulam Shah the most capable of the Kalhora, did a little to restore some kind of order to the disturbed countryside.

The first venture of the East India Company in Sindh was launched in 1635; this time was selected in order to preserve peace between Britishers and Portuguese. The Company had a good chance of doing successful business at Laribunder, the port of the Indus Delta, and Thatta, the capital of Sindh and very rich and imposing emporium of commerce in the seventeenth century. During all this time the Sindh factory at Thatta and its outcost at Laribunder continued to flourish in a modest way. When the factory was disbanded in 1662, the cause of winding up of its affair was the lack of profits in trading due to the unsettlement and turmoil in the Mughal dominion during the unrest that coincided with the five years of Aurangzeb's reign.

¹³ Also spelt Kutch-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

In 1758 the East India Company again entered the field of Sindh commerce. Conditions then were very different from what they had been in 1635 and 1662. Sindh no less than the rest of India was in confusion. The Kalhora brothers were fighting amongst themselves for a supremacy which fell at length to Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, and Afghans, Sikhs, and Marathas were each other's throat in the plains of the Punjab. The lure which drew the Company to Sindh in the midst of the turmoil was the chance of obtaining a monopoly in saltpetre, with two minor objectives, one to sell woollen goods to the armies of Afghanistan the peoples of central Asia and residents of the northern plains of India, and the other to transport some of the excellent cattle of Sindh to Bombay for sale. The instructions given by the court of Directors at Bombay castle on 12th December, 1758 to George Bouchier, charged with the duty of opening trade relations between the Company and the ruler of Sindh. The connection, he states, "of the British Indian Govt; with Sindh had its origin in A.D. 1758 when Ghulam Shah Kalhoro on the 22nd September of that year granted a 'parwanah' or order to Mr. Sumption of the Company's service for the establishment of a factory in the Sindhian territories and Sindh: and added to this permission certain immunities and exemptions from customs which were in those days considered of great value. The various officers of revenue and customs are directed in these documents to charge no more than one and half percent duty above the market price on all goods purchased by the British agent for export and to levy on importation only one half of that paid by other merchants."

The Company of 1758 was a very different affair from the Board of merchants it had been in 1635. It was a powerful corporation supported by the English Parliament, wealthy and well disciplined, with a regular establishment of covenanted officers possessed of fleets of armed merchant men manned by soldiers and sailors. From 1758 till 1775 the Company maintained its factory in Sindh, with its head office at Thatta and its outpost in Shahbunder, and during the reign of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro it was most prosperous¹⁴. The excesses, however, of the sensate and blood thirsty tyrant Sarfraz Khan Kalhoro which

¹⁴ Read the articles on English factory by Mirchandani in this book-
Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

ended in his deposition and civil war ruined all prospects of successful commerce and the factory was withdrawn. Thus the East India Company in Sindh maintained its establishment there for twenty seven years in the seventeenth century, and for seventeen years in the eighteenth century. The second English factory in Sindh was established in a period of civil war between Ghulam Shah and his brothers and was given up because of the commotion consequent on the mal-administration of Sarfraz Khan Kalhoro which made utterly impossible any settled trade of the kind Company desired. For only a short period during Ghulam Shah's reign can the factory be said to have prospered. Some time the Company was also always being tempted to intervene in matters quite unconnected with trade. Thus Ghulam Shah Kalhoro desired them to lend ships for an expedition against Cutch and help him to recover his alleged property from a trader in Gujrat. Ghulam Shah Kalhoro granted a parwana on 22nd September 1758 for the establishment of this factory. This parwana was followed on the 11th December 1758 by another order conferring further privileges. The contents of these two parwanas (orders) have been described by Postans. He states that the permission was granted with a view to the encouragement of trade between the Indian territories and Sindh. Added to the general permission were certain immunities and exemptions of customs which were in those days considered of great value and which certainly proved on the part of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro an earnest desire to cultivate friendly relations with the British in India. It will thus be seen that Ghulam Shah Kalhoro went a long way to accommodate the Company and had the country been really settled and peaceful and had there not been a continual conflict of material interest between the Company, the Sindh Government and the Pathan merchants in respect of the sale of woollen goods, there was no reason why a flourishing trade should not have developed.

Hamilton mentions the leather-butter jars of holding butter upto 320 pounds and keeping it fresh for a year. Withington speaks of the Sindh shields and bucklers which were of superior quality. Linschten says: "The people of Sindh make excellent and fair leather and cunningly wrought with silk of all colours, both flowers and personages; this leather in India is much esteemed to lay upon beds and tables instead of carpets. (Linschoten 1885:56) Mannucci also remarks that 'Sindh has much leather which is exported to Arabia and Persia'. A

European traveller noted approvingly the technique of the Sindh village tanners. "As soon as hide is properly tanned and oiled it is dried in shades, the leather of Sindh is some of the best in India and not inferior in softness and durability to that of Europe" (Von Orlich 1845:101).

Sindh has always been noted for the excellence of its fresh and salt water fish. Ain-e-Akbari says that the staple food in Lower Sindh consists of rice and fish. Fish has always been esteemed as an article of food. Almost every traveller in Sindh has made reference to the abundance and the cheapness of fish in the market. Manrique describes the skilful way in which Pālo (Chupeailisha) was caught in the Indus by fishermen balanced on earthen ware pots, an industry carried on to this day in exactly the same way. Hamilton says that he got in Thatta the finest carp he ever saw or tasted. Some of them weigh above twenty pounds and we have them alive in Thatta market.¹⁵ The centre of the sea fishing industry was Karachi, and the coastal area. Fish oil was also extracted and used in boat building. Fresh water fisheries were also valuable. The modern sea fisheries of Karachi harbour and the Sindh coast flourish on much the same lines as the fisheries which supplied the articles of fish food exported in the days of the Kalhora.

During the Kalhora times the chief industries were the manufacture of cotton goods, saltpetre and indigo, leather and fish. Oil pressing was another village industry, widely diffused, the camels and bullocks turning the *Ghan* (oil presses). The potter's craft was equally primitive and can still be seen in Sindh exactly as it was in Kalhora days. The making of glazed tiles was, however, highly skilful and the products were used for ornaments, tombs, and mosques. Building was unimportant as most of the houses and habitations were made of mud, sticks, grass or branches of trees. Only in the largest towns like Thatta and for the tombs of holy men was the use of brick stone much indulged in.

Thatta was still an important place during 1758-75 but it was already beginning to decline because trade was taking other channels with the rise of Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur, the silting up of the river mouth at Shah Bunder and the decline in demand for Thatta and Sindh goods caused by Britain's being

¹⁵ See the marine fisheries of Bombay Presidency.

able then not only to supply herself but to export cotton abroad. By this time Karachi was an important port. Hyderabad had a population of 35,000 and Shikarpur was the centre of an indigenous banking organization that financed much trade in Sindh, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Saltpetre occupied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a vastly more important place in foreign trade. The production of the country was estimated upto 10,000 *maunds* annually. Ghulam Shah Kalhoro did grant such a *parwana* to the second factory, but he was always ready to allow native interlopers from Persian Gulf to trade in saltpetre. Crowe states that "There are many saltpetre grounds in the different parts of the country but mostly in the delta particularly about Shahbunder and Aurangabunder. It may be mentioned here that in seventeenth century saltpetre was important as a main ingredient for the manufacture of gunpowder, but in the eighteenth century its usefulness extended for peaceful operation, such as glass making, the sizing of cloth and the making of dyes.

According to Sorley (1966:110) "It is impossible to exaggerate the important place irrigation in Sindh has always played in the socio and economic scheme. Without this artificial aid of man the country could not have supported even the small population of Mughal and Kalhora days. Whatever may have been the condition of irrigation in Hindustan generally under the Delhi empire mostly the writers say that irrigation was neglected; the critical observations of Indian travellers are not true of Sindh, where rainfall is scanty and never regular or sufficient to permit of un-troubled cultivation on rain water and Kalhora period irrigation in Sindh was intelligently conducted and that the disorder which harassed the land from time to time did not greatly interrupt the business of distributing water over the land by artificial channels. There is mentioned of a canal Act by Akbar in 1568 for the digging and deepening of a canal to be called the Shaikh Nai. But Sindh certainly received no benefit in this respect from the Mughals. The Sindh canals, persian wheels and wells were constructed by the natives of the land without any assistance from the Empire from this the inhabited Sindh of past generations was not a hard and barren land yielding but grudgingly her gifts to those who tilled the soil and sought a livelihood. This was considered a sort of Arabia Felix with a quiet, industrious and intelligent people living in isolation from the rest of the Indian sub-continent".

The common people of Sindh during Ghulam Shah Kalhoro lived in grass huts by the river or in the fields, the dwelling of twigs covered with a conical roof like a beehive as described by Withington or unsightly erections of mud. There were mud houses inhabited by the merchants, traders and the well off artisans in the larger villages and in Thatta were few superior buildings. Though we have no accounts of Kalhoro days and the detailed evidence mostly dates from the times of the Talpurs.

There is little extant evidence of the rates of wages paid in Kalhoro days in Sindh. In Sindh as elsewhere poor people then as in India thought in terms of copper coins and the revenue accounts were made up in "dams" at the rate of 40 to the rupee.¹⁶ Ordinarily labour of that time according to Farukhi was paid to three dams per day that is one twentieth of a rupee. Skilled workmen received Rs. 3 or 3 and half rupees per month; one and half dams were sufficient to provide with daily subsistence. Household servant received Rs. 2/- per month. Burton says of the Sindh soldiery that the smallest sum paid to foot man under native rule was about three and half rupees per mesem, but some of the horsemen got the respectable salary of one rupee a day. Dr. James Burnes who in 1828 encountered some Sindhi soldiers on guard and customs duty between Cutch and Sindh says, "A few Sindhi soldiers, not above eight or ten whose only place of residence is an open wooden shed and whose chief food is camel milk, are stationed at Leh (near Runn of Cutch) to collect a tax on the merchants that pass and they are its only inhabitants (Burns 1975:23). Peasants and artisans did not make any money and could not save for following reasons. The risk of incertain yield of crops, lack of industrial development, over population in comparison with the resources available and social customs which require heavy expenditure for special occasions. But despite all this the real burden on the peasant was the arbitrariness of the autocratic form of Govt: with its constant exorbitant demands.

The purity of coinage was maintained by the Mughal administration. The chief coins issued by Akbar were the Gold Mohar, the silver rupee and the copper dam. Akbar's rupee

¹⁶ Moreland believes that from 1627 onward the rupee was worth 30 dams or 60 pieces as against 40 dams under Akbar.

weighed 178 grams, the dam (also called paisa or falus) was a massive coin weighing 323.5 grams. The Gold Mohar of Akbar was worth nine rupees. In addition to these coins, pagodas and Mahmudis were also in circulation. All these coins except possibly the pagoda were used in Sindh.

Ravery's monumental work "The Merchants of Sindh" endeavours to trace the wanderings of the Indus over Sindh during historic times and is characterized by a wealth of contemporary evidence from all native sources, backed up by an extensive study of the geography of the Lower Indus Plain. The old Sindhi system was to use the natural river channel thus formed, dig small water courses from them, excavate "Khuhadass" at which Persian wheels and wells, of low-lying places where the flood water collected. Much cultivation was possible and even where the circumstances made irrigation impossible there were great expanses called the "Chhans" where grass and jungle scrub grew luxuriantly nourishing the vast number of camels, buffaloes and bullocks which supported a large population and were the foundation of milk, curds and ghee business and the leather and hide industries described by various travellers. Del Hoste mentions the following branches of the Indus, namely PURAN, NARA, ARUL, FULELI, GUNI, PINYRAI, GANGRO, LAKHI, SITTA AND BAGHAR, DADAJI, NOOR WAH AND MIRWAH. Apart from these branches of Indus the waters of Manchher, Mirpur, Keenjhar and Makhi lakes were used for irrigation purpose. The peasantry class of Sindh are and have always been happy go lucky people full of laughter and amusement and were able to extract from their ordinary life all the fun that was procurable within their means. The fondness of Sindhi is for conversation and listening to songs and stories in the whole heartedness with which the chief festivals of Muslims and Hindu occasions were celebrated, the two Eids, Eid al-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha of the former and Holi and Deewali of the latter. The merriment and gaiety prevailed during these festivals when money was spent freely and much display was made with new clothes. The beautiful song of Shah Abdul Latif called the "cotton spinner" is written round a background of Eid. Hamilton in 1699 speaking of Holi says that the "Populace kept a sight of the new moon in February which exceeded the rest in ridiculous actions and expenses. In this mad feast people of all ages and sexes dance through the streets to pipe, drum and cymbals. The women with baskets of sweetmeats

on their heads distributing to every body they meet". The author of Tarikh-e-Tahiri writes, "The pleasure of visiting each other induces them to go in large parties taking with them abundance of sweet river water and food such as they can afford.

The day is spent in amusements and visits to the shrines. When rain fell a sweet water tank on the Makli hill, men and women of all classes, Hindus and Muslims crowded there from morning till night, cooked their meals and feasted. The people were happy and pleasure loving and indulged in a variety of health giving pastimes and relaxations. The better off were excessively fond of Shikar for which the country offered full scope in its abundance of small game. "Their horses" says Hamilton "are small but they hunt with dogs, leopards and small curious creature called by them 'Shoo goose'. They have a store of peacocks, pigeons, doves, ducks geese, curlews, partridges and plover free for any to shoot".

But it would be unreasonable to believe that *shikargahs* did not exist in the days of Kalhora, who maintained an almost regal state. The Mohana and other river living people who possessed no guns with which to shoot birds, had developed a technique of their own by means of stick throwing, spears decoys and skilful method of catching duck by hand on the water. The Sindhi amable enabled horses to cover the ground at a good pace for considerable distance and bareback riding was also popular and very skilful. Horse and camel races were popular and made the occasion for betting and gambling under methods which had nothing to learn from the practice of the West. Kite flying, Kabutar bazi, betting on pigeons, cock fighting, Malh (wrestling) have claims to being the most popular sports of the country.

When Ghulam Shah took over reign of Government he followed a period of incessant contention between him and his two brothers Atur Khan and Ahmed Yar, till at length Ghulam Shah gained the mastery and was recognised as ruler of Sindh by Ahmed Shah in 1761. Ghulam Shah proved to be the most capable and aggressive in the high degree characteristics of his family and tribe. Having nothing further to gain, and no body else to put down in Sindh, where to dispute his authority would have been an act of rebellion against the sovereign at Qandhar, he turned his arms against Kutch. He invaded that province, winning on the first occasion in 1763 the desperately fought

battle of Jhara and on the second advancing nearly to the capital, and compelling the Rao to cede the ports of Lakhpat and Basta. His original intention no doubt was to conquer and annex the province, but he was hardly prepared for the desperate tenacity of defenders, whose Rajput blood made them truly formidable when driven to extremity. He was therefore content with the honour of victories which were dearly won and with the slight acquisitions marking his prowess in foreign war. The events of his time which are of most interest now were the remarkable change in the course of the Indus, which took place in 1758-59 and the founding of Hyderabad. Ghulam Shah decided to found the new and greater capital Hyderabad. He had previously built Khanut, a mile south of old Hala in 1759-60, and later abandoned this place perhaps because it was in danger of being carried away by the river, he founded Shahpur in 1762-3. The expediency of establishing a capital in a position where it would be absolutely secured from the risks to which towns on the Indus bank are exposed must have been forcibly impressed on the mind of Ghulam Shah by the destruction of Muradabad, the capital founded by his elder brother Murad Yab which was overwhelmed by a flood in 1756-7.

It is possible that this flood was either a consequence of the extensive changes in the river channels then beginning in that part of the country, or that it was itself the principal cause of these changes. In any case that district was evidently one that could offer no site promising the needful immunity from the danger of sudden destruction. On the other hand, the plateau of the Ganjo Takar lying far above the reach of the highest inundations and with its rocky base now washed by the recently formed Phuleli satisfied every condition of security and convenience. Here then the Kalhora ruler decided to erect the fortress of his new capital on the site of the ancient "Nirun" which had then come to be known as "Nerun Kafir" of Nerun of infidel time. "The old stronghold was now a ruin and its walls had sunk into shapeless heaps of rubbish. The surrounding plateau had long since been chosen as the last resting place of certain Pirs or persons of saintly reputation and inaccordance with the religious point of view the spot had consequently become specially favoured burial ground. Ghulam Shah venerated Pirs then in the relics of old Nirun and on the spacious site then prepared he built the fortress which he named Hyderabad, this, the last and greatest of Kalhora foundations was begun in 1768 and became the Chief's

residence in 1770. He was not destined to have a long tenure of it and on the 1st August, 1772 he was dead. Popular opinion attributed his fate to the wrath of the saints whose graves he had desecrated in building his capital.

Ghulam Shah was the last representative of Kalhora strength of character and governing ability.

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Ghulam Shah Kalhora and Relations with Kutch

M.H Panhwar

Kalhora's rise to power from obscurity to limelight was a stroke of environmental changes in the world. From 1480 AD started the Little Ice Age in the world, in which temperatures fell down in the plains of Sindh and in the Himalayas and similar drops world over, consequences of this were migrations world over, search for new lands, establishment of new empires, exploitation of poor people and backward nations, suppression of nationalities and use of force to dominate, such as the world had never seen before on global scale. The great migrations to new world as well as to Australia, New Zealand and sparsely populated countries, caused competition between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the Italians, the Germans and the British, all Europeans then in ascendancy. The drop of temperatures caused invasion of ice into fertile lands in Europe and ruination of pastures in the Central Asia and Iran. In this article we are limiting ourselves to migrations from Central Asia to South Asia, with Sindh as a case under study. The pastures in the Central Asia could no longer support the domesticated animals and thereby the men, who after forty years (1480-1520 AD) struggle among themselves in Central Asia, moved to the South Asia with determination to capture it at all costs. Mangols (Mughals) moved to Delhi and their own cousins and relatives from the Central Asia and Iran to Sindh and northern India. And as Little Ice Age advanced in time, more people there were displaced to be accommodated in Sindh and Hind. The process was to continue upto 1680 AD, when to accommodate these immigrants Aurangzeb invaded Muslim Shia states in South Asia. The

immigrants had to be despotic, ruthless and un-sympathetic to the conquered people, whom they were to displace in all important government functionaries and towns. Definition of Mughal was he who by Divine Right was to rule in various capacities in the Government. He was to be fair in colour, having no local wife and children, not knowing local languages, and determined to recover taxes by force and invariably at the point of sword. Sindh was conquered by Arghuns and Tarkhans from Sammas who had their own tradition, culture, 'bhyat' or brotherhood as method of governing and, as an example existing in Kutch upto 1948 AD, moderatism and promotion of local culture. Their own moderate religious standards based on Sufi teachings, language, literature and traditions were different from those of conquerors. Sammas were opposed to Pan-Islamism, as they had not welcomed Mehdi of Jaunpur only a quarter of century before they lost Sindh to Arghuns.

There was cultural conflict between the Central Asians and South Asians. Arghuns got all urban areas vacated and in their place they brought their own people including Ulamas, Sufis, Kazis, businessmen and administrators as Jagirdars. Sammas with help of most of tribes of Sindh retaliated. This was the first time in the history of Sindh that local people joined together to fight the invaders as local Sindhis, instead of individual tribes, for one hundred and seventy five years on a united front. So much was the resistance that Mughals called Samma tribes as "Qoom-i-Haramzadgan" and they were mercilessly butchered, their properties set to fire and their animals killed. The governor of Sehwan had ordered that a bullock cart load of Samma's heads may be brought to him daily. Such was extent of massacre. The Sammas were not alone and were supported by most of Sindh's tribes. The hatred of Mughal officers against local people reached such a limit that local tribes for survival called themselves descendants of Arabs and Iranians. The Little Ice Age reached its worst in 1665 AD, when income from Thatta Sarkar fell to twenty percent of what it was in 1600 AD. By this time the Mughals had lost control over most of Sindh and local tribes were collecting taxes and looting at will. One hundred seventy five years of fighting had turned Sammas into unorganised fighters without central leadership and although it was their struggle that brought collapse of the Mughal power in Sindh, they could not lead it to victory. The

first prominent anti-Mughal role was played in a small area of Dadu district by the Panhwars, who initially had collaborated with Mughals, and had called themselves descendants of Bibi Halima the nurse of Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H), but even as peaceful citizens, who paid taxes regularly, they were attacked by the governor of Sehwan just before 1634 A.D. and they under their chiefs, Musa, Isa and Daud attacked Sehwan, defeated the governor and looted the treasury. Since then they assumed leading role, and around 1665 A.D. They seem to have occupied areas between Sehwan and Kamber. Although they paid annual tribute to governor of Multan, they lacked local sanctity, which by this time was given to genuine or pseudo Sufis, who during one hundred years, supported by Mughals, to reduce influence of orthodox Mulas, had gathered power and common men could easily rally behind them. Kalhoras were a local tribe and not Abbasids as claimed, but had fought Mughals and many of them were executed for their rebellions. Their sacrifices put them in limelight and so the leadership. Faqirs as they called themselves had a large number of disciples from Seraiki speaking, Balochis of D.G. Khan and Muzaffargarh areas, which during this period were hyper-arid and people were willing to sacrifice their lives for decent living, if it could be guaranteed. The Kalhoras ensured this and fought Mughals with troops provided by these disciples, first defeating the Panhwars and then the Mughals. In 1701 AD., they were accepted as local governors by the Mughals and gradually occupied the whole Sindh by 1737 AD.

They were master canal builders and in a short span of 50 years, they built and renovated about 700-900 canals taking off from the river Indus irrigating twenty two lac acres, while population rose to thirty lac people around 1750 AD. The weak point of the whole system was that Baloch tribal heads were given Jagirs with nominal taxes. Only a few local Sindhi leaders were made zamindars and responsible for paying taxes and the common Sindhi was made tenant cultivator of Balochi Jagirdar or Sindhi Zamindar. Jagirdars maintained army, established law and order, provided justice in rural areas and also maintained canals. They even had in their jagirs, zamindars who had to pay taxes to them. Maintenance of armed forces by Jagirdar, to be supplied to the Kalhora rulers was the weakest link in the whole chain of Kalhora's ability to govern independently and as sole authority.

In 1739 AD Nadir Shah attacked Delhi defeated Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, who ceded areas of Sindh, west of the Indus and Nahar Sagra (Western Puran) to him. He summoned Noor Muhammad Kalhoro to see him in Kabul, which the latter avoided and in turn took a flight to Umerkot, to be chased and exacted heavy amount of cash, jewels, library and imposition of annual tax by Nadir Shah. The British, who were on their way to begin to capture dwindling Mughal Empire only eighteen years later, were observing. In their opinion as reported by Frazer in 1746 AD, Noor Muhammad Kalhoro was so powerful that had he put up a battle, he could have defeated Nadir Shah. Why did he not fight? It appears that he suspected that Balochi chiefs could easily change the master and have better deal with Nadir Shah. That Noor Muhammad remained defeated, dejected and worried about future of his dynasty is reflected by his will. The Kalhoras had realised mistake of creating Baloch Jagirdars, but kept silent over the issue for too long resulting into their own massacres. What was to follow after Noor Muhammad's death is evident from Balochi chiefs power to install any one from among the Kalhoras as ruler.

Hydrological changes such as Sindh had never witnessed ever before, in the course of the Indus, started in 1756 and by 1758, the river established itself along the present course below Hala abandoning old course via, Shahdadpur, Oderolal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio, Tando Muhammad Khan, Matli, Talhar, Badin, Kadhan, Lowari, Rahimki Bazar and Koree Creek. The river thus abandoned ten lac acres out of twenty two i.e. 45% area, and establishment of new canals on new course could take twenty five years under leadership of persons like Yar Muhammad and Noor Muhammad Kalhoras, a task not easy and not fully undertaken until by the British one hundred years later and resulting into loss of ten lac acres, allowing fifteen lac people (1.5 million), who were thus displaced to die of hunger. Quick solution was not in sight.

Ghulam Shah thought of annexing Kutch, but it is doubtful if any scientific information on Kutch's capabilities to compensate loss of ten lac acres was available to him. Kutch is at the best semi-arid, hilly country with no rivers and good soils. It is a rocky pasture land measuring 7,616 square miles or 12261 square kilometres and population is nomadic. The population is Jareja Sammas from Sindh and also Memons of Sindh who

migrated to Kutch due to Arghun's high handedness. The 25% population is Juts or pastorals and they are Muslims and the tribes Bhil, Menghwar, Kolhi, Oad, Gurgula all untouchables, all Sindhis, and considered a low caste by Hindus but accommodated by Muslims. The Jareja Sammas were Hindus who ruled Kutch from 1148 to 1948 AD, a period of 800 years. The balance population was Hindu or Jain. They spoke Kutchi which is a dialect of Sindhi like Utradhi, Wicholi, Lari and Thareli. The relations of Kutch with Sindh broke down in 1536 AD after death of Jam Feroz the last ruler of Sindh, in Gujrat. Ghulam Shah made three expeditions on Kutch, between 1762-1765 AD, not fully knowing that Kutch almost entirely cut off from India by Rann, Little Gulf of Kutch, on the Arabian sea, was on the whole treeless, barren, rocky land with ranges of hills, isolated peaks, deeply cut river beds, but rich pasture land, with no permanent rivers but only rain fed ones, holding pools of water at places for people and cattle to drink. Wells were sole source of irrigation in Kutch and were regularly poisoned in case of invasion.

Nadir Shah ceded the Kalhora territories of Sibi-Kachi to the Khan of Kalat and the northern district to the Daudpotras in 1740 and imposed on the Kalhoras Rs. 20 lacs as tribute. Two sons of Noor Muhammad Kalhoro were kept as hostages. In 1747 AD, Nadir Shah was murdered and Ahmed Shah Abdali established himself at Afghanistan claiming suzerainty over Sindh. Non-payment of tribute brought Ahmed Shah in person to Sindh in 1754. Noor Muhammad fled to Jaisalmer, Diwan Gidumal succeeded in appeasing the invader, but soon Noor Muhammad died at Jaisalmer and was succeeded by his elder son Muradyab Khan. Three years later nobles and chiefs mostly (Balochi sardars) replaced him with Ghulam Shah, ignoring the choice of Ahmed Shah Abdali. The latter thus infuriated gave "Sanad" to Atur Khan a hostage at his court and when he came to Sindh the nobles and chiefs being afraid of Ahmed Shah, transferred their allegiance to him and Ghulam Shah had to flee to Bahawalpur. Atur Khan's incompetence caused withdrawal of nobles support and Ghulam Shah came to occupy the seat of Sindh again.

Chaotic conditions in Sindh lead Rao of Kutch to plan an expedition against Thatta and were assured help both by Peshwa and Gaekwar. as reported by Gazetteer of Kutch and even Ahmed Shah agreed with Tulsidas an envoy of Rao of Kutch.

due to non-payment of tribute by the Kalhoras. This infuriated Ghulam Shah, who invaded Kutch and according to Tuhfatul Kiram, mounted his expeditions as under:

- a) 09.04.1174 A.H. to 22.07.1177 A.H, (December 1760-January 1764 AD), Ghulam Shah took fort of Sindhri, plundered towns and villages within 24 miles of Bhuj, took sea ports of Busta and Lakhpatt, which were ceded by treaty by the Rao.
- b) In 1178 AH (1764-65 AD) he again invaded Kutch, took the town of Moru on his way. Rao applied for peace and treaty was concluded. Rao of Kutch gave daughter of his cousin Wesuji in marriage to Mian Ghulam Shah, who returned Busta, Lakhpatt and other areas to Rao.
- c) About end of 1188 A.H (early 1775 AD), Mian Sarfraz Khan, attacked Kutch, took fort of Bajham, but Rao received him well and therefore Mian returned back via Nagar Parkar.

The three accounts differ from other accounts related by B.B. Mirchandani in J.S:H.S Vol-VIII (1944) and Journal Indian History. These in brief are:

- a) Ghulam Shah asked East India Company's (E.I.Co) agent at Thatta, Mr. Erksine, to get one or two armed vessels for invasion of Kutch alleging that according to his information Rao of Kutch had already approached E.I.Co., for help and was even promised the same. The company politely refused stating that in matters of disputes between local states, as per their policy, they maintained neutrality.
- b) Ghulam Shah had already marched on Kutch before receiving the above reply but the Company noted that on 18th November 1762 AD he had taken fort of Sindhri.
- c) On 10th January 1763 AD, Company's agent reported that Ghulam Shah was retreating without any engagement with forces of Rao and had taken two or three forts of inconsiderable importance and it was reported that Rao had consented to pay a large sum of money. He was back in Sindh on 30th January 1763 AD. The expedition in Kutch lasted less than two months. E.I.Co., thought that there could be fear of Ahmed Shah ruler of Afghanistan, who was not paid the tribute and this was the reason of quick return of Ghulam Shah.

- d) Ghulam Shah marched towards Kutch again in 1764 A.D. but did not leave border of Sindh. It was due to frequent incursions of Kutchis into lower parts of Sindh in Dingey's (small boats) and they had plundered several villages. Ghulam Shah's march restored peace. He did not march further for fear of Ahmed Shah Abdali and remained on frontiers of southern Sindh. It is known that up to 1762 A.D, a branch of river Indus (western Puran or Phuleli) discharged into the sea via Koree Creek but the river Indus having changed the course, to the present and having abandoned 10 lac acres, the only course for Ghulam Shah was not to allow water from this minor branch to flow to Kutch, but to use the same within the country. Kutchis being deprived of water to irrigate their rice fields near Lakhpat may have attempted to rob small villages in Sindh near the old channel of east or west Dhoru Puran on which a bund was constructed by Ghulam Shah in 1763 AD.
- e) Having paid the tribute and settled with Ahmed Shah he was awarded D.G. Khan and Multan for about 5 years. On 18th January 1765 A.D he marched on Kutch, but the Company does not give any results of that sortie.
- f) In October 1766 AD Ghulam Shah planned another invasion of Kutch on a large scale and asked the Company to lend him two gun men. The company agents at Thatta feared that if he succeeded, in subduing Kutch, he will immediately throw off his allegiance to Afghanistan, and Pathans will retaliate by attacking Sindh. This will affect their trade, specially the sale of woollens, for which Afghanistan was a suitable market. This invasion was abandoned for distraction in his own country.
- g) In April 1768 A.D Kutchi forces attempted invasion of lower part of Sindh but were repulsed by Ghulam Shah's forces. It appears that settlement was arrived at between Rao and Ghulam Shah and resulted in marriage of Ghulam Shah with daughter of Rao's cousin. The other story is that of Rushbrook Williams, connected with Punja and local intrigues also repeated by Ghulam Rasul Meher in Tarikhi-Kalhora. It has no weight for invasion of Kutch by Ghulam Shah, when his own country, was

in shambles due to a half of the country, having been deserted by the Indus through the change of its course.

- h) After death of Ghulam Shah his son Sarfaraz Khan succeeded him. He had serious troubles at the court but in 1775 AD, he marched on Kutch, took route to Khavda and Sumrasar, intending to march on Bhuj, but for unknown reason, he led his army to Chobari and Kanthkot and married daughter of the Thakur, levied fine at Adhoi and other places and returned to Sindh.

It is known that Kutch being pastoral like Thar of Sindh or Baluchistan could neither be subdued easily, nor could taxes be recovered from them, except by local chiefs. In case of invasion, they would abandon area, poison wells and could not be subdued by Mahmud Begra or Mughals. Feroz Shah's army perished there. Ghulam Shah and his advisors had no knowledge of Kutch's past. Invasions were failures. These incidents show that invasions of Kutch by the Kalhoras or invasions of Sindh by Kutchis were of no serious consequences either to Kutch or Sindh, except attempts at plundering by invaders. In brief, they were to cut off social relation between two groups of Sindhis. Credit of uniting the present Sindh, upto Sibi and Dhadhar goes to the Kalhoras. By using diplomacy they could have won over Kutch rather than cut it off by invasions.

Kutch's Memons were either businessmen and or in cloth making trade and were urban. They were to suffer the most in case of any invasions. In 1761 AD one year before Ghulam Shah's invasion, a Kutchi ship, owned, operated and manned by Kutchis themselves, reached London. It was a challenge to European marine power. Ghulam Shah's invasion and looting of urban areas caused setback to rising marine power of South Asia for ever, a tragedy for the whole of South Asia. It is also known that Kutchis were pirates and they charged large sums of money from Europeans, and even Nawab of Thatta paid Rs. 12000-14000 to pirate Raja Rana settled on a swampy island in Indus Delta in 1756 AD to clear sea of Sangani pirates (probably Kutchis).

The hydrological changes brought by the river, lead to shifting of a number of Kalhora capitals in the next 14 years. Their capital Khudabad (8 miles south of Dadu) upto 1754 AD was shifted to Muradabad (near Nasarpur in 1757 AD) then Khudabad-II (2 miles north of Hala) and in 1760 to Shahpur (4

miles west of Nasarpur) and finally in 1768 to Hyderabad. These are four major changes of the capital out of many. These hydrological changes and shifting of capitals must have led to instability and conquest of Kutch was considered the solution to annex new territories, settle displaced Baluchi Jagirdars, but these invasions did not resolve the problem of one million acres of land turning into waste by hydrological changes. The booty collected by the chiefs under leadership of Mir Bahram may have helped a few individuals but due to reduction of area under cultivation people were dying due to lack of food, famines, malnourishment and diseases and no solution was sought.

Ghulam Shah Kalhoro having, good relations with Ahmed Shah Abdali, was first assigned D.G. Khan and then Multan in 1765 and 1766 respectively for a short time. It may have resolved his problem of finance and building new capital, at Hyderabad, but main problem of displaced land and people continued. He was lucky not to have faced uprisings of Baluchi chiefs. May be Kutch invasions kept them in check for a while, but it erupted like a volcano after his death in 1772 AD.

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The English Factory in Sind

(1758-1775)

Part I

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The first English Factory in Sind was set up by the East India Company at Tatta in the year 1635. That Factory lasted until 1662 and during its career of well-nigh 30 years did a great deal to check the declining prosperity of Sind. The story of this early commercial venture of the English may be read in Foster's monumental English Factories series.

After the closure of their first Factory, for nearly a hundred years, the English had no trade relations with Sind. It was again in 1758 that they set up a Factory there. The Factory then opened continued in existence till 1775 when it was withdrawn. The published books and accounts give us very little information about this second English venture in Sind. It is, therefore, my object in this paper to give some additional information on the subject which I have obtained from the records of the India Office and the Bombay Government.

It was in 1757 that the English decided to have a Factory in Sind. Early in that year they had obtained a "Phirmaund" from the Prince of Scindy Ghulam Shah Kalhora for "carrying on an exclusive trade in that country." Mr. George Bouchier, the Mint Master at Bombay, was appointed President of the Company's affairs in Sind with Mr. Samuel Beaven as his Assistant. The Governor and his council at Bombay "being at a loss to limit the table expenses of the

president for want of knowing the prices of provisions and necessities at Scindy, agreed to permit of Mr. Bouchier to Sind with as many cauldrons as could be spared at Bombay for refining salt petre in Sind. It was impressed upon him "that the Hon'ble company's principal motive for establishing a Factory at Scindy was to secure to themselves the whole produce of salt petre in That country which was made over to them alone the Phirmaund obtained from prince that he must therefore carefully attend to the engrossing of that important article the most reasonable rate.

A copy of the Firman obtained by the English in 1757 is not before me but concessions and privileges then granted to the English may be gathered from the Firman of 1799, granted to Nathan Crown by Meer Fateh Ali Khan, renewing the rights of the company as enjoyed by it in the reign of Ghulam Shah Kalhora¹⁷.

The object of the English in opening a factory in Sind was purely commercial. There was no political motive behind it as in the case of the latter settlement of 1799. What the English wanted was supplies of salt petre available in Sind. A hundred years before the East India Company's Factory at Tattah used to Carry on an extensive export trade in that article. The monopoly for its purchase and export which the English had now obtained was expected to yield a large profit to them. Besides Sind offered a good market for the sale of British woollens. Wool has been described as the "flower and strength and revenue and blood of England" in the 18th century, and till the development of the cotton trade towards the end of that century was, beyond comparison, the most important source of wealth in England. The industry, it was estimated, employed over a million persons in 1774. The company was therefore, on the look out to find new markets for it in the East.

Soon after the Factory opened in Sind the President and Council at Bombay wrote to the Factors as follows: "Our Hon'ble Masters have repeatedly recommended the paying more regard to increasing the vend than to the profit arising from woollens, we would always have you act upon this plan, not doubting but you will at the same time exert yourselves in selling them to the best advantage."

¹⁷ Vide. Aitchison. Treaties, Engagemnets and Sunnuds, Vol.II, pp.25-26-Billimoria.

The woollens were sold largely to Pathan and Persian merchants who came especially to Sind for the purpose. The Pathans were no easy customers. Their tastes in colors were difficult to satisfy, and as they refused to deal without the intervention of brokers, the English found themselves under the necessity of paying heavy brokerage. In their diary, at the end of August 1762, the Sind Factors write: "In this month we have sold and delivered woollens to the amount of 6,500 Rupees, partly received in Nadirshah and partly in Tecca or mixed Rupees, mostly to Pathan merchants, whose principal demand is for the Medleys invoiced at 9 to 11 Shillings per Yard, the coarse Persia cloth, and both the fine and super-fine black, but they seem so ready to dispute about trifles and are so difficult to please in regard to the colours, that sometimes after opening 5 or 6 bales, they won't accept above half, which makes it exceeding troublesome and tedious to trade with them. They are also so much under the direction of their brokers that, notwithstanding the Prince's Duschut on the Arzee we find ourselves under a necessity of allowing them sometimes 1 anna per rupee, and sometimes 4 per cent, brokerage, otherwise we should hardly meet with any vend at all, which as it greatly increase the price of the woollens to the purchaser must prove a hindrance to the increase of the vend; and we are at a loss to prevent this, seeing if we were to persevere in refusing this extravagant brokerage, we might perhaps be a twelve months without disposing of a single yard, and this has induced us to comply with it at present, on purpose to open a vend, tho' we are of opinion that when numbers of merchants come down purposely for this article, by resolutely persisting to refuse such brokerage, and not selling for some months on that account this pernicious custom may be broken through."

If the sales were to increase the Pathan tastes had to be satisfied. Early in 1763, therefore, we find the Sind Factors advising their principals at Bombay as follows: "From the Sales we have made...we have reason to think that the following sortments are the best for this market, exclusive of the coarse scarlet cloth which had better be packed always by itself. Coarse cloth such as is sent to Persia of the following colours: Clove color, two pieces in every deep

clove color, the other a little lighter. This sortment has been invoiced at 6-15-0 per half cloth of 25 yards or upwards. Cinnamon colour, but very deep, one piece in each bale, price as before, and the other three pieces to be Saxon green, French green and deep Olive, tho' sometimes a piece of purple might be substituted in lieu of the French or Saxon green. The Pea green they don't like, and as the Nutmeg and Wine colour are so much dearer than had before mentioned and not proportionately esteemed, they had better be omitted, unless one piece of a dark wine was to be substituted in very three or four bales, in lieu of the Cinnamon or one of the greens, but the clove colour they are particularly desirous of, of the above sortment there is reason to hope that from 25 to 40 bales annually may meet with advantageous vend. The next sort that appears in esteem among them is black, of which 12 or 15 bales of the ordinary and 5 of the superfine will be sufficient. The last sortment, and which is chiefly in demand among the Pathan and Persian merchants who came down here, is the fine Medleys, invoiced from 9 shilling to 10 shilling 6 percent per yard, as the superfine is too dear for them. we now send two paper out the colours, not the fabric for the fine Medleys wanted. No. 1 is clove colours, of which there should be two pieces in every bale, the same as in the coarse cloth. No. 2 Cinnamon, of which one piece in every bale is sufficient, but the colour, if possible, a little darker than the muster. No. 3 is also a good colour and well approved of and one piece of it will do very well in every bale; the other two pieces may be of any sort of dark mixed grey, Dove or Fawn colour, with a piece of deep Olive and one of Saxon Blue in every 4 or 5 bales. The colours of the musters 4 or 5 are pretty well liked, though No. 5 is rather too light a colour, and hardly any of the merchants, who have hitherto purchased, choose to accept any cloth so white as No. 6 or dark Blue as No. 7, therefore both these had be better omitted entirely. About 30 bales of the above sortment we hope may meet with a vend. As to Draps, tho' in some of our former letters we from the best information could then procure represented them as much in demand, yet we now from experience find the contrary, and the reason given for it is that great quantities are brought over the Caspian Sea from Russia,

which are sold cheaper at Mesched¹⁸ and Kandhar than the prices we ask here. Superfine cloth and Medleys are also too dear for them to purchase, and therefore had better not be sent out in future for this market, unless particularly indented for."

In spite of their best endeavours, however, the sale of woollens in Sind remained small. One of the reasons why the sales were not encouraging was that the Pathan merchants were not permitted to come to Shah Bunder where the Factory was situated. The English had located the Factory there, in preference to Tatta, in order to escape the harassment and petty exactions of the customs officers at Tatta. They approached the Prince with a request for permitting the merchants to come to the Factory. They offered to collect for the Treasury duty at 21 per cent on whatever was sold to the merchants, on condition that they met with no impediment and no further demand was made upon them on their carrying goods bought upcountry. The request was not unreasonable as it was with the Prince's previous consent that the Factory had been located at Shah Bunder.

The Prince allowed the request and ordered his Diwans to prepare a Parwana accordingly. "But on applying to the Diwans they started numberless objections, observing that the Prince had inadvertently consented to what he could not now comply with, seeing it was unreasonable to imagine he could suffer the Pathans and others to go freely to and from Shah Bunder to purchase the Company's goods, as they would thereby become acquainted with the situation of the river and his forts which was his principal sanctuary in distress. That it was also unprecedented and would be very hard to deprive the brokers and others at Tatta of their usual perquisites and upon the whole what was desired was unreasonable as the Prince would thereby be a very considerable loser annually." The Prince also changed his mind, evidently on the advice of his Diwans, and refused to grant the Parwana he had at first promised.

The real reasons for the Prince's refusal, however, appear to have been quite different. The Prince had

¹⁸ Mashhad, city in Iran -Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

sometime earlier sent an agent to the Council at Bombay asking for the assistance of an armed vessel in the hostilities which he contemplated against Cutch. The English who did not wish to be dragged into the Prince's quarrel with his neighbour with whom they were on terms of friendliness, refused to grant the request on various pretexts. The Prince and the Officers of his court felt naturally annoyed at this refusal, and were consequently not in a mood to consider any further concessions for the English. There was also another reason for the Prince's displeasure. The Raja of Cutch had applied to the English for the services of a surgeon, and the President and council at Bombay had sent Mr. Weir to Sind. "thinking it proper on account of the friendship subsisting between the Prince and the Hon'ble Company previously to advise him of it, and therefore desired his permission that Mr. Weir might either proceed overland to the Raja, or by sea, whichever of these methods should be most convenient." The Prince resented that the English should in any way assist his enemy the Raja at Cutch. He, therefore, sent for Mr. Weir to his court at Shah Pore, detained him there for nearly 2 months on the pretext that his services were required "for himself and several of his people who were indisposed," and finally declined to grant permission for his proceeding to Cutch. As it was thought inexpedient to send him there against the wishes of the Prince he was sent back to Bombay. The salt petre contractor of the English, Preetumbas Rupchand, who had accompanied Mr. Weir to the Court informed the Factors on his return "that although the Prince behaved complaisantly enough in public, both to Mr. Weir and himself, and seemed willing to avoid giving any open disgust or cause of complaint, yet from what he observed and heard at Shah pore of his private conversations, he fancied, he was a good deal dissatisfied and in an ill-humour chiefly owing to his being disappointed in not having a vessel lent to him to assist in his designs against Cutch, which he was in great hope of, and from some ill-designing people about him, representing how much the English profited by the privileges he had granted them, while he had hurt his own revenues much, specially by the salt petre grant, on which other merchants had paid high duties and how they had gained their point, he might see that he was not to expect any benefit from them of any kind, but that they would look upon themselves as independent. and pay no regard to him at all. That as these insinuations

seemed to touch the Prince, he did not doubt, but some private directions might have been given to Gulabroy and others to find some means of impeding the Hon'ble Company's business and harassing us in such a manner, as to occasion their Factory to be withdrawn, and that the request for the Pathans coming to Shah Bunder, and Surgeon's being sent to Cutch had contributed to increase his ill humour, though he did not choose publicly to avow it."

Ghulam Shah declared war on Cutch in October 1762. He sent a large army to invade the country and himself followed in person with a considerable force. The Sind army without much opposition entered the Raja's territory, took possession of his frontier forts and returned to Sind in the following January. This was the first of the two invasions of Cutch by Ghulam Shah Kalhora. "On each of these occasions the country was desolated and plundered, although the invaders did not succeed in forming a permanent settlement. The Prince wished to compel the Rao to give him his sister in marriage; but after a treaty had been entered into in which this stipulation stood as an article it was evaded, and Ghulam Shah was glad, on his second invasion, to content himself with the daughter of the Chief of Kanker, whose family stood next in pretensions to the throne. On quitting Cutch Ghulam Shah left a garrison of 5000 men at Luckput Bunder, which was then a petty town. He also proceeded to build an embankment to prevent the waters of the Indus from falling into the sea through the eastern branch of that river which passes close to Luckput and by this unjustifiable act he converted a fertile plain, which yielded from rice cultivation alone a revenue of eight lacs of Codes annually to the Bhooj Darbar, into a dreary salt marsh."

After the Prince's return from Cutch there was no doubt as to his attitude towards the English. He was no longer willing to advance their interests in his country. Officers of the state, at no time very friendly towards the influential and powerful Company, receiving encouragement from the Prince's attitude, started harassing the English in numerous ways. Very probably they had received private instructions from the Prince himself. One of them, by name

Gulabroy, the Kardar, and the Custom Master of Tatta, by his conduct, made trading almost impossible for the English. He refused to allow the Company's boats laden with goods to proceed to Shah Bunder ; would not settle the Custom accounts, and started impressing for Government service workmen employed by the Company on extracting salt petre. Under the Parwanas the Company had a monopoly of purchase and export of salt petre from Sind. But the Custom Masters at Tatta and Shah Pore (the latter place supplied the largest quantity of salt petre) refused to allow the company's boats laden with goods to proceed to Shah Bunder; would not settle the custom accounts, and started impressing for Government service workmen employed by the company had a monopoly of purchase and export of salt petre from Sind. But the Custom Masters at Tatta and Shah pore (the latter place supplied the largest quantity of salt petre) refused to recognise this monopoly. They also insisted on receiving, in violation of the Parwanas, custom duties on salt petre and other articles at rates usual in the reign of Prince Mamud, the predecessor of Ghulam Shah on the throne, The Pathan merchants were "intimidated from doing any business" with the result that the sales of woollens were poor. A boat containing building material required for the house which the English were erecting at Auranga Bunder was arbitrarily detained at Tatta under instruction from Gulabroy. All these acts of obstruction brought the English trade almost to a standstill.

The English sent Mr. Beaven to Tatta to settle the matter, if possible, amicably with Gulaboy. Bambamul the Vakeel of the English, also accompanied Mr. Beaven. Gulabroy after many evasive replies refused to come to terms. He alleged that he had orders from one of the Head Diwans of the Prince to permit private trade in salt petre and to collect Custom duties at rate prevalent in the previous reign. After many protracted negotiations, however, he agreed to permit the salt petre boats to proceed to Sha Bunder, but refused to give up his demand for higher duties, or to settle the accounts excepting on that basis.

Not getting any satisfaction from Gulabroy, the English approached Diwan Ghansham, one of the Head Diwans of the Prince in setting this quarrel. They wrote to him, "specifying the grounds of.....complaint and how little foundation there was for the jealousy and displeasure.....the Prince had lately entertained,

advising him, both as a friend to his Master and the honourable Company, to acquaint the Prince candidly with every particular, lest in case of future bad consequences, he might be blamed." Diwan Ghansham did his best to bring round Gulabroy but without success. He, however, promised to represent matters to the Prince.

In April 1763 Mr. Erskine (the President of the Sind Factory) "received a letter from Diwan Ghansham, enclosing one from the Prince, acquainting him that according to his promise, he had represented matters to the Prince, who now wrote, that Bumba Vakeel might be sent up to him, with the several Parwanas, when he would give proper orders that they should be complied with, at the same time advising him to comply with the Prince's desire by sending him up as soon as possible." The Sind Factors had learnt from experience not to place any reliance on such promises. They, therefore, entertained little hope of a satisfactory outcome of the Vakil's visit to the Court. This is evident from the resolution on the subject recorded in the Factory Diary, which is as follows: "Having maturely considered the Prince's request of sending up Bumbamul Vakil to him with the several Parwanas in order that he might give proper directions that no such impediment might happen to our business in future, although we cannot approve or admit any fresh discussion or new interpretation of the several Parwanas, and it is probable the Prince may have desired this visit out of an interested and ostentatious view having a present made him, without any intention that the orders he may now give shall be more punctually obeyed than the other Parwanas, yet have no other course to follow except complying with his desire."

Accordingly Bambamull was dispatched to Shah Pore with "instructions not to enter into any disputes about the tenor of Parwanas hitherto granted, nor on any account to admit of any new interpretation of them, but solely to insist on positive orders that they may be punctually complied with." His visit proved more successful than had been anticipated will be seen from the following account. "Bamba Vakil returned from the Shah Pore. with a Parwana from the Prince to M Erskine acquainting him he had complied with everything Bamba Vakeel had desired and given orders

accordingly, tho' Rumba informs us, that on his representing the impediments we met with and hinting the bad consequences that might follow from his officers disregarding the privileges granted to the Honourable Company, and obstructing their business the prince lost his temper, and reproved him for presuming to, talk so freely, at the same time intimating that most of those privileges were granted, when his affairs were in a different posture, and he found it necessary to oblige everybody to support himself, but that if he met with no return for favours granted, he certainly had a right also to recall the privileges he had given, that he, however, after recovering himself a little had talked more calmly, and at length given two orders, one directed to all Customs Masters and other officers strictly to comply with the tenor of the parwanas granted the English Company without making any other demands under any pretence, and other to Gulabroy, in particular directing him to avoid giving us any cause of complaint by impeding or obstructing our business in any shape." Mr. Erskine wrote a letter to the Prince thanking him for the orders issued to his officers and begging his acceptance of 100 China plates "of the best sort procurable" which he sent being informed by Bambamul that they were required by the Prince.

The Sind Factors, however, did not feel very hopeful that the new orders would be obeyed for long. They wrote to their masters: "We cannot confine in these orders being long obeyed, seeing Ghulam Shah's temper is so fickle and capricious and easily swayed by every plausible story. Although he seems unwilling to act in such a manner as to give a handle for breaking with him openly yet we have reason to think he is desirous to oblige the Honourable Company, if possible by little vexations and impediments to remove their Factory; and we see no means of reconciling him to their interest, but by sometimes sending one of their servants or the Vakeel to him with a complaint (whether anything is wanted or not) and some presents, which he seems to aim at and which flatters both his self-interest and ostentation."

The Prince's conduct towards the English is difficult to understand. He had without much thought granted to the English privileges and exemption which had affected his revenues much without bringing him any advantage in return, afraid to repudiate

publically the concessions granted by himself, he had resorted to the cowardly way of instigation his officers not to give effect to his own Parwanas. He expected that the English would thus be obliged to withdraw their Factory from Sind. But English who had obtained many substantial concession wherein no hurry to leave Sind. They realised, however, that if they were to continue in Sind they must on the strict observance of the grants. Most of the Pathan merchants who came to Sind had Parwanas from the King of Afghanistan, to whom Sind was subject, exempting them from paying duties in Sind. The Sind Court to avoid loss of revenue recovered a duty of three per cent from Pathan brokers who received a commission of one anna per rupee on the sales. The English having refused to deal through them, they could not pay the duty to the State. The loss of revenue annoyed the Prince. On the other hand the English argued that under the Parwanas they were exempt from paying duties, and it was in effect much the same whether they paid duty immediately on the importation of goods or on the sales of them. However, under the circumstances, they deemed it expedient to allow the brokerage. They wrote to Bombay: " We are desirous of breaking that pernicious custom of allowing such extravagant brokerage to the Pathan brokers, yet foreseeing many difficulties in persisting, and as our relaxing on this head may perhaps incline the Prince and his officers to give us no more trouble regarding our salt petre privileges, which article we think bids fair to increase annually if it meets with no obstructions, we have come to a resolution of allowing the Pathan brokers five per cent. but shall take care at the same time that the Honourable Company receive a net profit of 20 or 25 per cent on what we sell."

This, however, did not put an end to English troubles. Gulabroy still persisted in his obstructive ways. In fact he found out new ways of harassing the English. He stopped cotton belonging to Mr. Erskine at the Custom House, Tatta, and demanded 'MUNG-ANA', or duty on each bale, from which the English were exempt. He delayed giving dispatch to salt petre boats and assessed duty on quantities larger than the boats actually contained. The English made many protests but in vain. His reply was "that he was far from making any unreasonable demands

or wishing to impede business that what he insisted upon regarding the cotton was usual."

The Sind Factors, therefore, came to the conclusion that they must adopt stronger measures than mere protests, if they were to get any redress from the Prince. They wrote to their Masters: "On the whole as so little regard is paid to the Prince's Parwanas, we conclude he must be at the bottom of these impediments, tho' he seems desirous to avoid going too far, or openly avow the measures pursued by his officers here, and we have reasons to believe that this settlement will constantly be subject to such impediments from April to October, till some means are taken to convince them that the Honourable Company can also obstruct their business, and for this purpose we presume no measure could be more effectual, or less subject to disagreeable consequences, than our having authority to prevent the landing of Bengal freight which comes here only on English vessels, at any time the Hon'ble Company's affairs required such a step, and sending it to Bombay provided the ship is bound thither, from whence it might be returned without any material loss or risk to the Multannees¹⁹, as soon as the Government was convinced of their error in obstructing our business and we are entirely of opinion, that once acting in this manner would effectually intimidate any Custom Master here from pursuing such measures in future. On this subject we request your honours' answer, as also whether we may, at any time, presume to detain any of the Honourable Company's Cruizers that may come here, for twenty days or a month, should we meet with impediment in the fair season, and find her detention likely to prove serviceable in getting the" removed."

The Authorities at Bombay, however, did not approve of the course suggested by the Sind Factors. They wrote "We entirely approved of your conduct in your transactions with the Prince and his Officers and would have you continue to pursue such measures as you may judge most likely to promote our Honourable Masters' interest. by keeping him in good humour without relinquishing any part of the privileges he has already granted them. we are sensible should the impediments which you

¹⁹ Multanis-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhora

represent continue to our business, some method must be fallen upon to bring the Prince to reason, but we cannot approve of that proposed by you sending the Bengal freight ship hither, without landing her freight, as this measure would vary materially prejudice many individuals, who are no ways concerned with the Scindy Governemnt. We shall however readily concur with you, in any measure you may point out, for impeding the currency of the Prince's business, or of interrupting the trade of Scindy in Particular, should you be of opinion the same would be a mean of bringing him to reason, and in such case we permit of your detaining any of the Honorable Company's cruisers in the manner you mention though only in cases of absolute necessity.

The Sind Fcators reluctantly submitted to the decision of their Masters to whom they wrote:

"At present we have no reason to complain of any impediment to our business from this Government as indeed it is probable that rarely any ever will happen during the fair season. The Bengal freight being the most material article of trade in this country, the stopping of which would occasion the greatest clamour among the principal merchants, and prejudice to the customs without any apparent violence, and bring the officers we have to deal with soonest to reason, was our motive for pro-posing it. However, we shall now drop all thoughts of it, and in case of disputes in future leave to your Honour, etc., deter-. mination of the most eligible means of obviating them."

However, it was very soon that the English had to complain again of fresh violations of the Parwanas granted to them. The Custom Master at Shah Bunder had made new claims against the Company. Mr. Beaven, who was in charge of the Company's affairs in Sind owing to Mr. Erskine's absence to Bombay on account of ill health, informed his Masters of those new claims and the steps he had taken. He wrote : "The Custom Master at Shah Bunder, a few days ago sent me notice, he had received the Prince's Parwana to demand from the English the same customs as other merchants pay on goods to and from the ports of Callicut and Mascot, etc. As I have reason to conclude that this exaction is a certain introduction to further violation of our rights, I therefore sent the following

message by Vakeel Bambumul: That all Parwanas from the Prince, immediately directed to me, should be duly considered and respectfully answered ; but that I could pay no regard to any sent to his servants who undoubtedly did their duty in advising me of their Master's Orders, as it was mine also to obey only those I received from my Hon'ble Superiors at Bombay, being determined to assent to no kind of alteration in our privileges without their express permission and positive direction. The Vakeel returned in the evening, with his written reply that he (Ajaardar²⁰) would report to the Prince his Master the substance of my answer and ajaardar—contractor and wait his pleasure ; at the same time candidly observed to Bumbamul, that this new claim was solely by Gulabroy's misrepresentations at the Court to our prejudice."

In March 1764 Mr. Beaven received a letter from the Prince inviting him to Shah Pore and assuring him of a warm welcome. As a visit to the Court involved heavy expense customary presents to be made to the Prince, Mr. Beaven pount it off till he had obtained the sanction of his Masters to incur the expense. He also received letters from the new Governor of Tatta Lolla Afhumn (?), Gulabroy, and Bumbamul pressing him to come to Tatta. He therefore went to Tatta. On his arrival there he learnt that the King of Afghanistan had sent a commission to the Sind Government for the purchase of a large quantity of woollens. He also received another message from the Prince desiring his visit to the Court. He, therefore, decided to proceed there. To inform his Masters of his decision, he wrote : "The repeated messages sent from the Government and the impatience shown by them, persuade me they really intend buying , and as this visit has now a different aspect, promising large sales, I think it is my duty to comply, lest further evasion give disgust, and be of prejudice to the Hon'ble Company's interest. Ceremony and business may possibly coincide, and the profit on our sale in some degree compensate the unavoidable expense of necessary presents—these are the hopes that at length determine my going to Shah Pore, which should they ever prove deceptive, cannot justly subject me to censure."

²⁰ Contratcor

Mr. Beaven arrived in Shah Pore on 27th March 1764 accompanied by Bumbamul. He waited immediately on the Prince in Darbar who presented him with a "Sirpah consisting of a Kimcob vest, shawl and turban, knife and a sword mounted with gold whose scabbard and sheath were ornamented with the same metal, a Ziga or cluster of emeralds, rubbies set in gold, and a Persian horse with silver plated bridle, etc., and furniture." In return he gave to the Prince the "customary gold Rupee and other present of broad cloth, velvet, silk, looking glasses, etc.," on behalf of the Hon'ble company. After the inspection of the samples the Prince placed the following order with him for the supply of woollens: Crimson Draps 1200 yards at Rs. 10 and half yards at Rs. 4 and black superfine, 780 yards at Rs. 6; in all amounting to 3930 yards at Rs. 25417. He promised to instruct his Custom Master at Tatta to deliver the money and receive the goods as soon as the revenues produced the sum required for the purpose. He also gave Mr. Beaven hopes of further purchases of British/ woollens.

Finding the Prince in a good humour Mr. Beaven decided to press for the Redress of their grievances. I can do no better than give his own account of the conversations he had with the prince in this connection. He writes:

"I thought it convenient to lay before him the frequent interruptions, the Hon'ble Company's concerns, particularly those of salt petre, had for many months past received from our inveterate enemy Gulabory, the Ajaardar of Tatta. For this Purpose I request from the Prince a private interview, who immediately appointed my coming tomorrow evening..... Next day, being introduced to his private Durbar, where he received me with confidence and proper satisfaction to my reasonable requests. I then gave him an ample relation of the very petulant, troublesome behavior of Gulabory, and pointed out the particular impediments thrown in our way respecting salt petre, desiring for procuring due and prompt obedience from his servants in future to the Parwanas he had granted and repeatedly confirmed in favor of the Hon'ble Company. He heard the whole, without the least interruption, when making a small pause, directed me to express the purport of what I had said in writing, and send my Arzee by the Vakil tomorrow, which after he had duly considered should be returned me with a suitable answer. Agreeable to the Prince's desire, I sent an Arzee purporting the

substance of what I yesterday spoke. In the evening received a Parwana on Gulabroy, directing him to desist from his late proceedings and act respectfully to the English in future."

"On considering the little regard Gulabroy has always shown other and former orders (nearly of the same tenor with this), I therefore directed the Vakil to wait on the Prince early tomorrow, and point out the little efficacy of his present intention and the absolute necessity of procuring positive and explicit orders to Gulabroy, whose insolent disposition requires at all times the strictest curb from superior authority. Bumbamul accordingly waited on the Prince, who hearing my request and its reason, assured me of a more effectual order. He arrived with the expected Parwana from the Prince directed to Gulabroy, being to the following purpose :

To GULABROY, ETC. Shah Pore, 5th April, 1764.

"Mr. Samuel Beaven; the reputable and well-esteemed Merchant, Resident and Guniastah for the Hon'ble English East Indian Company, having represented to me the frequent interruption you give in transporting crude salt petre to the Factory at Shah Bunder, and other vexatious proceedings, whereby he is justly displeased ; and as I consider him a valuable merchant whose concerns produce advantage to my Government, I expect and direct that you stop no more this article of crude salt petre ; and as to other trading matters, importing or exporting goods, buying or selling, you are only to observe the same customs and recover nothing more than is usual, agreeable to my former Parwanas, that the Hon'ble Company may with more freedom and security increase their trade; in this respect punctual obedience.

"I have directed the Comerdeen, Cannogahs to give me an account of the value of former customs for two years on the export of salt petre, previous to the exclusive grant I made the English and also the amount paid me by the Hon'ble Company for two years since such Parwana was given them, by which I may judge and give you proper orders hereafter."

Mr. Beaven wrote to his Masters : "It might be right to observe that the conclusion of this Parwana is either

meant in terrorem, or else plainly indicates a desire in the Government to infringe our right respecting the salt petre giant, if it appear, by the Cannogah's review, prejudicial to the public revenue; and the latter design I'm well convinced are their real wishes, but at the same time have room to expect from the best information that no considerable difference will appear on this year's agreement to furnish treble the quantity the present season to what he did the last, I promise myself nothing further may follow from the enquiry."

However for the time being the Parwana appeared to have the desired effect on Gulabroy. When delivered to him he "received it with due respect and promised exact obedience thereto." Mr. Beaven reported on 8th April that "three boats loaded chiefly with crude salt petre were this morning immediately dispatched on Shah Bunder, on my first application to Gulabroy, who for nearly three weeks past has constantly used the most idle pretences to delay them. This custom Master effect at present a very unusual complaisance to our requests"

The English were, however, deceived. For Gulabroy was soon at his old tricks again. He informed the English that the prince had cancelled the order for the British woollens. Mr. Beaven at once wrote to the Prince who assured him "that the message from Gulabroy was a falsehood of his own invention, and that to prevent further evasion or delay in the custom Master, he had repeated his former orders, in a peremptory manner, for immediately paying the money and receiving their goods agreeable to the contract." He also sent a trusted servant to see that Gulabroy carried out his orders. The woollens were accordingly received and duly paid for by Gulabroy without any more trouble.

About this time the Sikhs were overrunning the Punjab. The Pathan merchants, therefore, could not come to Sind. Mr. Beaven informed his Masters of this new impediment to their trade. He wrote, in April 1764, that he had "received the disagreeable news that Multan and the Northern country, adjacent to Scindy, were in the utmost confusion by the inundation of the Sikhs, a numerous military caste of Indians who inhabit the neighbouring mountains of Lahore. The conquests, or rather depredations, these invaders have made must occasion for sometime an interruption of our woollen trade till the Pathans have recovered these

provinces and opened the intercourse again to Kandhar and Cabul²¹." However, very soon the news came that the Sikhs had retired from Multan to their retreats round about Lahore. The Pathans recovered their provinces from the Sikhs who were too much divided among themselves.

The East India Company's building at Tatta was in the middle of a busy part of the town. It lacked an upper storey and was not very suitable for residential purposes. In 1764 the Sind Factors decided to add another floor to it at a modest cost of Rs. 130. Mr. Beaven wrote to Bombay Council on the subject. "I have taken the liberty of running up a small Bungalow on the upper terrace of this Factory to command a free circulation of air, which before was secluded from my lofty houses in the neighbourhood, which thereby exposing us to the most sultry stifling heat, rendered our situation extremely unwholesome."

At this stage I might give an account of the organization of the salt petre trade in Sind. As we know already, there was no private trade in salt petre in Sind. The English had the sole monopoly for the purchase and export of it. They did not, however, themselves engage in the actual extraction of salt petre, but employed a contractor who supplied the crude article at a fixed price. The salt petre was then sent in boats from Tatta and Shah Pore to Shah Bunder where the Factory was situated. There it was refined in the Company's boilers before being exported to Bombay. The duty was paid on the crude article at the ports before it arrived at the Factory. The English paid a duty of only 1 per cent. The private merchants used to pay a much higher duty before the monopoly was granted to the English. The agreement between the contractor and the Factory was usually for one year only. By it the contractor undertook to supply a particular quantity for which he was paid at the end of the year at a fixed rate agreed upon beforehand. The usual rate was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 5 per maund of refined salt petre. The contractor, from time to time, however, received advances of money to enable him to carry on the operations.

In June 1764, the Bombay authorities wrote to the Sind Factors to secure as much salt petre in Sind as they

²¹ Kabul-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

could, as they feared that owing to the disturbed state of affairs in Bengal the Company would not be able to secure their usual supplies from that quarter. At this juncture, however, a serious danger threatened the English saltpetre monopoly in Sind. The Imam of Muscat's Vakeel at the Sind Court had asked for permission to export salt petre from Sind. Mr. Beaven wrote several letters to the Prince's Diwans for their assistance in preventing the grant of the permission.

He, however, entertained little hope of success, for the Prince was under a debt of obligation to the Imam of Muscat for having in the previous year surrendered to him the greater part of his deposed brother, the deceased Mahomed Murad's²² treasure, and entertained hopes of soon recovering the reminder also. To avert the danger Mr. Beaven suggested to the Bombay council "to make a private overture to the Imam to supply him with any small quantity he wants from Bombay on reasonable terms." Diwan chellaram and other friend of the English at the Sind Court wrote to Mr. Beaveen assuring him that they would do their best to support the Company's right regarding salt petre and to keep the Prince well disposed towards the English at the Sind Court wrote to Mr. Beaven learnt that the prince had refused to grant the Imam's request for the export of salt petre on the ground that "he had already given the Hon'ble Company an exclusive right thereto which he did not choose to violate." However, as he did not wish to displease the Imam he gave the Vakeel a Parwana on the English to supply him with 500 maunds on payment of the proper price. As this did not suit the Vakeel he left Shah Pore in disgust.

I have described the relations between the English Factors and the Prince purposely at great length, as they afford a fair indication of the relations subsisting between the East India Company's agents and the Sind rulers throughout the latter half of the 18th century. During this period, on no less than two occasions concessions were hastily given which were regretted at leisure ; and the Sind rulers afraid to take back what they had themselves given had recourse to every kind of subterfuge, obstruction and

²² Mian Muhammad Murad Yab son of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro

harassment. Our rulers must have been sadly wanting in political wisdom, for otherwise it is difficult to explain such huge concessions which brought them no advantage in return. Indeed they were like little children, for it appears that their sole object in inviting the English to Sind was the few presents of western knick-knacks they occasionally received from them.

I conclude my paper here. Later on, however, I propose to complete the story in another paper.

The English Factory in Sind

(1758-1775)

Part II

B. D. Mirchandani, I. C. S.

It deals with events in Sind from the middle of 1764 to the beginning of the year 1769, as described by the Sind Factors in their letters to the E.I. Company's Government at Bombay.

Towards the latter half of 1764, the peace of Lower Sindh was again disturbed by Cutchi marauders.

"The greatest part of October was attended by frequent incursions of the Cutch Rajah's people into the lower part of this country, where their fleets of small dingies have committed great ravage by the plunder of several petty towns and villages, but as the Prince has now marched a considerable number of troops to oppose their future attempts the quiet of this district is restored and the apprehension of future mischief removed."

Ghulam Shah was anxious to repel these hostilities in person and even attempt with a large force the reduction of Cutch itself. But this he was unable to do for fear of an Afghan invasion at this time. The relations between him and Ahmad Shah were strained owing to arrears of tribute, and he had to remain on the "Northern frontiers of Scindya" till matters were amicably adjusted with the Afghan King. A settlement, however, was soon reached and Ghulam Shah was free to lead his army against Cutch.

"The Prince," the Sind Factors wrote January 1765, "is now at the head of a numerous army, and has entered Cutch with a view of subjecting the Rajah to tributary dependence on him."

This campaign in Cutch did not meet with any great success. That however, did not deter Ghulam Shah from preparing for a fresh attack two years later.

“The Prince,” wrote the President of the Sind Factory on 18th October 1766, “is now preparing for another expedition to Cutch the conquest of which he has vainly projected for some years past, but hitherto only to his great mortification; and whether he may succeed better in his present design is very doubtful to me, though he has levied a great army and taken formidable measures for that purpose.”

Ghulam Shah applied to the English for the services of two Europeans gunners- “well-acquainted with heavy artillery,” for employment in this campaign. The Sind Factors, however, advised their Masters against the compliance of this demand of the Prince. They feared that, if Ghulam Shah succeeded in reducing Cutch and became powerful, “he will immediately throw off his allegiance, pay no further tribute and become entirely independent of the Pathans, and never suffer them once again to set foot in Scindya which will be greatly prejudicial to our woollens’ sales.”

I may digress here a little and explain how the prosperity of the Company’s trade in woollens was intimately bound up with the dependence of the Sind Ruler to the Afghan Throne. The purchasers of woollens in Sind were mostly Pathan merchants; also a considerable portion of the annual tribute to the Afghan King by the Sind Court was either paid in woollen goods or was invested by the King’s agents in the purchase of woollens for their master.

The reigning Prince of Scindya, Ghulam Shah, is an acknowledged vassal to the crown of Candhar and occasionally submits to the payment of tribute or evades it as the strength or weakness of his Sovereign suggests to him. This tribute he partly invests in woollens (agreeable to order from the Pathan King or oftener for his own advantage²³). But for some time past, the division at Kandhar, the inactive conduct of its Padishah, and defeats given him by the Sikhs have considerably diminished his influence here, so that his envoys or Chupars are treated with trifling respect and generally sent back with evasive answers to demands for money or demands for broad cloth. Ghulam Shah

²³ NOTE- The Sind court used to buy the Woollens from the English at cheap rates and charge them at much higher rate to the Afghan King.

seeks every opportunity to free himself, and from it springs all the opposition he lately gave to our trading connection with Pathans and other northern merchants, being jealous of their presence here and often deeming them little better than spies on his country and actions.”

The Sind Court, powerless to prevent the entry of the Afghan merchants into the country, whom they regarded with extreme suspicion and jealousy, had recourse to every subtle device and insidious method to thwart the woollen trade which attracted them there.

“I shall,” wrote the President of the Sindh Factory,” recount the customs and exaction that are daily devised to curb the power and influence of those of the Pathan dealers that choose to invest their money in the purchase of staple goods from us; it is already known the heavy brokerage exacted and which the Government receive, exclusive of which other customs are demanded when woollen goods are carried hence to Sehwan that these people are subjected to when they proceed that way to Candahar; they permit of their going to the westward to Crotchee²⁴ where they pay no customs, from thence Sonameany and then to Candhar’ which is a much near way by five or six days travels, but this rarely happens, and is only extended to a few individuals whose interest at the Afghan Court they think may be able to do them prejudice; so that before the goods arrive there they are (with the profit we generally receive on them of twenty five percent or thereabouts) clogged with forty percent, besides other incidental charges of conveying, to five and forty percent....”

Whatever justification for this policy there might have been on political grounds, it was economically a suicidal and short-sighted policy. Not only it adversely affected the Prince’s own revenues, but also had serious effect on the local manufactures.

“Several manufactures of this country,” wrote the Sind Factors, “are so badly fabricated that they meet with little or no demand at any of the parts of India, except to the neighboring provinces of Siccapore²⁵ (Shikarpur) and Multan, where they meet with a pretty vend.”

²⁴ Karachi-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

²⁵ NOTE.- By name Ali Mahomed cf. also History of Bhawalpur by She mat Ali (1848) pp 52-54.

To return to the story of the Cutch campaign planned by Ghulam Shah. The campaign for which such preparations had been made had, however, to be postponed on account of the alarm caused by the Afghan King's presence with his army on the northern borders of Sindh.

"This Country," wrote the Sind Factors in September 1767, "has lately been in great confusion occasioned by the Pathans coming so far to southwards as Multan which gave great alarms to the Prince, as he apprehended they were coming to dispossess him of Scindy, but on his sending Giddumull, one of his Diwans, to Ahmad Shah with large presents the King gave him assurance of his favour, and that his only motive for coming so near Scindy was that he wanted to chastise the Governor of Multan* for failing to pay his annual tribute which, it is said, he has thoroughly effected by putting him and all his relations to death, by which means he became possessed of twenty lakh rupees he found in the possession of this man which he had accumulated by plunder and other acts of oppression to the inhabitants of the province."

The fear of an Afghan invasion entertained by the Sind Court had proved to be false. Diwan Gidumall, who had been dispatched to the Afghan King, had conducted the negotiations with great ability and exerted himself well in the cause of his master. As a result of his efforts the Afghan King was pleased to make over the management of Dera Gazi Khan to Ghulam Shah Kalhora.

"It is also affirmed for truth that Padshah made a voluntary cession to Ghulam Shah of a large and fruitful tract of country adjacent to Multan, by name Gadjee Caun Derah, which he has accepted and is to be in fully possession of only reserving for King's use a third of the revenues."

"Ghulam Shah proceeded northwards with a considerable body of troops and took possession of the tract of country ceded to him by the King. But, soon after his return to Sindh, the district was overrun and plundered by the Sikhs and later occupied by Daudpotras, the original proprietors of it. Also, about this time, in the early part of 1768, "the Cutch Rajah's troops attempted an invasion of the lower part of Sindh but were repulsed by Ghulam Shah's troops."

In September 1768, there arrived at the Sindh court, at Shahpore, some agents of the Afghan King "to receive a part of their annual tribute and to demand a force of one thousand men

for the king's service to act jointly with the royal army on their march to Delhi," both which demands were readily assented to by the Kalhora Chief and the emissaries of the King left with seven lakhs of rupees and the contingent of troops.

On April 27 of the same year, the Factory's surgeon, Mr. Thomas Steven, was attacked by some robbers and killed when on an outing near Tatta. The English complained of the outrage to the Prince who took prompt measures for the arrest of the culprits. Two of the offenders were caught, tried by Ghulam Shah in person and ordered to be publicly executed outside the English Factory. A detailed account of this tragic incident appears in the following two letters from the President of the Sind Factory to Bombay.

"I have to recount a most melancholy accident, which happened here on the 27th ultimo to our Surgeon Mr. Thomas Steven. We were that day at some Gardens (called Sutnee), which stand on a small western branch of the River between two three miles from Tattah, being the usual place of retreat occasionally in the heats and principally frequented by the gentlemen that reside here, on account of its pure and salutary air....In the evening he crossed the River, accompanied by several banditti or robbers, which from the wound he received it was evident he stood upon the defense, but being overpowered by numbers, he at last fell a sacrifice to these barbarians who sacked him of almost everything he had. On receiving notice thereof by the Sepoy who, it since appears, by his own acknowledgment, that he ran away, and left the unhappy sufferer to make good his retreat, to whose cowardice, undoubted by me in great measure, be attributed the accident that ensued, and immediately repaired to the opposite side, and went in search, where I presently found him weltering in blood, with the loss of which, just as he was brought the tent, expired. On the news of this reaching Tattah, the Nabob immediately sent a party of horse; those with some of our sepoys went pursuit of them, but the night coming on, favoured their escape and none of them were then found. In the morning early, being on their return back, they perceived a quantity of stones newly thrown up about a mile distant from where the act was perpetrated, and on searching found therein a dead newly buried. which on examining judged the same to have been one of the above party, from the wound of a ball together with small shot. having

entered the left side, which confirmed the aforesaid conjecture, knowing the deceased Mr. Steven to have had a gun, and no other defensive weapon with him, so that by the above corroborating circumstance, it is certain by the discharge of his prince, this man fell, and the rest seeing this, they made victim of him to their resentment. The body by orders of the Government was directed to be brought to town, which was accordingly done with view to find the caste this man belonged to, and by that means to endeavor to trace out thereof of the thieves. The ensuring day I wrote the Prince, enumerating the particulars of the affairs, demanding as he esteemed the friendship of the Hon'ble Company, immediate satisfaction for the outrage committed, and that the rest of the accomplices might be discovered and due justice administered. Soon after, I receive his replay replete with condolence, and the warmest assurance given me that the offenders shall not go unpunished after their discovery, and the more so, to convince me of the reality of his intensions, he had ordered Data, one of his chief Officers hither, to take the necessary information, and proceed in pursuit of those people accordingly, having special orders, for collecting together what Force may be necessary for the occasion. The roughest rough the vigilance of this man Data have been happily discovered, who appears to be Noormodies²⁶, a powerful tribe of people that inhabit the mountainous parts of the country to the northward, some of these theat border upon Ghulam Shah's Dominion make their allegiance, (but those more inland live entirely independent,) chiefly occasioned by his having the principle heads or chief of those court, which his predecessors were never able to accomplish, after long and continual struggles, until his accession to the throne when by degrees he forced them to his subjection; and of those are the people that committed the robbery, who notwithstanding the princes power, frequently made incursions in small parties, as was the present case, and pillage the towns around, carrying away cattle, and whatever else falls in their way, since their Hilly situation deprives them from cultivating a sufficient quantity of the sustenance of life which obliges them frequently to recur to outrages of this nature."

"Data. with a large body of troops, has now been gone several days, to that part of the country, where these people

²⁶ Naumardies

inhabit, to bring away by force the offenders, and has orders positively not to return, without accomplishing the end for which he was sent, and as many days have elapsed, since his departure, he may now soon be expected to return – I have no small satisfaction in observing to your Honour the vigorous measures that have been pursued by the prince on the occasion, and the whole tenor of his conduct seemingly evinces he is apprehensive a breach with him must unavoidably attend, if ample redress is not obtained as Consistent with the law of Nations, for the injury offered to a British subject in his dominions. I have nothing further for the present on the subject, until the return of this man, when I shall immediately advise your Honour the issue of his proceedings, together with those of Ghulam Shah in the Affairs, who I hoped will act agreeable to royalty on the occasion and not (as is too frequent the case) have recourse to prevarication of his, and subterfuge, for, notwithstanding those specious pretensions of his, I am doubtful...I am sensible he cannot be answerable for all robberies, or villainies of that nature, committed by his subjects, yet without those people are brought to condign punishment, we must apparently lose that weight and credit, we have always maintained here.”

“Just after closing the preceding address arrived here Alabux Secroy from the Prince with two of the accomplices, that were concerned in the Robbery of the late Mr. Steven, who agreeable to his master’s direction acquainted me the following me the following particulars:-

That the Prince had dispatched from Shahpore (immediately after Data to Tattah) a force under the management of one Heron, the Principal Chief of the Banditt cast, with positive orders, under penalty of his own life, to proceed inland where those people reside, and there to act jointly with Data and bring all the offenders to Shah pore, but that the latter being not yet arrived, the former had executed the purposes for which he was sent, and had accordingly found out the above two malefactors by having in their possession the several things they stripped the deceased of, that when they were carried before the Prince he examined them himself, in the public Durbar, and also swore the several evidences, that saw them return with their plunder; they readily acknowledged the fact and that there were four of them in the Party, one of whom appears to be the brother of him that received his death on the spot, another fled to

Candahar , and the other two were the above prisoners. They then related the circumstances of the robbery, which appears to be much the same, as mentioned to your Honour &ca in the foregoing address and only warmly alleged to the Prince in their defense that, had the sepy not run away, but made known to them the person they were going to attack, being quite ignorant themselves of distinguishing a European who they had never before seen, they had made the least attempt knowing the consequences that would ensure, which now had unfortunately fallen upon them. the secroy the tender me a Perwannah from the Prince direct to the Cardar of Tattah, and Data, strictly to adhere to the purport of his Perwannah which was to see the two Prisoners immediately executed before the Factory Door, and there to hang for three days, as an example for the robbery and murder committed by them on the body of Mr. Thomas Steven, a copy of the above Perwannah, I judges prudent to have attested by the Cadjee which was accordingly done....after which, the Prisoners were brought to the factory, when asking them a few questions they then told verbally the several forging circumstances....The Prince, I cannot but observe to your Honour, has most warmly interested himself in the affair, repugnant to the advices of his Ministers, & has been at great pains, expenses and the loss of some lives, on the occasion, to bring the offenders to justice, as they are a powerful tribe, and did not till after some skirmishes, deliver up the prisoners as Ghulam Shah's people. After properly perusing the above Perwannah and observing the style thereof to be excessive peremptory, it gave me some uneasiness lest they should persist in executing the prisoners before the Factory, which altogether I judged imprudent, as it might have given great room for suspicion, not only to the natives but the several tribes around , to have looked upon it as an Act of arbitrary power of our own which I was willing to avoid at all events; therefore requested in that particular, they would so far favour me, as to dispense with their Master's order in that respect, of making an example of them in the Publick Bazar, which for a long while they would not assent to, dreading the displeasure of the Prince, should they acquiescence in my request; however. at last after many evasions I succeeded, by which it would now appear entirely an Act of the Government. a Measure which I hope your Honour & ca. will approved; where they were immediately executed. agreeable to their sentence. and hung the limited time conformable to the

Princes Mandate, which example I hope will deter the several Powers around from like attempt in future, and also convince them the support we meet with from their sovereign.”

After this affair, the English Factors, for their greater safety, added to the number of sepoyes at the factory.

“Since this accident I have thought proper to enlist in our services a further number of 10 sepoyes, which although attended with an additional expense of 50 Rupees per month to the settlement, yet they are absolutely necessary; for those we have hitherto kept are by much too few, half or more of them, (with two always waiting on the Vakil) are occasionally residing at the lower Factory, and our unhealthful situation here, oblige us (to preserve health) go abroad twice a day, and the few that attend for that purpose are not able to go through such hard duty, so that seldom above two or three at most accompany us abroad, and since this unfortunate accident, they become the more indispensably necessary that in future the Gentlemen that reside there should go out with a strong Guard sufficient to prevent attacks of the like nature in future for those Noormoodies are bloody and dangerous people and may hereafter be induced to seek revenge on our persons if time and opportunity admits, therefore I hope your Honour & ca., will readily acquiesce thereon. I have been very particular in choosing those people, and I have enlisted none but those known to be of good character and courage, their families & I being immediately brought under our jurisdiction.”

The object with which the East India Company had opened settlement in Sindh, Viz., the promotion of the sales of woolens and tin and export of saltpeter, was not achieved, partly owing to the disturbed state of the northern countries and partly to the attitude of veiled hostility which the Sind court had adopted from there very beginning. The Sikhs were overrunning the Punjab which made it difficult for the Afghan buyers to come to Sind. The alarm occasioned by the fears of an Afghan invasion and frequent excursions of Cutch Raja's people into lower Sindh and the subsequent movements of troops in Sind, brought about “a general stagnation of business.” An epidemic, probably cholera, raged at Tattah in the latter half of 1764, and disorganized the little trade that remained.

“A fatal disorder.” wrote the Sind Factors, “has lately prevailed in Tattah which swept off many thousands and

amongst them the most considerable dealers in woolens, and continues still to rage in a terrible manner, so that the northern Chupars expected down suspend coming till this mortality cease.....”

With the decline in trade, the prices at which the woolens could be disposed of also fell, leaving a very small margin of profit to the company the object with which the settlement had been opened, however, was to push sales of the articles and not so much to earn big profits. The Company, therefore, advised its factors in Sind to continue selling at low rates rather than impede sales by raising prices. Notwithstanding their best efforts, the sale was disappointing, and there appeared no prospect of an improvement in trade.

“The increasing power and influence of the Prince with the leading characters in the court of Ahmad Shah and the late troubles to the northward again revived”, wrote the president of the Sindh Factory, “leads me to entertain few or any more reasonable hopes of bringing this settlement to bear with the least degree of advantage, during the administration of the present government, unless some sudden revolution should termine on once again fixing their power and authority here and until that favorable and fortunate time happens, no certain or further advantages are to be derived therefore.”

The company, therefore, towards the end of 1768 began seriously to contemplate the closing of their settlement in Sind. It was, however not till 1775 that they actually withdrew from here. The reasons for mercial privileges here and they were naturally unwilling to give them up. Also, notwithstanding repeated disappointment, they were faintly hopeful that conditions of affairs might improve in Sind.

About the middle of the year 1768, Nassir Kahn Broi, the chief of Naumardies advanced with 10 or 12 thousandmen into lower Sindh with hostile intentions against Jam Bijar were always up in arms of the Jokiah clan. The Naumardies and Jokiah were always up against each other, and this was only one of a series of conflicts between the two tribes which now and again disturbed the peace of lower Sind throughout the Kalhora period. Jokiahs, finding himself unable to oppose such a arge body of troops, withdraw into Tatta with the little force at his command intending to give battle if the Numardies advanced there. The country side round about was thrown into utter confusion and people left their towns and villages in alarms and

flocked into Tatta for safety. Jam Bijars appealed to Ghulam Shah for military aid in resisting the advance of Naumardies, but in vein. "Advices after advices were dispatcehed to the Prince by him and the Nabob of Tattah to acquaint the danger and confusion his country was running into by the nearer approach of these people, to all which solicitations for reinforcement he continued a perfect silence."

The English Factors at Tatta, for greater security of their person and property, removed from their Factory house to a stronger house newly built by their Vakil Bumba. In justification of that step, their President wrote as follows to the Governor and his council at Bombay:

"This made me very uneasy knowing the considerable property our Honourable Masters have in Tattah, the great danger and risk they are exposed to by not having a safe repository for their goods, during any immediate trouble that may arise, more practically so now, as those people (Naumardies) are become our most inveterate enemies, by the late accident happened to our surgeon, when two of their countrymen were made a public example of by the prince for that act of violence, and it is a known and indubitable character of those people always to seek revenge, many recent and barbarous instances of which daily happen,..They being within few coss of Tattah, at a place called Hallat, which they were burning and plundering; this gave rise to apprehensions of a dangerous and terrifying nature, when then considering there was not a sufficient force here to prevent the country from insult and finding it was too late to remove the honorable company's property to Shah Bunder, I judged it most prudent to remove all their effects into the house belonging to the Vakil Bumba for better security, where in the great hurry and confusion they were with much difficulty safely lodged,...and quite secure from any attempt those or other plunders may make to rout us, being able now to withstand a considerable force of the country powers for some time, which not only this but many other circumstances require us to make in due time, for as Ghulam Shah's affairs to the north ward prove so unsuccessful as to again require his presence there, accidents may happen which may bring about a revolution. where ever powerful Chief around will then directly commence competition for the province of scindy and we probably not have time to make a safe retreat, therefore. I hope.

your honor will not disapprove it when it is considered that upon the first reports prevailing of this affairs, I could not then with propriety have removed the Hon'ble company's property to Shah Bunder as it would have appeared perfect cowardice in us.... And would also have given rise to o many and gross insinuations to our prejudice with the prince, that might have deemed us the source of every accident that might have happen to the inhabitants of this place; for, as long as we continue, they vainly imagine we are able to afford protection to them all, so that I plainly foresaw that had we retired to Shah Bunder the whole Country would have fled after us and many bad consequences would undoubtedly have increased therefrom."

Soon afterwards, however, Ghulam Shah dispatched six thousand men overland to the help of Jam Bijar Jokiah, and two thousand Naumardies fearing that their retreat might be intercepted, retired into their country but not without first plundering and devastating the country.

After these events, the authorities at Bombay directed the Sind factors to close the Factory at Shah Bunder and remove themselves entirely to Tatta. There were several objections to such a step which were pointed out by the president of the Sind Factory in his letter dated the 18th February, 1769. He wrote, "your Honour &cs, have been pleased to direct that Shah Bunder Factory, be evacuated and to be at no further charges in keeping the same in repair, but to remove the whole of our remaining Goods up to Tattah, and there always to reside the impropriety of which permit me to point out to your honour. When the Phirmaunds for establishing the Honorable company's Factory in Scindy were obtained from the present reigning Prince it was upon those stipulated conditions that they would fix themselves at Shah Bunder, and thereby be exempted from paying any import Duties, which was as accordingly done, with ground allotted to build upon, and that they should also be permitted at any time to carry whatever merchandise they may judge proper to Tattah and ther occasionally reside as business required; if, therefore, we were entirely to remove from thence, on the least intension thereof to Prince he would immediately subject our Hon'ble Master, to the same heavy import Customs, that are paid by the country merchants at 8 and half percent as well as that it would so rouse their jealousy as to be productive of greater obstacles and embarrassment. than those we now labour under as a striking instance of which I need only to inform your Honour

& ca., that only the Prince being apprised of our removing in the new house built by the Vakil Perwannahs were immediately dispatched to Bumbas with very considerable offers of purchasing the same rather than we should be possessed of so strong a building merely thro' the excess of jealousy entertained of the English. As the foregoing must necessarily convince your Honor &ca., the propriety of continuing that Factory, rather than be subjected to an increase of Duties which will undoubtedly be executed notwithstanding his grants, which in a case of this nature he will not scruple immediately to violate, and no remonstrate whatever, will grant such ample privilege and consequently when so fair an opportunity offered, he would not fail to embrace it accordingly. I am now therefore to request your permission to continue the Factory and property as the least attempt to remove the whole, which in a manner is impossible when it is considered the number of Salt Petre Boilers, many of which are even now fixed and ready for extracting, and other Untensils belonging thereto, none of which could be easily conveyed that considerable distance of near two hundred miles to Tattah, without being attended with the doubt the expenses that would preserve the Factory, for two or three years to come, as well as that it would be productive, of the above bad consequences which should be avoided at all events our woolen sales receive prejudice therefrom, and there I have suspended, putting in execution Your Honor &ca., commands as it would directly have stipulated this Government to receive every act of oppression, that caprice can suggest and which my predecessors were only a few years ago, with so much difficulty struggling through therefore as I apprehend Your Honor &ca., will concur in keeping it, I shall use my endeavours to incur no one expense, but what appears absolutely necessary for the reservation of the Factory, and adjacent Ware house."

Fearing the consequences of which they were warned, the Governor and his Council at Bombay thought it prudent to withdraw their order for the transfer of the factory from Shah Bunder Tattah. They were influenced in this decision also by the fact that about this time the Dutch Company's broker at Surat, a Parsi, by name Muncheerjee, was secretly soliciting the Sind Court for permission to establish a Factory in Sind for his masters. It was feared that Ghulam Shah might seize upon the abandonment of Sha Bunder as a convenient excuse for the

withdrawal of all their privileges and conferring them on the Dutch. The English were not anxious to see the Dutch lodged in Sind. It was also this Jealousy of the Dutch which made them abandon for some time the idea of closing down their settlement in Sind and withdrawing entirely from here.

The English Factory in Sindh

(1758-1775)

Part III

B. D. Mirchandani, I. C. S.

(This part deals with the events from 1768 to 1770).

I have mentioned before that in the middle of 1768 the English Factors at Tatta, owing to the disturbed state of Lower Sindh had removed themselves with their possessions from the old factory house to a new and strong building put up by their Vakil and broker Bumba. The Sindh Court, always jealous and suspicious of the English, tried to prevent this by making tempting offers to Bumba for the purchase of the house, but without success.

There was a dispute about the rent between the English and the Bumba. The latter had spent Rs. 40,000 over the house, and was unwilling to accept a rent of Rs. 1,200 per annum which the English proposed. He made an offer to the Company that they may occupy the house free of rent in consideration of their advancing him woollen goods worth Rs. 30,000 for sale in Jessulmere and other adjacent provinces, at his own risk and without prejudice to the Company's sole right to disposing of woollens in Sind and as security for the amount he proposed to mortgage the house to the Company. It was a good offer and the Sind Factors recommended its acceptance to the Bombay authorities, but the latter turned it down. They wrote back that if Bumba was not agreeable to their continuing in the house, or a suitable portion of it, on payment of Rs. 100 per month, the President should secure another house at that rent. Bumba

reluctantly agreed though it yielded him hardly 3 per cent on his capital.

In February 1769, a German doctor, who had formerly been in the E. I. Company's service, arrived in Sind from Kutch to seek employment at the Sindh Court. The President wrote to Bombay:

"Mr. Jacob Henry Moet, German, formerly surgeon of his Factory and afterwards turned from the Honourable Company's employ, is lately come from Cutch, where he was for near year and half entertained by the Rajah in quality of a surgeon but being dismissed from further service accordingly come hither with a view to being employed by the Prince of Scindy, and proceeded up to Shah Pore with these intentions (and whether or not he is, I am yet unacquainted with), but from his general bad, litigious and subtle character it is highly improper he should be permitted to reside at Court; therefore i am to request your Honour's directions regarding him, whether you would choose I should make application to the Prince to deliver him up and send him down to the Presidency by the first proper conveyance, and if refractory to confine him; as by his continuance here he may prove of great prejudice to our concerns and very injurious to the English character."

The Bombay authorities replied that 'Mr. Moet not being an English subject, nor under our protection, we do not deem ourselves authorized to empower the President to demand his being delivered up by the Prince and sent hither'. The President was, however, directed that he must not show Mr. Moet any countenance whatsoever.

At this time the English Factors felt aggrieved at the conduct of the Ijardar or Customs Master of Tatta in insisting upon the payment of export duties on the stock of damaged and unsold woollens which they had to send back to Bombay. Such a demand was contrary to the Prince's grants which allowed them "free liberty to export all unvendible merchandize". It was with considerable difficulty that the Company's servants were able to persuade the Customs Master to waive his demand.

The Sikhs were again in the Punjab which for the time being put a stop to the sale of woollens in Sindh.

'The Sikhs have lately invested Multan and are committing general devastations in the adjacent provinces to the great terror and utter ruin of their inhabitants. so that now all intercourse to the north-ward is in a great measure at a stand, and

till those free booters are routed and the places restored in some degree to a little tranquility, commerce must unavoidably cease during the present public tumults and disorder.”

“In July 1769 Ghulam Shah applied to the English for supplying him with ten thousand round shots ranging from “twelve to eighteen and twenty four pounders”. The Sind Factors urged on their masters the expediency of satisfying the Prince’s demand.”

A compliance with this request may be the means of fixing his capricious temper to a proper degree of stability in our favour, and the discourtesy as certainly expose us to every vexations prejudice from the sanguine efforts made by the Dutch agents to settle themselves here, and the flattering and valuable hopes instilled into his mind at all times of the great advantages that would accrue to his revenue, provided they were once established, further incitement to which they have promised to supply him annually with woollens other commodities five and twenty per cent cheaper than the Honourable Company; that unless timely expedients were used to withdraw his attentions from the many and plausible arguments in their favour it might end to our disadvantage as he seems fixed in a determination of making some large purchases of woollens in part his tribute to the Court of Candhar, his present commission being only to discover if your Honour etc. have any real intentions of rendering him occasional services”.

The authorities at Bombay wrote back that the ammunition of the sizes required by the Prince could not be spared and the President should “evade the Prince’s request in the best manner in his power.” They also refused permission to the President to make a trip to the Court for which the Prince has expressed a desire. The objection of the authorities was on the score of expense over presents to the Prince and his courtiers which such a visit always entailed. The local factors reluctantly submitted to these instructions and advised Ghulam Shah accordingly. Their fears of the ill consequences of such a refusal, however, soon proved true.

“What we apprehended unfortunately turned out too true, for on our return to Tattah, where we expected to meet an immediate vend for the woollens, we found the merchants utterly averse to make the smallest purchase. To our mortifications we found the Customs Master had thought proper to lay every

vexatious impediment in the way of the purchases the utmost malice could devise”.

I may mention that, but for this change in The Prince's attitude, the Sind Factors at this time were very hopeful of a revival in the demand for their woollens. They had already effected sales amounting to Rs. 35, 000, and expected in Tatta. They had in consequences of these expectations indented for large stocks upon Bombay, but they could not now dispose of. The President of the Factory addressed a petition to Ghulam Shah “setting forth the extortions of Ajaardars, and the impossibility of the Company's maintaining a Factory while such obstructions were laid in the way of the trade”. The Prince promised redress, but his promise proved to be “a mere piece of chicanery”. For soon thereafter arrived an Arzee from the Prince peremptorily demanding the immediate attendance at Court of their broker and Vakil, Bumba, alleging that “it was owing to his not having properly represented the want he was in for these stores (military) that had not been supplied with them.” The Factors evaded the demand on the pretext that they “were then much in want of his services”.

The Prince however, was in no mood to be trifled with. He sent another pervannah requiring Bumba's immediate presence and threatening ‘utmost severity’ in the event of non-compliance. The Factors were faced with a dilemma. Compliance with the Prince's demand meant a blow to their prestige and ‘small influence’ still left apart from the expense which their masters had expressly forbidden. On the other hand non-compliance might lead to an open rupture with the Sind Court. They resolved to take the risk and wrote to Ghulam Shah “representing the obstructions thrown in the way of our trade and to which he must attribute the little attention paid to his request” by the Company, and pointing out that. “Notwithstanding he had often issued pervannahs enforcing his first grants, as little attention had been paid to them as to the grants themselves.” At the same time they addressed the principal Diwans at the Court, who were “well wishers to the Company”, requesting them to exert their influence with their haughty monarch to arrest the impending storm.”

Ghulam Shah's reply to these representations was a strong and dignified protest. The English, he retorted, expected only benefits from him. but were unwilling to accept obligations,

and added that if any one had cause for complaint it was he and not they.

“The Prince acquainted us that however extraordinary his conduct might appear, he thought ours much more so. That we were merchants settled in his country for the advantages of trade, and to whom he had granted most valuable perwannahs, which he should never have infringed, had we shown the least friendship; nay, so far contrary were our actions that for these four years past his most trivial requests had been denied; that all former Residents had been at his Court, and though the present one had resided near four years at the head of the Hon’ble Company’s affairs in his dominion and had repeatedly desired to see him, his not coming seemed to confirm the opinion that he had made. The reasons for his first giving the English these extensive privileges in Scindy was to gain their friendship or alliance, and, certainly, if in the crisis of prosperity we would not assist him with a few stores, little dependence should be but in us on a day of adversity; and as he was at present very near Tattah hoped Mr. Wilder would not long defer waiting on him, when he might rest assured of having immediate redress.”

The friendly Diwans at the Court also advised the President’s immediate visit to the Prince which they hoped would entirely pacify Ghulam Shah’s capricious disposition and warned the factors of the dangers of non-compliance or delay in this matter. They wrote that the Prince “had procured him his throne and it would be highly imprudent to increase his disgust, lest wrapt up as he then was in a self sufficient security he might pursue some rash and unjustifiable method which certainly was in his power”.

It was no longer possible for the Factors to persist in their refusal without precipitating a crisis. The President therefore set out for the Court on 20th May, 1770, and returned a fortnight later after an audience with the Prince. The results of the interview were highly satisfactory to the English, but, as before, they did not last long.

“The Diwans who were interested in the oppression at first did everything to prevent his procuring a private audience but it was at length granted when he was received in the most respected manner, the more effectually to convince us of which the Prince immediately ordered Perwannahs to be drawn out confirming all our grants. especially that regarding Cratchee

which none of our predecessors could procure. For these Mr. Wilder remained till the end of May, daily put off by the Diwans and others, when finding that they wanted to delay the grants as long as possible, he threatened to demand a second interview, when the Prime Minister engaged they should be delivered in a few days and desired the broker might be left to receive them, with having been complied with. Before Mr. Wilder took his leave he was as usual presented with a Sirpah and horse”.

Bumba returned a few days later “with the pervannahs drawn out in the most explicit terms” and a “genteel letter” from the Prince expressing the hope that “what he had done would convince how ready he was to serve the Hon’ble Company and that they would be as willing to oblige him when he had any request to make.”

It is interesting to note the reference to Karachi in the pervannahs. For the first time the Factors were able to secure the concession of trading there. Karachi was then coming into importance and the trade was gradually shifting there from the Delta. Referring to this new privilege the Sind Factors wrote:

“Our reasons for being so anxious about the Cratchee pervannah was occasioned by its being the greatest resort of the Pathans, its proximity to the sea, and the goodness of its harbour, a thing much wanted on this coast. At our first settling in this country it was inconsiderable a town, that notwithstanding we had grants for trading tither, it was not then thought worth notice, but the oppressions of the government having obliged many of the merchants to retire as fast as possible from the residence of the Prince they have settle there. We believe the above place would be the most likely one in the Prince’s dominions to meet a vend for the woollens, though at any rate we request your Honour would permit a servant proceeding from hence with goods to the amount of two or three thousand rupees which would immediately give an insight into the market, and there being a branch of the Indus which goes from hence to the town there can be little or no risk”.

However Ghulam Shah’s promises as on former occasions, soon proved worthless. There was no real change in his attitude. “The Prince,” wrote the Sind Factors, “has hitherto kept up in the fairest terms to all outward appearances, but as he is taking every underhand method to us uneasiness which we can only attribute to the disappointment of his requests last year or the instigation of the Dutch emissaries about this deceitful

court". As an example of his unfriendliness towards the Company they referred to the injustice done by him to their Vakil Bumba in a civil dispute that was before him. The facts of that dispute were these: Bumba's agent at Muscat having died, his son one Chata Parmanand had made away with whatever goods and money that were in his hands, amount to a lakh of rupees. Bumba made a complaint to the Prince "not doubting that justice which had been hitherto so impartially awarded" would be done. But the Prince awarded him only Rs. 7,000 on the pretext of the defendant's poverty, notwithstanding the fact that Bumba had previously turned down an offer of Rs. 20,000 from his caste for withdrawing the complaint. The Factors attributed the Prince's "partial manner of rendering justice" in this matter to no other reason than that Bumba happened to be a 'dependent' of the Company which had failed to comply with his requests. If the Prince continued in this manner to wreak vengeance on the Company's dependents, they feared that it will destroy all their credit and influence in Sindh and make it impossible for the Factory to have the service of any local person of influence and confidence. Sindh, in their opinion, with all its disadvantages was still "a place of the greatest consequences for extending the sale of woollens," and if the Factory was to carry on its trade in Sindh it was of the utmost importance that Ghulam Shah must be conciliated. For that reason the Factors strongly urged on their masters the expediency of complying with the fresh applications made by the Prince for the supply of some military stores, notwithstanding the "most insolent manner" in which the demand had been made. They wrote "In his later perwannahs he (Ghulam Shah) lays by all restraint and rather seems to command than request, which more evidently appears by a most extraordinary letter wrote by the Minister to our Broker, wherein he again threatened him with the utmost of his Master's displeasure if they are not complied with. This we take to be occasional by the offers of Mahomet Hussan, Custom Master of Tatta. Nevildass Multani and Nimbamul, one of the Dutch agents, who have engaged to supply him not only with staples but warlike stores, if he will withdraw our privileges in consequence of which, we are given to understand that they have dispatched three Dingies one of which is to return with the things he wants as proof of their abilities".

“As complying with these requests will be of great help in accommodating the present differences, we beg leave to recommend to Your Honour’s serious consideration, and hope, at any rate you will not permit of the Dingey’s bringing any part of his commissions as it will tend to the utter subversion of our affairs here, and in all probability be the means of establishing our commercial enemies, the Dutch. At any rate we request a letter may be wrote the Prince requiring how he durst so violently encroach upon our privileges and oppress our dependents, giving him a distant knowledge how able the Hon’ble company are to procure satisfaction for such abuses and that they have a resolution equal to their power. This we make no manner of doubt will have the desired effect as the haughtiness in his present behaviour is much occasioned by the declining state of this Settlement, for he makes no scruple of saying it is entirely neglected by the Presidency”.

“The affinity to Scindy²⁷ to Persia, Lahore, Buckar and other provinces bordering on Tartary would make a considerable mart of woollens, were there no obstructions laid in the way of merchants in this country, for, after they have passed the bounds of the Prince’s dominions, they meet with no difficulties or obstructions.”

The one noticeable feature of the collection of Customs dues of the Amirs was the farming out of the customs revenues. And Karachi even under this arrangement yielded the highest amount to the Amirs among the riverine ports in Sind. Karachi was farmed out for Rs. 70,000 per year exclusive of duty on opium and precious stones.

Coming to the field of the other local taxation we find the Amirs had not made an exception of Karachi and had not spared them from heavy taxation.

For every one rupee worth of grain purchased for private consumption the Government charged 4 pice but as regards other commodities only 3 pice in the rupee was charged.

Tax was levied on the merchants who measured or weighed any commodity at the Customs House.

The most important item of local taxation was heavy tax on Gurafiery intoxicant preferred by the people at Karachi. It was produced from gur, dates, bark of the babool, and cassia, cloves, anise, etc.

²⁷ Sindh-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Under the Administration of Amirs, Hindus of Karachi were exempt from the Hise Tax- a tax prevalent in all the other towns of the dominions of the Amirs.

It is significant to note that there was no tax on salt during the rule of the Amirs in Sindh. A camel-load of common salt was sold for annas ten only in the Karachi market.

But if the Government forgot to tax salt they taxed gambling. The Government maintained a gambling house at Karachi where 9 pies per rupee was the tax for every rupee won in gambling. This was collected by a special Government employee in charge of the Government gambling house.

Tax on fish was pretty heavy. Every fishing boat came to the Customs house to show what it had obtained from the sea and if the fishes were less than 60 in number $\frac{1}{4}$ of the number was levied as tax and in case of 60 and over, $\frac{1}{6}$ was the tax charged. Of the fishes were brought direct to the market, the Amil used to collect the figures of each seller and at the end of the month each person was charged the requisite number of fishes at a slightly higher rate than market rate to account for the credit. Apart from this the Amil received some fish for himself free of cost from each seller.

The cattle owners whose cattle was used for carrying purposes, were charged $\frac{1}{8}$ of the sum received for daily labour put forth by each beast of burden.

There existed a tax on shroffing of coins in circulation. Resident merchants made a present to the Government Officer in charge on every Diwali. Others paid 2 pice for every hundred rupees examined and the Gold-smiths paid $\frac{1}{4}$ of the profits of their labour.

Brokers, butchers, ivory bangle turners, cotton cleaners, makers of culinary utensils, skin dyers, had a stipulated sum through the headman of every trade.

Handlooms for making Loongees, Gul Badans etc., had to pay 3 pice per loom monthly.

Each kilner gave 9 pots every month a tax, other-wise the potter was free from taxation.

Cloth dyers were absolutely free from taxation but the oil producers paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer of their product to the state every month.

That was how commodities were taxed at Karachi during the 1st half of the 19th century.

Now let us have a look at the imports and exports at Karachi in detail. Four fifths of the imports at Karachi came from Bombay. They included Sugar (Bengal, China, Manilla, Batavia) 4,000 maunds at Rs. 50,000 coarse sugar from Malabar Rs. 35,000, Pepper 3,250 maunds at Rs. 48, 750, Copper 1,000 Maunds at Rs. 54,000, Cadamoms and soices 75 maunds at Rs. 10, 500, Silk (Raw, dyed, Bengal, China 1st. Sort) worth Rs. 1,20,000, Silk 2nd sort worth Rs. 1,28,000, Timber worth Rs. 10,000, Ivory Rs. 64,000, English cotton yarn Rs. 20,000, Copra (dried cocoanuts) Rs. 25, 000, Tin Rs. 17, 500, and sugar candy, cocoanuts, safron, betelnuts, cinnabar, lead, steel best and inferior type, iron, quick silver, senna, china paper, sandal wood, iron pots and pans, cussoon (a red dye) airyon (drug) and tamarinds.

From Gujrat Karachi imported cotton 2,500 maunds at Rs. 37,500. From Persian Gulf Karachi got dates worth Rs. 30,000, dried dates worth Rs. 20,000, pearls worth Rs. 75,000, slaves at Rs. 1,20,000 and dried limes, cotton, roses, canvas, dried fruits, almonds, and pomegranate skins.

From Upper Sind Karachi purchased tobacco. Coarse cotton cloth and indigo, from the Northern provinces it imported precious stones, raisins, dried fruits, while from Lusbella it has oil, oil cakes, ghee, wheat and gum. Thus the total imports at Karachi in 1839 amounted to Rs. 15, 99, 625.

All the goods imported at Karachi were consumed in Sind, except only a small fraction which never exceeded Rs. 1,50,000 in value in any year was sent to the Northern provinces. This consisted chiefly of piece goods, a small quantity of steel, sugar, pepper and spices. The goods were sent on camels in caravans by two routes, the Lus Bella route and the Sehwan route. The Lus bella route took 26 days to reach Kabul. This was cheap due to small exactions on the way but it was a highly risky one due to the notoriety of the high-waymen who frequented this route. The Sehwan route was more safe and took much less time but transit duties at sehwan were tremendous and so the merchants preferred to take the risk rather than pay heavy transit duties.

As regards the articles consumed in Sind, the goods went by land to Bunder Gharah, Tatta, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Khairpur and Shikarpur. The caravan took 3 days to reach Tatta, 6 days for Hyderabad, 13 days for Sehwan, 20 days for Khairpur and 25 days for Shikarpur. The roads were in good order and safe. Trust worthy escorts of the Jokhea tribe could be had at very cheap

rates. They charged Rs. 2-8-0 for Hyderabad and Rs. 2 doe Tatta or Sonmeanee.

Coming to the side of exports from Karachi, the following were the main things exported from this port:-- Ghee 10, 000 maunds at Rs. 170, 000, wool 3,500 maunds at Rs. 350,000, Gogur (gum) Rs. 12,500 Mungeet (madder) Rs. 45, 000, Raisins Rs. 32, 000 Jeerah (seed) Rs. 10,000, Indigo 1,600 maunds at Rs. 120,000, and, Purwaz, oil seeds, oil and loongees as also opium 500 camel loads at Rs. 400 a maund at Rs. 16,00,000 in 1837 A.D.

Now that we have known the imports and exports of Karachi as also the chief items in each case, it seems worth while to give details of the chief commodities specially those imported. Silk and cotton as imported from Bombay draw our first attention. The cost of the imported silk alone came to Rs. 3,00,000 per year. Among the silk goods the following were in great request:--

Mada pollams, China and Bengal silk kerchiefs, English, French, and China silks both plain and figured, Bengal Sarees, Surat Kimkhabs, chintzes of various patterns, etc. Among the cotton goods we had English piece goods, long cloth, sheeting cloth and English broad cloth, muslins of several descriptions, plain and flowered, coloured cotton kerchiefs and common English shawls. It is clear from the above that Sind had a good market for silks.

Next comes the importation of cotton from Gujrat, in the early part of the 19th century cotton production in Sindh was at a low ebb and hence Karachi imported 15, 000 maunds from Gujrat every year. But by about 1830 A.D. Sind started cultivating cotton successfully such that it needed to import only 2,500 maunds in 1837 A.D. to meet the cotton demand in Sind.

Karachi had a flourishing trade in opium. And the Government too didn't miss the opportunity. They charged a heavy duty of Rs. 130 on a camel load of opium, this came from Palee in Rajputana to be exported to Daman to escape top heavy duties charged at Bombay. Often times about 1,500 camel loads of opium was exported from Karachi every year but 500 camel loads was the more usual. The state often realized more from this source of revenue alone than the farmed out sum of Rs. 70, 000, fixed for Karachi.

In the early part of the 19th century there seems to have been great request for pearls and precious stones. Although by 1835 A.D. Karachi's oyster rocks did yield pearls but they were too tiny and devoid of fineness of colour and shape to capture the Sindh market for pearls. So pearls came from the Persian Gulf. The precious stones came from the Northern provinces and were often exported to Bombay. They consisted of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, amethysts, sapphires, topazes and turquoises.

Karachi carried on an extensive trade in slaves as well. At least 6 to 700 slaves were imported at Karachi every year. This was due to the fact that British and quasi-British ports in India had disallowed disembarkation of slaves there. The slaves were mostly grown up children and 75% of them were females. There were two distinct classes of slaves—the Siddees or Africans and the Abyssinians or Hubshies. The Siddee slave could be had for a price between 60 to 100 rupees at Karachi. The Hubshies were more costly and hence only a small number was imported. Their price at Karachi varied from Rs. 175 to Rs. 250 according to the looks of the slaves. Hubshi female slaves of mature age were imported as they supplied a good market for being sold as mistress to men of rank. The Hubshi was not only known for his looks but also for his quick adaptation to any trade if given some training. The Siddee served more as a household servant than as an agent in trade. On the whole the Government realized about 4,000 rupees yearly from the importation of slaves at Karachi.

Karachi carried on a brisk trade in shark fins. Every year shark fins worth about Rs. 15,000 were exported to Bombay enroute to China. 12 large boats with crews of 12 men each were employed for the purpose of catching sharks. Due to this extensive trade Karachi had the largest fishery at any given port throughout the world.

Ghee and Gum from Karachi was exported mainly to Bombay and wheat and oil to the Persian Gulf, while the other ports imported rest of the goods.

Thus it must be admitted that though Karachi enjoyed no external pretensions of a great port, it did carry on quite a brisk trade before the Conquest of the town by the British.

C. L. MARIWALLA

Butani, 11-10-39

The English Factory in Sind

(1758-1775)

Part 1V

B. D. Mirchandani, I. C. S.

(This part deals with events from 1771 to 1775).

Towards the end of 1770, the appearance of some piratical vessels off the mouth of the river rendered it necessary for the factors to provide the vessels bound for Bombay with a “naique and six of the factory sepoy.” These pirates operating on the west coast were mostly Sanghars, or Sangarians, as the Europeans called them. They were originally Sindh Rajputs who had migrated with the Jadegas to Cutch in the 13th century and from there into Kathiawad in the 16th century. They were settled in the coastal villages of the Gulf of Cutch and towns of Navanagar from where they carried on their predatory activity.

1771 was a bad year for the English Factory. The sales of woollens were poor. Ghulam Shah was alienated and it was impossible to carry on any trade without his good will. The evasion by the company's government of his requisition for military stores had given him great offence. It led to the ill consequences of which the factors had already warned their masters. Nambamul, the Dutch agent, succeeded in obtaining a grant for the Dutch to establish a factory in Sindh on the same footing as the English. In return for the concession he promised to procure for the Prince 20 pieces of cannon from the Dutch Factors at Surat. The Portuguese also were encouraged to violate the English monopoly of trade with Sind. They sent a vessel

from Diu laden with merchandise to Tatta. The English protested against this infringement of their grants and sought Ghulam Shah's assistance to prevent its repetition in future, but received a reply only in an "equivocating manner".

The Factors advised their masters once again to satisfy Ghulam Shah. If that was done, they were hopeful of winning back his favour and effecting sales up to a lakh of rupees during the season. The Chupparas, Armenians, and Pathan merchants they wrote. "will be necessitated, if not opposed by government to make extensive purchases of woollens by reason of the scarcity of Tattah manufacturers owing to the weavers having retired through the oppression of the Court." Things had become so difficult for the factors that they could not even obtain from the Sindh court a copy of the grant made to the Dutch. "Every method was used by us to obtain a copy....., but we were prevented by the disgrace of Duan Chellaram; and Gulabroy, our former inveterate enemy, being appointed in his room, we fear we shall not be able to get one."

The Bombay authorities were at last persuaded to provide the following military stores for the Prince.

(i)	Iron shots	
	26 ibs.....	384
	18 ibs.....	1000
(ii)	8 ibs.....	.7372
	Shells	
	5 ½ inch	300
(iii)	4 ½ inch	500
	Brass Mortars	
	5 ½	3
(iv)	4 ½	4
	Hand Grenades	
	1,000	

They sent also a suitable present and instructed the President of the Factory to wait in person on Ghulam Shah and obtain from him an exclusive grant for importing woollens in Sindh and exemption from customs duty for the purchasers carrying them out of the country. The belated supplies however failed to achieve the object. The belated supplies however failed to achieve the object. Mr Callander was received at Hyderabad with hardly any civility to himself or respect for the Company whom he represented. Even a private interview with the Prince was denied to him. He was surprised to find that the military

supplies “contrary to his expectations, were received rather as a matter of right which had been long promised and delayed without cause than as any immediate favour conferred on him by the Company.”

Bombamul Roopchand, the Factory’s broker and Vakeel since the commencement of the Factory died at Hyderabad while attending on Mr. Callander at the Sindh court. He had been a useful and capable servant to the Sindh Factors. His brother Preetumdas was appointed to succeed him in that office. He was the most proper person available for the post, and was also preferred by reason of the losses that his family had sustained as the Factory’s contractors for the supply of saltpetre.

In the summer of 1771 Tatta was flooded by the waters of Indus. “The river, which overflows this country from the month of June to October, having this year rose with uncommon rapidity, broke down the banks which defend the city and a plain around and laid the whole of the level country and part of the city under water. This is an uncommon accident, and being assured by the natives, with great seeming probability, that on such occasions when the waters leave the land the town becomes particularly unhealthy, we have put the company to an expense of about 200 rupees in erecting a shed on Muckly Hills²⁸, two miles distant from Tatta, where we may retire when the waters begin to stagnate, and which we hope your Honour will not disapprove. This was the more necessary as Aurangabunder Factory, where we might have gone to, was so entirely washed down about two years ago that the spot where it stood is now part of the bed of the river.”

Ghulam Shah’s attitude became more and more insolent. In August 1771, the Factors received a letter from him demanding peremptorily the services of one Chattah, a personal servant of Mr. Callander, for sending him to Kandhar along with the Factory’s Surgeon whose services had already been lent to the Sind Court. The Surgeon was being sent there to treat the Afghan King who was ill and confined to bed. Mr. Callander politely represented that he could not conveniently spare Chattah and begged the Prince not to insist upon it. “To this, however, he paid no regard, sent a second letter in much the same terms as the first, and at the same time some of his Seroys to the Town

²⁸ Malki Hills-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Governor, with an order that if any delay was made in sending the person, to seize not only him but every other servant belonging to the English Factory and send them to Hyderabad directly." To avoid an open rupture the Factors sent the man, and though Ghulam Shah found him unfit for his purpose did not return him to Mr. Callander but detained him at Hyderabad.

In the opinion of the Factors, the only way to compel Ghulam Shah to treat them with respect was to make him realize the "power of the Company and their disposition to resent an insult." They recommended to the Company's government at Bombay to "privately give orders both at Bombay and Surat to prevent the exportation of lead, iron and steel or any military or marine stores to the countries of Scindy or Crontchy, except such as are sent on the Company's account or by English merchants assigned to this factory. These articles are chiefly, almost solely, for the purpose of the Prince, and if he cannot procure them but by application to your Factory, it will naturally become of some consequences to him." They submitted that the prince "of late years having been very successful in suppressing every appearance of opposition, having added a considerable tract of land to his former possession, he has fortified himself at a place called Hyderabad, and dismantled Shawgur, till then his capital, but which was too much within the reach of shipping, and for these two last years thinking the Company cannot materially injure him he has treated their Factory with much indignity."

There was some improvement in the relations between the Sind Court and the English Factory in 1772 but the death of Ahmad Shah, the Pathan King, followed by the contest for succession among his three sons, threw the Afghan provinces into great confusion and put an entire stop to whatever little sale of woollens that had remained. There was no local consumption of woollens for export to "Candhar and other northern provinces." A considerable quantity used to be purchased annually for the army of the Afghan King by his officers or Chuppers sent to Sindh for the purpose and the cloth used to be cut into coats at Tatta. The policy pursued by Ghulam Shah, however, had of late years practically put a stop to that demand. The visits of the Chuppers were unpalatable to the Prince as the Chuppers brought with them the authority of the Afghan King and everything they purchased and carried back was free from all duties and impositions. Ghulam Shah threw every obstacle that he could devise in their way and no purchases of woollens could

be made by the Chuppers excepting through him, and for which he charged the Afghan King in getting his tribute reduced from 20 lakhs to 11 lakhs of rupees. This was only possible because of the Afghan King's preoccupation with other parts of his kingdom and inability to attend to the affairs in Sind.

An interesting fact to be noted is the employment this year by the Sind Factors of the Company's sloop Euphrates under the command of Lieutenant Evans in making a survey of the Sind coast "as far as Cape Goades and of Crotch Bay in particular which seems a tolerable harbour and open both monsoons to vessels requiring no great depth of water."

Ghulam Shah died suddenly at Hyderabad in the beginning of August 1772 and was succeeded immediately by his eldest son Sarfraz Khan "whom the Seroys almost unanimously appointed to the government in preference to, and without any opposition from, the three sons of Noor Mahomet then present", from one of whom, namely, Uttar Khan, Ghulam Shah had wrested the government in 1759. Sarfraz Khan came into peaceful possession of "his father's treasures and fortification" without any internal disturbance- an unusual occurrence in Kalhora history. It was expected at the Sind Court that the East India Company will seek confirmation from the new Prince of the grants made in their favour by Ghulam Shah. The Sind Factors sought instructions of their masters on the subject and in the meanwhile contended themselves with sending Sarfraz Khan merely a congratulatory letter on his accession. The Bombay authorities advised against taking any steps in the matter. They wrote: "As a journey to Hyderabad for a confirmation of the Hon'ble Company's grants from the Prince must be attended with expense, and must likewise render the same necessary on every accession, we wish it should be avoided. The Factors must therefore act just in the same manner as if the grants were in full force. Besides, supposing they are valid only during the life of the Prince by whom they are granted, they are of themselves of but little value."

Owing to the stoppage of saltpetre exports, the Company's boats were sailing practically empty to Bombay from Sind. The Bombay authorities therefore directed the Factors to send them "as many heads of cattle as they can procure" and quantities of grain. Accordingly, in December 1772 we find the Factors advising despatch of 40 heads of cattle and "225 Scindy

kalivars of ordinary rice” costing 23 ½ Nadir Shaw rupees per Kharwar. They wrote: “This is Scindy red rice, the ordinary grain of the country. They have but two sorts of rice here, the white and the red, and the former was not procurable, as the crop of batty had been but lately cut down and not yet made into rice.” In March 1773 they sent 500 kharwars of white rice. The rice was found in Sind than at Bombay, and the Company directed 4000 Morahs more being purchased for them. However, a rise in price at this time prevented the Factors from providing that quantity. “As there had been no rain this season, it has alarmed the country for a scarcity of grain had greatly raised the prices, so that the proprietors of the new crop declined contracting, and from the present appearance of the markets there was little prospect of purchasing at a lower price than from Rs. 19 to 20 per Morah which far exceeded the usual price of grain in the country.” It appears that there was a bumper crop that year in the tract “below and about Tattah”, and the rise in price was due to the “scarcity in other parts of Sind.”

Timur Shah, the eldest son of Ahmed Shah overcame the opposition of his brothers and had assumed control of the Afghan government. He had, however, none of the abilities of his father and was no match for the sturdy Sikhs who had occupied Lahore and Multan. Sarfraz Khan’s Vakeel returned from his Court at Kandhar early in 1773 after having settled the tribute at 7 lakhs of rupees instead of 11 lakhs which was paid in the time of Ghulam Shah. This too was irregularly paid and often evaded. It was expected that the Pathan merchants will be now coming down to Sindh and there will again be a demand for woollens. The Sind ruler himself had purchased about 5,000 yards for being sent to the Afghan King in part payment of his tribute. The Prince expressed a desire that the President of the Factory should pay him a visit. It had hitherto been evaded and could no longer be avoided without ill consequences. Accordingly, in August 1773, Mr. Callander set out for Hyderabad where he was very well received and “obtained an order from the Prince directed to all his officers of revenue requiring them to sign the former perwannahs granted to the Company.” The hopes entertained of the revival of sales of woollens, however, proved premature. “The present state of this country”, wrote the Factors in October 1773, “is not altogether so quiet as we imagined for we have lately heard of disturbances

to the north that shut up the roads, and the Prince sets out in a few days with an army to endeavour to suppress them.”

Harjeram Roopchand, the saltpetre contractor of the Factory, had in December 1770 submitted a petition to the Company's government at Bombay setting out the great losses that he has sustained in his contracts and praying for redress. His petition was referred to a committee and as a result of its recommendation was referred to a committee and as a result of its recommendations his family was paid a compensation of Rs. 15,000 in 1773.

The sales of woollens which had amounted to only Rs. 30,000 in 1772 were further reduced in 1773. The prospect for 1774 was still gloomier. The Factors had not been able to dispose of even “a piece of cloth” from July to December 1773. Preetumdas Rupchand offered to the company to sell woollens on his own account in Sind and outside provided the supplies were advanced to him against security of money and grain. The Sind Factors recommended the offer but the Company's government at Bombay turned it down. They, however, gave the Factors permission to barter woollens for rice or batty with him. Sales of woollens in the following 9 months amounted to a meagre sum of Rs. 8000. Tatta was no longer the “flourishing city and general resort of northern merchants it formerly was”, and there were no wealthy local merchants who could undertake the export of woollens. Also, an insurrection in the Afghan country had again closed communications with the north. The fortunes of the woollen trade in Sind were intimately bound up with a strong government in Afghanistan. “I have been particular in the state of the Pathan government”, wrote Mr. Callander, “because the sale of woollens in this country commenced with it, depends on it, and will as certainly fall with it, for there is no trade now carried on from any part of Hindustan, no consumption of woollens in Sind, and the inducement to carry them to the northern provinces must depend on the Pathans to secure the merchants from oppression and preserve order and tranquility in the countries they necessarily pass into, for there is no road from hence to the eastern parts of Persia seem daily to decline, and from the character of their present Prince they have little prospect of restoring speedily the vigour of their government or retrieving their influence.”

In the beginning of 1775 there arose a dispute between the Sind Court and the Factory which led to the withdrawal of the Factory at the end of the year. It appears that the Prince directed the Factors to charge the Chuppar, who had come down to make purchases of woollens for the Afghan King, 50 per cent extra on the price for his benefit. The Factors declined to make any such charge and the Sind ruler retaliated by prohibiting all sales of woollens.

“I have to address your Honour” wrote the President of the Factory to Bombay on 28th May 1775, “on a dispute that has lately happened with the Prince of this country respecting the sale broad cloth to the King of Candhar, which has given me much uneasiness as in consequences thereof the Prince has thought proper to prohibit the sale of woollens at this Factory. The person sent by the Prince on this service together with Shaik Mahomet Hussein, Izardar of Tatta, came to the Factory and told me that the chuppar from the King intended to purchase woollens at the Factory and they were commissioned by the Prince to desire that on all such i would charge 50 per cent for him above the usual price, and colouring this extraordinary requisition with a story that the Prince’s servants had charged a similar advance on woollens sent up about 2 years ago, which being noticed there rendered it necessary for his reputation to support what had been then done, and using many arguments to induce us to compliance. It required no considerations on my part to reject so dishonourable a proposal, and which accordingly i did in the best manner and in terms the least offensive that i could. In the letter delivered from the Prince he directs me to stop the sale of woollens until my vakeel shall return from Hyderabad, but lest I should not give an implicit obedience, his officer in Tattah had before privately ordered the delolls at their peril to suffer a Pathan or foreign merchants to purchase at the Factory. Tho’ I cannot believe the Prince will persist in so unreasonable a demand, I think it necessary to advise you what has passed in order to obtain your directions for my future conduct.”

Sarfraz Khan remained adamant and the remonstrances made by the Factors all proved ineffectual. In August a seroy sent by the Prince informed the Factors that “he had authority from his master to say that he considered the Company only as merchants in Scindy, if they did not like their situation they might withdraw; he was determined every person in his country

should conform to his orders, especially in points where he thought his honour so materially concerned". The Factors were left with no option but to recommend their masters the withdrawal of the Factory as they could no longer continue in Sind, with either self respect to themselves or profit to the Company, The Government at Bombay decided on October 24, 1774, to withdraw the Factory and Mr. Callender was lest the Prince should make any efforts to detain him." However before these orders reached Sind Sarfraz Khan retracted somewhat from his former attitude and withdrew the restraint imposed by him on the Factory and professed great regard for the Company. He proposed, as an alternative to his previous demand that in future he would himself purchase from the Factory all woollens required for the Afghan King. How far his professions of goodwill towards the Factory were sincere is apparent from a hint conveyed by him to the President through one of his Diwans that though he did not insist on his former proposition, he would regard it as a "compliment" if an additional charge of about 29 per cent was made for his benefit from chupper who was now permitted to deal directly with the Factory. The Bombay authorities were apprised by the Factors of these latest developments, but they saw no reasons to modify the earlier decision to withdraw the Factory, and the withdrawal took place shortly afterwards.

Cutch and Sind

(The relations between the two countries with particular reference to Kalhora invasions of Cutch.)

B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S.

The history of Sind is intimately connected with that of Cutch. Many of the races that penetrated into India through the North-West passed into Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat via Sindh. Also, many of the castes living today in Cutch are recent migrants from Sind. Even the present ruling clan of Jadejas in Cutch came from Sindh.

The Jadejas are originally Samma Rajputs of Sind. Their conquest of Cutch took place, or at least was completed, during the 14th century though they had begun to drift to Cutch several centuries before it.

The date of their moving into Cutch is not certain. As class the Sammas had gladly accepted Muhammad Kasim's rule, so at that time they are not likely to have left Sind in any large numbers. The Chachanama describes that when Muhammad Kasim moved towards the tribes of the Sammas "they advanced to receive him, ringing bells and beating drums.....The people told him that it was with them a customary ceremony, that when a new king comes among them they rejoice and receive him with frolics and merriment." Dr. Burnes dates Samma movement into Cutch to the 9th century, but his view appears to be erroneous. The drift to Cutch took place much later. Under the Sumra dynasty (1025-1315 A.D.) the Sammas maintained a semi-independent position in the south of Sind, and at several times between the 11th and 14th centuries they appear to have moved south to Cutch to avoid Sumra tyranny. According to Tarikh-i-Tahiri (Elliot Vol. 1, p. 266) Umar Sumra "stretched forth the hand of tyranny over the people of Samma, the ancient tenants of the soil. Many families

were driven by his exactions between Gujrat and Sindh, and this land by God's mercy they have occupied to the present day." At the time of Iltutmish's (1211-1236) conquest of Sind, some other bands of Sammas also seem to have retired into Cutch. The confused statements in the histories of Sind Tarikh-i-Masumi and Tuhfatul-i-Kiran also show that about the middle of the 13th century there were Sammas in Cutch more or less dependant on the Sumras.

By the middle of the 14th century the Sumra power was broken by the Delhi Sultans, and the Sammas, with their headquarters at Samui near Tatta, became the rulers of south Sindh. About the same time the Sammas in Cutch also succeeded in displacing the Chavdas—"once the masters, now the tenants"—and assumed the government of Cutch.

Religion

The name Jadejas (children of Jada), appears to have been adopted by the Cutch Sammas after the conversion to Islam about the close of the 14th century of the Hindu Sammas of Tatta, the head of their tribe. The Jadejas themselves would appear to have been converted as far back as the 11th or 12th century to the tenets of the karmatian sect of heretic Mussalmans. When the leading branch of the Sammas adopted the orthodoxy form of Islam, the Jadejas seem to have kept to their old half-Hindu while those of the Tatta Jams are Mussulmas; and Saluh-ud-din (1393-1404), the first Samma covert to Islam marked his reign by a fierce and successful attack on the rulers of Cutch.

Varying Dependence of Cutch

In 1410, Cutch came under the sway of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujrat, but its dependence on Ahmedabad was only nominal and no regular tribute was paid. In the beginning of the 16th century, the Cutch Chief came in conflict with the Arghun dynasty (1519-14543), the over-throwers of the Tatta Sammas. Shah Husain Arghun is stated to have entered Cutch in 1530 and inflicted on the Rao a severe defeat. When Gujrat passed into the hands of the Mughals towards the end of the 16th century, Cutch made a bid for independence but without success. The Cutch

ruler was however confined in his former position and was only occasionally called on to pay tribute. Jehangir in 1617 freed Cutch from the payment of tribute on condition of giving pilgrims a free passage to Mecca. Dara in his flight from Aurangzeb took refuge in Cutch in 1659. He was at first received kindly but afterwards forced to leave.

The resources of the Cutch rulers at this time were small and their way of living frugal. Among his brotherhood the Rao claimed no greater supremacy than what was due to his title and larger resources. Ties of relationship between the Rao and his nominal feudatories made a large paid army unnecessary, and in time of need the feudal chiefs could be counted upon to come to the help of their acknowledged head.

Mughals Enforce Tribute to Cutch

As a province of the Moghul Empire, Cutch for more than a century and a quarter (1583-1718) enjoyed peace and was free from attack; and for a hundred years, under the arrangement sanctioned by Jehangir pilgrims had been sent to Mecca free of charge and Cutch spared the payment of tribute. During the next 10- years, the Moghul viceroys, pressed for funds in the decay of Gujrat revenues, sought to enforce tribute, in violation of the arrangement, by sending three expeditions to Cutch. The first two expeditions met with little success and the third 'proved a military disaster.

Under Rao Desai I. (1718-1741) Cutch became a strong military power respected by its neighbours and the resources of the state were developed. Sodha raids on Cutch were put a stop to by sending an army into parkar and leaving a post there. In Sind, Desai I, being called in by the Raimas (Mussalmans of jadeja stock) protected them, and, to secure the lands he had won, built a fort at Rahim-ki-Bazar. The latter part of Desalji's reign was however embittered by the violence and intrigues of his only son, who successfully rebelled in 1741, and throwing his father into confinement, assumed the supreme authority.

Lakhu's reign (1741-1760) was marked by extravagance and oppression and difficulties with his only legitimate son Jodgi, who was in rebellion supported but his father's dismissed minister Poonja Seth. The Court lost character. and its influence in Sind and Parkar declined, and in 1760 the posts at Virwah and parkar were driven out. On the death of Rao Lakha, in 1760,

Godji was unanimously acknowledged in preference to any of his illegitimate brothers for whom the late ruler had vainly tried to secure the succession. Poonja Seth hastened to Bhuj in expectation of being made minister, but he was treated with undisguised contempt and hostility; and fearing for his life he retired to Virwah in Parkar whose chief was friendly to him.

Kalhoras and Cutch

Ghulam Shah was the ruler of Sindh at this time. He was “the most capable and vigorous of the Kalhora chiefs. He was also masterful and aggressive in the high degree characteristic of his family and tribe. Having nothing further to gain, and nobody else to put down, in Sindh, where to dispute his authority would now have been an act of rebellion against the sovereign at Qandhar, he turned his arms against Cutch. Twice he invaded that province, winning in the first occasion the desperately fought battle of Jhara; and on the second advancing nearly to the capital, and compelling the Rao to cede the ports of Lakhpat and Busta. His original intention no doubt was to conquer and annex the province, but he was hardly prepared for the desperate tenacity of the defenders, whose Rajput blood made them truly formidable when driven to extremity. He was, therefore, content with the honour of victories which were dearly won, and with the slight acquisitions marking his prowess in foreign war”.²⁹ During the reign of his son Sarfraz Khan also the Sind forces invaded Cutch once.

Accounts of Cutch Campaign

The Mussalman histories of Sindh give very scanty information about these campaigns in Cutch. Kalich beg’s history of Sindh gives only the following brief account of these operations based largely on Tuhfatu-I-Kiram:

Rabbi-U-Sanee³⁰

²⁹ Haig. The Indus Delta country, 118.

³⁰ Rabi ul Sani, the fourth month in Islamic Calendar- Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

“In 1176 A.H. (1763 A.D.) on the 9th of Rabiussani the Mian marched towards Kachh on order to punish the Hindus of that place. He took the fort of Sindri³¹ on his way, and on the heights of Jarah mountain killed about 6,000 men of the Cutchis³². Continuing his victorious march he came to within 12 koss of Bhuj, plundering the villages and towns in the vicinity of that city, he took the sea-ports of Busta and Lakhpat³³. At length at the entreaties of the Rao of Kachh and on his suing for peace the Mian marched back, arriving at Shahpur on the 2nd of Rajjib 1177 A.. (1764 AD.)”

“In 1178 A.H. (1765 AD) Mian Ghulam Shah again invaded Cutch and took the fortified town of moru on his way. Coming to within 10 miles of Cutch, he made a halt. The Rao of kachh again applied for peace and a fresh treaty was concluded.”

“In this year (1184 A.H.-1770 A.D.) the Rao of Cutch gave the hand of a daughter of his cousin Wasuji in marriage to the Mian and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour on both sides. In consideration of this relationship the towns of Busta Bandar and Lakhpat Bandar and others that had been conquered by the Mian were returned to the Rao.”

“About the close of Shuban 1188 A.H. (1174) the Mian (Sarfray Khan) set out for Kuchh. On the way he took the fort of Bajham. The Rao of kachh received the Mian with distinction and was consequently left in undisputed possession of his country. From Kachh the Mian passes into the limits of Gujrat, where he received homage from the big Jarejah chiefs, Nathaji of Gujrat and Gaudji of Kaniara Kot. The Mian then returned to Parkaran (i.e. perhaps Nagar Parkar).”

The Cutch accounts of these campaigns are, however, fuller and more detailed. The servants of the East India Company's Factory in Sindh (1758-1775) also make some reference in their correspondence to these hostilities between Sindh and Cuth. These two sources amplify and correct our

³¹ Sindro on the Cutch side of Looni, 30 miles from Lackpat and 34 miles from Jarra (called Zara in Kutch- Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro).

³² Now spelt as Kutchi-Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

³³ According to Daviod Seton, Luckpat Bunder was then an open village, Busta Bunder was fortified but on the Sindh side of the creek and nearly 45 miles from the nearest palce in Cuth and unsupported in consewunce. Rao Godjee destroyed Busta Bunder and fortified Luckpat after the second invasion.

scanty knowledge of these military operations derived from the Sindh histories.

The first of the two invasions of Cutch, during Ghulam Shah's reign, took place in October 1762, and not in 1763 as stated by Kalichbeg. The English Factory records and the Cutch accounts give the correct date. The Sindh's Factor wrote on 29th November 1762: "He (Ghulam Shah) marched against Cutch the latter end of last month with a great army, and we hear has yet met with no opposition tho he has entered the Rajah's territories." By the end of the year Ghulam Shah had "yet made but little progress." And on 10th January, 1763 the Factors wrote ' We have just heard that he is retiring in great haste from Cutch towards Shah Pore with his army, though whether owing to sickness among his troops, fear of the Pathans, or what other reason we cannot learn; and it appears the more extraordinary, as he has had no engagement of consequence with the Rajah's forces and only taken two or three small inconsiderable forts and districts, though it is reported that the Rajah has consented to pay him a large sum money." The Factors are silent as to the reasons for the invasion, but it appears that the relations between Sind and Cutch were strained and Ghulam Shah some time earlier had sent an agent to the Company's government at Bombay asking for the assistance of an armed vessel in the hostilities which he contemplated against Cutch. The Company evaded complying with his request in various pretexts as they did not wish to be dragged into his quarrel with a neighbour, with whom they were on terms of amity.

In the latter half of 1764 the peace of Lower Sind was disturbed by Cutchi marauders and their acts of aggression led Ghulam Shah to undertake his second campaign in Cutch. In July of that year a large convoy of Sind boats laden with rice of considerable value was attacked and seized by Cutch people at the mouth of one of the branches of the Indus, and in doing so they also killed and wounded some men. "The greatest part of October," wrote the Sindh Factors, "was attended by frequent incursions of the Cutch Rajah's people into the lower part of this country, where their fleets of small dingies have committed great ravage by the plunder of several petty towns and villages, but as the Prince has now marched a considerable number of troops to oppose their future attempts, the quiet of this district is restored. Ghulam Shah intended for some time to have went in

person at the head of a numerous army to resent these hostilities and even attempt the deduction of Cutch, but has hitherto been prevented by being on ill terms with Omad Shah (Ahmed Shah) Padishaw of Cander and therefore remains on the northern frontiers of Scindy till the matters are amicably adjusted with him which it's hoped will soon be accomplished as the arrears of rent will speedily be paid...." understanding having been reached with the Afghan King, Ghulam Shah was free to lead an army against Cutch. "The Prince," wrote the head of a numerous army and by last advices has entered Cutch with a view of subjecting the Rajah to tributary dependence on him."

Nothing further is recorded by the Company's servants about this expedition, but we are informed that in October 1766 Ghulam Shah was planning still another invasion of Cutch. "The Prince," wrote the President of the Factory, "is now preparing for another expedition to Cutch the conquest of which he has vainly projected for some years past, but hitherto only to his great mortification; and whether he may succeed better in his present design is very doubtful to me though he has levied a great army and taken formidable measures for that purpose." Ghulam Shah also applied to the English for two Europeans gunners who "perfectly understand throwing of bombs and were well acquainted with heavy artillery" for employment in his service. The Sindh Factors, however, advised against the compliance of this demand as they feared that if Ghulam Shah succeeded in reducing Cutch and became powerful "he will then immediately throw off his allegiance, pay no further tribute and become entirely independent of the Pathans, and never suffer them once again to set foot in Scindy which will be greatly prejudicial to our woollens' sales." This projected campaign against Cutch had to be abandoned on account of Ghulam Shah's distraction with affairs on his northern frontiers during the next few years of his reign. In April 1768 we, however, learn from the Company's servants that the Cutch forces had "attempted an invasion of the lower part of the country but were repulsed by Ghulam Shah's troops."

Ghulam Shah died in August 1772 and was succeeded by his son Sarfraz Khan. The East India Company's servants in Sind do not make any reference to the operations against Cutch during his reign.

Captain Charles Walter, Assistant Political Agent in Cutch, compiled in 1827 a brief Sketch of the History of Kutch

from Cutch sources, and the account given by him of the Kalhora invasions has been followed by every subsequent writer on Cutch. The following account of these campaigns, taken from the *Gazatteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. V (1880) is based largely on Charles Walter's narrative:

“Ghulam Shah Kalhora, the reigning in Sindh, had long looked for a chance of meddling in Cutch affairs. This was not unknown to Punja, and was probably one of his reasons for retreating to Parkar. With Gidomal³⁴ the Sind minister, a man of his own caste, Punja opened a correspondence. Hearing of this, Ghulam Shah lost no time in asking Punja to Haidarabad; sent him £1,500 (1,000 mohras) for his expenses and a palauquin with an escort of 100 men; and on his arrival received him with every honour. The Amir explained his wish to conquer Cutch, and again the Rao's sister in marriage. To the idea of conquering Cutch, Punja gave little encouragement, but he strongly recommended the marriage, representing at the same time that the proposal would be entertained only if Ghulam Shah appeared before Bhuj at the head of a victorious army. Meanwhile the Rao, not unaware of the combination against him, directed Jivan to summon the Abdasa and Vagad Girasias to defend the country. The whole Bhayad, except the Mothala chief who was friendly to Punja, readily answered the summons, and took the field under the minister. Godji remained in command at Bhuj which he garrisoned with one thousand men from Navanagar and a body of Radhanpur troops. Ghulam Shah and Punja, at the head of the Sindhian army, quitted Haidarabad and accompanied by an immense body of followers, who, it is said, raised the strength of the expedition to about 70,000 men. Crossing the Ran, the Sindhians, after a heavy march of 27 miles, found Nara deserted, and wells filled with stones. So great was their distress from thirst and fatigue, that had Jivan marched against them, they would have fallen an easy prey. But the minister was no general, and quietly encamping in a strong position close by on the Jara hills, allowed the Sindh troops to refresh themselves. After two days' rest Ghulam Shah marched to Jara and attacked the hill. The approach was defended by a large gun round which the Cutch army were gathered. At the first shot the gun burst

³⁴ The celebrated Gidumal after whom Gidwanis take their surname and Gidu Bunder is named.

doing much injury and causing great confusion in the Cutch ranks. Taking advantage of the disorder, the Sindhians climbed the hill swords in hand, and destroyed almost the whole army, leaving among the slain Jivan the minister, three sons of the Thakor of Nara, and many other leading chiefs. According to Cutch accounts their total loss was not less than hundred thousand slain.³⁵ From Jara, Ghulam Shah, marching to Tera, levied a heavy fine, and purchased and burned the country. Learning of this crushing defeat, the Rao, sending a private agent to Punja, confessed his unjust conduct, stated that he had been deceived by Jivan, and entreating Punja to arrange that the Sindhian army should be withdrawn, invited him as his minister to Bhuj, Ghulam Shah. His return to favour at Bhuj secured, Punja was not less without losing credit with Ghulam Shah seemed well high hopeless. But affairs took a turn that made his part easier to play. News that the wells on the straight road to Bhuj had been poisoned led Ghulam Shah to advance by a longer route. As he went, he succeeded in levying sums of money from several chiefs. But a force sent against Sandhan was repulsed. When the news of this check reached Ghulam Shah, Punja was with him. Affecting a keen alarm, he warned Ghulam Shah that there were 360 forts each as strong as Sandhan, and that Bhuj itself was guarded by the choicest troops of Navanagar and Radhanpur. So far, he urged, Ghulam Shah's success was complete and he engaged that if Ghulam withdrew, he would go to Bhuj and arrange the marriage with the Rao's sister. To this Ghulam Shah agreed, and taking with him Punja's son as a hostage, retired to Sindh. On reaching Bhuj the Rao received Punja with every sign of respect, and at once made him minister.

During the next two years, though Punja never ceased urging him, the Rao had failed to give his sister in marriage to Ghulam Shah. From this constant subject of dispute and perhaps from the manner in which he had regained his post, the Rao was never well disposed to Punja and, when he had repaired his forts, raised a militia, and established his power, he determined to rid himself of his minister. By his order Punja was seized, confined

³⁵ An obvious exaggeration, the figure of 6,000 of Sind histories appears nearer the truth. According to David Seton's *History of the Calora* (1808) the Cutchis were collected here and allowed themselves to be surrounded and surprised, and first killing their women fell on the Sindhians sword in hand and were killed themselves.

in irons for ten days, and, by the Rao himself, was presented with a cup of poison. On hearing of Punja's murder, Ghulam Shah gathered another army of 50,000 men, and re-entered Cutch by the Nara route. Nara he again found deserted, and except at the small fort of Muru³⁶, where a Rajput garrison of eighty men resisted and were all massacred, he advanced unopposed within sight of Bhuj. Encamping at Rodar Mata within five miles of the town, he despatched his minister, Gidomal, with some men of distinction to demand, as had before been promised, the Rao's sister in marriage. Godji, well supplied with troops and resources, received the envoys with little courtesy, and refused to give any satisfactory answer. During the night the envoys passed in Bhuj, the Rao ordered that, at the same moment every gun in the city should be fired. This caused the strangers such alarm that they took back with them the most exaggerated accounts of the height of the walls and the strength of the town. After a few days' skirmishing, Ghulam Shah was induced to listen to a compromise, by which, instead of the Rao's sister he received in marriage the daughter of the chief of Khakhar a near kinsman of the Rao. After remaining for some time inactive he recrossed the Ran, leaving at Lakhpat a post of 5,000 men. About this time by building at Ali Bandar a bank across the Kori mouth of the Indus, Ghulam Shah stopped the source from which the great rice-lands of Lakhpat drew their water supply; and the rice tract gradually became a salt waste like the rest of the Ran, leaving the Cutch state poorer by a yearly sum of about £20,000 (8 lakhs of koris).³⁷ In 1772, seven years after his return to Sind, Ghulam Shah died, and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz. This prince was soon involved in troubles at his own court, and was obliged to withdraw his outpost from Lakhpat. At the same time he allowed Devji, the son of Punja, to leave his court and return to Bhuj. "After Punja's death a succession of ministers followed, most of whom were murdered and their property seized by the Rao. About 1775, Mian Sarfraz Khan (1772-1777), Ghulam Shah's son, the

³⁶ According to David Seton, however at mooroo forest the Rajputs who defended it destroyed so many Sindians that they were easily prevailed to retire to Sind.

³⁷ James Burnes described this as a "novel and most signal act of vengeance," and refinement in persecution known only to Asiatics". According to him it deprived the Rao of nearly half his revenue.

Kalhora ruler of Haidarabad in Sindh, entering Cutch, took the route of Khavada and Sumrasar, intending to march to Bhuj, but the accounts of its strength frightened him, and leading the army to Chobari and Kanthkot, he married the daughter of the Thakor, and levying fines at Adhoi and other places returned to Sind.”

The Cutch records speak of a yet another invasion of Cutch in 1777, during the reign of Mian Abdul Nabi, about which the Sind histories are completely silent. The murder of Mir Bahram Khan in 1774, at the instigation of Sarfraz Khan had cost that monarch his throne, and led to a struggle between the Kalhoras and Talpurs which disturbed the peace of Sind for the next three years and caused much blood-shed. When these hostilities ceased Abdul Nabi became the ruler of Sind and Mir Bijar Khan, the son of Mir Bahram Khan, his minister. On the latter's elevation to power, the two belochee assassins of his father, Mumbrance Hoosein and Lakka, sought refuge in Cutch and threw themselves on the protection of the Rao. Godji who was glad of any opportunity to foment trouble in Sind, readily received them, and upon demand being made for their being delivered, refused to give them up, on the plea of dishonour which would attach to him from breach of hospitality. The refusal led to an invasion by the Sindh forces, the result of which was not more successful than the last. Bhooj being considered too strong for attack, the Sindh army marched on Abdasa and much of it was plundered and laid waste. The Rao's mercenaries at this time a very formidable body, sent under the command of Mirza Kurpa Beg against the Sind army, fell in with a detachment of it and cut it to pieces, and the people of the country aiding the Rao's troops, the invaders were forced to retreat across the Rann with considerable loss and disgrace. This was the last invasion of Cutch in the time of the Kalhoras. Sixteen years later the Kalhoras ceased to rule Sind.

Mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro At Hyderabad

Ali Muhammad Khan Lundkhwar

Kalhoro family traces their lineage to Hazrat Abbas, uncle of Prophet Muhammad. (PBUH) They migrated from Mekran into Sindh and settled in Sewistan in the middle of 12th century, when Adam Shah Kalhoro became Khalifa (Successor to a saintly rule) of Mian Muhammad Mehdi and thus founded a family which eventually strengthened secular with spiritual authority in Sindh. As a ruling house the Kalhoras may be said to date from 1737 AD, but they were active in Sindh's affairs since last half a century. Mian Yar Muhammad succeeded his father Mian Nasir Muhammad, who died in 1692 AD and buried at Ghari (Quddusi 1997:104), at last obtained governorship of Derajat and title of Khuda Yar Khan from Aurangzeb in 1701 AD. He may be regarded as the real founder of the house. His son and successor Mian Noor Muhammad not only consolidated but extended his rule over the whole province and the Mughal Emperor recognised the Kalhoro family as Semi-independent rulers of Sindh in 1737 AD. After the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 AD, political sovereignty over Sindh transferred from Mughal Empire to Persian Empire, which resulted in the Kalhoras becoming subordinate to Persian Monarch. On the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747 AD., Ahmad Shah Durrani declared himself independent in Afghanistan and the Kalhoras became feudatory of Kabul.

After the death of Mian Noor Muhammad in 1753 AD (Sorley 1968:167) his son Muhammad Murad Yab Khan was

appointed with the title of Serbuland Khan by the Afghan King, but he was soon deposed by his brother Ghulam Shah. The Afghan King, however, gave sanad to another brother, Atur Khan, who was hostage at his court. The result was a very confused civil war between the three brothers and the effect was that from 1756 to 1758 AD Sindh was in a pitiable condition of unrest, which did not terminate until Ghulam Shah Kalhoroa finally emerged the victor. He was recognised as ruler of Sindh by Ahmad Shah in 1761 with the title of Shah Wardi Khan (Aitken 1907:111).

Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, though illiterate, was the most capable and vigorous of the Kalhoro chiefs. He won his throne by his sword and was much more independent of Kandhar than his father. He was eventually successful in his attempt to regulate and secure the prosperity as well as tranquillity of Sindh. Ghulam Shah Kalhoro became "The Prince of Sindh" (Sorley 1968:168) as he is called in the East India Company's letters of this period.

Ghulam Shah Kalhoro had a troublesome rule. Besides the troubles created by his brothers, he was engaged in a very complicated political game of chess with Pathans in Kandhar, Kalat, Cutch and the Chief of Kakrala, who had somehow managed to retain a little petty authority of his own. Once emerging successfully from the Civil War and recognition from Afghanistan, Ghulam Shah gave his attention to the state of the country. His first measure of importance was against the Khosa tribe of Sewistan, who had been very refractory under his brother and he at length mingled them with dust. He wrested from his friend and protector, Jam Hijaji, the district of Kakrala, who afforded him asylum earlier. This enabled him to push the frontiers of his dominion south-wards to the seaboard and founded a new seaport of Shah Bunder with a strong protecting tower.

He defeated Bahadur Khan Daudputa, who still indulged in encouraging Atar Khan in the hope of regaining his country and when defeated made a peace. Ghulam Shah received his brother Atar Khan with respect and affection when he submitted. After his reunion with his brother, Ghulam Shah twice invaded Cutch, winning on the first occasion (1763 AD), the desperately fought battle of Jhara and on the second (1764-65 AD) advancing nearly to the capital Bhuj compelling Rao to cede the ports of Lakhpat and Basta (Aitken 1907:112). Rao also offered

one of his daughters in marriage to Ghulam Shah, who accepted the connection.

Establishment of a factory at Thatta in 1758 AD by East India Company, Perhaps on the invitation of Ghulam Shah and the change in the course of the river Indus, which took place about 1758-59 AD are important events of his time.

Ghulam Shah Kalhoro proved himself to be the most capable and vigorous chief and was the last representative of the Kalhora strength of character and governing ability. With his death on 12 August, (Mehtar 1958:629) 1772 AD the tranquillity of Sindh soon came to an end and once more the province was plunged into all the horrors of anarchy and civil war ultimately bringing Talpurs, the last Sindhi family, in rule in 1783 A.D. Talpurs were defeated at the battle of Miani and Dubha by Britishers in 1843 AD and Sindh was annexed to British Empire.

Ghulam Shah Kalhoro is the greatest builder in the history of Sindh. In his short tenure of sixteen years, he built cities, forts, seaports, mosques and tombs, which are widespread in Sindh expressive of the period. Ghulam Shah died suddenly in 1772 A.D. of paralysis and buried at Hyderabad. Popular tradition attributes his death to the wrath of Saint Shaikh Muhammad Ansari, known as Pir Makki, whose grave he levelled in building his fortress at Hyderabad.

Hyderabad, the habitation of Hyder, the lion, the 2nd important city of Sindh, was founded by Ghulam Shah Kalhoro on the site of ancient Nirun-kot conquered by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 A.D. This, the latest and greatest capital of Kalhora foundations, was begun in 1768 AD and became his residence in 1770 A.D. Hyderabad is built on the summit of a lime stone rocky table hillock, which runs for many miles parallel to river Indus along its eastern bank. The Kalhora family shifted their capital seven times during their rule of 82 years due to floods, political apprehensions and change in the course of the river Indus. Khudabad in District Dadu, their first capital, was founded by Yar Muhammad Kalhoro when he was given sanad and title of Khuda Yar Khan from Mughal Court at Delhi (Haig 1972:121). The name of the capital, Khudabad may be due to this title. The city lost its significance, when the capital was shifted to Hyderabad in 1768 AD and was in ruins in 1781 AD (Mehtar 1958:680). Muradabad was founded in 1754 A.D. by Murad Yar Khan opposite Nasarpur, washed out by a flood in

1756-57 A.D. Murad Yab escaped with his two sons in a boat and built a new capital named, Ahmedabad in the eastern part of the present Sakrand Pargana. Ghulam Shah had previously built Khanoth (Haig 1972:120). a mile south of old Hala in 1759-60, and later abandoning this place, perhaps because it was in danger of being carried away by the river, founded Shahpur (Ibid., p.120) in 1762-63 A.D. He also made Kahjha after renaming it as; Shah-Garh in Southern Sindh and founded Shah Bunder. The expediency of establishing a capital in a position where it would be absolutely secure from floods must have been impressed on the mind of Ghulam Shall. The plateau of the Ganjo Taker lying above the reach of the highest inundations, and with its rocky base satisfied every condition of security and convenience. This advantageous situation coupled with its central position in Sindh, congenial and better climate caused it to be chosen as the last seat of the Kalhora ule. Fuleli channel (now a canal) was running close under the walls and gave an exceedingly picturesque appearance to the city of Hyderabad.

Ghulam Shah Kalhoro lived in Hyderabad for only 4 years and was buried here on the northern extremity of the plateau of Ganjo ridge, while on the southern extremity he had built the fort. He died on Thursday, 3rd Jamadiul-Awal 1186 A.H. (2nd August, 1772 AD). He suffered from paralysis on 1st and died next day after ruling Sindh for 16 years. His son and successor Mian Sarfaraz Kalhoro is believed to have constructed the mausoleum of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro and was completed in three years.

The mausoleum of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, the oldest, most refined and impressive monument in Hyderabad, is in the centre of a rectangular fort, which appears outwardly to be a military post rather than the last resting place of a ruler. From exterior it is a formidable fort, now rain streaked due to the absence of burnt brick encasement on both interior and exterior. The idea of such ensembles of royal tombs had already been noted in the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1325 AD) at Delhi and earlier with that of Sultan- Ghauri (Brown 1942:20-21). The determined slope of fortification wall is emphasised by the addition of the tapering bastions. Each side of the fortification wall, except northern one, has a bastion and an entrance. The fortification wall was built with burnt bricks laid in mud mortar with its core filled with mud bricks. It is 14' wide at the base and raised to a height of 25'. With the passage of time man and

nature has damaged the wall to such an extent that, the burnt bricks facing has gone to the maximum extent. The top of the fortification wall must have been provided with merlons. The entrance of the fort in the centre of the eastern wall has a powerful appearance. Not only is the enceinte so designed as to suggest a heavy suit of protecting armour, but its entrance so cunningly contrived as to constitute a death-trap to those attempting to force it. The main gateway is defended by a powerful barbican, taking the shape of a large bastion like that at Ahmadnagar (Toy 1957:49) fort. The barbican must have been defended from the battlements, disappeared totally. Before reaching an arched entrance of the outer gate an open defence space is formed by the barbican and the bastion, making it necessary first to negotiate it. The inner domed entrance has an elegant appearance with a recess on either side for the rest of the guards and the interior richly decorated with paintings. The proposition that the fortification wall was added by the Talpurs seems to be contrary to the historical perspective of the two families, as Kalhoras were over thrown by the Talpurs. However, the unsettled state of Sindh during Talpur period may have compelled the family for a second defence line on northern side of the ridge. Hyderabad fort was on the southern extremity of the capital.

The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro is built on a raised rectangular platform 3'-10" high, measuring 118' x 114'. The tomb 36' high and square exteriorly, each side 56', has its entrance in the eastern side in a recessed, tall pointed archway. The lofty exterior is divided into three horizontal panels above dado level. Each panel was covered with glazed coloured tiles having two floral patterns alternating with each other. These tiles were badly damaged and those of the facade are totally missing and have been plastered over by way of repairs (Cousens 1929:132). The exterior once so richly covered with tiles had an extremely colourful appearance, quite in contrast to the grim military look of the fort. The high arched recess over the entrance has still the reminiscent of a gay coloured tile decoration. Tiles are restricted to spandrels of arched panels with arabesque decoration, while miniature tiles serving the purpose of mosaic in yellow, green and blue in geometrical forms veneer the panels. Unlike the tapered fortification the domed tomb has vertical appearance.

The outer extensive platform of the tomb is partly paved with dressed buff sandstones and partly with hard granite. A low buff sand stone railing runs around the edge of the platform. The beautifully perforated slabs of the railing are supported by little pillars at intervals. The different patterns of the railing are very neat and some surface tracery upon a few corner stones remained one of similar work at Fatehpur Sikri (Cousens 1929:132). Such a railing is also provided at the tomb of Isa Khan-II at Thatta. Cut into the flagstones of the platform are a great number and variety of mason's marks to indicate each mason's work, when it was being measured up for payment.

Interiorly the domed chamber is octagonal in plan. The square chamber is converted into an octagon with the help of deep arched recesses at the angles, as successfully provided in the tomb chamber of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro at Khudabad. This architectural influence from Persia was accepted in some other family tomb chambers also. The octagonal interior is entirely covered with paintings, gilding, tiles and white marble. The paintings and gilding, now faded considerably giving a gloomy look, must have been an enchanting appearance on completion. Verses from the Holy Quran have also been painted, now almost in unintelligible state. Tiles, mosaics, paintings, gilding and marble has been utilized to give a varied colour scheme. The snow white colour of the floor and dado is quite in contrast to the blue, green yellow recessed horizontal band of tiles above. In this band star of David is quite prominent as at Shah Rukn-e-Alam tomb at Multan. A six pointed star, the star of David, recalls for Jews the age when they were at their political and military zenith. However, unconsciously this symbol of Jews is adopted in decoration even to-day. While the rest of the surface including the interior of the dome is painted and gilded except a rectangular panel around the southern arch, where couplets in Sindhi and Persian of Mian Sarfraz in relief in marble medallions is superbly inscribed. The last verse also gives year of demise of Ghulam Shah:

آه از نیرنگ چرخ نیلگون	آه از بی مہرئی گردون دوز
شہر یار نختہ گاہ سروری	شہسوار عرصہ نام آوری
برود عالم بود حکم او مطاع	آفتاب برج عزت را شعاع
بود جاری از سمات برسک	آنکے حکمش از سعادات فلک
تاجداراں بر زمیں چہ سا	خرواں را بر دراو التجا
آنکے بوسیدہ فلک اور از میں	خرو دوران غلام شاہ، ۱۰ یں

از در حق آنچه می بایست عافت
شد بنا چون سقف گردون زر نگار
چو بیکرد با صد اختلال
حائلی جنت فیها خالد

جهان بگذشت در رضوان شادانت
رضه بر مرقد آل شهر یار
ر چوں بر روضه قصر بهشت
لراز تنزیل در دادا این ندا

هـ ۱۱۸۹

1. Ah; die unkindness of the ignoble heavens
Ah; the freaks of die azure firmament.
2. The valiant caviller of die race-course of frame;
The monarch of the capital of the empire.
3. The light of die sun of the Zodiac of honour.
Both the worlds paid allegiance to him.
4. By Divine grace his mandates,
Went forth in Heaven and on earth.
5. Kings entreated at his doors.
Crowned heads prostrated themselves before him.
6. The emperor of the world, "Ghulam Shah".
The sky kissed the earth before him.
7. He passed away from the world into paradise,
He received that he deserved at the door of God.
8. A dome over the tomb of dial monarch.
Was erected like the vault of the starry skies.
9. The dome was as bright as the Place of Paradise;
It was as delightful as die magnificent Paradise.
10. For the date of his demise, the imagination of Sarfraz.
West in great search with a great deal of pains.
11. Whilst in these thoughts an exclamation was made.
By the Divine messenger, "For ever in heaven". 19

The tomb on a chaste white marble platform has beautiful floral decoration in relief in a horizontal bend. The platform has a marble railing and canopy copied in Mir Karar Ali's tomb at Hyderabad, unfortunately destroyed by the fall of the dome in 1909 AD. The only other tomb inside is that of Faza Ali, son of Sarfaraz Kalhoro, on a low marble platform with the following inscription along with Quranic verses in relief;

The wagon vaulted structure for zanana tomb is the only other building inside the fort, where according to tradition; four sisters of Ghulam Shah are buried. Sixteen lime plastered graves are irregularly laid inside the enclosure, mostly of the faqirs, who looked after the mausoleum. In the enclosure two graves of

sandstone platform, richly carved in floral and geometrical patterns with verses from the Holy Quran are worth mentioning.

The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro is an exact copy of the mausoleum of Yar Muhammad at Khudabad. However, the fortress enclosure is a new element in tomb architecture in Sindh, which was introduced by Feroz Shah Tughlaq (1325 AD.) in his mausoleum at Delhi. The tomb of Ghulam Shah is believed to have been constructed by his son and successor Mian Sarfaraz Kalhoro. However, the dated inscription on the tomb of Fazal Ali son of Mian Sarfaraz, inside the tomb chamber is 1178 A.H. (1764 A.D.), where as Ghulam Shah Kalhoro died in 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.) Therefore, the tomb was built by Ghulam Shah in his life time. The marble medallions with Sindhi-Persian couplets in relief on the southern arched alcove must have been added by Mian Sarfaraz during his rule along with the paintings in the tomb chamber.

A gallery at squinch level over the thickness of the walls, as already provided at the mausoleum of Yar Muhammad Kalhoro, not only marks the first stage of the zone of transition but also help in attaining impressive height to the tomb chamber. The gallery has clerestories at regular intervals fitted with perforated terracotta grills in pleasing geometrical and arabesque designs on the interior and exterior. This gallery is approached through a flight of steps in the north-western corner of the chamber, which also leads to the roof of the mausoleum. A sixteen sided second stage of the durm melt quietly into a circular base of the dome, which was a hemispherical in shape. The dome fell down in the beginning of the century due to unequal settlement, damaging the marble cenotaph. Each corner of the roof has a masonry pillared kiosk surmounted by a dome. These pillared kiosks were first introduced by the Lodhis in South Asia. The introduction of a gallery at squinch level is an interesting feature of Muslim architecture. The earliest example of a gallery around the base of the dome is witnessed in the mausoleum of Ismail Samanid at Bokhara which was further developed in the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (died 1157 AD) at Merve and mausoleum of Oljeitu at Sultaniya.

The tiles used on the mausoleum of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro and other monuments in Sindh are on hard backed terracotta. The favourite colours are deep rich blue and pale turquoise blue on white background with floral decoration on exterior. While geometric forms are in the recessed band in the

interior and on facade, a brown, green and yellow are added. Balance of the floral design is well kept, but unfortunately hardly a panel is complete now on this monument. Contrary to the traditional tile dado, marble is maintained.

The pigments used are different from the one inside the prayer chamber of Khudabad Mosque, not only in colour scheme but also in execution, making the interior quite confusing. One can easily discern that the art of painting has considerably deteriorated in Sindh, which reached lowest ebb in Talpur period as evident in their tomb chambers at Hyderabad and Hala.

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Mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro and its special Architectural Features

Shaikh Khurshid Hasan

Mian Ghulam Shah, undoubtedly was one of the most capable Kalhora rulers, who reigned over Sindh as vassals of the king of Kabul in the early 18th century AD till 1772 when they were replaced by the Talpur Mirs. When Mian Ghulam Shah took over the reins of the Government in 1758 (1171 A.H) (Mehtar 1958:600), the country was in a state of turmoil. The most disturbing factor was that the king of Kabul had not yet given his assent to the assumption of power in Sindh by Mian Ghulam Shah. On the contrary, rumours were rife that the Afghan King had granted the "Sanad" to his brother Mian Atur Khan. His brothers, though out of the country, were making all-out efforts to dislodge him. Their chief supporter was Bahadur Khan. He was defeated by the forces of Mian Ghulam Shah at the battle of Obara in 1760 (Qani 1971:469-70). The attitude of Jam of Kakrala remained quite unfriendly, when Mian Ghulam Shah was in Shahgarh. He had, therefore, to be taught a lesson for his nefarious activities. An expedition was sent against him in 1760. He was humbled down and ousted from his State. The Jam fled towards Cutch (Ibid., p.470). The Khosa tribe, which had let loose a region of terror in Larkana and Sehwan regions, were subdued. The citizens of Thatta were the hardest hit and suffered a lot during the short-lived rule of Mian Atur Khan. They were looted and massacred by the Jokhia pirates. Thereafter, the citizens had to bear the atrocities inflicted upon them by the Afghan soldiers. Mian Ghulam Shah took prompt action in alleviating their sufferings by appointing Mohammad

Qaim Kokalatash, who restored peace and tranquility in the region (Ibid., p. 469-70).

Relationship with the Rajas of Bikanir and Jaisalmer were strengthened (Mehtar 1958:611,617). Being satisfied with the performance of Mian Ghulam Shah, the King of Kabul, Ahmed Shah Abdali, bestowed upon him, in 1761, the title of Shah Wardi Khan. The royal "Sanad" to legitimize his rule over Sindh was also granted (Qani 1971:471).

Mian Ghulam Shah had to send two expeditions in 1762 and 1764 against the Rao of Cutch. The reasons being that some hostile activities, with his connivance, were going on to destabilize the Government of Mian Ghulam Shah. In order to check these activities, some punitive action was, therefore, very much needed. Both these expeditions were crowned with success. In the first expedition, a fierce battle took place at Jhara. The Cutch forces were completely routed out. According to the peace treaty, the Rao had to cede Lakhpat Bandar and Basta Bandar to the Kalhoras. Besides, the Rao had agreed to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Kalhoras by offering his sister in marriage to Mian Ghulam Shah. However, the Rao did not abide by the terms of the peace treaty, hence, the second expedition. The Kalhora forces captured the fort at Muru and took positions at a place just short of 12 miles from the capital city of Bhuj. The Rao sued for peace and agreed to fulfil the earlier peace treaty. He also agreed to marry his niece to Mian Ghulam Shah. The marriage ultimately took place and the bride was named as Sindh Rani. On his return from successful expedition from Cutch, the Afghan King conferred the title of Samsam-ud-Daulah on Mian Ghulam Shah (Qani 1971:468; Mehtar 1958:625-632).

In 1764, Maqsooda Faqir, who was a great supporter of Mian Atur Khan, died. This event demoralized Mian Atur Khan too much and he ultimately surrendered himself before Mian Ghulam Shah, who not only forgave him, but also elevated him to a position of respect and grace. The King of Kabul was very much appreciative the way Mian Ghulam Shah was running the affairs of Sindh. The King entrusted the administration in 1767 of Derajat (i.e.) Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan to Mian Ghulam Shah personally went to those areas and restored law and order by curbing the activities of the turbulent tribes (Qani 1971:471; Qudusi 1974:477-78).

In 1758, after a lapse of about hundred years, the East India Co. once again renewed its trade with Sindh, which was no longer the Mughal province nor an independent State, but an Afghan dependency under the rule of Kalhoras. The trade of East India Co., rested on three parwanahs granted to that Co., by Mian Ghulam Shah. Two of these were issued in 1758 and one in 1761; the authorization permitted the establishment of English factories at Thatta and Shah Bundar. It was good gesture from the Kalhora ruler, but the East India Co, did not sincerely reciprocate the feeling of goodwill. The relations with the Co. remained not so much cordial (Duarte 1976:41-42).

Mian Ghulam Shah had a great passion for construction of buildings. He not only founded new cities, but also constructed forts, mosques, tombs, ea ports etc. Among the tombs erected by Mian Ghulam Shah were those of Mian Adam Shah at Sukkur, Shahal Mohammad near Larkana. Like Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan, Mian Ghulam Shah can also rightly be called as an Architect King. He died, due to the attack of paralysis, in 1772(1186 A.H) (Qani 1971:474).

Mian Ghulam Shah was indeed a man of sterling qualities. Despite the fact that, at the time of his assumption of power, heavy odds were against him, he faced the situation courageously and dealt with the opponents with an iron hand. He fought like a pawn on the chessboard single-handedly. Due to his statesmanship, and coupled with his qualities of head and heart, the reign of Mian Ghulam Shah had ushered in an era of peace and prosperity of the people of Sindh.

Funerary Architecture of Kalhoras: Its Main Characteristics

Mian Ghulam Shah lies buried in an impressive mausoleum located in the centre of a fort, at Hyderabad. Before its salient features are discussed, it will be relevant to bring out the peculiarities of the funerary architecture of the Kalhoras, which has got its own individuality. How this funerary style of architecture was developed, one has to study the genesis of the Islamic architecture in Sindh (Hasan 1994). The remains of the funerary memorials architecture of the early Islamic period have not so far been recovered. The place, where one can really study the evolution of Islamic architecture in Sindh is the necropolis at Makli Hill, Thatta. This necropolis contains the funerary

memorials of various ruling dynasties such as Sammas, Arghuns, Tarkhans and Mughals, spanning over a period of 400 years from 1335 onward. In the Samma period, the mode of construction was mostly based on beam and post system. It was thus essentially trabeate. Subsequently, due to inter-mingling of cultural traits between Sindh, Central Asia, Iran etc., a new style of architecture was emerged based on trabeate as well as arcuate principles of construction. The local craftsmen adopted and assimilated foreign architectural devices. They used the pillars, the brackets and the *chhatris* (pavilions) and simultaneously the arch, the vault and the dome.

If we examine the funerary architecture of the Kalhoras, it does not in its entirety, reflect the architectural traditions prevalent at Makli Hill, Thatta. The prominent features of funerary architecture of the Kalhoras are its façade, entrance, ambulatory gallery, super-structure, ornamentation etc. (Hasan 1996a). The Kalhoras borrowed all these features from the neighbouring regions, assimilated and integrated them with the existing building techniques and created a sophisticated style of architecture, which is known for its beauty, grace and sobriety. The striking features of the funerary architecture of the Kalhoras are explained hereunder:

(a) Façade

Almost all the funerary memorials of the Kalhoras are a square on plan with the exception of the tomb of Mian Ghulam Nabi at Hyderabad, which is an octagonal on plan. There are some exceptions. The tomb of pillared stone canopy of Mian Nasir Muhammad is reminiscent of Samma period. There are some female vaulted tombs on rectangular plans within the mausoleum complexes of Mian Noor Muhammad, Mian Ghulam Shah and Mian Ghulam Nabi.

The façade of most of the Kalhora tombs has been constructed in such a way as to give an impression that the building has got more than one storey. This has been achieved by dividing each side of the facade in more than one ornamental storeys. This architectural device was at its best in Jami Masjid, Khudabad, District Dadu, which was the old capital of the Kalhoras in Sindh. This device not only provided monumentality, but also gave an effect of grandeur and promise

to the funerary structure. On the contrary in the pre-Mughal tombs in the Seraiki region, the purpose in view was achieved by constructing a three-tiered edifice (Hasan 2001a:170). The device of creating ornamental multi-storeyed impression on the façade was first used in Alai Darwaza (1311). It was more prominently used in Chote Khan Ka Gumbad and Bara Gumbad at Delhi. This device is deeply rooted in antiquity. The surviving example is that of Taq-i-Kisra (531-79). It contains a central iwan, which rises almost to full height of the facade and is flanked on either side by a series of ornamental arcading one over the other (Ferrier 1990:75, Fig. 25).

The first Kalhora funerary memorial containing this device is that of Mian Yar Muhammad (d. 1718) at Khudabad, the exact source from where this device was used in Kalhora funerary memorials cannot with certainty be determined. There can be two possibilities. Close to the minar of Mir Masum at Sukkur is Faiz Mahal, which was constructed in 1595. Its outer surface, which is decorated with colour glazed tiles, gives the impression of a multi-storeyed facade with blind arched panels. The architect responsible for designing the tomb of Mian Yar Muhammad might have borrowed this particular device from Faiz Mahal. The second possibility could be that the device might have come from Sibi (Balochistan), where certain funerary memorials dating back to 11-12th centuries AD are still surviving (Hasan 2001b:33). This possibility cannot completely be ruled out as Mian Yar Mohammad had remained the governor of Sibi during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (Qani 1971:438).

(b) Entrance

notable feature of most of the Kalhora tombs is their monumental entrance. The facades are so designed as to have the central position in the shape of a recessed archway occupying nearly the total height of the structure almost to the parapet. Within this recess is the doorway of the beam and the bracket order, the space above being occupied by an arched window opening. The architectural style shows a great resemblance with the one prevalent in the Sayyid and Lodhi periods (1414- 1526). The concept of having tall entrances was first developed in the Central Asia (Hasan 1999:256). Later on the mausoleum entrances was developed into a *peshraq* (portico). This feature is very much prominent in the Mughal funerary monuments at

Lahore. The Tarkhans, who were of Central Asian origin' brought this tradition to Sindh. Some of the Tarkhan tombs at Makli Hill, Thatta, contain monumental entrances. The underlying idea for having monumental entrances is to emphasize the importance of the building and also to give due respectability to the personality of the deceased.

(c) Ambulatory Gallery

The Kalhoras claimed descent from Hazrat Abbas, the paternal uncle of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.). One of their ancestors Mian Odanah was celebrated for his piety and virtues. He was thus honoured as a spiritual guide by a large number of his devotees (Qani 1971:429). The Kalhora rulers always used to prefix Mian to their names, which carried the meaning of a spiritual guide rather than a temporal ruler. Accordingly, they are also known as 'Faqirs'. The ambulatory gallery in some of their tombs was, therefore, provided as a mark of veneration. Such a precedent was already available in Seraiki funerary style of architecture. For instance the tombs of such celebrated saints like Baha Al-Din Zakariya, Rukn-i-Alam and Sultan Ali Akbar, all at Multan contain ambulatory gallery. The idea of providing such a gallery in all probability was first introduced in Central Asia. This practice was considered to be a gesture of respect for the departed soul (Hasan 1996: 209).

(d) Super-Structure

The super-structure of the Kalhora tombs has been magnificently designed and executed. The verticality of the central recessed arch, as mentioned above, rising almost to the apex is harmonised by a hemispherical dome behind it. An arched recess in each of the sixteen faces of the drum in some cases in alternating order, was a skilful device to introduce pleasing effects of the interplay of light and shadow in the composition. The arched windows (clerestory) are filled with perforated terracotta *jalis* (lattice) in beautiful geometrical and arabesque patterns. Besides, the provision of clerestory is also to provide ventilation inside the tomb. The dome is single and flanked by kiosks on its four corners. The pillared kiosks surmounted by a dome are octagonal in shape. In the tomb of Shah Baharo, there

are pinnacles instead of the kiosks. The domes are crowned by different shapes of finials. The most interesting feature is the octagonal -shaped lantern crowing the dome of the tomb of Shah Baharo. The tombs of Mian Noor Mohammad, Shah Khayr al-Din and the Thahim located between Dakhan and Ratodero contain similar decorative elements on their dome (Hasan 2001:139-151). Such a decorative device at the apex of the domes seems to have been first introduced in the tomb of Mubarak Shah at Delhi (1434) during the Sayyid period (Nath 1978:86). The dome of the mausoleum of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar at Sehwan was also once topped by a lantern (Cousens 1975:139&162). The device had its origin in Central Asia, where it was used at the tombs of Ubeda and Zubeda near the mazar of Astanah Baba (Jairazbhoy 1978:256).

Taking into consideration all the architectural aspects, the superstructure of Kalhora tombs has been worked out in complete harmony with the building it adorns. Not only that it also serves as a headgear just like the one on the human body (Hasan 1996a:210).

Mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah: Its Special Features

The mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah (Fig.10) possesses all the characteristics as are inherent in the funerary architecture of the Kalhoras as explained above. The mausoleum is built on a raised rectangular platform 3'-10" high. It measures 118' x 114' in the western half of the enclosure. The mausoleum is square on plan (56' x 56') and is 36' high. Its entrance is on the eastern side and the design of the archway is the same as is usually found in the Kalhora funerary memorials. It has got a tile encrusted three storeyed facade. Each tile panel contains two floral patterns alternating with each other. The decorated outer surface is, however, no more in its original form. The interior of the mausoleum has been converted into an octagon with the help of deep arched recesses at the angles. The zone of transition has been created by having ambulatory gallery at the squinch level. The gallery has arched windows (clerestory) in an alternating order. They are filled with terracotta grills in attractive geometrical and arabesque patterns. The gallery is approachable through a flight of steps in the north-western corner of the burial chamber. The drum is sixteen sided and served as a base for a hemispherical dome. The dome was collapsed in the last century,

due to uneven settlement. Each corner of the roof has a pillared kiosks crowned by a domlet.

The special features of the mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah are its location within a fort, railing running around the edge of the platform, cenotaph etc. All these features are further elaborated as under:

(a) Location

Mian Ghulam Shah, apart from Pucca Fort also built two other forts. One was constructed, as an advance checks just on the southern corner of Ganjo hillock in 1772. It is mud fort and known as Shah Makki Jo Qila" another fort was built on the northern corner of the hillock. It served as the second line of defence. This fort is of a rectangular shape. Its fortification wall is built of burnt bricks laid in mud mortar with its core filled with mud bricks. The determined slope of the fortification wall except northern one has two bastions at regular intervals. The northern wall has one bastion with an entrance. The entrance gate is in the centre of the eastern wall. It contains a barbican in the shape of a large bastion. An effective defence is thus provided by the barbican and bastions. The barbican was protected by a battlement parapet. Traces of which are visible at certain places. The inner domed entrance is quite impressive. On its either side recesses have been provided for guards. The location of a mausoleum in a fortified enclosure seems to be quite unusual.

However, there are some earlier precedents. The tomb of Nasiruddin Mahmood, the eldest son of Sultan Iltutmish at Sultan Garhi, near Delhi is in a fortified enclosure. It has a high plinth, strong bastions at the corners and high enclosing walls. It looks more to be a fortress rather a sepulchre. Iltutmish built it in 1230. The second instance is the tomb of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlaq. It is located in a fortress at Tuglaqabad, Delhi (Nath 1978:53-54).

(b) Stone Railing

The enclosure wall running around the edge of the platform is constructed of perforated panels of buff sandstone. They are supported by pillarettes at regular intervals. The perforated

panels and surface tracery are in geometrical patterns interspersed with floral motifs. Such type of railing was earlier used at the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II at Makli Hill, Thatta. But it is around the cenotaph inside the burial chamber. Similar enclosure as rank (رِائِک) in Sindhi occurs in the later period at some of the Chaukhandi tombs (Hasan 1996b:21).

(c) Cenotaph

The cenotaph is on a two-tiered square platform. The lower platform is larger than the upper one. The lower platform is bedecked with marble panels; each side contains five such panels. Each panel is a rectangular in shape and contains a variegated border running all around its four sides. There is an ornamental a multi-cusped double recessed arch in its centre. The arch contains a flower vase (Guldasta) from which a vine plant is springing. The flowers are in full bloom. The spandrels of the arch have circular medallions containing a floral motif. Such a decorative motif is generally found in Mughal monuments (Asher 1995:132, plate 72). On all the four corners of the platform there is a nook-shaft containing beautiful floral patterns. It is just like a richly carved wooden pillar. The cenotaph is located on the upper platform. Its top is covered with an arched ridge. Such a ridge is said to represent a qalamdan or pen box indicating a man of literary taste or high standing (Cousens 1916:70-71).

(d) Ornamentation

The interior of the mausoleum is tastefully decorated with paintings, gildings, tiles etc. These have now become dim and thus lost their glare and lustre. One of the bands contains a colourful six-pointed star as a decorative motif. A six-pointed star is known as star of the David. It is found in many Muslim monuments including the mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan (Lundkhwar 1988:48).

There is some controversy with regard to the actual builder of the mausoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah. In the mausoleum, there is also the grave of Fazal Ali son of Mian Mohammed Sarfraz Khan, who died in 1764. It is thus apparent that the building of the mausoleum was very much there in 1772 when Mian Ghulam Shah expired. This also confirms that the mausoleum was built by Mian Ghulam Shah during his life time. However, finishing touches, particularly in its interior, seem to

have been given by his son Mian Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan. This presumption is confirmed as a Mathnavi on the obituary of Mian Ghulam Shah, composed by Mian Sarfaraz, in Persian is found inscribed over one of the arches in the burial chamber. The Persian text of the Mathnavi reads as under:

مشوی در تاریخ وفات میاں غلام شاہ

آہ میزنگ چرخ نیلگون	۱۔ آہ از بنی مہری گردون دہ
شہر یار تختہ نگاہ سروری	۲۔ شہسوار عرصہ نام آوری
برود عالم بود حکم او مطاع	۳۔ آفتاب برج عزت راشعاع
بود جاری از سہا برسمک	۴۔ آنکہ تخلص از سعادت فلک
تاجداراں بر زینش جبہ سا	۵۔ خرواں راہر دراو التجا
آنکہ بوسیدہ فلک اوراز میں	۶۔ خرو دوراں غلام شاہ دیں
از در حق آنچہ می بایست عافت	۷۔ از جہاں بگذشت در رضواں شافت
شد بنا چوں سقف گردوں زر نگار	۸۔ روضہ بر سر قد آل شہر یار
جستہ میکرد با صد اختلا	۹۔ نور چوں بر روضہ فصر بہشت
حالتی جنت فیہا خالد	۱۰۔ ناگز از تنزیل در دادایں ندا

۱۱۸۹ھ

English Translation

1. Oh: through unkindness of the base firmament
Oh: Through the wiles of the blue sky
2. The Shahswar (rider) of the field of renown
The ruler of throne of suzerainty
3. The sun, sustainer of the tower of lustre.
Both the worlds obeyed his orders
4. He, whose wisdom through the felicity of heaven
was current from the highest pinnacle of sky to the lowest
depth of the abyss
5. Rulers were supplicant at his door
Kings (prostrated and) put their foreheads on the ground before
him
6. That ruler of the times Ghulam Shah-I-Din
Heaven willed him down to the ground

7. (He) departed from this world and hastened to paradise
(and) received from Truth whatever was his due
8. Mausoleum on the grave of that Shaharyar (ruler)
Was erected (high) as the golden roof of heaven
9. The dome was as bright as the place of Paradise
It was as delightful as the magnificent Paradise
10. The year (of his death) was pondered over by Sarfaraz
He made efforts and (tried) hundred of stitches
11. Suddenly was revealed this
Voice By the announcer Jannat fiha Khalida
(Permanent is he in Paradise)

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Watch Tower in Hyderabad Fort

Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bokhari

A watch tower, or simply a tower, is a tall and comparatively narrow structure, in some cases forming a part of some large building or a complex, generally a fort, and in other cases as an independent unit, from which a guard or the sentinel keeps watch. And a dungeon is a strongly fortified inner tower usually in a castle or bailey, having whether or not the subterranean cell for prisoners. History mentions that there was a watch tower related to the fort built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro at Hyderabad. Whether contemporary to the fort itself or not but the people generally think that it was existing at the spot where the Municipal Corporation Hyderabad lately built one of their overhead water tanks.

Negligible architectural details, if at all recorded somewhere, are available for general or specific reading. However, the tower in question is said to have withstood the calamity of the explosion which occurred within the fort in AD 1906. But it was pulled down later perhaps because of its perilous condition. Anyhow, a painted picture of the tower drawn certainly later during the Talpur period most probably by some extraneous painter seem to be the only evidence to throw light on the structural details of the monument. It has been reproduced off-and-on in the books and journals. Whether that picture depicts the original features of the tower and the adjoining buildings apparent in it or is a conjectural reconstruction based merely on the information gathered through the local traditions or is the outcome of an artistic imagery, should not perplex us as this alone is what we now have.

The picture, if not illusive, reveals that the tower was built perhaps outside the fortification and was quite close to the

main gate / entrance. It was built in three storeys. The lowest one was comparatively tall and circular in plan. Apparently it was almost double in height than the upper two. It shows a slight upward taper and is pierced with machicolations at regular intervals/ spaces. Practically, it is the feature with openings between the supporting corbels for dropping the liquids or the solids injurious to the one standing adjacent to the base of the tower for at least three reasons: 1) to climb up the tower 2) to attack some one 3) to protect oneself or hide. If, therefore, the openings were not meant just for the decoration or the imitation they were certainly made for defensive purpose. And to make use of this architectural arrangement it was essential to provide the upper storey, with a hidden walkway to ensure safe, constant and effective watch by the soldiers.

The construction of the tower outside the fortification, though deemed risky, was appropriate for the vigilant eye on the front side of the portal and perhaps bazaar, and also on the exterior of the entire fortification running north-east to south-west and the moat and the bridge, as the picture shows built beside the tower.

The tower seems to have protected by the moat. The fortification to the south-east, south-west and west was hardly evincible because of its construction on the steep hill almost double in height than the wall.

The second storey of the tower obviously served as the neck or collar of the top storey. This part is decorated with crenelated parapet reminiscent to the ones erected on top of the main entrance and over the whole fortification wall. The second and more serious purpose which this parapet served was, as already pointed out, to screen the guards performing watch and ward duties while walking through the gallery. This storey was separated from the upper and the top by an eaves-like standing feature supported perhaps on some sort of brackets. The eaves jutting out from between the second and the third storey served also an additional function to protect the sentinel on duty in the walkway from the mid-day sun and, if there was rainfall. The third storey looked like a quadrangular pavilion, open on all the four sides. Practically this cloistered pavilion was a garret meant to serve probably as dormitory-cum-armoury particularly for the guard at rest. Each face of the pavilion had five arched openings also with eaves-like projecting member jutting around and held

on the brackets built against the pillars of the pavilion. On top of the third storey was a low, straight and simple parapet which indicated that the roof of the tower was flatter or at the most trabeated. Of course there should have been a flight of steps, at least one, from the ground to the third storey winding through the tower for communication of the personnel on and off duty.

Construction of towers was, however, not unknown in Sindh. Still there are few survivals and presumably some more might have existed, when the watch tower at Hyderabad fort was being constructed. A land mark among the existing towers in Sindh is the Minar of Masoom Shah at Sukkur (completed around 1618 AD). It may probably have served triple purpose i.e. to keep watch, to catch spectacle or have panoramic view of the suburbia, but the prime aim behind the construction on the Minar seems to be the perpetuation of the name or memory of its builder-Mir Masoom Shah.

The one built before the close of the 17th century AD beside or attached to the so-called Muhammad bin Qasim-Ji-Masjid, on a ridge at Pir Pathor is a double storey tower with cupulated top. Its entrance from the precincts or premises of the aforesaid mosque has a flight of steps winding through the tower to the first storey and leading to an opening with a balcony facing west, certainly meant for calling the faithful to prayer. Steps to the second storey are provided with from the exterior. Circumstantially, therefore, the tower might have been used to keep watch over the settlements around but basically the tower is a 'Mazina' (Place for calling the faithful to prayer). The structure raised over the innermost gate of the main fort at Kotdiji, completed around the end of the eighteen century. (1797 AD) is a dungeon-like building towering almost at the center of the fort. It may have, inter alia, been used also as a keep for watching over the extra and intramural movements. It, however, lacks the separate entity and specific or distinctive features of a tower.

Both structurally and circumstantially, therefore, the tower raised at Hyderabad around 1770 AD was a watch tower, exclusive to its purpose, and as such Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoru, the founder of the city of Hyderabad and the fort, is to be accredited for having got built a building, a monument of the kind, unlike perhaps the ones produced before and certainly after him.

In another picture, perhaps of comparatively later date a structure built near the one titled British House inside the fort at

Hyderabad was tower of considerably lesser height than the older one. It is not known whether the two co-existed. It had some, but not all, structural / traditional elements conforming to a tower, and was to a great extent imitative to the so-called Government House, which apparently was the building probably now known as the Mir's Harein, presently being used as the keep. The latter in fact is a very important historical and artistic building.

Kalhora Forts

Shaikh Khurshid Hasan

Kalhoras built a number of forts and fortress located in throughout length and breadth of Sindh. Most of these forts were erected during the reigns of Mian Yar Muhammad, Mian Noor Muhammad and Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. Today a few forts of the Kalhora period survive. Those located in Larkana, Dadu, Khudabad, Muhammadabad and various other towns and villages do not exist. Therefore this paper looks at some of the forts built and rebuilt during the Kalhora period.

Hyderabad Fort

The Kalhora dynasty ruled over Sindh from 1701 to 1783 AD. In the beginning their capital was Khudabad in the present day Dadu district. However, in 1768 Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora shifted the capital to his newly founded city of Hyderabad on the remains of the ancient city of Nirunkot. Some scholars do not, however, agree that the new city was built there. Mian Ghulam Shah also built a fort there, which is situated on the summit of a lime stone rocky table hillock known as *Ganjo Takar* running in north-south direction for several miles parallel to the east bank of the river Indus. The fort is an irregular oval, about three quarter of a mile round, spread over some 36 acres (Fig.12). From the narratives of various travel accounts, one can get an idea of the shape of the fort. The walls are of burnt bricks ranging from 15 to 30 feet high, their foundations being placed on the very edge of the summit. The round towers that flank the whole area erected in judicious positions at intervals of three or four paces and combined with the steepness of the hill, have an imposing appearance. On the northern side, there is a forty feet wide moat

that has a bridge across it leading to the gate, which is protected by a massive bastion built over it (Pottinger; 1976: 370). Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro had built a palace known as *Shish Mahal*, *Diwan-e-Khas*, and *Diwan-e-Aamm* etc. After the down fall of the Kalhoras, Talpurs also constructed a series of buildings in the fort. The Talpur's *Diwan-e-Aamm* or the Hall of Audience was a lofty square- shaped room, located at a short distance from the main gate. The walls were decorated with fanciful painting executed by the Sindhi artists. The floor was covered with Persian carpets of variegated colours (Durate; 1976: 1496-197). The apartments were usually lined with gypsum and elaborately decorated with colour arabesques. In some of the rooms, the ceilings with their rafters were lacquered painted and heavily gilt. There was a tall watch tower in the fort.

There was a wind mill like bastion of huge proportion, which was used by the Talpurs as treasury. The painted Chamber of Mir Shahdad, when Burton saw it, still contained a painting showing the meeting between Ranjit Singh and Lord Lake. Some of the rooms were painted with tiles from Hala and Multan (Burton; 1993, Vol: 1; 250). After the British occupation of Sindh, the old houses in the fort were demolished. In 1906, two explosions took place which caused a great destruction. The fort is now covered by residential buildings. The most impressive feature of the fort at present is its imposing fortification wall which varies from 29 to 40 feet in width. The extent of the fortification wall is about two miles. Structurally, the fortification wall is built of country bricks of 9x6x1.5 inches held in mud mortar. Along the crest of the fortification walls are ornamental Kanguras or merlons, which from a distance appear as rows of heads stuck upon stakes owing to their attenuated necks. Richard Burton, who visited the fort in 1845 after the battle of Miani, in which the Talpurs were defeated, describes thus; "The defences appear as if a few rounds of grapes would level them with the plain, an appearance the reverse of deceitful, the boasted stronghold of the boasted Talpurs being one of the weakest of the strong looking corner of Asia" (Burton; 1993: 250).

The painted Chamber, also known as *Mirs Harem*, is a single square room measuring about 28 feet and 5 inches. The Chamber is having on its four sides a verandah with a roof of

wooden battens resting on wooden beams and supported by wooden posts. All the four walls of the *Harem* are pierced at the centre, with doorways and windows, two each in the northern and southern walls. The door in the western wall is finished with fine carvings. The entire ceiling of the chamber is decorated with lacquer work. Likewise, the wooden battens, beams and ceiling of the outer verandah were also originally painted in floral designs. The lacquer on ceiling is still preserved to a great extent. The walls of the room which are of burnt bricks are covered with lime niru plaster with an elaborate display of fresco paintings, both in floral and geometrical patterns. The paintings also depict some life scenes at the platform which were also once bedecked with fresco paintings in floral designs, traces of which are still visible.

Another fort built by Mian Ghulam Shah is of Kutcha construction and was built by him around the tomb of Shah Mohammad Makki, in 1772 A.D. It also strengthened the defence of the main fort on the northern side. Rectangular in shape, the tapering fortification walls has semi-circular bastions at regular intervals. Lying on a hillock, the fortification has one arched entrance on the southern side. The wall is not a compact mass, like the Pucca Fort. The interior is of mud bricks encased by burnt bricks on the interior and outer faces, now mostly disintegrated and vanished.

The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhoro is located in a fortress like complex. It is of a rectangular shape and looks like a military post from outside rather than the last resting place of ruler.

From the exterior it looks like a formidable fort. The fortification wall was built with burnt bricks laid in mud mortar both on interior and exterior sides the core having been filled with mud bricks which are now greatly damaged. It is also contains bastions at regular intervals.

The top of the fortification wall must have been provided with the merlons. The gate of the fort in the centre of the eastern wall has a powerful appearance. Not only the ancient gate is so designed, as to suggest a heavy suit or protecting armour, but its entrance is so cleverly contrived as to constitute a death trap to those attempting to force it. The main gateway is defended by a powerful barbican taking the shape of a larger bastion. The barbican must have been defended from the battlements, which are no more in existence. Before reaching the

arched entrance of the outer gate, an open defence is formed by the barbican and the bastions, making it necessary to negotiate it first. The inner domed entrance has an elegant appearance. Beyond the door on either side are the recesses as resting place for the guards. The interior is richly decorated with paintings. The enclosure is believed to have been added by the Talpurs (Lundkhawar; 1986:83-84)

Umarkot Fort

Umarkot is one of the district headquarters in the province of Sindh. It is located about 140 km east of Hyderabad city. According to a legend, Umarkot is said to be founded by Umar, a chief of Soomra tribe, who ruled over Sindh from 1141 to 1180 AD (Tod: 1920: 285-68 and Qani; 1971:484). This legend, however, lacked creditability as the capital of Umar Soomra was at Tharri in Matli Taluka and not at Umarkot, which was then known as Amarkot (Mehran No. 2 1959: 139-150). It is generally believed that Amarkot was founded by Raja Amar Singh Parmar in the 11th Century AD. The Mughal Emperor Humayun, when he was ousted by Sher Shah Suri, came to Umarkot in 1542 AD at the invitation of Raja Bir Sal (and not Rana Parsad). According to *Tarikh-e-Masumi*, the Raja went out with his feet and vacated for him the chambers of the citadel. The Emperor had stayed outside the fort for a few days and let Bilqis Makani Hamida Banu Begum stay inside the fort. Emperor Akbar was born there on 15th October, 1542 (Siddiqi; 1972: 98-99). It is, however, controversial as to whether or not Akbar was born in the present day Umarkot Fort. His place of birth is situated about 1½ kilometre north of Umarkot. A canopy to mark the site was raised there by a local Zamindar Mehar Shah in 1898 AD as per *Tarikh-e-Registan*, (Bokhari; 1992: 136), there was an old fort, extinct now, at Joglai Asthan where the present birth place of Akbar is located. The reality on the ground does not, however, prove it. The area around the so called birth place of Emperor Akbar is all plain and does not show any sign of ancient habitation, what to speak of the structural remains of a fort. Emperor Akbar was, in all probability, born in the present day Umerkot Fort as is confirmed by the narrative of Gulbadan Begum in *Humayun Nama* (1972: 58). The researches made by Moinuddin (1975: 32-34) and

Lakho (1986: 110-112) also confirm it.

The Umarkot fort mostly remained in the possession of Rajputs of Sodha tribe. When Nadir Shah invaded Sindh in 1740 AD Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro had taken refuge in it (Mehar 1958: 439-42). In 1914 A.H. / 1780 AD Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhoro, with the active support of the Raja of Jodhpur got Mir Bijar killed and gave the fort of Umarkot to the Raja as reward for helping him in the execution of the heinous assassination (Mehar 1958: 803-04). The fort was taken back from the Rajputs by Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur in 1813 AD (Baloch; 1996: 287). On the British conquest of Sindh, the fort came under their possession in 1843 AD.

The existing fort was rebuilt by the Kalhoras (Fig.13). It is rectangular on plan and measures 946x785 feet. It is built with burnt bricks and carved stones. Both the interior and exterior walls give a tapered look. There are four semi-circular bastions on each corner. On the eastern side, there is an arched gateway flanked by semi-circular bastions. The fortification wall was originally, 17 feet wide and rose to a maximum height of 45 feet from the surrounding level. The thickness of the wall is 8 feet. There is a Watch Tower inside the fort, which once contained seven heavy cannons. A Museum was established in the fort, by the Federal Department of Archaeology in 1968, in memory of Emperor Akbar. There is, in addition, a Circuit House and some other Govt. buildings inside the Fort.

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Mosques of Mai Jaman

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Introduction

The royal Kalhoro women occupied a prestigious and influential position in the Kalhoro dynasty. Some women, namely Mai Jaman, Mai Gulan, Bibi Shehar Bano and Bibi Jani Begum acquired renown in the field of art and architecture. This paper deals with the mosques which are believed to have been commissioned by Mai Jaman, a wife of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (1719-1753). The role of Kalhoro royal women in architecture in general and the fact that the mosques of Mai Jaman served as prototypes to later Kalhoro mosques in particular have also been highlighted in this paper. There are six mosques which are believed to have been built by Mai Jaman, with all of them located in different villages in Sanghar district of Sindh.

Hospitality and generosity are the hallmarks of Sindhi society. There are many Sindhi women who were famous for their generosity. Mai Jaman, the wife of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro; Mai Khairi, the mother of Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur, the founder of the Talpur Dynasty; Mai Chagli, the mother of Izzat Khan, an adviser to Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro and the wife of Malik Pahar Khan Burfat, the cultural hero from the Burfat tribe, all of these ladies won the hearts of the poor by engaging themselves in welfare work.

Mai Jaman was the most prominent one among the group. She belonged to the Junejo tribe. Mai Jaman got married to Mian Noor Muhammad (Baloch 2000:40) and she bore him two illustrious sons namely, Mian Abdul Nabi and Mian Ghulam Nabi, both of whom ruled Sindh. Rakhya Khan was the brother of Mian Jaman who, later, enjoyed a very prestigious position during the reigns of Mian Abdul Nabi and

Ghulam Nabi. Mian Faqir Muhammad Khan, a nephew of Rahkyl, after whom Faqir Jo Par in Hyderabad is named, also played an important role in the Kalhora dynasty. Other members of the Juneja tribe also played significant roles during the reign of Mian Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoro (Beg 1982:146). Mian Ghulam Nabi also married from the Juneja tribe. His brothers-in-law Mithal Khan (after whom Tando Mitha Khan is named) and Pir Muhammad were very close to him (Baloch 2000:40). Many other Kalhora women held important positions in the Kalhora court. Mai Gulan, who was also a wife of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (1719-1753), was an influential lady. Mian Noor Muhammad constructed a *mahal* (palace) for his beloved wife, Mai Gulan, which is located in Tando Ghulam Hussain (Memon 1994:37). The wives of Mian Ghulam Shah (1757-1772) also contributed to the architectural design of mosques. One of his wives, Sindhi Rani, who was the daughter of Wasuji, a cousin of Rao of Kutch, was also influential lady at court of Mian Ghulam Shah (Memon 1994:22). His second wife, Mai Bahu Begum, who was popularly known as Mai Saiheb Daluat, built some mosques and excavated wells for the poor. She was a daughter of Nawab Nisar Khan Gujar and sister of Nawab Allah Dad Khan who was the chief advisor of Mian Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoro (Memon 1994:22). Mai Shehar Bano, a sister of Mian Ghulam Shah and the daughter of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro and Mai Gulan, was also believed to have built a mosque and Madrasah which is located in Pucca Qila in Hyderabad (ibid:34). Mai Sonbai, popularly known as Bibi Jani Begum, the wife of Mian Sarfraz Kalhoro, was also a very influential lady who was believed to have supervised the construction of tomb of her husband (ibid:56).

Mai Jaman was a God-fearing, pious and generous lady who undertook a number of public welfare works. Her generosity and righteousness were reflected in her efforts related to social work. She helped excavate many wells for the poor and also constructed inns and mosques. There are six mosques which she was believed to have erected. All of these mosques carry the name of Mai Jaman and are located in various talukas of Sanghar district. There are two mosques in Chuteyarun and one in Tando Mitha Khan in the Sanghar taluka; one mosque

at Sui Kandhar in Tando Adam taluka; one in Bhopi Beelo (a forest) in the Khipro taluka and one in Tilah Shah in the Jam Nawaz Ali taluka. Sadly, each of these mosques now stands neglected.

The mosques that belong to the Kalhora period are located in every district of Sindh, however, those built by Mian Illyas Muhammad Kalhoro and Shahal Muhammad Kalhoro no longer exist. The mosques of Mian Nasir Muhammad and his disciples dot almost every village of Dadu district. Some of the mosques which are believed to have been built during the Kalhora period include the mosque of Garhi built by Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro, the three-domed mosque close to Mian Yar Muhammad's tomb and Jami Mosque at Khudabad, both built by him (Bokhari 2006), the mosque of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro at the necropolis of Mian Noor Muhammad (Shah 2002), the mosque of Ghulam Shah near Pucca Fort (Beg 1980), the mosque of Khanpur, the mosque of Samitani (Bokhari 2006) and the mosque of Mian Mango near Gaji Khuhawar (Kalhoro 2010).

The Chuteyarun Mosque

This mosque is located about 4 km south of Chuteyarun village on Jogian Wari Bhit (Fig.14). This mosque is built on a raised platform and has three arched entrances leading to the main chamber hall which is divided into a nave and aisles that are roofed with domes. The southern and northern domes of the mosque have collapsed. The central dome still exists and rests on the elevated octagonal drum. This elevated drum received special attention in 'later' Kalhora architecture. By later architecture, I mean style of architecture that appeared during and after Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro's reign. However, it gained more currency during the reign of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. Tomb-and-mosque architecture during the reigns of Mian Ghulam Shah (1757-1772), Mian Ghulam Nabi (1776-1777) and Abdul Nabi (1777-1783) has their own unique features that reflect their aesthetics. During their reigns, special treatment was meted out to domes and elevated drums. Before this, one does not find such innovation in the earlier Kalhora architecture which began with the rule of Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro in 1680.

All of the later-built mosques during this period adopted a similar technique of having an elevated dome; this is more evident in the mosque of Mian Abdul Nabi near the tomb of Mian Ghulam Nabi in Hyderabad.

The Chuteyarun Mosque used to have a spacious courtyard, which is now completely covered with sand. Formerly, the façade of the Chuteyarun Mosque was decorated with glazed tiles. One of the distinctive features of the mosque is the rich embellishments found on both exterior and interior walls. The northern wall of the structure is still covered with glazed tiles. On entering the Prayer Hall, one finds many fallen, glazed tiles strewn here.

The Mosque of Abdul Nabi Kalhoro

This mosque is located east of Mian Ghulam Nabi's mausoleum in Hyderabad (Fig.15). It is believed to have been built by Abdul Nabi Kalhoro (Memon 1994). It has three arched entrances that open into a Prayer Hall. The Prayer Hall is divided into a nave and two aisles which are spanned with domes that are decorated with finials and which rest on octagonal drums. The central drum is higher than its fellows; the same technique of a 'high' drum was adopted from the Chuteyarun Mosque. Comparatively, this is more elevated than those of the contemporary mosques. One of the distinctive features of the central dome is that it is erected on a two-tiered drum. This is the special feature of Mian Abdul Nabi's mosque.

This technique of a two-tiered drum can also be seen in some of the mosques located in Larkana and Hyderabad districts. One of the notable mosques in Dhonra Hingora near Tando Fazal also has a two-tiered drum. The lower drum of this mosque is square as compared to that of the Mian Abdul Nabi mosque. Both drums of Mian Abdul Nabi's mosque are octagonal. The lower drum is simple and undecorated and the upper drum, on which the dome rests, has openings. The rim of the upper drum is decorated with parapet merlons. It was once elegantly decorated with glazed tiles and geometric patterns, but now it has all been white-washed. Moreover, some additions and alterations have also been made to the original mosque (Memon 1994:48; Bokhari 2006:103).

The Shah Talib Mosque

Another mosque with a similar style is located in the Tarai village in Badin. This mosque was also built in the same period. It has three arched entrances that lead to the main sanctuary which is roofed with three domes. The central dome rests on a two-tiered drum which is similar to those seen in the mosques of Chuteyarun and Dhonra Hingora. There were four kiosks on each corner, of which only two have survived. The interior of the mosque is decorated with stucco. The distinctive feature of the Tarai Mosque is the arched openings on the western wall. There are five openings, two just above the mihrab; one below the central dome and one each below the subsidiary domes. The façade of the mosque resembles the Chuteyarun Mosque which has recently been renovated.

The Baily Wari Mosque

Another mosque of the same period is located 2 km south of Tando Muhammad Khan in the forest, hence called “Baily Wari Mosque”. It has three arched entrances opening into a Prayer Hall which is divided into a nave and two aisles, each roofed with a dome raised on an elevated octagonal drum; this mosque also adopted the same technique of dome construction. However, the flanking domes gain height with elevated drums that are decorated with ceramics (though most of the ceramic pieces have come off). This mosque appears to have been built during Mian Ghulam Srah’s time.

A new technique was further introduced to provide a base to the drums in all of the mosques built during the rules of Mian Ghulam Nabi and Mian Abdul Nabi. This is lacking in the mosques built by Mai Jaman, as the mosques that belong to Mai Jaman predate all of those built by her sons and soldiers.

The Mosques at Dhonra Hingora

The technique of an elevated or ‘high-neck’ drum was later used in many mosques. Some of the mosques at Dhonra Hingora were also built during Mian Abdul Nabi’s time; there are two such mosques. However, interestingly, one finds an elevated

sunken panels similar to those seen in the mosques at Dhonra Hingora. The mosque was painted inside, the traces of which can still be seen on the surviving walls. The boundary walls also survive, though in a derelict condition.

The other Kalhora-period mosque lies northeast of the Jami Mosque and is built in a square plan. It stands on a podium, which has crumbled into pieces. Likewise, the whole structure is in ruins; only the arches of the mosque survive.

The Pattan Wari Mosque at Agham Kot

This mosque is also believed to have been built during the Kalhora period as evident from the remains of the mosque, perhaps during the reign of Mian Ghulam Shah. It is built in a square plan and its main entrance is crowned with a cupola that is similar to the one found on the Jami Mosque of Agham Kot. The courtyard of the mosque has crumbled but, fortunately, the wall enclosures have survived.

Three arched entrances that open to the main sanctuary of the mosque are also extant. However, the sanctuary walls and domes have collapsed. The verandah's walls are decorated with sunken panels. These panels resemble those of both the Jami Mosque of Agham Kot and the Jami Mosque of Khudabad. Actually, this mosque looks like a real prototype of the Khudabad Mosque. There are a few mosques of the Kalhora period which contain an ante-chamber or verandah.

The Miyon Jiando Mosque

The same feature of having an elevated drum was also used while building the three domed mosque of Miyon Jiando in Matiari Town (Fig.18). The mosque is believed to have been built by Miyon Jiando who was an administrator of the Matiari during the rule of Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhoru. The mosque is located in Matiari Town and is situated east of Rukan Uddin's tomb.

It is built in a square plan with three archways which open into a sanctuary. The top recesses of the flanking arches are decorated with carved net-patterns. The sanctuary is covered with three domes. Earlier, the interior of the mosque was decorated with glazed tiles, however, it has lost all of these.

Pendentives transform the square aisles and the almost-square nave into octagons which support the circular rims of the domes.

These circular rims have received special attention by the Kalhora masons. Almost every known mosque of this period has either paintings or stucco decoration on the rims of the interior domes. Likewise, the exterior rims of the domes are also decorated either with glazed tiles or paintings.

Interestingly, the same technique of a 'high neck' was adopted while building the domes. All three domes rest on octagonal drums of equal height. Like Mosque No.2 at Dhonra Hingora, the masons constructed drums of almost-equal size. This was an innovation which was introduced in other mosques that were constructed during Mian Abdul Nabi's time.

The Mosque in the Chuteyarun Bazaar

There are two mosques in Chuteyarun Village: one on Jogia Wari Bhit, 4 km. south of the village and the other in the main bazaar of the village. This mosque in the Chuteyarun Bazaar has been entirely rebuilt. It was also a prototype of the mosques located on 'Jogian Wari Bhit'. Formerly, it was decorated with paintings and glazed tiles, today nothing original survives.

The Mosque in Tando Mitha Khan

About 5 km. away from Chuteyarun Village, there is another mosque of Mai Jaman near the village of Tando Mitha Khan which is locally called 'Siran Wari' (Fig. 19). This is the largest surviving mosque of Mai Jaman.

The façade of the mosques is pierced by three archways that lead to the main Prayer Hall which is divided into a nave and aisles. Corresponding to the three entrances are three mihrabs in the west wall. The rectangular nave was spanned with a vaulted roof which is not extant now. The two low domes erected on octagonal drum act as a 'roof' for the square aisles. The hemispherical and vaulted domes are supported on squinches, the arches of which spring from the walls. There are two niches in the west wall, one on either side of the mihrab;

two more on the northern and southern walls one on either side of the entrances. There is no inscription in the mosque. Though this mosque is stylistically different from all of the other mosques that were erected by Mai Jaman, the local people associate the construction of this mosque with her.

Mosque in Sui Kandhar

About 10 km. north-west of Tando Adam Town is situated a dilapidated mosque of Mai Jaman in Sui Kandhar Village (Fig. 20). It is a three-domed-structure with the central dome flanked by two half-domes. The central dome is erected on a 'high neck' drum. This mosque is quite different from the one at Jogian Wari Bhit. Three archways lead to the main chamber of the mosque. The boundary wall of the courtyard has now collapsed, however, the southern boundary wall has survived. The mosque's courtyard is now covered with recent graves and there are two, small, arched openings in the southern and northern walls of the mosque. This mosque has a prominent façade which resembles 'early' Kalhora mosques particularly with one located near the tomb of Mian Yar Muhammad in Khudabad (fig. 21). On the contrary, its flanking squat domes are an innovation that was introduced in 'later' Kalhora architecture that was commissioned by both rulers as well as their generals and soldiers.

The interior of the mosque was decorated with glazed tiles, but most of the tiles have come off. People have placed most of these tiles on the graves of their relatives in the nearby graveyard. One can find hundreds of tiles spread all over the necropolis.

Mai Jaman Mosque at Bopi Beelo

This was also a three-domed mosque, but all three domes of the mosque have now collapsed as has the western wall of the mosque. Only two archways are extant (fig.22). One of the distinctive features of this mosque is a mural painting. Apart from glazed tiles, the traces of the mural painting can still be seen on the interior walls of the mosque. A staircase which arises from the thickness of the eastern wall has also been provided.

Conclusion

Like their male counterparts, the Kalhora royal women also contributed to architecture. Although it was not on a large scale, but their contribution to the architecture design of mosques is discernible in the districts of Sanghar, Tando Allahyar, Hyderabad, Dadu and Larkana. The mosques erected by Mai Jaman had their own distinctive features.

If one looks at the architecture of all of the mosques that were commissioned by Mai Jaman, one can argue that these were greatly influenced by the Jami Mosque of Khudabad in Dadu. In one way or another, the mosques of Mai Jaman borrowed many elements from the earlier architecture of the Kalhoras. Similarly, later-period mosques that were erected during the reigns of Mian Ghulam Shah, Mian Sarfaraz Khan and Mian Abdul Nabi also copied many architectural features from the mosques that were built by Mai Jaman.

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