

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND :

PART III

BY

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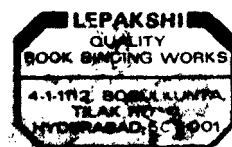
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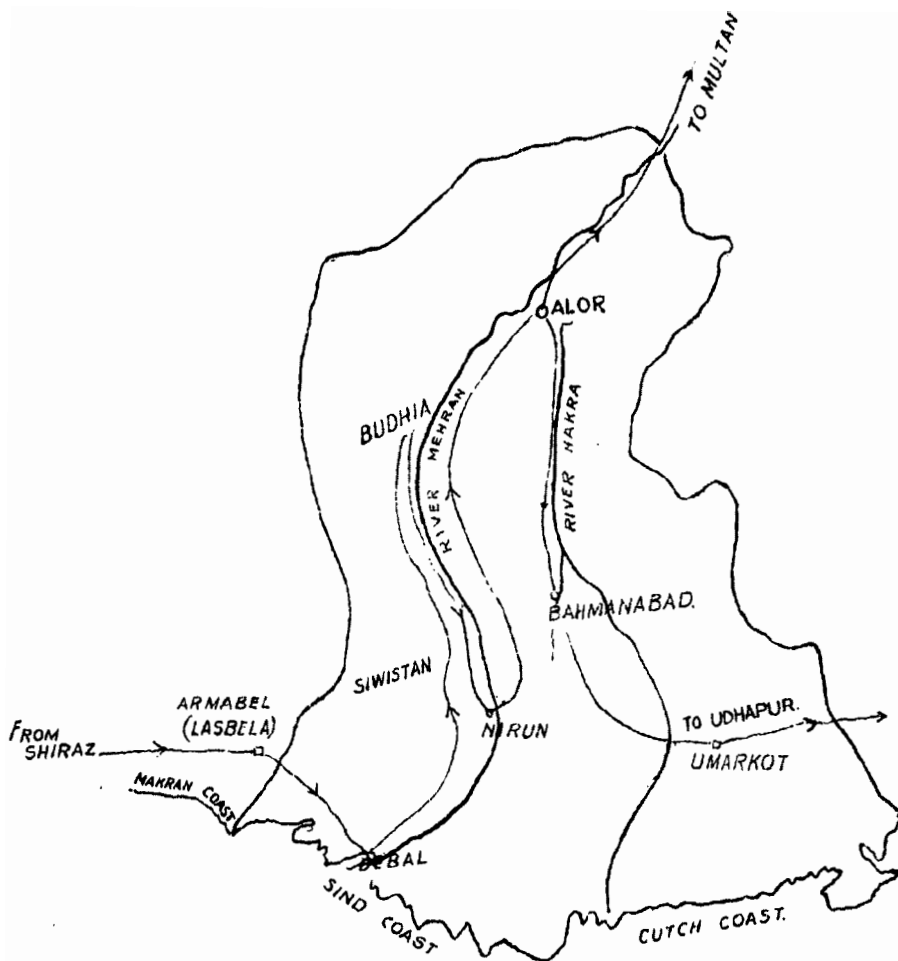
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FOREWORD

This Part III of the Historical Geography of Sind is published as reprints from the two issues of the *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, (Vol II, Part 4 and Vol. III, Part 2), in connection with my projected thesis on "A Geographical Analysis of the Lower Indus Basin (Sind) with special reference to the History and Progress of Human Settlement in the Region." It contains a correlated account of the History and Geography of Sind for *later* historical periods *viz.*, post-Arab, the Sumra, Samma and other native dynasties upto the conquest of Sind by the British 1843. Though such long periods of time are covered and though there is no single authentic work on the history of Sind available as a solid and reliable background for such a regional study as this, the geographical perspective is kept in view by the author throughout and the life and achievements of the various peoples using the valley for settlement, are dealt with as far as possible. Gaps are bound to be left here and there in such a pioneer work, which can only be thoroughly completed with the help of other collaborators in the field. Suffice it to say, the present papers are earnest attempts to bring out the geographical effects on life in Sind and the human power to modify environment.

Karachi, 1-1-1938.

M. B. P.



KETCH MAP OF SIND SHOWING ROUTE OF THE ARAB ARMY UNDER MUHAMMAD KASIM AND THE COURSES OF THE MEHRAN AND THE HAKRA.

(Rep. The Chachnamah.)

7th CENTURY A.D.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND: PART III.

HISTORIC PERIOD A. D. I.

BY PROF. M. B. PITHAWALLA, F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

The importance of the *time* factor in the geographical studies of Sind has already been shown with regard to the preceding important epochs. The history of changing political, racial and economic conditions and their evolution through the centuries in the province has a bearing on its geographical features, which have been described. This knowledge of a geographical setting is also indispensable, while appreciating the historical events, which have taken place in subsequent times. Further changes in the river beds, advance of the delta, appearance and disappearance of fresh-water springs and lakes, hydrographical and political changes in the Upper Indus Basin (Punjab), a possible climatic change, accumulation of sand and clay, sand belts and clay belts, distribution of soils of various kinds and natural vegetation and even the human improvements or alterations of the countryside,—all these should be borne in mind, while studying the more recent history of the land.

The anonymous writer of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, containing an account of the navigation of the ancients, about 60 A.D., has given us a valuable picture of the land from *personal* observations in those days. He begins by first pointing out the distinction between Hind (Hindustan) and Sind (Scythia, Scythia, Scindi), the tract of land lying low from the cape of Monze to the Indus and comprehending the country on both sides of the river, which between Multan and Tatta is called Mehran. It has been noticed that from the time of Alexander, the Greeks have considered "Patala to be the port to which they were to direct their views in order to obtain the precious commodities of the East." Individual merchants, if not large trade companies, must surely have come to Sind from the ports of the Red Sea ever since. Ever the embassies from Syria to the monarchs of Hindustan must have "embraced the objects of commerce as well as of empire, for, those who found their way to the Ganges would not be unacquainted with the profits to be derived from the commerce of the Indus."*

Importance of Patala.

All trade vessels should naturally direct their course to Patala on the Indus. "Here it was known from history that the productions of the East were to be obtained, and here the trade,

*Vincent William—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Part the First, London 1800.

which the Indus and the coast of Malabar must always have fixed its centre."* As the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans about the Indus valley and the monsoon increased, they began to make their passage to Hindustan direct.

Other Markets

Besides Patala, there were two other important markets in Sind, *viz.*, Barbarike near the mouth of the Indus, and Behker (Bukker) afterwards replaced by other capitals "occupied by different invaders in the various revolutions of the country." At the time of the Periplus, *Minnagara*, perhaps the Binagara of Ptolemy, was the capital of Sind and the sovereign power extended from there as far as Barugaza or Gujarat. It has been said that the Government was actually in the hands of the Parthian tribe divided into two parties, each party, as it prevailed, chose a king of its own body and drove out the king of the opposite faction. The author of the Periplus thinks that this sovereign must have been very powerful and the trade of Sind must have been very profitable, as he was offered such valuable presents by those who sought his protection, as

"Plate of very great value
Musical instruments
Handsome girls for the Haram
The best wine
Plain cloth of high price (and)
The finest perfumes or the perfumed ingredients."

The Indus itself was decidedly used as the chief means of communication from the port of Barbarike to Minnagara inland.

Imports and Exports.

The following articles were imported at Barbarike :—

"Clothing plain and in considerable quantity
Clothing mixed
Cloth, larger in the warp than in the woof
Topazes
Coral
Storax
Frankincense
Glass vessels
Plate
Spicie and wine.

The following typical indigenous products were exported :—

“Costus a spice
Bdellium a gum
Yellow dye
Spikenard
Emeralds or green stones
Sapphires
Hides from China
Cottons
Silk threads.
Indigo or Indian ink

The Voyage.

The South West Monsoon, being the most favourable trade wind, the voyage was made in Epiphi or July down the Red Sea and through the Straits to the mouth of the Indus. The peculiarity of the Sind Coast was that “near these mouths the sea was white and there was a multitude of snakes called Graai, floating on the surface ; which is imputed to the rains of the monsoon washing down these animals out of the rivers.” Indeed the sea fishery on the Sind coast is even now remarkable.

Such, then, is the knowledge of the writer of the Periplus about Sind in the first century A.D. Though scanty, it fits in well with the general trend of human activities in the province and the surrounding lands, which we have discussed.

THE PRE-ARAB PERIOD.

The period, which followed this, was the one in which Indian races, Budhists and Brahmans, flourished and lived together in Sind in peace and harmony for many centuries after the Christian era began. The pendulum of power turned eastwards, after the fall of Iran in the earlier centuries and the Sassaninan (Pahlavi) rulers took time to settle down. The Iranian capital was already shifted westwards in the Euphrates-Tigris valley and the Iranians themselves were concerned with settling their own home-affairs at first. They had, therefore, little time to turn to the Indus valley any more.

Meanwhile the Buddhistic element had worked its way into the Indus valley from the Ganges valley under the illustrious patronage of Asoka and Chandragupta. At the same time, the

Brahmans had been living in great hostility against the Maurya dynasty flourishing in other parts of the country. But after the fall of the Mauryas, Brahmanism reasserted its authority in Hindustan. "The prohibition of bloody sacrifices and irritating proceedings of Censors must have produced much unrecorded discontent and we may fairly assume that when the strong hand of the old emperor dropped the scepter, Brahman influence reasserted itself and produced a revolt against the inquisitorial tyranny of Asoka's system."†

In peaceful Sind, however, the two elements flourished side by side. The result was that both remained feeble, neither of them becoming aggressive at one time or another. Even earlier than this, Scythian sun or fire-worship was tolerated here. "The first dwellers of Ratika (a mound on the old Sutlaj bed) were most likely Scythians who brought with them the worship of Baal, the sun or fire God from the banks of the Oxus." The Indo-Scythians were in possession of lower Sindh two centuries B. C. and according to General Cunningham "they occupied the Punjab and Scinde and were in full possession of the Indus valley down to the seventh century."*

The ruling class had adopted Buddhism after Kanishka, the last ruler of the Indo-Scythian Kingdom, and when this Brahmanical revival took place later, there was considerable toleration shown to the Brahmins in Sind. So, while there was a constant conflict between Buddhism and Brahmanism in the hilly tracts of Malwa, Ujjain, Chitor and even in Cutch, in Sind the two lived peacefully together, so much so that at the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, while there was a Hindu kingdom flourishing, there were Brahmin ministers employed. The Governors and citizens were largely Buddhists. But it was not the pure kind of Buddhism that was to be found in the province. "Sind was remarkable for being under the Government of Buddhist King, belonging to the Sudra caste and for the large number of Buddhist monks which the country supported, estimated at ten thousand. But the quality was not in proportion to the quantity; most of the ten thousand being denounced as idle followers given over to self indulgence."‡

There are several relics and stupas belonging to the Buddhists in Sind. The site where Mohenjo Daro was discovered by R. D. Banerji in 1922 was originally a Buddhist stupa and a

† Smith V.—"Early History of India 1914 p. 194.

* Cal. Rev. LX 1875 p. 333.

‡ Smith V.—*Op. cit.* p. 354.

monastery in the north-west corner. The bricks used in these were evidently taken from the older ruins belonging to the Mohenjo Daro age.

Other stupas have been found at Tando Md. Khan, Jhirrak, Mirpurkhas, Depar Ghangro (visited by Chach, the Brahman minister of Rai Sahasi II), and Thul Mir Rukhan—"all forming a chain up the Indus valley."* The Brahmin element in Sind has not been found only during the period under review. It has long been in existence in the province. It was at the advice of his Brahman councillors that Mousikanos, King of Alor, had revolted against the Macedonian conqueror in 325 B.C. Even in political departments both the classes of people had alternately occupied power and position. It is said that one of the reasons of the success of the Arabs in Sind later on was that there were Buddhist governors of the several forts and Buddhist subject under the Brahman king and they would not fight under the influence of their religion.

Continuation of Iranian Influence in Sind

Although the Sassanian rulers of Persia did not organise campaigns against India on account of their sphere of activities being transferred to the western countries, intercourse between Persia and Sind continued all throughout. This is supported by the discovery and interpretation of Sassanian coins.†

Mr. Fardoonjee D. J. Paruck, an authority on Sassanian numismatics, has tried to show from the incipations on the coins that not only Sind but Multan and Rajputana were in the possession of the Kushans, who ruled in North India and who were subjects under the Sassanian Kings Shahpur I and Hormuzd I in the 3rd century A.D. The latter King is mentioned, as "Malka Indi Irdati Harezi"—the Sovereign of Sind, Punjab and Rajput kingdoms on one side of a coin, and "Mazdayasni Bagi Auharmazdi Raab Kushan Malkan Malka"—the Worshipper of the Lord of Wisdom, His Celestial Majesty Hormuzd, the Lord of the Kushans, the King of Kings, on the obverse of the coin.

Fire worship was noticeable in the temples of Sind, the Punjab intermarriages were recorded and trade was maintained between the two countries. The old city of Bahmanabad has a considerable history of its own. "Bahman, son of

* Cousens H.—"Antiquities of Sind" p. 59.

† Paruck F. D. J. "*Observations Sur cing Mounaies Sassanides* (French)—*Revue Numismatique*, 1936.

Isfandiar who used to be styled Ard-Shir-i-Daraz Bazu (or of the long arm), founded a city in the Zamin of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-abad or Bahaman-nih, and which they call Mansuriyah.†

Mujinal-ul-Tawarikh (1131 A. D.) has another version about it. "In the time of Gushtashib, ruler of Iran Zamin, Bahman his grandson, surnamed Ard-Shir, son of Isfandiar, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it. No member of the family of the ruler named Sunagh, retained any power therein. Bahman founded a city between the frontiers or borders of the Hindus and the Turks (the Indo-Scythians as they are styled), to which he gave the name of Kanda-il, and in another part which they call Budah he founded a city which he named Bahmanabad and, according to one statement, this is Mansuriyah."

Muhammed, son of Jarir-ul-Tubari says that "Bahman conferred Hind on Ashtumish, a sage, after the Malik of Hind had revolted."*

Occasionally the Iranian domination became greater, and tributes were exacted. Says, Al-masudi, "Kings of Sind and Hind and of all the countries to the north and south sent ambassadors to Noshervan with rich presents and to enter into terms of peace with him."† The Gardazi has also a story to tell of Persian connections with India; "Behram Gor (420 A.D. to 438 A. D.) came into Hind in disguise and Shermah its ruler gave his daughter to him in marriage and conferred upon him as her dowry Sind and Makran."§

Tod in his Rajasthan (Vol. II P. 44) makes a daring remark that the Rana of Odeypur was descended from Bahman! During the reign of Noshervan, (531 A.D. to 579 A. D.) says the Shah Nameh of Firdousi, ambassadors came from the sovereign of Hind to the Chosroe, challenging him to solve the puzzle about the game of Chess. This Persian influence did not stop at the Indus. Fleets were employed by Noshervan to conquer other parts of India and Ceylon. In the canary caves near Bombay, there is found the famous Pahlavi (Sassanian) inscription, while the Parsee calendar (comprising the Parsee days and months) is still in vogue in the far-off Hyderabad (Deccan) State.

† Raverty—"The Mihran of Sind" Footnote p. 197.

* *Ibid* Pp. 198—197.

§ *Ibid* p. 198.

Later on we shall find that Iran influenced the Talpur rule and life in Sind, particularly the Khairpur State, through the Baloch ruling race. After the Arab conquest of Sind the game of chess passed on to the Arabians (7th Century A.D.) and from them it reached Europe about the 11th Century A.D. The word chess is derived from Persian *Shah* meaning King. Sassanian coins have also been discovered among the ruins near Larkhana.†

In his great work on the *Parsees* Mr. D. F. Karaka* has summarised the whole situation well: "About the beginning of the Christian era, the Kanerkis, the Indian Skythian rulers of the Punjab, from the fire altar on their coins, seem to have adopted the religion of the Magi (Lassen in J.B.A.S. IX P. 456; Princep's note on Hist. Res. from Bactrian Coins P. 16). As regards the south of India, Ptolemy's mention of Brahmani Magi has been thought to show a connection with Persia, but the Kanarce word *Magi* or son, seems a simple and sufficient explanation. "Closer relations between India and Persia date from the revival of Persian power under the Sassanian Kings. (A. D. 226—650) In the fifth century, the visit of the Persian prince Behram Gor probably to ask for help in his struggle with the white Huns (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* P. 383) his marriage with a Hindu princess and according to Hindu accounts, his founding the dynasty of the Gordhabin King, was a fresh bond of intimacy (Wilford—As Res. IX P. 219), Macudi's *Paries d'Or*, Reinand's *Memoire sur l'Inde* P. 112; Elliot's *History* II P. 159). In later times, both Noshirvan the just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandson Parvez (A.D. 591—628) were united by treaties and by the interchange of rich presents with the rulers of India and Sind (Macudi's *Prairies d'Or* II P. 261).

In connection with these treaties, it is interesting to note that Noshirvan's embassy to Pulikesi II the ruler of Badami, in the Southern Maratha country is believed to be the subject of the Ajanta cave paintings and another of the pictures is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Purvez and the beautiful Shirin (Fergusson in Burgess's *Ajanta Notes* P. 92). According to one account early in the seventh century a large body of Persians landed in Western India and from one of the leaders, whom Wilfred believed to have been a son of Khosru Parvez, the family of Udepur is supposed to have sprung (Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari* II P. 81; Dr. Hunter *As. Res.* VI P. 8; Wilfred *As. Res.* IX P. 233; Princep—J. Ben. As. Soc. IV P.

† Cousens H.—*Antiquities of Sind* p. 6.

* *History of the Parsees*, London 1884 p. 25 (Ref. Gazetteer of the Bom. Presidency p. 247.)

684). Wilfred held that the Konkanshth Brahmans were of the same stock. . . . Besides by treaties Western India and Persia were at this time very closely connected by trade. Kosmas Indikoplenshtes (P. 545) found the Persians among the chief traders in the Indian Ocean (Migne's Patrologioe Coursus LXXXVIII P. 446 ; Yule's Cathay I CLXXVII, CLXXIX)."

Influence of Hind.

Before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 711 A. D., the province was governed by Hindu Kings. Tradition assigns to them a dynasty of five Rabis, who altogether ruled for 137 years:

1. Rai Diwaji.
2. Rai Sahiras I.
3. Rai Sahasi I.
4. Rai Saharas II.
5. Rai Sahasi II.

The last Rai was once attacked by Nimruz, King of Persia. He was a wise man and built six forts *viz.*, Alor, Sehwan (Sehvan), Uchh, Mathelo, Mod and Suvrai. Baluchistan was then a dependency of Sind.

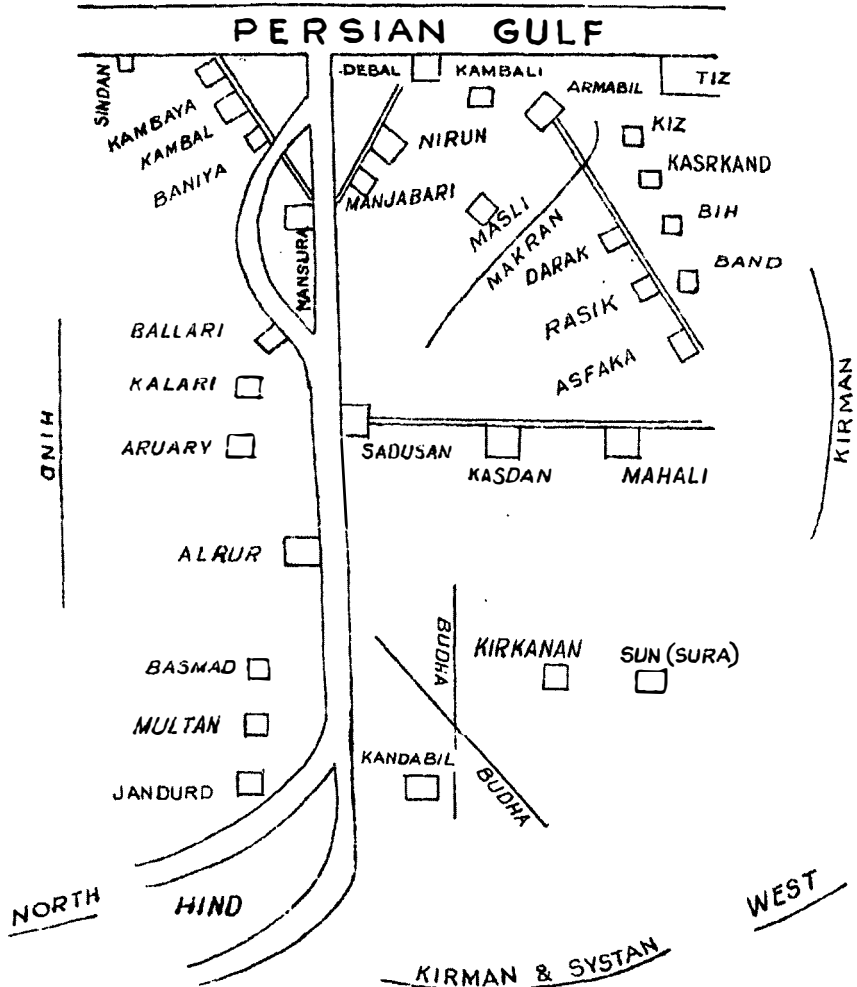
The decay of Buddhism in India had already set in and Brahmanism under these Kings was in a delicate condition. There was a large number of Jats, Meds, and Dasyus in the State and the people were imbued with the spirit of the peace-loving religion of Lord Buddha.

Sind and the Punjab (the whole of the Indus basin) formed a *single* kingdom in the seventh Century A.D. and the influence of the Sindhi Rai extended as far north as Kashmir. According to the *Chachnameh*, the boundaries of the Kingdom were Kashmir on the east, Makran on the west, the mountains of Kurdan and Kikanan on the north and the sea as far as Debal in the south. There were four governors appointed at (1) Bahmanabad commanding the forts of Nerun, Debal, Luhanah, Lakhpatt, Sammah and the river (2) Sivistan, commanding Ludhi (Budhia), Chingom or Jankan, the skirts of the hills of Rojhan (Dalkian) upto Makran, (3) Iskandah, commanding Babiah, Sawarah, Jajhor and Dhanod and (4) Multan, commanding Sikkah, Karad, Ishtar, Kih, and Kashmir. * Thus the political organisations even in this Hindu Kingdom were almost identical with the natural regions.

* Mirza Kalichbeg—History of Sind Vol. I (*Chachnameh*) p. 11.

EAST

SOUTH



ISLAM MAP OF SIND

(ASHKALU-L-BILAD & ISTAKHRI)
10th CENTURY A.D.

Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a "town adorned with various kinds of royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows and trees and was situated on the bank of a river called Mihran."* The King Rai Sahasi II himself had "innumerable riches and buried treasures" and was a lover of justice, liberality and bravery. He was from his wife Suhandi's side related to the chiefs of Rajputana, while "the ancient ballads of Rajputana and Gujarat remind us of Rajput chiefs, who had kinsmen in Sind. Often the women of Sind burnt themselves to death like Rajput heroines, whenever occasions demanded such an action. Shramans and Brahmans, merchants, and tradesmen and workers in stone etc. lived in the capital town, while the large majority of people followed agricultural pursuits.

Chach, a Brahman and son of Salaij, came into great prominence and power even during the life of Rai Sahasi, so that when the King died, his widow not only married Chach, whom she loved, but he was actually crowned King of Alor. As this action of his brother's widow was not approved by Mahat, the king of Chitor, Chach was challenged by him in a duel. But Mahat was killed in the fray and Sind proved victorious. Two sons were born of Chach and his queen Suhandi, Dahar and Daharsiah. Chach some time later appointed his brother Chandra, who was "the crown of all ascetics," as his deputy at Alor and himself went abroad to the lands of his kingdom which he consolidated.

Movements of Chach in North India and Iran.

After controlling the four tributary rulers, who were under the Sindhi sovereign before, Chach led an army with their help "up to the very limits of Hindustan, which adjoined the country of the Tartars". Thus it became an attack of Sind on neighbouring lands.

After many days' journey he at first came to the fortified town of Babiah on the southern banks of the Bias. The ruler of *Babiah* fled to the fort of Iskandah, which was also attacked and taken from the enemy. Then he turned toward Sikkah and Multan on the opposite sides of the Ravi. As the ruler of Multan, who was also defeated, asked for the help of the king of Kashmir, Chach marched towards the State and fixed the northern boundary of his vast kingdom by planting some trees there. Even to-day the Kashmir valley is well-known for its poplar

and Deodar trees. Similarly he fixed the western boundary of Sind by moving as far as Kerman and beyond the steep declivity and the hills of Makran.

A small river running between Kerman and Makran was noted as the boundary and on it Chach planted some date trees. Later still he actually passed through the desert, which lay between Turan and Afghanistan, and exacted tributes from the rulers of Armanbel or Belah (Las Bela) and Kandail, (Kandhabel) or Kandhar. At last, Chach returned to his capital of Alor. He ruled for 40 years altogether and built up such a vast kingdom of different physical features, especially the northern and western highlands bordering the Indus basin. But such a heterogenous mass of kingdoms could not be maintained by any sovereign weaker than Chach. Here then was the *man factor* in the rise and fall of the Hindu dynasty.

On his death in 670 A. D. his brother Chandra continued the rule till 678 A.D., when Dahir the younger son of Chach came to the throne. Misled by some false astrologers he married his own sister and brought upon himself and his subjects the misfortunes from which there was no relief.

Such a king could not have the several chieftains, within his kingdom, sufficiently under his control.*

It was divided into six parts as under :—

<i>Capital Town.</i>	<i>Chieftains.</i>
Diwal.	Johim Bhada.
Nerunkot	Samna.
Sehvan	Batchera, Son of Chuadram
Bahmanabad	A Lohana Chief.
Alor	Dahir himself.
Sewi	Bhada son of Kaka.

Besides, he could not control "the people of the delta in their piratical dispositions." The dark age in Hindustan had already set in. It lasted for over two centuries, during which period the kingdoms of Ujjan, Kanoj, Magatha also lay in a fallen and decaying state.

* Capt. MacMurdo—J.R.A.S. Vol. I p. 36.

HISTORIC PERIOD A. D. II : The Arab Period.
Rise of the Arabs (7th Century A.D.)

While Sind lay in such a weak condition under Dahar, great developments were taking place in western Asia. From the ashes of the Byzantine and other empires, now rose Arabia, using the fertile crescent lying between them as their base and expanding their power both westward and eastward. The Arabs were not merely a people of desert nomads, but a band of religious enthusiasts, who solemnly pledged themselves to follow the Prophet Mahommed and to extend the realms of their political power and religion far and wide. A series of semitic outbursts was started in the near east by these mobile people, who absorbed the higher Aryan cultures of Iran (Zoroastrian) and Byzantine (Christian). Very quickly Syria, Egypt, Iberia and the W. Mediterranean islands on the one hand and Persia, Babylonia, and Assyria on the other were conquered by them stage by stage. Themselves a class of traders, they developed commercial relations soon among the Jews and Christians, Egyptians and Romans and along the ancient Arab trade routes all over the three countries. Agriculture, irrigation, art and other amenities of life were freely sought and, above all, conversion to Mahomedanism went hand in hand with warfare. A vast empire was already built with the Caliph Abdul Malik as their head, from Spain in the west to Sind in the east.

The Conquest of Sind

This virile race of Arabs now turned their attention to the Indus valley. They had tried an initial attack by land in 671 A. D., when the Jats of Jhalawar (Baluchistan) had stopped their progress.

Though Dahar inherited a vast kingdom from his ancestral hero Chach, with the title of "The King of Sind and the Sovereign of Hind and the ruler over land and water," this very possession of extensive and varied territories made him a very weak monarch. A religious war against Sind and Hind was organised in 711 A.D. by the Khalifah through Hajjaj, Governor of Irak, who appointed a brilliant youth of 17, called Muhammad Kasim the leader of the contingent. He was instructed to march *via* Shiraz, where the detachments from Irak and Syria were to join and to go stage by stage, through Makran and Lasbelah to Sind. The organisation included a naval detachment with heavy war weapons, battering rams, catapults etc., sent by sea to Debal, the first port on the Sind coast, where Mohammed Kasim was to meet them with his army. (See Map.)

On land every fair horseman took a strong camel loaded with provisions, and even the horses were protected with coats of mail, "so as to give them the appearance of wild beasts like the lion and the elephant."*

Leaving Armanbelah, the invaders started for Debal, where the boats containing the weapons and war implements also arrived in time. A ditch, some 12 cubits wide and 6 cubits deep, was made round the Arab camp, but Debal with its idol temple was easily taken away by the enemy. On hearing the news about the fall of the port of Debal, Dahar wrote a letter to Muhammad Kasim in which he stated: "Be it known to you that the fortified town of Debal which you have taken is an insignificant town, where only traders and artisans reside. It contained neither a strong fortress nor was it occupied by a garrison of any importance with whom it was worth your while to fight. If I had sent against you Rai Jaisiah, Dahar's son, who is the most victorious of all the rulers on the face of the earth, and who can wreck vengeance on the strongest men of his age, or the King of Kashmir, who is the mighty possessor of a crown, kettle drums and standards, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind have placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind and even the country of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees, who is the owner of one hundred elephants and is the rider of a white elephant whom neither a horse can stand against nor a man can put pressure upon,—if I had sent these heroes against you, you could not have done the slightest harm to them and no army would have dared to pass through the remotest limits of this country till the end of the world."†

To this Mahommed Kasim replied by marching against the fort of Nerun in middle Sind some 25 leagues from Debal, for six days and after crossing the intervening lake of Sangrah reached the place. Here the Arab army suffered much for want of water, as the flood waters of the Indus, called the Sehun, had not reached it yet. Victory, however, was theirs and they next proceeded towards the hilly tracts of Siwistan. The forts of Siwistan and Sisam were easily conquered, and much silver and gold was secured and sent on to Hajjaj with a number of slaves.

Instructions were then received from Hajjaj to abandon other towns to arrange to cross the Mehran and march against Dahar himself. Already that part of the country which lay

*Mirza Kalechbeg Fredunbeg—*The Chachnama* Karachi, 1900 p. 76—77.

† *Ibid* p. 87.

from Buddhiah* up to the place opposite the fortified town of Aghror on the Mehran, had been conquered. The next target of attack was the fort of Bet "to the east of the Mehran on the bank of a rivulet in an island of the Gulf of Khanlehal in the country of Sakrah (Mirpur Sakra ?)"† Here the tributary ruler under Dahar was easily defeated, and the Arabs afterwards organised a 4-days' battle of Jitor. According to Tarikh Maasumi, Md. Kasim crossed the river at Tatta and not Jitor to go to Alor before crossing another lake called Gujri between Jitor and Raor. The main objective, however, of the Arab invaders was Alor, the proud capital of Sind where Dahar himself ruled. This could not be done without crossing the Meran. Elaborate preparations were to be made for performing this action and the requisite cartographical knowledge was to be possessed. Full instructions were supplied by Hajjaj from the Headquarters: "As for the permission to cross the river and to fight with Dahar, you have already been informed that you may cross it from that point where you expect the least trouble and loss to your men. Or rather draw a sketch map, on paper showing the length and breadth of the portion of the river within 4 leagues above and below the (various) cross points, which should also be marked on the bank on which they are situated. I may then select one point and you may cross the river from there."‡

The river was to be actually crossed by making a bridge of boats. This was done by filling the boats with a ballast of sand and stone and linking them together by fixing nails into the connecting planks. The island of Bet between the waters of the Mehran was ultimately selected as the crossing point, the Arab army being stationed on the western bank and that of Dahar on the eastern. Long and tedious was the battle between the hosts. All the Jats of the eastern country joined Dahar, great Thakurs, swordsmen and standard-bearers, slaughterers, subject rulers, long trains of war-like elephants, famous horsemen and foot soldiers numbering thousands. Mahommad Kasim divided his cavalry into the right and the left wings in charge of his two best lieutenants respectively and the central front in charge of another. Naphtha shooters were ordered to be ready with their weapons and appliances, to light their torches and to set up their fires. Kasim's exhortation to his troops had always a religious touch in it. "O ! Mussalmans", he declared, "be constantly asking pardon of God for your sins. The great and

* *Ibid* p. 99.

† *Ibid* p. 100.

‡ *ibid* p. 115.

glorious God has sent two gifts to the followers of Muhammad, (the chosen one) : one is repeating blessings on his holiness Muhammad the chosen one and the other asking pardon of God for sins."* On the other side, Dahar is said to have been amusing himself with the games of chess and dice, and believed in the prophecies of astrologers and philosophers of Sind and Hind. No wonder, Alor fell, Dahar was killed and the Arabs secured the control of most of Sind.

It was a naphtha arrow shooter who took Dahar's life, as an arrow struck him in his litter on the elephant which he rode. It was in the Gulf of Dhawah, in the waters of the Mekan. The heads of Dahar and of his tributary princes were sent to Hajjaj together with all the royal ensigns etc. Hajjaj is said to have proclaimed : "Good news and good luck to the people of Syria and Arabia, whom I congratulate on the conquest of Hind and on the possession of immense wealth the sweet waters of the Mehran and unlimited benefits and boons, which the great and omnipotent God has kindly bestowed on them."†

On the fall of Aror, Jaisiah desired to carry on the war and occupied the fort of Raor, which was soon taken by the Arabs but Dahar's sister Bai and other women in the fort burnt themselves alive. Jaisiah then waved on to the fort of Bahmanabad, a great manufacturing town in those days. Muhammad Kasim was also determined to follow him. On his way to Bahmanabad he took other forts, Bahrar and Dahlelah after a battle against thousands of fighting men belonging to the forts. The next scene of activity was the fort of Bahmanabad itself, situated on a small channel of Halwai on the west of it.‡ For six months the siege continued, till Jaisiah decided to escape to the province of Jitor. The traders and artisans of Bahmanabad were taken prisoners, but they were given pardon, while all the military classes were beheaded with swords. Conversion was made of as many natives as possible. "He, who received the honor of Islam and became a convert, was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (*Jizia*)"§. The management of all the internal affairs were left in the hands of the natives, however. Thus Muhammad Kasim was at last able to subjugate the whole of Sind, having secured the most important fortified towns, situated at the critical points. But there was no limit to the ambition of Hajjaj for Asiatic

* *Ibid* p. 139.

† *Ibid* p. 150.

‡ *Ibid* p. 150.

§ *Ibid* Pp. 164-165

conquests and he sent the following complimentary letter to the Arab hero: "O my cousin Muhammad Kasim, praise and credit is due to you in maintaining your position as commander of the army, in showing favour and courtesy to the people in general, in improving their condition and in satisfactorily settling the state affairs. That which you have done in fixing assessments on each Mauza and in encouraging every class of people to follow the path of law in their worldly business, cannot but conduce to the permanency of the kingdom and to the systematic administration of the country. You should not stick to that city (Brahmanabad) any longer. The props of the Kingdom of Hind and Sind are the towns of Alor and Multan. Those two cities are the capitals of Kings and in them lie the external and internal treasure of kings. Select that town for your residence which is the best and most pleasant, so that, from it, you may command the entire Kingdom of Hind and Sind. Whoever refuses to submit to the power of Islam, let him be killed. The great God will help you in that cause. It should be your anxiety to extend your conquests from the country of Hind to the limits of China."*

And Hind.

Thereupon Mahommed Kasim employed some native merchants to manage money and revenue matters, and posted one of his own trusted men to the fortified capital town of Raor and asked him "to watch the river traffic and to collect boats. If any boat coming from the upper part of the river and sailing down, contained any weapons or other military stores it was to be removed to the port of Raor."†

Muhammad Kasim continued his progress at first eastwards towards the Aravalli mountain across the desert. Being the products of a barren land themselves, the Arabs were not dismayed by the hardships of their movements through the Thar desert and the next move was towards the country round about Banbanwah, in the vicinity of the lake, called Dhand Winkarbha. The residents not being fighting men but mere priests (Samaris), artisans (Bahzams) and merchants (Luhanas), there was practically no fighting. They next took possession of the land of the Sahtahs, who were mostly rural classes. Thus, practically the whole of Sind was conquered by the Arabs, as we have seen that Sindhi forts formed the vital parts of the province. But the Arab's thirst of conquest was not quenched thereby and they moved northwards. They took Babiah on the

* *Ibid* p. 171.

† *Ibid* p. 172.

south of the modern Beas, the fort of Gholkandah, Sikkah, Multan, on the south bank of the Ravi, Kanuj and penetrated as far as the frontier of Kashmir, called Panj Nahiyat. The Arabs, according to the Chach-nameh returned from the northern highlands, moved towards the mountain fastnesses of Rajputana and actually encamped as far as Udhepur. But here at this unhappy time Muhammad Kasim came to grief at the hands of Hajjaj himself, owing to the genius of the two daughters of King Dahar. The great Arab leader and hero of Sind was recalled under the most adverse circumstances at the very time when the Arab power was at its best in Hind. Even those who succeeded him were weak.

Federated Sind.

Thus ended the long period of local Hindu regime in Sind once for all, giving place to a purely Semitic control and authority from a neighbouring region, which produced such a daring race. But as has been noticed before, apart from enforcing their religion on the conquered races, the Arabs did not altogether Arabianise them. Rather they assimilated all the native cultures they came in contact with and thereby their own progress became rapid. The Arabs also absorbed the native population, *e.g.*, the Jats.

To-day in Sind and in Bengal —the two extremes of India, the Mahommedan population is the thickest. In our province it was by conquest as well as by conversion and immigration that such a large majority of the people are Mahommedans. But in Bengal, it was a matter of pure conversion of a large number of Buddhists who were cast away by the Hindu propagandists after the revival of Hinduism. When the onslaught of Mahommedan conquerors came in the 16th century, a large body of the outcastes in Bengal got voluntarily converted to Islamism and secured the social status, which was denied to them as Budhists, by their Hindu neighbours.

In Sind, the Mahommedan majority has continued for the last millenium and more, even the Rajput rulers after the Arab period being the first Mahommedan converts in this provinces.

The Arabs did not materially alter the Government, but kept the Brahman governors and tax-collectors in their service. To the natives it was only a case of changing hands and they soon settled down to the new conditions in Sind as a province federated to the Arab Empire.

How the Arab influence died away.

The progress of the Arabs up the Indus was rather slow, and the successors of Mahommed Kasim were weak. "With Ibn-al-Athir we may here anticipate a few years further the Muslims in India. Habib one of Al-Muhallab's family as Governor of Sind, fixed his court at Ror and allowed the princes, displaced by Ibn-al-Kasim, to return as protected to their several states. The pious Omar II summoned them to embrace Islam, on which they received Arabian names. In the days of Hisham, a little later, Junied pushed the Muslim bounds still farther east. But the prestige of Islam again waned for a time. Most of the princes relapsed into heathenism and to hold them in check the fortified camp Al-Mahfuza (the protected) was founded, from which expeditions, both naval and military, were sent forth."* But the natives created troubles for the Arabs on every side. Soon the end of the Ummaide dynasty came and the Abbasides succeeded in 750 A.D. But they too were not to rule here long. In 817 A. D. there was an end of Khalifas.

The Arabs did not build new cities but strengthened the old ones, such as Tatta, Debal and Bahmanabad, Mansura the last founded by Mansur bin Jamhur near Bahmanabad.

The Arab soldiers held land in lieu of their services to the Government.† Taxes were levied on certain produces such as dates, grapes, fruits, also fish, and wines.

The land tax was : $\frac{2}{5}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (by canals), $\frac{3}{10}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (by wheels), and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (unirrigated.)

Extraordinary taxes were levied on certain tribes *viz.*, Jats, Machhi Gorej, Bhatia, Lohana, Sahta, Janda etc., Commerce was the Arab's strong point and all the ancient trade routes were revived between Khorassan, Zabulistan, Sijistan, Kandahar and Ghazni, Turkastan, China, Ceylon and Malbar. Horses were imported from Arabia and wood for boat building from far-off Malabar.

Sind a difficult country for Foreigners.

That there were inherent difficulties in the matter of the Arab conquest and government of Sind cannot be denied.

* Sir Wm. Muir—"The Caliphate" 1924 p. 354.

† "Cambridge History of India" Vol. I.

And these difficulties were mainly of a geographical nature. First and foremost was the difficulty of communication. There was the river with its changing beds and the numerous Dhands or lakes to cross and recross, as we have noticed in the case of the marching army. Those of the forts on whose stability depended the chief strength of the natives, were on its banks, bridges of boats etc. had to be built and convenient crossing points had to be discovered. The forts themselves were situated in the different physiographic regions and were scattered far and distant from one another. The Arabs had some difficulties of obtaining proper food. "I shall be much obliged," Kasim writes to Hajjaj, "by your sending a little vinegar from your own stores or securing it in any other way, as my men badly require it, because owing to their eating disagreeable kinds of food out of season, the humans of their bodies are disturbed and they get unwell."* It must here be noted that the required vinegar was supplied by a strange method. Cotton was soaked in vinegar and dried and then sewn in bales to be transported to the Arab camp!

The scarcity of water in Arab camps was indeed keenly felt. It has been recorded in one place: "The floods of the Sehun had not yet spread out to that place and so want of water was felt by the troops, who began to complain of thirst" Strangely enough on Kasim offering prayers, "There was a down-pour by divine order and all the tanks in that town were filled with water."† These cannot but be storm waters.

Summary and Conclusion.

Though the account of the Arab conquest and government of Sind, given above, is so scanty, it shows clearly the changing nature of the country, the movements of troops, the kind of peoples, their habits etc. That it was possible for the Arabs to subjugate the *whole* of the valley in a *single* campaign inspite of the difficulties we have tried to enumerate, confirms the relationship of its history and geography. This information we owe to the *Chach Nameh*, the only reliable history book for the period. "We can gather from its pages that besides Shramans and Brahmans there were rich merchants, at least at Alor, that there were workers in marble who could make life-like statues, even equestrian statues, that the very powerful discus used by Dahar with signal effect was probably of home manufacture, that there was a large class of artisans and that the bulk of the

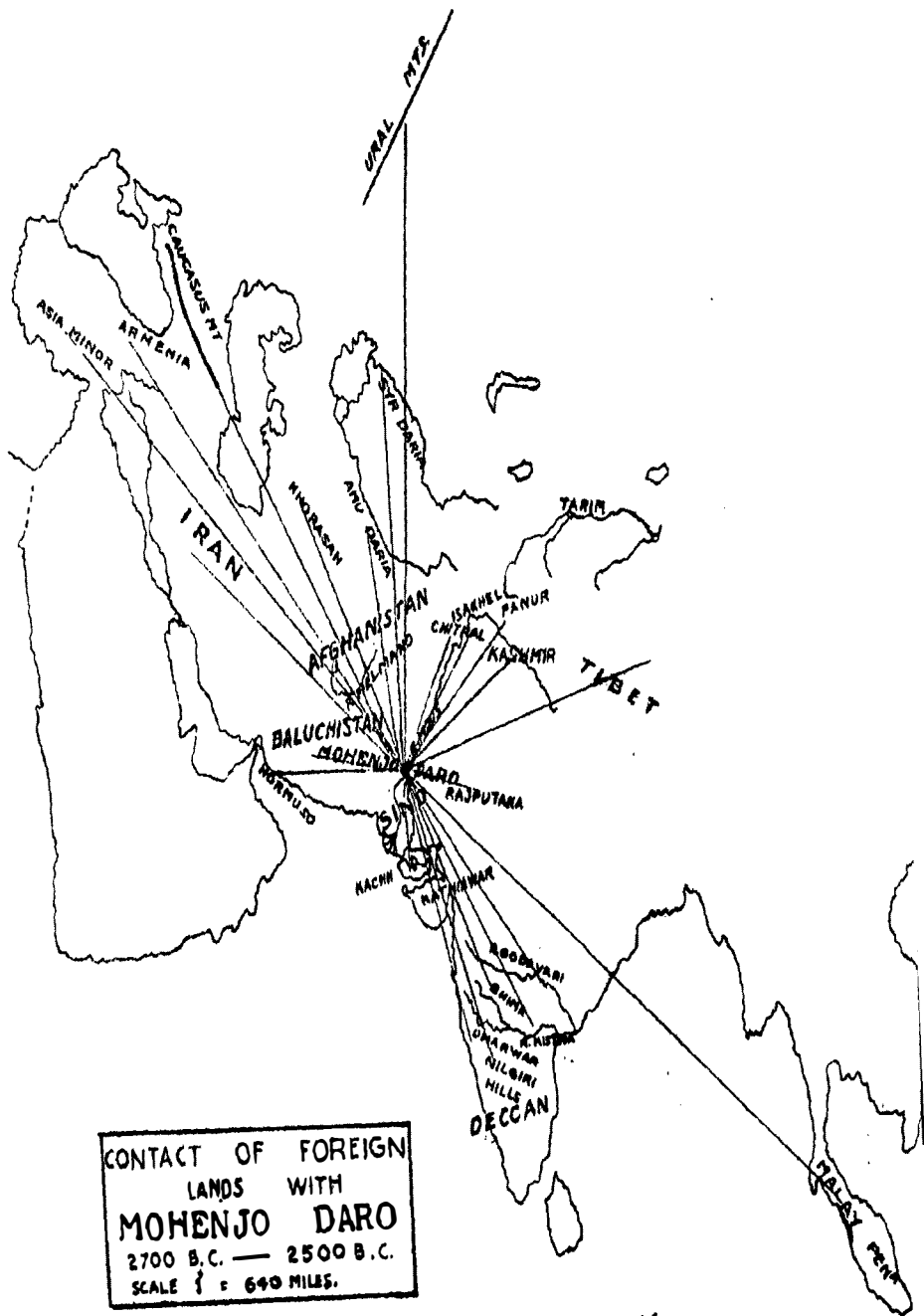
* Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg—*The Chachnameh* Karachi, 1900. p. 120.

† *Ibid* p. 91

population lived on agriculture. We read of a Buddhist monk who apparently knew the art of war, and there is little doubt that almost all the officials were Brahmans, even before Chach usurped the throne. There were numerous temples, Buddhistic as well as Brahmanic, which were frequented by the people especially on holidays and which had large revenues." * We also know about other weapons of war manufactured at home, such as, the battering rams, naphtha arrows, nooses and cutting wheels, about the games of chess and dice, the mailed animals especially elephants of Dahar and the world famous Arab horses, boat bridges, boat ballasts, fortifications, castellated cities, etc. We have reference to the climate of the country, and also the floods of the river Mehran. No doubt the river was used by the Arab seamen, though the bulk of the armies moved to and fro on land. It was crossed at several points, boat bridges were constructed and rich spoils were despatched by the Arab navy from Debal to the very seat of the Khalifah. The Arab's naval supremacy of the Arabian Sea and the Indian ocean has been recognised by all chroniclers of this period. Upto the middle of the 15th century A. D. (the Middle Ages) they had, in fact, the monopoly of these waters. Many were the gifts they gave to the then known world *e. g.*, the mariner's compass. Their maritime empire was great and wide. They even showed Vasco de Gama the way round the Cape of Good Hope. Their cartography inspired and guided the European adventures, which produced the age of discoveries.†

* *Ibid* p. IX.

† Nadawi Syed Suleiman—*Arbon ki Nahazrani* (Urdu) Bombay. 1935.



Mansoor B. P. Khawalla

" HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND". IV.

BY PROF. M. B. PITHAWALLA, F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

Historic Period A. D. III.

(Read before the Sind Historical Society on 27-6-1937.)

Post-Arab Conditions.

In our attempt to emphasise the association of the history and geography of Sind by the fundamental law, "that the progress of civilisation depends upon the *human* as well as the *physical* factor," we cannot ignore the fact that man is, however, trying to subjugate nature as much as possible throughout the ages. The history of Sind, during the period, which followed the Arab conquest, is a suitable illustration of the above fact. In the first flash of the conquest of the Indus valley by the Arab invaders, a new life was given to the land. They gave Sind and Hind,—an inseparable pair in those days,—the idea of empire-building. There was peace restored in the region, which was brought under a single supreme government, the natives were allowed to till their own soil with renewed zest and vigour, trade was increased, fresh lessons were given in international commerce, settlements were renewed or removed to more stable and safe localities, an impetus was given to the Indus irrigation, and above all, a new theology, with belief in one God, was forced upon the people, who were worshipping idols, dedicated to various gods. The Arabs found, in Sind, geographical and climatic conditions somewhat similar to those prevailing in Arabia and so were at home in this province. But the distance between the homeland and subjugated Sind was very great indeed and the communication was difficult. The conquest of Sind was synchronous with the conquest of Spain, the two extremes of the then known world, to which Arab influence was extending. The smallness of their number in a new region compelled them to be tolerant in some ways, *e.g.*, there were independent native potentates allowed to rule here and there, "holding the name of the prophet in respect, though they continued to worship their own idols", but wherever possible, they either destroyed the native temples *e.g.*, Debal, or exacted tribute from them *e.g.*, Alor and Multan. Few women could be imported from Arabia, so they had to take native wives, with whom they lived in cantonments or military colonies, which became quite a peculiar feature of their new settlement. They generally had other towns or forts built along the coasts or river banks, in island homes or in oases.

Their national characteristics of thrift and tenacity, which they owed entirely to the geographical conditions of the desert land, stood them in good stead in Sind, where their income was limited and the stress and strain of life were great. They could, if they wanted to, live without much food or drink and bear the tropical heat or winter cold. Their caravans moved through fertile tracts as well as barren lands, their ships sought harbours on sea coasts or in river mouths, while they had a characteristic, two-fold mobilisation of their men, the army

and the navy, in parallel zones along the coastal strips *e.g.*, Makran. They conveyed heavy war machinery in ships across the seas or rivers, while their light-footed horses carried their regiments through mountain fastnesses or desert areas and along river banks, though not without impediments in a country intersected by rivers, lakes, swamps, canals and sandhills. The coast of Sind also was not quite hospitable, there being no great natural harbours on it or on the main river. Even Debal lay inland, beside a side-stream of the Indus. The monsoon broke sterile upon the shore with great violence for a whole season and even the stream of the Indus was often too rapid or giratory to allow smooth navigation throughout the year. Though the fertile fields of Sind helped the conquerors to secure rich crops, the enervating climate of lowlands and the delta made the virile people stagnate soon, many becoming dreamers and idlers. Only a fresh invasion from the needy Tartar or Balooch hordes could stir the Sindhis again. In Sind no doubt was felt the earliest racial antagonism between the Hindus and the Musalmans; even the converted Rajput chiefs could not tolerate their less fortunate brethren on this account. The valley itself being unevenly watered, the Arab kingdom was soon broken up into antagonistic principalities, whom the new rulers could not long control. They themselves could not completely coalesce the rival tribes, which immigrated into the province from time to time, and this was one of the causes also of their downfall in Sind. No rulers with a mercenary army could long be in possession of a foreign land,—the soldiers chose or left a leader as they liked, and as soon as their turbulent spirits were calmed, climatic conditions compelling them so, they failed the foreigners completely.

Earliest Oriental Chronicle of Sind

Few writers have touched upon the history of Sind, following the Arab period. The Chinese traveller, a Buddhist monk, Hiuen Tsang visited parts of Sind about 645 A. D. But the geographical information given by him is meagre. He refers to Pi-shen-p'o-pulo, as the Capital of Sind, on the west of the Indus, Multan only 150 miles distant from it to the east of the Indus and a Shuto'lo King ruling over Sind. The boundaries of the Kingdom of Sind extended as far as the Salt Range, as salt was found as red as cinnabar along with white, black and rock salt. Commenting upon the part of the delta country between Umar-kot and the Rann of Kachh, called Pitoshilo (Patala ?), which was visited by Hiuen Tsang, Haig remarks, "It is there that we ought to look for whatever district our pilgrim meant by Pi-to-shi-lo and I would suggest that the Nagar Parkar country, which contains some very ancient remains, might be what we are in search of; or again, the district about Umarnkot, or that immediately west of it in the Mirpur Khas Parganah or a little south of it. This last portion of Eastern Sindh is certainly more likely to have contained a dense population as we are told Pitoshilo* did, than any part of the Dhat country."* Indeed, this condition is likely, as Kachch, then, was a dependency of Sindh, and the Fakra had not dried up.

*Haig Major Genl. M. R.,—*The Indus Delta Country*, London 1894., page 39.

A Dark Age Follows

Some of the history of the dark age, which followed the Arab period in Sind, has been recorded by those famous Arab geographers, who were also their earliest cartographers in the east. The literature produced by them in Arabia and afterwards carried into Persia, is very wide. They wrote not from hearsay only but from actual observations in the field; in fact, they were great travellers and recorders of world events, which took place within their own life time. The intrinsic value of their work is so great that renowned English scholars, such as Elliot and Raverty,* laboured for many years over the rare manuscripts and produced their own commentaries, which have themselves passed into classical literature. Through these historians we get glimpses into Sindhi life and Sind geography chiefly of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries A. D. The maps drawn by them, though clumsy and inaccurate, are their most valuable asset. They had a false compass bearing, sometimes distances were roughly measured in days' journeys only, and place names were often misspelt and confused. But as pioneers of Asiatic cartography they were unrivalled. They were travellers, geographers, historians and cartographers all combined. They afford at least some ideas about Sind and neighboring lands.

Elliot gives extracts from eight such Arab writers, from which I have selected the following details regarding the region of our study. Though the information is scanty, it gives us an account of what the conditions were in those days.

Arab Geographers of Sind

The work of the Arab geographers was first brought to light in 1718 by a French scholar Abbé Renaudot, and, by a curious coincidence, says Elliot, his translation happened to be that of the earliest Arab geographer of the east, viz., the merchant Sulaiman (851 A.D.) on whose travels Abu Zaidul Hasan (916 A. D.) commented further, "by questioning travellers to those countries." In his observations on the countries of India and China the merchant stated that there were four great principal kings in the world, of whom the king of the Arabs (Khalif of Baghdad) was the head. The Balhara was the most eminent of the princes of India and the Indians acknowledged his superiority. Every prince in India was master in his own state, but all paid homage to the supremacy of the Balhara.† Who this prince Balhara was it is difficult to ascertain, but it is probable that the king of Sind was not one of the principal kings of India and the king of the Arabs was thought by these Arab geographers to be ruling over Sind all the time. There was trade connection between Sind and India, as Abu Zaid says, "For-

*Elliot Sir H. M.—"The History of India, as told by its own Historians" London, 1867.

Raverty Major H. G.—"The Mīhran of Sind and its Tributaries" *Jour. Asia, Soc. Beng.* Vol. LX 1893,

†Elliot Sir H.—*Op. Cit.* P. 3.

merly the *dinars* of Sind, each of which is worth three and a fraction of the ordinary *dinars*, were brought into India."*

When the traveller visited Sind, he found the people believing in idolatry and Multan was yet an important place of Hindu pilgrimage. "The idol, called Multan, is situated in the environs of Mansura, and people come on pilgrimage to it from many months distance. They bring thither the Indian aloes called *al-amruni* from Kamrun, the name of the country in which it grows. These aloes are of the finest quality. They are given to the ministers of the temple for use as incense Merchants buy them of the ministers of the temple."

Ibn Khurdadba is the next traveller mentioned. He died in 912 A.D. and so his picture of Sind is that of the end of the 9th century. He mentions 26 "Countries of Sind", Makran, Kuhar, Sadusan, Debal, Alor, Multan, etc., and fixes some of the important places in days' journeys e.g. "From the Mihran to Bakar, which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. From Bakar to the junction of the river Mihran with the seas is two *parsangs*." Two natural passes in Sind are pointed out, viz. Highland or Kohistan and the cultivated grasslands: "The country abounds with caves, the hill tracts are out in the plains, wheat is cultivated". "Of commerce Arab travellers forget to speak: Wheat and canes are already mentioned. Other commodities exported are the skins and cloths. The people are considered to be 'wanderers and robbers'."

Al-Buhārī, who was "One of the most admired writers in the Arabic language", gives the fruits of his travels in Sind and other countries in his time viz. about 940 A.D. He definitely says that the King of Kandahar "is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains", and so was the king of Kanouj, one of the kings of Sind. Kashmir formed a part of Sind. The Multan temple was yet the most important at the time, as the inhabitants of Sind and India "perform pilgrimage to Multan."

The topographical description of parts of the country was exact: "When all the rivers, which we have enumerated, have passed the 'boundary of the house of gold,' which is the meaning of the name of *Multan*, they unite at about three days journey below the city and above Mansura at a place called Dushab (Duab) into one stream, which proceeds to the town of Al Rur (Alor), which lies on its western bank and belongs to one of the districts of Mansura, where it receives the name of Mihran. There it divides into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shakira, which belongs to one of the districts of Mansura into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihran of Sind, about two days' journey from the town of Debal."† The description is valuable, as it indicates the

*Ibid page 11.

†Ibid, pp. p. 14-15.

‡Ibid pp. 23-24.

position of Debal, the chief fort of Sind in those days. It must be noted here that the ruins of Aror at present lie on the eastern bank of the Indus and the delta of the river has now extended about 50 miles into the sea. Between the statements of these Arab writers themselves there are some inaccuracies *e.g.* Ibn Khurdadba says Debal was only two parsangs from the mouth of the Mihran, while this writer Masudi asserts that "it was two days' journey from Debal". Crocodiles are particularly mentioned by this geographer as living in sweet water and in the estuaries of India. "In the bays of this sea (Indian Ocean), there are many crocodiles."* The language of Sind is noted as different from that of India. Islam, though not the only religion prevalent in Sind and India, is honoured and protected and "of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Mussalman than the Balhara."†

Al Istakhri, who also flourished in the middle of the tenth century (951 A.D.) and who met Ibn Haukal in the valley of the Indus and exchanged observational notes with him, has described some 12 cities of Sind and a number of others of Hind with the distances in days' journeys. He has also drawn a map from the Ashkalu-l-Bilad, showing the course of the Mihran and the places on its banks and along the main caravan routes. Debal is still the most important port, on the *western side* of the chief mouth of the river. Mansura is shown within the loop of the river on its left bank and surrounded by a branch of it. "The inhabitants are Mussalmans. The date tree and the sugar cane grow here. The land of Mansura also produces the fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Zaiman, and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called Ambaj (mango), which is like the peach."

Makran is for the most part a desert with very few rivers, while Kandabil is a great city in another part of the desert within the confines of Budha. "The palm tree does not grow there. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated. Vines grow there and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful."§ "This author is also eloquent in his account of the river Mihran. "It is said that it springs from the summit of a mountain from which many affluents of the Jihun rise.

It rises as the Nile rises, and inundates the land, which on the subsidence of the water is sown in the manner we have described in the land of Egypt."

Ibn Haukal, who made a fortune by travelling and trading in foreign countries from 943 A.D. to 968 A.D., published his "Book of Roads and Kingdoms" in 976 A.D.; which also contained a map of the world, similar to that drawn by Istakhri. His work is the same as given in

**Ibid* p. 21.

†*Ibid* p. 24.

‡*Ibid* p. 27.

§*Ibid* p. 29.

Ashkalu-l-Blad, "Diagrams of the countries of Islam." He says "I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Turan and Budha. On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fars and on the west, Kirman and the desert of Sijistan and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Makran and Kufs, beyond which is the sea of Fars."* He, too, mentions some eleven chief towns of Sind putting Mansura at the top of the list. It is "about a mile long and a mile broad and is surrounded by a branch of the M hran. It is like an island and the inhabitants are Musalmans. The king of the country is one of the tribes of Kuraish and is said to be a descendant of Hubad, the son of Aswad. He and his ancestors ruled over this country, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalifa. The climate is hot and the date tree grows here; but there is neither grape nor apple nor ripe date (*tamr*) nor walnut in it. The sugarcane grows here."

Debal is still a flourishing town. It is a large mart and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. "Debal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not overabundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords. The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce."† The language spoken by the people in Mansura, Multan, etc. is Arabic and Sindian.

Sir William Ousley, who translated in 1800 the oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal from his own copy of the Mss, has thrown some more light on the Sind of the 10th century A.D. and its towns etc. "The people of Mansura have their dress and habits, resembling those of the people of Iraq; but their kings affect the appearance of Indian kings, and wear pendants in their ears. "Scind is surrounded by infidel tribes of whom the Burhoe is most celebrated. This tribe is distributed over the country between Zoran, Mukran, Multan and Mansoorah: the men are great breeders of camels and export animals much sought after in Khorasan, Persia, etc. The central town of theirs is Gundava."

Again, "About Saimur it is said that it is a city of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very handsome from being of Turk and Indian people. There are Musalmans, Christians, Jews and *Fire-worshippers* there. The merchandise of the Turks is conveyed hither and the aloes, called Saimur, are named from this place. In the city, there are mosques, churches, synagogues, and fire temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals nor do they eat flesh, fish or eggs."

**Ibid* p. 33.

†*Ibid* p. 37.

The above description clearly shows how Sind must have looked even in these earlier centuries, quite cosmopolitan with so many people, living peacefully together in the province.

Makran, which formed the boundary land of pure Islam, was quite different. "Water is very scarce throughout. Many of the inhabitants resemble the Arabs. They eat fowl and fish; others of them are like the curds. Here is the extreme boundary of the land of Islam in their direction."

Al Biruni (970 A.D. to 1039 A.D.), throws more light on the changing geography of Sind. He seems to have specialised himself in the study of hills and rivers. Regarding the Indus he writes: "They all (rivers of Punjab) combine with the Satlader (Sutlej) below Multan at a place called Panjnad, or the junction of the five rivers. They form a very wide stream, which at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten *parasangs*, submerging trees of the forest, and leaving its spoils upon the trees like nests of birds. This stream after passing *Andar* (Alor) in the middle of Sind bears the name of *Mihran* and flows with a slower current, and widens, forming several islands, till it reaches *Mansura*, which city is situated in the middle of the waters of the river. At this place the river divides into the two streams, one empties itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of the city of *Luharani* (Lari Bunder) and the other branches off to the east to the borders of *Kach* and is known by the name of *Sind Sagar* i.e., Sea of Sind."*

It appears that *Debal* was, by this time, thrown inland and *Lari Bunder* came into existence. The Indus itself had developed other "small and big mouths." How many of these mouths were then extant is not said, though the earliest map of *Ptolemy* (150 A.D.) shows eight.

Al Idrisi, who wrote his book on "The delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world," about the end of the 11th century, has also drawn a map, of which two versions are reproduced. In the one taken from the Ms. lying in the Bodleian library, three main river systems are shown without any details, e.g., *al Scindi* (The Indus), *al Hind* (it is not clear which river is meant), and *al Seen* (perhaps the river in China). In the other map, there is a tendency to show the physiographic regions of Sind, for which *Idrisi* deserves great credit as a pioneer. The course of the Indus is more natural than in other Arab maps. Besides *Debal*, another port is shown as *Munnabari*, on the opposite side of the Indus. "There are six miles between the mouth of the great *Mihran* and *Debal*. From *Debal* to *Nirun*, on the west of the *Mihran*, three days' journey. *Nirun* is half way between *Debal* and *Mansura*, and people going from one town to other, here cross the river." *Alor* is still meant to be on the west bank of the *Mihran*. Some of the

**Ibid* pp. 48-49

highlands and the source of the Indus are probably shown and, on the whole, it is good cartographical work. But the compass bearing is reversed and places on the eastern side of the river are deliberately shown on the west.

According to Al Idrisi there seems to be a further hydrographic change, which is noticeable in his description of Mansura. He says, "It is on the west of the principal branch of the river, which flows from its source to Kalari, a town situated *one day's journey* from Mansura. At Kalari, it divides—the principal branch runs towards Mansura, the other flows northward as far as Sharusan (Sadusan), it then turns westwards and rejoins the chief stream, forming henceforward only one river. The junction takes place *twelve miles* from Mansura. The Mihran passes on to Nirun, and then flows into the sea."*

As regards Sadusan (Sharusan), he suggests that it came into prominence in his time. It is "remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and for its rich commerce. It is much resorted to. From Sharusan to Manhabari (Manjabari), a town placed in a hollow well built of a pleasant aspect, surrounded with gardens, fountains and running waters; the distance is three days. From Manhabari to Debal two days."†

Against this prosperity of a portion of Sind there are patches of barren land inhabited still by turbulent tribes. "Going from Multan towards the North, there is a desert which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Tubaran. From Multan to the vicinity of Mansura, the country is occupied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Tabran, Makran, Multan and Mansura like the Berber nomads. The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings and marshes, in which they take refuge *on the west* of the Mihran. They possess excellent camels, particularly a sort of which they breed, called Karah."‡

Al Kazwini, who flourished about the middle of the 13th century, is the last Arab author mentioned by Elliot, and called "Pliny of the East." He does not say much about Sind but his writings indicate that many peoples of different denominations still lived in it and in the neighbourhood. Describing Saimur, a city of Hind near the confines of Sind (near to Debal), he says, like Ibn Haukal, "The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musalmans, Jews, Christians and Fire-worshippers there."§ The inhabitants of Multan were Musalmans and infidels. "The ruler of Multan does not abolish this idol, because he takes the large

*Ibid p. 78.

†Ibid p. 79.

‡Ibid p. 83.

§Ibid p. 97.

offerings which are brought to it and disburses certain sums to the attendants for their maintenance."* The Musalmans were evidently the ruling race.

R. D. Oldham—On the defects of Arab Geography : †

That there were inherent defects in Arab geography is also shown by Oldham.

"The Arab geographer Al Idrisi places the head of the delta or the place where the first distributary is given off, at Kallari 'a hard day's journey of forty miles from Mansura.' The exact words of the translation are: 'At Kallari it divides—the principal branch runs towards Mansura, the other flows northwards (southwards) as far as Sharusan, it then turns westwards (eastwards) and rejoins the chief stream, forming henceforth only one river. The Mihran passes on to Narun and then flows into the sea.'

"Further on he says, 'Kallari on the west (east) bank of the Mihran is a town well-fortified and is a busy trading place. Near it the Mihran separates into two branches, the largest runs towards the west (east) as far as the vicinity of Mansuria, which is on the west (east ?) bank; the other runs towards the north-west (south-east) then to the north (south) and then towards the west (east). Both unite at the distance about twelve miles below Mansuria.'

"It will be noticed that the bearings in these two accounts do not agree; probably in the second case we should be satisfied with turning them three quarters of a semi-circle, but even then they would not fit in, and in consequence the first set, which are most consistent, must be regarded as more nearly correct; any way it is clear that the river bifurcated at the place called Kallari, forty miles or a hard day's journey from Mansura and that the two united below Mansura.'

"At the conclusion of the second account he says that from Kallari to Sharusan is three days. I refer to this now as the statement is puzzling, but is due to the confusion of the two places of very similar names.

"*Kallari and Ballari.*—On Ibn Haukal's map, the town at the bifurcation of the river is called Ballari, while Kallari is further north at some distance from the river. In it he says that Ibn and Labri—which Prof. Dawson identifies with Amari and Kallari—are situated east of the Indus but distant from it. Al Idrisi's two accounts are evidently from different sources and it is probable that either he or his informant must have confused the Ballari or Kallari at the bifurcation of the Indus with the other town of similar name situated to the east, which might well be three days distant from Sehvan.

**Ibid* p. 96.

† *Jour. Asia Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV 1886 pp. 328-329.
 Elliot & Dawson H. *Op. cit* pp. 78-79.

'The first account too is somewhat difficult to understand, for it is impossible how from any point one day's journey,—even if it be one of four miles—from Mansura, a branch of the Indus could flow *south* to Sehvan. It is of course a physical impossibility that the Indus should have flowed any distance northwards, and the general reversal of Al Idrisi's bearings has already been referred to. No other authority makes this statement, and the map of Ibn Haukal places Sadusan on the west bank of the Indus above Bellari, where the river bifurcates. This is altogether a more probable disposition."

Changing Sind as seen by Ibn Batuta.

Samuel Lee's translation of "the Travels of Ibn Batuta" (1324-25) gives a glimpse of Sind of the time of Mahomad Shah, the ruler of Sindia* and India. One of the Mamluks of the Sultan Mohommad, Sir Tiz Shah, was the Emir of Sindia then. This shows that the Arab control in Sind had, by that time, completely passed away. Delhi and not Baghdad, was the centre of political power over the province. Batuta found Sivastan quite a large and flourishing part of Sind as before. "Without it is a desert in which there is no tree except Egyptian thorn." Melon, millet, peas, fish and milk of buffaloes were found in great abundance. The climate was exceedingly hot and it took people ten days to go from there to Multan. In Batuta's opinion, "the Sinde was the greatest river in the world and overflowed during the hot weather just as the Nile does and at this time they sow the lands." Irrigation was in vogue and trade was in a flourishing condition. The new port of Larry Bunder, called by the traveller Lahari, was greatly developed. He writes, "It has a large harbour, into which ships from Persia, Yeman and other places put in. At a distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another (perhaps Debal?) in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place the greater part of the inhabitants were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones; and indeed stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable."

We may here throw a hint that these so-called seeds converted into stones must be the numerous Gaj and Kirthar fossils, which are found in abundance in the Tertiary limestone rocks of this locality.

Alor, the principal Hindu city, is also thrown in the background, the Indus must have entirely changed its course and cut through the Bukkar gorge, for, Bukkar was found by the traveller to be a "a handsome city divided by an arm of the Sinde," and was a city of saints.

In a place called, by Ibn Batuta, by the name of Janai, there lived a people called El Samira, most probably the Sumras, who were ruling

*Lee, the Rev. Samuel—"Travels of Ibn Batuta," translated from the Arabic. London 1829. pp. 100—102.

over at least a good part of the Sind desert soon after the Arab hold on the province was slackened. "They never eat with strangers nor are seen eating by them; nor do they contract affinities or suffer any one to contract affinities with them."

Already some of the converted native princes, Rajputs and others, had assumed Arab names and regained their power and position, though the spiritual supremacy continued to be alien *e.g.* Bahmanabad. Occasional presents to the Khalif included, "An elephant, a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings or some pounds of musk and amber, a cart load of four armed idols," etc., but no real revenue was paid. Sind had been definitely broken up into two kingdoms at least, with their headquarters at Mansura (Lower Indus) and Multan (Upper Indus), which when the Ghazni rulers of Delhi became powerful, also lost their independence again.

A good deal of Arab geography yet remains to be translated from Arabic and Persian sources. Further light may thereby be thrown on Medieval Sind, the changing nature of which was so clearly grasped by them.

HISTORIC PERIOD IV

Makers of Sind's History and Patterns of State

That Sind is not a uniform country with the same political conditions conforming with the physical and climatic conditions throughout, can also be shown by the history of subsequent dynasties. Whenever a conqueror took possession of the fertile valley of the Indus proper, heroic tribes found shelter in other areas, which were less likely to be attracted and in which they could still live their independent life, without interference. When Lower Sind was put in order, Upper Sind went out of gear. The deserts specially offered temporary asylums not only to fugitive kings but warlike tribes, which preferred to live independently in uninviting territories. One such tribe, whose origin is one of the most knotty points of Sind history, after the downfall of the Hindu kingdom of Alor in the beginning of the eighth century A. D., is said to have assembled in the vicinity of Thari, the "Little Desert", separating Sind from Kachh, but who extended their power later as far as Nasarpur. It may be recalled that Alor had been abandoned and Mansura (Bahmanabad) depopulated since then, and the new capital town had been established in the eastern delta country.

As we had to depend upon the Arab geographers for the information about Sind in earlier centuries as described in the previous pages, we have here to depend upon various scattered sources of Sind History chiefly from Arab and Persian historians. I shall, for my purpose, select from the material put together by Mirza Kalich Beg in his "History of Sind" Vol. II, aided by Elliot as far as possible. From all the mass of vernacular literature, we shall choose those events, which will be helpful in our co-ordination of history and geography.

1. The Sumra Dynasty (750 A.D. to 1850 A.D.).

Conversion to Islam and absolute subjugation of the natives and their trade, were the main purposes of the Arab invasion of Sind. Their religious zeal and control of the Indus Valley helped them to establish their kingdom at first. A vital portion of the native population came originally from the adjacent hill tracts of Rajputana, which has been known in history as a stronghold of Hinduism. But the Rajput tribes in Sind, called the Sumras, were the first to yield to the Arabs. Depending upon Arabic, Persian and other sources of information, Elliot concludes that "In calling the Sumras Rajputs, Elphinstone is without doubt correct, for notwithstanding the assertions of the local writers, the real fact must be admitted that the Sumras are not of Arab descent at all, and that this fictitious geneology was assumed by them, when the majority of the tribe were converted to Islam, and that, as the name of Sumarra offered a sufficiently specious semblance, that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration."*

Even before the Arab conquest of Sind, the Sumras were a dominating race, although today "many of the tribe still continue to be Hindus, roaming as shepherds through the *thals* of Jaisalmer and Upper Dhat country to the east of Sind, we know from personal communication."†

Such a race, though converted to Islam for the time being, would always seek an opportunity to regain their political position in the country. The sudden recall of Muhammad Kasim in 714 A. D. had altered the situation and shattered Arabia's hope of an eastern empire. Even the long rule of his successor Temim for 36 years, did not improve matters and the Arab rulers are said to have been expelled from Sind by 750 A. D. But though the rulers were squeezed out of Sind, Arab settlers, landowners and governors remained in Sind.

Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Hindustan in 1019 A.D. and after conquering Multan and Uchh appointed Abdul Razai to take Sind (in 1026 A.D.,) which was at that time nominally ruled by the Arab governor under the Khalif Kadir Billah Abdul Abbas Ahmad. The Ghazni dynasty soon came into power at Delhi. From there came a menace both on Multan and Tatta on the Indus river, as has always been the case. At Tatta the Sumras established themselves as independent rulers of Lower Sind at least. After the death of Ghyasuddin and his son Muhammad Shah, Feroz Taghlak actually came down to Sind and punished the rebels of his empire, who had taken refuge at Tatta. He also built a fort on the bank of the lake Sangrah (now lost), and appointed a viceroy at Bukkur in 1351 A.D.

According to Ayin-i-Akbari (Vol. II, page 120) and also Firishtha (Vol. IV, page 411), there flourished 36 Sumras or Zamindar princes,

* Elliot & Dawson—*Op. cit.* pp. 488-489.

† *Ibid* p. 489.

altogether ruling for 500 years. The first capital town established by them, when they came into prominence, was Mahomad Tur in the Pargana of Dirak, and according to Elliot, represented by the modern divisions of Chachagam and Badhan on the borders of the Thari or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bazar. They had intercourse with other tribes living on the sandhills. It was a period of great struggle for them, as they had to re-establish their political power in their own country against the foreign invaders. The Ghoris, Khiljis and Tughlakh kings of Delhi exploited Sind now and then, but they generally retired after ravaging the crops and plundering the towns. When Alauddin Khilji invaded Sind, the Sumras sent away their families to Kachh, where they themselves sought refuge later but were soon destroyed by the Sammah chiefs who had taken possession of that land. Jam Rainah and Jam Nizamudin (Nindo) were powerful Sumrah rulers, who extended their authority over the whole of Sind gradually. But attacks were continuous. At one time even the Moghuls came under Shahbeg from Kandahar, but Jam Nizammuddin drove them out of Chandukah. But, on the whole, the government of the province was not centralised and while, for example, one man went to Bakkar, in the north to settle affairs, another would usurp the throne in Lower Sind. During the reign of Jam Sikanda, the governors of Sehvan and Bakkar became actually independent.

Such was the state of affairs for well-nigh five centuries. It agrees with the natural conditions, which existed in Sind. Even nature was against the Sumra rulers. The story of Dalu Rai's foul deed against the daughter of Saiful Muluk is well known. The tradition is that a sudden earthquake diverted the whole course of the Indus from Alor and Bahmanabad, which were thus destroyed. The capital town of Muhamed Tur, established on the Ren (Gungro), seems also to have been destroyed by a change in the river course. The Hakra or Waindah dried up and there was migration of population westwards towards the Makali hills, situated on a higher level. Nearby, the Sumrahs built another capital town of Samui, which was afterwards known as Tatta or Kalankot, so that Lower Sind became well populated.

Although we have devoted this space to an account of the Sumra dynasty, it is doubtful if such a kingdom was either extensive or absolute in Sind. It is certain that there was no other powerful and rival dynasty in Sind established like this after the Arab period. Though this dynasty came to an end in the middle of the 14th century after such a long rule, Sumra influence remained in Sind. There are thousands of Sumra inhabitants living in various parts of Sind even to-day.*

2. The Sammas. (1351 A.D.—1521 A.D.)

The situation, before the Sammas came into power, was typical of the province. Upper Sind was controlled by representatives of Turkish

*Census Reports of 1921, 1931.

rulers of Delhi, *viz.*, Malik Feroz and Ali Shah Turk. Lower Sind, especially, from Sehwan to Kuchh, was recovered by the native chiefs.

First Conflict between converted Sindhis.

When Feroz Tughlakh invaded Sind a second time, he found another Rajput (Kuchhi from Kuchh) tribe very powerful. Perhaps it was this very tribe that had come into conflict even with Alexander, who called them Sambus. Their capital was then located at Sindonalia, Sindimona or Sindomana (Sehvan) and they had governors at other chief cities *e.g.* Bukkur. Elliot gives his opinion about the race as under:—

“They were then (at the time of Arab conquest) either Buddhists or Hindus and were received into favour in consideration of their prompt and early submission. They form a branch of the great stock of the Yadavas and their pedigree is derived from Samba, the son of Krishan, who is himself known by the epithet of “Yama,” indicative of his dark complexion. Sammanagar, on the Indus, was their original capital, which has been supposed by some to be the Mnager of the Greek geographers and is probably represented by modern Sehvan. The more modern capital of the Sammas during a part of the period under review and before its transfer to Thatta, was Samui. Since the Sammas became proselytes to Islam, which probably occurred not earlier than 1391 A.D., their name, though it still comprised several large erratic and pastoral communities, is less known than that of their brethren, or descendants the Samejas and the demi-Hindu Jharejas of Kachh, who do honour to their extraction by their martial qualities, however notoriously they may be deficient in other virtues.”*

Population of Lower Sind.

The population of this part of Sind must have been good, as during Firoz Shah's campaign in Sind numerous villages were met with. According to Haig, the new capital Samui was on the Kalri branch of the Indus, the then perennial stream on which Tatta was established later on, after Debal sank into insignificance.†

After beating the Sumras out, the Sammas returned to Sind from Kachh as original inhabitants, and soon came into power. From 1351 onwards, one Jam after another ruled over Lower Sind, while Upper Sind passed through the same kind of tribulations as in the days of the Sumras—*viz.*, attacks from the imperial rulers of Delhi. There were occasional revolts also within the territories of the Jams.

Jam Unar, son of Baniah, had to prepare the way for himself at the outset. He proceeded northwards and took Sehvan. Then he attacked the Tartar forces at Bakkar and drove them out to Uchh. But an invasion from Alauddin was imminent. He responded by taking

*Elliot & Dawson.—*Op. cit.* p. 496-497.

†Haig Major Genl. M. R.—*The Indus Delta Country*, London, 1894, p. 77.

Bakkar and attacking Sehvan, and carried away Jam Tamachi even to Delhi. The Sammas gathered forces round Thari again and enthroned Jam Khairuddin. At Delhi again the Soghas came into power, and as soon as Mahomed Shah Taghlak completed his conquest of Gujrat, he hurried to Sind in 1351 actually arriving at Tatta, but died there. Another Taghluk attack on Sind came from Sultan Feroz Shah in the time of Jam Babniah in 1372. It is said that being troubled by mosquitoes, floods and strong winds, he returned to Gujrat and other open plains to spend the rainy season there. Returning again in the fair season, he conquered the whole of Sind and took Jam Babniah as a prisoner to Delhi. The Jams, who succeeded, saw evil days of revolts and civil wars.

Upper Indus Valley affects the Delta Country

In 1398 A.D., Tamerlane the Tartar marched on to Multan and thence to Delhi which he conquered. This change of imperial power gave the Sammas a fresh opportunity to acquire independence and their power was extended from the sea to Mathelo and Ubauro. At Bukkur and Sehvan they appointed their own governors and they themselves founded Tatta under Jam Nizam-u-din (Nindo), whose reign saw the golden age of Hindu Sind. Sind found a hero in the person of Darya Khan who, acting for Jam Firoz a minor son of Nindo, defeated the rival claimant Salahuddin at Kahan and restored peace for a time. When Jam Feroz actually began to rule over his territories, he became doubtful about Darya Khan who had grown very powerful. He foolishly invited from Kandahar some Moghal subjects of Shahbeg Arghun, grandson of Changiz Khan, to settle at the newly established capital town of Tatta. This gave a chance to the ruler of Kandahar to turn his attention to the Indus delta. The Sindhis themselves were tired of the maladministration of the province by the Jam. Events at Kandahar in 1519 A.D. stimulated Shahbeg's efforts to serve himself. When the great Moghul Babar took his own throne at Kandahar, he sought fresh fields and took a straight course through the Laki Pass for the town of Tatta. A battle was fought at a place midway between the Gharo River (since dried up) and Tatta. Daryakhan, the Samma general, was himself killed. Soon the Arghun leader passed on to Sehvan and Bakkar, the other chief towns in Sind. At Bakkar he repaired the fortification with materials from the ruins of Alor. He also subjugated the Baluchis and destroyed many of their villages on the frontier. The final meeting of the Sammas and the Arghuns took place at Chachvan in the eastern delta region. Victory for the Arghuns was predicted. Writes Mir Ma'sum :—"At Karo Kabaro (Tando Bago Pargana), a battle shall be fought lasting six watches (18 hours). The Mirmichi shall be beaten. Sind shall enjoy peace." And so was a new dynasty founded.

3. The Arghuns (1521 A.D.—1554 A.D.)

The Arghuns came into power in 1521. Though powerful and victorious so far, Shah Beg committed political blunders. He allowed the

fallen Jam Feroz to live at Tatta as a feudatory ; and having quarrelled with his own son at Kandahar, he had lost his sympathy. He appointed Muhammad Tarkhan, the forerunner of the next Tarkhan dynasty, the governor of Bakhar. Fearing that he would soon lose Sind, he himself attempted to conquer some other region e.g. Gujrat. He actually proceeded towards it, "having cleared both the banks of the river of hostile tribes living there."* At Chandiko, he found his brave general Mir Fazil ill. The sudden death of Shah Beg's right hand made him sad, and although he tried to proceed to Gujrat *via* Sehvan Tatta and Agham Kot (ancient capital of Afghan Loharab), he died on the way.

As soon as Shah Beg got a footing in Sind, attacks came to him from the Iran plateau and turbulent tribes descended through the Bolan Pass down to the rich tracts of Chanduka and Siwi. Mr Ma'sum gives a good description of Siwistan of that period: "The fort of Siwi, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood.

"In Kor-zamin and Chhatur, which are districts of Siwi, cotton plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted. In the plain of Siwi there were formerly many forts and much cultivation but all is now waste. Between Siwi, Dehra and Kas-mur, there is a tract of land called Bargan, which breeds horses not inferior to those of Irak."†

Iran Plateau and Sind.

Mirza Shah Husain, who was the only other powerful ruler of this dynasty, knew very well how to make himself safe in Sind. His wise policy was to recognise Baber as the sovereign over himself. He took up his position at Nasarpur, put to rout his rival Jam Firoz from Tatta and then marched to Sehvan, the second important place, on his way to Bakkar to settle the affairs in Upper Sind. He tried to control the Baluchis, Dahars and Machhis of Mathelo and Ubauro. Hearing that a large treasure was buried in the fort of Dilawar (Dera Gazi Khan), he marched towards it and found himself in a great difficulty of finding water. He got 100 wells sunk in the course of only 3 days.‡ Marching still further up the valley, he took Multan and made it a present to Baber, who was pleased to appoint his son Haman as its governor, while Mirza himself remained contented with the lower Indus valley. The Gharo was fixed as the natural boundary between Bakkar and Multan territories.§

Kachh and Sind Relations.

No sooner were the affairs in Upper Sind and Multan settled than troubles came from Kachh. A letter from Rai Khamgan, who was a bout

*Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg—"History of Sind" Vol. II 1902, p 70. & Dawson.

†Elliot—*Op cit* pp. 237-238.

‡Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg—*Op cit* p. 78

§*Ibid* p. 77.

to march against Tatta, stated : "You killed my brother Amir Amrani and to revenge his death, I have collected an army. You had gone to Multan and in your absence I would have easily taken Tatta, but I did not do so to oblige you. Now either make peace with me giving me part of Sind or prepare yourself for fight."* Shah Husain, however, came out victorious, for instead of the Kachh army attacking Sind, he himself marched into the capital town in Kachh and plundered the whole country. He brought a large booty of horses, camels, cows, etc. to Tatta.

Baber died in 1530 and Humayan, who had already conquered Bengal and also parts of Gujrat, in order to continue the cordial relationship with Sind, invited Shah Hasan to Patan in Gujrat. He had laid siege to Jitor (Jetpur ?) and excited Sultan Mahmud Bahadur, the ruler of Gujrat. While things were thus coming to a head in Gujrat, news came from Bakkar and Tatta about a revolt from that turbulent tribe of Jators and Mirza had to return to Tatta. Affairs at Delhi also took a turn and Humayun was actually dethroned by Sher Khan (1540). Humayun was obliged to escape to Sind and sought Mirza Shah Hasan's help. But instead of continuing his father's tradition, he avoided Humayun, who actually tried to make inroads into Sehvan and Bakkar. The fallen emperor was virtually supreme in North Sind with Mirza Shah, as his vassal. But the Sindhi prince would not be friendly. Besides the military tactics used by Mirza, there were those of laying waste the country round about, which due to scanty cultivation and sparse population actually reduced the enemy troops to starvation. An invitation to Humayan then came from Raja Maldeo of Jodhpur, but thinking it to be a plot, he went to Jesalmir instead and thence to Umerkot, where his son Akbar the Great was born in 1542. About this time the battle of Jun was fought unsuccessfully by him. This was in the central part of the delta country about 75 miles south-east of Umerkot and 50 miles north-east of Thatta—a fertile and populous district, according to Haig†. After some further wanderings in Sind, during which many of his people died of thirst, Humayun went to Kandahar. Subsequent events show how he succeeded in regaining the throne of Delhi with the help from Kandahar. Had the Sindhi ruler been as wise as his father and befriended Humayan, he would not have himself come to grief in later years and lost his family throne of Tatta. For, in this capital town of Lower Sind, the Arghuns as well as Tarkhans under Mirza Isa revolted and by the time Shah Hasan died in 1554, Sind was broken into parts again. It remained for Mirza Isa Tarkhan to reunite the various principalities, created in the province.

The history of this period shows that, however capable a leader might be and however strongly he tried to establish his authority over the province of Sind, it was physically impossible to keep it united for long. Not even the most powerful sovereign rulers of Delhi could

**Ibid* p.79.

†Haig—*Op cit* p. 92.

control it even after conquering it later on. As soon as a chief left, his troubles arose ; while peace could be established with some difficulty at the capital, in the deltaic region, some one else pounced upon the northern parts of the valley and the vanquished heads of government had to seek shelter in parts of the desert here and there.

4. The Tarkhan Dynasty. (1555 A.D.—1608 A.D.)

The mistake, committed by the last king of the Samma dynasty, of inviting a foreigner to hold power in Sind, was also committed by the Arghuns, who came to grief within half a century of their rule. Mirza Shah Hussan had no son to succeed him and so his lieutenant Sultan Mahomed tried to assume authority over North Sind (Bakkar and Sehvan), while Mirza Isa Tarkhan took possession of the throne of Tatta in Lower Sind.

The Arghuns and the Tarkhans—the two most important rival tribes,—now had a united voice in Sind and much could be expected by way of peace and prosperity in the province.

Mirza Isa also had the advantage of the good relations with his homeland—the land of the Timurs, and, for a while, the history of Sind is made to merge in the general history of the Timurian Empire.

A further attempt at the unification of Sind was made by Mirza Isa. He was actually attacking Bukkur with this object, when a trouble of an altogether novel character for Sind arose, this time from the direction of the Arabian sea. It was after several centuries that another sea-faring race was tempted to make a naval attack on the Sind coast. At the same time the assailants did not belong to any neighbouring Asiatic country.

Early European aspirations in Sind.

It appears that Mirza Isa Tarkhan did actually invite the Portuguese Governor of Bassein near Bombay and the west coast, to help him against his northern opponent, Sultan Mahmud of Bukkur. This European aspirant did not want to lose the opportunity to get an insight into other Indian coast lands, and so he sent a fleet of 28 ships and 700 men under Pedro Baretto Rolim, who arrived at Tatta, evidently an important port of Sind at the time. Finding, however, that Mirza had already made peace with his enemy and that Sindhi prince would not defray the cost of this expedition, Pedro sacked Tatta in a rage and looted the town in 1555 A. D. "According to the *Tuhfatulkiram*, they landed at the port of Lahri on the river, and while the men were offering prayers in mosques on Friday, they entered and massacred the assembled men, plundered the bazars and went away shortly before Mirza Isa's arrival. They scattered gunpowder in different parts of the town and on the bank of the river and set fire to it, so that for some time the river appeared to be in flames. Mirza Isa had to repair the town and the fort anew.

"He now put a big wall along the river and cut a winding and secret canal from the river to reach the town. About this time he is also said to have built a new port and called it Shahbunder."^{*}

Thus the first contact with a European power was certainly not pleasant. It did not augur well for the natives as well as the foreigners.

Further extension of the delta and the sea coast from Tatta to Lahri and Shahbunder added difficulties of administration, while in the extreme northern boundary Bakkar was again rising rapidly under Sultan Mahomed Khan. The struggle between him and the Tarkhan ruler, therefore, continued. Added to this was the family quarrel of his own sons, one of whom had to flee to Wango, a village of Sodhas and thence to Umerkot. The Arghuns made common cause with Sultan Mahmud Khan who marched against Sehvan and a battle was fought at Darbelah, where a peace treaty was made. But they suffered much at the hands of the next Tarkhan ruler, Mirza Muhammed Baki. His was a reign of terror and cruelty in Sind and the people were greatly troubled, though he tried to win them over later on.

Delhi as the new Centre of Gravity.

Events at Delhi, especially the ascension of Akbar the Great on the throne of Delhi in 1556, meant much for Sind, which was worthy of conquest as the land of his birth, and which also was a base of his military operations for Kandahar. Though Baki tried to flatter the Emperor and sought relationships with him, Akbar's men were soon at Bakkar, which was besieged. The only way left for Baki was to distribute his powers among his men at the important political centres in Sind. "He sent one of his sons Mirza Paindah with Jani Beg and Shams Kashmiri to Sehvan. Another of his sons, Shahrukh, he posted at Nasarpur with Sher Ali Kukah to take care of that part of the country. His third son Mirza Muzaffar Tarkhan with Ali Khan Kukah was put in charge of Chichikan and Badin districts; and lastly Neran Kot was entrusted to the care of Mirza Mohommed Tarkhan and Kasim Ali Sultan Sarban. He himself remained at Tatta with his councillors, getting weekly reports from the different divisions of his country."[†] How can a province with as many as 6 divisions with double rulers in them preserve its solidarity? It only made Baki's successor, Mirza Jani Beg's work very difficult. But he was capable of handling the situation. "He defeated his uncle at Badin and made peace with him. He took measures for the improvement of affairs at Tatta. He distributed heaps of grain lying useless in the granaries and storehouses of his father, to the people who were in want of it. He extended his patronage to many of the deserving nobles, giving them rewards and honorary titles. He encouraged commerce and made some important changes in weights and measures and coinage of money."[‡]

^{*}Mirza Kalichbeg—*Op. cit.* p. 95.

[†]*Ibid* p. 101.

[‡]*Ibid* p. 105.

While thus peace was procured at the capital at any price, Bakkar still remained out of control and in 1585, Jani Beg "had to fight with Muhammad Sadik Khan, a nobleman sent by Emperor Akbar to Sind." * Akbar had already conquered a part of Hindustan and he naturally turned his attention to Bakkar. In 1572 he sent Kesu Khan as Governor; in 1577 he appointed another, and the next year another and so on until in 1585 the Emperor gave the district of Bakkar as a *Jagir* to Nawab Muhammad Sadik Khan and sent him instructions to take Tatta."† This Nawab, after settling the affairs of Bakkar, started for Sehvan. Before reaching there, he gave a sort of naval battle, in which the two armies, his and Jani Beg's, fought in boats in the Indus river. The Sindhi ruler lost this battle. At Laki, fire was opened by his men from the boats and after a severe fight the Nawab was obliged to return to Bakkar.

In 1589 Akbar again tried to subjugate Sind,‡ as Mirza Jani Beg was behaving like his equal in such close vicinity to his new capital of Lahore. The campaign of the Imperial troops in Sind in 1591-92 throws a flood of light on the hydrographical features of the region at that time. The course taken by the troops was Bakkar—Sehvan—Lahari—Nasarpur (then 75 miles S.E. of Sehvan on the left bank of the Indus) and Tatta. The attack was chiefly on Sehvan under Nawab Khan Khanan at first and then on Nasarpur. The Khan Khanan even reached Lahori Bandar and in the words of Haig, "gazed upon the sea." Orders were then given to the Khan to return to the capital with Jani Beg himself, who was confirmed as "Governor of Sehvan, Tatta and the sea port Lohri."§ In 1599 Mirza Jan. Beg died. Mirza Ghazi Beg, who was the last of the Tarkhans, had also to re-establish his position in Sind, and before he could do so, he had to quell some rebellions as before. This time the trouble came from the desert area. Abdul Kassim Sultan, who had defeated the Sodhas and who took Umerkot, attacked Tatta and plundered some merchants. When he was reprimanded by Ghazi Beg, he wrote to him: "I shall be obliged to extend the boundary line of my division to the very bank of the Alijan." (This river flowed north of Tatta).¶ Forthwith he revolted and stopped all the ways of communication with Tatta, either by land or by water. But Gazi Beg subdued the rival and began to rule in peace at Tatta. Next time Jam Halah of Kakralah revolted and he too had to be punished by the Mirza, as he encroached upon the western frontier of the Sindhi ruler. The war ended with a matrimonial alliance between the rival tribes. Akbar sent for Ghazi Beg to his capital at Agra, to which the latter had to go, after making some temporary appointments at Tatta. He was received well by the Emperor and declared as "the Governor of the Subah of Sind." But when Akbar died, Jehangir sent for him again. While at Agra in

* *Ibid* p. 96.

† *Ibid* p. 109—110.

‡ *Ibid* pp. 110—111.

§ *Ibid* p. 114.

¶ *Ibid* p. 116.

1606, Jehangir issued orders to Ghazi Beg to proceed to Kandahar, while a new governor was being appointed at Tatta. Jehangir's intention was not to allow Mirza Ghazi Beg to be independent and so when he was actually murdered in 1612, he annexed Sind to Delhi.

5. Sind under the Great Moghuls

After the death of Akbar the Great, in 1605 A.D. the Imperial control of Sind from Delhi continued with this difference that, during the reign of his son Jehangir, instead of local native governors, *Imperial* Governors, called Subaddars (Sobdars) were appointed to govern the various divisions. No longer was Sind regarded as a part of the Subah of Multan, though to Jani Beg, who subsequently entered the Imperial service, was granted what the native historian calls the "country of Tatta."* Formerly only Upper Sind was a Sarkar but now Lower Sind went also under the Moghuls. According to *Tahfat-ul-Kiram* there were some 40 Subahdars, who governed Sind for 128 years from 1612 to 1739 nominally as governors, but really as revenue collectors. They were also good builders. One governor, Khusro Khan, built some 360 public buildings, mosques, tombs, wells and bridges at Tatta.

Sind Architecture

An alluvial valley, such as Sind, could afford good clay for bricks of which even the most ancient buildings were made in the province. These were *burnt* bricks in the days when Sind saw a wetter climate in past ages, but later on, buildings were made of *sun-baked* bricks also. Thus, brick-buildings were a characteristic of Sind towns throughout the previous historic periods. With this, there was also a flourishing industry of Sind pottery and tiles, the latter being quite peculiar to Sind in style and technique owing to Iranian influence.

When Akbar included the lower Indus basin within his Indian empire, the building art of the Moghuls was brought here, and stone, chiefly limestone and sandstone from Kohistan in Lower Sind, was quarried for building purposes. Here, again, owing to Arab and Iranian influences, a peculiar art was developed *e.g.* ornamentation in coloured tiles. This tradition for "brick and glaze" remained long in a plain valley, which sought some contrast in nature. The main colour scheme was white and light and dark blue and the design was geometrical. "Such a monochromatic prospect, which this vast plain presents, cries out for colour, so that it became the custom to decorate all buildings with brilliant schemes of glazed tiles. This method of ornamentation was probably first introduced by the Arabs and was revived later by intercourse with Persia at a time, when that country was enriching all its larger towns with brick buildings, covered with patters in coloured faience. Sind tiles are, however, not copies of the Persian model, nor are they similar even to those of the Punjab, a much nearer neighbour. They have a special

*Hughes—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind" p. 30.

character, which is easily recognised. Most of the patterns are geometrical and where foliage is interposed, it is of a strictly conventional order. In technique, the tiles are rarely a square or rectangular but cut in geometrical shapes corresponding to the details of the design."*

Such stone buildings are found to-day at Hyderabad, Khudadad, Sukkur etc. But at Tatta, certain tombs, built by Mirza Isa Tarkhan between 1624 and 1644 during his governorship there, marked, a distinct Moghul phase of sandstone buildings similar to those at Fatehpur Sikri. Thus Akbar's scheme of architecture found an echo in distant Sind, though the individuality of local architects still persisted.

Later on, in the time of Shah Jehan for instance, the old customary architecture of *brick and tile* returned to Sind.

The Daudpotras.

In 1625 Shah Jehan took refuge at Tatta against his own father Jehangir. But for over a century we hear little of Sind, except as regards a tribe called Daudpotras, sons of Daud Khan who was descended from Mahammud Kambatha, and really weavers of cloth by profession. They donned the warriors' uniform, as time went on. They struggled for power against another agricultural tribe of Maharas (Hindus) under Sher Khan their leader, living at *Lakhi*, from which they had themselves previously "ousted the former occupants—a Balooch race called the Jatois." Shikarpur on the trade route was a new settlement established by them in Sind.

Note on Shikarpur

This town appears to have occupied the hunting ground (Shikargah) of the famous Daudpotras. "Upon the site on which the present town is built, there was, a few hundred years ago, a noted forest. It lay between the old town of Lakhi and the village of Khanpur."† There were frequent feuds between these Daudpotras and the Mhats, who were the rulers at Lakhi, regarding the use of the forest. Pir Sultan Ibrahim Shah is said to have muttered some prayers and dropped a nail on the ground saying, "Herelet a city be built and let it bear the name of Shikarpur".‡ Thus Shikargah was turned into Shikarpur, as a commercial town.

Later on, the Governor of Bukkur drove the Daudpotras from here to Multan and took the town. During the reign of Aurangzib, however, Prince Moizuddin restored the town to them for their loyal services. Still later, Mian Nur Muhamed Kalhoru fought with them and took some revenue from Shikarpur.

But Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, befriended the Afghan invaders in 1747 A.D., when Shikarpur fell into the hands of the Afghans whose

*The Cambridge History of India, vol IV. 1937. P. 569

†The Young Builder, Karachi, June 1934. p. 4.

‡Ibid. p. 5.

rule lasted from 1747 to 1824.* Under them it became a great trading centre and with the help of the Bannia settlers under Timur Shah, it grew and formed an important agency in the chain of great commercial cities on the trade route of Central Asia.

6. The Kalhoras (1701 A.D.—1783 A.D.).

Meanwhile another branch of the same Daudpotra family, claiming their descent from a line of spiritual leaders (and the Prophet himself) had already assumed temporal power also in Sind towards the end of the 17th century A.D. Before this time Adam Shah, one of their race, was the head of the mendicants in the Chandukah District. The Kalhoras, as they were called, even went to the extent of looting the old Zamindars on the right bank of the Indus and possessing their lands. The Moghul governor of Multan tried to check their aggression and defeated Din Mahomed their leader. "But the pliant saints", says Burton, "after a year's exile at Kalat returned to power." Miyan Nasir Md., son of Din Mahomed, came into power after his father's death. He opposed the Moghuls in the province with some success and established a new town Naosharah. His son Yar Mahomed, as we have noticed before, took Shikarpur and later on visiting Delhi obtained from the emperor Aurangzib the "*firman* of the Subahdari of the Dera district" and the title of "Khuda Yar Khan" in 1701 A.D., thus establishing the power of the Kalhoras in Sind. Soon he founded a new capital on the other side of the river (near Sehvan), called Khudabad after himself, for the purpose of avoiding the pressure from Shikarpur and Sukkur, and at the same time stamping out the Hindu influence in the east and the south. Under him, too, Larkana and Siwi (Sibi) grew into importance as towns rival to Shikarpur. Khuda Yar died in 1719 and was succeeded by his son Nur Mahomed, who conquered the territory of the Daudpotras and extended his influence up to Sehvan and Kohistan in the west, Tatta in the south, the desert in the east and Multan in the north. The fort of Bukkur was, however, not taken till 1736 A.D., three years before the famous invasion of Nadirshah from Persia. Mahomed Shah, the old Emperor of Delhi, handed over all the provinces west of the Indus to the invader. Thus by 1737 A.D. Noor Mahomed was the ruler practically of the whole province of Sind. He slew even Mir Abdullah, the Khan of Kelat.

Afghan control again.

With Aurangzeb's death in 1707, the Moghul power in India dwindled away. On Nadirshah's conquering Delhi and Hindustan, Sind again fell into his hands. He adopted the policy of "divide and rule" by appointing two powers in 1739 : (1) The Daudpotras at Shikarpur for Upper Sind, and (2) Nur Mahomed at Tatta for Lower Sind.

The result was a prolonged period of internal quarrels between external attacks.

**Ibid* p. 6.

A fresh treaty between Nadirshah and Nur Mahomed, by which a large part of the Sind Kingdom was transferred to the Afghan sovereign, reveals the changing geographical features of the region of those times : "I make over to him (Nadir Shah) all the countries to the west of the river Attock, the water of Sind (River Indus) and Nala Sunkra (Sangra), which is a branch of the water of Sind ; that is to say, Peshawar with its territories, the principality of Cabul, Ghaznawi, the mountain residences of the Afghans, the Hazarejat, the Passes with the Castle of Bakhar, Sakhar and Khudabad, the rest of the territories, passes, and abodes of the Jokias, Baloch, etc., with the province of Tatta, the castle of Ram, and the village of Terbin, the towns of Chun (Jun), Samawali (Samawati) and Ketra places dependent on Tatta, all their fields, villages, castles, towns, and ports from the first of the river Attock with all the passes and habitations which the above said water, with its several branches, comprehends and surrounds, as far as the Nala Sankra where it empties into the sea ; in short, all places westward of the river Attock and those parts and westward of the river Sind and Nala Sankra, I have annexed to the dominions of that powerful sovereign. . . .

"The castle and town of Lahri Bandar with all the countries to the east of the river Attock, water of Sind and Nala Sankra shall, as formerly, belong to the empire of Hindostan."*

This was not all. While Nur Mahomed was engaged with the Ladhkanah division on account of Nadirshah's inroads into Sind, his own capital was threatened by the ruler of Dharajah and the Jam of Kakralah of the western frontier. "They brought down ships from the sea to the river and commenced war both by land and by water. The ships came as far as Khat and from there upto Nasarpur. They commenced fighting and plundering on both the sides of the river. But as the guns were soon placed upon the banks and fired by the Sirais, the enemy were driven back."†

After the death of Nadirshah in 1747 A.D., Ahmed Khan Durrani, King of Kandahar, exercised his authority over Sind. He appointed Nur Mahomed under the title of "Shah Nawaz". The result was that the Daudpotras had to finally leave the province in 1747 and settle in what is now known as the Bahawalpur State, established by Bahwalkhan, son of Sadik. Gaining his powers, Nur Mahomed tried to be independent. He did not regularly pay his annual tribute of 12 lakhs of rupees to Kandahar. Ahmed Shah invaded Sind to enforce the tribute and Nur Mahomed had to fly to Jesalmir where he died in 1755 A.D. The results were disastrous for Sind and its solidarity. A number of semi-independent Hindu chiefs rose in Lower Sind e.g., Chief of Wangah (Chachikan district), Jam of Kakrab (between the Indus and Shah Bunder) and Rana of Dharaja (Mirpur Sakrao).

*Fraser's *History of Nadirshah* Ph. 223-226.

†Mirza Kalichbeg *Fredunbeg—Oph cit.* q. 148.

Other Events.

The Hindu influence was silently working in Sind administration all these centuries. Prominent Sindhi Hindus were actually engaged as 'Diwans', though as such, they suffered many indignities. As the professions of military men and merchants were not open to them, they largely assisted the Muslim ruling class in book-keeping, clerical work, etc. About this time, Gidumal became a great favourite of Nur Mahomed, who appointed him as Diwan. He helped, in 1754, his son Mahomed Murad Yar Khan also to succeed to the throne of the Kalhoras as "Sarbuland Khan". He had worked as an intermediary between Nur Mahomed and the conqueror Ahmed Shah before.

Mahomed Murad Yar was soon deposed by the people on account of his bad government and a struggle arose between the two other brothers, Ghulam Shah and Attar Khan. Twice the Kandahar King assisted the latter and twice Ghulam Shah had to escape to Jodhpur. Between two powers at Delhi and Kandahar and between two persons Ghulam Shah and Atur Khan, the condition of Sind could well be imagined. The province was again actually divided between the two brothers, into Lower Sind (from Shahgarh to Naspur) and Upper Sind respectively. Ultimately the gifts secured from the Afghan potentate were the independence of Sind which he sought for, and the fresh title "Shah Virdi Khan."

In 1759 Mian Gulam Shah moved to Kujah, which was a deserted place in the delta. "He ordered all the residents of the part of Oranga to remove to Kujah, which once more became a populous town and which he named Shahgarg. He appointed it as his headquarters and in its vicinity he founded a new fort, calling it Shahbunder. He built a castle and collected all materials of war there."*

Kutch too received Gulam Shah's early attention. He won the battle of Jhara (20 miles N.E. of Lakhpat) and the fort of Sindri was taken in 1763. He is said to have dammed the Puran river (now changed)† and turned a portion of Kutch into a desert and a marsh in 1764-65. The sea ports of Basta and Lakhpat on the Indus were secured and *Nerankot* (modern Hyderabad) was founded.

Map of Sind changes again.

The circumstances, in which Hyderabad came to be the capital town of Sind, are unique. They reveal a most remarkable hydrographical change in the Indus valley about the year 1758-59. How, for example, the old Ren was gradually drying up, how the Phuleli Channel came into being and the river itself shifted for a distance of several miles "close to the western border of the alluvial land," is an interesting story.

**Ibid* p. 158.

†*Jour. Roy. Asia. Soc.* Vol. III, p. 551.

"The shifting of the river's course last century was the most extensive of all the movements of the Indus bed in Sindh, of which there is any record or tradition. The length of main channel abandoned was not less than 100 miles, and may have been much more; while that of the Ren which was necessarily laid dry at the same time was some 70 miles. Whether there was at that time any eastward running branch higher up than the Ren which contained water during the inundation season, it is impossible to say, but if there was, it of course failed too and the consequences in the eastern Delta country must have been very serious. The change was brought about by the stream's taking a sudden curve from its hitherto south-eastern direction to one almost due west at a point nearly in lat. $25^{\circ} 40'$ and long $68^{\circ} 31'$.

"This loss of the Ren stream was in some degree compensated by a new branch, known as the Phuleli, which leaving the main river 10 miles north of Hyderabad runs southward along the eastern side of the low ridge of hills called Ganjo Takar, and crossing the deserted channel of the Indus falls into the old course of the Ren. It must have been owing to the formation of the Phuleli channel that Ghulam Shah first decided to found the new and greater capital which he named Hyderabad (1770)."*

Another change in the course of the river took place in 1786. A more central capital than Tatta in the south, *viz.* Khudabad on the west of Sehvan, was needed. He also defeated the chiefs of Daudpotras in the north and the district around Karachi was taken away from the Brahui people.

Another event of paramount importance for the future of Sind also took place in the reign of Gulam Shah. This was the establishment of a factory at Tatta, the sea port, by the British East India Co. in 1758 A.D. Ghulam Shah died of the curse of a Fakir in 1771 A.D. His successor, Sarfaraz Khan, received a *firman* from the Afghan monarch in 1772 as Khudayar Khan but he committed some blunders. He thought of building a *Sindhi empire* by extending his powers to Katch and Gujrat. When at home the Talpur influence was just allowed to be exercised by the Mir Shahdad Khan and Mir Fateh Ali Talpur, who actually attacked Khudabad.

Abdul Nabi was at first helped by the authorities at Kandahar but he was defeated by Mir Fateh Ali, finally at Halani (Upper Sind). He fled to Sevistan at first, and then to Jodhpur where he died. His descendants now hold a distinguished place at Jodhpur. He it was who expelled the British from the East India Co.'s factory at Tatta in 1775 and murdered Mir Behram Talpur, a Baluch chief, whose clan was invited to Sind by Mian Nur Md. Kalhora, the chief in the army, to settle in the new town of Shahdadpur. The result was that Feroz Khan had to escape and there was confusion in the royal family.

*Haig—*Op. cit.* p. 118—120.

Plight of Sind in 1781—1782. A. D.

“About this time broke out the rebellion of the Talpoories, which ended in the expulsion of the Governor of Sind. In the course of the next year the king (Timour Shah) sent a force under Madad Khan to reduce the insurgents, who soon overran the whole province. The Talpoories retired to their original desert, and the other inhabitants fled to hills and jungles to avoid the Dooranee army. Madad Khan laid waste the country with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign and the province of Sind is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion.” (Elphinstone's *Cabul*). Abudun Nabi could not stand against the vehement attack of the Baluches and gave way. “He plunged into the water of a lake, that was close to the battle-field and made his escape with a few attendants, leaving his friends to shift for themselves. Crossing the lake with some difficulty, he betook himself to the river and putting himself in a boat went to the other side. Then he fled once more straight to the hills.”*

Strong hostilities continued between the Kalhoras and the Baluchis under Fateh Ali Khan Talpur, a cousin of Mir Bizar, son of the murdered chief of Mir Behram. The latter worked their way into the Indus valley from their camp in the desert. Thus the Mirs became more and more powerful in the centre and also prevailed upon the Afghan king Taimur Jamanshah, who “closed the question in Sind by sending a robe of honour, some Arab horses and Sanad appointing him ruler of Sind,” in 1783 A.D. During the time of the Kolhoras both the political and the population centres in Sind were changed.

Settlements of the Kalhoras

So long as the imperial powers at Delhi controlled Sind, Shikarpur in the N. W. flourished, but it was too near the Afghan gateway to be left free with the Daudpotras, who had escaped to Bhawalpur. The Kalhoras themselves had to settle down further south in the new capital Khodabad, at first leaving Larkana to face Shikarpur. The old town of Bukkur was coming into disuse more and more. Hindu influence in the Eastern parts was still extant and such minor towns in the desert as Umerkot and Kakrala continued to be in the hands of minor Sodha kings. Naturally the Kalhora rulers tried to extend their powers southwards and eastwards. The first step towards this object was the foundation of the city of Hyderabad and a mud fort at Makai hills on the old site of Nerankot. From here the control over Cutch and the sea ports was secured. Tatta, the centre of the Kalhora rulers, received an impetus from the European foreigners, but not for a long time. This town being nearer the sea was not much affected by the movements

**Ibid* p. 195.

of power and population in the north. The Hindu element was predominant here. Being born of "soft soil", the natives here excelled in manufacture and even learning and offered only passive resistance to the fighting hillmen, the Baluchis and others, who descended from the hills of Kohistan now and then. As a last resource they destroyed their own settlement and retired. Thus nearly every Kalhora chief chose a new capital town for himself.

A Desert Warfare.

A weak king on the throne of Khudabad meant a renewed attack by a stronger native neighbour and a fresh trial to conquer Sind. Even the rulers of Rajputana tried their luck. No sooner was Sadik Ali Khan placed on the throne than the news came that Bajesing, Raja of Jodhpur, was trying to invade the province, while at the same time the Brohis from Kalat were organising their own attack. But the Kalhoras aided by the Baluchis, decided to meet the Rajput kings in the desert. "They passed the waterless desert easily as they had carried their own supply of water with them, and came to a hilly tower, where they found 100 men armed with golden muskets posted in it. They were Rajas and Chiefs of the Rathor tribes, among whom the most prominent were Bajesing's son and son-in-law. On the ground had assembled an innumerable army, who, when they saw the Baloches, flattered themselves with the belief that the latter had been brought to the place by fate never to return alive.

"Mir Abdullah now prepared an attack and began to array his army. . . . The kettle drums began to beat, the pipes began to play and war cries rose in the air. At first the fight went on with guns, subsequently swords were brought in use. A very severe battle ensued. At last Mir Fateh Ali Khan gained the upper hand on his side and the Rajputs were put to flight. Soon they were followed by others and a general route ensued. In a short time the field was clear of the enemy, who disappeared leaving a large number of Hindus dead and wounded together with their heavy baggage. Valuable booty fell into the hands of the victorious Balochis, tents, carpets, guns, elephants, camels, etc. The solid golden armlets alone, removed from the arms of the dead, were enough to cheer the hearts of the Baloch conquerors."*

Irrigation Works of Kalhoras

The Kalhoras were the greatest canal builders in Sind. For their great perseverance in the industry of agriculture they were well-known. They acquired land from religious mendicants and turned themselves into big Zamindars. Mian Nur Mahomed Khan Kalhora especially introduced much irrigation in Upper Sind, where his power was first established. He it was who built the Ghar system of canals in Sind, viz., the Nur Wah

* *Ibid* p. 182.

(10 miles), Shah ji Kur (20 miles), Date ji Kur (20 miles), the first forming the principal branch of the Begari, while the other two are now replaced by the Warah and other branches in the Barrage system of canals. The Dato canal was used also as a means of communication between Larkana and Shahdadt. Even on the left bank of the Indus the Kalhoras cut new canals, e.g., the Nasrat Wah (Naushahro division), the Murad, the Bag and the Phiroz branches of the Naulakhi canal, which are now absorbed by the great Rohri canal of to-day. Though they turned large desert tracts into fertile fields, they were not great engineers, however; their canals were not quite graded or regulated and they followed the old courses of the parent river such as the Dhoroes and the fresh-water lakes called the Dhands. But the mileage amounted to thousands and since these rulers of Sind were more or less absolute rulers, they managed the systems of irrigation more efficiently than their successors, the Talpurs, who were more fond of Shikar than canal administration.*

7. The Talpurs (1783 A.D.—1843 A.D.)

The rule of the Talpur began in 1783 A.D. triumphantly by Mir Fateh Ali Shah at the newly established and more central home of Hyderabad. They had in them the Arab as well as Baluch blood, and being all hillmen, they were vigorous, resolute and go-ahead. The Iranian influence was continued in Sind through these people. Fateh Ali's own grand-father belonged to the Kalhora military department, and so the Talpurs were thus connected with the previous dynasty.

Difficulties of Administration in Sind.

King after king endeavoured to unify the province but would the nature of the country allow such a unity? The deltaic lands were expanding, and new ports were developing with their growth. After the Moghul decline at Delhi, the Afghan king would still like to overlord Sind. One man tried to uproot another from power at home and all external control was only nominal. The king's army, whoever he was, was mere mercenary and the whole system of government was feudatory. At times it was despotic feudalism. At the same time the ryots, largely subjugated converts to Islam, having still a pride of their ancestry, were groaning under the tyranny of the Zamindars. Land was fertile but the supply of water was irregular, insufficient at one time or season, and extraordinary at another. New cities had to be established in accordance with the needs of the times while old inland towns, such as Tatta, were getting slowly depopulated. Mir Fateh Ali Khan prepared to settle down in the fort of Hyderabad with his other brothers. To be on the safe side, he also got two more forts, Fatehgarh and Islamgarh, built in the Thar, though against the wish of the neighbouring kings. Now that the Mir had become the sole ruler of Sind, he demanded the division watered by Kurs or mountain streams from the Khan of Kalat.

*Lambrick H. T.—"Early Canal Administration in Sind" *Jour. Sind. Hist. Soc.* Vol. III Pt. I pp. 14-15.

Taimur Shah died at the headquarters and was succeeded by Zaman Shah, who settled the affairs satisfactorily for the Mir and gave him a fresh *sanad*. But soon he committed the blunder of dividing Sind into seven parts, three parts for himself with Hyderabad as the centre, two for his brother Sohrab Khan with Khairpur as the capital, one share for his other brother to reside at Mirpur and one share he kept for his own relations. Soon was Sohrab Khan incited to deal directly with the Afghan king and not through his elder brother, while from the south sea-faring people were trying to work their way up the Indus.

Before Fateh Ali Khan died in 1802, he had allowed a British commercial mission in Sind. "Mr. Nathan Crowe of the Bombay Civil Service was sent to Sind to conduct the mercantile and political interests of the British Government with the Talpur Mirs, but like the former attempt, it ended in an unsatisfactory manner. The British agent resided at times at Tatta, Shahbunder and Karachi, where he had to endure various petty indignities till at last he received a peremptory order from the Mirs to quit the country within ten days and this he thought it best to obey." (Sind Gazetteer 1799).

Coming events cast their shadows.

A patricidal war was inevitable with divisions in the ownership of Sind after this Mir's death. At the same time great events were taking place outside the province.

Shuja-ul-mulk, who succeeded his brother Zaman Shah on the throne of Kabul, did not receive any Sind tribute regularly and he invaded Sind in 1803: "The people of the province were so frightened that most of them deserted their towns and villages fleeing to the sandy desert of Thar." But the Talpur brothers came to terms and a tribute of 10 lakhs of rupees was arranged for there and then, and one of 5 lakhs was settled as an annual one.

Shikarpur, lying on the Bolan Pass—Iran route was growing in importance. Through it the Bania merchants were establishing their agencies in Central Asia. It was at the same time, the last post of the Afghans.

The Khan of Kalat got into matrimonial alliances with the Mirs. But the Mir's army had yet to invade the Bahawalpur territory to settle a religious dispute at Uchh.

A terrible famine visited Kachh and "the people of the country flocked to Sind in large numbers, selling their children for Rs. 3 or 4 per child. Corn became a great scarcity in Sind, Juwari and Bajri selling for 6 seers per Korah rupee. Mir Gulam Ali Khan distributed heaps of corn in charity among the poor famine-stricken people."* Afterwards

*Mirza Kalichbeg—*Op cit* p. 211.

on an appeal being made by the Rao of Kachh through the British Government, the Kachh children were returned by the Mir.

The next ruler Mir Karim Ali Khan, being very fond of art, science, literature, commerce, etc., "many good sword makers as well as good writers, painters, besides men of art and science, came from Persia and Khurasan to live in the town of Haiderabad."*

A Commercial Treaty with the British.

Mir Karam Ali Khan also contracted friendship with the Iranian king Fateh Ali Shah Kajar and made a commercial treaty with the British Government; as a result of this, free communication was started between Sind and Bombay (1812). Among the exact terms of the Skeene Treaty there were the following:

- "(1) That no European should employ any native in service.
- (2) That the officer coming to take the survey of the Indus river should not be prohibited from or hindered in doing his work.
- (3) That any person coming through Kachh, with articles of trade, bearing a pass from the Governor of Bombay, should be free from any tax or toll."†

About this time, Shuja-ul-Mulk was dethroned at Kabul and came to live at Jacobabad at first and then at Hyderabad as a fugitive. Later on, Shikarpur was given to him by the Mir as a revenue to live upon.

Punjab's attack on Sind Again.

But the greatest event of the reign was a projected attack on Sind by Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, who was coming into prominence (1817). The Mirs offered a united resistance to his progress at Shikarpur, but the attempt ultimately turned out to be a friendly overture. Thus during the reign of this Talpur Mir, there were many bonds of friendship created between Sind and the neighbouring powers, and the province flourished. The mission of Dr. Burnes cemented the bonds of friendship particularly between Sind and the British (1824). During the succeeding reign all the happy relations with Sind's neighbours were continued and at their capital town, "gold coins (*Ashrafis*) were actually struck at the Hyderabad mint for the first time."

This peaceful prosperity, was, however, not to continue long in the province which was again divided between the Baluch chiefs of the Talpur dynasty,—small states under minor and more or less independent

**Ibid* p. 213.

†*Ibid* pp. 214—215.

chiefs but with no stalwart to control them all from the centre. Mir Nur Ma omed Khan had to try and drive away Shuja-ul-Mulk from Shikarpur where he had assumed independence. The British demand for allowing their troops to pass through Sind up the river Indus on their way to Kabul in favour of Shuja-ul-Mulk and against Dost Mahomed, had to be opposed. Napoleon Bonaparte had been intriguing with Iran and there were clear signs of a Russian menace on Afghanistan. Ranjit Singh had become aggressive already and taken away a portion of the Afghanistan territories in Kashmir and the upper Indus valley. But the Mirs were too weak to declare war against the British. On the latter's taking the fort of Manora and the town of Karachi by attack from the sea, the party came to terms and a treaty was signed, whereby the Mirs had to supply provisions and beasts of burden to the British at reasonable rates or on hire, to pay an indemnity of 23 lakhs of rupees and a tribute of 3 lakhs of rupees annually and a British force was to be posted at Karachi. After this the British troops sailed through the Indus *via* Kotri and Chhipri to Khurasan. General Sir John Keane actually reinstated Shuja-ul-Mulk on the throne of Kabul and returning to Bombay again, passed through Sind *via* Hyderabad.

But these foreigners were not to remain content with the former arrangements and under the new aspiring Resident of Sind, Sir Charles Napier, they demanded a fresh treaty in 1843, of which the terms included:—

- “(1) The coin of Sind should bear the name of the king of England on one side,
- (2) the Mirs should cede to the British Government, Karachi, Shikarpur, Sabzalkot, Umarkot and all the land attached to these towns,
- (3) a slip of land 100 yards in width along both the banks of the river be given to the British Government.”*

This was impossible on the part of the Talpur Mirs, and the situation became at once estranged. There was, besides, no union among the Mirs themselves and a final war was inevitable.

Sind a Geographical Necessity for the British

The British themselves saw the position and potentialities of Sind and the Sindhu river and at once worked out the destiny of the province. Sind was a natural geographical necessity for the British inroads on Kandahar in Afghanistan. The artery of the Indus was the only passage of the British to Kandahar and the Mirs had to yield to them. Their gateway was the then flourishing sea port of Ghorabari, and their road

**Ibid* P. 228.

to its conquest was the river, the life and soul of Sind. They decided the fate of the Mirs at the battle of Mianee on the Fuleli in 1843 A.D.

The following description of the battle shows how the geographical situation of Miani helped the British to win it :—

“Having ascertained that the Ameers were in position at Miani (ten miles distance from Hala, and 6 miles from Hyderabad), and well knowing that a delay for reinforcements would both strengthen their confidence and add to their numbers, already seven times that which I commanded, I resolved to attack them and we marched at 4 a.m. on the morning of the 17th February, 1843. The enemy were strongly posted; woods were on their flanks which I did not think could be turned. These two woods were joined by the dry bed of the river Fulaillee, which had a high bank. The bed of the river was nearly straight and about 1,200 yards in length. Behind this and in both woods were the enemy posted. In front of their extreme right and on the edge of the wood was a village.

“Having made the best examination of their position, which so short a time permitted, the artillery was posted on the right of the line, and some skirmishers of infantry, with the Scinde irregular horse, were sent in front, to try and make the enemy show his force more distinctly; we then advanced from the right in echelon of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village. The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing, and the Poona Horse, together with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. In this order of battle we advanced as at a review across a fine plain swept by the cannon of the enemy. The artillery and Her Majesty's 22 regiment in line formed the leading echelon, the 25th Native Infantry, the second, the 12th Native Infantry, the third, and the 1st Grenadier Native Infantry, the fourth. The enemy were 1,000 yards from our line, which soon traversed the intervening space. Our fire of musketry opened at about 100 yards from the bank, in reply to that of the enemy and in a few minutes the engagement became general along the bank of the river on which the combatants fought, for about three hours or more, with great fury, man to man. Then, My Lord, the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield and matchlock. The brave Balooches first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the banks with desperate resolution, but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet. At one time, My Lord, the courage and numbers of the enemy against the 22nd, the 25th and the 12th Regiment bore heavily in that part of the battle. There was no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line. This order was very gallantly executed by the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the Scinde Horse.

“The loss of the British force is 256 men killed and wounded. The enemy is generally supposed to have lost 5,000.

"I ought to have observed that I had the night before the action detached Major Outram in the steamers with 200 sepoys to set fire to the wood in which we understood the enemy's left flank was posted. However the enemy had moved about eight miles to their right during the night."*

Condition of Sind Canals under the British.

The Talpurs did not pay huge tributes to Kandahar regularly, though they were reaping the fruits of the Kalhora systems of canal irrigation all the time. They were luxury-loving and, therefore, negligent of administration. The canals, in their time, largely deteriorated, until the British took over the charge. In the Khairpur State, however, canal construction continued, and some of the large canals, *e.g.*, the Mir Wah, were constructed.† After the conquest, the British extended the system, though very slowly at first. The British engineers made scientific surveys and improvements in the canals. They simplified the whole system by straightening them, assured regular supplies to cultivators and converted desert lands into cultivable areas. The Jacob-Frere heritage of inundation canals to the Sind Public Works Department is really great. Then at last, the climax of irrigation in Sind reached in 1932 when the Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage, the largest irrigation system in the world, was opened. Even now the Barrage area is limited, as nearly half of the eight districts are outside the Barrage zone, *viz.*, the whole of the Karachi district, the southern half of the Hyderabad district, and large parts of the Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier districts. These have yet to depend upon an awkward river and its irregular inundations every year. The Sukkur Barrage itself, however, is proved to be a great success within the short period of five years. (See the Author's *A Geographical Analysis of the Lower Indus Basin (Sind): Part II, Natural Vegetation, Irrigation and Agriculture, Karachi 1937*).

British Port and Capital.

Karachi, a mere fishing village, has grown to be a great port and the capital of British Sind since the conquest of 1843.

Summary and Conclusion.

Surrounded largely by lands of barrenness and desolation and possessing a fertile river valley, Sind has played its part worthily from the earliest days of human civilisation. Being an antechamber for a larger plain of prosperity beyond, it gave *enough* life and impetus to those races, which entered it and then passed on to India. Their influence, then, reached far and wide *e.g.*, Easter Islands. Life could be lived on easier terms in this region than in the surrounding areas. This prosperity, for the time

*Extract from the Blue Book of the Parliament, 'The Sind Correspondence' Sir C. Napier to the Governor General, Miani.

†See the author's 'A Geographical analysis of the Khairpur State', *Jour. Sind. Hist. Soc.* Vol. I. Pt. 4. pp. 44 ff

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being, made the valley unsafe and even the people were not prepared to repel foreign attacks on this eastern El Dorado but to receive them unmindful of any less. Access to the valley was possible, though difficult and shelter given by it real, though not permanent. In this respect, it has differed greatly from other valleys such as the Euphrates, Tigris, which continually subjugated foreign neighbours and succeeded in building up their empires. Not so the lower Indus valley. It was hard to preserve Sind itself in tact.

Like India proper, Sind, too, had no political unity of its own, inspite of its mountain barrier in the west and the desert in the east. Even a powerful foreign race, as the Baluches, could not unify the land, but their kingdom was broken up into several principalities, which even against a common danger, such as the British, did not well coalesce and offer a united stand. It was the last attempt of an Asiatic government over Asiatics, land people controlling land people.

The control of the sea board has made it possible for the present seafaring rulers, to recover its much needed peace and its finances. Throughout these eleven centuries and more we have found Sind struggling for its very existence, for its self-assertion and political evolution. There was no continuous rule of one tribe or one people, no long and sustained peace to secure. Peace was hard to procure in a region like this. It was the government of different tribes, which came into power one after another by chance. But their influence abode for long e. g. Moghul architecture at Tatta.

This long course of Sind's history, which we have so rapidly surveyed, can be better divided into three periods instead of the different dynasties ;

- (1) Period of a resettlement of affairs at home, of carving out native kingdoms and sub-kingdoms after a haphazard foreign conquest. e. g. Bakkar till the last was more or less detached.
- (2) Period of empire-building, at first, by the natives as far as Kashmir and then by foreign rulers *viz.*, Arabs, Afghans, Mughals, Baluches and others who tried to subjugate Sind and exact tribute; or when the foreigners became weak, the local rulers became strong and tried to conquer neighbouring lands, Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat, but failed.
- (3) Period of a struggle for separation and independence.

Sind was not an easy country to achieve all that. It was not a uniformly habitable or cultivable tract, but had patches of desert land, pools of shallow water or swamps or barren Kohistan here and there. It had no great lines of communication, no easy contacts of all its parts with the capital town, no uniform climate throughout the province and no regular distribution of water supply. Floods or droughts were its cha-

racteristi. It had three or four important political centres co'nciding with the chief physiographic divisions, on which the central government had constantly to rely, but which often failed to give succour or shelter to the ruling prince—Bukkar, Sehvan, Umerkot and Tatta, at first, and Shikarpur, Khudabad, Hyderabad and Karachi later on, all near and yet far enough for Sind. The capital towns had to be shifted from north to south and south to north, as the occasions demanded. When a tribe had to hide itself from another more powerful one, which had occupied the central Indus valley, it sought the desert and the secluded parts of Sind for its existence and self preservation. They too sought opportunities to rule again by chance. With the changes in the main artery of the river Indus, settlements had to be shifted, with the growth of the delta new ports had to be established and old but rich towns had to be set aside. Battles were hard to fight on land, in the rivers or in the desert. The desert had its geographical value changed from time to time,—it gave shelter to the weaker tribes driven away from the main valley or to fugitive kings both Sindhi and Indian, or was completely deserted for a time.

Whenever the geographical factor of a powerful human personality was procurable and leadership was sought in him, peace was restored for a time and critical situations were saved. But he, too, was at the mercy of the mercenary armies, which was a constant feature of Sind's political history. A powerful general of the State army invariably succeeded the king and a whole dynasty was changed.

Sind was at the mercy also of the neighbouring lands—Afghanistan, Kalat, Delhi, Rajputana and Cutch, the rulers of which made occasional inroads into this province, exacted tribute and retired. The Moghus at Delhi, being nearer and in the upper Indus basin, were the most successful invaders of all, *downstream*; but they, too, at first left their own governors behind or accepted native ones whenever outsiders could not be tolerated. What Kandahar was chiefly concerned with was the annual tribute. When the Moghul empire came to an end, Afghanistan once again tried to vanquish Sind and to exact tribute from the *rulers*, who were no better than Zamindar princes or farmers-general. The land was no doubt fertile and even the Arab geographers waxed eloquent on the Mihran and its tributaries. Prosperity in Sind meant ultimate stagnation and indifference to any outside attacks. The history of Sind is full of patricidal wars, civil wars, revolts and foreign invasions. It took Sind to recover from such shocks always a long time. There was no prolonged peace and hence there was no great architecture or even art developed. Everything was like the shifting sand-hills. The rulers as well as the ruled indulged in poetry, philosophy and music and neglected the State.

The destiny of Sind was largely linked with Iran, Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and although the Sind coast was uninviting and Sind climate unsuitable to foreigners, it was to vanquish the Amir of Kabul, that the British subjugated Sind by trying to fight an inland "naval" battle.

Sind is destined to be a *separate province* physically as well as politically. A strong and supreme government is needed to rule it from its centre. Minority communities in such a region are bound to be strong. There is also a likelihood of mingling of ideals, of cultures and religions, in such a land.

Despite the great river, the most ancient canal system and rich soil, which got more and more enriched by its own silt every season, the State was not exceedingly rich in the past. The revenue was not therefore very great. Even the Arab conquerors of Hindu Sind were not able to secure much ; it was hardly sufficient to maintain themselves. It required a central and organised irrigation system with strict laws of canal distribution of water throughout the valley. Then Sind would easily come into its own and bloom like a rose. With the recent separation of Sind from the shackles of the Bombay Presidency, with the more or less perfect system of perennial irrigation system of the Sukkur Barrage and with the introduction of provincial autonomy, Sind is expected to see better days. This is a lesson, which an impartial survey of Sind's history and its co-ordination with the regional geography of its past, can teach.

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APPRECIATION

Mr. Pithawala's devotion to his work and earnestness to advance our knowledge of the Province of Sind is deserving of all praise, and he has carefully followed up every line of investigation.....

....has performed a *most useful service to Indian Geography* in publishing his pioneer study of the Khairpur State and it is greatly to be hoped that this little volume will be followed by others planned on similar lines. The importance of having the geography of a country, written from the view point of those to whom it is the home-land is obvious and I am glad to find Mr. Pithawala's studies in this University bearing fruit in this particular direction.—PROF. E. G. R. TAYLOR D.Sc. (Lond.), F.R.C.S., University of London.

I appreciate the contribution you have made by assembling a mass of *valuable material* in one place.—PROF. ALAN G. OGILVIE, M.A., O.B.E., University of Edinburgh.

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Your books, if necessary will prove that you are a better Sindhi than many others.—PRINCIPAL G. N. GOKHALE, B.Sc., L.C.E., I.S.E., (Retd.), T.S., Benares.

You have brought out a very useful series of papers on *Sind*, the value of which, I am sure, will be recognised in course of time.—PROF. D. N. WADIA, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

I have read through Part III (Climatic Conditions) from beginning to end and I congratulate you on the publication. It has a mass of *very useful* information and it represents immense amount of careful abstraction of data from all the different sources.—C. G. HAWES, M.C., B.Sc. (Lond.), A.C.G.I., P.W.D., Sind.

I have just glanced through it ("Climatic Conditions") and I think it will be interesting in a detailed perusal.—V. V. SOHONI, B.A. (Hons.), M.Sc., Meteorologist, Karachi.

It is really most interesting and instructive like all your publications, which show what an amount of very valuable time you must have devoted to the collection of mass of information from various sources and in presenting the same in such *lucid, interesting and readable form*—KHAN BAHADUR J. R. COLABAWALA, M.I.E., (Ind.), M.S.E., (Lond.), State Engineer, Khairpur State.

I can boldly congratulate you on having set an *excellent model of regional studies*, which others will follow for their home region.—N. SUBRAHMANYAM, M.A., L.T., F.R.G.S., Lecturer in Geography, Teachers' College, Saidapet (Mad.)

Mr. M. B. Pithawala is continuing his researches in the geography of Sind, and has recently published the first two parts of "A Geographical analysis of the lower Indus basin (Sind)." These monographs are a *comprehensive attempt* to apply modern methods of regional survey to an Indian province in order that its individual problems may be approached with a sound understanding of their physical basis. It is natural that an inhabitant of the Indus valley, which owes so much to the existence of the river and many of its difficulties to its divagations, should be impressed with the weight of geographical factors in history.....

Mr. Pithawala's work, and the literature he quotes, are evidence that the problems of Sind are *receiving due attention*.—"THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL", LONDON, Vol. XC, No. 3, September, 1937.

* * * *

Professor Pithawala is to be heartily congratulated on having struck a new field in his publications of great interest and written scientifically after a good deal of research. His books are of *immense value* to all interested in geographical factors in India in general and in Sind in particular and they cannot but appeal to research workers and intelligent laymen alike. Few Indians have done, so far, such research work in geography and physiography as the author, who deserves felicitations on his valuable work, which should receive a warm welcome.—"THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW." November 1937.

* * * *

We have much pleasure in welcoming *the first systematic attempt* at a full geographical analysis of a region in India. It is hoped that the publication of this book will induce others qualified to do so to analyse and work the detailed geography of their home regions in a similar scientific way.—"THE JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION" Vol. 12, No. 3, October 1937.

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No other region in India has ever been subjected to such a close study as the Indus basin, and no research worker has ever done it in as *scholarly a manner* as Mr. Pithawalla, who is undoubtedly an *eminently suitable man* to undertake such a laborious task. The publication is therefore unique.—"NEW BOOK DIGEST," BOMBAY, Vol. 2, No. 6, December 1937.

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The work is, on the whole, *thoroughly done* and is the first of its type on an Indian province.—"CALCUTTA GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW" Vol. I No. 2, 1937.

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