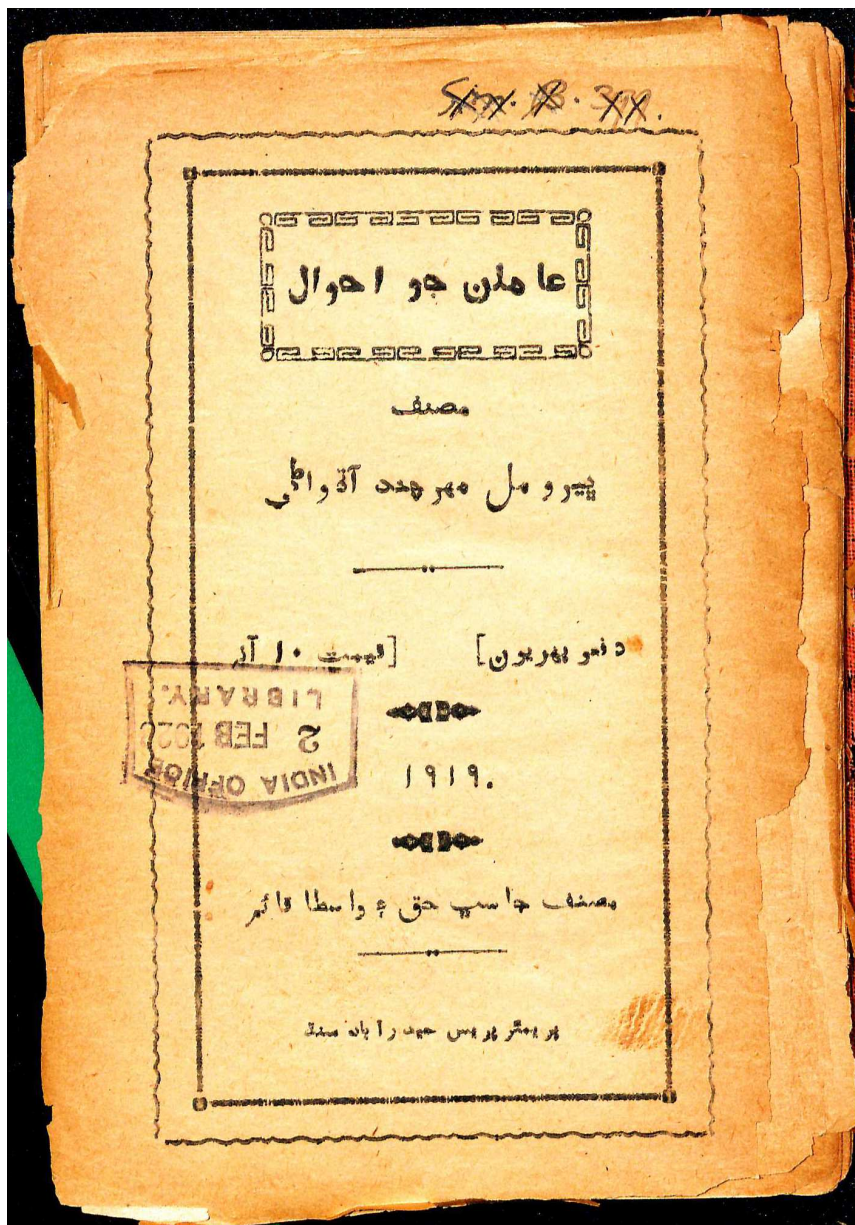


# **A history of the Amils**



Title page from Amilan-jo-Ahwal by Bherumal Mahirchand Advani

# **A history of the Amils**

**Translated from:**

عاملن جو احوال

**(Amilan-jo-Ahwal)**

*Authored by Bherumal Mahirchand Advani*

## **Amilan-jo-Ahwal – a rare book in Sindhi**

A rare copy of “Amilan-jo-Ahwal” is available at The British Library, London. It is in fragile condition, with all pages having discoloured with age. The book’s original binding is non-existent, and as pages are numbered in Sindhi script and written right to left, they are liable to be out-of-sequence. Page handling is a delicate affair, as pages can, and do, crumble when touched.

The photo on the back cover of this translation is of the original book’s hard cover – with handwritten reference introduced by The India Office, in Bombay, in 1919.

As background, the entire administration function, and with it, all records and archives of the East India Company (1600-1858), were formally transferred in 1858, to The India Office – a department of state of the British government. Today, archived India Office Records are administered by The British Library, London, and are open for public consultation

The photo on the front cover of this translation is of the Main Bazaar road of Hyderabad Sindh, circa 1870, with its ghittis (lanes) traversing east-west. By early 1900, most of the mud-built houses included wind-catchers on their roofs, thus providing natural respite from intense heat.

**This publication is not for sale**

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## CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	1
Introduction	11
I. Migration of Amils to Sindh	15
II. Roads to Sindh: Punjab to Karachi	19
III. Categorization of Amils who migrated from Punjab	25
IV. Towns and villages of Sindh	27
V. Khudabad and its eventual demise	31
VI. Hyderabad – Diwan Gidumal and Kalhora rulers	37
VII. Distinctions between Khudabadi and Hyderabad Amils	47
VIII. Diwan Adumal (c. 1740) and descendants – Advanis	51
IX. Diwan Adiomal Shahwani (c. 1700) and descendants	57
X. Profiles of Amil families in Hyderabad (c. 1917)	65
XI. Diwan Gidumal – from Kalhoras onto Talpur rulers	73
XII. Profiles of Amil families in Hyderabad – continued	79
XIII. Amils – religion and languages	93
XIV. Amil – dress and ornaments	97
XV. Amil lifestyles – customs, rites and food	103
<i>Epilogue: Migrations – planned and political</i>	107
Appendices	
I. Titles used to describe Hindu Sindhis	111
II. Hyderabad c. 1880: population and infrastructure	115

7 | Bherumal Mahirchand.

ءاملن جو احوال

[Amḷun Jo Ahvāl. A history of the Amils. It gives the history of the  
Origin of the different Amil families in Sind.] pp. 151. Published by  
Kanwalsing Pohūmal. [25th March 1919] Royal 8vo. 1st edition.

Price, As. 10.

Index page from Amilan-jo-Ahwal (British Library, London)

## PREFACE

Any search for the origins of Sindhi surnames, inevitably leads to Bherumal Mahirchand Advani's book, "Amilan-jo-Ahwal". Written in Sindhi script, a limited number of copies were published by Kanwalsing Pohumal, on 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1919, and priced at 10 annas.

Bherumal (1876-1950) was a versatile Sindhi writer who has over sixty publications to his name. He started his career as a Distillery Inspector in the Salt Department at Kotri, Sindh. It was during his official duties, that material for "Amilan-jo-Ahwal" was gathered. Upon retirement he was appointed to the Chair of Sindhi, at D.J. Sind College, in Karachi.

His book was later interpreted (and extended) into English in 1975, by Narain Nebhraj Advani, a relative of Bherumal. Within this 1975 material, Bherumal's preface to "Amilan-jo-Ahwal", which was previously excluded in the Sindhi version of 1919, is displayed as follows:

*Whilst travelling in the Punjab and during official tours of Sind, I gathered considerable information about the Amils of Sind, which I am now presenting, in the form of a book, to my readers. I hope that others who possess further materials will pass it on to me so that I may include it in the next edition.*

*In the past, I had tried to trace the relationship between various families of Hyderabad (Sind) and non-Hyderabad families so as to establish that both belong to the same brotherhood and that there is no separating difference between them. But I was not very successful in my efforts because many families do not possess information about family trees. However, I have come across the relationships of some families, which I have described in this book.*

*In compiling the book, I have also taken help of the Miscellany Magazine of D.J. Sind College, Karachi, Jote Weekly of Hyderabad Sind, Sind Gazetteer and a few history books.*

*Bherumal Mahirchand, Distillery Inspector, Kotri (Sind)  
Dated 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1919.*

Our publication of 2016, is a translation of Bherumal's original book which comprised of 147 pages. Photocopies of selected material from the 1919 original, have been included in our publication. It is hoped that through these photocopies, readers conversant with Sindhi, will be able to judge Bherumal's mastery of our language, and the book structure he adopted.

Following Partition, and with the migration and resettlement of Sindhis in countless countries, our culture is now in the hands of second and third generation diasporas. For many of them, the opportunity to use Sindhi language is very limited. Bherumal was not to know of such events. In this context, his historical perspectives of the lives of our forefathers in Hyderabad one hundred years ago, is well worth preserving. Likewise, the genealogical data that he has recorded is most important; it has already allowed many Sindhis to research and record their own family lineages.

The genealogical data presented by Bherumal is based on his interviews with Amil elders in Hyderabad, and on material contained in a book "A History of Sind" by Mirza Kalich Faridun Beg. Mirza, also a prolific author and twenty three years senior to Bherumal, was also employed at the same Distillery in Kotri, Sind – as a Deputy Collector.

Readers may be aware that "Amilan-jo-Ahwal" is hard to locate in its original form. Our own acquisition of the book, and the process of its translation, has been a journey worth noting.

Nari Jethanand Shahani, a close relative and keen genealogist, was invited in 1989 by his employer in the Middle East, to attend a business conference in Karachi. Nari expresses with a smile: visiting his birthplace was a dream come true. In Karachi, taking refreshments in the coffee shop of the Pearl Continental Hotel, Nari by chance met another hotel guest - a Hyderabad Pakistani who introduced himself as Arjun Mansukhani. Their surnames clicked – Amils.

General chat which followed, included Arjun referring to a book, published in 1919, about Amils. Nari fondly remembers the subsequent days spent with Arjun: a visit to Arjun's home in Hyderabad, and visits to several Hyderabad locations, often mentioned by Nari's relatives. Phuleli,

Tilak Chari, and Manghopir (Karachi) are still fresh in his mind. Arjun gifted Nari with his only copy of “Amilan-jo-Ahwal”; it was an act of pure friendship and respect, for a fellow Amil – despite political upheavals and passage of time. Nari did try to contact Arjun in later years, but learnt that he passed away in 1999.

Although well conversant in Sindhi, Nari like many of us, possess a limited knowledge of Sindhi script. In early 2015, he showed me a copy of “Amilan-jo-Ahwal”. He stressed his desire to have it translated. It did not take long for us to agree to a project, specifically to create an English version, with a view to international distribution. Today, Nari feels in his heart, that Arjun Mansukhani would have been truly honoured to see a copy of his book migrating from Hyderabad, into the hands of interested Sindhis, who then proceed to have it translated and distributed worldwide – for the benefit of Sindhi families and learned institutions

Several failed attempts at translation did not lessen our zeal. In June 2015, we approached Swami Lilashah Seva Niketan in Vadodara, Gujarat ([www.swamililashahbaroda.org](http://www.swamililashahbaroda.org)). There, our close contacts and friends, Shri Dharamdas Chandwani and Shri Kishore Morendha rose to the challenge. Dharamdas undertook to read the book and to then send voice files to Kishore, who in turn translated the material into English. Over a period of four intense months, the entire book had been transformed: into voice files in Sindhi, supported by word files in English. Files as they arose, were promptly circulated amongst our team: in Vadodara, Mumbai, Hong Kong, and in London.

En-route, some confusion arose as to the completeness of Nari’s copy of “Amilan-jo-Ahwal”. After much searching we managed to locate another hard copy (in very fragile condition) at The British Library, in London. Taking account of copyright issues, parts of The British Library copy have been reproduced here, whilst the complete book (in Sindhi and in English) is available at our website: [www.saibaba-fund.org](http://www.saibaba-fund.org).

Our translation includes additional web-based material, as necessary. This approach we feel, has added a good deal of clarity to the final product. Thus, location names in Sindh Province are translated with consistency, resulting in higher accuracy. Historical dates have been

included to strengthen Bherumal's own observations and comments of events spanning two hundred and fifty years.

We have also tried to ensure consistency in English spellings of Sindhi surnames. Readers will know that a number of Sindhi surnames today, although having the same origin, are spelt in a variety of ways. For example Advani in this book is, today, often spelt as Advaney, Adwaney and Adwani.

The next stage, has been the reshaping of Bherumal's material into structured easy-to-read chapters, including photographs of old, maps, an epilogue, and the addition of two Appendices. Here, Anil Shamdasani has come to our rescue: patience and meticulous attention to detail at a professional level, has certainly uplifted the final product.

As a team, we felt it most important that Bherumal Mahirchand Advani's direct descendants were kept informed of our translation efforts, and our desire to publish and distribute his book of 1919. After much research, Nari Jethanand Shahani, undertook in March, 2016, to meet Shyam Ramchand Advani, grandson of Bherumal, at his residence in Bandra, Mumbai. Needless to say, Bherumal's family were delighted to meet, greet and be associated with this project. Bherumal's photo was their valuable gift for our publication, together with Shyam Ramchand Advani's letters of appreciation, including one handwritten in Sindhi. These are reproduced in the preface.

This then, is our humble contribution and gift, for countless Sindhi communities across the globe.

Our Team:

August, 2016

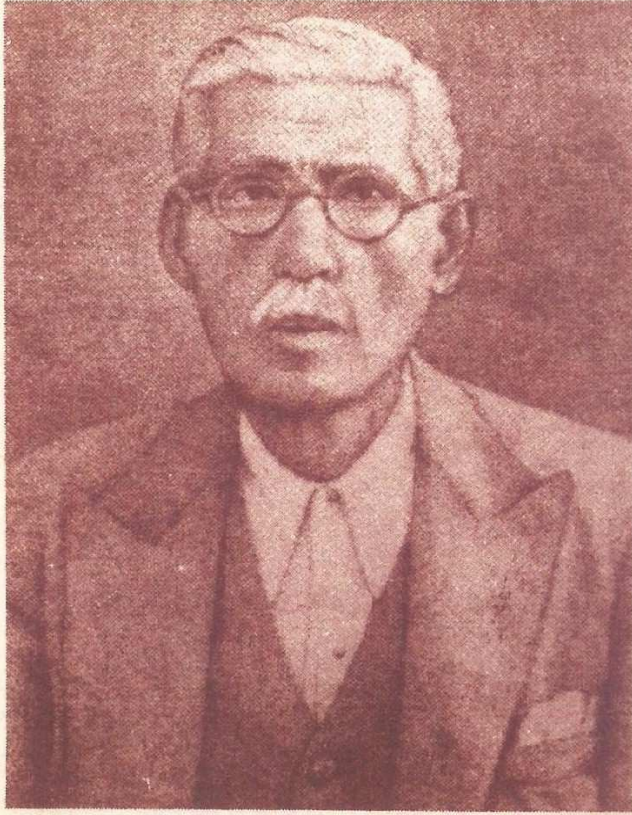
Nari Jethanand Shahani, Mumbai

Shri Dharamdas Chandwani, Vadodara, Gujarat

Shri Kishore Morendha, Vadodara, Gujarat

Haresh Ramchandra Shamdasani, Hong Kong

Ramesh Ramchandra Shamdasani, London.



پیس و مل مہر چند آڈواڻي  
۱۸۷۶ء - ۱۹۵۰ء

Shri Bherumal Mahirchand Advani, 1876-1950



**S. R. ADVANI**

LABOUR CONSULTANT

Bandra (W),  
Mumbai 400-050

3<sup>rd</sup> June, 2016  
Mumbai.

**Dear Mr. Nari Shahani,**

I highly appreciate your efforts to write in honour of Late Mr. Bherumal Mahirchand Advani, who had written about 60/75 Books in Sindhi Language and was one of the excellent and most prolific writer in Sindhi Language. He was planning to write Sindhi language Dictionary. He was a Professor in Sindhi language in D.J Sind College, Karachi, Pakistan. I learnt that The Govt. of Pakistan has appreciated books written by Late Mr. Bherumal M. Advani, in Sindhi language and provided good contribution to Sindhi literature and language therefore the said Govt. had displayed his Photo on the table with a Decorated Chair as Memorial in the College. The Govt. of Pakistan has also displayed his Photo in the College Premises. This will perpetuate his memory and contribution to the Sindhi language. This was narrated to me by Mr. Girdhar Lokram Dodeja, who was a best publisher of Sindhi language books in Karachi, who observed this during his visit to Karachi after Partition of India, he witnessed such Honour was granted to late Mr. Bherumal Mahirchand Advani, who was doyen among writers of Sindhi language. His many poems, Ghazals, and short stories and proverbs are very memorable and senior people sing like a song “ Jo Kher Piye, so veer thiaye, dand sutha suhna lagan, akhian jyot wade, sutha suhahna lagan”.

The following are names, present addresses of very close living decedents: and well connected relatives:-

- 1). Mrs. Rami Prabhudas Advani, Age 97 yrs. Living in Ontario, Canada.  
(Daughter-in-law).
- 2). Mr. Paul Prabhudas Advani , Age 72 yrs. ,( Grandson)
- 3). Mrs. Geeta Paul Advani, Age 67 yrs.(Wife of Paul).  
Late Mr. Bherumal Advani, had one son expired at Hyderabad, Pakistan, namely late Mr. Prabhudas B. Advani and two daughters (not living but their children are alive.)
- 1). Mr. Shyam Ramchand Advani , Living (Grandson) Age-81yrs.  
Mumbai, India.

..... 2.....

**S. R. ADVANI**  
LABOUR CONSULTANT

Bandra (W),  
Mumbai 400-050

: 2 :

- 2). (My one brother Mr. Sunder R. Advani, ( Age 70 yrs.) Living at Lagos, Nigeria & Three younger sisters living 1. Ms. Shobha Jagtiani, (age. 76 yrs.) (2). Ms. Meera Advani,(Age: 67yrs.) and (3) Ms. Deepa Vaswani.(Age 65 years) all living Mumbai, India.
- 3). Mr. Mangho Mohanlal Gurbaxani, Living (Grandson) Age: 81 years, Bangalore, India.( And also Grandson of Late Dr. Hotchand Moolchand Gurbaxani, who was prominent author of “Shah Jo Rasalo”, and . Several books written in classic Sindhi language.) and was Principal of D.J. Sind College, Karachi, Pakistan.

It is indeed an honour to be associated with your translation efforts to spread Sindhi language, after about 100 years, of the book written by late Bherumal Mahirchand Advani’s original efforts, which will once again reach out to our Sindhi communities, this time internationally.

**With kind regards,**

**Yours ever.**

*S. R. Advani*

**(Shyam Advani)**

(1)

۲۴-۵-۲۰۱۴  
مکتبہ ہندوستان

پیارا مہتر نائی شہاڻي

مان توھان جونيات شعر غناء آھيان جو توھان  
ڪوشش ڪري سرفروسي پيڙهيل هڪ چنڊ  
آڏواڻي جي ياد ڏيئي سنڌي ٻولي کي زندگي ڏيئي  
لاڳ ڪوشش ڪري رهيا آھيو تن سنڌي ٻولي هميشه  
زندگي ۾ قائم رھي. اها هڪ سنڌين لاءِ فخر  
جي علامه آهي. منهنجي ناني پيڙهيل هڪ چنڊ  
آڏواڻي سنڌي ۾ 40 کان 45 هٿاب لکيا سنڌي  
لکڻي ۾ اول ڏيئي چا سنڌي ٻولي هوليڪا هئا  
۽ پھريو سنڌي ٻولي جو پروفيسر هو. هن  
ڪوشش ڪئي تنهن ڪري ڏيئي سنڌ ڪاليج  
ڪراچي ۾ اول ڏيئي چا پروفيسر هئا. پاڪستان  
سرڪار هنن جي ياد ڏيئي هن ڪراچي ڪاليج ۾ هن  
جو فوٽوي هڪ ٿيل ۽ ڪرسي يادگار قائم  
ڪئي لاءِ استاين ڪري جيڪا هنن هوندي سنڌ  
جي مشهر سنڌي ڪتاب پيڙهيل واري شعر ۽ غزل  
لوڪيول ڏوڏيڪاڻي جو هن ڪراچي ۾ ڪاليج  
۾ ويو هو پاڪستان ٽيلو ڪارپوريشن ڏيئي  
پڇاريو هو. کين پيڙهيل هڪ چنڊ لاءِ ڪافي عزت  
۽ پيار هو. هن چيو ته پيڙهيل هڪ چنڊ آڏواڻي  
هي سنڌي ٻولي ۾ سنڌ ٽيلو ڪارپوريشن لاءِ ڪافي  
هوندي هنن جي ڪتابن مان هڪ آهي آهي ۽ سنڌي  
ٻولي ڪي ڪافي اوڀاري تي پهچايو، پاڪستان

هي بيت پيو وٺندي هئا جيئن ته ماڻھو  
مشهور آهي ”جو ڪير پيئي سو ڀر ٿئي“  
تو سندس هئا ائين، ائين جو ت وڏي سنڌو  
اچي

۱. توهان جي لاءِ ڪي تمام ننڍڙي ڇوڪري ۽ ڇوڪري  
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 ۹. توهان جي لاءِ ڪي تمام ننڍڙي ڇوڪري ۽ ڇوڪري  
 ۱۰. توهان جي لاءِ ڪي تمام ننڍڙي ڇوڪري ۽ ڇوڪري

۵۔ شری سدری ۱۲ واٹھی عمر ۷ سال (کوہنٹی) لنگوسا  
۶۔ شری منگو موھلا لکڑ بھٹائی عمر ۸۱ (کوہنٹی)  
بیگم ہڈستان پورھو پر نیسیال چیم سنز کالیج کراچی  
ہاشمی پاکستان کے پرنسپل مین سویا جتانی عمر ۷

ڏاڏا صيران آڏو ٿي عمر ۾ ۱۸ سال ڏيڻا وڃي ويا وڃي ۴۵ سال ڏيڻو هو.  
پراڻا ۽ ٽيڙا ڪهڙي ڪهڙي ڏوٽي جي عالم آهي تنهن سنڌي  
ٻولي کي هن ڪتاب "آڏو ڏوٽو آهالو" ۾ ڪم آندو.  
هن اڻ لکيل ڪتاب جي حالت ۾ به هتي سان  
پير سڳي دنيا ۾ پيش ڪرڻ جو هوقو هو ۽ ٻيو  
آهي ڏوٽو ڪم ٿيڻ ٻيڙي ۾ ڪم ڪندو هو ۽ ڪم ڪندو هو  
جن ڪتاب جي صورت ۾ ظاهر ٿي رهيو آهي  
جيڪا سنڌين ۽ سنڌي ٻولي کي سمجهڻ  
۽ سکڻ ۾ فائدي جي عالم آهي تنهن سنڌي ٻولي  
هميشه قائم رهي ۽ ۽ ڏاڏو ٻولي تي  
پهريون سڳو ڏاڏو آهي ۽ ٻيو ڏاڏو  
تنهن سنڌي ٻولي ۽ ٻيو ڪم ۾ هلاڪ ڪري  
۽ سنڌين جو شان هلاڪ ڪري.

مان توهان جو هميشه شڪر ڪريان  
۽ ته ڏس  
ٿي وڃي

شاهه رام ڪمند آڏو ٿي  
ڏوٽو ٻيڙي ۾ ڪم ڪندو آهي

## INTRODUCTION

I suspect my profile is very similar to that of a large number of Sindhi diasporas spread across the globe.

My elders have often remarked that we are Amils. Our family profile is as follows: surname suffix is “ani; of Hindu faith; having resided in Sindh starting with Larkana, onto Hyderabad (Sindh), then Karachi, and subsequently migrated to Bombay around the time of Partition. Some seventy years after Partition, my immediate and near relatives are spread across the continents. Amongst my families, at least three generations have been involved in Sindhwork, with ever increasing push towards higher education, leading to secure employment in the professions (typically in government, engineering, medical, legal, accounting, banking and academia).

My parents married in Hirabad (district of Hyderabad, Sindh); the middle names of our male off-springs are derived from first name of their father. Branches of our families are closely connected to Sitlanis, whilst other branches are Advanis (some male Advanis still have “sing” suffix in their names). A good number from our families embrace Guru Nanik’s teachings. Sindhi culture and food is still part of our psyche. Unfortunately, “Nukh” does not arise as a topic for discussion. Although I speak Sindhi adequately, I am unfamiliar with the written word. Conversations with Sindhis of my generation and younger, is invariably in English.

So, I am an Amil Sindhi – but what is my origin? Genealogical research, based on hearsay and disjointed personal records, provides some answers. Searches at Hardiwar, Nashik, and intensive web-based investigations have filled a few gaps. However, an adequate picture has always eluded me.

Recently retired, and still harbouring many questions over my roots (often the case as one gets older), by chance I came across a gem – this book in its entirety, by Bhreumal Mahirchand Advani, published in 1919. Forming a small dedicated team, we undertook its translation into English, primarily for our own satisfaction. Increasingly, we realised that



once translated, and validated through web-based resources, the final product could be of much value to a wide audience.

Our translation exercise, lasting some eighteen months, has lifted some of my own “genealogical mist”. Uncertainty still remains. However, thanks to Bherumal’s material, I am able to place much of my inherited hearsay and “hand-me-down” folklore into perspective. More importantly, I am able to glean a realistic, rather than romantic view, of the lives of our forefathers in Sindh. The book describes how their lives were significantly affected by changes in the rulers of Sindh (Kalhora dynasty Mians, followed by Talpur dynasty Mirs, and onto British Administration), and how our forefathers had little choice but to “go with the flow”. Their pragmatism invariably meant shifting locations under duress. The translation has also thrown light on the historical importance of titles such as Diwan, Seth, Mukhis and Munshis (Appendix I clarifies these).

We learn that Bherumal himself faced uncertainties when mapping family trees for the Amil Sindhis of Hyderabad. This is not surprising, as it was relatively easy for individuals, often from the same family, to adopt different surnames, unhindered by legal requirements.

Finally, reading between the lines and by reference to other published material, it becomes clear that our Hindu communities, as migrants into Sindh, faced continual and considerable challenges – some man made, some natural. Not surprisingly, such events often bound aakais (family) closer, but also led to aakai disputes and separations.

Bherumal ends his 1919 book, by describing the lives of Sindhis settled in Hyderabad, at a time of increasing British influence in the sub-continent, including Sindh Province. The difficulties and opportunities that Sindhis encountered in the following decades, and the central role of Karachi (circa 1924, when an aerodrome was built) is important, but is obviously absent in the book.

The original book structure is essentially in note form. This is possibly so, because Bherumal was gathering material whilst on tour during his official duties as an employee of the Raj. In addition, material was likely to have arisen in a piece meal fashion, reliant on the availability of Amil



elders. Readers can examine his original paragraph structures, in the full Sindhi version, available at [www.saibaba-fund.org](http://www.saibaba-fund.org). In the course of translation, we have chosen to introduce our own structure. In so doing, additional information (usually in brackets) is also included where necessary, always ensuring that Bherumal's original thought and comments are not misinterpreted. Our offering is intended to facilitate easy reading; readers will hopefully benefit from the style, and additional information contained.

A further hope is that our translation will ignite awareness and interest amongst Sindhi families and institutions, worldwide. If this were to happen, and if additional material (often family specific) continues to be placed on the web, then the cumulative effect will be of immense value to our culture. In turn, the material would install a stronger sense of belonging amongst Hindu Sindhis.

Ramesh Ramchandra Shamdasani, Trustee,  
The Shamdasani Foundation, Hong Kong

August, 2016

۵ عاملن جو احوال

اهو به "ديوان" سڏجي ٿو تنهنڪري  
ڪي پڙهيل ظاهر ظهور ائين چوندا آهن ته  
"ديوان" لفظ هاڻي به معنيٰ ٿي پيو آهي.

ڪلهوڙن جيڪي توڙي ميرن وٽ

زير دست لکپڙهه جي ڪم تي	منشي
-------------------------	------

هوندا هئا تنهنجي "منشي" سڏيندا  
هئا. انهن معنيٰ مضمون لکڻ ۽ منشي معنيٰ

جو مضمون لکي يا لکپڙهه جو ڪم ڪري

پيءُ جي ڪار ڪري. مسلمان توڙي اهل جي

لکپڙهه جي ڪم تي هوندا هئا تنهنجي

"منشي" سڏيندا هئا ۽ اڄ به هندو توڙي

مسلمان لاءِ "منشي" لفظ ڪم آڻيو آهي.

تفاوت رڳو هي آهي ته انگريزي آفيسن ۾

لکپڙهه ڪندڙن کي ڪلارڪ ڪوٺجي

ٿو ۽ انگريزي توڙي سنڌي خواندو جو

سنڌي آفيس ۾ ڪم ڪري ٿو تنهنڪري

"منشي" ڪوٺجي ٿو ۽ اهي پيشن تي

## **Chapter I: Migration of Amils to Sindh**

(Bherumal commences, by providing the reader with brief description of titles used to denote Hindu Sindhis, namely: Alim, Amil, Diwan, Munshi, Mahito and Vanio. Translation of the first section of his book, and the titles introduced, are presented as Appendix I).

Who were the Amils who migrated to Sindh? Why did they make such journeys? When did they arrive in Sindh? These questions are difficult to ascertain, as there is no published history, nor are there any records available, to describe the migration of Amils to Sindh.

Therefore, I record in my book, limited data extracted from historical material and newspapers which I have collected, and also from the elders I have met in the course of my official tours of Sindh.

Most of the Amils who are at present in Sind (see page 18), came from Multan or Uch (Uch-i-Sharif, south of Multan); both are located in Punjab. Some Bhaibunds now living in Sindh, also originate from Punjab, whilst others came from Jaisalmer, Jodhpur (both in Rajasthan) and Gujarat. A few of the present Amils are Khatri Lohana, and are of warrior castes.

Although Amil families were essentially Hindus, some had been influenced by, or had embraced Sikhism, whilst in Punjab. Bherumal comments that today, some Amils of Hyderabad (Sindh), continue to retain Sikh traditions of Panch-Kesh (five kakkars of Khalsa Sikhs: one of the kakkar being kesh, the retention of head and facial hair). While most of these migrants continue to worship Guru Nanik as their Ista-devata (cherished divinity), some have after migration, decided not to observe the Panch-Kesh tradition.

Such traditions date back to Guru Nanik Sahib's birth year 1469. During that period, Punjab was dominated by the Mughal Sultanat (Mughal Empire), starting with Barbur (1483-1530) and onto Shah Jahan (1628-1658). Barbur head quartered the Mughal Sultanat in the Punjab. Amils were residing in the Punjab during this period.

After his illness, Shah Jahan was imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb (1618-1707). Under Aurangzeb (from 1658 onwards), Hindus began to face considerable hardship. During the first ten years of his reign, Aurangzeb remained fearful that the Rajputs (who served as army commanders under Shah Jahan) would forcibly bring back Shah Jahan as the Mughal Emperor. When Shah Jahan died in 1666, Aurangzeb emerged as the shining new Suni Emperor, and went on to prove himself as a rough ruler for both Shia Muslims and Hindus alike.

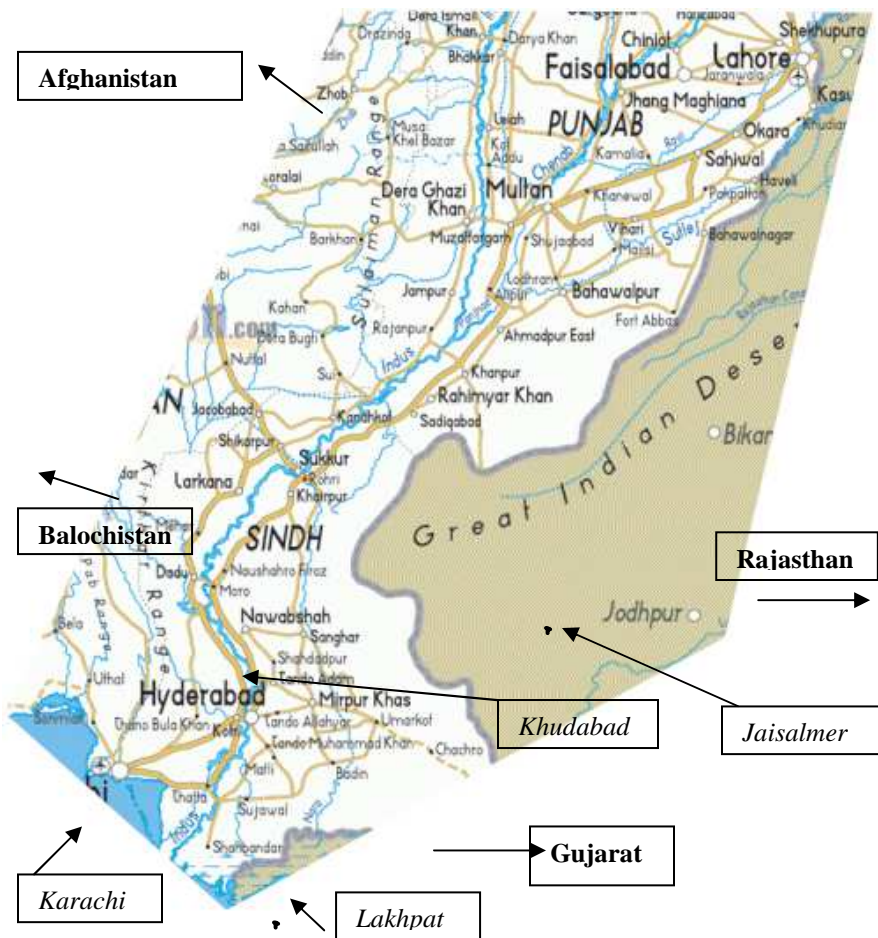
(Several incidents bear testimony to Aurangzeb's religious intolerances).

There was a grand Hindu temple in Mathura (Keshava Rai temple), built at a cost of thirty three lakhs, and measured 286' by 268'. Aurangzeb ordered its destruction (in 1670), and in its place constructed a masjid; it still stands today. The hurt felt by Hindus over this temple destruction, was further compounded by the removal and relocation of temple statues and murties (of Hindu idols). These were then installed under the steps of the staircase of the Begam Masjid (in Agra). Thus Hindu idols would be continually trodden upon by all. Aurangzeb also instructed Mathura's name be changed to Islam-abad.

These are a few of Aurangzeb's countless ill-deeds. Many people say that he forcibly converted Hindus to become Muslims. In so doing, it is said that the sacred Janoi (shoulder thread) worn by Hindus collected each day, weighed more than one maund (approximately twenty kilograms).

سنه ۶۶۶ع ۾ وفات ڪئي ٿي ٿر اورنگزيب جو پٽ ٿيو.  
هو پوءِ مڇي مڙس ٿيو. هن يڪدم هندو  
۽ ڪرستان عملدارن کان تر عهدا ڪيسيا هر  
پنهنجن مسلمان پائرن شهيدن کي ۽ ٿڙي  
ڪي پائين جو پاڻ سڻي هو. سڀني کي  
زور وٺائي پوءِ وري هندن جو مارو ٿيو.  
مٿس هر هڪ عالیشان مندر هو جنهن تي  
تيتيهه لک رهيا خرچ ٿيو هو ۽ جنهن جي  
ماپ ۲۸۶ x ۲۶۸ فوٽ هئي. ايڏو وڏو  
۽ عالیشان مندر هن سنڌ وري ڪا به ٻي  
پٽ ڪري ڇڏيو ۽ هندن جي ڦٽن تي  
لوتا وجهڻ لاءِ انهي پٽ تي هڪ عالیشان  
مسجد جو ٺاڻائين جا اڃا ٺاڻ قائم آهي.  
برهمڻن جي دلين ۾ ڪوٺا لاءِ هن نر رڳو  
ايڏو ڪيو هر انهي مندر ۾ جيڪي ٺاڪو  
رڪيل هواسي آگرهه ۾ ۽ ڪلي قدسپر





**Map of Sindh & surrounding areas:  
indicating Multan road towards Hyderabad**

## **Chapter II: Roads to Sindh - Punjab to Karachi**

(In this chapter, Bherumal describes the geography of Sindh Province, with its historical road networks, towns and villages along the length of the Indus river: from Punjab in the north, to Karachi in south Sindh. He uses these locations in later chapters to narrate historical events, spanning two centuries. During this period we learn that Hindu families, Amils and Bhaibunds alike, are often forced to relocate ever southwards, towards Hyderabad. Translation into English of location names has been given special attention, so that the reader can conduct further research with minimum ambiguity and confusion. Whilst web-based searches provide ample data on geography, we have included a simplified and older map of Sindh. This captures the essence of migration paths traversed by Amils and Bhaibunds).

In Sanskrit there is a word Janak; it carries the same connotation as Raja (father of his subjects) or Badshah (monarch - protector). Janak itself means “birth giver”, “father” or “generating” (e.g. Janamdata). The duty of Janak is to protect and look after his people, and to avoid their harassment. For Hindus in Punjab, Aurangzeb was not a Janak. Once harassment exists, people will migrate from that place or kingdom.

Aurangzeb’s actions therefore led to migration of communities in search of safer and secure livelihoods. Thus the Hindu Amils of Punjab (and some Sikhs traders), travelled towards Sindh for a better life. They relocated their families, and sought to work in the service (exemplified by Diwan Gidumal, Chapter VI) of the more benevolent Muslim rulers, or to start their own businesses.

These Amil migrants started leaving Punjab from around 1670; they have now settled in Sindh for some 250 years.

Amils arrived in Sindh, taking roads from Punjab, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and other locations. The existence of these well-traversed routes are recorded in history.

In particular, Punjab and Sindh (being adjacent provinces), enjoyed strong road communications via Multan. The road connecting Punjab to



Sindh was known as Shahi-Rasta and exists even today (part of ancient Grand Trunk Road, and now referred to as National Highway).

Starting from Multan, the road travels southwards through Bahawalpur State, and travels (further south) straight onto Ghotki and Pano Aqil towns, and then onto Rohri in Sukkur District.

During my travels, I learn that to this date, families living in towns and villages between Multan and Rohri still retain their original Nukh (or tribal names). These names match those of present day Hyderabad Amils (living further south). For example, Advanis of Hyderabad Sindh, are from a Nukh called Maghu Khitri (warrior caste); this Nukh is also to be found amongst Amils living between Multan, and (further north) in Amritsar.

Continuing southwards, there is another road from Rhori which traverses Khairpur District and leads to the town of Khairpur. From Khairpur, this road moves onto Kandiaro Taluka in Nawabshah District. The road continues south towards (Ranipur) Riyasat, on to Setharaj and then to the village of Kotri Kabir (Ghot Kotri Muhammad Kir). Further south at a distance of five miles, is the town of Halani. After Kotri Kabir and Halani, the road skirts the town of Kandiaro, towards the village of Syed Shuja which is located between Halani and Kandiaro Road Station.

The road then moves forward to Bazidpur and Lakhar. Lakhar is on the boundary of Kandiaro Taluka as it touches Naushahro Feroze Taluka. From Lakhar the road proceeds to Bhiria and Naushahro Feroze towns, and thence to villages Sadhuja, Moro and Daulatpur.

From Daulatpur, the road proceeds to Kazi Ahmed village in Sakrand Taluka, onto Hala and Matiari villages in Hala Taluka, and onwards to old Phuleli. This entire road is commonly called Multanwala Rasta (Multan Road) - starting in the north in Multan through to Hyderabad in the south.

Eastwards, from Hyderabad to Jodhpur, the road goes through Tando Allahyar, Mirpur Khas, Shadipali, to Umerkot District. From Umerkot town, the road leads to Munabao, then via Gadro Railway Station follows through Baytu towards Jodhpur, some 75 miles away. Nowadays, the

Jodhpur-Bikaner rail service, which starts from Marwar Junction and goes onto Bombay or Delhi, offers much comfort and safety, as a “rajwali gaadi”.

(Bherumal continues to describe other significant roads - connecting north and middle Sindh, to the port of Karachi in the south). People travelling south to Karachi, from Sukkur, Pad Idan and Shikarpur used camels for transportation. Karachi has two key entry points (or octroi posts). First post is the Jati-wala Naka, on the road leading to Jati in the east; the second being Sehwan-wala Naka, on the road north towards Sehwan.

From Karachi, the Sehwan-wala Naka road travels north towards Kotri near Hyderabad. It continues north tracing the mountains of Kirthar and Lakhi hills, before reaching Sehwan. Close to Sehwan town, this road splits: the main road carries on northwards into Sehwan, with another road branching westward to skirt the south side of Manchar Lake. This lake-side branch road continues around the lake, arriving at Johi and then northwards along the valley (via Phujli) to Kakkar, Mehar, Nasirabad, (then Kambar), Ratodero, and enters Shikarpur. A further (direct) road connects Sehwan to Shikarpur. It starts at Sehwan, follows through to Dadu, and then northwards to Larkana, Shikarpur and further north to Jacobabad.

The “shahi rasta” (from Jati-wala Naka) proceeds eastwards from Karachi onto Dhabeji railway station, then to Ghoru village in the taluka of Mirpur Sakro. The road continues and skirts Thatta, and follows through (northwards) to Jhirk (Jerruck), Kotri. Manjhand, Lakhi and eventually reaches Sehwan.

At Thatta there is also a branch road which travels (south-east) towards ferry crossings at Tanka and Saidpur (on the banks of the Baghar Canal). After crossing this stretch of water, the road leads onto the town of Belo in the taluka of Sujwal. Travelling south from Sujwal, the road arrives at Jati, followed by Mughalbhin, and further south to the coast at Khori Creek (“kori a ji khari”) , where one can reach Lakhpat (in Kutch, Gujarat).

Along Khori Creek, and near Mughalbhain, there is a port, Sandu, which holds a Customs Office. Moving up the creek towards Lakhpat, there are two holy towns of note: Narayan Sarovar and KanerSar. (Several temples and tombs are also to be found in the area). Whilst Sikhs from Punjab may not have heard of (the temple at) Narayan Sarovar, Amil elders frequently visit the temple. These Amils visit it for “pitru calling yagna” (oracles of saintly spirits). People originating from Lakhpat area, also visit the temple.

At Narayan Sarovar, Maharaja Jaikrishan Valdshar Thanuram - a great vidvan (learned person), and who was well versed on matters of saintly spirits, used to say that the practice of “naranbali” (communicating with spirits) is “95% useless, whilst the remaining 5% was based on your trust”. He was the great grandson of Brahman Thanuramji.

Rohri in Sukkur district, with the island of Bakhar on the Indus



This photo by James Atkinson c.1839 shows a group of travelers with camels in the foreground. Bakhar island is seen on the Indus. Readers can well imagine the conditions migrants will have faced in their journeys into Sindh.

## Map of Sindh Province with major towns

### Map of Sind

Map by Mr. K.B. Kumar, reproduced from *The Sindh Story*, by Mr. K.R. Malkani





Travelling along the Grand Trunk Road: from Punjab to Sindh, c. 1880

### **Chapter III: Categorization of Amils who migrated from Punjab**

(Bherumal recaps that): Amils came to Sindh from Punjab, Jodhpur and other States. Few came because of the Emperor's harassment; some migrated for business purposes and employment, whilst others did so for personal or family reasons. For them, the road to Sindh, being a historical trade route, was already in place. It is now necessary to discuss which categories of Amil families migrated from Punjab to Sindh.

Some senior elder folk ("pirmad") who have knowledge (of Hindu family groups and their migration to Sindh), say that (early in the history of this migration) four complete neighbourhoods ("pada") and nine closely related family groups ("vedaha") arrived in Sindh.

Explaining further, he notes that: "vedaha" refers to Amil groups who may be of different identities by Nukh (tribe, root), but are nevertheless connected to each other through marital relationships (thus, vedaha refers to closely knit families). On the other hand, "pada" refers to Amil groups who share neither the same identity (Nukh), nor any family relationships. (They are however, neighbours in the same town/village).

The surnames of the four early Amil "pada" or neighbourhood migrants, who made the journey were: Vaswani, Idnani, Kirpalani and Mirchandani. Similarly, the surnames of early Amil "vedaha" or related migrants were: Advani, Gidwani, Chandiramani, Malkani, Sipahimalani, Wadhwani, Punwani, Mansukhani and Shivdasani. It is said that the "vedaha" migrants had previously been closely knit families in Punjab, and had encountered inter-marriages across their castes. Both pada and vedaha Amils had migrated from Punjab, to Nawabshah and Hyderabad.

Over time, other Hindus from Punjab, made journeys to Sindh via the towns of Sukkur and Jacobabad. A few families travelled out of Punjab, first to Jodhpur and Gujarat, and eventually made their way to Hyderabad.

In later chapters we will learn the history of Amil family groups now residing in Sindh. I will describe the conditions they witnessed upon migrating, and include descriptions of specific cities, towns and villages in Sindh.





From Gazetteer of Province of Sind, 1876: Sehwan, some eighty miles north-west of Hyderabad, lies on the opposite bank of the Indus. On the north side of the town is the ruined castle or fortress. It consists of a natural mound sixty feet high, encased in many parts with burnt brick. In fact, the fortress and mound are so amalgamated, that it is difficult now to distinguish what portions of it are the work of art. A well, filled up, was observed. We were told that coins and medals were frequently found near by.

Below: Jacobabad c. 1830 consisted of a small mud fort, three Banya shops and a well. The first tree was planted in 1848; now there are hundreds, some are 30 feet high





## **Chapter IV: Towns and villages of Sindh**

(Having commented on the major routes from Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat into Sindh Province, Bherumal now introduces the reader to specific towns and villages in Sindh. In later chapters, he relies on town/village descriptions to narrate where Amil families now live, their businesses and employment, and the family genealogies that have developed since early days of migration).

Those familiar with the history of Sindh Province, will be aware of the general conditions which prevailed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – particularly in the region's cities, towns and villages.

Since that time, a few locations have been given more recent names, such as Jacobabad, Jamesabad and Bradabad (during British rule of Sindh Province, starting in 1843).

In the main, towns and villages in Sindh were named after Muslim persons of importance, their communities and castes. The following names of locations are examples of Muslim influence, and their name derivation can be easily followed:

Abran – a taluka of Naushahro Feroze district, was known for the Abro (Abra) tribe/community who resided there;

Bago Tando – (a taluka in the District of Badin) is en route to Hala and was built by Talpur chieftain Bagi Khan. It started as a village for some 150 residents;

Tando Adam – (also called Daran jo Shaher: city of gates). Tando Adam was founded by Mir Adam Khan Mari;

Tando Masti Khan – founded about 1803 by Wadero Masti Khan;

Thora Shah – named after Sayad Thora Khan;

Noori Tando – (Nooriabad) established by Mehman Khan Noori;

Phul – named after Muslim caste called Phul, There are two locations to be found. One is in Naushahro Taluka, whilst the other location is Larkana District;

Thora Talpur – named after a thora (“lower”) ruler in Talpur dynasty Muslim from Larkana, in Naushar Taluka;

Khan Wahan – founded by Khan Sahita in Kandiaro Taluka;

Dadu - according to local legend Dadu was named after Dadan, Dad Mohammad or Dadu Shah Sayad. Whilst there is no confirmation in this regard, their heirs are still there, as agricultural landlords;

Raju Khanani – founded by Rajkhan Talpur in Tando Bago Taluka;

Shahdadpur – following the name of Mir Shahdad;

Umarkot – founded by Umar Soomaro;

Ghotki – Muslims of the Ghoti caste still reside here;

Lark (Iarak) – named after the tribe who lived there. Lark-hana is also derived from this root;

Methani – (Ghot Methan Shah near Ghot Mithu Khan): a village near the village of Moro – derived from the Moro tribe;

Mirpur Khas – built by Mir Ali Muradkhan Talpur;

Maharabpur - a village in the taluka of Kandiaro, founded by Mahareb Khan Jatoli;

Muglbhin - the name is derived from a combination of father (Mughal) and son (Bhin) names; they belonged to the Qureshi caste.

A similar pattern of names for town and villages can be found amongst innumerable locations across Sindh Province. Generally, names reflect important Muslim and, in a few cases, Sindhi personalities of the day.

The use of Hindu names for towns and villages is also evident. Thus Pad Idan (near Naushahro Feroze) has been named after Diwan Idanmal.

A further example, is the village of Chibhar Bambhan (also known as Goth Chibhar Khan Bhambhan) in the taluka of Kandiaro, and south of Halani. Families of the Muslim faith living in this village claim to be Brahmin by caste. It is possible that the village was initially inhabited by Buddhists (Bhodi or Hindu Brahmins - hence the name of the village) who were later converted to Islam.

(Buddhism was the faith practiced by the majority of the population of Sindh up to the Arab conquest by the Umayyad Caliphate in 711). The influence of Buddhism in location names can also be observed at fringes to the north of Sehwan, where the village of Budhya is located.

Bherumal goes on to note that some of the towns in Sindh also bear the name of fisherfolk (Muvani). Thus, Karachi derives its name from a fisherwoman called Kalachi. Similarly three towns in Hyderabad District,

namely Matli, Talhar and Badin, are named after fisher women. Other locations named after fisherwomen include:

- \* Villages of Bandhi, Dor and Bacheri (all in Nawabshah Taluka);
- \* the taluka of Sakrand;
- \* villages of Sansaviri and Jari in the taluka of Moro;
- \* the town of Halani and nearby, the village of Bhelani (derived from ba-Halani, meaning “along Halani”).

It is said that such location names were adopted from the names of those fisherwomen who were famous for their beauty.

He recites a story of two adjacent villages Juma and Malaha Dasi, in Shahdadpur Taluka. A fisherwoman named Juma, was an expert in malaha: wrestling. She originated from the north, and had defeated many in this sport. She encountered a challenge in Shahdadpur Taluka, and was defeated. The village where Juma was defeated is called Malaha Dasi, with another nearby village being named Juma. Although it is difficult to verify the story, Bherumal remarks that residents in these villages believe this legend.

The Urdu words used to name a village can often be puzzling. Some village names are derived from the composition of alphabets in Urdu words. Each alphabet used in the word, represent a number (e.g. based on Abjad calculations). The numbers themselves are often the date (in Muslim calendar years or Hijri) when the village was founded. Thus in Kandiaro Taluka, there is a village called Dar Belo, also known as Dabro; this name has been derived using the Hijri and Abjad techniques.

(In subsequent chapters, Bherumal gives special attention to Khudabad and Hyderabad, as these towns were major locations for migrant Amils).



British Library, London

Photograph of Jami Masjid at Khudabad, Sindh - by Henry Cousens, 1896

## **Chapter V: Khudabad and its eventual demise**

The city of Khuda Abad was captured by Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhora in 1702 A.D. After his death (he is buried in Khuda Abad), his son Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora became the ruler (of Sindh 1719-1755).

Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora chose Khudabad (City of God) as his centre. Centres or capitals are normally well endowed with buildings and infrastructure. These often include mosques, tombs (together with planned roads, gardens and buildings of prominence). In this way, emperors gain popularity and become well known. Such was the case for Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora, and Khudabad benefited.

(This rapid expansion of Khudabad in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, led to many Amils and Bhaibunds migrating there for employment and trade).

In Khudabad, the bazaar was designed to be straight and long - much like the one in present day (1919) Hyderabad. The dwellings of Kalhora rulers were within a fortress: traces of their structures exist today.

Bherumal recites a story: a beautiful Masjid (Jami) had been constructed in the city, which today, is in ruins. It is said that the Kalhora chieftain (Hakim Kalhora) responsible for its construction had intended to murder, and hence “silence”, the chief builder (“karighar”), so that the many secret passages that had been constructed would remain discrete. The karighar came to know of the chieftain’s plan, and thus set about to construct a false wall (against the main structure of the Masjid) as a hiding place. This wall was disguised so that it gave the appearance of either a gate, or as the main wall. The space in between was appropriately ventilated for air and light.

Once the Masjid’s construction was completed, the karighar took to his hiding place. Hakim Kalhora tried his level best to find the karighar, but to no avail. Twelve months later, the presence of the karighar was discovered. When Hakim Kalhora came to know of this, he pardoned the karighar, as he was impressed with the excellent workmanship (of the hiding place); nevertheless the Kalhora ordered that the karighar’s arms be severed.

Today, the Masjid still stands; the government has handed its care and maintenance over to a Mullah, and pays Rs 5 per month for his efforts. Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora's "khubbo" (mazar, dargah or tomb) is to be found in Khudabad. Climbing up staircases from the tomb, a bazaar ("Al Bazar") is to be found. The Government pays Rs 3 per month to the tomb's caretaker. The caretaker keeps a light burning (akhand jyot) around the clock, and people from surrounding villages come for worship (jiyarat). (Although it is a Muslim tomb) Hindus also attend for their new-born's first hair-cut ceremony (Mundan- tonsuring of the baby's head).

(As a warrior), Mian Noor Mohammad Khan had captured villages from the Punho tribes using bludgeons (short heavy wooden clubs for fighting - "dandi-baji"). His bludgeons are kept in his tomb, and worshipers who perform Mundan, offer sticks (dandi) as symbols of respect. Consequently, the village with this tomb, went on to change its name to Dandai.

As the region of Khudabad was prosperous under Mian Noor Mohammad Khan's rule, people even today, come across buried coins.

He continues: around 1908, two persons, a coal man (aghran waro) and a blacksmith (laheri) passed through Khudabad. The coal man being lame, was walking with his crutch (ghodi). This got embedded in soft earth, and he could not untangle it. The blacksmith helped him shift the crutch, and in so doing, they realized that the crutch was stuck in an earthen vessel. Shifting the vessel, they discovered old coins worth Rupees (13,000) thirteen thousand. They hid their valuable find, with the help of a local landowner (zamindar). Unfortunately within 3-4 months the news leaked out, and the (Resident) Magistrate of Dadu tried them under the Treasure Trove Act. A negligible number of coins were produced in court; the bulk had either been retained, lost or spent.

In 1759, after the death of Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora, it is said that some Khosa tribesmen plundered Khudabad and set fire to the city. Having placed explosives in parts of the city, they then flew sparrows across the area. These sparrows had, tied to their feet, firecrackers which lit other explosives on the ground. (Thus the city was set ablaze).



God only knows how much truth there is to this story, and how Khudabad caught fire. There is no evidence that the city was destroyed by an earthquake (and lava), and so it would not be surprising if the city was destroyed by (man-made) fire. It is known that Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora, who succeeded the throne after Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora, had previously, punished Khosas; it is possible that they therefore took revenge, and burnt the city.

After the fire, Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora tried hard to re-establish the city of Khudabad. This was in vain, as the population started to drift and settle in nearby villages namely: Samti, Bilawarpur, Talti, Baha-Walpur, Mirkhpur, and others.

Later, a further attempt was made to establish Khudabad – this time across the Indus river and some distance away from the old city. It was called Nawa (new) Khudabad, near Halla.

Mian Ghulam died in 1772, to be succeeded by his son Mian Sarfraz Khan Kalhora. Under this new ruler, Nawa Khudabad witnessed its first ever durbar, and continued to be the capital for Sindh up to 1789 A.D.

Unfortunate for Khudabad, the river Indus was changing course around 1757 - due to monsoon rains which resulted in periodic flooding and destruction of river banks. Khudabad was repeatedly flooded. Mian Ghulam therefore decided to develop an additional and more secure capital. Neroon Kot (or Neran Kot, present day Hyderabad) which thrived upon the fresh river water's banks, was founded by him in 1768. From then on both Nawa Khudabad and Hyderabad were much favoured twin settlements on the river, with Nawa Khudabad still being the capital.

In 1783, Mir Fateh Ali Khan (start of Talpur dynasty), defeated the last of the Kalhoras (Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhora). Mir Fateh Ali Khan initially retained the now well established city of Nawa Khudabad, as the capital. However, by 1789, he shifted his capital to Hyderabad, and around 1812, both Khudabad and Hyderabad enjoyed similar levels of prosperity.

(The change of capital to Hyderabad no doubt induced a large number of the population of Khudabad Amils and Bhaibunds to migrate to the new seat of royalty. After all, their livelihood was heavily influenced by grace

and favours from the rulers of Sindh. Interestingly, these groups retained the term Khudabadi amongst their communities - as an identifier of origin. However, Khudabad city's decline may be said to have commenced from around 1789).

By 1844, after a period of 32 years, the conditions of Nawa Khudabad deteriorated to such an extent, that neither house nor population existed. Many elders comment that the city was eroded by the river, and eventually lost its foundations.

Although Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhora, eventually lost his throne to Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur in 1783, he had been under threat for some time previously. Thus, in 1780-81, Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhora managed to gain help from the King of Afghanistan, Taimur Shah Durrani. This help arrived in the shape of a Sardar called Madad Khan (the Ishakzai chief), who marched into Sindh to strengthen Mian Abdul Nabi Kalhora's rule. Reaching Sindh he set fire to many towns and villages. His name became synonymous with terror. There is a saying: "which madad has fallen on a person"- signifying "what terror or difficulty has fallen".

(During Sardar Madad Khan's raids, a number of Amil families fled from Khudabad to Larkana, Hyderabad and other surrounding villages. Bherumal traces the roots of some Amil families and how, over time, they lost contact with previously close relatives). Madad Khan's actions were evident at two towns near Tando Gulham Haider (in Taluka Goona) called Fateh Bhag and Jawan; here prosperity was completely destroyed.

Bherumal quotes a Sindhi poem which captures the towns' prosperity under Mian Noor. He states that it has needed translation by elders:

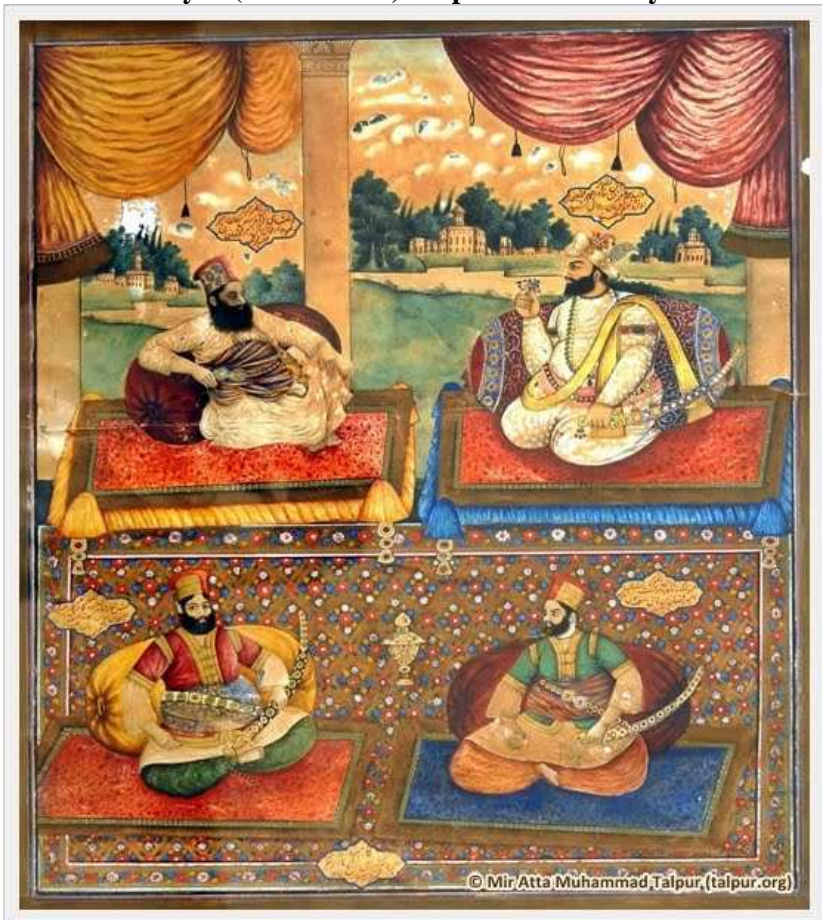
*Noorat Noorani je Manun jiyu* (Noor-ani folk have great wealth)  
*Fal-Ful (Meva) t Fatehbagh jo* (flowers & fruits of Fateh Bhag)  
*Kappe jo vaapar- Kenkhe bale me bhalo* (cotton trade is good business)  
*Disanu hujav t hali Joon je Shahar me diso* (Come see this in Jawan).

Eventually, Jawan a successful port on the river, was ruined due to river flow changes of nearly 12 miles. Bherumal remarks: it was in this port that King Humayun set camp as it had good facilities compared to

Umarkot. Also it is said that Birbal, Akbar's famous Minister, gave prominence to Fateh Bhag.

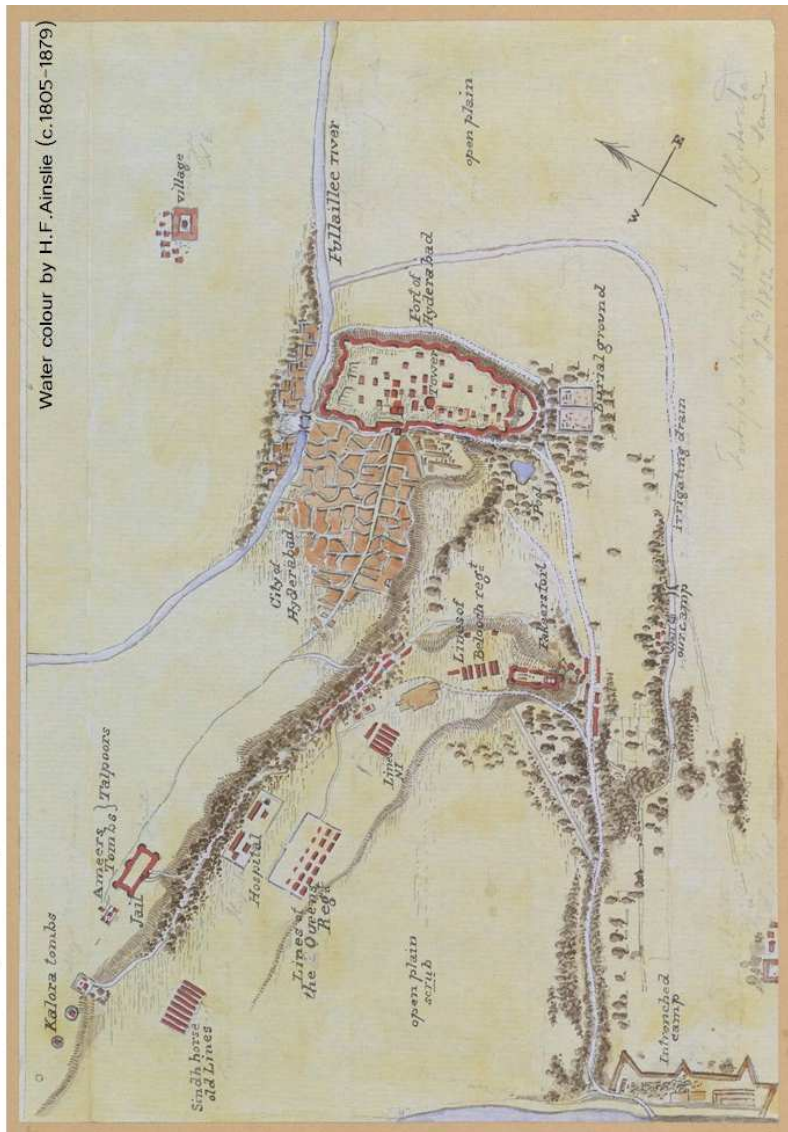
(In summary) Khudabad city's complete destruction was for three reasons: Madad Khan's actions resulted in people fleeing, Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur chose to make Hyderabad his capital and the change in flow patterns of the Indus river destroyed Khudabad's foundations.

### **The Charyar (four friends) Talpur rulers of Hyderabad**



Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur (1783), along with his three brothers, administered the affairs of Hyderabad.

# Map of Hyderabad and neighbourhood, January 1852.



## **Chapter VI: Hyderabad – Diwan Gidumal and Kalhora rulers**

(Bherumal has described how Amils were forced to abandon Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat during the Mughal period of Aurangzeb - from 1670 onwards. They travelled into Sindh Province along established trade roads, and set up homes and communities in many towns and villages along the Indus river valley. Eventually Khudabad as a major city, was to become a strong magnet; it provided them with both security and prosperity – up to 1780s. With the demise of Khudabad, these Hindus, now referred to as Amil Sindhis, had to once again disperse and migrate – this time further south towards Hyderabad.

A map of Hyderabad of old, its road structures, Sindhi ghittis, and several photographs taken between 1880-1910 are enclosed. Material on Hyderabad's infrastructure and population mix c. 1880 is also included in Appendix II. Collectively, this data compliments Bherumal's own descriptions below - on the founding and development of Hyderabad).

The book's translation continues.

Hyderabad was originally known as Neran Kot (named after Neran the ruler of this small fishing village on the banks of the Indus river). Recorded in the Imperial Gazetteer of India (v13, pg 321), Hyderabad is located on the eastern banks of the Indus river, with big channels which feed Phuleli canal.

(Whilst maintaining Khudabad as his capital, and also recognizing the changing flow patterns of the Indus river), in 1768 Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora decided to build a new fort at Neran Kot and to also develop this fishing village with new infrastructure. The intention was to shift his seat of government from Khudabad to Neran Kot.

The project of developing Neran Kot was entrusted to Diwan Gidumal (also see Chapter XI for later part of the Diwan's life). Mian Ghulam arranged the transfer of wealth, by boat from Khudabad, to the new site. Landing at Kotri, a temporary camp was set up on the banks of the river at Neran Kot. Later, it was to become a permanent settlement, and was named after Diwan Gidumal: Gidu jo Tando. It later changed name to Gidu Bandar, and today, it is a suburb on the west of Hyderabad.

(Gidumal constructed two forts – one solid, pukka made from stone, and another, katcha made from earthen ware. Hyderabad roads and districts still retain these names – Pakka Qila and Kacha Qila Road). Gidumal started work on the pakka fort (on one of the three hills at Neran Kot) and completed it in a space of under four years.

It is said that the workers and foremen consumed one lakh maund (1 maund equates to 20 kg) of the drug bhang (edible preparation of cannabis, hemp) during this construction. This seems an exaggeration. However it should be said that they were addicts, and that they were employed in large numbers. Today the fort can be seen in its original structure. However, those portions that have either fallen down or have been destroyed, remain so; any repairs made, have not lasted long. Mian Shafi Mohammad from Multan , a well known mason, was associated with the construction.

Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora died in 1771, soon after the fort was built., and whilst the new capital was still under development. After his death (his tomb is in Hyderabad), Khudabad continued to be the capital for some 18 years to 1789. Note that in 1783 the Mians (Kalhora dynasty rulers) of Sind are replaced by the Mirs (Talpur dynasty rulers).

As ongoing decay at Nawa Khudabad was evident, and with Hyderabad gaining prominence, migration from Khudabad to Hyderabad started.

It is said that the large tracts of open fields around Hyderabad were being sectioned and acquired by these new settlers – without any permission or legal deeds. Most Amils occupied land extending around present Chhodki Bazar (now possibly Shahee Bazar near Chotti Ghitti) northwards to present Sireghat (Sirray/Siro Ghat Road). Traders and others who came from Jaisalmer and other places occupied land from the point of Chhodki Bazar, westwards, to present Jumanshah Pole (now possibly Pinjra Pole approx 0.3miles away).

Diwan Gidumal arrived later (circa 1780), accompanying Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur (the first Talpur ruler after Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora). By this time much of the land had been occupied. Diwan Gidumal occupied the remaining portion from Juman Shah Pole to Pukka Qila fort, which at present is called Gidwani Street. In order to facilitate quick meetings with



the Mir rulers. Diwan Gidumal chose to live near Pukka Qiila, and thus some distance from the main Amil communities.

The city of Hyderabad was thus founded, and it flourished to absorb Phuleli on the east side. The city almost doubled in size with further expansion to include Heerabad (Hirabad) sector - named after Rai Bahadur Diwan Hiranand Khemsing Advani (see Chapter VIII). From Siray (Siro) Ghat, the city progressively extended north towards Navabad quarter (along Navabad Ghali Market Road) on to Navalrai Market (with its clock tower, built 1914).

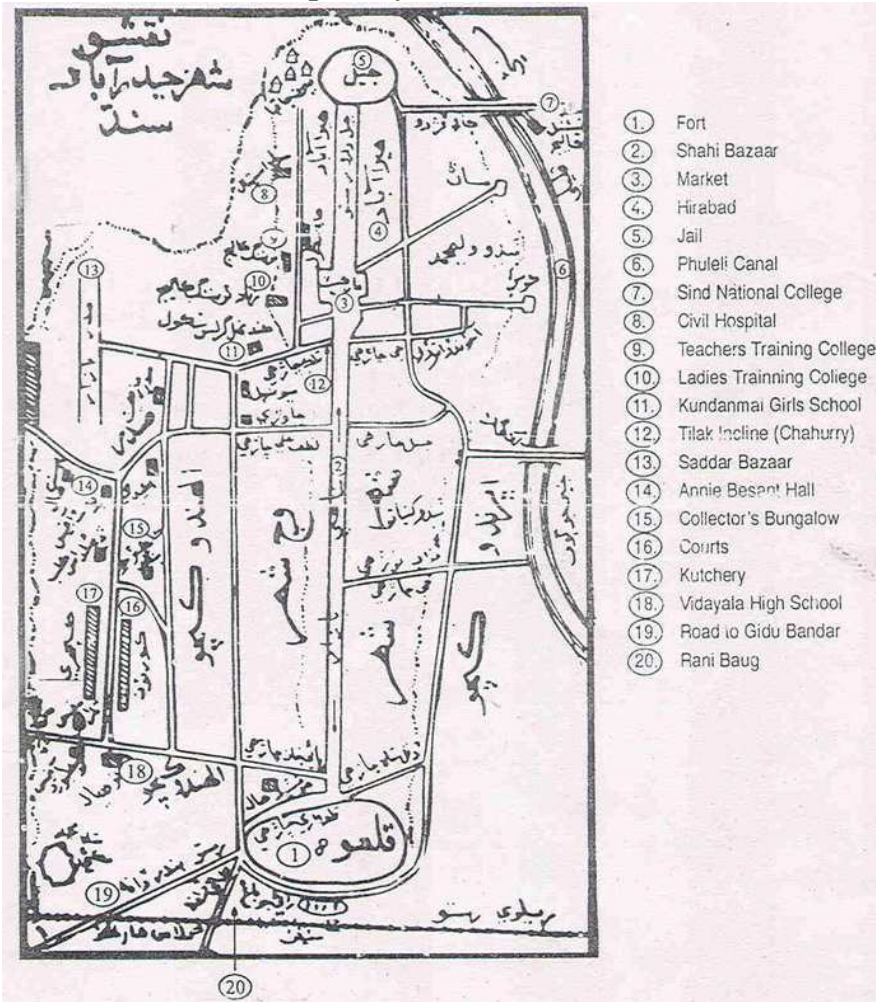
With the city's growth came congestion. Amils shifted from their original locations, and now live in Navabad. Prior to this, Navabad was inhabited by cobblers and shoemakers; some original shops still exist (see pages 41-43).

Now (1919) Hyderabad looks beautiful because of its architecture: the tombs of Mirs, fort (Pukka Qila), Navabad Market, New University, Academy, Kutchery or Court Complex, offices, and other pleasant buildings.

In April 1906, during Easter, there was a bomb blast in the fort. Even today Hyderabadi's remember with fear that incident, and will never forget the shock from the blast.

We have seen that in 1759, after the death of Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora, Khosa tribesmen plundered Khudabad and set fire to the city. At that time some Amil families, being Hindus, fled Khudabad (to such towns as Samiti, Talati and other places). These families continue to live there and did not migrate to Hyderabad after it was built. Many such families were "Jind Amils" – pure Punjabi Amils. They were thus separated from their brethren, and with the passage of time, they have lost total contact and acquaintances with the wider Amil communities, now resident in Hyderabad.

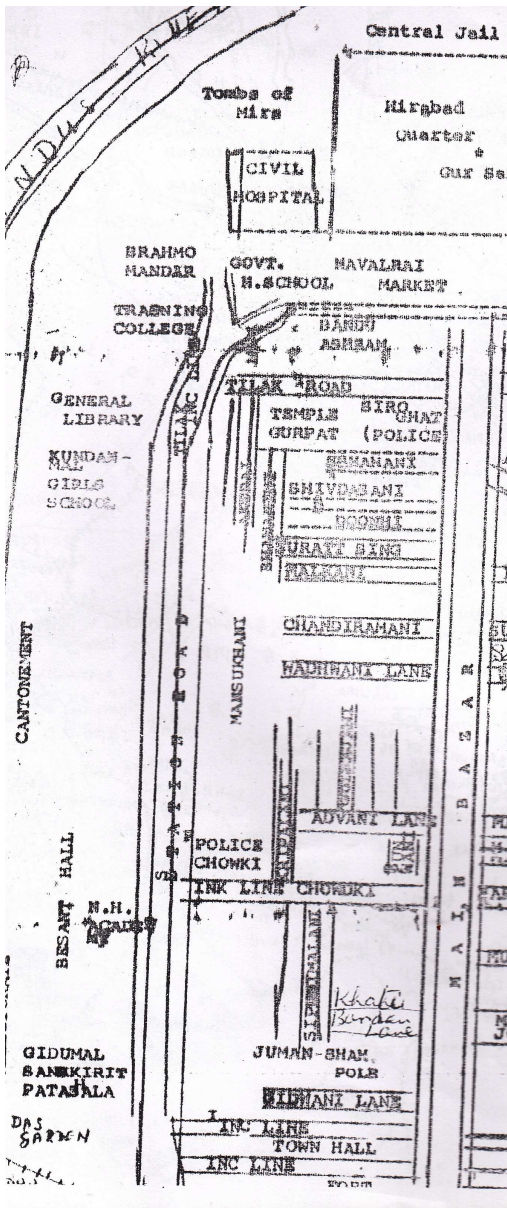
## Map of Hyderabad, Sind.



Reproduced from "Visaryo Ne Visrun, Muhinjo Watan, Muhinja Mahrun" (Forget not and unforgettable, My country, My people - by Girdharlal L. Dodeja)

[illegible]





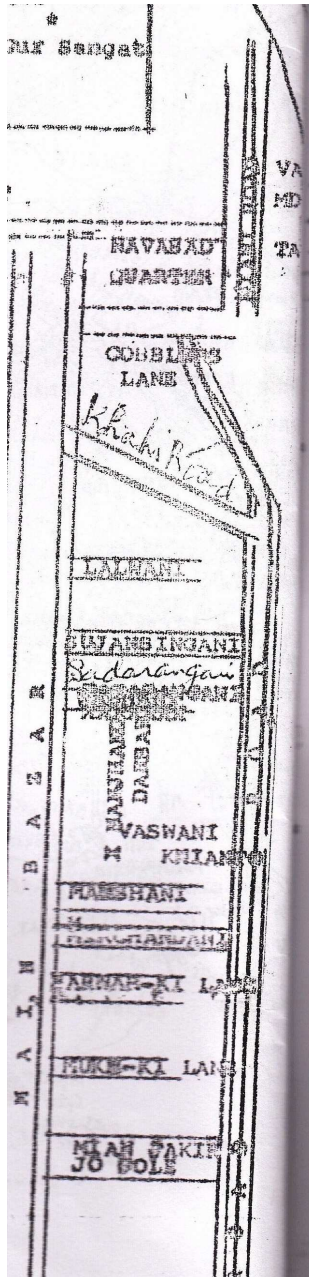
**Location names:  
between Station  
Road & Main  
Bazaar Road.**

Tilak Road  
Tilak Incline  
(Chari)  
Temple Gurpat  
Siro Ghat  
Namahani  
Shivdasani  
Akrai  
Bhamrani  
Doonhi  
Surat Sing  
Malkani  
Chandiramani  
Whadwani  
Mansukhani

Kirpalani  
Golrajani  
Advani  
Punwani

Sipahimalani  
Khatu Bandar

Gidwani



**Location names:  
East of Main  
Bazaar Road**

Navabad Quarter  
Gyani Road

Cobblers  
Khahi

Lalwani

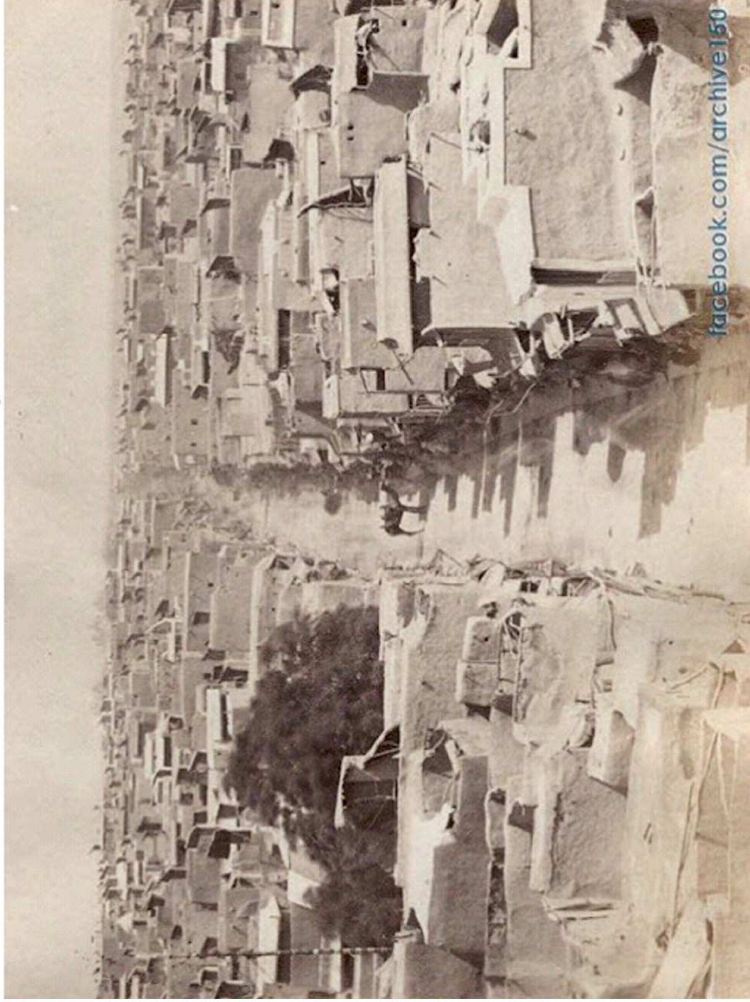
Sujansingani  
Sadarangani  
Manjhand Darbar

Vaswani  
Khianto  
Manshani

Mirchandani  
Amar-ki Lane

Mukh-ki Lane  
(also Mukhi  
Naraindas Lane)

A view of mud houses in Hyderabad, c. 1875



Views northwards from Pakka Qila Fort

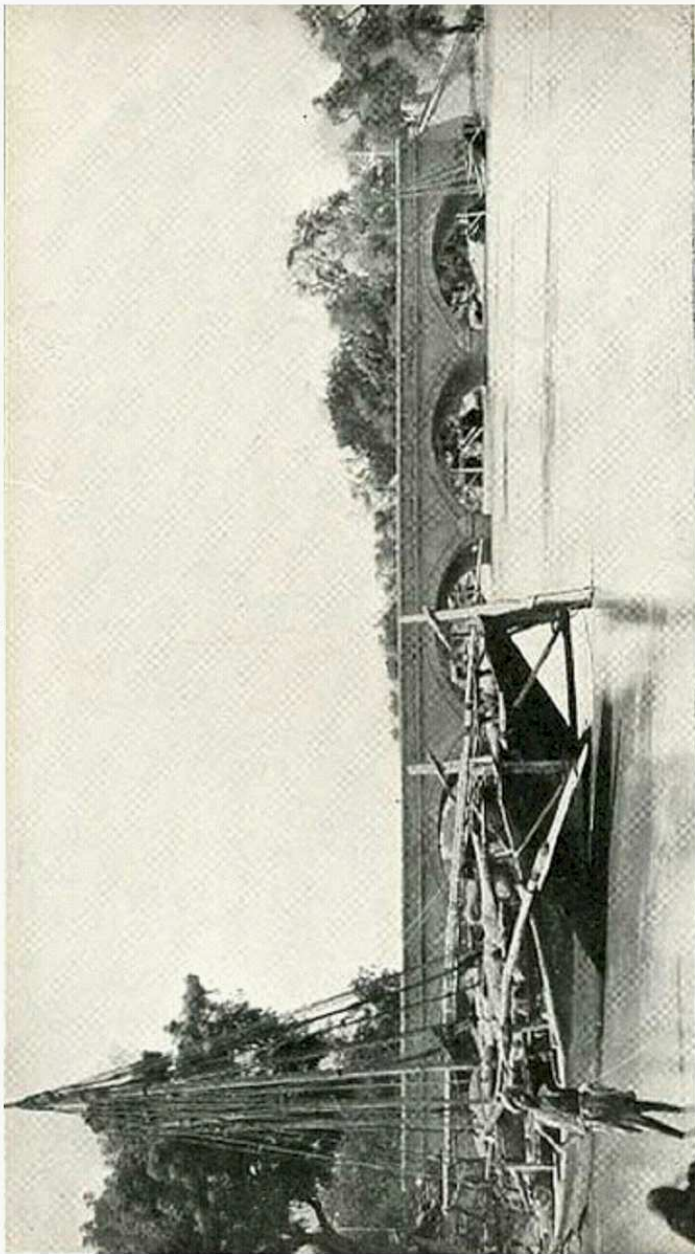


## The air conditioners of Hyderabad Sindh



From April to June, temperatures range from 120° F, lowered by an afternoon breeze to 95° F. To channel the wind into every building, “bad-gir” wind scoops are installed on the roofs, one for each room. Although the origin of this contraption is unknown, it has been in use for at least 500 years. (“Architecture without architects” by Bernard Rudofsky)

## Phuleli Canal, Hyderabad c.1900



The Mughuls introduced an elaborate irrigation system, which included networks of canals along the length of the Indus. Canals were assigned to Jagirdars who were required to maintain law and order, and collect taxes. Zamindars were responsible for the management of watercourses and distribution of water within their areas. Kamdars were responsible for supervising the labour force. Hyderabad District in mid 1800s, comprised of total length 1,100 miles. (History of irrigation in Sindh, H.Panhwar).

## **Chapter VII: Distinctions between Khudabadi & Hyderabad Amils**

Not all the Amils (Hindus and some Sikhs) who migrated from the Punjab were to be employed in government services in Sindh Province. Some managed their own enterprises. Whilst most Amils will have been closely related when in the Punjab, once they migrated, they were often separated due to the nature of their employment. This led to the emergence of fresh caste structures amongst Sindhi Amils.

Sindhi Amils who were employed in the service of government, often held widely varying ranks. In time, they would begin to classify themselves along caste lines – to differentiate the hierarchy of their positions in government posts. In addition, those Amils in the more important government positions would consider themselves of a higher caste than Amil traders. Once this trend started, it was to be expected that over generations, any strong caste associations which may have existed in the Punjab will have weakened, blurred, and possibly lost.

Today in Hyderabad, there are many Khudabadi Amils who consider themselves to be “pure/original” Amils. (In 19th century Hyderabad, it was difficult for Amil residents to trace firm roots, further back in history than Khudabad, and on to Punjab). Therefore, to be considered a “pure/original” Amil, one would need roots which were established by their forefathers in Khudabad. Using Khudabad as the root for “purity/originality”, Khudabadi Bhaibund traders, would thus consider themselves a class above those Bhaibund traders who originate from Gujarat and other similar areas.

Over time, other distinctions have begun to appear in Hyderabad: between those Amils who arrived from Khudabad, now being classified as “Khudabadi Amils”, and others who are referred to specifically as “Hyderabad Amils”. It follows that all Khudabadi Amils can also be considered as Hyderabad Amils, but not all Hyderabad Amils can be considered as Khudabadi Amils.

The purpose of Khudabadi-Hyderabad Amil distinction also underlines the possibility that Khudabadi Amils had most likely served and secured frequent audiences at the durbar of the Muslim rulers whilst in Khudabad. The distinction between Khudabadi and Hyderabad Amils becomes even

more important with the influx of other Amils, directly into Hyderabad, from other parts of Sindh Province and further afield.

Khudabadi Amils who were in business, and ran their own enterprises, often had to relocate or travel for extensive periods – in the pursuit of trade. Not surprisingly, connections amongst such Khudabadi Amil families engaged in trade, began to weaken.

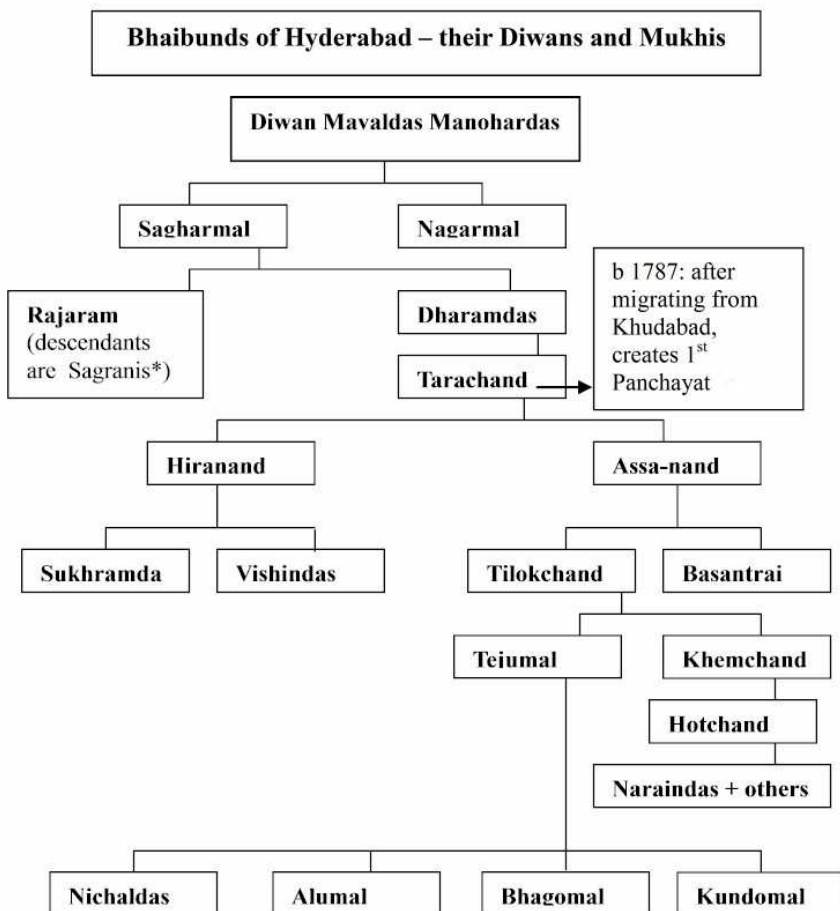
In Hyderabad, although Khudabadi Amils tended to have a core set of connections, this was not necessarily the case for those Amils who had arrived from other parts of Sindh. Over time, these non-Khudabadi Amils often lost connections with their distant families.

(The above portrays a tapestry of castes which emerged amongst Amils and Bhaibunds once they migrated to Sindh. By the 19th century Hyderabad, Amil families have witnessed inter-marriages; men are holding varying positions of power. As communities, they are often unclear of their original Nukh, and thus wider relationships and linkages).

It is therefore worthwhile to give a brief description of each family resident in Hyderabad, and to then identify where their relatives (including fore-fathers) resided. I have adopted this approach and my findings are recorded in the remaining chapters. By recording such family connections, it is possible that the many Amil families living in Hyderabad city (in 1919), will be able to relate to each other, and not harbour feelings of isolation, which is often evident.

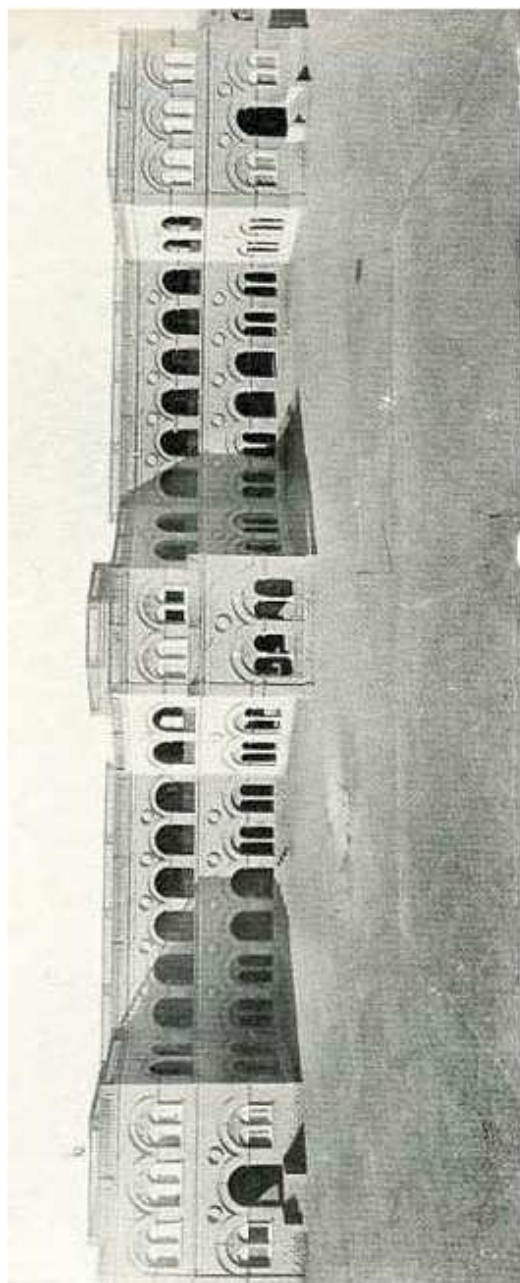
However, before I embark on this effort, it is important to pay special attention to Mukhis (head of the community) of Bhaibunds resident in Hyderabad – as they are descendants of original Diwans.

Bherumal describes Diwan Manohardas and his descendants, and the Bhaibund-Mukhis of Hyderabad. His descriptions are displayed in the chart: “Bhaibunds of Hyderabad-their Diwans and Mukhis”. (Originally, Amils were part and parcel of one panchayat which was founded by Bhaibunds, with Seth Tarachand as its Mukhi. Later, the Amils formed their own panchayat resulting in Amils and Bhaibunds being identified via their respective panchayats, see Chapter IX).



\* also known as Lakhpat-wara

\*\* Diwan MavalDas Manohardas born around 1700, resided in Dera Ghazi Khan and his Nukha was “Chhapru”. Upon migration to Hyderabad, the Saghranis resided in Mukhti Ghitti (now Mukhti Ghitti, Shahi Bazaar) which was already inhabited by Bhaibunds. Another is Mukhi Narain Das Ghitti. (Source: [www.themukhis.com](http://www.themukhis.com)).



Navalrai Hiranand Academy, Hyderabad c. 1890

*R. Jalilbhai, Karachi.*



## **Chapter VIII: Diwan Adumal (c.1740) and descendants - Advanis**

(Along with Diwan Gidumal, one of the earliest Amils to migrate to Sindh Province was Diwan Adumal. In this chapter, Bherumal scribes Diwan Adumal's descendants).

The Advani aakai (group of families) is named after Diwan Adumal. Diwan Adumal's own lineage included: grandfather Jasumal and father Khiloomal. Diwan Adumal was a resident in the town of Luha (Lahpur) near Multan, in Punjab; his nukh was Madhu Maghu Khitri.

(Bherumal's research throws light on some of Diwan Adumal Advani's descendants. Fortunately in 1975, Bherumal's genealogical material was extended by his descendant, Narain Nebhraj Advani. Their collective data on Advani families, is reorganized and included in table form on pages 54 and 55. Text from Bherumal's book, is translated below).

Diwan Adumal's first marriage took place in Punjab. With his first wife, Diwan Adumal had three sons: Chandumal, Datural and Lakhumal, and this was the start (circa 1740) of an extensive family tree.

Adumal's first son Chandumal Adumal Advani, in turn, had two sons: Chatomal and Jethmal. A few of Chandumal's descendants include: Diwan Balimal's family (or Belomal, who now call themselves as Sitlani family), families of Vakil (lawyer) Santdas Teckchand, Master (teacher) Gidumul Kewalram of Navabad area, Master (teacher) Sachanand Kishinchand, Munshi Mahirchand's aakai (family) and Vakil Gopaladas Jhamatmal.

Adumal's second son Datural (Ditomal) Adumal Advani, has a number of known descendants - the aakai of Diwan Showkiram Nandiram Advani. This aakai includes three brothers, namely, Mukhi Khubchand, Sadhu Navalrai (Navalrai Showkiram Advani: 1843-93) and Sadhu Hiranand (Hiranand Showkhiram Advani: 1863-1893). Readers may be aware that Navalrai with his brother Hiranand, went on to establish the Brahmo Samaj movement and founded "Navalrai Hiranand Academy" in Hyderabad, c.1890.

Adumal's third son Lakhumal Adumal Advani, known descendants are the families of surveyor Gopumal (or Gopaldas).

(Bherumal expands on Diwan Adumal's life, his descendants, and the areas of Sindh where they lived).

Diwan Adumal, who was a swordsman employed by Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora (1719-1755), arrived from Multan in 1736, when the Mian made Khudabad his capital. Diwan Adumal brought his three sons and settled firstly in Naushahro Feroze, where his first wife from Punjab, died. He then remarried; his second wife being from family in That (That means artist or drama-artist). There are three villages near Naushahro Feroze, known as That ghots (That villages); they are named after village elders: That Bhojraj, That Goraho, and That Hotchand. That Bhojraj and That Goraho are close to each other and are 1.25 miles from Mithiani. The other village, That Hotchand, is near Dalipota and five miles from Tharu Shah.

Originally, these three Thatt villages were one village: Thatt. In 1825, the Indus river flooded this area and submerged Thatt village, Mithiani, Ghot Kamal, Dehraj and other areas. In 1870, Thatt village was once again submerged by the Indus. Today, the town which was rebuilt in 1903-4, has its original population dispersed and settled amongst the three Thatt villages.

As it happens, Diwan Adumal second wife was from another (possibly related ?) Adumal family in the Thatt area. With his second wife, Diwan Adumal had three (further) sons: Bharmal, Tharumal and Sunderdas. One of Baharmal's known descendants is Rai Bahadur Diwan Hiranand Khemsing (circa 1900; see Chapter VI on Hyderabad, where Hirabad area is named after Diwan Hiranand).

Diwan Adumal's second son (from second wife) Tharumal, was born blind, and it is said he possessed great spiritual powers. Bherumal recites a story:

In the presence of Mian Noor Mohammad Kalhora, Diwan Adumal expressed his feelings of sorrow of the fate of Tharumal, and requested the Mian to place the hand of mercy on Tharumal. This request occurred

during lunch, when the Mian had asked his man Jat Mithumal to bring food. The Mian took a bite of roti and curd and in the presence of Diwan Adumal, asked Tharumal what was in his mouth. Tharumal replied accurately, and the Mian remarked to Diwan: despite being blind, your son has great spiritual eyes, which we common men do not possess. Many had faith in Tharumal's powers, and (some 100 years after his death), there a Samadhi (temple) to be found in Rai Bahadur Diwan Khemsing's residence in Hyderabad (Diwan Khemsing having lineage leading to Tharumal's brother Bharmal).

Diwan Adumal's third son (from second wife) Sunderdas was killed, with Diwan Adumal himself, in the wars with the Mughals.

(As we have seen in previous chapters), Amils migrated from various parts of Sindh towards Khudabad, and then onto Hyderabad. Diwan Adumal followed this trend - starting from Naushahro Feroze. In Hyderabad, where the Diwan lived, the lane is called after his lineage: Advani ghitti.

Over time, the Advanis as descendants from Diwan Adumal, grew in number. Internal family disputes often resulted in separate lives, in various locations across Sindh Province.

(Amils, often adopted varying surnames, derived from their descendants, adding suffix "ani", "das" etc.). Today we have numerous Advani descendants-aakais: Akali (Khalsa), Sitlani, Manshani (Munshani). Others include Shamdasanis, Sidhwanis and Khandaranis.

Bherumal remarks: there are Advanis in Larkana and Naushahro Feroze. To this day, many persons from Diwan Adumal's Nukh (Madhu Maghu Khitri), although not called Advanis, are to be found in Amritsar and Multan.

## **Adumal Advanis descendants from his two marriages: data by Bherumal Mahirchand Advani & Narain Nebhraj Advani**

### **A. First Marriage**

#### **1. 1<sup>st</sup> son: Chandumal Advani - Bherumal Mahirchand Advani's lineage**

Chandumal
Chatomal & Jethmal (sons of Chandumal)
Ajumal (son of Jethmal)
Ailmal & Kishinchand ( both sons of Ajumal)
Mahirchand (son of Ailmal)
Sachand & Kewalram & Teckchand (all sons of Kishinchand)
<b>Bherumal</b> (author of book: "Amilan-jo-Ahwal " & Thanvderdas are both sons of Mahirchand), Gidumal (son of Kewalram)
Pribhdas (son of Bherumal), Jhamrai (son of Gidumal), Bulchand & Santdas (both sons of Teckchand)
Nebhraj (son of Santdas)
<b>Narain</b> (son of Nebhraj)

#### **2. 1<sup>st</sup> son: Chandumal Advani's other descendants**

Chandumal
Jethmal (son of Chandumal)
Chatomal & Ajumal (both son of Jethmal)
Devanimal & Balchand & Lalchand (lineage unknown)
<b>Sidhumal</b> & Sitaldas & Kouromal (Sidhwani) (lineage unknown)
Belomal & Jhamatmal (lineage unknown) plus sons of Sitaldas (now call them themselves Sitlanis)
Gopaldas (son of Jhamatmal)
Thakurdas & Hotchand (son of Gopaldas)

#### **3. Sidhumal's partial descendants: Lal Kishinchand Advani lineage**

<b>Sidhumal</b> (from Chandumal - full lineage unknown)
Khanchand + Baharmal + Jhuromal + Asardas + Bhavandas (lineage unknown)
Tilokchand & Ailmal (lineage unknown)
Shewakram & Khubchand (lineage unknown)
Pribhdas & Dharamdas (son of Khubchand)
Kishinchand ( son of Dharamdas)
Lal (son of Kishinchand)

4. 2<sup>nd</sup> son: Datural or Ditalmal's partial descendants

Ditalmal
Varakhmal & Kandharimal
Nihalsing & Maherchand (lineage unknown)
Mayaram & Mansharam & Kirparam (lineage unknown)
Valiram (son of Mayaram) & Hirdaram & Mustakram (lineage unknown)
Nandiram, Chandiram & others. Note that descendants of Munshi Valiram Mayaram have adopted surname of Manshani or Munshani (from Munshi).
Showkiram (son of Nandiram) & Khubchand & Santokram (lineage unknown)
Navalrai & Hiranand (sons of Showkiram of Brahmo Samaj movement) & Chatomal

5. 3<sup>rd</sup> son: Lakhumal's partial descendants

Lakhumal
Rochiram
Kiratrai
Gopaldas (surveyor)
Kushiram

**B. Second Marriage**

Bharumal, Tharumal and Sunderdas ( 3 sons)
--

Baharmal's descendants include Rai Bahadur Diwan Hiranand Khemsing.

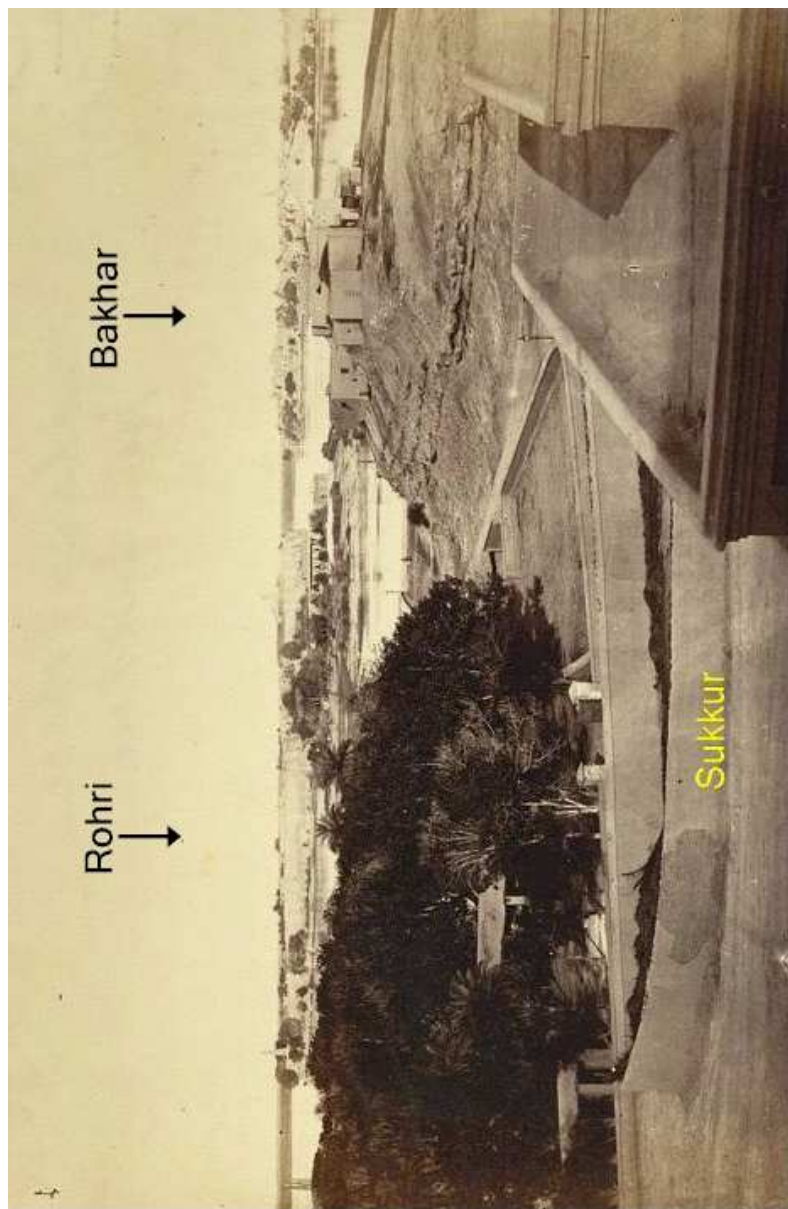


Photo taken from Sukkur facing southwards towards Indus river, c.1860



## **Chapter IX: Diwan Adiomal Shahwani (c. 1700) and his descendants**

(Exploring further the origins of Amils in Sindh, Bherumal analyses Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's family tree, which is included in this Chapter. This Diwan's descendants gave rise to several well known Sindhi surnames, described below).

(Historical evidence: Bherumal refers to two historical documents of importance. Firstly there is a true copy of a document c. 1870, written by Diwan Mulsing Khairpur Ajwani, who was a descendant of Diwan Adiomal Shahwani, and which is in Bherumal's possession.

Secondly, Bherumal has access to "A History of Sind", authored in 1901, by Mirza Kalich Faridun Beg, 1853-1929, Deputy Collector, Kotri Sind, and who retired in 1910. In his book, Mirza includes Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's family tree recorded around 1886, and given to Mirza, by Diwan Chandiram Gidwani. Diwan Chandiram Gidwani, a Pleader c. 1900, was also a descendant of Diwan Adiomal Shahwani.

Whilst Bherumal's "Amilan-jo-Ahwal" displays only extracts from Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's family tree, a more complete tree is contained in Mirza's "A History of Sind". Bherumal and Mirza were possibly like minded colleagues, employed in the same establishment. Both emerged as formidable authors in their own rights. It is highly likely that Mirza would have shared his own historical material with Bherumal. Trees from both authors are included here, for readers to examine).

### **Ajwanis**

The Ajwani aakai reside in Khairpur District, and are "pukka" Amils. They are related to four well known Amil aakais of Hyderabad. Referring to Bherumal's extract from the fuller family tree of Diwan Adiomal Shahwani, we see that through Diwan Jagatrai's lineage, the Ajwanis and Jagtians are cousins. (Although not stated, examining the family tree, it is likely that Ajwani was adopted as a surname, following Diwan Ajumal).

Ajwani families also reside in Hyderabad (miles apart from Khairpur). Bherumal raises the questions: why were Amil cousins (Ajwanis of Khairpur and Ajwanis of Hyderabad) separated, and what is their origin.

He comments: by examining these family trees, some people say that the towns of Sukkur and Bakhar (in Sukkur District) are named after Sakharmal and Bakharmal. This is not correct. The town of Sukkur is named after a holy person “Shaker”, and both of the towns have their origins in seventh century A.D. Contrast this with the names Sakharmal and Bakharmal which are, at best, some four-five hundred years old.

Bherumal also comments that Diwan Mulsing Khairpuri’s was son of Jethanand. Yet Diwan Mulsing refers to himself as the son of Diwan Shersing (making his full name as Mulsing Shersing Khairpur Ajwani).

Both the matter of Ajwani cousins being separated, and use of Shersing (an anomaly) are explained by Diwan Mulsing in his document which is reproduced:

*Our forefather was originally an inhabitant of Satipur (or Sitapur) in Punjab. He came to Sindh with Mian Adam Shah Kalhora (c. 1690). When the Sindh Riyasat (State) came under the control of the Kalhoras, our ancestors were appointed as Diwans in that Government.*

*Later on, when Sindh came under the rule of Mir-Talpur, it got divided into two Riyasats. The Talpur rulers, who were relatives, made this division. One group made the capital at Hyderabad and the other group led by Maghfoor Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur, built Khairpur himself and made it his capital.*

*Maghfoor Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur ( 1775-1811) brought my forefather, Ajumal, with himself and appointed him as the Diwan. Diwan Ajumal and some of his brothers adopted Khairpur as their residence. Other brothers and relatives of Diwan Ajumal settled in Hyderabad.*

*With Sindh being divided into two Riyasats, it was natural that such significant changes would affect families – their livelihood and locations. Thus Ajwani and Wadhwani families, together with others Amils, were dispersed between Khairpur and Hyderabad. Over time, contact amongst once close knit families, was often lost.*

*During his rule, Maghfoor Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur declared Mir Rustom Khan (1811-1842) as heir apparent (Thakat Nashin).*

*The position of Diwan was regarded as hereditary. As Diwan Ajumal's son had lost his eyesight in the prime of his youth, he was not able to inherit his father's position as Diwan. Thus, Diwan Ajumal's grandson, Dalpatrai, was instead appointed as Diwan - in the Royal Court of Mir Rustom Khan.*

*My grandfather Amalrai, was appointed to the post of Diwan in the government of Mir Mubarak Khan (1829-1839), brother of Mir Rustom Khan.*

*Diwan Dalpatrai had no son, and went on to adopt a son of his cousin, Diwan Amalrai. This adopted son, called Jethanand, is my father. Although Jethanand lived separately from his adopted father, he was nevertheless known as the son of Diwan Dalpatrai.*

*In due course, Jethanand was appointed to the post of Diwan in the government of Mir Rustom Khan Talpur (1830-1842), and also inherited assets from his adopted father, Diwan Dalpatrai. On the day Jethanand, my father, was appointed to the Diwan post, Mir Rustom changed my father's name to Diwan Shersing; this name change became permanent.*

*It can be seen from this example that in awarding the post of Diwans, the rulers of Sindh acknowledged the claims of the descendants of original Diwans. The positions of Diwan through inheritance, thus lay in the hands of the Amils of Sindh.*

*After Sindh was annexed by the British (1843), Diwan Shersing (originally Jethanand), along with a number of Amils in various parts of Sindh, were appointed as Collectors within the new Administration. Thus Diwan Amalrai, my blood grandfather, was also appointed as a Collector.*

*Unfortunately, within twelve months in his new post, Diwan Shersing died. Although I was too young, the British allotted the estate to me, and it is in my possession to this date.*

The Ajwanis were followers of Bawa Gurpat Sahib. Now, many other Hyderabad Amils have also chosen to become followers. Bawa Gurpat, whose roots can be traced back to Guru Nanik, was a divinely endowed

person. Even today, his Gurudwara in Hyderabad, is famous (see Temple Gurupat in Hyderabad sketch, page 42). A beautiful Gurudwara bearing his name also exists in Khairpur; a round the clock “langar” (common kitchen) is run, to provided meals for all.

(As communities expand, harmony can often be compromised).

In 1878 A.D. a big controversy arose amongst Hyderabad’s Amil population. It concerned the re-conversion of Thanumal Sheikh who had embraced Islam and now wanted to be re-converted to Hinduism. The Mukhis (community elders) of the day were Diwan Showkiram Advani (see Chapter VIII- Diwan Adumal’s descendants) and Munshi Awatrai Malkani (see Malkanis, page 81). Diwan Showkiram was of the opinion that Thanumal Sheikh was not a pure Hindu, even though the person had performed the re –conversion ceremony.

Munshi Awatrai Malkani in concert with Munshi Gidumal (father of Diwan Dayaram Gidumal Shahani, 1857-1927, Chapter X on Shahanis) on the other hand, was of the opinion that the person believed in, and was devoted to Guru Nanik – and so should be considered to be a Hindu.

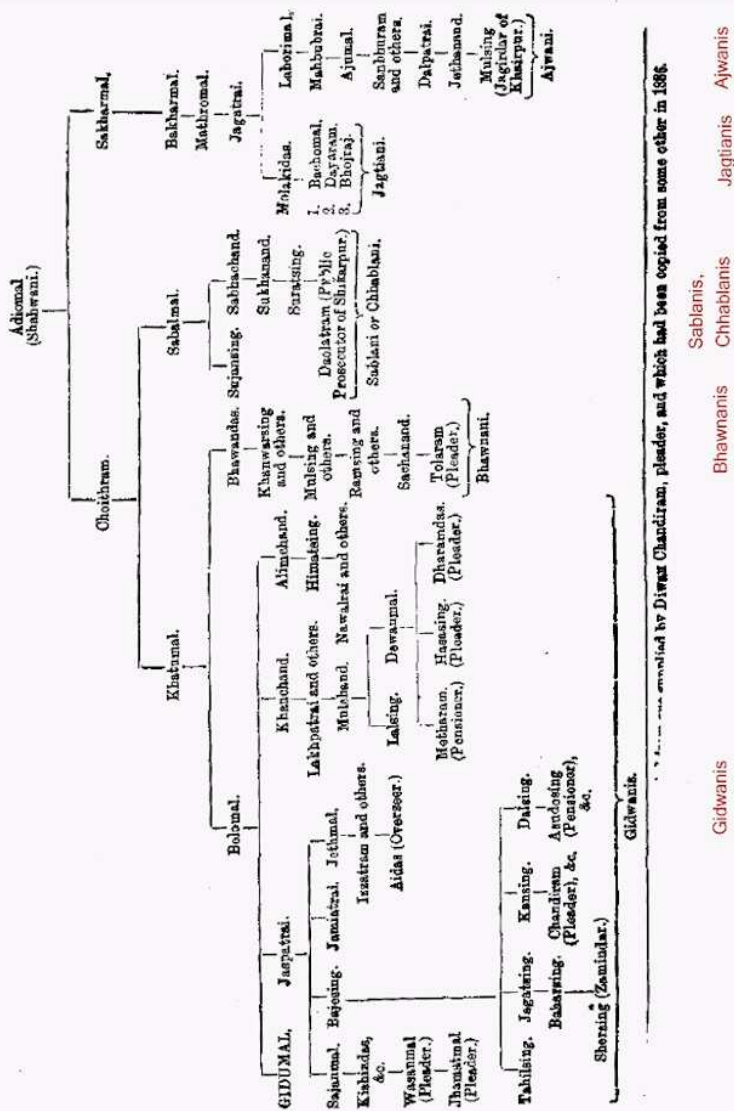
Matters got complicated with other parties becoming involved. Another prominent resident of Hyderabad, Diwan Chainrai (Sherumal’s father), sided with Diwan Showkiram’s opinion and thus against Munshi Gidumal.

This dispute intensified and resulted in dividing the Hyderabad’s Amil communities. It led to the creation of new panchayats, the separation of assets previously shared for all, and the demarcation of cremation grounds. (See Chapter VII for creation of Hyderabad’s first panchayat).

The story goes, that Bawa Gurupat Sahib, a devotee of Guru Nanik (as was Thanumal Sheikh), placed a curse upon Diwan Showkiram for objecting to the re-conversion of a devotee of Guru Nanik. It seems that the curse led to demise of the Showkiram family.

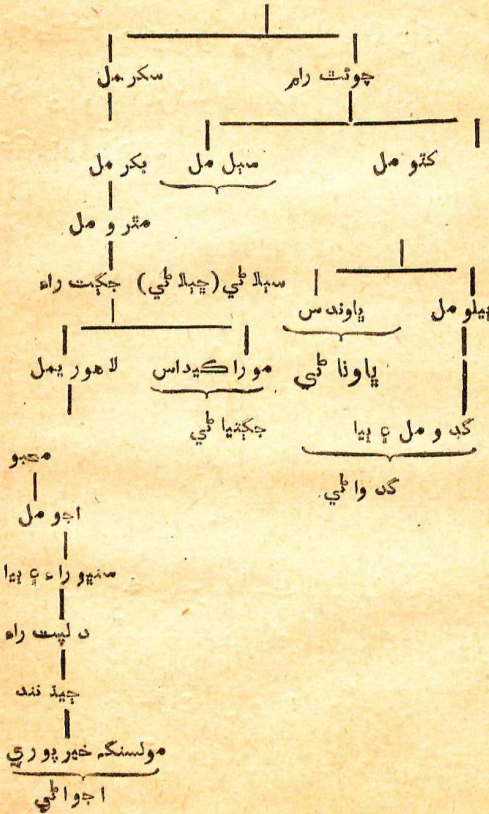
Family tree (1886) provided by Diwan Chandiram Gidwani  
 Reproduced from "History of Sind" by Mirza Kalich Faridun Beg

(5) Genealogical tree of *Diwan Gidwani*.

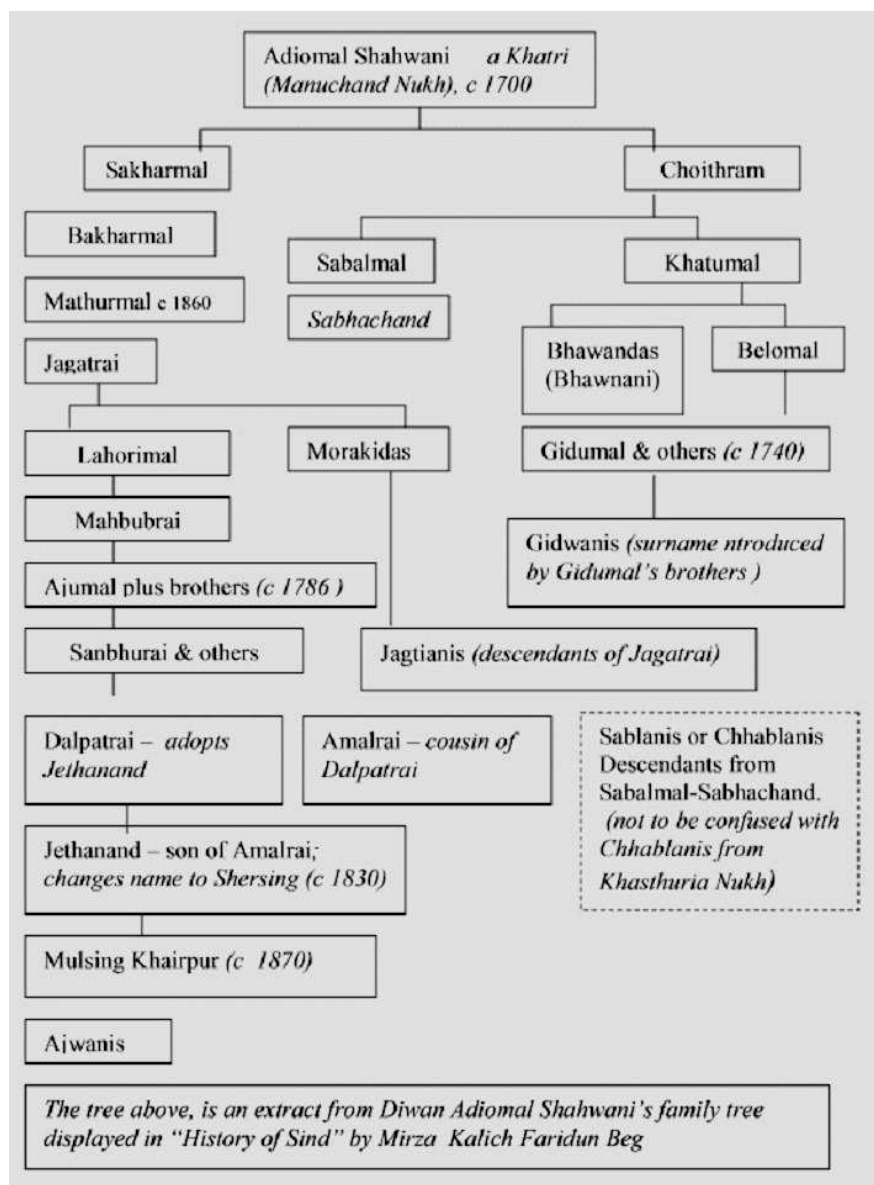


... was provided by Diwan Chandiram, pleader, and which had been copied from some other in 1886.

اڌيو مل شهنائي







Based on family tree displayed in Bherumal's book (page 56)

**Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's descendants: names reproduced for clarity**

Adiomal (Shahwani.)							
Choithram.	Sakharrmal						
Khatumal.	Sabalmal.	Bakharmal.					
Mathromal.							
Belomal.	Bhawandas.	Sujansing.	Sabhachand.	Jagatrai.			
GIDUMAL.	Jaspatrai.	Khanchand.	Alimchand.	Khanwarsing and others.	Sukhanand.	Molakidas.	Lahorimal.
Suratsing.							
Lakhpatrai and others.	Himatsing.	Mulsing and others.	Bachomal.	Mahbubrai.			
Sajanmal.	Bajesing.	Jamiatrai.	Jethmal.	Daolatram (Prosecutor- Shikarpur.)	Dayaram.		
Mulchand.	Nawalrai and others.	Bhojraj.	Ajumal.				
Kishindas, &c.	Izzatram and others.	Ramsing and others.					
Sablani or Chhablani.	Jagtiani.	Sanbhuram and others.					
Aidas (Overseer.)	Lalsing.	Dewanmal.					
Wasanmal (Pleader.)	Sachanand.						
Dalpatrai.							
Jhamatmal (Pleader.)	Metharam. (Pensioner.)	Hasasing. (Pleader.)	Dharamdas. (Pleader.)	Tolaram (Pleader.)	Jethanand.		
Bhawnani.	Mulsing (Jagirdar of Khairpur.)						
Tahilsing.	Jagatsing.	Kansing.	Dalsing.				
Ajwani.							
Baharsing.	Chandiram (Pleader) & others.	Asudosing (Pensioner), & others					
Shersing (Zamindar)							
Gidwanis							

## **Chapter X: Profiles of Amil families in Hyderabad (c 1917)**

(The book proceeds with valuable description of the numerous Amil families living in Hyderabad. Each family group, not in any specific order, contains comment on their origins, where they live, folklore, and their relationships with other Amil groups).

In chapter IX, we read that Diwan Mulsing's letter, together with an extract from Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's family tree, jointly reveal that Ajwanis are related to Jagtianis. This would imply that both groups of Amils will have originated from Satipur in Punjab.

From that tree, it will be observed that Adiomal had a son Sakharmal, who in turn had a son Bakharmal; Bakharmal had son Mathromal. Mathromal then sired Jagatrai. The descendants of Jagatrai went on to adopt Jagtiani as their surname. Further examination reveals that Jagtianis, Bhawnanis, Gidwanis and Ajwanis are thus (distant) cousins.

### **Jhangianis**

Their forefathers came to Sind from Jaisalmer, and settled in Naushahro Taluka. Over time, they spread to Naushahro Feroze, Bhiria and further south to Hyderabad. As a group, when they lived in Sahiti (central region of Sindh, east of the Indus river is called Sahiti), in Naushahro Taluka, some called themselves Jhangianis, whilst others used the surname Ramrakhianis. Both of these groups share the same Nukh, namely Ahuja. It is highly likely that they derive their surnames from Jhangimal and Ramrakhimal, who themselves will have had a common ancestor. Today, Ramrakhianis are also to be found in Sahiti region of Sindh Province, and in Khairpur District.

### **Chandiramanis**

Originating from Multan, they lived in Khudabad and later in Hyderabad. In Hyderabad they reside in a ghitti (lane) opposite Sujahsinghani lane. The lane is also referred to as "Thokari Lane", as thokaris (pottery/earthenware sellers) used to sell their goods here.. Some still trade here.

### **Chainanis**

Their forefathers originate from Chandah in Punjab (north of Multan and near Bhakkar). Living in Hyderabad now, they are followers of the

Masani of Hyderabad (priest in charge of cremation ground), and by the grace of Guru do not touch liquor. Therefore, they consume “thandal” (methyl spirits often used as coolants) instead of liquor on social occasions, such as marriage ceremonies.

### **Chhablanis (of Khasthuria Nukh)**

Referring to Diwan Adiomal Shahwani’s family tree in Chapter IX, history would suggest that persons with surname Chhablani are distant cousins of Gidwanis and Ajwanis. However the Chhablanis that Bherumal has met during his travels, have Khasthuria as their Nukh. This is a different Nukh to that of the Gidwanis, Ajwanis and Bhawnanis, who have their Nukh as Manchandia (Manuchand).

Bherumal learns that Chhablanis of Khasthuria Nukh, had Diwan Sabaldas as their forefather, and not Sabalmal (a descendant of Diwan Adiomal Shahwani). Folklore has it that Diwan Sabaldas was fond of rich and well prepared food – particularly seero (sweetmeat made from flour, ghee and sugar). A proverb developed: seero should be made and taste to Sabaldas’ liking, otherwise it would taste like ajwan (carom or Bishop’s weed) or jeero (cumin seed).

It is heard, that Chhablanis possessed immense wealth. They had cattle in abundance, and consequently ample milk. The folklore goes, that with such wealth, their ladies would wash their feet in milk. God punished them for such bad habits, and their wealth diminished; now, wealth of the past, is but a dream. Generations ago, the Chhablanis and Sipahimalanis enjoyed close relationships. Today such family relationships are difficult to ascertain, as the Chhablani’s (of Khaasthria Nukh) Shujoro (family history) is not available.

### **Khubchandanis**

They reside in Akatrai lane in Hyderabad. This lane is named after Aktar, a village of Bubak Taluka, close to Sehwan. The Khubchandanis originate from Khudabad. When it was raided by the Khosa tribe (circa 1759) they migrated (south) to Talti; some of their brethren sought security in Aktar. Later, as the city of Hyderabad flourished, they migrated there. Their family history is traced to that of their distant cousins Tahilramanis of Talti. It is understood that Tahilramanis were Sikhs, originating from Punjab – much like other Amils.

### **Ramchandanis (also see Hingoranis and Thakatianis)**

They came originally from Jaisalmer and are distant cousins of Hingoranis (Takhatianis) of Sahiti region of Sindh. Whilst the two groups are related, it is difficult to ascertain from their Shujoro, the point of common ancestry involving Hingormal and Ramchand.

A number of distant cousins of these Hyderabad Ramchandanis, live in Khairpur and call themselves “Kirtani”. Other connections are also to be found in Garhi Khario and Jacobabad Districts. All these families share the Dariri Nukh. Also, one group resides in Gachero village, in Moro Taluka. It is learnt that a water well created by Ramchandanis, exists to this day in the village of Khai Raho (north of Naushahro Feroze).

(note: web searches indicate that Diwan Hingormal, resident of Khudabad, escaped Khosa atrocities of 1759. In common with other Amil families at that time, they dispersed to neighboring villages. His grandson, Ramchand, provided the roots for Ramchandani aakais).

### **Ramrakhianis**

Please refer to the Jhangiani family group.

### **Sipahimalanis**

This group has their Nukh as Ramdeo, and originate from Multan. As they had previously settled in Khudabad prior to migrating to Hyderabad, they are considered as Khudabadi Amils. A few of their brethren are to be found in Chandia (Bero Chandio) near Larkana. Some Bhaibunds, from the same Nukh (Ramdeo), are to be found in Darbelo village near Kandiaro.

Forefathers of Sipahimalanis were well known for their devotion to God. People passing their residences would bow and pay respect - as they would for a Gurudwara. Rupchand and Tarachand were sons of Ramchand. Ramchand's father Girhardas and grandfather Diwan Hotchand, were religious persons.

Bherumal narrates a story about Diwan Hotchand and his honest servant. One day, the Diwan left an ornament with an artisan, for re-stringing. The servant was to bring the article back after repair. When he returned from the artisan, the servant placed his hand in his jacket pocket to give the

repaired ornament to the Diwan. It was not to be found. The servant had been pick-pocketed. Reflecting on the story, Diwan Hotchand said that there would be no punishment for such negligence. However, that night after dinner, the servant was to massage the Diwan's feet - chanting "Ram Ram" throughout the night. If the servant failed to do so, the loss of ornaments would be deducted from his salary.

At night, part way into chanting and massaging the Diwan's feet, the servant asked if the Diwan was awake. Diwan Hotchand asked why the servant wanted to know. The servant replied that he found it difficult to stay awake whilst chanting, as it made him uncomfortable and drowsy. He said that he could manage the massage without chanting; but if the Diwan insisted on the chant, then the servant was prepared to have his salary deducted. The Diwan smiled and instructed the servant to go and get some rest.

The moral: People feel stung (repent) and uncomfortable when chanting and taking Divine name. That was punishment enough for the servant. On the other hand, the pious Diwan felt that hearing the chant throughout the night had been ample compensation for the loss of the ornament.

(Commenting on the status of the Sipahimalanis), the well known poet of Sindh, Diwan Dalpat-rai Sufi (Hindu Sufi 1769-1842), who was originally from Sehwan, (he gave up his employment in Talpur administration to open a shrine in Hyderabad), lived in a house in Sipahimalani lane. That house, which still exists, has a Gurudwara in the memory of Bhai Kesoram and his sons Bhai Hariram and Bhai Atmaram. As father and sons, these three Sipahimalanis were great Sants. Diwan Dalpatrai's own guru was Bhai Assardas, whose couplet about Maya (money) , namely "Assu says, all the world is a dream", is well-known.

### **Sadaranganis**

There is uncertainty over their origins. However, after immigrating to Sindh, they first resided in Moro and later further south in Hyderabad. This is logical, as Moro is located along the great Multan Road.



### **Sitlanis**

This is a branch of Advani families of Hyderabad; by inference, Sitlanis were originally Advanis. Some Advanis in later years, started the surname Sitlani, taking the name from Diwan Sitaldas (circa 1790). This Diwan was a descendant of Chandumal, the first son of Diwan Adumal. The Sitlanis share the same Nukh as the Advanis – namely Maghu Khitri (see Chapter VIII).

### **Shivdasanis**

Living in Hyderabad now, they originate from Multan. Their forefather, Shivandas was a blood brother to Mansukhandas. Mansukhandas' own descendants are the Mansukhani group. However, this information is not totally reliable as the lineage of these families is not available.

(Web searches describe four brothers from Multan, who some 250 years ago, migrated south. Their Nukh is noted as Khangar, and included Shivandas and Mansukhandas. The all too familiar reason for migration is stated: harassment, and lack of security. Hyderabad city sketches on pages 42 and 43, indicates that this family lived in Shivdasani Ghitti, near Gosain Ghitti – the area where other Amil and Bhaibunds also resided).

### **Shahanis**

Originally, they were employees of Shah Baharo (circa 1730 when the Shah ruled Larkana under Noor Muhammad Kalhora. At that time, Sindhi language rose to its peak) and it is from this word (Shah) that they derived their family name “Shahani”. Shah Baharo eventually settled his seat of government to Larkana, where his tomb (constructed by Ghulam Shah Kalhora in AD1774) is to be found. Today a number of Shahani families are to be found in Tharu Shah (south of Larkana). A descendant of the Shahani group from Tharu Shah, is Diwan Gokuldas who is today (1919) the city Magistrate in Hyderabad.

There are many Shahani families in Larkana. In the past, many were employed in the administration (some as storage minders) of Shah Baharo. (It is usual for Amils to derive their surnames from their elders. However, here, this great affinity with the Shah, might explain the emergence of the Amil surname Shah-ani).

Hyderabad's great Diwan, Dayaram Gidumal Shahani (1857-1927), is from the Shahani family. He earned great reputation and wealth – unsurpassed by any other Sindhi. As example, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal Shahani was for a period of time, Remembrancer of Legal Affairs in Hyderabad (his duty was to tender advice across all administrative departments of British Administration in Sindh Province, on any legal point arising under the Constitution).

His father Munshi Gidumal was a Sanskrit scholar, and even some Brahmins learnt Sanskrit from the Munshi (see Chapter IX – disputes amongst Amil elders). One such was Maharaj Jaikrishin Thagoonram, himself a learned and talented Brahmin. There is a Sanskrit school in Hyderabad, named after Munshi Gidumal (see page 42 and 43 - Gidumal Sanskrit Patshala). The hostel attached to D.J.Sind College, Karachi, and many other buildings are named after Diwan Metharam Gidumal Shahani; a charitable trust also carries his name.

Munshi Gidumal had two sons: Metharam Gidumal (eldest) and then Dayaram Gidumal (born 1857, retired in 1911; the second son eventually retired at “Blue Bungalow”, Bandra, Bombay).

The family of Diwan Sahibrai are also Shahanis and reside in lane next to Police Ghat. Their lane is Diwan Sahibrai lane, and is often referred to as Ghat lane, or as Kariri lane, as there used to be a kariri (copper bush) tree at the entrances to the lane. Many of the Diwans living in this lane, owned agricultural lands in Badin, near Guni in south Sindh. These families are also known as Badinanis.

### **Idnanis**

They are originally from Multan.

(Web searches indicates that Idnanis are descendants of Diwan Idan Mal, who married a descendant of the Hingorani family. Diwan Idan Mal, with the support of Vadero Fateh Ali Khan Rajper, circa 1800, established a village Pat Idan, later called Pad Idan - land of Idan.)

### **Khandaranis**

This is a branch of Advanis. Adumal (whose descendants are the Advanis, Chapter VIII) had a son Datumal. Datumal's son was called

Kandharmal – from whence the surname Khandaranis is derived. The Kandharanis are near cousins of Diwan Sadhu Navalrai and Diwan Hiranand. Further descriptions are contained under “Advanis”.

### **Kirpalanis**

They are originally from Multan. Many Bhaibunds are their distant cousins. A number of Kirpalanis reside in Mukh-ki lane, in upper bazaar, near Fort.

**Karnanis** : we will discuss this family under Bhambhanis.

**Kirtanis** : we will discuss this family under Ramchandanis.

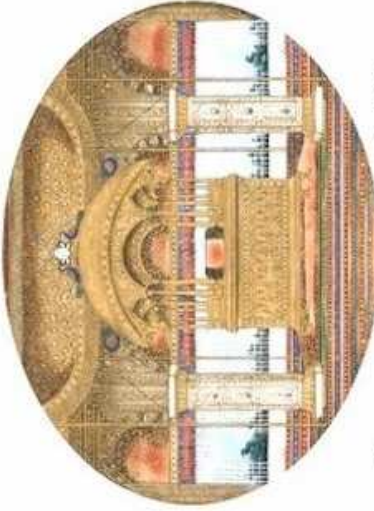
**Gidwanis**: Bherumal’s descriptions of Diwan Gidumal and the Gidwanis, have been translated as a separate chapter, which follows next.

(Web sites such as [www.dalsabzi.com](http://www.dalsabzi.com) provide additional family histories and descriptions of the migration of families to Hyderabad. Generally, Amils and Bhaibunds took possession of vacant plots of land from Qila to Chhotki Ghitti. Some families occupied area around the Tomb of Sarwar. Others who followed, opted for plots towards Siro Ghat. In every street, arrangements were made to install a Tikano. Hyderabad’s “Amil colony” thus emerged. Eventually, shortage of land led to Amils moving to Navabad and Old Post Office road; thereafter Hirabad developed. It should be noted however, that under Muslim rule, Amils and Bhaibunds were not allowed to own land. Prospects for land ownership arose under British rule, from 1843 onwards.

In addition to Hyderabad’s ghittis identified on pages 42 and 43, other ghittis mentioned at various websites include: Jagatrai Issardas Lane; Jhooromal Lane; Khatuband Lane; Lachman Beragi St; Mahtani Lane; Manglani Lane; Mulchand Khiamal Lane; Pishori Paro; Ramchand Lane; Ramchandani lane and Shahiran Jo Paro.

Our own genealogical data c.1920, shows that the following married ladies: Vasi Kimatrai Shamdasani, Rami Karamchand Shamdasani, Savitri Naraindas Shamdasani and Giani Tolaram Shamdasani, all lived on Mukhi Naraindas Lane).

## Mughal Emperor and Persia: conflicts and plunder



Peacock Throne, Delhi



Daria-i-Noor (Sea of Light) Diamond



Koh-i-Noor (Mountain of Light) diamond

## **Chapter XI: Diwan Gidumal – from Kalhoras onto Talpur rulers**

Gidwanis are not the direct descendants of Diwan Gidumal. Diwan Gidumal had no sons. If he had any, they did not live long. (note: Diwan Gidumal here, a descendant from Shahwani's, should not be confused with Diwan Dayaram Gidumal Shahani – see page 70).

As Diwan Gidumal held high office under Kalhora rulers, and possessed high intellect and displayed much courage, his name was used by his close relatives and brothers (Jaspatrai, Khanchand and Alimchand) to derive the family surname of Gidwanis.

(Referring to family trees included in Chapter IX) Bherumal notes that Diwan Gidumal's decadency stems from the father-son relationships of Diwan Adiomal Shahwani, Choithram, Khatumal and Belomal. Their Nukh is Manchandia and are distant cousins of Ajwanis, Jagtians and Bhawnanis. Diwan Gidumal's ancestors originate from Sitapur in Punjab.

(We have learnt in Chapter VIII that Diwan Adumal, forefather of the Advanis was employed as a swordsman by Mian Noor Mohammad Khan Kalhora, 1719-1755, and accompanied the Mian from Multan in Punjab, to Sindh, around 1736).

Like Diwan Adumal, Diwan Gidumal too enjoyed close relationships with the Mian. Not surprisingly, both Diwan Adumal and Diwan Gidumal joined the Mian in his journey to Khudabad in Sindh (circa 1736).

If there has to be one Amil renowned for his faithfulness, wisdom and political diplomacy, it would be Diwan Gidumal.

(At this juncture, a snapshot of Sindh's history and ensuing political turmoil will help the reader: in 1736, the Mughal ruler on the sub-continent, Muhammad Shah, conferred the title of Nawab of Sindh on Mian Noor Mohammad Khan Kalhora - thus making the Mian, ruler of Sindh. At that time, lured both by the wealth and weakness of Mughals, Nader Shah the ruler of Persia, invaded the Mughals.

Emerging from Kandahar (Afghanistan), the Persian ruler defeated the Mughals in 1739, at the battle of Karnal. In the process, the Mughals lost significant wealth to Persia, including the Peacock Throne, and Daria-i-Noor and Kohi-i-Noor diamonds. Nader Shah, withdrew his troops months later, having gained much wealth and weakened the Mughals even further.

Serving in Nader Shah's army was a prominent soldier from Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Durrani, who had played a part in the defeat of the Mughals. When Nader Shah was assassinated by his own body guards in 1747, Durrani seized the opportunity to become the ruler of Afghanistan. Like the Persian Nader Shah before him, Durrani understood that "this rich but poorly defended neighbouring country India", was ripe for plunder and exploitation for resources. He did so several times between 1748-67, affecting areas adjacent to Afghanistan, including Sindh.

It is worth noting that Nader Shah's success over the Mughals alerted the British East India Company to the weakness of the Mughals. The Company was heavily engaged in trade since 1600s, and went on to exploit this weakness, leading to another important chapter in the history of the sub-continent).

(Continuing with the translation) After Nader Shah (and the ongoing invasions by Durrani), the territory of Mian Noor Mohammad Khan Kalhora, became a portion of Durrani's empire. Thus Mian Noor Mohammad Khan Kalhora, changed his allegiance to Ahmad Shah Durrani of Khandahar. In return, the Mian continued his position in Sindh, and was awarded the title Shah Nawaz Khan by Durrani.

Whilst the Mian received recognition, his heartfelt intention was to somehow release himself from the tributes and homage he had to pay Durrani. The Mian made attempts along these line; Durrani became aware and decided to take action. Diwan Gidumal recognizing the Mian's fear and difficulties, took it upon himself to meet Durrani at his army base near Naushahro Feroze. Speaking eloquently, as an ambassador of the Mian, Diwan Gidumal managed to pacify Durrani. This event occurred between 1754-55.

However, anxiety got the better of Mian Noor Mohammad Khan Kalhora during the course of these events. He panicked and without waiting the outcomes of Diwan Gidumal's intervention, he fled to Jaisalmer where he died in 1755. Had the Mian not lost patience he would have been very grateful to Diwan Gidumal. Perhaps the Mian's demise in Jaisalmer was ordained by the Almighty.

Diwan Gidumal went on to exhibit great loyalty by participating in the rightful transfer of power to the son of the deceased Mian - onto Mian Murad Yab Khan Kalhora. As ruler of Sindh, Mian Murad was conferred the title "Sar Buland Khan" by Durrani. Such events would not have been possible without Diwan Gidumal's diplomatic prowess.

Mian Murad Yab Khan Kalhora, was not a good ruler. He was greedy and proud. Success had blinded him, and he began to display cruelty. Diwan Gidumal was naturally disappointed (and would have harboured much repentance). As a consequence, the Mian's subjects and Administration were in a pitiful state. Mian Murad Yab Khan was thus dethroned in 1757, with his brother Mian Gulam Shah Kalhora assuming control. Once again Diwan Gidumal displayed tact and loyalty – joining hands with yet another (third time) ruler of Sindh.

In 1768, Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora sought to shift his capital from Khudabad to Neran Kot (Hyderabad) further south (see Chapters V & VI). The task of developing Neran Kot was awarded to Diwan Gidumal. For this, the Mian handed over two ships loaded with wealth, for use by the Diwan.

In order to test the Mian's trust and confidence in him, Diwan Gidumal sent a message to the Mian indicating that both ships had capsized, and asked for further orders. The Mian, having full trust in the Diwan, dispatched two further boats laden with wealth. This episode shows that Kalhoras had much confidence in the Diwan (and by inference, with other Amil Sindhis too). It also shows that, wisely, Amil Diwans working under the rule of Kalhoras, were often testing their relationships with their masters. These are some of the episodes relating to Diwan Gidumal.

(Bherumal in the next paragraph, not reproduced here, recaps the work that Diwan Gidumal undertook for the development of Hyderabad, which



also resulted in Gidhu Bandar – “Gidhu jo Tando”. Details are to be found in Chapter VI: Hyderabad – Diwan Gidumal and Kalhora rulers).

Although Diwan Gidumal was loyal to the Mughal rulers (Kalhoras followed by the Talpurs from 1783 onwards), they did not always reciprocate in kind. Without mentioning names, one of the Mirs (Talpur Royals, from amongst The Charyars, page 35) became aware that Diwan Gidumal had a beautiful daughter and the Royal thus entertained the notion of marriage. The Royal sought to verify her beauty before taking any decision. Disguised in ladies clothing, the Royal went to Gidwani Street (in Neran Kot or Hyderabad), where at the Diwan’s bungalow, stood a Sheedi (Abyssinian) guardsman. These guardsmen were loyal employees, and once they learnt of this incident, informed the Diwan.

The Diwan calmly sought to ascertain that the intruder was indeed a Royal. Once confirmed, the Diwan gave instructions that the “lady” intruder be driven away with a shower of sticks. The intruder was thus expelled, and ran for “her” life.

After this incident, Diwan Gidumal and the Gidwani families naturally fell out of favour with the Mirs. To escape growing persecution, the Diwan and his relatives escaped Sindh, crossing the creek in a small boat, and set to sea to reach a more safer haven. Respecting the wishes of their Mir counterparts in Sindh, the rulers where Diwan’s family had landed, arranged for the Diwan to be sent back. On the return journey, a pregnant lady began to give birth. The Diwan now lost heart, on three accounts: the unhealthy conditions for a new birth, his changed relationships with the Royals, and the hardships his family encountered in their escape from Sindh. Nevertheless he maintained his inner confidence and levelheadedness.

On arrival back in Hyderabad, the Diwan confronted his daughter, exclaiming that she had been the source of the family’s difficulties. He asked her to confirm whether she wanted to marry the Royal, and thus embrace Islam, and that if this were all true, he would have no choice but to turn his sword on “the neck of his own daughter”. He wept as he uttered these words - the first time anyone had seen lion-hearted Diwan Gidumal, weep. His daughter, who was true follower of the Hindu faith

and a brave woman of the Hindu Aryan tradition, said that to save her Dharam and Sharam (religion and modesty), she wanted to die.

Diwan Gidumal then had no choice but to perform the act. He would have willingly offered his own head. But in order to save his family's own Sanatan Dharam (eternal religion), this brave son of Sindh suppressed his heart into stone, and took his daughter's life. By nightfall, he took her body in a gunny bag, and jumping across terraces, reached the river bank and cremated her.

When the Royal heard of this, instead of offering condolences, he ordered the Diwan to arrive at the palace. Diwan Gidumal had no idea what was in store. Upon reaching the palace, the Diwan was surrounded by the Royal's guards, tied to a pillar, and was torched to death. Even today, many Muslims and Hindus comment that the Talpur dynasty days were numbered, and this was the reason for this horrible act. Shortly afterwards, the Mirs lost their kingdom of Sindh to the British (officially in 1843).

Had Diwan Gidumal any clue of what was to unfold, he would not have gone when summoned. He was not without strength and influence. He had good connections with several rulers: those of Jaipur and Jodhpur (in Rajasthan); on the other side of Kotri, near Thano Bula Khan in Las Bela and Numera districts (Balochistan), was ruler Jam ("King" or "Sultan") Ghulam; in Meri was ruler Khan of Kalat (Balochistan), and finally Diwan Mulraj (Sikh) from Multan. They would all have offered assistance.

Had the Diwan committed any offence, then the Mir's action would have been justified. But the manner in which he and his daughter died, for the sake of their religion and belief, caused sorrow and anguish to many a person.

## Sindhi philanthropy: Dayaram Jethmal College, Karachi, c.1890



In late 1800s, Sindhi students intent on pursuing college education, had to enrol at Bombay University. Recognizing the obvious need for a Sindh based institution for higher education, Diwan Dayaram Jethmal (see Adiomal Shahwani descendants, page 64), in conjunction with the British Administration, created Sindh Arts College in Karachi in 1882. Over time, student demand for places grew as did college faculties. In 1887 the Diwan passed away, and in his memory further funds were secured involving his brother Doulatram Jethmal, Bulchand Dayaram (a prominent educationalist) and other well wishers . The institution expanded and was renamed as **Dayaram Jethmal Sind College** (“DJ”). Subsequent years saw the addition of a much needed college hostel – funded by Diwan Metharam Gidumal Shahani.

Hyderabad too had its fair share of support from Sindhi philanthropists: Sindh National Arts College of 1917, was to attract funding and support from Dayaram Gidumal Shahani’s son Kewalram, and undergo name change to **Dayaram Gidumal National College** (“DG”) in 1928.

Continuing prosperity amongst Sindhi families and their desire to improve society, resulted in the creation of hospitals, parks, libraries, newspapers and places of worship, across many parts of Sindh Province.

## **Chapter XII: Profiles of Amil families in Hyderabad - continued**

**Gulrajanis:** please refer to Punwani group.

### **Lalwanis**

Where the Lalwanis originate from, is not known. The belief is that their fore fathers were common shopkeepers. Two issues attract attention when examining their family tree. Firstly, in the Lalwani family tree, the names of priests are included. Thus, each descendant in the Lalwani family tree carries the name of the priest of the day (example of male name structure: name given, name of priest, then Lalwani as surname). Priest Paruram, whose temple exists in Lalwani lane is mentioned in their family tree.

(Web searches indicates that their ancestor was Bhai Lalchand, who had sons: Gurdasmal, Sahibrai, Phulchand, and Panjumar).

Second issue is that Idanmal, Diwan Vazirmal, and teacher Kishanchand and other descendants of Diwan Uttamsingh, have been called Lalwanis for years. Yet no trace exists of their records back to Bhai Lalchand. Perhaps these persons adopted the surname Lalwanis, as they resided in close proximity to the true Lalwanis.

However, having secured their Shujrohos (lineage records), it can be seen that some call themselves Uttamsinghani (after Diwan Uttamsingh). Others who are descendants of Diwan Rochiram, but who can not trace themselves back to Lalchand, have adopted the surname Girdharimalani.

Based on folklore, Bherumal writes that the Lalwani family traits are unique. They have within their family history, the inclusion of Bhadani Bhuda (old person, and hence toothless) roots. However, there is no record of such tribe/group in Sindh, India or the world over. Their physical structure is obvious and can be recognised from afar. Ordinarily, men perspire through pores in their skin – to maintain body temperature. But Bhadani men have smooth skin, resulting in higher body temperatures. Thus in ordinary daylight, they are susceptible to the heat. They are known to bathe frequently and wear wet clothing to keep body temperatures low.

Hence the saying: Bhud Bhadani – Thando Pani (toothless man of Bhadani, needs chilled water).

Bhadani folk tend to have four molars (back teeth): two upper and two lower. Although their front teeth are absent, they are able to not only eat roti, but also chew supari (beetle nuts). Bhud, being a Hindi word, actually describes their appearance (namely, lack of front teeth), makes them look much older than actual age. It seems that such teeth structures are hereditary.

It is commonly known that illnesses can be hereditary, and that in such cases, sons and daughters inherit defective genes from their parents. This appears not to be the case in the case of Bhadani families, where “toothlessness” skips a generation in the inheritance chain. Thus, it is only grandchildren, and not sons and daughters, who inherit these defects from a family elder who is toothless. Moreover, when such defects occur amongst the grandchildren, it only affects the male member. The second aspect of this folklore on gene inheritance is that, if there exists four, five (or more) grandchildren in the toothless family chain, then only two grandsons are affected; granddaughters are never affected.

It seems that one Mr. A.H. Aitkin, a naturalist, was puzzled by the hereditary nature effecting Bhadanis. He arranged to send a toothless Bhadani for examination by the Civil Surgeon of Hyderabad, at Hyderabad Hospital. The Civil Surgeon formed the opinion that the occurrence of “toothlessness” would lessen through generations. Thus the numbers of grandsons affected would decrease from current two, to become one, and then eventually disappear. In about a hundred years, “toothlessness” cases would thus disappear.

Other hereditary traits also affect Lalwanis. It seems that some grandchildren are also born deaf. This condition seems to occur in every alternate child born in the family; it affects both boys and girls alike. For these children, often deafness is accompanied by dumbness, as difficulties in hearing leads to difficulties in speech. Through hereditary, Bhadani males are often toothless, whilst both boys and girls can be deaf and dumb. However, the occurrences of deafness through hereditary, do not always follow hard and fast rules: there are exceptions. God’s wonders!

(Further evidence on Bherumal's observations can be found in Journal of Hereditary, article "A toothless type of man – the Bhudhas of India" by K.I. Thadani, 1921).

**Makhijas:** please refer to Mirchandani group.

### **Malkanis**

Malkanis are from Rajputana. It can not be ascertained why they came to Sind from Rajputana. However, it can be stated that after coming to Sindh they settled for a brief period in Bhiria, north of Naushahro Feroze. Their forefather was Malakmal, hence derivation of surname Malkani.

(Web searches indicates that there was severe famine in Rajputana in 1811-12 – leading to mass exodus south, towards Sindh and else where. This may explain the arrival of Malkanis in Sindh).

Some Malkanis claim that their Nukh is Dariri. However that Nukh belongs to Ramchandanis with whom the Malkanis have no connection. Note however, that Munshi Awatrai Malkani was adopted by a Ramchandani family. The mention of Munshi Awatrai Malkani, instantly brings to mind the name of his father Diwan Sahibhri, who was a well known Persian poet. On Mirs' families occasions, be they grief (death) or happiness (marriage), Diwan Sahibrhi would compile a poem; these would enamour his audiences.

Munshi Awatrai Malkani (died 1901) himself was of no less stature (see page 60). He was appointed treasurer for the Mir's kingdom (Chancellor of the Exchequer – Mali Vazir). In 1843, when Sindh Province was annexed under the British Administration, Sir Charles Napier went to Malkani lane (where Munshi Awatrai Malkani lived), to acquire keys to the Treasury. It is reported that Munshi Awatrai, replied that he could not part with the keys until he had written permission from his master, (Mir Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad, exiled under British rule, and died 1846).

Both Munshi Awatrai Malkani and Diwan Showkiram Advani were Mukhis of Hyderabad for a short period (see page 60). We have seen that the word Munshi used in earlier parts of the book reflects the root meaning (namely a Persian word, originally used for a contractor, writer

or secretary). Thus, Munshi Awatrai was Treasurer, and Munshi Valiram (see Manshanis) was a Chief Minister, Vazir-e-Azam. Such profiles indicate that during the reigns of Kalhoras and Mirs, the status of Munshi was higher than that of Diwans.

(With the expansion of administrative tasks under British rule, Munshis were to become clerks, accountants and secretaries). Bherumal notes that, with the passage of time, the post of Munshi has lost much of its significance, and has fallen from its exalted position. Now a days, Munshis are ordinary clerks, office assistants engaged in correspondence, or book-keepers to accountants.

### **Mahtanis**

In the early part of this book we learnt that Amils who migrated from Punjab into Sind Province, were often employed in the service or administration of Mughal rulers (Kalhoras and Talpurs). First cousins of Amils, who also migrated at the same time but chose the path of business and enterprise (Bhaibunds), began to go separate ways. Over time, connections between these cousins became loose and in some cases, lost. Each group began to form their own communities in Sindh. An instance of such separation amongst once close cousins, are the Mahtanis.

Today, Mahtanis are considered as Bhaibunds, but they are near cousins of Sadaranganis (see Chapter X), who are Amils. Mahtabrai and Sadarang were two brothers and their Nukh was “Gera”. Mahtabrai’s lineage is as follows: Mahtabrai’s son is Madansing Mahtabrai; Madansing’s son is Motiram Madansing; Motiram’s son is Baharmal Motiram; Baharmal’s son is Ajumal Baharmal. From this four generation lineage, Baharmal Motiram settled in Tando Mohamad Khan, which is in the southern portion of Hyderabad District.

Bherumal remarks, that from this lineage, the present well known Mukhis living in Hyderabad are Daryahdinomal and his son Issardas. Daryahdinomal is the son of Mukhi Mulchand. It can not be said with certainty whether Mulchand was the son of Bharam Motiram or of Motiram Madansing. Nevertheless it has been ascertained that Mulchand is a Mahtani.

Ajuma Baharmal Mahtani, the fourth generation descendant of Mahtabrai, was employed as a Revenue Divisional Officer (tax collector – tahsildar) under Mir Mohammad Khan Talpur for a long period. He had two sons: Rijhumal and Satramdas.

Rijhumal himself held a similar post with Mir Nasir Khan of Hyderabad (died 1843, Battle of Hyderabad) and to this day is still known as Rijhumal Tahisildar. Rijhumal had five sons: Kishinchand, Thadamal, Wadhuma, Asanmal and Parmanand. The last two are alive at present. Mr. Asanmal has started a newspaper “Karachi Chronicle” in English and also “Sookhri” (gift) in English and in Hindu-Sindhi script.

Satramdas (Rijhumal’s brother) had two sons: Naumal and Mulchand. Naumal’s son Khemchand, is a Sindhwork merchant. With other Mahtanis, which include Bhai Vasiomal Assumal the well know Sindhwork merchant, and his brothers and nephews, they have all collectively contributed greatly to charitable causes in Hyderabad. Mahtanis form a large group of Bhaibunds in Hyderabad.

### **Manshanis**

Just as Sitlanis, Kandharanis and Akalis (Khalsa branch) are branches of Advanis, so also are Manshanis. A descendant of Adumal, the forefather of Advanis (see Chapter VIII) was Munshi Valiram who was Chief Minister (vazir-e-azam) to Mir Nasir Khan of Hyderabad. He had a big garden which extended from the bungalow of Diwan Navalrai to the lane where Bhai Mulchand resided. Today, buildings exist on that garden plot.

The descendants of Munshi Valiram, adopted the word Munshi for their surname as “Manshani”, and are now referred to as Manshanis, although their roots belong to the Advanis.

### **Mangharmalanis**

They are migrants from Punjab. Their forefather Diwan Mangharmal separated from his brothers for private reasons, and ventured south to Sind in the service of Mirs. During his service, he achieved important status, and was in fact sent to Afghanistan as an ambassador for the Mir.

Diwan Mangharmal’s son Metharam also joined the service of the Mirs. Upon Sindh Province being annexed and ruled by the British in 1843, the



Mir along with Metharam went to Britain, to plead that Sindh be handed back to the Mirs. They returned with great hopes, and were placed under custody awaiting outcome of the appeal. In the interim, Metharam passed away - free from such earthly matters. (Their appeal led to Mirs being granted Political Pensions by the British).

Subsequent to Metharam, their families started using Mangharmalanis as their surname. Following such events, their families remained much disturbed, and separated. Their families were offered employment in the British Administration, but they chose not to accept, and thus witnessed difficulties amongst their own kith and kin. Later many of their families did prosper. A few of the Mangharmalanis settled in Jacobabad.

### **Mirchandanis**

Mirchandanis originate from Multan. For a period of time, they settled in Khudabad, but when the city was destroyed (by Madad Khan, see Chapter V), they like other Hindu Sindhis, fled to nearby villages. In the case of Mirchandanis, they migrated to Talti in the south, where they still reside. As Hyderabad city flourished, the Mirchandanis, again like other Hindu Sindhi families, migrated there.

In Hyderabad in the area where they now live, and prior to their arrival, fisher men used to sell their catch. Therefore Mirchandani lane is also referred to as “old fish market” (purani machhi bazaar).

Mirchandani Nukh is “Makhija”, and therefore some families use the surname Makhija or Makhijanis. In fact Makhija is the name of a Nukh – and not the surname of families. There is no certainty over the forefather of the Mirchandanis. But their forefather has been referred to as Vanajoromal. This Vanajoromal had two sons: Hasrajmal and Adatmal.

Hasrajmal’s descendants include Udharam (now called Diwan Udharam) who is the son of Thanwardas. Many of Diwan Udharam’s family have been living in Kirpalani lane for a long time. Although they call themselves Mirchandanis, they are in fact Hasrajmalanis.

Adatmal (Hasrajmal’s brother) had a son called Morardas. Morardas himself had two sons: Matomal and Mirchand. The descendants of Mirchand are Mirchandanis. The descendants of Matomal call themselves

Makhija (following the name of their Nukh from their ancestors' time) , although they are in fact "Matanis" ( from Matomal).

Bherumal notes, that there are many families belonging to the Makhija Nukh: in south Sind Province, and also in mid-Sindh in Bhiria town (in the taluka of Naushahro Feroze).

In Hyderabad, a number of Mirchandanis were employed as surveyors (for canal supervision) by the Mirs. It is heard that when the British overthrew the Mirs of Sindh in 1843, the surveyors hid their instruments, in the hope that the British would not have such instruments, and would therefore not be able to measure the Indus river's many canals, nor the depth of much needed water in wells. The logic was, that in need of such instruments, the British would then rely upon, and favorably employ them (Mirchandanis) as surveyors.

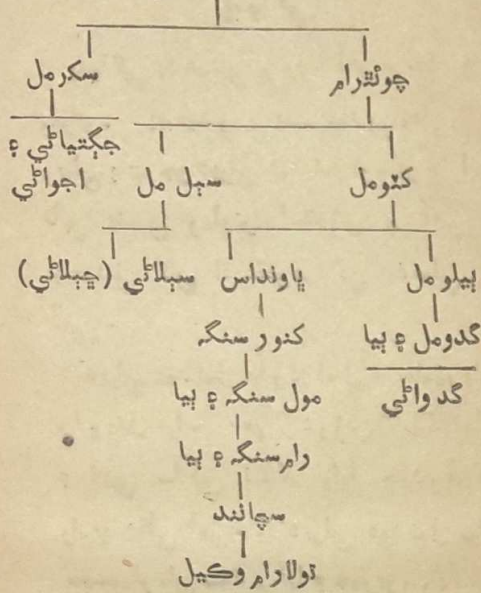
### **Wadhwanis**

The entire group of Wadhwanis migrated from Multan and were employed as Diwans during the reign of the Kalhoras. When Sindh Province was later ruled by the Talpur Mirs (circa 1790), it was bifurcated into three States: Hyderabad (with its Charyars, page 35), Mirpurkhas and Khairpur. Following bifurcation, some families went to Khairpur, and others to Khudabad and then onto Hyderabad. Many Wadhwanis still live in Khairpur Sate, and have been seen to visit their Hyderabad Diwani relations on such occasions of marriage and death. However, over time, such visits have diminished.

Their Nukh is difficult to ascertain – but is understood to be "Pathan" in origin. Although a few elders are able to assist and much investigation has been pursued, still their Nukh remains uncertain. From comments provided by their elders, it seems that the Pathan Nukh was adopted, as the Wadhwani ancestors felt it appropriate to please their employers – the Pathans. However, such an explanation needs further investigation. The Wadhwani situation is very similar to that of the Shahanis - whose surname is also influenced by their employer, Shah Behari.

۱۱۱ عاملن جو احوال

اڏيو مل شھواڻي



پاؤ فاطمي

منهنجا وڏا اصل ڪٿان آيا سو احوال  
اڳوڻي اجواڻين جي ذڪر ڪندي ڏنو  
ديو آهي -

## **Vaswanis**

The Vaswani family group, together with other Hindu Amils (possibly related as neighbours), migrated from Multan.

**Hingoranis:** please refer to Ramchandanis.

(Web searches yield: Diwan Sukhanand Khilomal of Jaisalmer, Nukh Dariri, fathered Hingormal and Rangomal. Hingormal provided Hingoranis surname, and fathered Tilumal, Baghchand, Khubchand, Tharoomal. Brothers Baghchand and Khubchand migrated to Dudan village and adopted surname Dudani – still Nukh Dariri. Diwan Tharoomal fathered Gurbuxrai and Ramchand, the latter relocating to Hyderabad. Descendants of Ramchand gave rise to surname Ramchandani).

## **Bhawnanis**

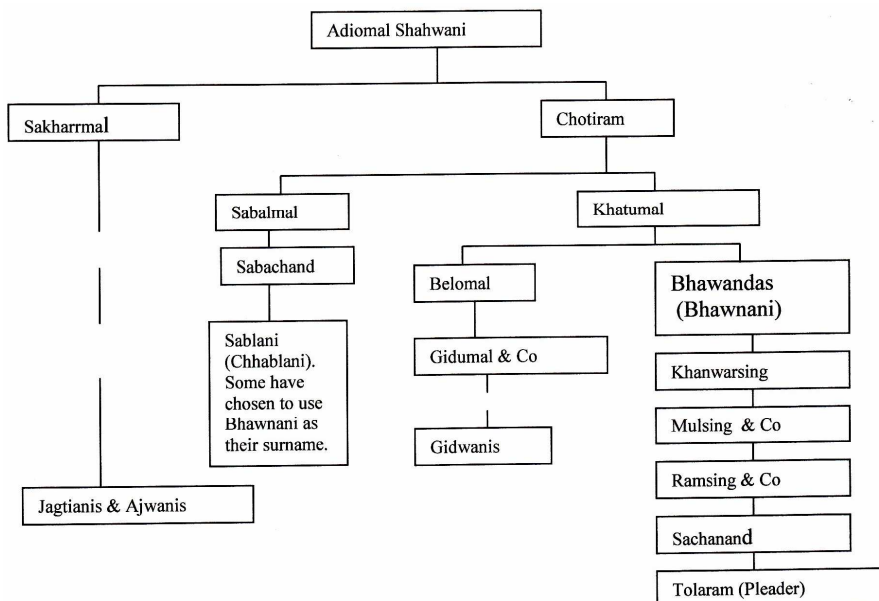
When describing Ajwanis (Chapter IX), it was mentioned that Bhawnanis, Gidwani, Chhablanis, Jagtianis are cousins of Ajwanis. This is displayed in Diwan Adiomal Shahwani's family tree (circa 1886), included in a book "A History of Sind", compiled by Khan Bahadur Mirza Kalich Faridun Beg, in English.

Bherumal reminds readers that the Chhablanis shown in Diwan Adiomal's family tree (page 63) are descendants of (Sabalmal onto) Sabhachand, and have Manuchand as their Nukh. A number of Chhablanis of this Manuchand Nukh extraction, have started using Bhawnanis as their surname. (Thus we have within Manuchand Nukh, the use of Bhawnani surname by descendants of Bhawandas and also by descendants of Sabhachand).

Bherumal re-emphasizes that the Chhablanis having Nukh Khasthuria (see Chapter X), are not related to the Chhablanis displayed in the Manuchand Nukh family tree (page 63).

The Bhawnani surnamed descendants of Sabhachand, living in Hyderabad at present are: Jaichandrai Majusing Bhawnani (Pleader), Dialmal Doulatram Bhawnani (son of Doulatram the Prosecutor of Shikarpur, born 1873 and sub-Judge of Jacobabad from 1901). The Bhawnani surnamed descendants of Bhawandas, also living in

Hyderabad, is the well known advocate (pleader) Diwan Tolaram Sachanand Bhawnani (son of Sachanand Bhawnani). Diwan Tolaram's connection to Adiomal Shahwani in mapped (below) in an extract from Mirza Beg's family tree of Adiomal Shahwani.



Being cousins of Ajwanis, details of Bhawnanis family origins and forefathers is common; this can be found under Ajwanis profile.

## Bhambanis

(Bherumal in the course of his duties, had an opportunity to visit Pad Idan during 1915-18. This allowed him to make extensive notes produced below).

The Bhambanis reside in Pad Idan. Pad means wilderness. Pad Idan or Pat Idan means wild stretch of land, populated by Idanmal. There is also a rail station of that name, approximately a mile away (built by the East India Company, around 120 years ago).

The forefathers of Diwan Idanmal were originally from Jaisalmer, and migrated to Sind and settled in the village of Hingorajan in Khairpur State. They are Dairi Nukh - same as the Ramchandanis of Hyderabad.

Diwan Idanmal married one of his daughters to one Naraindas (marriage c. 1750), who with his brother Gulabrai, and others, were agricultural landlords in Hingorajan. Property disputes arose amongst the landlords; Naraindas separated from his brother, and requested his father-in-law, Diwan Idanmal's help. Naraindas proposed a peaceful settlement - away from his brother and disputes. Diwan Idanmal proceeded to cultivate a wild plot of land (many miles south from Hingorja and near Naushahro Feroze) which was some three miles distance from the village of Chiho (Ghot Chiho). There he encouraged many Bhaibunds to construct buildings. A new village thus came to existence.

As Diwan Idanmal had founded the village, it was named after him: Pad Idan, and is also known as Chiho Pat (pat is plot of land in Sindhi), as it was close to Chiho village. A good and noble citizen, and land owner, called Fateh Ali Khan Rajper also resided in Chiho. He was known to offer protection to his subjects in case of need. He was of Rajper caste and had the command of one lakh Rajpers. With his support and trust, Diwan Idanmal continued to develop the area and village further.

Today, one can find trace that Pad Idan was a secure and well inhabited village. At its outskirts, there is evidence of an ancient canal, but weather has however taken its toll on the village. Digging in the area for water, revealed the presence of some eight or nine ancient wells. A landowner had uncovered one well in good condition. He has removed the earth from the well, and used it to repair and create a small wall around the well. This has resulted in the reuse of an ancient well – at no expense.

Pad Idan community is a great example of brotherhood amongst Hindus and Muslims. Descendants of Fateh Khan and Idanmal still live in harmony.

Bherumal provides ancestral details on Diwan Idanmal's son-in-law, Naraindas (mentioned above). Naraindas's ancestors lived in Hasan Abdul near Rawalpindi, Punjab, and were pious Hindu folk. It seems that children from their community encountered teasing and ridicule by

Muslim children - over the worship of Hindu goddesses. The Hindu elders considered that this was the same as being disrespectful to the Prophet's daughter. Disputes arose, which resulted in Nariandas' ancestors having to leave Hasan Abdul and move, first to Multan, then to Rohri, and eventually to Hingorajan. Years later, it was in Hingorajan that Naraindas himself quarreled with his brother and sought solitude with his father-in-law, Diwan Idanmal, and so shifted to Pad Idan (Chiho Pat).

In Pad Idan, Naraindas fathered five sons: Karanmal (eldest), Motumal, Raimal, Ghariomal and Khiantomal. (Over time, he relocated himself to Hyderabad and then Karachi, although his descendants maintained residences in Pad Idan). Karanmal himself had four sons: Wadhusing, Jamiatrai, Atmaram, and Bhambhomal (youngest). From this lineage, a few Diwans of Pad Idan started using the surnames Karnanis (derived from Karanmal) and Bhambhanis (from Bhambhomal).

(As Naraindas was son-in-law of Diwan Idanmal, then Naraindas' descendants have a Nukh different to Diwan Idanmal, which is Dariri).

Noticing the expansion in his daughter's family, Diwan Idanmal handed his land and building to his descendants in Pad Idan, and went back to Hingorajan, Khairpur State. Diwan Idanmal's own male descendants carry surnames Kirtanis and Ramchandanis (hence Nukh Dariri). In Khahi Rahu (north of Naushahro Feroze), and further north in Tharu Shah and Bhiria and other places, many Sindhis of Dariri Nukh are to be found.

From Naraindas (Diwan Idanmal's son-in-law) lineage, Bhambhomal prospered the most. Bhambhomal (giving rise to Bhambhani surname) had nine sons; only one, Diwan Madhansing Bhambhani, survives today, and is nearly eighty five years of age. Naraindas' sons were, in the main, agricultural landlords.

Of the eight deceased sons of Bhambhomal, one was Diwan Ramsing who was considered Madar-al-Maham (Minister of Central Affairs) in Khairpur State. To date, people still remark of his wealth. Ramsing's own son Mansing (born 1872) was also a great landlord. A further descendant within Naraindas's lineage, Badaldas (lineage being

Naraindas onto Karanmal onto Jamiatrai onto Badaldas), was also a prosperous landlord.

Badaldas was appointed as Diwan of Jaam of Las Bela (princely state near Balochistan, founded by Jam Ali Khan in 1742, and later absorbed under British rule), and had offices in Sonmiani, near Karachi. Badaldas Jamiatrai, being based in Karachi, was able to establish relationships with various Seths and the Bhojwanis of Karachi. Today, a number of Bhojwani grandsons (through daughters of Bhojwanis) are Diwans in Pad Idan. Bhojwanis are also related, by marriage, to other well established families in Hyderabad.

The Nukh of Bhambhanis is Chugh. Persons of that Nukh exist in many locations in Punjab and Sind. Within Punjab, this Nukh is not held in high regard. Many Chugh Nukh families reside in south Sind Province.

### **Takhatanis (also see Ramchandanis and Hingoranis)**

Amongst the (Hindu) families in Bhiria town, the Bhai families (Kewalramani) and Khilnani families are well known. However, amongst all families here, the Takhatani are considered as pukka Amils. Some of the brothers of the Takhatanis call themselves Hingoranis. The entire Takhatani aakai are cousins of Ramchandanis of Hyderabad; they all share the Dariri Nukh and originate from Jaisalmer.

### **Thadanis**

Thadani families live in Khianto Tando (East Hyderabad) and in Gosain Surajghar Lane. They migrated initially from Uch to Khudabad. When Khudabad was set on fire by Khosa tribesmen (1759, see page 32), some migrated to Sahiti (name given to central region of Sindh) and some to Talti. (near Daultapur). Those who went to Sahiti later migrated south to Khianto Tando in Hyderabad. Some of the families who left for Talti, later settled in Gosain Lane in Hyderabad, leaving behind some relative who still live in Talti, with others in Khairpur State.

### **Punwanis (including Gulrajanis)**

Descriptions here apply to both Punwanis (descendants of Punhomal) and Gulrajanis (descendants of Gulrajmal), as Punhomal and Gulrajmal were brothers.



Their lineage is as follows: Thakurdas sired Mahatabrai who sired Punhomal and Gulrajmal. Their Nukh is Linjhar. They lived near villages Sibi and Dadhar, at Narigaj (near Nari and Gaj rivers). Bherumal investigates and learns that Phunomal's forefathers were goldsmiths. As evidence, Bherumal notes that the rituals that they practice are common among goldsmiths, and not found amongst any Hyderabad Amil families. The ritual involves the statue of Uma Dev, which is prepared out of cow dung, with grains of rice sprinkled over it. At a predetermined day, the statue is immersed in either a river or running water.

Punhomal's ancestors lived in peace in the Nari Gaj area for many years. Unfortunately, this harmony turned sour when their employer, the ruler of the area, developed troublesome attitudes towards the ladies in this Amil family. It is natural for each family to maintain their dignity and respect. Thus, this Amil family considered it best to leave the area, and therefore migrated south to Bakhar. The arrangements there were not to their liking, and moved once again, further south to Khudabad.

In Khudabad they became acquainted with Diwan Adumal the ancestor of the Advanis, who was residing there at the time. (Note that at that time, Diwan Adumal and Diwan Gidumal were both employed by Mir Noor Mohammad Kalhora, circa 1736, see Chapter XI). In Khudabad, Diwan Adumal took Punhomal's ancestors "under his wing". When the Diwan with other Amil communities, migrated to Hyderabad (see Chapter VIII), Punhomal and his brother Gulrajmal accompanied the Diwan and settled near his area. This is why in Advani Lane in Hyderabad, the Punwanis live on one side of the street, whilst the Gulrajanis live on the other side. Even today they maintain close relationships – especially on special occasions.

Initially, the Punwanis maintained good relationships with families in Nari Gaj. However, for past forty years, the relations in Nari Gaj have not visited Hyderabad; contact has been lost.

Punhomal had five sons: Khusholdas, Assardas, Punjoomal, Guwaldas and Uttamchand. In Hyderabad, the last son Uttamchand, married into a family from Khairpur State. Some of Uttamchand's descendants thus went to live with their maternal in-laws in Khairpur.

### **Chapter XIII: Amils – religion and languages**

Readers will appreciate that today, Amils and Diwans live not only in Hyderabad, but also in many other parts of Sindh Province. In fact at present, they are to be found in numerous towns across Sindh: Khairpur, Pad Idan, Bhiria, Tharu Shah, Halani, Jacobabad, Larkana, Ratodero, Bubak, Talti, Patro, Chaneja, Paran, and other places. One family is also to be found in Gachero (Moro Taluka).

As we have seen, a number of these dispersed Amils and Diwans are connected through marriages with the Diwans of Hyderabad. Also noted earlier, is the fact that Amil families generally originate from Punjab, Jaisalmer and other northern areas.

The origin of Amil families in Sindh, can be firmly established by way of their religion and language. Thus, Amils and the merchants who accompanied them from Punjab, belong mostly to the Sikh sect. Prior to migration these Amils had been influenced by the “five K’s” of the Sikh traditions (see page 95). Few of them had grown their hair and possessed a kirpan (sword). Some wore kada (bangles) and kaccha (undergarment). Many of the Khudabadi Amils (who later migrated from Khudabad, south to Hyderabad) had grown their hair, but most have now stopped this practice - although a few Amils in Hyderabad still retain long hair.

Diwan Navalrai, Mukhi of Hyderabad (see page 51 for Navalrai Showkiram Advani: 1843-93) had for the last 60 years, adopted the Brahmo teachings. A number of his relatives are also followers, although originally, they were all followers of Guru Nanak.

(Web searches reveals that Diwan Navalrai was influenced by the Brahmo Samaj teachings during a visit to Calcutta in 1870 where he met with, and was much impressed by Keshub Chandra Sen, a follower of the movement).

Furthermore, Amils who now follow Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj, Radhaswami and other such movements, were originally of Sikh extraction, migrating from Punjab to Sindh. Other Amils not from Punjab, but living in close proximity to Amils communities from the Punjab, eventually adopted the Sikh faith. However, they also continue to

observe their accessorial roots and revere their own gods and goddesses, Darya (river), and serve Thakur (Krishna).

(Amongst this mixture of religions and beliefs) in some cases, at marriage ceremonies, some Amils recite hymns (Vidhi) which have their origins in Kutch. During the marriage, the bride's right hand is joined with the groom's left hand and covered with a dupatta (long scarf). This aspect of the ceremony is called Hathyallo and prayers are uttered to Devima (goddess Devi) to keep the couple safe. Similarly, other customs, mannerism, variations in the use of Sindhi language, and pronunciation, can all help to determine an Amil's caste and place of origin.

In the month of Sawan (or Shriwan/Shawan, rainy month), Amils perform Gogio (Nag Panchami) ceremony. Actually Gogio was a Chauhan (Rajasthan Rajputs ancestors) by caste, and his temple is to be found in Punjab. Migrant Amils have imported the Gogio ceremony and its performances.

Bherumal highlights how to distinguish Hyderabad Amils - by referring to the Sindhi proverbs they use:

“Aya Mir, bhaga Pir” (when the Mir rulers came, the Kalhora wise-ones, fled) is not a Sindhi proverb. The proverb stems from a story of Amroh town where Miranji lived, and who was nickname “Mir”. This nickname was heard by the forefathers of Amils and Bhaibunds in the Punjab, and they brought this proverbs to Sindh.

“Ek panth, do karaj” (one effort, two results) is a pure Hindi proverb, but brought to Sindh by Mathura.

“Anja Delhi, dur ahe” (Delhi is still far away) came from the Punjab.

“Andhan bhi Multan ladho” (even the blind reached/found Multan) indicates that nothing is impossible if one sets ones heart and mind to accomplish a certain task. Basically, it refers to the beneficial route (Chapter II: for Grand Trunk road- Shahi Rasta) followed by migrants from Multan to Sindh Province.

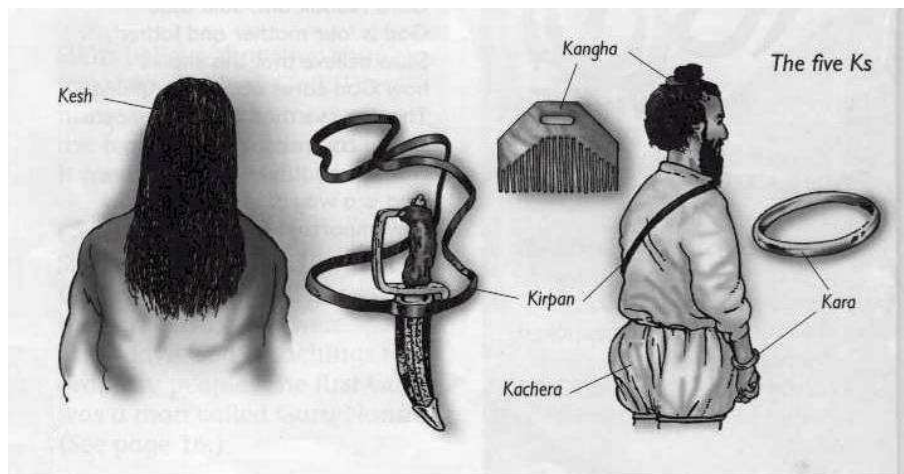
Some say that there are about three thousand proverbs in Sindhi language - about 75% of these were imported by our forefathers from Punjab.

“Jagendan jo vacchun, sutlan ja koonhan” (meaning: the awake get beneficial results, and the sleepy suffer minimum results) seems to have been imported by Gujaratis migrating to Sind. The original Gujarati proverbs being “Jagate ki kunya, sote ka ketra”. Hearing this, anybody would remark that it is not of Punjabi origin.

“Raba ji rori hui, to vihayen mein vapari” (meaning: when even the awake are under oppression, how much so for the sleepy) is certainly to have its roots in Jaisalmer and Kutch.

When Kutchi folk greet each other, and enquire of their wellbeing, they say “Theek chee?” meaning “how are you – very well?”

Such proverbs, sayings and use of words by Amils, provides proof of their origins.



Panj Kakkar – five articles of Sikh faith



Vintage group photo of Sindhis

## **Chapter XIV: Amils - dress and ornaments**

In the period of Mahabharata, five thousand years ago, Hindus used to place “mukt” (crown-diadem) on their heads. According to ancient customs, Lord Shri Krishna was also following this practice. Today, like Shri Krishna, bridegrooms wear mukt and other ornaments around the neck and hands. All Amils continue this tradition, as do other Hindus. Elder Hindus are wearing half sleeve shirts (kameez) like Christians. It is shorter than an ordinary traditional kurta, but longer than a sadri (waistcoat).

We can locate the origin of the mukt from the Mahabharat. It is not possible to find a similar reference point for the saree. However, by reference to books by Sister Nivedita (1867-1911: Sister Nivedita, born as Margaret Elizabeth Noble, was a Scots-Irish social worker, author, teacher and disciple of Swami Vivekananda who gave her the name. She wrote several books on Indian religion and spirituality) we found old pictures of Misr (ancient name for Egypt) with goddesses wearing clothing like a saree.

At present many ladies have “patties” (strips) at the base of their sarees, to create a pallu (part of saree draped over the shoulders). But previously, sarees did not carry such additions, as ancient Aryans considered stitched clothing as unholy. This explains why in olden days, sarees, dhotis and other clothing, were left unstitched.

Later on, Hindus started to wear pagri (turbans). These varied in style across India – depending on location and customs. Sindhi Bhaibunds still adhere to their ancient customs of dress. However, the dress of Amils has undergone change over time, although they do wear pagris and dhotis on occasions of marriage and death. The practice amongst Amils and Bhaibunds of “pagri-rasm” after a death (tying of a turban – to denote succession of the elders son), started once pagris were worn generally.

When Amils worked for the Kalhora and Mirs (circa 1720 onwards) they wore long turbans, flowing/loose pajamas (patloon) and mojari slippers (jutti - toes curled up slippers with fancy embroidery). Like their Mir masters, Amils also supported waist bands and long scarves around the neck (dupatta). At school, Amil children too would wear caps (kinkhabs –

embroidered caps), similar to other Mir children. These days, legal men (advocates - vakils) wear such caps when attending court – a formality which started when Amils used to attend Mir courts. Amils today, also wear long kurtas and sadris (waistcoats) – much like the Mirs do. Bherumal remarks, that Muslim kurta button strips are on the right side of the garment, whilst those of Hindus are on the left side.

Amil ladies too had adopted the dress customs of women of Muslim Mirs. They wore bangles on both the upper and lower parts of the arm, and skirts (petticoats tied from the waist). Some Amil families also adopted the Muslim veil. During that period, the use of ornaments such as anklets, forehead ornaments, rings for fingers, ears and toes, amongst others, was in vogue.

Today, the less well off Amils who could not afford fine leather shoes (jutti), are purchasing rough leather shoes. Bherumal notes that Amil ladies shoes were richly embroidered, using pale colours on material covering the toes, and were flat. Each shoe was secured on the foot by the use of one or two toes, exposed through the embroidered material. Over past 25 years, mojari footwear has become outdated; in the last 10 years it has become totally out of fashion. Slippers (without shoe laces and backs) or flat chappals, are in common use. In this era of rapid change, shoes with high heels are in fashion.

Previously, both the young and old used to wear long coats with closed collars; today only the elderly continue with this attire. The young prefer coats made from check patterned Madrasi cloth which costs around 5-6 annas per yard. Tailoring charges are around 5 annas per coat. Around 1880, a bartering system used to exist; this has now disappeared.

Boys from well-to-do Amil families wear cholas (shirts) with their collars embroidered in gold and silver threads (mukes). The caps they wear on their heads are also embroidered. Ribboned tassels which swing left and right as the head moves, are added to the centre of the cap. Some hats carried background designs, often complimented by silver or gold bands. At home, Amils wear thinner caps with embroidery, or simple silken cloth caps (topi). A number of wealthy Amils support caps made of muslin or thick poplin under their turbans, and add a dupatta.

Now a days, Diwan Navalrai (Navalrai Showkiram Advani) has started wearing cheap check cloth from Hala, for his coat and trousers. Sadhu Hiranand (brother of Diwan Navalrai) and Diwan Pribhodas (Pribhodas Shewakram Advani, cousin to Diwan Navalrai) have also followed his footsteps. Other Hindus have also adopted such clothing, for simplicity. By wearing such clothing, Diwan Navalrai is giving preference to Sindh sourced cloth, rather than to foreign imported cloth. Diwan Navalrai was practicing these “swadeshi” ideas in Sind, well before such ideas gained strength across Hind following the partition of Bengal (into two entities) in October 1905.

Bherumal remarks on trends in Amil head dress: Amils put on a dhoti and a turban only on occasions of marriage and death; otherwise they generally wear caps (jari wali topi). After the fashion of mukes (gold and silver threads) and zari (gold lace) on caps, followed the fashion of velvet caps with flat tops, which only a few Amils follow at present. A few years back, Turkish fez and “Bangalore cap” were vogue. The general use of caps is still in fashion.

Ladies used to wear Khairpuri peshgir (a wide skirt-gown , paro, petticoat) and some still do. In 1916, the fashion of white peshgir started, and today ladies prefer varieties in peshgirs, and wear sarees too. The period of 1900s has seen great and fast moving changes in fashion – driven by the younger generation. In general, women wear gold ornaments, rings and bangles (bracelets, instead of fore and upper arm bracelets made of ivory). Nose rings (natha) have been replaced by phuli studs. These changes seem to have started by Radha Swami Guru. From 1917, ladies have preferred the use of lockets and rings. In 1918, Amil boys started joining the scouts movement (founded in 1908); their scouts uniform resembles military dress.

The fashion influences that Hyderabad has on Sindh, is much like Paris has on the rest of Europe. As most Amils live in Hyderabad and Karachi (in 1919), changes in fashion from these two cities takes time to spread across other major towns of Sind.

New fashions are emerging at a fast rate. Travelling salesmen visiting towns are routinely introducing new ideas in attire and fashion. Since their mode of travel is by foot, by the time Hyderabad fashion is taken to



remote towns and villages, it is out of date in Hyderabad. It is known that changes in fashion, requires creativity from the young. About ten years ago, three or four youngsters started wearing collars with bowties. At that time they were held in contempt; today it is common to see even children in such attire.

Amil dress fashion has been driven by the creativity of youngsters, the inheritance of Mirs dress codes, and now the styles from the English. There is often resistance to change, but eventually change does occur. People are always conscious of their appearance and less so of their soul. The fickle minded (adventurous) accept new fashion more readily, as they are less shy and not too concerned of being different.

On hairstyles, Bherumal remarks, that in the days of the Mirs, some Amils refrained from cutting their hair – much like Sikhs. Later, new hair styles were adopted. Some hair styles supported by Amils were only a circular patch of hair on the crown of their head. These styles originate from Gujarat and Jaisalmer. Other Amils used to shave only the top of the head, leaving surrounding growth. A few Bhaibunds started to adopt long sideburns. Some Amils parted their hair in the middle, resulting in hair on both sides; this style was eye catching.

Regarding facial hair, Bherumal writes that ancient Hindus used to shave their beards, but Amils started to retain beards and moustaches during Mughal rulers. Over the past few years, Amil have started shaving beards, although Bhaibunds used to do so even in olden days.

Today, barber shops charge one taka (slang for anna; 16 annas to a rupee) for elders, 1 pice or paisa (64 paisa or pices to a rupee) for young men and 1-2 pices (192 pices or paisa in a rupee) for children. In 1890 there were no barber shops. Barbers would travel from place to place with their “paki” (blade) tool bags. Younger generation took to shaving their own faces, but used the services of a barber for hair cuts, adopting hair styles of the day. Generally, elders shave and had hair cuts, weekly.

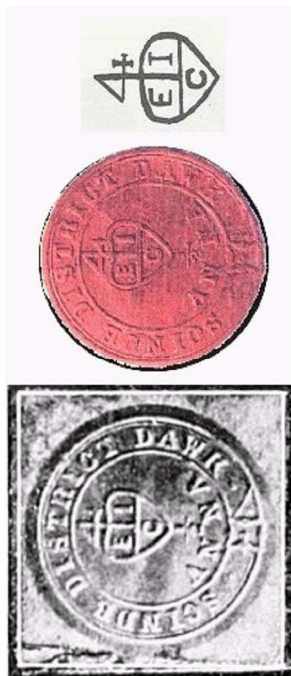
From around 1916, Amil youngsters started keeping half moustaches whilst others had no moustaches. They copied European fashion of the day. This was a great period of change on all fronts. Amils noted the short European surnames, and some soon started to shorten their own:

Shivdasani became Sanis, Sipahimalanis became Lani, Thadani to Thad, and Kirpalani to Krip.

Some Amils wear European hats and evening caps. Some now prefer to bear-headed and look like Bengalis. Amils who have settled in Europe are often mistaken for Italians. In Sindh, it is felt that Amil fashion is on par with Parsi, Bengali and European fashions. The fashion that Amil ladies now adopt can make them look like Parsis, whilst some look beautiful in hats, and are referred to Madams (European).



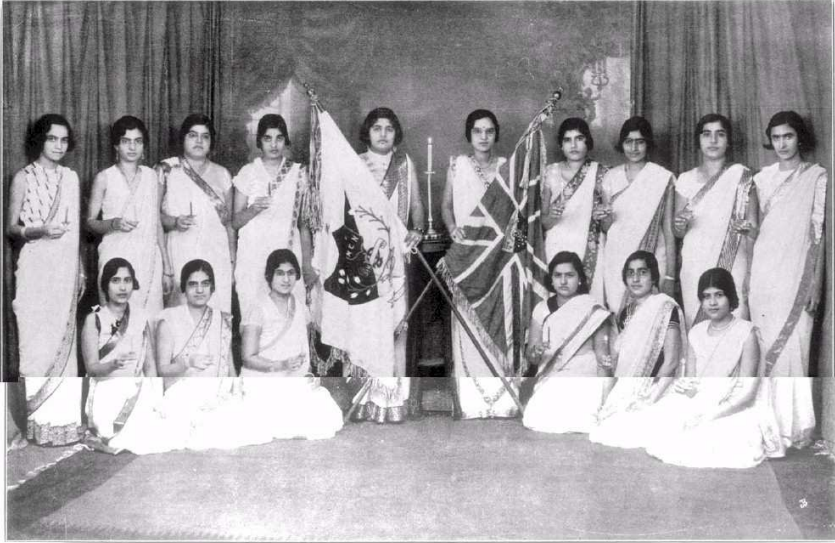
Coinage Act of 1835: Sindh uses the currency where 16 annas make one rupee; 4 pice make one anna; 3 pice make one paisa. In effect a pice is 1/92 part of a rupee. When published, Bherumal's book sold for 10 annas.



(Left) Scinde District Dawk the 1<sup>st</sup> adhesive postage stamp to be used in Asia. Introduced in Sindh, July 1852, it is based on the postal system of runners (Dak) who served the Indus valley. (Centre) red sealing wax stamps cracked easily; they were replaced by paper stamps. The stamp carries the coat of arms of The East India Company.

## Progress of Sindhi women

Dayaram Jethmal College, Karachi: The Jubilee Torches (17th January, 1937)



SITTING:—(From Left to Right)

Miss D.D. Jhangiani, Miss P.P. Punwani, Miss M.T. Thadani, Miss M.R. Sipahimalani, Miss R.J. Shivdasani, and Miss L.N. Mansukhani.

STANDING:—(From Left to Right)

Miss M. K. Uttamsing, Miss D. J. Shahani, Miss P. T. Advani, Miss K. G. Vaswani, Miss S. T. Sipahimalani, Miss K. H. Gurbuxani, Miss R. T. Mirchandani, Miss P. K. Ramchandani, Miss R. T. Advani, and Miss D. I. Punwani.

The introduction of English education, especially in Bombay and Calcutta, and the increasing number of British-educated Sindhis returning home, started changing the complexion of Sindhi urban society into one with Anglo influences. At D.J. College, the first girl student was admitted in 1889. Up to 1914, only 3 girls had enrolled. By 1937, 91 ladies had been awarded B.A degrees.

Sydney Jaferrkuli Mirza, (1902 student) reflects at the college's Golden Jubilee celebrations of 1937: ... it must not be forgotten that, at that time "purdah" had not been discarded by the progressive Hindus even. The progress in this respect has been phenomenal of late years that the lady-students are understood to be so numerous now as to be able to fill a class independently themselves. This is all to the good. "

## **Chapter XV: Amil lifestyles – customs, rites and food**

Rabi-al-Sani is a month (fourth month in Muslim calendar) celebrated by Muslims, and is also referred to as Pir (after a Baghdadi person Abdul-Qadir-Jilan, who is considered Pir-i-Piran). The Pir passed away on the eleventh day in 1166 A.D. Muslims observe the eleventh of each month in his memory. Milkmen on that day, do not sell, but donate their milk as charity.

The influence of the Mughal Mirs was so strong, that Amils also observe this sacred day, and distribute rabri-prasad costing 4-5 paise to children. Amil children carry rabri-prasad in small bags and distribute to all passers by uttering: “vatho Pirji mithai” (please accept sweets in memory of Pir). Some citizens use chickpeas coated in sugar (gud-bhguada) as prasad. Over the last few years Amils have dropped this practice, although it is still followed by Bhaibunds in rural areas in and around Hyderabad.

During the month of Muharram (first month in Islamic calendar) and on the day of Ashura, Amils offer Muslims sweet drinks (sherbab). Matam (ceremonial chest beating) during the month of Muharram is also observed.

Over time, Amil ladies started to use such occasion to wear silver bangles, in the belief and hope that this would lead to greater prosperity. In addition, the parents of these Amil ladies would send a rupee or two as kharchi (gift) with some food, to the parents of their son-in-laws. A few years back, Amils started to discontinue such customs and practices which they had previously observed during the Muslim calendar.

Bherumal narrates another Amil custom. This custom was followed by Amil ladies, to determine the outcome of their wishes (for example whether a particular job would be successful, or if an expected person would indeed turn up, and other such issues). The custom involved wearing as many costume jewelry bangles (fal-lal) as possible, along the arm. If there occurred a surplus of three bangles, then the wish would be unsuccessful; excess of two bangles meant success, and one bangle meant the wish would take time to be fulfilled. He acknowledges that many readers will not understand this practice, and so offers further explanation.

Women would gather their ever changing collection of bangles, for this purpose. They would then adorn each bangle, until the arm was fully covered. Bangles which could not be worn on the arm, were then bunched into sets of three bangles. After creating these three bangle sets, any remainder provided the answer to their wish. If after bunching into threes, there was no remainder, then the wish was going to be unsuccessful. If two bangles were left after bunching, then the wish was going to be successful. If however only one bangle remained, then the wish would take time to be fulfilled.

One can not be certain as to how this custom arose, but noting that the ladies utter the name of Bibi Fathima (daughter of the founder of Islam) during this practice, it is likely that this was the origin.

Since British rule, such customs have disappeared. New ones have been adopted, such as the festival of Christmas, at which time Amils send cakes as gifts to the homes of their married daughters.

Bherumal remarks that Amils generally incur large expenses on marriage and death customs, although some Amils adopt a more simple and economic approach. Dinner parties are considered graceless in the absence of potato cutlets, brain cutlets, mutton chops or omelettes. Amils prefer (for reasons of dowry) to get their sons married into families of Mukhis, Sindhworkies and Seths, but when it comes to the marriage of their daughters, these Amils consider marriages to a rich Seth, as below their dignity.

Previously, bridegrooms used to wear tall muktas (crown, head dress) but these days, the use of these are now used in drama festivals such as Chhat. Also, bride and bridegroom would sit on sandhuli (wooden seat); now a couch or sofa is used. Brides would previously, wear long veils (ghunghat) with head so bent, that maids would have to assist the bridegroom. From 1917 onwards, brides now sit erect, and some do not cover their faces. Ghunghat and other such customs have been influenced Muslim rulers, and were passed down by Amil elders. Before finishing my notes, it is clear that lifestyles change as time goes by, and customs will change accordingly.

نمونن جو ڪاٺين رات جو ٻڌندڙو ڪاٺين  
 ۽ سياري توڙي اونڀاري ۾  
 مهمان نوازي ڪرڻ شاعرن جي  
 آگيا آهي. ۽ مل پنهنجن مهمانن جي  
 خاطري ڇڏي ڪندا آهن مهمانن کي کاڌو  
 اهڙي اهڙي قسم جو ڪارا ٿيندا جو مهمان  
 جي پراري جو وندو ته ڳوٺ ۽ سندين  
 مان ئي کي پيو ياد ڪندو. هوڏن جي  
 کاڌي کاٺن جو رواج ڏينهنون ڏينهن  
 وڌندڙ آهي ۽ ذات پات جو پيدا ٿيڻ  
 قدر نڪرندو پيو وڃي جو ايرانيين جي  
 ڇاپن ۽ مسلمانن ۽ ڪرستان جي هوڏن  
 جو مال هنڌن خاص ڪري عالمن کي  
 حلال آهي.



پورو ٿيو



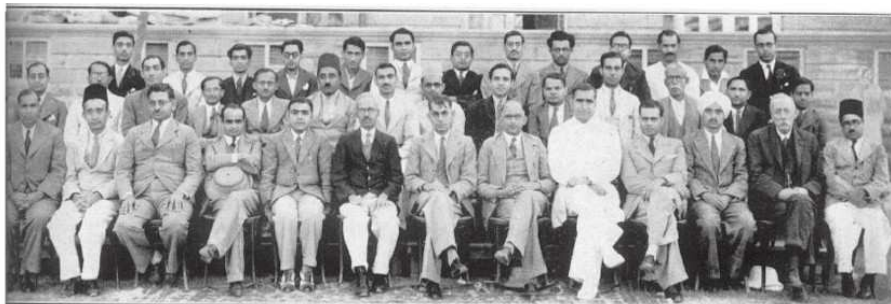
Today in Hyderabad, restaurants and eateries are in fashion, as are buffets. In that respect Hyderabad is more advanced than other parts of Sindh Province.

In Hyderabad, Amils generally do not possess cows, and so the use of churned milk (butter-milk) has replaced proper curd.

Guests are welcomed and honoured with much respect; Amils follow this mantra, and are very hospitable. Guests are offered such rich and tasty food, that for them, memories of good hospitality linger on. Eating at restaurants and other outside eateries is popular, and any caste distinctions on choice of restaurant is disappearing. Amils visit Muslim, Irani, or Christian food establishments, without hesitation.

“Amilan-jo-Ahwal”, published in 1919 ends here: as does our translation.

Upon retirement from The Salt Department at Kotri, Bherumal Mahirchand Advani, pursued his literary talents, and went on to hold the Chair of Sindhi, at D.J. Sind College, in Karachi. The photo below is of the teaching staff at the college, taken at its Golden Jubilee in 1939. Bherumal is seated in the second row, third from the right (B.M. Advani).



THE TEACHING STAFF

1ST ROW—(Left to Right) G. S. Kotwani, A. L. Shaikh, L. H. Ajwani, M. G. Punwani, J. V. Lakhani, D. T. Mariwala, N. B. Butani, T. M. Advani, G. G. Kewalramani, Adrian Duarte, G. G. Paldhikar, C. Christie, and G. D. Advani.  
 2ND ROW—(Left to Right) A. K. Jiandani, J. D. Belani, M. U. Malkani, M. P. Lakhani, C. S. Narwani, M. K. Pirzada, T. J. Balwani, D. R. Mankad, S. G. Khubchandani, B. N. Mulay, L. A. DeSouza, B. M. Advani, A. S. Rawtani, and D. H. Butani.  
 3RD ROW—(Left to Right) J. B. Sidhwa, C. C. Ramtri, D. J. Madan, R. V. Advani, T. R. Tulyani, R. R. Kirpalani, B. V. Vyas, K. A. Kalani, G. S. Karimy, K. G. Gajria, L. N. Pherwani, J. P. Vaswani and R. P. Daroga.

## **Epilogue: Migrations – planned and political.**

Bherumal ends his story of the Amils, at a time when Hyderabad's Talpur influence was finally (and forcibly) replaced by British rule.

Despite military disturbances, thankfully, Sindhis (Amils and Bhaibunds alike), were now free to own land. They went on to dominate education in Sindh, and by the turn of the century, they cornered the lion's share of senior posts in the British government, and courts of justice. In parallel, Sindhworkers established trading networks within the British Empire and wider afield. Often, immediate families and close relatives migrated (this time peacefully) from Sindh, to join these Sindhworkers in their new environments. During this period, Shikarpuri bankers based in central Asia, were impacted by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Thus they shifted their bases to Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Quetta.

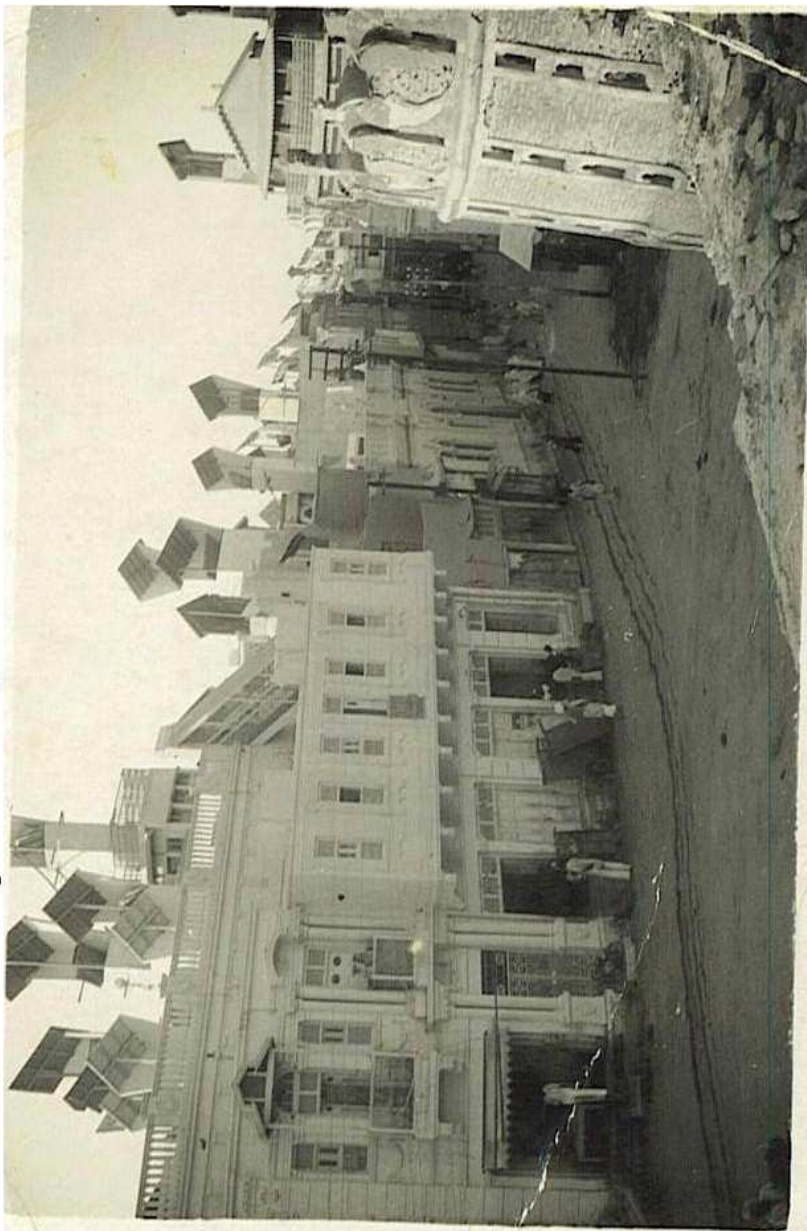
As Sindhis prospered, so did Hyderabad: "its streets used to be washed with rose water. It once hosted a large number of gardens that overflowed with green parks where children played - all these were testimony of its grandeur and peaceful public life." (Express Tribune, March 5, 2016).

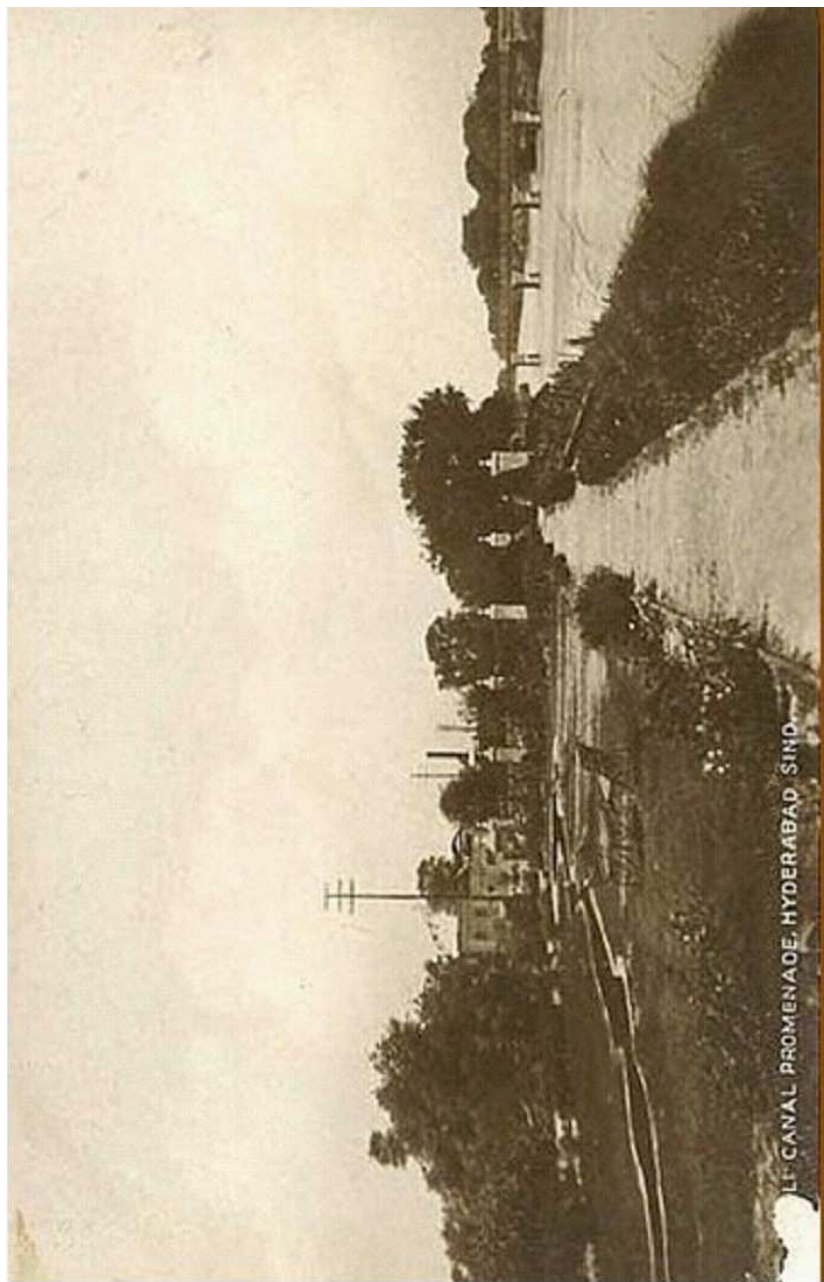
However, in preference to Hyderabad, the British made Karachi their capital of Sindh Province: it provided a strategic sea port for international trade, and a gateway to land-locked Punjab. The rail network from Karachi, through Kotri junction, then northwards to Multan, and eastwards to Delhi, enhanced patterns of trade. Karachi installed tramways in 1900, and an aerodrome in 1924. Over time, Karachi surpassed Hyderabad's prominence. Not surprisingly, large number of Hyderabad (and other) Sindhis migrated to Karachi, and went on to share the capital's prosperity.

Readers will recollect that, some 300 years earlier under Mughal rule, persecution, disputes and tensions were the root causes for migration of Hindus into Sindh. Despite British rule, similar communal tensions continued to fester in Sindh. Concurrently, some Hindu Sindhis were engaged in Quit India movement, which eventually led to Partition in 1947. Amil, Bhaibund and Shikarpuri Sindhis, along with other Hindus, were later to encounter bloodshed, displacement and loss of property, and with it, traumatic changes to their livelihoods.

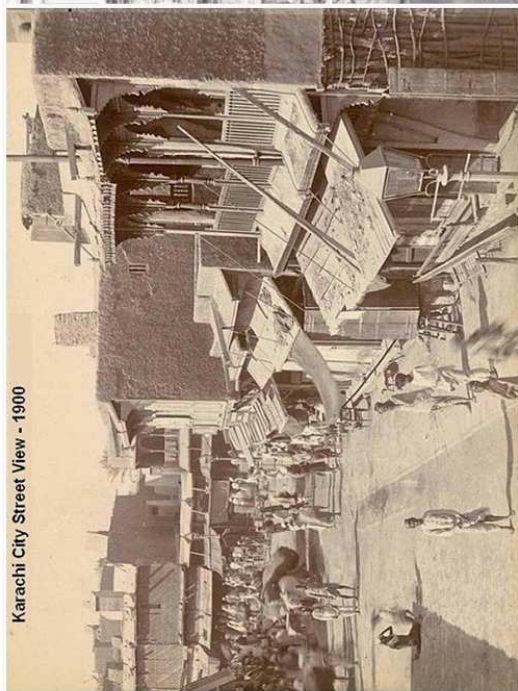


## Hyderabad, Sindh - 1930s



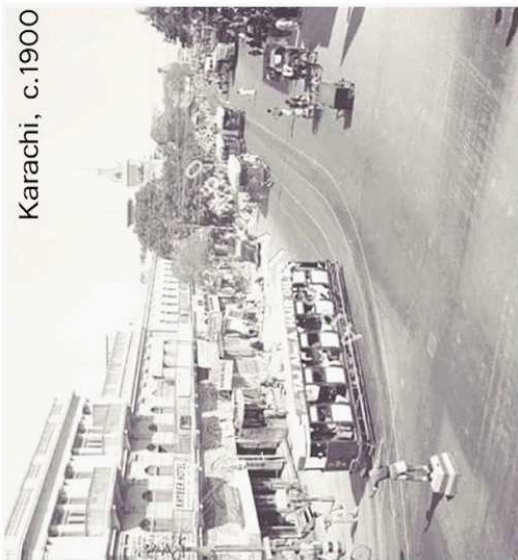


**Phuleli Canal Promenade, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1940s**



Karachi City Street View - 1900

Photo from British Library, London



Karachi, c.1900

Tram going past Khyber Hotel towards Empress Market in Saddar area.

**ALIM: (Ilīm)** means education. A person who takes to education and becomes a scholar is called Alim or Vidyawan (learned).

**AMAL:** in Arabic means hope, expectation, aspiration.

**AMIL:** translated from Arabic, refers to persons who are “workers”, “strivers”, “invaluable” or “hopeful”. Thus a person who after getting education, acts upon it i.e. translates his education into action, is called an Amil. However, by 1900s in Sindh, the word had developed different shades of meaning. Those who entered Government or Official services were called Amils. Collectively, these office bearers were called Amils – as a caste or race thus emerged. This label continues well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Today, descendants of original Amils, are most likely to be engaged in a wide range of non-Government services (typically business, trade and the professions). They continue to be referred to as Amils e.g. they belong to Amil families.

**BHAIBUND:** Whilst the Amils specialized in Administration, the Bhaibunds (both being sub-caste of Lohanas) were engaged in trade. Of the two, the Bhaibunds tended to be more wealthy, as a result of their mobility and participation in trade. Nonetheless a hierarchy existed. Bhaibund means “brotherhood”.

**DIWAN:** the words Diwan and Amil are not synonymous. In fact Diwan or Dwan has five usages:

a) collection of Ghazals or Poems (usually in Persian, Arabic or Urdu) of one author. As examples, Diwan-e-Mir would be the collected works of Mir Taqi Mir. Similarly, Diwan Gul refers to the publication, in Bombay in 1855, of poems of the first Sindhi poet Gul Muhammad (born in Sindh 1811). Similarly, the works of Mirza Kalich Faridun Beg (Sindhi scholar born 7th October 1853, in a small village called Tando Thoro, suburb of Hyderabad), are famously called Diwan Kalich.

b) diary or Book of entries (typically account books). In Arabic, the word Diwan was first used for the army registers, and then generalized to any register or book of records;

- c) based on word usage for book of records, the word Diwan was extended to refer to the title of a Revenue official , and also to Departments (Finance, Treasury, etc);
- d) kutcheri (Urdu meaning a court/hall) for the audience of rulers. Thus Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audiences, in the Red Fort Delhi, was the place where Mughal emperors received courtiers and state guests. Likewise, Diwan-i-Am is the Hall of Public Audience, where emperors received members of the general public to hear their grievances;
- e) attendees of Durbars in Sindh, were also referred to as Diwans. This usage of Diwan arose during the reign of dynasties of Kalhoras and Mirs. Durbars were formal meetings in royal courts, where discussions of the state were held. However, during British Raj, the word Durbar was applied to great ceremonial gatherings – namely Delhi Durbars, which was held on three occasions (1877 onwards).

The above clearly shows that every Amil was not a Diwan, but that every Diwan was an Amil. Thus, all Government officials were called Amils and a few of these Amils who held Diwani positions or status and had the right to enter Durbars, were called Diwans.

With the end of Mir Talpur-dynasty in 1843, following a battle with the British forces at Miani in Sindh, the systems of Durbar and Diwan-ship began to erode. When Sindh became a part of British India's Bombay Presidency in 1847, the words Diwan and Amil were still in use, and carried the original meanings. In the early years of British Administration, Amils were the lower official cadre, whilst the Diwans (Amils, Bhaibunds and others) occupied a higher status.

Progressively, this status distinction disappeared, and within the Administration, all Amils were considered as equals. However, human nature being what it is, in society, Amils aspired to be referred to as Diwans. Thus even those Amils who had never set foot in a Durbar, started calling themselves Diwans.

Over time, the use (or misuse) of Diwan in a name, was passed on, from one generation to the next – as a hereditary title. The usage of Diwan was particularly advantageous in business or trade relationships. Post-Partition and several generations later, the use of Diwan does not have

any specific connotation. The use of Amil however does still signify family roots of a set of castes (or Nukhs) of Hindu's from Sindh.

**MUKHI:** derived from “mukhiya”, meaning foremost. As a title, it is used for a head of community or village elites and their local government (panchayat). They were most influential in each community, as they were awarded with both civil and judicial powers. Often, the Mukhi could be a hereditary position inherited by the eldest son, or an elected position, as were the panchayats. Usually, decisions made by the panchayat were accepted by their communities and did not require enforcement.

**MUNSHI:** is a Persian word, originally used for a contractor, writer or secretary. During Kalhora and Mir dynasties. Munshi was used as a respected title for persons who achieved mastery over languages. They were employed as translators, essay writers, and helped with correspondence. In later years, Munshis were particularly important as secretaries to Europeans during the Raj period. With the expansion of administrative duties under British rule, Munshis were to become clerks, accountants and secretaries. These Munshis could be Muslims or Amils (non-Muslims).

The word Munshi continues to be used for both Hindus and Muslims. However, the only difference is that correspondence workers in an English office are called Clerks and those of English or Sindhi family working in Sindhi offices are called Munshis, and they continue to be called Munshi even after their proceeding on pension after retirement.

**MAHITO:** Derived from Gujarati, and used by Bhaibunds (from Gujarat) to describe Amils. The word is synonymous with Munshi , and refers to Amils who were employed as correspondence attendants, by Bhaibund traders.

**VANIO:** Amils call Bhaibunds “Vanio”, as the latter are shop keepers. Vanio is a distorted form. The original correct form is “Bania” from Sanskrit “Vanik”, to denote a person who carries out trade. (Note that “b” and “v” are often interchangeable). This is a Hindi word brought by Amils from Punjab.



## Municipality records for Hyderabad and Karachi:

A gazetteer of the Province of Sind, 1876.

Relative importance of the two cities is evident from the data. Tax (fees) structures were established by the East India Company, and varied across cities of Sindh. Note Karachi's emergence as a capital city: its expenditures on infrastructure, education and hospitals. Population size of the two cities is reflected in expenditures on policing.

## RECEIPTS. Hyderabad EXPENSES.

Items.	1873.	1874.	Items.	1873.	1874.
<b>Municipal taxes</b>		<b>rupees.</b>	<b>Establishment and contingencies.</b>		
Opium tax . . . . .	76,764	84,410	Savenging . . . . .	7,066	9,775
Market rents . . . . .	508	275	Lighting . . . . .	8,622	8,174
Municipal fines . . . . .	3,779	3,935	Watering and preserving trees . . . . .	2,381	3,001
Sale of building sites . . . . .	888	494	Education . . . . .	1,072	869
Licence fees for public conveyances . . . . .	247	153	Police . . . . .	3,068	3,566
Licence fees for sale of poisons . . . . .	137	126	Dispensary . . . . .	12,932	18,099
Cattle pound fees . . . . .	25	25	Water works establishment, &c. . . . .	36	36
Government grant-in-aid . . . . .	481	747	Charitable allowance . . . . .	842	425
Profit and loss . . . . .	6,565	1,200	Public works . . . . .	24,616	11,421
Tank fishery . . . . .	3,596	3,818	Dead stock . . . . .	2,715	2,027
Deposit account . . . . .	125	80	Other account . . . . .	200	206
Dead stock . . . . .	249	2,993	Municipal items . . . . .	992	99
	1,013	233	Retired . . . . .	914	25
<b>Total rupees . . . . .</b>	<b>88,377</b>	<b>98,469</b>	City survey . . . . .	...	12
			<b>Total rupees . . . . .</b>	<b>68,103</b>	<b>54,918</b>

Karachi		Karachi	
Heads of Receipts.	1874.	Heads of Expenditure.	1874.
	Income.		Expenditure.
	rupees.		rupees.
1. Town Duties (See dues . . . . .)	91,768	1. Establishment . . . . .	28,378
2. Railway dues . . . . .	76,522	2. Contingent Charges . . . . .	4,301
3. Inland charge dues . . . . .	15,681		
4. House Tax . . . . .	14,465		
5. Wheel Tax . . . . .	4,475		
6. Month Grazing Fees . . . . .	2,160		
7. Market Rent and Fees . . . . .	4,324		
8. Fees for use of Slaughter-yard . . . . .	657		
9. Fees on Poisonous Drugs . . . . .	35		
10. Cattle pound fees . . . . .	104		
11. Liquor Fees . . . . .	...		
12. Sernai Fees . . . . .	206		
13. Title-deed Fees . . . . .	...		
14. Sale of Manure . . . . .	1,092		
15. Fees for breach of Municipal Rules . . . . .	1,028		
16. Land Rent . . . . .	1,541		
17. Interest on floating Deposit Account . . . . .	366		
18. Interest on Government Promissory Notes . . . . .	7,115		
19. Removing and burying dead animals . . . . .	0' 110		
20. Licence Fees on Carriages and Carts . . . . .	3,293		
21. Licence Fees on Cattle and Pigs . . . . .	469		
22. Government Contribution to Dispensaries . . . . .	661		
23. Miscellaneous . . . . .	491		
<b>Total rupees . . . . .</b>	<b>2,25,963</b>	<b>Total rupees . . . . .</b>	<b>2,01,422</b>

Hyderabad around 1919, is the natural focus for Bherumal's book. He has taken great effort to describe the foundations of Hyderabad involving Diwan Gidumal, and the subsequent migration of Sindhi Hindus (Amils and Bhaibunds alike) to this new and thriving town. He ends his book, by commenting on the lives of Amil families who have settled in and around Hyderabad, since 1780.

In this Appendix, we add to his observations, by including material on the wider society and infrastructure of Hyderabad, circa 1870-1880. We acknowledge that our offering here is not complete; nevertheless it does provide the reader a fuller picture of the conditions, and often, constraints, under which Amil families and communities prospered. A map and sketch of Hyderabad, together with several photos of the town, and its Phuleli Bridge, has already set the scene (see Chapter VI) for detailed descriptions below.

*Extracts are from "A gazetteer of the Province of Sind", by A.W. Hughes, published by George, Bell & sons, London, 1876.*

**Hyderabad Taluka- population.** The entire population of the Hyderabad Taluka, according to the census of 1872, is 98,217, of whom 65,627 are Muslims, 27,304 Hindus, and 4,454 Sikhs, the remainder comprising Europeans, Indo-Europeans, Parsis, Goanese, & others. This number includes the British military force stationed at Hyderabad, which consists of a battery of Royal Artillery, a detachment of the English regiment of foot stationed at Karachi, a native regiment of Baluchis, and some men in the Ordnance Department, numbering between 1200 and 1300 officers and men, or with their families and followers, 1906 persons in all.

**Hyderabad City- population.** The population of the city of Hyderabad was found by the census of 1872 to be 35,272. Of these 13,065 were Muslims, 16,889 Hindus, and 367 Christians, while 4,951 belonged to other races. The suburban population is entered at 5,880.

The Hindu portion of the inhabitants are principally Lohanas, divided into the two great classes of Amils, or Government servants, and



Shaukars, or merchants, shopkeepers, and others. There are, besides these, Brahmans, Thakurs, several classes of the Fakir community, Sikhs, Jews, and others.

**Profile of Hyderabad:** the hill on which Hyderabad stands has the form of a parallelogram. Between this hill elevation and the bank of the Fuleli on the east, there is a plain of nearly one mile average breadth; and between its western side and the Indus there is another plain, which has an extent of three miles and a half in breadth.

At its southern extremity is situated the citadel (Ghulam Shah Kalhora's fort) of Hyderabad, which is separated from the town by a dry ditch 40 yards broad, and forms the only artificial defense of this city.

The ditch which separates the citadel from the town, also insulates the southern extremity of the hill on which the citadel stands, and the communication is maintained by means of a bridge, which is situated in front of the principal entrance into the fort, and opposite the main street, or bazaar (Shahi Bazaar), which stretches from this point to the northern extremity of the town in a straight line. The entrance is defended by a semicircular curtain; and in order to reach it, on whatever side the approach be made, you must traverse one-half of the breadth of the town, through streets of about ten yards wide.

The buildings in the interior of the citadel present great confusion, much more so than is observed in the town itself. The structures are of all kinds, placed without any apparent arrangement, and only allow communication between one part of the fort and another by narrow, crooked lanes. There are bungalows in which the princes (Mirs) reside, and chambers are set apart for public business, in which they hold their darbars. Dwellings for their domestics (servants), mosques, stables and harems are also situated within this fort.

Within the citadel (fort), there are no gardens, no maidan nor open square, for the purpose of exercise, or for ventilating the intricate mass of dwellings which are heaped together in close disorder. They are all surrounded by a high wall, which is over-topped only by the large round tower, which is the most conspicuous building in the citadel, and also by two or three of the bungalows in which the Mirs reside. Therefore, within

this stronghold, the princes of Sindh live immured, and seldom go out, except for hunting.

Besides the bazaar mentioned above, which also functions as the main street of Hyderabad, there are two other streets which run on either side parallel to it. Like the main street, these two streets also traverse (north-south) the whole length of the town. These two streets are crossed at right angles by shorter streets/lanes which run east and west. (It is amongst these shorter east-west lanes that many Amil families reside; often the lanes carry their family names).

The town is a collection of flat roof mud buildings, closely packed together, and has few if any, good houses. Persons of respectability (typically, wealthy Hindu Sindhis), who had no quarters within the fort, resided in some of the small hamlets situated mostly on the banks of the Fuleli, where also were the gardens belonging to the Mirs.

Towards the north where the main market street ends, there are Kalhora and Talpur tombs. Immediately to the south of these tombs, which cover the northern portion of the hill on which Hyderabad is built, stands the jail, erected in 1851, and distant about 500 yards from the town.

In the south of the town, adjoining the road which connects Hyderabad with Gidu Bandar, and in close proximity to the cantonment bungalows (of British Administrators), is the Collector's Kutchery, or public office, a fine upper-storied building of red brick, 208 feet long, by 70 feet broad. Here also are the court-houses, new travelers' bungalow, and library (this latter was the old travelers' bungalow), as also several houses occupied by different civil officers of Government.

Eastward from the Kutchery, and close to the fort of Hyderabad, is the civil and police hospital and charitable dispensary (all located in one building), seated on a somewhat elevated position. The hospital is capable of accommodating 40 patients. During the two years 1873 and 1874, there were treated in the charitable dispensary 18,440 and 18,592 persons respectively.

The Hyderabad municipality, established in the year 1853, has done much of late years towards improving the town, especially in a sanitary

point of view; new roads have been made, and considerable improvements have been effected in those already existing. Altogether there are about twelve miles of metalled roads in and around the city, and these are now fairly lighted with kerosene oil-lamps. The approximate area of the Hyderabad municipality is about 15 square miles, up to its western boundary, which extends to the Indus, including Gidu Bandar and the old entrenched camp.

**Water supply:** the inhabitants of Hyderabad are supplied with this necessity, from the plain at the foot of the hill on which the city stands. The ditch situated at the base of the hill always contains some stagnant water, and serves the poorer classes. But those who can afford it (the water), derive their supply from the Fuleli, through which, though the water is collected in small pools, there is still a feeble current, even in the dry season, from the main river. Such currents, prevents the water from becoming salty, as usually takes place when a body of water remains long stagnant, in consequence of the large proportion of salt in the soil of Sindh.

Action has at last been taken by the municipality towards providing a proper water supply for the city and camp of Hyderabad. At present the only drinking water obtainable by the great majority of the inhabitants is from the three city tanks, which are supplied with water from the new Fuleli by means of the Doman Wah (modern day Khai Road, Tank # 1,2,and 3 and DomanWah are the relics of those creeks). The canal system in the District is extensive, with 43 Government canals used to irrigate the area. Of these 7 are main feeders, the remainder being off-shoots.

**Medical Establishments:** the only medical establishments in this District which are at or near the city of Hyderabad, are a lunatic asylum, situated on the road leading from Hyderabad to Gidu Bandar, and a civil and police hospital, as also a charitable dispensary. The two latter occupying one and the same building and situated on the western ridge of the hilly plateau on which the town is built. The position is good, and the building contains sufficient accommodation for 40 patients. A portion of the expenses of the charitable dispensary is defrayed by the municipality.

It was during 1869 that the town of Hyderabad was severely visited with cholera, which is thus described by Dr. Holmsted, the civil surgeon at that station : — " The first suspicious case occurred in Hyderabad on the 14th August, 1869, but the real epidemic commenced about the beginning of September and lasted till the end of October ; 592 cases occurred, and of these 364 died and 228 recovered.

**Education:** the Government and private aided educational institutions in this District of all descriptions (including those in the city of Hyderabad) in 1874 was 30, with an attendance of 2,185 pupils. Of these institutions, 24 were Government schools, with 1,563 pupils, the greater number of which are in the city of Hyderabad itself. Among these latter are an engineering establishment (9 pupils), a high (128 pupils) and normal school (25 pupils), as also several middle and lower class institutions. The girls' schools are all included in the above numbers.

Among the private schools, the principal one is that connected with the Church Missionary Society, located at Hyderabad from the year 1862. It is well- conducted in every respect, and which has prepared several pupils who have at times successfully passed the Bombay matriculation examination. The attendance at this school is about 130. In connection with this Church Missionary Society, is also a girls' school (founded 1867) with 88 pupils, and a vernacular school (founded 1871) with 92 pupils. At Hyderabad, too, is the Roman Catholic School of St Joseph's (established 1868), with an attendance of 21 pupils.

**Postal Lines:** the postal lines of communication in this district are three in number, all of them leading directly from the town of Hyderabad. The first, which is a horse-line, goes towards Rohri; the second runs to Mirpur Khas in the Hala district, and the third to Bago-jo-Tando, in the Tanda division. These two latter are foot lines. There is but one post-office in the Taluka, and this is at Hyderabad, which is also the sole disbursing office throughout the whole Collectorate of Hyderabad.

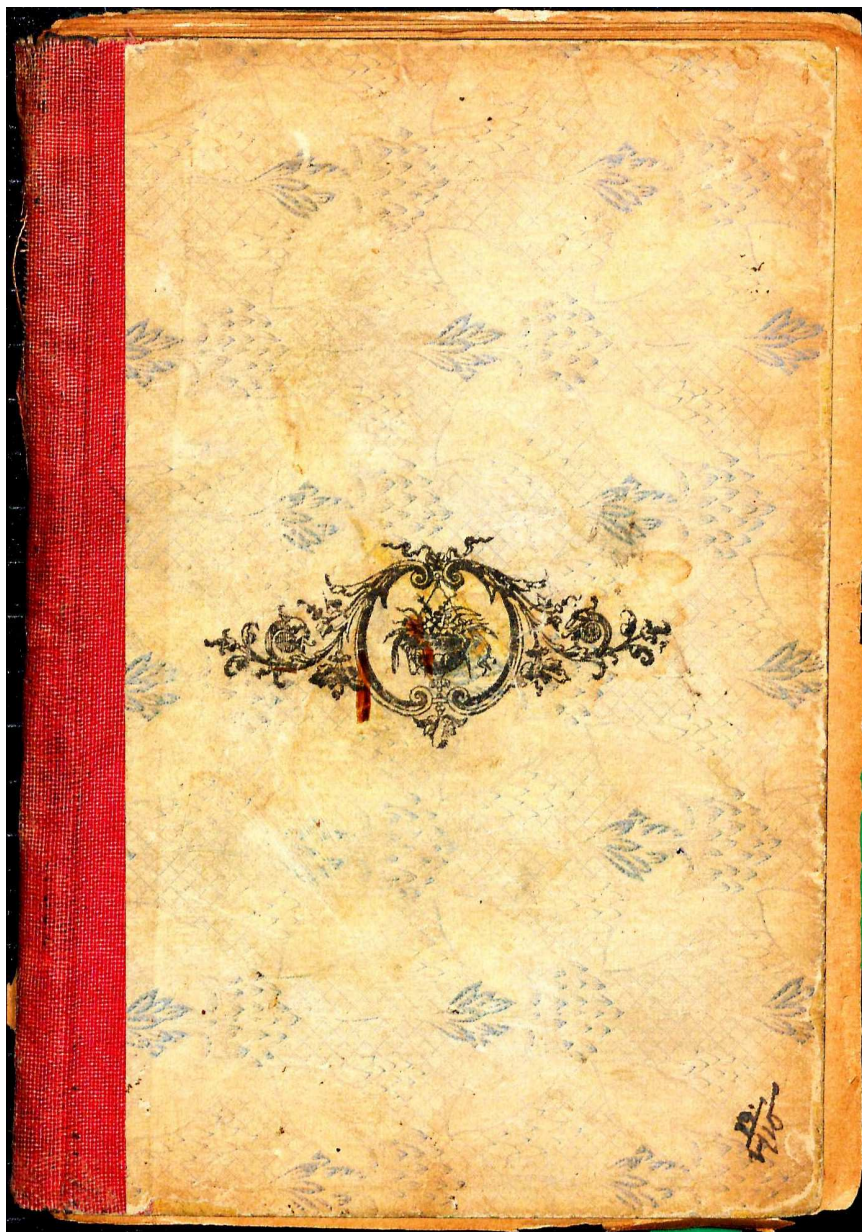
*Extract from Dr. Murlidhar Jetley's interview (June 2013), featured in Sinddhishaan.com:*

**Dr. Jetley :** I was born on 7th November 1930, in Hyderabad, Sindh. The famous Shahi Bazaar of Hyderabad stretches from Ghulam Shah

Kalhora's fort in the south up to the tombs of the Mirs in the north. The Central Jail was also located there near the tombs and close by was the Hirabad colony, established by the Sindhi Hindu Amil's. The length of the bazaar must have been approximately 1½ to 2 Kilometers, but the breadth was hardly around 15 feet with shops on either side. There were many by-lanes on either side of the bazaar which were known by the different family names like Advani lane, Chandiramani lane, Malkani lane, Mansukhani lane and so on. In the centre of the bazaar on the eastern side was the Mukhiki lane, where we had our 3 houses. One consisted of my grandfather's clinic, the other was occupied by my grandfather's younger brother and his family, while my father and his younger brothers stayed in the third house, where I was born. In fact, Shahi Bazaar was built on a bare hill with sloping sides viz. Tilak Chaadhi and Thorhe Chaadhi etc. with Phuleli canal on the east and Sindhu river on the west. Even now the structure of the old city is almost the same, although the splendor and elegance of the pre-partition days is absent.

Dr. Jetley, continues: The Hindu Amils and Bhaibunds, who migrated from Khudabad to Hyderabad were granted plots on either sides of the Shahi Bazaar outside the governmental fort, where various Hindu families built their houses. In this manner those lanes took the name after the families residing in those lanes. Gradually, other areas outside the fort also began developing. The houses in Hyderabad could be easily identified by the wind catchers on the roofs which could be seen on almost all the roofs in the olden city. These wind catchers used to face the south-west direction from where the cool sea breeze entered and cooled the entire house. We too had one such wind catcher on the roof of our house.

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Amilan-jo-Ahwal book cover