







AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORICAL ATLAS







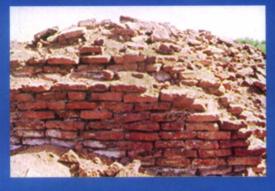
OF SINDH















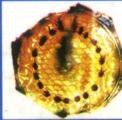










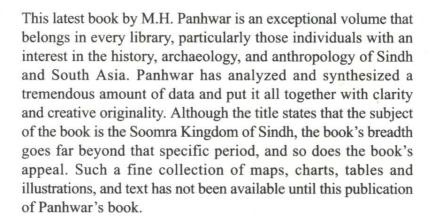


SOOMRA NATIONAL COUNCIL - PAKISTAN

EXPERT'S OPINION ON BOOK

Dr. (Professor) Louis Flam

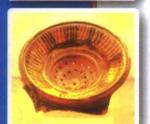
Department of Anthropology Lehman College. The City University of New York



Almost all the maps are originals created by Panhwar from his vast first hand knowledge of the region and its history; this kind of resource is not available anywhere else in the literature on Sindh and South Asia. In addition, Panhwar makes the strongest case to date that Sindhi culture has its origins in the ancient culture of Mohen jo Daro and the Indus Civilization of the third millennium B.C., a tradition that continues to the present day. This wide-ranging encyclopedic work also has an excellent Table of Contents and Index to help guide the reader through the maps, charts, tables and illustrations found in the text. A reader cannot ask for a more complete and superb volume.

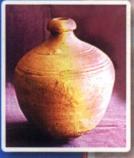
As anticipated by Illahi Bukhsh Soomro in his 'Foreword' to the book, all readers will look forward to M.H. Panhwar's next books, "An Illustrated Atlas of Sindh," and "An Illustrated History of Sindh." In this present volume on the Soomro Kingdom, as well as in his former books, M.H. Panhwar has established himself not only as an accomplished engineer, but as a scholar of archaeology, history, and anthropology. With the beautiful and heart-warming dedication of this book to his angelic wife Farzana, M.H. Panhwar also establishes himself as a poet.







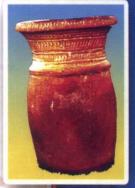
















AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORICAL ATLAS OF SOOMRA KINGDOM OF SINDH

(1011-1351 AD)

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORICAL ATLAS OF SOOMRA KINGDOM OF SINDH

(1011-1351 AD)

Ву

M.H. PANHWAR

(SITARAE IMTIAZ)



SOOMRA NATIONAL COUNCIL-PAKISTAN

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DEDICATION JO FARZANA

By mother died when I was eight. She look me wherever she went. I sat in the house-busy, playing sketching earding, without disturbing her the least. But her fixesence was soothing.

For nearly half a century. I searched her in Other women.

At times it was eastacy and pleasure.

But it lacked peace, feeling of a chievement and inner satisfaction.

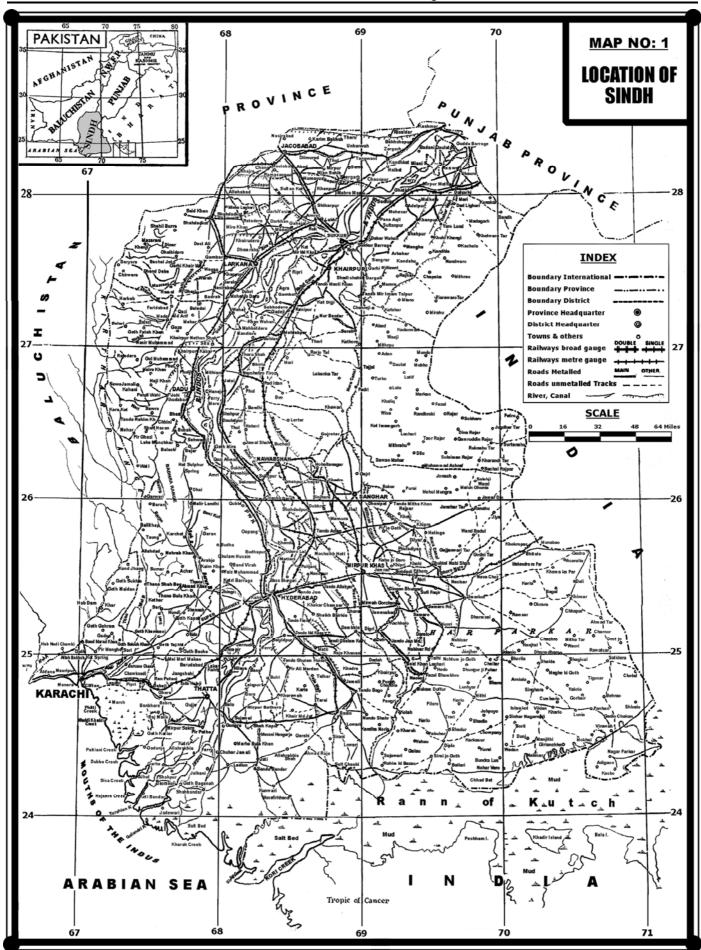
After meeting Farzanar, I have keg gined former and satisfaction and their shed her presence, wherever I am and she ke ciprocates all the Lime.

In her company, during the past two decades, I have contributed more than in the last of my life.

I have Realised and attained furfrese of life, in which her Researches in many Scientific fields, have supported and Supplimented my effects.

The death instinct has not yet over-powered me, but ultimately when it does, I will depart in peace with gratifude to her.

M. J. Bankorsk 19.11. 2002



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ABBREVIATIONS

BM	Banbhore Museum, Banbhore	NM	National Museum, Karachi
CDS	Chronological Dictionary of Sindh	OUP	Oxford University Press
DGA	Director General Archaeology	PEW	Purnell's Encyclopaedia of World History 1977
Dia	Diameter	SM	Sindh Museum, Hyderabad
ELA	Reader's Digest "Every day Life through Ages."	SN	Sindhology Museum, Jamshoro
Н	Height	T	Thickness
L	Length	TWH	Times the World illustrated History
LM	Lar Museum, Badin	US	Umer Soomro
M	Maximum	W	Width
MHP	M.H. Panhwar, Author		

FOREWORD

have pleasure and honour to introduce this book of Muhammad Hussain Panhwar, my classmate in the NED Engineering College and friend for the past six decades. This book, as presented, is much beyond the history of Soomras and is essentially a history and culture of people of Sindh from eleventh to fourteenth centuries.

In the classical histories of sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Soomra period is limited to less than one page. To reconstruct the history of three-and-half centuries of their rule has become a problem to conventional historians, who at the best have called it "A dark period of Sindh's history".

The author, an engineer, has used different scientific methods to build the history. Firstly, he has investigated and listed the Soomra period settlements now in ruins and surface collection of all kinds of articles from there, now in five museums of Sindh at Karachi, Jamshoro, Hyderabad, Banbhore and Badin. Next, he has examined material found from Banbhore and Mansura, both cities destroyed during the Soomra rule. All these collections, mostly of terracotta, have given him some plain and decorative geometrical patterns stamped or die cast on them. In addition to these, limited ornaments of metallic and stone or both materials are also available. There also are some stone objects plain or decorated for various uses. In general these objects throw some light on day-to-day life and were awaiting investigation. He traces their designs back to those on Buddhist stupas of Sindh and beyond to Mohenjo Daro, compares these with designs of contemporary and earlier ornaments of neighbouring Indian states and finds similarities with them. This gives him clues to arts, crafts and some fashions of the period.

He uses a unique study of climates of the past and finds that it was period of "Climatic Optimum" world over, therefore more rainfall, more snow melt, more water in the Indus, more canals running for longer period, more cultivated land and more production and therefore more economic activity and well-being of the people.

He uses aerial photographs to build river courses and three major changes in them, which led to shifting of capitals from Mansura to Tharri, Shah Kapoor and Thatta respectively in three centuries - the important finding that removes guesswork on Soomra capitals. He also uses the courses of the River Indus to reflect on irrigation system. So many Nars (Persian wheels) were used in Sindh on canals to lift water during eleventh to fourteenth centuries that Arabs called them "Sindhi wheels". The word Persian wheel was coined by the Europeans, who first saw them in Persia (Iran) and we know that in that country and the central Asia lift or surface irrigation was very limited. The author concludes that Persian wheels and Bokas were leading mechanical devices in Sindh during the era and no country in the world could match Sindh. He mentions crops, fruits and vegetables grown in Sindh. These include poppy, which was used to manufacture marijuana, basing it on finding of highly decorated Sulfis (smoking pipes) with carbon deposits. They could only be used for this purpose as tobacco was not yet known in the old world until brought by the Spanish and Portuguese from Americas in the sixteenth century, after the latter's discovery in 1492 AD.

Examining drawings of a fort and palace at Khirun Kot and Shah Kapoor respectively, by Mr Umer Soomro the publisher, he confirms methods of construction, defence and house construction.

Archaeology has given him clue to existence of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in Sindh side by side until the end of thirteenth century and at Sudheranjo Daro up to 1351 AD or afterwards. He has therefore examined all the three religions and found that even snake worship was in vogue during the era for which he has been able to collect some brass dies. The book of Devala (Dewana of Muslims?) composed as guide line to face the onslaught of Islam by Hindus, created

tolerance and respect between the two communities for the next one thousand years and it is not surprising that both Hindus and Muslims developed reverence for common shrines of Qalandar Shahbaz, Odero Lal, Pir Patho, Zindah Pir and Manghopir, etc.

To build up political history he uses Sindh's contacts with Ghaznavids, Mongols, Abbasid, Fatmid Khilafats, Kutch and Delhi Sultanate. Soomras could maintain independence so long as both Middle Eastern (Abbasids and Fatmids) and Indian (Delhi Sultanate) empires were too weak to capture Sindh and as soon as any of them became strong it subjugated Sindh.

Local and international trade was mostly in agricultural commodities in which Sindh due to "Climatic Optimum" was surplus during the era. Availability of sufficient food and less involvement in wars led to internal security and therefore less law and order problems and internal uprisings against the government were seen.

An interesting part of this book pertains to social life in Sindh like marriage and love lives, position of women, the first women ruler of Sindh, polygamy, seclusion of women or Purdah, Sati, women's property rights, dresses and fashions, ornaments, food and drink, children's toys, entertainments, house-hold furniture, sports and amusements, etc. These are built either from historical records or traditions.

For arts and crafts he depends solely on objects from various Soomra sites. Analysis gives him a highly developed die cast art in burnt clay, which decayed during the five centuries due to use of stone and glazed tiles for interior and exterior decoration by Arghoons, Tarkhans, Mughals, Kalhoras and Talpurs. Two pieces of cloths dating to twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Gujarat show similarities with Ajrak and Loongi of Sindh and many have originated from here. Three brass pieces of Kajal holders found from Soomra ruins are highly decorated as compared to the one found from Mohenjo Daro. Lastly, he gives some Sindhi scripts of the era and two Sindhi scripts written one hundred years after their downfall in Devnagri and proto-Devnagri from books now in British Museum.

The author mentions a large number of Persian and Arabic books written outside Sindh during

contemporary period and these have reflections on Sindh. They need to be studied and more information on Sindh collected as he has done for Ibn Battutta, even located the ruins of a beautiful Soomra town Junani in Warah taluka and has traced his route of travel on a map.

The book is highly illustrated with seventy maps and six-hundred-fifty-four illustrations. You are invited to see history with your own eyes rather than elaborate descriptions and yet not being able to visualize exactly. So for no such illustrated book and atlas is said to have been produced in South Asia. Although illustrations are common for high school texts, this is a very advanced history, which makes use of actual objects discovered from Soomra sites and those in turn are used to understand history. I believe that these maps and illustrations will make it possible to further interpret Sindh's history and that more objects will be collected. I encourage that some sites be explored, some excavated and others discovered to throw new lights on the history of people of Sindh in mediaeval times. The book should not be considered a final work. It may be considered a beginning of new methods to carry out research on the past of Sindh. Any shortcomings in this first ever attempt should be overlooked in the very spirit, in which this first attempt is made to treat history of Sindh as a social science.

In the end I have the pleasure in stating that the book is "An Illustrated History and Culture of People of Sindh from 1011-1351 AD", rather then only a history of Soomra Kingdom. I also wish that the author's two other books; "An Illustrated Atlas of Sindh" and "An Illustrated History of Sindh" are published at an early date to open up new techniques in research on history of Sindh.

ILLAHI BUKHSH SOOMRO

EX-SPEAKER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY 232, RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN ROAD, NEAR MEHRAN HOTEL, KARACHI. 4TH AUGUST, 2002

PREFACE

OOMRA National Council - Pakistan decided to produce an authentic history of Soomra dynasty. For the purpose I consulted many scholars. I knew that Dr Mahar Abdul Haq Sumra, for his book 'The Soomras', had depended heavily on Mr M.H. Panhwar's writings and personal letters. On inquiry Mian Mumtaz Sumra, former general secretary of upper Sindh Soomra Association at Multan, a friend of the late Dr Mahar Abdul Haq Sumra and himself a scholar, told me that Mr Panhwar is a scholar of the level of Haig, Raverty and Lambrick, who will not mince words or be influenced by others, except new research, based on which he will revise his previous opinions, as he is neither dogmatic nor affected by tribalism, nationality or religious bias and could be highly trust-worthy. On further inquiry I came to know that he is Sindhologist by hobby, agriculturist by ancestral occupation and an engineer by profession. As an agriculturist, an American horticulturist, after fourteen years stay in Pakistan, wrote that engineer M.H. Panhwar has been reincarnated horticulturist. As an engineer he is an expert on irrigation, drainage and ground water, is running a consulting company and paying full attention to all fields involved. As a Sindhologist he has published a dozen books and more than one hundred articles on Sindh.

With an open mind he accepted my request to write something on Soomra dynasty, but on the condition that his text will not be altered unless new facts, unknown to him, are presented, and any additional material will be incorporated if it is new or unknown to the author. He stuck to his word and readily changed the text up to the time of printing when new facts were discussed. For me it became a highly exciting experience to meet him and discuss the matter. He is known to work for long hours, but for me he would happily and willingly sit down till mid-night. For the past three years, in every meeting, he would

reveal things not previously known to me and my friends.

In various meetings I took notes, which in his own words are briefed below:

" To write the history of any period of Sindh following fields have to be tapped: archaeology, documents, travellers' historical geography, anthropology, epigraphy, numismatics, coins and currency, geography, geology, climate, ecology, folklore, irrigation, livestock, fisheries, art, cities, towns, settlements, housing, roads, routes. communications, architecture, education, science and technology, local and international trade, export and import, economy, taxation, religion and mysticism, role of the River Indus in the economy and boat traffic, changing courses of the Indus, migrations, languages, literature, official languages, division of labour, empires in India and Central Asia and other international forces. relations with neighbouring states, entertainments, social life, day-to-day living and interior furnishings and decorations, clothing, castes and tribes, family relations, histories of neighbouring states and administration, etc. All these fields are untapped, specially the archaeological sites. There are at least one hundred major archaeological settlements of Soomra period, which not only lay unexplored, but are allowed to be levelled up for agriculture, road construction, graveyards and new settlements. Pakistan government's archaeologists have been looking for Islamic sites and by Islamic period they mean only Arabs, Delhi Sultans and Mughal monuments. To them more than 500-year rule of local Muslim Soomra-Samma dynasties is second rate Islamic era and therefore not even worth mentioning. Brahmanabad-Mansura city was the capital of Soomras when looted and burnt by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1025/26 AD, but they

will not admit it, though evidence of large-scale massacre and burning of city had been established by Belasis and Cousens. They even, will not mention that it was a town, which existed for more than one thousand years as Brahmanabad and Arabs had renamed it as Mansura. They will not accept that Damascus-Baghdad ruled from there only for about one-and-quarter century and local and naturalized Arab Sindhis ruled it for nearly one-hundred-and-sixty years before Soomras. Had they said it honestly during the role of dictator like Zia-ul-Haq, they could have been easily sacked. They allow foreign archaeological missions to excavate the mature Indus, early Indus and pre-Indus cities, but not Buddhist period sites in Sindh, which survived from about 100-1300 AD and finally came to an end by abandoning them, as all Buddhists of Sindh were converted either to Islam or Hinduism and some of the settlements came to an end due to changing courses of the River Indus."

- "Archaeology is extremely useful source as archaeologists dig people rather than materials, but only two sites have been explored. Mansura was destroyed in 1026 AD, fifteen years after Soomras occupied and ruled from it and Banbhore port, destroyed in 1224 AD, after more than two hundred years of Soomra ruled it. The two cities were about one thousand and five hundred years old and the Arabs did not rule them for more than century, one-and-a-quarter followed naturalized Arab-Sindhis for one-hundred-andfifty-seven years. The sites did project other early cultures too, so they limited their excavations to 5-10% area to show mosques and only Arab occupation of area. Pakistan government's archaeologists who have virtual monopoly in the field are not interested in anything of local dynasties of Sindh, though Muslim by religion."
- "Aerial photography available at present taken from the height of twenty thousand feet (sixthousand-and-one-hundred metres) shows Soomra ruined sites. It can also help in locating sites presently under crops, graveyards, small villages and huts and complete building plans of the era can be observed. Photogrammetry and false colour

- infrared photography, not used by Pakistan archaeologists themselves, can be employed if private parties are allowed to explore the sites."
- "Many archaeological sites of Soomra period have been destroyed by roads, settlements and agriculture and the process continues. Rescue archaeologists could have retrieved as much information as possible before they were destroyed. This was never done and hopefully should be undertaken in future."
- "Robber trenching is also common in old sites in Sindh for building materials, road ballast and housing. Robbing of large bricks 20 x 18 inches (51x46 cms) size from Dhamraho Daro has been taking place for half a century, stone blocks of 18 x 24 x 12 inches (46 x 61 x 31 cms) have been robbed from Shah Kapoor palace to build a mosque in a nearby village, 24 x 48 x 18 inches (61 x 122 x 46 cms) stone blocks are reported to have been taken away from Khirun Kot and so is the case with Junani in northern Sindh and a large number of Soomra sites in lower Sindh. Eighteen acres land of Khirun Kot has been leased out to a poor agriculturist, who is waiting for a fortune to get about one hundred thousand rupees required for razing this giant fort. Numerous dilapidated Maris (bungalows) of Shah Kapoor have been levelled up for agriculture and recently two Maris (multi-story buildings) of the remaining thirteen have been razed to fill the nearby road under construction. An important Soomra capital Tharri has been vandalised and Shah Deewano graveyard has been built on the site."
- "Surface collectors also come across bones, but archaeozoology is not developed in Pakistan to handle this. Domestic animals during the era were the same as today. Pig had been eliminated in the Nile, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Ganga valleys at least after fall of Mohenjo Daro, as it competed for food with humans. Since then it was not domesticated, but wild pig was hunted and eaten in the era. Its ban as human food was adopted from Pharaonic Egypt by Jews around 1500 BC and from them to Islam. Probably by conversion of Sindhis to Sunni Islam at the end of thirteenth or early fourteenth century, wild pig

- was no longer eaten, except by low caste Hindus; Bhil, Bala, Meghwar, Kolhi and Gurgula of Sindh, all considered untouchables by the former."
- Banbhore (burnt in 1224 AD), but their cephalic index has not been determined to find if there are racial changes between then and now. Excavations may lead us to the conclusion if Soomras cremated or buried their dead or buried only their chiefs and some holy men. Bones of humans and animals can easily be dated. Bones contain fats, proteins and collagen. After the death fats and proteins are anaerobically digested rapidly, but collagen takes long time and nitrogen test can easily give the relative date of the death. This too is not being done by archaeologists of Pakistan."
- "Hunted wild animals and their predators may be the same or some others, which have recently became extinct in Sindh. Hippopotamus existed in the Indus up to sixteenth century but today it is extinct. In the same way Indus dolphin was plentiful in Sindh until construction of barrages on the Indus and its tributaries. We hardly hear of wild ass of Thar and Rann of Kutch now."
- "It is sure that excavations if undertaken will produce fish bones and though fish head quickly disintegrates, bones can be classified. The southern Sindh and coastal area produced plenty of fish. Large number of natural lakes formed by abandoned courses of the River Indus below delta head, heavy rainfall of five inches in one day and twice in every ten years and annual floods of Indus, made southern Sindh a land of thousands of islands and converted it into a fish and fowl paradise. There was plenty of fresh water fish species and migratory fowl from Siberia, northern China and north-central Asia. The coastal areas having diluted water in eighty-kilometre width deep into the sea was another heaven for brackish water fisheries available to population. The foreign archaeologists working in Pakistan are using floatation process for recovery of organic plant matter and bones. Bones can also be given fluorine test to find their age."
- "Suspected old graveyards of era could be given phosphate analysis and compared with adjoining

- soils as in our alkaline soil graveyards give positive results."
- Today we have little idea of wild fauna and flora or types of domesticated animals and agriculture crops. Excavation of sites and study of environmental archaeology can resolve these problems. Since clay for pottery in Sindh comes from clayey layer (hard pan) developed during Holocene by the river floods and flood irrigation throughout the Indus plains at a depth of about one metre and about half metre thick, any pottery found from sites of the era, can be given ceramic pathological analysis, to find if clay used in ceramics was local or imported. This will add tremendously to our knowledge."
- ➤ "Black colour on pottery is produced by powdered graphite suspension in oxygen firing or hematite coating with iron ores in reduction firing, i.e., heating in low atmosphere oxygen in the firing chamber. Both types of pottery are found from surface collections of Soomra sties."
- "Copper moulds have been unearthed at Brahmanabad-Mansura (by Belasis) at Banbhore as single flat block of stone or terracotta with required shape of coins or ornaments and other simple objects. Almost all moulds have flat upper surface, but unless after pouring copper or its alloys, the mould is covered with heavy flat stone or terracotta block and sealed with mud, copper or alloy of copper would oxidize. These covers must be there, but may have been discarded as brick pieces or foundation stones. Some very small copper coins are cast in this way and they probably were valued by weight, rather than as standard coins."
- Faience is powdered quartz and alkali mixed with water to form paste and which when fired produces a mass, a cross between clay and glass and if mixed with copper salt it develops blue green flush. Such objects used for ornaments and vessels have been unearthed, but not thoroughly examined, as they are broken pieces coming from surface collection. Faience ornaments have been unearthed from Mohenjo Daro.
- "Numismatics can help to reconstruct some political events and chronology, but Soomra

- struck no coins except copper coins and only a few coins from the surface collection are in private collections. They cannot be read properly."
- ➤ "A sword belonging to Samma-Soomra period is available in Sindh Museum. During the era Damascene steel was very popular in South Asia and was tough, strong and highly elastic made by Wootz process developed in Maharashtra in about 1000 BC. The level of technology available in Sindh can be found from examination of this sword."
- "Carination in pottery had specific function of retaining dregs from liquids while pouring. Small spout in vessels of the Soomra era served the purpose of reducing dregs. Carination is no longer found in pottery of Sindh and spout has also disappeared. Pottery produced in Sindh in twentieth and twenty-first centuries is very inferior to that of Soomra period, in wheel turning, design and painting, but is inferior to Mohenjo Daro pottery."
- "Museum objects can reflect life patterns of the era and be studied properly, even toys reflect on economy, thought, art and children's position in the society."
- The surface collections show that we in the twentieth century were less advanced culturally and economically than our predecessors of eleventh to fourteenth centuries?"
- "There are no historical documents, records, letters or government orders, gifts, licenses, sanads and property records available for the era. They were all destroyed between 1521-1525 AD when every town was forcibly vacated by Arghoons and every village burnt. Again between 1539-1542 AD every crop was burnt so that Humayun Badshah in flight from Delhi to Sindh with his two hundred thousand troops does not get food. Histories written outside Sindh have very little information on the events of three-and-half centuries of Soomra era and so to write history of that period, we have to turn to other sources."
- "Travellers' accounts do help, but there was only one traveller Ibn Battutta, who stayed here for a few months and left some information but not adequate. Any other traveller does not give

- historical details."
- Folklore as available to us was written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and many times stories were similar to those from neighbouring countries. It underwent periodic changes, additions and improvements and present folklore cannot be more than three hundred years old, as its language shows."
- "Historical geography is helpful specially in Sindh, where the River Indus changes courses frequently and prosperity of arid areas in which annual rainfall is just 5-10% of evaporation and moisture deficit of 90-95% comes from irrigation by the Indus water through canals. The canals take off from the river and once river changes its course, the whole irrigation system gets destroyed and it takes 20-50 years for restoration of cultivation on new canals. There is adequate information on changing courses of the River Indus published by this author, but has to be recompiled."
- ➤ "All attempts will be made to make use of all above fields to derive a reasonable picture of the era."
- The author has some material on Sindh's history written over years and ready for press, but not yet printed due to lack of publishers. Those listed below have been used."
- Social history of Sindh (6500 BC to 1843 AD), 3 volumes.
- Historical atlas of Sindh (6500 BC to 1947 AD),
 250 maps drawn by the author.
- Map of changing courses of Indus in its plains of one hundred thousand square kilometres based on aerial photographs on sheet 1.2 x 2.4 metres.
- An illustrated history of Sindh (1000 illustrations)
 6500 BC to 1843 AD.
- ➤ Besides these some books of the author, which have material on Soomra era, some books have already been published and used for this work which are:
- Chronological Dictionary of Sindh (1983), has 130 pages on Soomra rule of Sindh.
- Source material on Sindh (1977) has elaborate list of books pertaining to Soomra period.
- About one hundred articles on Sindh published in

- two journals, Sindh Quarterly and Sindhological Studies, between 1975 and 1999.
- ➤ Ground water in Sindh (7 books), which gives details of sources of surface water from the Indus and position of fresh ground water for survival of Soomra cities abandoned by the River Indus."
- "This material can help in writing the history of Soomras, but that would be some what, lifeless and disinteresting at the best. We can inject the life in it by adding some fifty maps the author has already drawn for the period and about twenty maps from other sources. We could also photograph some objects from surface collection of Soomra era from various museums namely: National, Sindh, Sindhology, Lar and Banbhore and also some private collections and reach some interesting conclusions, but it is not enough as archaeologists dig people, not things and that chapter will be totally absent and very large gap in the proposed book to be undertaken. We can also visit some sites and as luck may have it, we may find some suitable buildings and draw plans of them for curiosity and attract local and foreign archaeologists."
- "It seems that pottery, which was first wheel turned about six thousand years ago and reached its highest stage of development under Mohenjo Daro times, has changed little up to now and may have some resemblances in Soomra era pottery. This may bring forth many new developments in potters trade.
- "Since there are no records of any kind available to us we will be compelled to use indirect sources. I could collect the information and compile it in about a year. Photographing various sites and museum objects in my presence may take six months and printing about a year. In underdeveloped countries everything is underdeveloped including printing and we have to take special care and guide the press at every step and yet wait for luck."
- ➤ It is the attempt to write history of Sindh as social science by multi-disciplinary approach and as science keeps developing all the time, some conclusions by the author may change from time to time and he excepts this process to start on

- publication of this volume. In the same way maps may be improved, redrawn and new maps produced and added.
- The book is bound to attract surface collection of archaeological objects and more visits of amateurs to Soomra-Samma ruins. Some excavations may be undertaken, but many explorations can be anticipated and even foreign archeologists may be attracted to explore this dark period of Sindh's past. The author's list of known ruined settlements is too small as compared to vast area of over one million acres of fertile irrigated land in southern Sindh, destroyed by change of course of the River Indus in 1758 AD.
- The book is meant for a layman and therefore general references are reflected in bibliography, but many details of these incidents with references, page numbers and author's comments have been published in Chronological Dictionary of Sindh in 1983 AD.
- Most of the maps in the text were drawn by the author between 1976 and 1983 for Historical Atlas of Sindh yet unpublished. The base maps available to him then were: one inch to one, two, four, eight, sixteen and thirty two miles and not 1:1,000,000; 500,000; 250,000; 125,000; 62,500; 50,000 and 40,000. The scales used in the maps therefore depict miles and can be converted to kilometres by multiplying with 1.609. To maintain uniform size of pages, maps have to be reduced, but without removing essential details.

I have remained in touch with the author since 1999 and have photographed objects from museums as well as from sites and some rare books. We had a luck in getting some surface collections from the villagers in the vicinity of the ruins. The book went to press in April 2001 and the author was right in anticipating results. Intensive supervision of press was necessary, which has kept my personal friend Mr Karam Ellahi Channa, the printer, on toes all this time.

The author was very co-operative since written text was sent to the press and continuously gave suggestions, which the press and the publishers accepted as constructive. We engaged Mr Muhammad Ali Qadri, a photographer and the author directed photography. He suggested sites to be visited and

measured and layouts were drawn under his supervision. All photographed objects were classified and grouped. To our surprise he was able to show us contemporary or earlier ear and nose ornaments from Indian states having similar designs and nearly the same size as on tiles and bricks. He suggested that floral patterns on ornaments and tiles depict South Asian lily (Kanwal or Kunni) and it in turn depicts the sun. In his opinion the surface collection of beads was similar to that from Mohenjo Daro or Chanhu Daro. He surprised us by recognizing marijuana smoking pipes before the advent of tobacco three hundred years later than the era being studied.

Of the maps in the book most were drawn by him between 1976 and 1983 with the help of two part-time engineering draftsmen Zaheer-ul-Islam and Aslam, employed in his office. The rest one quarter comes from his collection. To his advantage has his private library curtaining fifty thousand volumes of books, equally divided between Sindh, fruit corps and engineering. His wife, a bio-chemist, has about ten thousand books on numerous fields and she is equally interested in all fields he works in. She was present at all our meetings, field trips and photography.

We used a number of illustrations prepared by him for "Six thousand years of irrigation in Sindh " and some from books in his library.

It has been highly interesting and educational time to work with him. To avoid any boredom in our meetings, he would invariably bring us to light mood by telling us a few stories, a few jokes and a few comments on ridiculous beliefs of our people. We never felt that we were working with a man in midseventies. Jokingly, he said: "A man at 71 can be as

good as at 17," if psychologically he gears himself to it. I found him to be a scholar of trend-setting calibre, able to provide new thoughts to be explored for authenticity. He is a unique example for his age and experience and we have taken liberty to include one page on his life work and one page of dedication to his wife Farzana, who like him works in different fields and has to her credit more than one hundred papers.

Thus, being encouraged and assisted by the community, colleagues and friends specially Mian Mumtaz Sumra (Multan), Altaf Hussain Soomro (Producer PTV), Dr Suleman Otho (President, Institute of Ethics & Culture), Karam Ellahi Channa (Sangam Publications) and Haleem Sharar (Archaeology Quarterly), I feel to have succeeded to explore a portion (relating to Soomra period) of "Living archives of Sindh, Mr M. H. Panhwar" leaving archaeological sites for the professional archaeologists and new horizons for the researchers and historians. My loving and caring wife Ghulam Fatima Soomro also deserves great appreciation, whose care and co-operation really supplemented my efforts to accomplish the task.

I am thankful to Mr Aziz A. Shaikh, of daily "DAWN" Karachi for going though the book twice.

I am indebted to Mr Illahi Bukhsh Soomro, an exalted member of Soomra community, to accept my request and contribute his valued views in shape of foreword of this book.

It is hoped that this book will lead to new research to bring out new editions and their translation.

M. Umer Soomro 25th July, 2002

CHAPTER 1

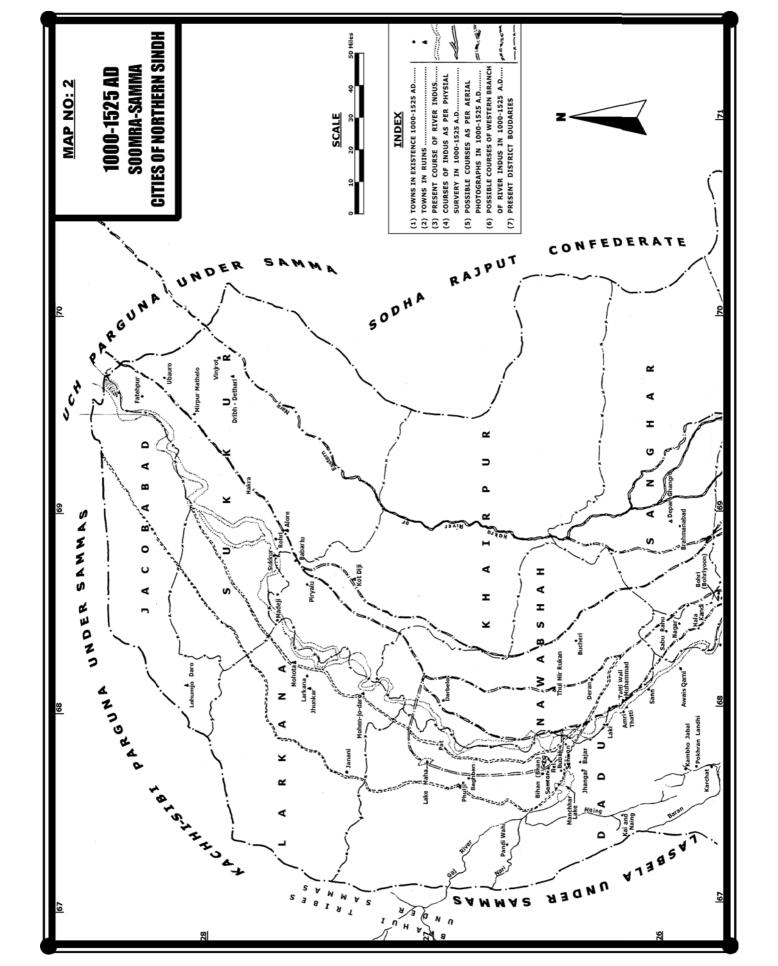
INTRODUCTION

Y definition of history is that it is the history of production, control over means of production and production itself to its final distribution. The history is more a history of people than politics, though it is difficult to segregate the two if meaningful description of activities of people is to be presented in a particular era as people have always been affected and sub-ordinated by government policies, wars, intrigues of nobles and other players of history. The histories of Sindh written so far are excessively loaded with role of rulers, vis-àvis their nobles and adversaries, wars, expeditions, palace intrigues, tombs, folklore, fiction, etc. There is information on past climates, environments, changing courses of the rivers and consequent destruction of irrigation migrations, changing occupations, social life of people i.e., variations in production and its means and control over production, its distribution and producers, among artisans and farmers, administration and justice, agriculture, land tenure, animal husbandry, irrigation sources and methods of mining, metallurgy, industry and industrial goods, matrimonial institutions, family and children, customs or entireties, houses and interiors, art, architecture, archaeology, personal appearance, dresses, ornaments, foods and drinks, taxes, coins and currency, science and technology, foreign contacts, foreign trade, internal trade and traders, routes of trade and transport, religious beliefs, lifestyles, beliefs in life after death, philosophy, hygiene, medicine and doctors, health, superstitions, life story of common citizens, economic conditions, day-to-day life of inhabitants, social life, historical geography of the bygone ages, classes of work and relation to one another, house-hold life, customs, entertainments, pastimes, leisure, attitude of man to

nature, languages, literature, literary contacts with outside world, learning and thoughts and above all, the status of women and children in prosperity and famine.

The historians of Sindh have proved to be remarkably resistant to writing of history, which is not traditional in character i.e., not concerned primarily with kings, rulers, their noble men and of the chronicles of their actions, chivalry, romantic love-life, etc. The Sindhi historian is, therefore, happy to accept versions of Vedas, Mahabhartha, classical Sanskrit literature (both Brahmanic and Buddhist), travellers' accounts, folklore stories, ever present tyrant Dalurai and destruction of his cities, romantic poems, legends, ballads of Bhats and Charans, etc., and is trying to prepare patchy transparency not covering even the past three millennia continuously. Though traditional narrative of history is inescapable and is key to man's past, but the post-World War II era has seen rich and varied range of alternative approaches opening up for exploration through such scientific approaches and in such fields as anthropology, archaeology, social and economic changes, changing climate and other environments, all of which have changed the structure of social formation from time to time. Added to this are contemporary societies, which due to different routes of contact, i.e., trade, religions and social movements, conquests and migrations have invariably brought important inescapable socio-economic influences on societies previously thought to be stagnant. An attempt has been made to incorporate all the above branches of knowledge to reconstruct the history of Soomra period.

Sindh, due to the presence of the Indus, was one of a few centres in the ancient Asia, which first developed on a significant scale, apparatus of exploiting natural resources and a kind of state machinery with ideology and social coherence leading



to rise of the Indus civilisation and finally creation of modern culture. Its contemporaries are Egypt, Mesopotamia and Hwang Ho valley. All of these are the creation of similar rivers. Sindh is particularly of interest because as even today we almost know of its past ten thousand years with relatively little interruption. During this long stretch of time one can trace the course of development from primitive hunting food-gatherers to the present-day industry. The truth is that if names of great or lesser rulers and kings, which are mere masks, are re-removed, the conventional history disappears or forms the backdrop of the scene. A continuity of different orders is provided by material anthropology totally neglected also by archaeology. But in Sindh due to resistance of historians, archaeology has remained subservient to the history. The excavators have tried to tow it with prevalent political line. Excavation of Mohenjo Daro has brought to light a civilisation that man had not witnessed in the past four thousand years. Barring this, archaeologists in Pakistan for the past several years have remained interested only in supplementing history of past thirteen hundred years. Even in doing so emphasis is laid on only Debal and Mansura, which were destroyed in 1224 and 1026 AD respectively, during the Soomra rule of Sindh. Even on these two sites material data is inadequate, unsystematic and lacking analysis to pave way for social studies at the time of their destruction. Pre and post-Mohenjo Daro explorations are limited to Sindh. Numerous Buddhist stupas have not been excavated or explored and above all settlements of the past one thousand years in ruins have not only remained unexplored but there is a resistance to allow their study by local archaeologists or by outsiders, while local teams can do little service at huge costs.

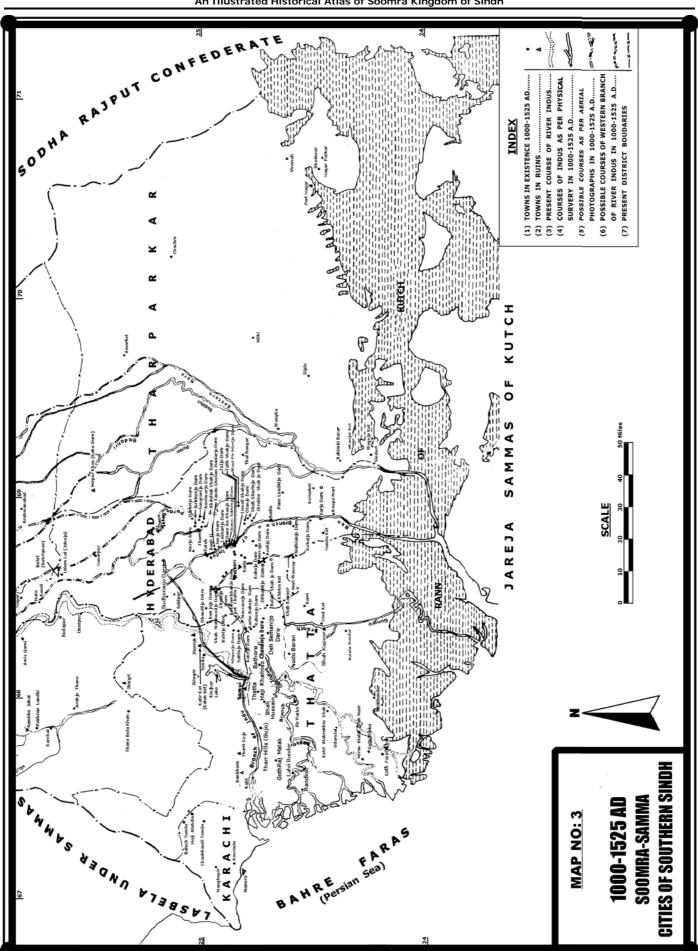
Buddhism survived in Sindh up to thirteenth century and stupas were being repaired till then. Their excavation can throw light on archaeological activity of Soomra period.

The present Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom is a part of "An Historical Atlas of Sindh" covering period from geological times to this day. The Soomra period of the history of Sindh is important as that dynasty ruled for 340 years. It is something that no dynasty anywhere in the world endured except Abbasid Khilafat, which had become totally powerless within

first 100 years of their rule and leaving them only as figureheads. The present Hanoverian rulers of England have not completed 340 years, but they are no more than figureheads. They may last longer time, but ultimately what will happen to the House of Hanover in England is a question that better be left to the historians of the future to dwell upon. Mughals ruled only for 240 years when their lands were leased out to the British for 99 years and the Mughals' claim would have expired even on the annual instalments. Such a feat in medieaval history is so creditable to Soomras, that this volume is being published before the main publication. The historical records of Soomra period are lost forever. The Pakistani archaeologists are not ready to probe into pre or post-Arab period except pre-Mohenjo Daro period. We therefore are helplessly pushed into darkness for our own history.

SINDH - GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Sindh is divided into three natural zones hills to the west, desert to the east and alluvial plains in the centre. These zones run parallel from north to south in an 'S' curve. The hills to the west are called Khirthar Range running from Sehwan to the Balochistan border in the north and form Sehwan southwards to Arabian Sea called Laki Range. The Khirthar hills are lofty, reaching 7,200 feet opposite to Mehar. The Laki Range forms plateau land between six ranges of hills called Ranikot, Khirthar, Laki, Nari, Gaj and Manchar series by the British geologists. The mountains have some fifty springs and some of them are large enough to cultivate up to five hundred acres land. The eastern desert called Thar is an extension of the great South Asian desert and is covered with well-established sanddune ranges belonging to Pleistocene era. In between dune ranges are flat lands called Tarais, in which rainwater collects and on the preserved moisture sorghum, millets, till (sesame), oilseeds, onions and some vegetables are raised. Both Thar and Kohistan are pasture lands and people have been raising cows, goats, sheep and camels in these areas. Kohistan also grows millets, sorghum, till, oilseeds, onions, and several vegetables. Perennial castor grows wild. Wild Ber and Khabbar, a saltbush, also grow there and produce fruit. Leaves of wild Ber are rich in protein. They are used as



animal feed and are ground to flour to prepare bread in case of famines. Wild acacia and prosopis are grazed by animals. Wild seeds and fruits of arid land trees are grazed too.

The foothills called Kachho are pasture lands where sorghum, millets grow with water brought down by storm drains and streams numbering about forty-two. The best Kachho lands are in the present Larkana and Dadu districts.

The central alluvial plains were the best agriculture lands irrigated by canals and Persian wheels and the depressions were cultivated by draining them after annual floods. Animal husbandry was practical on vast natural pastures and agriculture wastes like straw, oilcake, green fodders and grasses.

The Bolan Nai drain into Manchar Lake and on its way a number of tributary streams joined it during rainy season. The main tributary of Manchar was Gaj. Probably the area was called Sawa or Sarwah. Western Nara was called Narvi. The main River Indus flowed from Radhan towards west and passing near Khairpur Nathan Shah, Phulii, Pirghunio, Baghban, Phaka and Bhan, made eastwards turn and joined its old course near Daulatpur. Talti was on its east bank. Aral Wah flowed from the Indus to Manchar in summer and drained lake partially in autumn. The Hakra or Eastern Nara was dry except when spill waters from the Indus and Sutlei drained into it for four to six weeks in July-August. It was also called Nala Sankra in its lower reaches which is now called Puran. Nerunkot was a part of Chakarhala pargana and both were to west of the river.

Routes of the period are shown on the maps that follow. Route to Ahmedabad was via Nagar Parkar. Routes to Kutch had been established after 1200 AD as shown in the map no. 41. Inland navigation has been detailed under trade and communication. Boats on the Indus were mostly 40-50 tons barges. Debal, an early port was replaced by Lahri Bunder, which had come into being at the end of tenth century. Fishing was an important occupation only next to agriculture. Textiles formed the third important item for local use and export. In the alluvial plains grew rice, wheat, barley, sorghum, millets, sesame, mustard, indigo, madder, hemp (Bhang), poppy, opium, sugar-cane, oilseeds, mango, melon, water melon and other curcurbitaceae

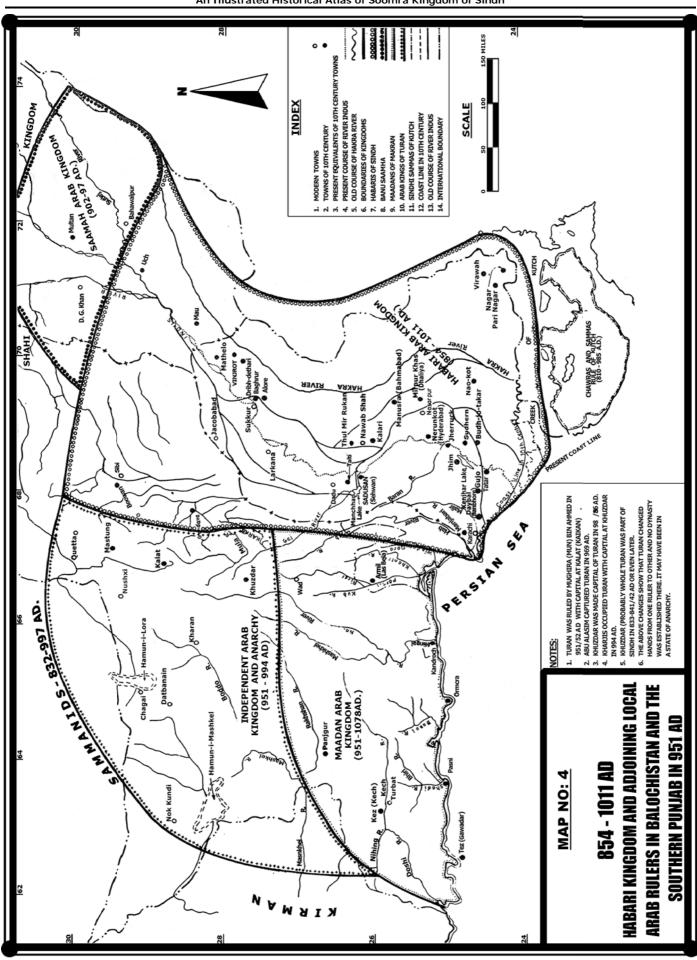
and many vegetables. Important craft centres were Bakhar, Rohri, Sukkur, Gambat, Kandiaro, Sehwan and Darbelo since the ninth century; Nasarpur, Thatta and Shah Kapoor from the thirteenth century and Tharri goes to eleventh century.

SOOMRA DYNASTY (1011- 1351 AD)

The Soomras originally were a local Hindu tribe. Some influential members of it had accepted Islam soon after the Arab conquest of Sindh. Even after conversion they retained their old Hindu names and customs. They had intermarried with local Arab landowners and thus had acquired great influence and power.

They were not Qarmatis. Muqtana of Syria had been inviting Shaikh Ibn Soomar Raja Bal of Multan to accept Druzism. It is, therefore, apparent that they belonged to the Ismaili sect organised by the Fatmid Khalifas of Egypt, Imam Zahir and Mustansir. The Qarmati descendent movement or the early Ismaili sect had never gained ground in Sindh, but somehow most of the early Sunni writers considered Ismailis as Qarmatis. The Soomras practised a lot of Hindu customs even until 1471 AD when Mahmud Begra tried to suppress them and convert them to his sect of Islam i.e., Sunnism. Raja Bal or Rajpal could have been son of Soomar Soomro who ruled Sindh at that time.

The early Soomra rulers were 'Fatmid' Ismailis, owed allegiance to Fatmid Khalifas of Cairo, sent them presents and read their names in the Friday Khutba. On the death of Imam Mustansir at Cairo in 487 AH (1094 AD), the Fatmid Dawa had been divided in two sections. The first one Mustalian Dawa with headquarters at Yemen in the beginning and later on in Gujarat; the other one called Nizari Ismaili Dawa with headquarters at Almut in Persia under Hasan bin Sabbah and supported the cause of Imam Nizar bin Mustansir and his descendants. The Soomras drifted away from these two rival Dawas. Ismailis got great setback between 1171-1187 AD starting with the fall of their Khilafat in Cairo at the hands of Sultan Salahuddin Ayubi, then in Iraq at the hands of Seljuki Turks and in Multan by Muhammad Ghori's campaigns.



Yemeni or Gujarati Dawa exercised heavy Arab influence, which is apparent in the names of people as well as Arabic literature. The Soomras in general had local Sindhi names and therefore they could not have originally belonged to this sect of Ismailis. The Ismailis of Gujarat, who attached themselves to Yemeni or Gujarati Dawa, are known as Bohris.

The Nizari school, was active in the northern subcontinent. Pir Shams Sabzwari, looking like a Jogi, came to Multan where he drew considerable followings. He may have been active in Sindh, but as he came during the time of Imam Qasim Shah (1310-1369 AD) in the last days of the Soomra rule, it becomes doubtful if they could be Nizari Ismailis too. Pir Sadruddin, who died near Uch in 876 AH (1471 AD), was also a Nizari missionary and there is evidence that he exercised influence in Sindh. Nizaris got a setback in Iraq when Halaku's forces in the midthirteenth century destroyed their stronghold in Alburz mountains.

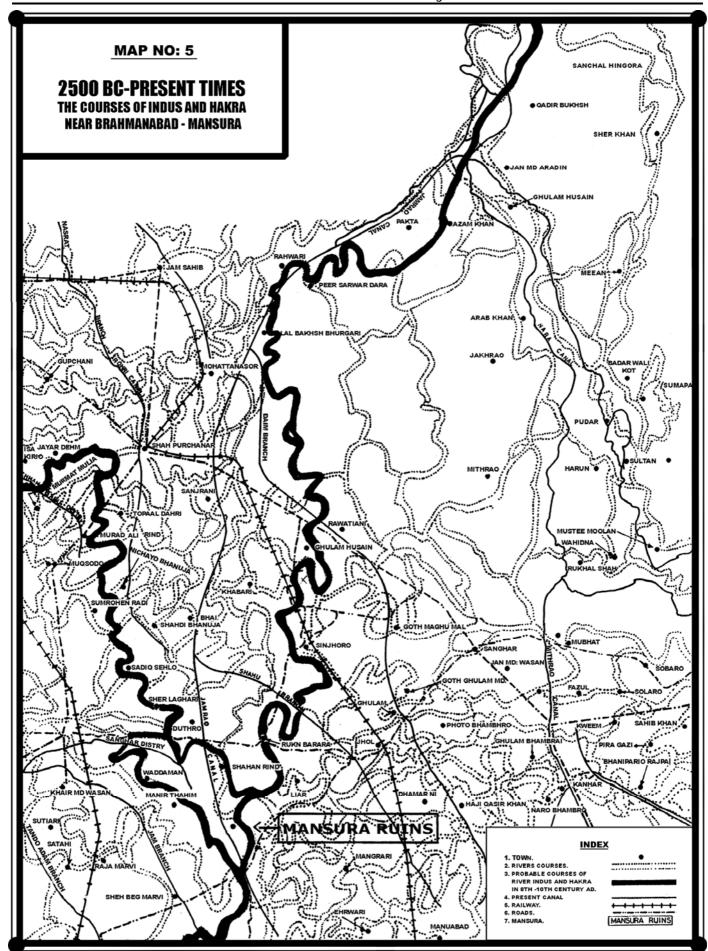
Mir Masum basing on hearsay considers the Soomras of Hindu origin. Tarikh-i-Tahiri clearly mentions that the Soomras were of Hindu origin, but all the same they ate buffalo meat. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Muhammad Yousuf agrees with Masumi and gives some additional names of their rulers of whom some appear to be Muslim names. Tarikh-i-Tabagat-i-Bahadur-Shahi, written around 1532-1536 AD, states that they were descendants of Tamim Ansari. This is also a mis-statement. Recently it is argued that they were Sumerians, who came from Iraq and were of Arab stock. This is the twentieth-century theory unknown to the past historians. Presence of Soomras in Kutch, Gujarat and Rajasthan in small numbers does not make them Rajputs either, as Soomra and Samma clans had formed ninety per cent of population of Sindh from eleventh to sixteenth centuries.

Tuhfa-tul-Kiram and Beglar Namah have called Soomras as Arabs and perhaps connected them with Sumerians of Iraq without realising that Sumerians were not Semites. After the conquest of India by Mughals, the definition of a Mughal was: a foreigner from the central Asia or Iran, fair in colour, not knowing local language and not having a local wife. All local Muslims were discriminated against and

exploited like non-Muslims. Many Sindhi tribes started showing their origin from outside. Soomras became Sumerians, Sammas descendants of Jamshed of Persia and Kalhoras as offsprings of Abbasid Khalifas, in a similar way as earlier Rais of Rai dynasty the local Sudras or untouchables, had become Rajputs. In the fifth century, Huns destroyed most of the kingdoms in South Asia. Warlike tribes collected mercenaries in the Indian desert area and called themselves Rajputs or sons of Rajas. They included many tribes of Sindh, Kutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Punjab and Utter Pradesh, who actually settled in areas bordering the desert. They called themselves Raiputs or sons of Rajas and Khatri by occupation having a dint to fight wars and rule. There has been no migration of these tribes to the surrounding areas of Rajasthan as is generally thought. Rajasthan with limited resources is thinly populated. The tribes were present in the above areas in large numbers and only a few in the desert. They lived on animal husbandry as their ancestors did and also smallscale agriculture in the desert. All warriors and feudals called themselves Rajputs all over South Asia. Sammas and Soomras were local tribes and assigned themselves as Rajputs by class because of presence of a few of their tribesmen in the adjoining desert of Rajasthan. Later on the Rajputs of Rajasthan built their own genealogies, descent, folklore and history, which was collected by Todd between 1815-1829 AD. This is not history but only narration of mostly fictitious perceptions. No serious historian accepts it. All British period historians given in the table at end of this chapter have called Soomras as Rajputs under influence of Todd's writings. Actually they were local converted to Ismailism.

The Soomra dynasty started with a definite and rigid law of succession unlike the contemporary Ghazni and Delhi Sultanates, which always faced trouble and where sword and murder was the natural method of deciding the right of succession. The Soomra rule therefore continued uninterrupted for about three-and-a-half centuries and their territories were never annexed, though they acted as the vassals of Delhi for some time.

The method of governance like contemporary Delhi Sultanate was not hereditary feudal nobility copied from Sassanians, but Bhayat or brotherhood



under which villages were allotted land for maintenance and Panchats for setting law and order problems and maintenance of land, water and grazing grounds. Panchats provided taxes to the government. Such a system, operated in Kutch from 1148 to 1948 AD under Hindu Jareja Sammas of Sindh, which had survived up to the mid-twentieth century and was a good example of governance. State was neither run through Jagirdari system nor were high officials granted fiefs to exploit land for a limited period.

After nearly two hundred years of rule, Soomras, under the influence of Sufis gave Jagirs to holy foundations to maintain Dargahs and undertake moral teachings, but these Khanqahs and Dargahs of Sufis had been encouraged to subdue common man through them. The Soomra government did not follow a military theocratic despotism as was done by the Delhi Sultanate.

The participation of Hindus with Muslim Sammas in wars and political struggles show that religion did not play any part in state affairs, which then was secular and unorthodox. There is no record that Soomras ever invited Persian poets, historians and scholars to their courts or main towns. There was no important caste of Sayeds in Sindh during Soomra rule besides some Sufis. Most of Sayed families of Sindh claim their origin from the central Asia in the fifteenth century when dry climate in these areas had forced them to migrate. Sammas, the new converts, welcomed them as pillars of Islam and bestowed favours on them, but except a few Sufis, there is no record of Sayeds' presence in Sindh in Soomra or early Samma era.

The Soomra monarchy was based on highly esteemed public opinion. Even the first Soomro king, Khafif ascended the throne with the full mandate of the people. When he died his son was a child. The Soomra capital city Mansura was burnt by Mahmud of Ghazni. Soomra elders collected at Tharri, the new capital of the Soomras and unanimously elected Soomar Soomro as their king, but the right of the minor son of Khafif remained reserved. Soomar died in 1054-55 AD and Khafif's son Bhoongar succeeded him. Soomar's son Raja Bal (Rajpal) established himself in Multan. He proved to be a very strong king. Even Muqtana of Syria addressed him in his letter in 1033 AD as 'Power of the state', son of Soomar and not by his actual name. It is

not sure whether Raja Bal accepted suzerainty of Sindh or ruled independently. These incidents show that right of succession was never usurped in Soomra rule.

DODO-CHANESAR BALLADS; HISTORY OR MYTH

There were four Dodo rulers of Sindh; Dodo-I (1068-1092 AD), Dodo-II (1180-1194 AD), Dodo-III (1259-1273 AD) and Dodo-IV 1332-? AD.

The first Dodo had no conflict with any Ghaznavid ruler. Dodo-II could have conflict with Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori, but it is doubtful if the latter had attacked Sindh, though he attacked Multan and Uch. Dodo-III could not have any conflict with Sultans of Delhi, as he had attacked Multan and Uch but not Sindh of Soomras. Dodo-IV had a conflict with Muhammad bin Tughlaq when Jam Unar Samma attacked Sehwan, to suppress a rebellion, but as Battutta met Muhammad Tughlag in Sindh in early forties of fourteenth century, an event which is fully documented, it appears that the conflict with Dodo-IV continued. This incident is not recorded by Delhi historians. There were two Chanesars (1222-1228 and 1283-1300 AD). The first one 27 years after the death of Dodo-II, had a conflict with Khawarizm Shah and Altatmash and surrendered to Delhi most probably under the influence of Bahauddin Zakariya. The second one surrendered to Allauddin's general, Zafar Khan. Both faced ignoramus end, but there was no Dodo in picture then. Thus it appears easy to make Chanesars the feeble rulers, unworthy of leadership and kingship. Ballads and stories similar to those of Dodo-Chanesar were composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Rajasthan and Gujarat and a few well-known are:

- i) The sixteenth-century old Gujarati ballads of Padmanabha "Kanhad-dev Parbandh", which describe valiant fight put up by Kanhad-dev of Jalor against Allauddin.
- ii) The fifteenth century Sanskrit ballads or Kavyas or Kafees of "Hamir Mahakavya", tell a similar story of Hamir's fight against Allauddin.
- iii) "Mandalik Kavya" is the similar story of the sixteenth century of resistance offered by Raja Mandalik of Junagadh against Sultan Mahmud Begra of Gujarat, who ruled in the fifteenth century.

VARIOUS VERSIONS OF ORIGIN OF SOOMRAS

Sr. No.	Year of publication AD	Name of author	Name of book	Version	Remarks
1.	Early 11 th century		Uyun-ul-Akbar	Hindu chief Raja Bal son of Soomar	
2.	15-16 th century		Folklore of Mumal and Rano Mendhro	Committing suicide by burning	A Hindu custom
3.	15 th century		Folklore of Umar Marui	Umar and Marui both perform ordeals of walking through fire and holding hot iron in hands	A Hindu custom
4.	16 th century		Tarikh-i-Bahadur-Shahi	Descendents of Tamim Ansari	
5.	1601	Mir Masum	Tarikh-i-Masumi	No version on origin of Soomras	
9.	1608-1625	Beglari	Beglar Namah	Soomras came during the rule of Arab tribe Banu Tamim	No such Arab tribe existed who ruled Sindh
7.	1621	Tahir	Tarikh-i-Tahiri	Hindus	
8.	1768	Qani	Tuhfa-tul-Kiram	Arabs of Samrah city in Iraq, migrated in 4 th century AH	Does not give source
9.	1829	Todd	Rajasthan	Rajputs of Parmar tribe	
10.	1853	Elliot	History of India as told by its own historians	Hindu Rajputs	
11.	1894	Haig	Indus Delta Country	Hindu Rajputs	
12.	1901	Mirza Kaleech Beg	History of Sindh	Hindu Rajputs	
13.	1925	Bherumal Advani	Sindh-je-Hindun-ji-Tarikh	Hindu Rajputs	
14.	1930	J.Abbot	Sindh A Re-interpretation of Unhappy Valley	Hindu Rajputs	They held principalities in Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat.

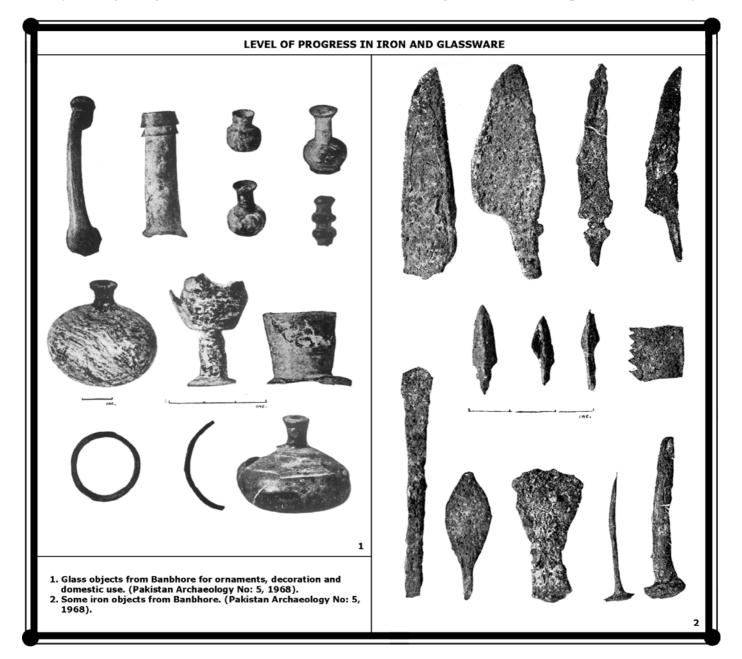
The table shows that majority of researchers consider them as Hindus. Rajput was a loose term for war-like people or those who became rulers, without any connection to Rajasthan.

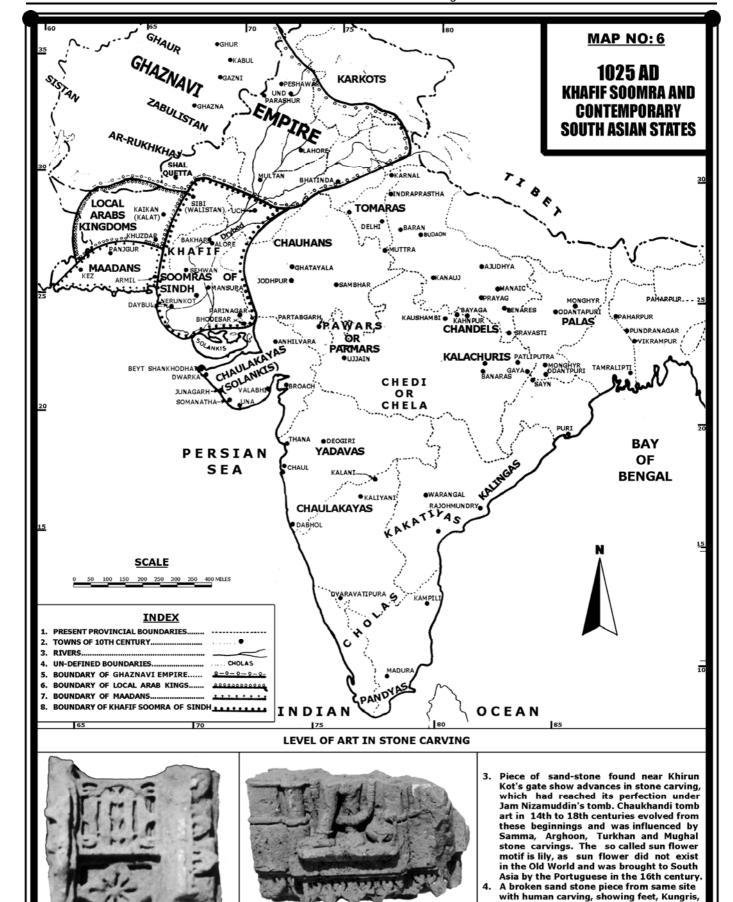
An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh

- iv) Kavi Jodha's "Hamir Raso", tells the similar story of Hamir and was composed in the nineteenth century, about Ranthomabhore's resistance to Allauddin.
- v) Ranmal Chahand's Kavya of the sixteenth century in Gujarati gives similar tradition of Zafar

Khan's attacks on Idar.

Thus ballads of Dodo-Chanesar are a simple copy of similar ballads popular in the adjoining countries. There are also Kutchi ballads in which Kutchis came to protect 'Ladies of royal Soomra family'. These are interesting tales to tell, but not part of serious history.





CHAPTER 2

RULERS OF SOOMRA DYNASTY

KINGS OF SOOMRA DYNASTY AND YEARS OF THEIR RULE

S. No.	Ruler			
1.	Khafif – I	1011	-	1026
2.	Soomar	1026/27	-	1054/55
3.	Bhoongar-I	1054/55	-	1068/69
4.	Dodo-I	1068/69	-	1092
5.	Zenab Tari (sister of Dodo ruled on behalf of her minor brother Sanghar)	1092	-	1098
6.	Sanghar (no child)	1098	-	1106/07
7.	Khafif-II (brother of wife of Sanghar)	1106/07	-	1141/42
8.	Umar-I (brother of Khafif-II)	1141/42	-	1180/81
9.	Dodo-II.	1180/81	-	1194/95
10.	Bhoongar-II (descendent of Dodo-I and not Dodo-II)	1194/95	-	1222
11.	Chanesar-I	1222	-	1228
12.	Gunero-I	1228	-	1236/37
13.	Chanesar – I (second time)	1236/37	-	?
14.	Gunero-I (second time)	?	-	1241/42
15.	Tur (Muhammad Tur son of Gunero-I)	1241/42	-	1256
16.	Gunero-II	1256	-	1259
17.	Dodo-III (son of Gunero-II)	1259	-	1273/74
18.	Tai (son of Dodo-III)	1273/74	-	1283/84
19.	Chanesar – II	1283/84	-	1300/01
20.	Bhoongar-III	1300/01	-	1315
21.	Khafif – III	1315	-	1332/33
22.	Dodo – IV			
23.	Umar-II	1332/33	-	1350
24.	Bhoongar-IV			
25.	Hamir (Dodo)	1350	-	1351/52

Dispersal of Soomra ruling family after defeat in 1351 AD

Dodo-IV Hamir Hammu Muhammad Fled to Dragul hills in Punjab in Founded Fatah Mosque Umar 1352 AD and was killed by Sammas in Parentej Gujarat between 1360-1365. His descendents (India) in 1382 AD. His Rai Gayath in Layyah (Punjab) became big descendents settled in zamindars (agricultural land owners) Gujarat. Sikandera and claim genealogy as below: Age 31, killed at Thana (Gujarat) in Bahauddin Jalaluddin b. 1596 d.1665 b.1633 d.1698 1450 AD. 3. Jeewan d.1735 b.1664 His descendents 4. Humayun 5. Ameer b.1700 b.1736 d.1778 d.1815 settled in Gujarat. 6. Mir Mohammad b.1776 7. Murid Ahmed b.1811 8. Pir Bakash b.1838 d.1901 d.1942 9. Noor Mohammad b.1880 10. Abdul Haq b.1915 d.1995

INDUS CULTURE POTTERY AND SIMILARITIES WITH THAT OF SOOMRA ERA

Various pottery pieces from Amri, Kot Dijji, Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and Jhukar, the designs of which continued upto Soomra period three to four thousand years later. The illustrations of pottery taken from publications listed below, show how close is the resemblence between the two periods of pottery.

- 1938 Mackay, E.J.H, Mohenjo Daro, Futher Excavations, New Delhi.
- 1931 Marshall, Sir John, Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation, Probsthain, London.
- 1943 Mackay, E.J.H., Chanhu Daro Excavations, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MA) USA.
- 1964 Casal, J.M., Foiles D' Amri (French), 2 volumes, Paris.
- 1965 F.A. Khan, Excavations of Kot Dijji, Pakistan Archaeology No.2.

BEAD TYPE DESIGNS ON POTTERY: Bead Motif painting is common on some tiles of Soomra period.

PAINTED FISH SCALE DESIGNS AND POTTERY: Use of fish and other faunal motifs was common from Amri to Mohenjo Daro. They also used fish scale design. Soomra period pottery has fishes and fish scales.

PAINTED ROSETTE PATTERN OF INDUS CULTUREON POTTERY: It leads to lily petal designs and is Soomra period 6,8,12 and 16 petal designs are found on brick and probably on ornaments.

Common sun motifs on painted pottery. Paintings of Amri, Mohenjo Daro and Chanhu Daro show some resemblance with designs on Soomra die cast tiles and also common on ornaments . Painted chequered design on pottery.

Soora period tiles have crosses, squares and carbelled arch designs cut in bricks. There is some similarity with pottery paintings of Amri, Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro period. The Sindhi game Cheelo-Chaner has the same type of board.

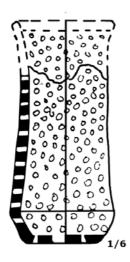
POTTERY

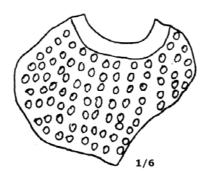
Some of Soomra period pottery has shapes and designs similar to those of Indus Culture with minor variations and occasional innovations, but most of them can be capared. Even some shapes and designs are similar to the present-day pottery. Metallic pots have not replaced the clay pottery altogether in rural areas and only for convenience some terracotta objects have been replaced. Many metallic pots sold in Sindh are simply copy of clay pots, though the new trend in view of sheet metal throwing machines is for simple straight line or circular designs. Some pottery of Mohenjo Daro has similarities with those of Jamdat-Nasar in shapes and size in some fifty per cent cases. Thus ideas and objects did travel in antiquity. We have excellent reports on early, mature and declining Indus Culture sites from Pakistan and India and a comparision shows some deterioration in pottery work up to Soomra period and futher decay up to the end of the twentieth century. It may be reflecting economic conditions., Mohenjo Daro pootery was influenced by Amri, Kot Dijji and Kablibangan pottery. Influence of the Central Asian and Iranian pottery came via Balochistan and vice versa but only for some limited time and in limited objects. Painted pottery of the Soomra period is limited and its designs are variable, as against sophisticate sets of designs of Indus Culture. Fr grey ware, clay containing ferrous oxide is used. Large jars ledge-necked

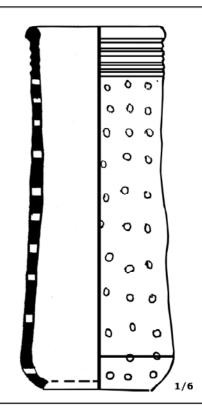
jars or narrow neck jars or those with angular curvatures are made in parts and jointed together. They usually break at joints. Pottery at Mehrgarh goes back to 6000-5000 BC. Wheel-turned pottery was introduced in Mehragrh in 4500-4000 BC. Essentially, pottery designs of all types used during the Soomra era have been found at Mohenjo Daro (2350-1650 BC)/ Clay pottery still plays an important role in rural Sindh, specially as water stored in pottery seeps out of pot walls, evaporates, cools the pot and water inside it, by some degrees in summer Cooking pots of terracotta were very common almost in every household up to 1950, but still some types of bakery plates (Dangi in Sindhi) can be seen. Large pots are still used for storage of grain and processing of fruits and other products. For fermentation clay pots are invariably used in Sindh of today. New trend in Sindh today is towards highly decorative terracotta vessels. Spout in pots is not produced now, except in Sindh Kaunro. It was common in 8th-14th centuries, but not during Mohenjo Daro times. It use can be for pouring liquids out without spilling. Very large pots were common at Mohenjo Daro. One large pot exists at Shah Dewano, but date of its origin is not sure. Painted pottery of Soomra period is inferior to Mohenjo Daro pottery.

SLIPS

Indus plains in Sindh have clay, which produces pink pottery and bricks. Some clays containing red oxide or lead oxide produce fine red slip, when applied as paste to pottery and its us is very common since Mohenjo Daro times.







- Multi hole pottery: Mohenjo Daro (1931: PL. LXXXIV, 13).
- 2. Multi Hole pottery: Mohenjo Daro (1938 : Pl. LXVII. 13).
- 3. Multi-hole pottery with holes pierced on sides and bottom and left rough inside called heaters may have other functions, like lamp shades or holders of wood pieces quoted with some fragrant material, which burnt slowly. It is still commonly used for fragrance in Hindu temples and Muslim tombs: Mohenjo Daro (1938: Pl. LXII, 29).

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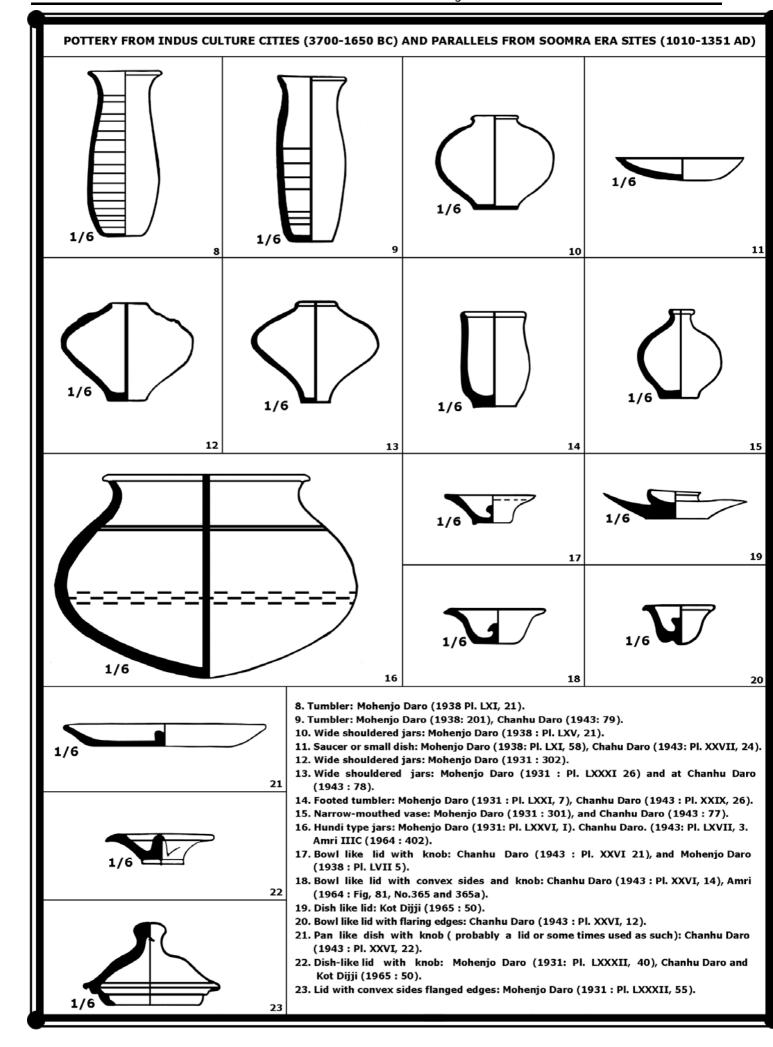
CHAPTER 3

SOOMRAS AS INDEPENDENT RULERS OF SINDH

Asia was divided into several small principalities with no power either in India or in the central Asia and Iran to subdue them and establish an empire. Soomras, who had succeeded Habaris in 1011 AD, were independent rulers except on a few occasions. Chronologically their period from 1011 to 1351 AD is divided as below:

- * 1025-1030 AD. Tributaries to Mahmud of Ghazni.
- * 1030-1217/18 AD. Independent.
- 1206-1217/18 AD. Qabacha conquered Multan and Uch, but below that Sindh was independent under Soomras.
- * 1217/18 to 1221 AD. Qabacha conquered Bakhar and Sehwan, leaving the lower Sindh to Soomras.
- * 1228-1237 AD. Under Chanesar the lower Sindh also accepted vassalage of Altatmash. Bakhar and Sehwan were annexed to Delhi Sultanate.
- * Razia Sultana was facing troubles and also there was a growing influence of the Ismaili masses of Sindh (Soomras too were Ismailis) at that point of time.
- * 1237-1243 AD. Sindh became independent up to Rahim Yar Khan, as Mongol invasions forced evacuation of the whole of Punjab including the area from Multan to Uch. It was by that time that some tribes migrated from southern Punjab to the West and became modern Gypsies. Sindh remained independent up to 1297 AD.
- * 1297-1315 AD. Sindh was made vassal of Delhi Sultanate. Multan, Uch, Bakhar and Sehwan Sarkars (governments) were annexed to the Sultanate. Soomras as vassals occupied the lower Sindh.

- * 1320-1325 AD. Soomras occupied more and more areas of Sindh, but not urban centres where Delhi sent its governors.
- * 1333-1351 AD. Jam Unar as agent of Soomras killed Tughlaq's governor Malik Ratan at Sehwan, which was soon recovered, but Unar continued to occupy most of upper Sindh up to 1351 AD. Delhi Sultanate still controlled Sehwan and Bakhar onwards. They controlled the River Indus up to Sehwan. Muhammad Tughlaq invaded Thatta as Soomras had given protection to Taghi who had rebelled in Gujarat.
- * On the death of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who was poisoned by his officers in 1351 AD at Sonda, the Mongol auxiliary forces, whom Amir Farghan had sent under the command of Ultoon Bahadur to help the Sultan, rebelled against Tughlaqs, looted the imperial treasury and chased the loyal soldiers. Soomras attacked the imperialists from the rear and then the Mongols from the front.
- * Soomras chased Tughlaq up to Sehwan, which along with its surroundings was under the fiefdom of Makhdoom Jehaniya of Uch and royalists were not disturbed beyond Sehwan. Muhammad Tughlaq was temporarily buried at Sehwan and his body was later on taken to Delhi after 5-6 years of his death.
- * In the same year, Sammas under Jam Unar defeated Soomras in a single battle and the ruler fled to Multan, governor of which gave asylum to him and took up the cause with Feroz Tughlaq, who finally attacked Sindh after fifteen years. After two-and-a-half year battle with Jam Unar's son Banbhriyo, he brought the Samma's Murshid



Makhdoom Jehaniya of Uch to bring settlement in his favour and thus Soomra cause was abandoned for ever.

SOOMRAS' ACTIVITIES AFTER THEIR DOWNFALL

- * The Sammas avenged on Soomras after the invasions of Feroz Tughlaq to restore the Soomras by confiscating all their lands and converting them to carpenters, washermen, masons, barbers, bricklayers, painters, black-smiths and stone dressers, etc., all menial occupations.
- * Soomras settled in and around Multan, Khangarh, Shujabad, Lodhran, Uch, Bahawalpur, Layyah, Jhang, Mankerah, Miabal and other Thal villages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD, claiming that they were the deposed rulers of Sindh. They established their own Jagir but Shah Hasan Arghoon conquered Multan and Bahawalpur area from Langahs in around 1525 AD and soon surrendered it to Babur. Thus came the end of Soomra Jagirship in 1526 AD.
- * Those in southeast Sindh proved to be a thorn for Sammas. It seems that Jam Nizamuddin very tactfully asked Mahmud Begra of Gujarat (his nephew by relationship) to subdue Soomras. The latter again tactfully converted them to Sunnism and settled them in Kathiawar, where they were established as local chiefs under the title of Nawab of Jam Nagar.
- * Soomras were settled in Bahawalpur in the parts captured by Sammas in the fifteenth century and assigned important positions to some of them.
- * Marot fort in Bahawalpur was in possession of Malik Jam Soomro in 1491 AD and he got it repaired. It was on the left bank of Hakra which was getting spill waters from Sutlej.
- * Soomras living in Layyah had occupied substantial areas as tributaries or taxpayers to the ruler of Multan. A well dug by Bahauddin, descendent of Hamir Soomro, still exists though is abandoned as shown in the revenue records as Dalh Bahauddin.
- * Soomra chiefs had met Sher Shah Suri while he was in Layyah area. They had established themselves as

big landowners without military designs.

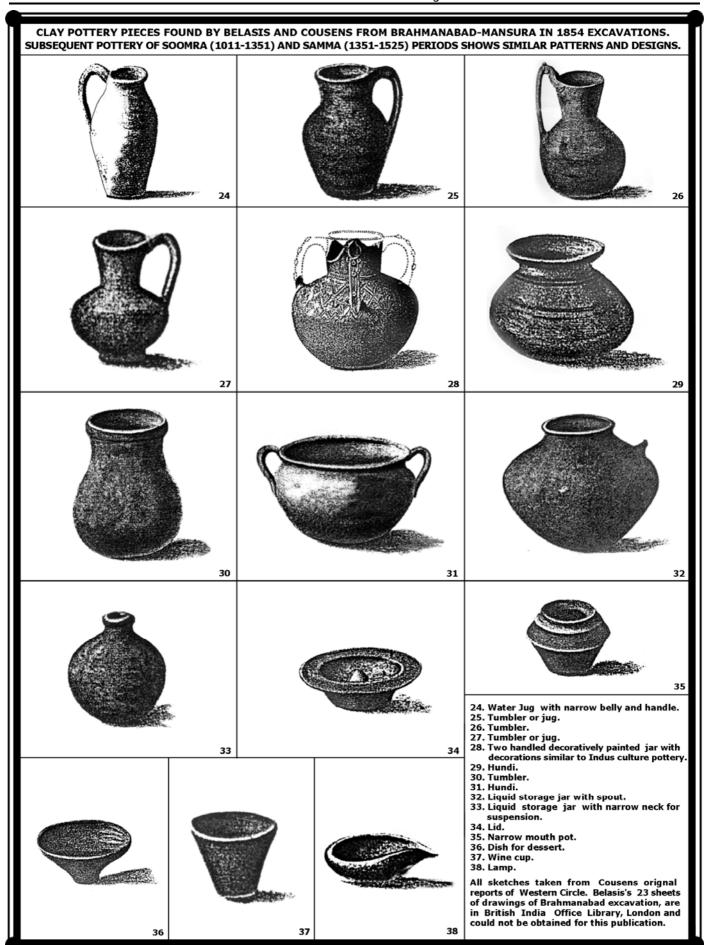
* They still own lands in Thal area.

SOOMRAS OUTSIDE SINDH

Sources on Soomras outside Sindh are scattered and information collected mostly by the British scholars was printed in District Gazetteer of Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Multan, D.G. Khan, D.I. Khan, Banu, etc., and also in the Imperial Gazetteer of Punjab.

The following are the highlights:

- * Multan was separated from Sindh after 854 AD and in 980 AD pro-Fatmids captured it.
- * Multan was in hands of Ismailis until their overthrow by Shahabuddin Ghori, who in his expeditions passed through Multan many times after 1175 AD. In 1032 Bahauddin, the chief apostle of Hamza wrote to Shaikh Ibn Soomar Raja Bal to rise and bring back Daud, the younger, into true religion. Soomras were Ismailis then. Muhammad Ghori subdued Ismailis in 1175-76 and then marched on to Uch in 1176 on way to Gujarat (1178), but Multan rebelled against him and he had to attack them again.
- * Muzaffargarh fell under the influence of Soomra dynasty from 1053 to 1351 AD and later on under Sammas.
- * D.G. Khan district was part of Soomra and Samma rule until ascendancy of Langahs in 1445 AD.
- * Ahmedpur Lamma tehsil in Bahawalpur is on the border of Sindh. Ahmedpur West town is called Ahmedpur Lamma and is tehsil's headquarter. There is another town named Ahmedpur East, which is headquarter of the Ahmedpur tehsil. Ahmedpur Lamma has numerous Soomras, who are landowners, tenants and washermen.
- * Muzaffargarh District Gazetteer states that Soomras expelled Arabs from Sindh in 750 AD. It may not be the whole Sindh, but probably some areas in Muzaffargarh, which then were held by Soomras and later on Sammas. Present Rajput tribes of the district namely Sials, Gurahas, Bhattis, Joyas and Ghojaras migrated to this district during the rule of Soomras and Sammas.



The other Sindhi tribes of Muzaffargarh are Panhwar, Parhiar, Chhajra, Daha, Gurahai, Masson and Bhutta. During the Soomra and Samma rule, these tribes of that

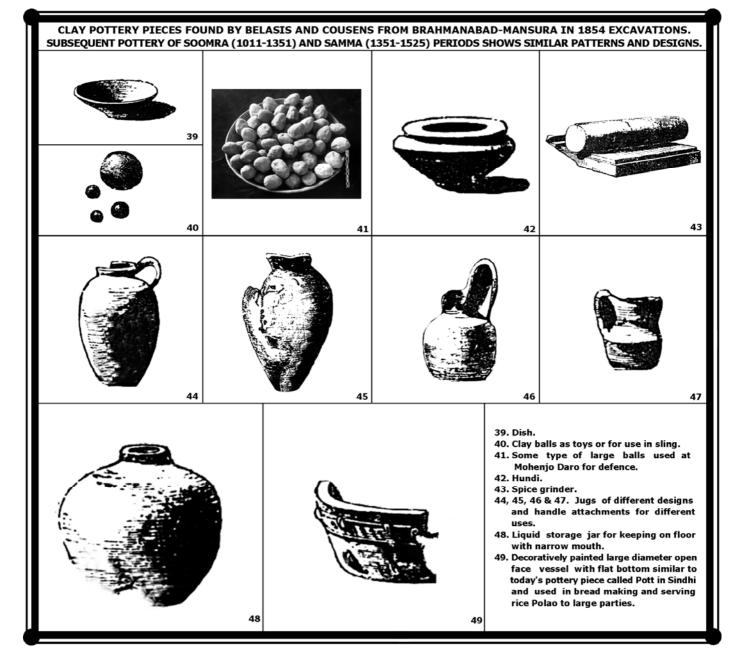
Soomra and Samma rule, these tribes of that district were called as Jats.

* Bahawalpur Gazetteer states that Hamir Soomro, the last ruler, left Sindh and settled in Punjab. He probably was helped by Mahru (Insha-i-Mahru), then the governor of Uch and of Multan later on. Hamir seems to have his headquarters (called capital) at Pattanpur, the ruins of which are still called Pattan Munair, at present in Sadiqabad tehsil. Sammas uprooted him from there and he migrated to the Dragul hill on Balochistan's

border with Punjab. He was finally assassinated by Sammas. These Soomras were then called Gorchani Balochs. During the battles with Sammas, the number of Soomras killed was so large that almost every woman became a widow and since then no Soomra woman wears a nose ring as token of mourning this loss.

In Bahawalpur division Soomra septs are: Bhattar, Kakkik, Bakhri and Khatris of Sadiqabad tehsil. The last were washermen or Dhobis when Bahawalpur Gazetteer was compiled in 1904 AD.

There are Hindu Soomras in Rajasthan. They call themselves Mahars, a title common among some Soomras of Multan.



MAP NO: 7 951 AD - ISTAKHRI'S MAP OF SINDH Northern Frontier of Sindh was about 50 miles North of Multan. Lasbela, part of Makran up to Kej, kalat Sibi, and Gandava formed part of Sindh. BUDHIA SIBI-KACHHI DIST AND WESTERN PART OF LARKANA DISTRICT ÁLHAIDARAUS ● ABRI ACINAM • PERSIAN SEA (Arabian Sea) BAHERE FARS INDEX TOWNS OF THE 10TH CENTURY THE MODERN EQUIVALENTS. THE RIVER INDUS & ITS TRIBUTARIES. BORDER OF SINDH. NOTE: (THIS MAP HAS MANY SIMILARTES WITH IBNHAUKALS MAP 976 AD.)

976 AD - IBN HAUKAL'S MAP OF SINDH **BASED ON ELLIOT (1867)** RONTIERS OF NURMAN KURMAN P M asli

MAP NO: 8

MAP NO: 9

IBN-I-HAUKAL'S MAP OF THE WORLD

MODERN EQUIVALENTS OF OLD TOWNS IN MAP NO: 7 & 8

OLD MODERN SADUSAN **SEHWAN** KASDUN KHUZDAR KAIKAN KALAT DISTRICT **BUDHA** SIBI-KACHHI DISTRICTS KANDABIL **GANDAVA AL-MULTAN MULTAN** AL-RUR ALORE KALRI **DEH KALRI (NAWABSHAH DIST)** MANSURAH BAHMANABAD

ARMABEL LASBELA KIZ **KEJ OR KECH**

NIRUN SOUTH OF HYDERABADBY 15 MILES

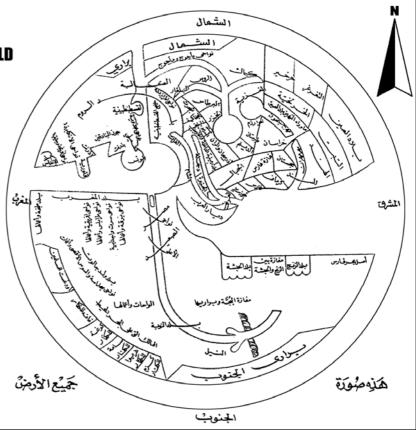
SINDON SINJAN

BAHERE FARS PERSIAN SEA OR ARABIA SEA

KANZBURD PUNJGUR

BASMAD **BHATIA? OR BHATINDA?**

BANIYA BAIZA MANGHOPIR **MANJABARI** GAWADAR TIZ DAYBAL **BANBHORE**



0

EARLY ARAB MAPS OF SINDH (900 - 1000 AD)

HE so-called Arab geographers were not geographers in the strict sense of the word. They were travellers, merchants and seamen. They contributed but very little to cartography, the very basis for the development of geography. None of them used longitude and latitude or parallels and meridians as the basis for determining location of a place as Ptolemy (150 AD) did 800 years earlier. Ptolemy described the world surface then known with the greatest accuracy, but underestimated distance between Europe and Indies. He was the first to use the term parallels and meridians not used by these early Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth century. Ptolemy had collected his information from merchants and mariners, who used those scientific measures as a guide.

On thorough examination of Ibn Haukal's (976 AD) and Istakhri's (951 AD) maps of Sindh, the following defects are found in the maps:

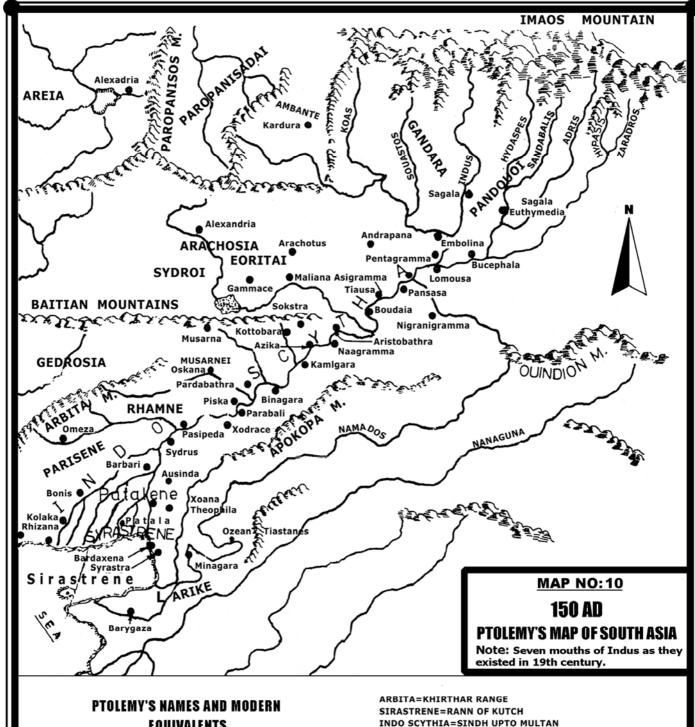
- * The River Indus flow is shown in straight line from north to south direction.
- * Sindh coast is almost a straight line.
- * Boundaries of Sindh run in perfect straight line and make a ninety degree angle when there is a change of direction.
- * Tributaries of the Indus meet in a perfect arc of a circle.
- * Northern boundary of the province is a perfect semi-circle.
- * The roads run in a straight line. They usually make 90^{0} or about 45^{0} angle with the border or each other.
- * There is no delta head of the river, nor does it split into a number of branches to discharge into the

- sea, whereas seven mouths of Indus were recorded by Ptolemy.
- * The distances between the places are described in days journey, marhals and farsangs for which no standards had ever been laid. Another Arab geographer, Abdul Fida, writing on Haukal, states: "The book of Ibn Haukal is a work of considerable length in which different countries are described with sufficient exactness, but neither are the names of places marked by correct points nor are longitudes and latitudes expressed; this frequently occasions an uncertainty respecting the locations of places and proper names."
- * Such cartography makes recognition of historical geography impossible.

But as travellers' account they have given very useful information on the description of cities, trade articles, economics, food, agriculture, clothes, religion, customs, names of rulers and some important Arab tribes. From these accounts the history of Habaris, Banu Saamah and Maadans had been compiled and chronology studied. They have named many towns a number of which have been recognised. Their books were guides of travellers and merchants rather than geographies as Elliot called them. Most of them were not Arabs but Persians.

Some Arab geographers attempted to produce scientific writings, for example: Khawrizmi (mid-ninth century AD), produced a world map for Khalifa Mu'tasim, but these early attempts were unscientific, as they lacked thorough understanding of Ptolemy's "Almagest" with geometry and astrology as prerequisites.

Native of Iran, Istakhri's work "Routes and kingdoms" is based on Balkhi's earlier work of the



EQUIVALENTS BY AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK

ASIGRAMMA=UCH PASIPEDA=SEHWAN PARISE=KOHISTAN (SINDH) OSCANA=OXYKANUS=MOHOTA MUSARNA=MOSIKANA= **COUNTRY OF MOUSICANUS**

BINAGARA=ALORE KAMIGARA=RIVER NORTH OF ALORE KALACA=KROKALA=ABAN SHAH BARBARI=BARBIKAN=BANBHORE **AUSINDA=TOWN ON HAKRA** PISCA=MOHEN-JO-DARO=BADAH STUPA PATALENE=INDUS DELTA

PATALA=BRAHMANABAD HYDASPES = JHELUM ADRIS = RAVI **HYPASIS=BEAS** ZARADROS=SUTLEJ SANDABALIS=CHENAB SOUASTOS=SWAT KOAS=KABUL RIVER SOUTH OF PASIPEDA=GAJ RIVER SOUTH OF GAMMACE=GOMAL RIVER NEAR OSCANA=BOLAN AND GHAR OR WESTERN NARA. OZEAN=UJJAIN BARBARI=BARBIKAN=BANBHORE **BUCEPHATA=BETWEEN SIALKOT AND TAXILA** HAKRA=MAPPED BUT NOT NAMED

An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh

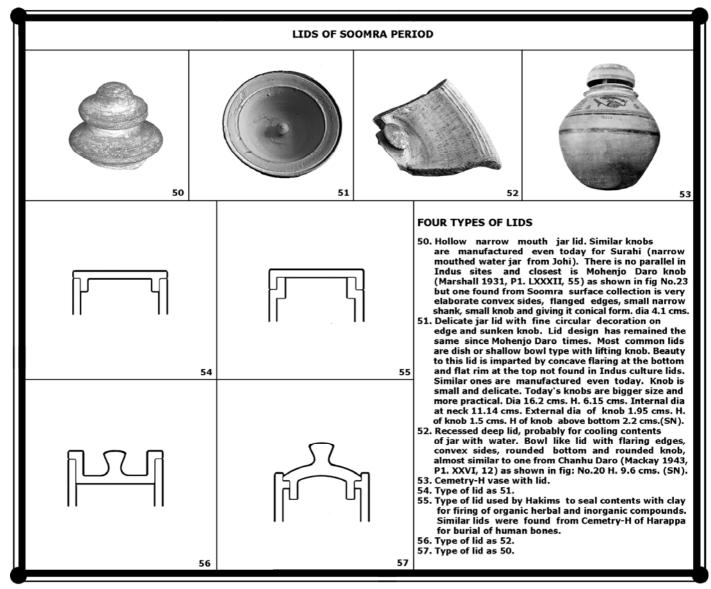
same name and a copy of his map available in the British Library, London, examined by this author, resembles to that of Ibn Haukal, whom Istakhri met in Sindh in 951-52 AD.

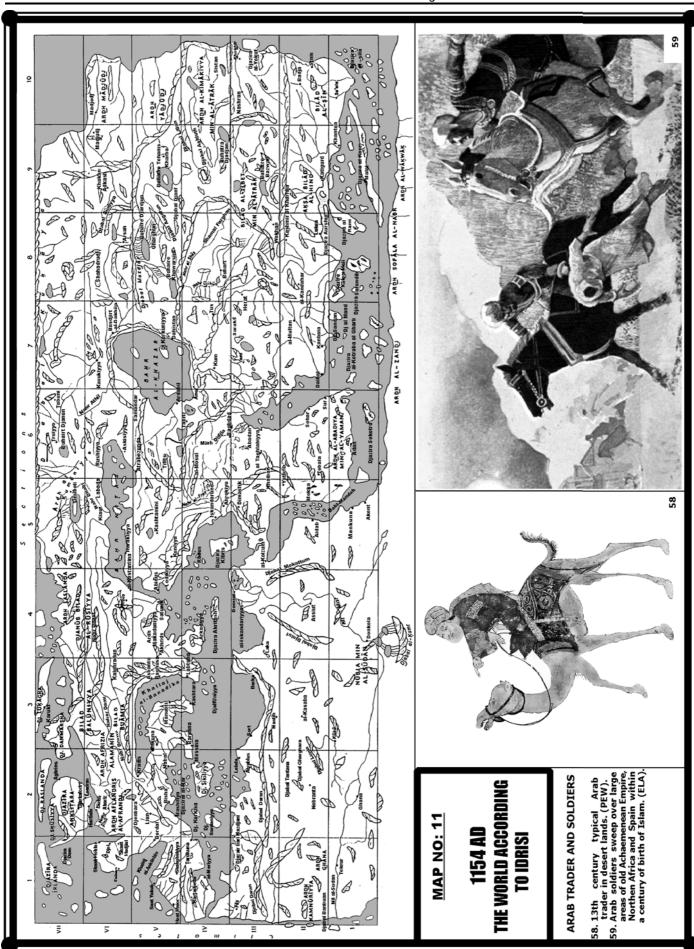
NAMES AND PLACES SHOWN IN ARAB MAPS

A few note-worthy places mentioned in their maps were:

- * Barbarican was renamed as Debal most probably due to presence of a synagogue built by the Persian Jews, who had a colony there from the third century AD till its destruction in 1224 AD at the hands of Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah.
- * Al-Beruni has given the names of the five rivers of the Punjab as Vitastal (Jhelum), Candraha

- (Chenab), Irava (Ravi), Bias and Shauadar (Sutlej).
- * By this time Sarsuti had dried up except getting spill waters of Sutlej and Indus.
- * A new town Baniya was established on the eastern Puran and could be a predecessor to Mirpurkhas or be Kahujo Daro.
- * The Indus between Panjnad and Alore was called Panchanada.
- * Al-Beruni also names a port of Loharani, probably an early port on the Indus delta. Later on for at least 500 years all ports on the main branch of the Indus were called Lahri Bunder.
- * Many of the places mentioned in the Arab maps existed during Soomra era are given in the table on page 43.

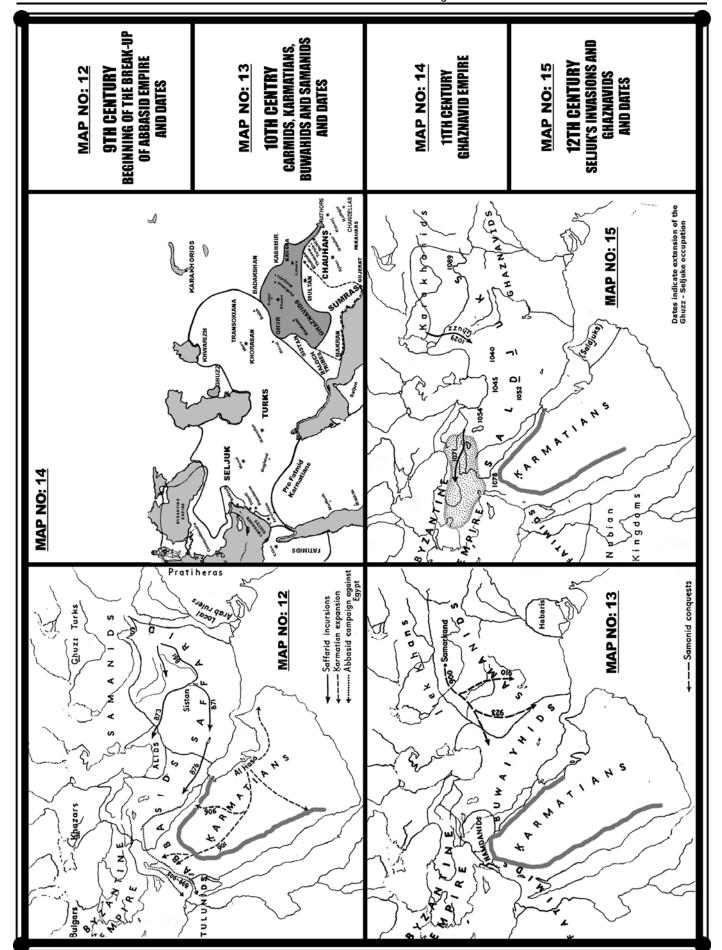




GEOGRAPHICAL PLACES SHOWN IN ARAB MAPS AND THEIR LOCATION

S.No	Place	Location	S.No	Place	Location
1.	Al-rud/Alore	(ruins 4 miles from Rohri) A branch of river passed through it then	30.	Mau	in Rahim Yar Khan district about 25 miles north of Sindh border
2.	Abri	north of Kalari?	31.	Mathelo	existent
3.	Armail/Armabel	near Lasbela	32.	Mir Rukan *	ruins north of Nawabshah but village of the same name ex- ists
4.	Alhaidrus	Jaisalmer	33.	Mansura	Brahmanabad ruins or Brahmanka of Panini 5 th century BC
5.	Basmad	Bhatia or Bhatinda	34.	Manjabari	Manghopir
6.	Baghrur	probably Rohri	35.	Mastunj (Masih)	Mastung
7.	Baiza/Dhaliya/ Baniya/ Manija	in vicinity of Mirpurkhas or Kahujo Daro	36.	Nankot	?
8.	Budhjo Takar	ruins in Badin district	37.	Nerunkot	ruins probably near Khathar and not Hyderabad?
9.	Booqan	Sibi	38.	Naggar *	Nagar Parker
10.	Buddhia	Sibi-Kachhi and Kachho (piedmont) of Larkana dis- trict	39.	Pari Nagar *	ruins
11.	Bandrah	in Sindh Kohistan (probably Karchat)	40.	Qusdar (Kasdan)	Khuzdar
12.	Bahr-i-Faras	Arabian Sea (Persian sea)	41.	Sudheran*	Saidpur near Bathoro
13.	Bahr-i-Lar or Larwi	Sea near Kathiawar	42.	Sudusan (Sharusan)	Sehwan
14.	Bahr-i-Turan	Soanmiani Bay	43.	Samand *	?
15.	Debal	Banbhore ruins (Barbarican)	44.	Sindhu Sagara	Sea near delta of the Indus
16.	Gujjo*	existent (Thatta district)	45.	Sindan	Sinjan
17.	Gulf of Sindh *	Rann of Kutch	46.	Subari	near Sindhri on Koree Creek
18.	Kalari	ruins in Deh Kalari district Nawabshah	47.	Talti *	existent (Dadu district)
19.	Kaikan (Kizkanan)	Kalat	48.	Tatar	Thatta
20.	Kandabil	Gandava	49.	Tez/Al-tiz	Gawadar
21.	Kanzburd	Panjgur	50.	Uch	existent
22.	Kandrach	Hinglaj	51.	Usli	Uthal
23.	Kez / Kej	Kech (near Turbat)	52.	Virawah *	existent
24.	Kabili	probably Thano Bula Khan/ Thano Ahmed Khan	53.	? *	Vinjrot (ruins on Reni river)
25.	Kambaya	Khambhat	54.	? *	Dribh Dethari (ruins south of Vinjrot on Reni river)
26.	Kamhal	near Khambhat	55.	Vistastal	Jhelum
27.	Kambali	Soanmiani Bay	56.	Candraha	Chenab
28.	Mihran	The Indus below Alore	57.	Irava	Ravi
29.	Multan	Existent	58.	Shauadar	Sutlej

Note: Some places are marked on maps but are not named. Their possible names are shown by *.



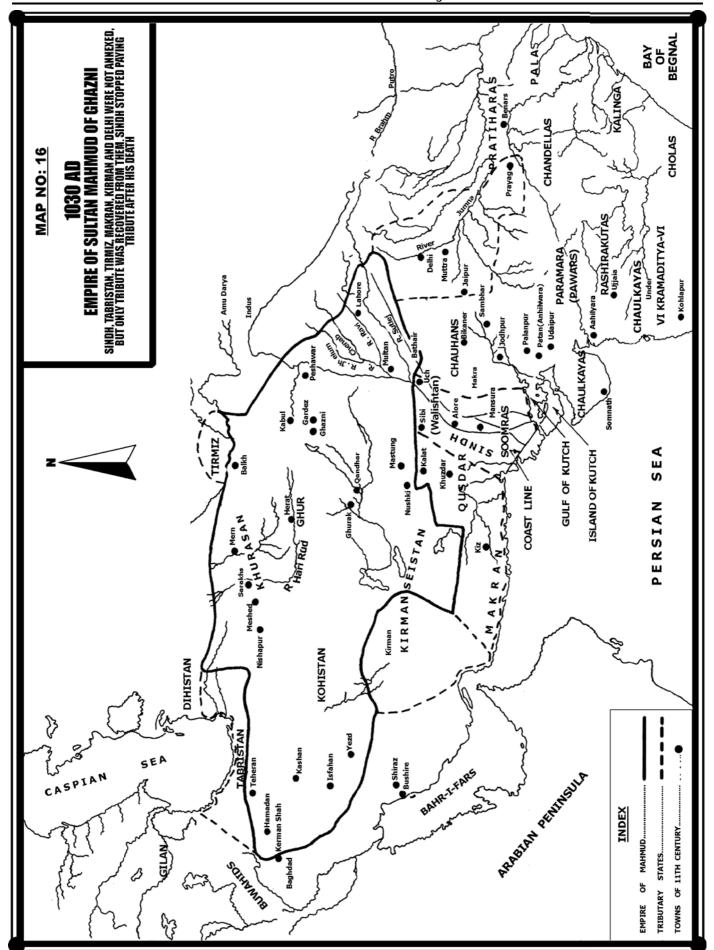
INDEPENDENT ISLAMIC STATES AND NEIGHBOURING NON-MUSLIM STATES (998 AD) BEFORE SOOMRAS' RISE TO POWER

HE overthrow of Umayyads by Abu
Muslim Abdi, a Persian, and installing of
Abbas as the first Khalifa, was the first
blow to Arabs' power in the Islamic empire. AlMansur, the second Abbasid Khalifa, created a power
base for the state with the aid of the Persian troops and
others, which passed on the leadership of Muslim

world (except Spain) to the Persians. The state administration and finances were organised on the models of Byzantine and Sassanians. The decay of the empire began when it reached the climax under Harunal-Rashid. Chronologically, the events of establishing independent dynasties in previously Abbasid empire

INDEPENDENT MUSLIM STATES IN 998 AD

S.No.				Independent dynasties
1.	787	-	922 AD	Idrisid dynasty in Morocco.
2.	800	-	1028 AD	Rashid Imam (Shiite) at Sana in Yemen.
3.	801	-	909 AD	Aghlabids in Kairouan (Tunis) succeeded by Fatmids in 909 AD.
4.	808	-	909 AD	Rostamids of Tahir in Tunis.
5.	829	-	999 AD	Rostamids became independent in 875 AD in Tunis.
6.	819	-	1018 AD	Ziyadids in Yemen succeeded by Najahids 1021 – 1158 AD.
7.	829	-	1003 AD	Hamdanids in Mosul and Aleppo-succeeded by Mirdasids 1023-1079 AD and Okaylids 996-1096 AD.
8.	854	-	1011 AD	Habaris in Sindh.
9.	864	-	928 AD	Alids in Tabristan-expelled by Samanids in 928 AD.
10.	867	-	903 AD	Saffarids in Khurasan-succeeded by Samanids.
11.	868	-	905 AD	Talunids in Egypt, succeeded by Ikhshidids 935-969 AD.
12.	874	-	999 AD	Samanids acquired Tabristan, Khurasan, Persia and Sijistan.
13.	890	-	1009 AD	Ramdanids of Mosul and Aleppo.
14.	900	-	987 AD	Banu Saamah at Multan.
15.	909	-	972 AD	Fatmids at Tunisia.
16.	928	-	1042 AD	Siaarids of Turjan (southern shores of the Caspian sea). They acquired Persia, Kirman, Ahwaz, Iraq and Rayy from Samanids, but their Turkish slaves who filled the court under Alpatgin, usurped the power and founded Ghaznavid dynasty in 994 AD.
17.	932	-	1165 AD	Ilkhans of Turkistan at Kashgar. They conquered Transoxiana from Samanids in 999 AD and held it for a few years when Mahmud of Ghazni occupied it restricting them to western Sinkiang.
18.	959	-	1015 AD	Hasan Wayhids of Kurdistan.



DID THE EMPIRE OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI INCLUDE SINDH?

BACKGROUND OF MAHMUD GHAZNAVI'S WARS

HERE is a wrong impression that Sindh was a part of the Ghaznavid empire. The rise of Ghaznavids to power was sudden and so was their fall. The organised raids by their invading armies began with the conquest of northern parts of Pakistan by Sabkatgin. He had nominally accepted the

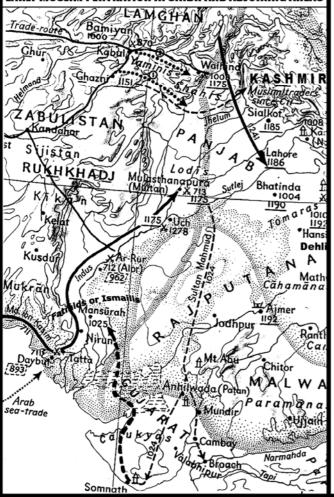
vassalage of Samanids. His son Mahmud obtained investiture for the government of Ghazni and Khurasan directly from the Khalifa of Baghdad, and although the latter did not enjoy these powers, he declared him independent of Samanids. In the thirty-two years of his reign he made thirty-five major and eleven minor invasions, which chronologically are given in the table below including five raids on Sindh and Multan.

INVASIONS OF MAHMUD GHAZNAVI

S.No	Year AD	Events
1.	March 998	Captured the fort of Ghazni, which he took from his own brother Ismail.
2.	May 6 th 999	Khalaf occupied Fushanj - Mahmud forced him to evacuate it.
3.	November 999	Defeat of Abul Malik at Merv and occupation of Khurasan. The Khalifa Al-Qadir Billah bestowed on Mahmud the title of Yamin-ud-Dawlah-wa-Aminul Millat. Mahmud resolved to go on a holy war against Fatmids of central Asia, Multan, Sindh and Hindus, in summer in central Asia and in winter in India.
4.	December 999	Investment of the fort of Isphabud and submission of Khalaf.
5.	November 1000	He captured some forts near Lamaghan.
6.	October 1001	Jaipal defeated, taken prisoner and Wahind annexed.
7.	1001	Defeat of Mustansir.
8.	November 1002	Khalaf taken prisoner and sent to Juzjanan. Sistan placed under the Hajib Qiji.
9.	October 1003	Defeated rebels of Sistan.
10.	October 1004	Defeat and death of Biji Rai, Raja of Bhatinda.
11.	April 1006	Defeat of Anandpal of the Punjab on the banks of the Indus.
12.	April 1006	Fall of Multan, flight of Abul Fateh Daud, its Ismaili ruler and Sukhpal appointed governor of Multan.
13.	Sep – Oct. 1006	Ilak Khan's troops driven out of Khurasan.
14.	January 1008	Ilak khan again invaded Khurasan, but was defeated on plains of Katar.
15.	January 1008	Received news of Sukhpal's rebellion.
16.	December 1008	Anandpal's defeat near Wahind and being taken prisoner.
17.	1009	Fall of Nagarkot.
18.	October 1010	Left Ghazni for Multan, Daud taken prisoner and sent to Ghurak. (Ghour).
19.	June 1011	Attached Ghour and took Ibn-i-Suri as prisoner.
20.	December 1011	Attack on Qusdar and submission of its ruler.
21.	1012	Deposition of Qabus.
22.	August 1012	Gharhistan conquered and annexed.
23.	November 1013	Left Ghazni for Nandana but was forced to return.
24.	March 1014	Defeated Bhimal and fall of Nandana. Defeated Trilochanpal and Tungs above Jhelum.

MAP NO: 17

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI'S ROUTE OF SACKING MANSURA AND THE FARLY MUSLIM PENTRATION IN SINDH AND ADJOINING AREAS





MAHMUD GHAZNAVI'S ARMY ILLUSTRATIONS FROM FIRDOUSI'S SHAH NAMA

60. Mahmud Ghaznavi's soldiers were trained to hide themselves on trees and when cavalry men marched on road, they would jump on them and kill them. They could also jump from there horses on enemy cavalryman.



61. Picture from Jami-ut-Tawarikh of Rashiduddin, a mongol employee. He has shown Mahmud's army dressed like Mongols and his fort wall scaling machines. (ELA).

		An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh
25.	October 1014	Defeat of Raja Ram and fall of Thanesar.
26.	May 1015	Attached Khwabin.
27.	1015/16	Advanced on Balkh, the first invasion of Kashmir and investment of Lohkot.
28.	July 1017	Defeated the army of Khawarizm and annexed the country.
29.	December 1017	Conquered Kanauj.
30.	January 1018	Defeated Raja of Sharwa.
31.	April 1019	Marched against the Afghans.
32.	October 1019	Left Ghazni to punish Ganda and the new Raja of Kanauj.
33.	December 1019	Defeated Trilochanpal and took Bari.
34.	1019-20	Flight of Ganda at the approach of Mahmud.
35.	1020	Sacking of valleys of Nur and Qirat.
36.	November 1020	Marched on Tab in Ghour, its ruler submitted.
37.	Sept. October 1021	Second unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir and siege of Lohkot. Trilochanpal son of Anandpal killed.
38.	1022-23	Submission of the Raja of Gawaliar and also of Ganda, the Raja of Kalinjar.
39.	1025	Israil B. Seljuk taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Kalinjar.
40.	December 1025	Captured Lodorva.
41.	December 1025	Arrival at Anhilwara (Anhilvada or Naharwala or Patan) and flight of Raja Bhim, the Chaulkaya.
42.	January 1026	Fall of Somnath and also the fort of Kanthkot.
43.	March 1026	Defeated Khafif Soomro, the Ismaili ruler of Mansura.
44.	March 1027	Left Ghazni to punish the Jats of the upper Sindh,sunk several thousand boats and reduced
45.	1028	Marched against the Seljuks.
46.	May 1029	Maudud taken prisoner and the town of Rayy captured.
47.	January 1030	Masud conquered Isfahan.

Sayed Suleman Nadvi states that his victims included more Muslims than non-Muslims, as he fought twenty-three major wars against Muslims and twelve against Hindus.

MAHMUD GHAZNAVI'S SACKING OF SINDH (1026 AND 1027 AD)

In 1025 AD, Mahmud of Ghazni left for Somnath via Multan. On way to Somnath he captured Lodorva. Raja Bhim Dev-I, the Chaulkaya king of Gujarat, fled before his arrival. He captured Somnath and within a fortnight left for Sindh via Kanthkot and the Thar desert of Sindh as Bhim Dev Chaulkaya and Parmadeva another Hindu king of Malwa had prepared for war. After heavy losses in the desert he reached Mansura (Brahmanabad), the capital of Sindh. Its Ismaili ruler Khafif (Soomro) escaped to jungle. The city was sacked and burnt. On his way to Ghazni (via

Multan and Gomal Pass) he was attacked by Jats (boatmen) of the upper Sindh at the instigation of Khafif. He lost many men, animals and baggage. To avenge this, he returned to Sindh in 1027 AD and in a naval battle on the Indus, in which his boats were fitted with sharp steel spears, he attacked Jats, many of them were drowned and their families taken as prisoners.

Mahmud's commitment to the anti-Fatmid and anti-Ismaili Sunnism of Abbasid Khilafat brought about previously unplanned sacking of Mansura on return from Somnath. It probably was due to expected preparatory attack of Bhim Dev by the route he has taken to Somnath. Thus, while passing through Sindh, it was highly tempting to sack rich Mansura, whether Khalifa was an Ismaili or not. Mahmud could have sacked Mansura along with Multan in 1010 AD. If this was the case that on the fall of Multan Ismailis came to Mansura and established their Dawa, seems to be too improbable as Mahmud's religious commitments

CLAY JARS MOSTLY FOR STORAGE OF LIQUIDS







64

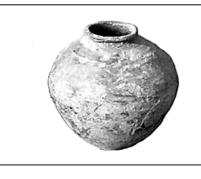






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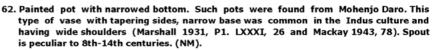






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- 63. Wide mouth pot with spherical bottom and nozzle type spout. Decorative sun motif stamps used for decoration in 3 sizes, circular in shape, but spacing variable. The broad mouth and shouldered pot is similar to Mohenjo Daro pot (Marshall 1931, P1. LXXVI, I). It is stamped with a circular design similar to one on ear ornament of neighbouring countries.(NM).
- 64. Sindhi Kaunro, a globular vase with long neck, narrow mouth, handle and nozzle spout from Brahmanabad-Mansura. It can be difficult to handle compared to similar small Kaunro of twentieth century.(DGA).
- 65. Pot with fine design stamped on it. It is upright, flat bottom, narrow mouth storage jar. Nearest parallel is Mohenjo Daro pot (Marshall 1931, P1. LXXX), though having comparatively large mouth as shown in fig: no. 13. The vessel has very attractive shape. (NM).
- 66. Pot from Brahmanabad-Manusra similar to Mohenjo Daro as fig: no. 13. (NM).
- 67. Pot with flat bottom and spout. This vase is combination of wide rounded shouldered jar with flat base and similar vase was found from Mohenjo Daro, fig: no. 10. (Mackay 1938 P1. LXV, 21 and Mackay 1938, P1. LX, 31). (NM).
- 68. Pot with fine knurled design along belly or shoulders. It has narrow mouth, large shoulders and hemispherical shape below the shoulders, giving it beauty. There is no parallel in the Indus or pre-Indus culture of South Asia. (BM).
- 69. Heavy-duty storage jar with thick walls found intact from Soomra site Shah Kapoor. D 33 cms, H 38 cms. Probably for fermentation. (US).
- 70. Child bath, also considered as fruit basket, but is too heavy as fruit dish.(BM).
- 71. Decorative jar probably for liquors. (NM).
- 72. Highly decorative and stand jar probably for liquors from Brahmanabad-Manusra. (NM).



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would have brought his attacks much earlier and not at the fag end of his life.

Of the countries conquered by Mahmud, Sindh, Tabristan, Tirmiz, Kakran and Delhi were not annexed, but were made to pay tribute. On his death, Sindh probably stopped paying tribute. His successors faced unending miseries as a result of long years of Mahmud's conquests of the central Asia in

summers and South Asia in winters. In the south of Oxus the people previously under Samanids had no interest whatsoever in the invasion of the South Asia and the Ghaznavids failed to win their loyalties in this regard, as Khurasan region had long tradition of autonomy and now the Ghaznavids were behaving as occupying power. Mahmud had allowed Seljuks (Turk nomads) to cross the Oxus in 1025 AD. These tribes created disorder in the densely populated urban areas of Khurasan. In 1035 AD, the Seljuks wrought havoc in Khurasan. The helpless population of Mervand and Nishapur accepting the overlordship of Seljuks used them to drive the Ghaznavids out of Khurasan, who finally fled to Lahore. Seljuks defeated Masud and on his return to Ghazni was murdered and replaced by his blind brother. Thus, the Ghaznavid threat ended.

Sindh was neither annexed nor any governor sent to it by Ghaznavids. During their rule of Lahore they must have occupied a small portion of the northern Punjab. Multan went in the hands of local principalities (Ismailis, probably of Soomra clan) and was ultimately reduced by Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori in 1175 AD.

Easy defeat of Indians and Pakistanis at the hands of Mahmud was not due to bravery of any army, but due to the superiority of weapons of the conqueror. Common weapons of Soomra period were the same as that in vogue in other Indian states since centuries. The common Indian weapons are discussed below:

OFFENSIVE WEAPONS

These were: axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, quivers, swords, maces, slings, javelins with iron blade and long staff.

DEFENSIVE WEAPONS

These were: huge helmets and shields made of

buffalo or ox hides. Hindus never used cow hide but Soomras may have.

MAHMUD GHAZNAVI'S MAIN WEAPONS WERE GARGACH AND SABAT

Gargach was covered platform on wheels for reaching at the base of fort. It was essentially for offensive purposes. Sabat was a platform to reach at top of fort. Mahmud of Ghazni used both in all wars and later on Delhi Sultans and Mongols used them. It is not certain if Soomras had these. Mahmud's war machines had evolved from Roman, Sassanian and Arab predecessors and had been developed over fifteen hundred years since Achaemenian times. South Asia had isolated itself depending on conventional weapons since 500 BC onwards.

SOOMRAS AS INDEPENDENT RULERS (1030-1217/18 AD)

Their first capital was at Mansura, which was sacked and burnt by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1026 AD. Soomras made Tharri (a place approximately eight miles eastwards of Matli in Badin district), their capital soon after 1026 AD. They shifted the capital form Tharri to Shah Kapoor or Muhammad Tur (about eight miles north of Jati) around 1241-1246 AD, due to the River Indus having abandoned the former course during the rule of Tur. Muhammad Tur town was on the Gungro branch of the River Indus. By the thirties of the fourteenth century AD the Indus deserted Muhammad Tur also and the capital was established at Thatta. Muhammad Tur is also called Mahatam Tur and Shah Kapoor. Soomras did not use Muslim names and could have used Mahatma. The name Shah Kapoor denotes Kapoor or Tur. The prefix Shah is added to graveyards too.

The conjecture that Bakhar and Uch were parts of Ghaznavid empire up to 1186 AD is incorrect. During the period Sindh was raided from Gujarat by Vikramaditya-VI (1077-1126 AD), but the raids were panegyrics rather than conquests. He raided via Malwa and Thar desert, rather than Kutch, which was an island then. Some time before 1175 AD, a local Shahi Hindu Raja of Bhatti (Bhatia) tribe seems to have established



11.75 cms. (SN).

86. Highly decorated piece of a stand or a smoking device. (BM).

a small principality at Uch. It may have been carved out of Multan or Sindh or both. Muhammad Ghori reduced it. At that times, Sindh's border to the north was some 100 miles north of the present boundary.

SINDH AND THE LATER GHAZNAVIDS (1030-1176 AD)

Sindh paid tribute to Mahmud of Ghazni from 1026 till his death in 1030 AD. In 1030 AD, Masud succeeded his father Mahmud. A year later, when on the death of Khalifa Al-Qadir, Al-Qasim succeeded him in Baghdad, Masud received the investiture of Khurasan, Khawarizm, Nimruz, Zabulistan, the whole of India, Sindh, Chaghaniyan, Khuttalan, Qubadhiyan, Tirmiz, Qusdar, Makran, Walistan (Sibi), Kaikan, Rayy, Jibal, Isfahan, the whole territory up to Hulwan, Gurgan and Tabristan. The list includes tributary states too including Sindh. Even the whole of India is included in the list when a title or victory without possession was considered a glory. This only shows the tendency of the "right of the strong and ambitious". Following these historical instances it becomes clear that Sindh was not under Ghaznavid rule as is generally believed.

- * Multan was invaded in 1005-6 AD and a tribute of twenty million dirhams was imposed on it. It was finally annexed in 1010-11 AD.
- * Sindh became a tributary state in early 1026 AD and may have paid an amount of forty-five out of sixty million dirhams annually fixed for Sindh and Multan, as the area and agricultural resources of Sindh were three times more than those of Multan.
- * There is no evidence of Sindh being under Ghaznavid control after 1030 AD and it is certain that at least after 1040 AD, Sindh was free from any raids of the later Ghaznavids though these are ill-documented. The middle and later Ghaznavids continued raids on the Indian territories for treasure and bullion, but there were no gains of territory beyond the border of the Punjab and western half of Ganges-Jamna Doab.
- * In 1031 AD, Qusdar (Khuzdar), Walistan (Sibi) and Kaikan were formally annexed to Masud's kingdom by the Khalifa Al-Qasim, but the same

- year Masud helped a local claimant to power in Makran who became a Ghaznavid vassal.
- In 1040-41 AD, on hearing of Masud's deposition, the Ismailis of Multan rose in rebellion under the leadership of Abul Fateh Daud's son and designated him as Shaikh. Ismaili forces not being able to withstand the professional army of Ghaznavids under Faqih Saliti withdrew to Tharri (capital of Soomras in Sindh) in the southern Sindh. No attempt was made to chase them to the lower Sindh. Multan surrendered and Khutbah was again read in the name of Abbasid Khalifa instead of Fatmids of Egypt. Muhammad Halim was appointed the governor of Multan.
- * Saliti, instead of chasing Shaikh son of Abul Fateh Daud to Sindh, returned to Lahore in an attempt to subdue Jats of middle Indus region, but was attacked by a coalition of local rulers Rais, Ranas and Thakurs under Sandanpal, the grandson of Hindu Shah of Shahi dynasty of Wahind. In this battle Sandanpal was killed. This shows that even most of the Punjab and the whole of southern Punjab was not under full control of Ghaznavids by 1040-41 AD.
- * During the rule of Sultan Ibrahim, Muhammad bin Bhatib Harwi is mentioned as the governor of Sindh in Diwan-Ard, a poetical work, but Sindh at that time was meant as Multan-Uch area and the epics of this nature were mere eulogies.
 - Nagarkot or Kangra first taken by Mahmud in 1009 AD was regained by a coalition of Hindu Rajas in 1043 AD. Two powerful Hindu dynasties of Parmars of Malwa and Kalachuris of Tripuri (in Madhya Pradesh) had risen and ruled in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Bhojal (1000-1055 AD) and Karna or Lakshmikarna (1034-1070 AD) had pushed Ghaznavids to their borders in the Punjab, thus limiting their power and territories during their period. But after 1070 AD Ghaznavids continued some periodic raids on Hindu territories for plunder. In the early twelfth century, in addition to Kalachuris and Parmars, the rulers of Kanauj rose as the third power in the northern India to stop Ghaznavid expansion Chahnama, the ruler of Sakambhari Arnoraja (1113-1153 AD), repelled Ghaznavids' raids.

TUMBLERS, CUPS, STANDS AND GLAZED AND PAINTED VASES

















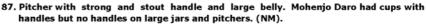
90











- 88. Pitcher with large belly. H. 13 cms. External dia at mouth 7.75 cms. Internal dia at breast 10.1 cms. Internal dia at neck 5.9 cms. Bottom disc dia 6.6 cms. H. up to top of handle 14.35 cms. H. up to mouth 13.2 cms. (SN).
- 89. Pitcher with delicate handle from Brahmanabad-Mansura. (NM).
- 90. Tall pitcher but slim. (NM).
- 91. Pitcher similar to (90) from Brahmanabad-Mansura. (NM).
- 92. Pitcher with very wide mouth from Brahmanabad-Mansura. (NM).
- 93. Stone pitcher with handle broken and design of leaves cut on surface. (NM).
- 94. Tumbler with flared mouth. Similar tumblers are found at Mohenjo Daro (Mackay 1938, 201, Mackay Chanhu Daro 1943, 79 and Mackay 1938, P1. LXI, 21) as shown in figure (8 & 9). External dia at top 7.95 cms. Neck dia 5.7 cms. Breast dia 7.1cms. H 128.cms. Max. internal dia at neck 6.7 cms. (SN).
- 95. Painted pottery pieces with geometrical designs, fishes, etc, from Banbhore. (BM).
- 96. Painted pottery pieces with animal designs from Brahmanabad-Mansura. (NM).
- 97. 9th-11th century glazed jar in deep blue green colour, raised grape bunch design and 3 delicate loop handles probably for wine. Similar handles on pots repeat in Soomra pottery. (NM).
- 98. A delicate cup probably for wine, from Shah Kapoor.(US).
- 99. Stand for cups, lamps etc. Max. H. 14.3 cms, Bottom outside dia 19.55 cms. Internal dia bottom 8.9 cms. and top 11.55 cms. Venturi dia 5.9 cms. (SN).

98



- * Finally, Prithviraja Chauhan was defeated at the hands of Muizz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori in 1192 AD. Thus Ghaznavid power was all along limited to parts of the Punjab only. Muizz-ud-Din subdued the Ismaili and Shahi rulers of
 - Multan and Uch in 1175-76 AD and proceeded to Marwar, where his army was defeated by Mularaja-II, the Chaulkaya ruler of Naharwala or Patan in Gujarat. It was after this defeat that he decided to reduce Lahore. He occupied the whole of Punjab in 1186 AD, thus bringing an end to Ghaznavid dynasty at Lahore. Most probably, Ismaili rulers of the Multan were Soomras.
- * From the foregoing it can be seen that though the later Ghaznavids continued with their tribe's tradition of attacking Hindu territories and temples for booty by maintaining a powerful well-trained army and cavalry, they did not raid Sindh or extract tribute from it, which remained independent under Soomras. Multan too was occupied by the Ghaznavids only intermittently.
- A recital of the poetry of Fakhri Mudabbir Mubarak Shah's "Adab-Alharb-wa-Shuja" states that the area between Ghazni to Tiginals (Kandhar), Bust, Mastung, Qusdar, Kijor, Tiz, Makran, Garmshir, Narmshir (the coast of Indian ocean), Siwistan (Sehwan), Debal, Suraj (Broach), Cambay and whole of adjacent Indian territories, Alore, Bakhar, Siwari (Siwi or Sibi), Bhatia or Bhatinda, Uch, Multan, Karor and Banu were under the superintendence of the royal treasurer, Sharif Abul Faraj, the foster brother of Sultan Ibrahim bin Masud. But this is no more than an empty eulogy, which is quite clear from the fact that Broach and Cambay were never the tributaries of Ghaznavids even under Mahmud. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that Sindh remained independent under Soomras immediately after 1030 AD and continued until Qabacha annexed Multan, Uch and Bakhar, and made Soomras tributaries nearly two centuries later.
- * In 1055 AD, Turks led by Tughril Beg entered Baghdad to liberate Abbasid Khilafat from Shiites. Tughril Beg re-established Sunni power

and made himself Khalifa's temporal master. This event clearly shows that Khalifa in Baghdad no longer could assert or help Ghaznavids.

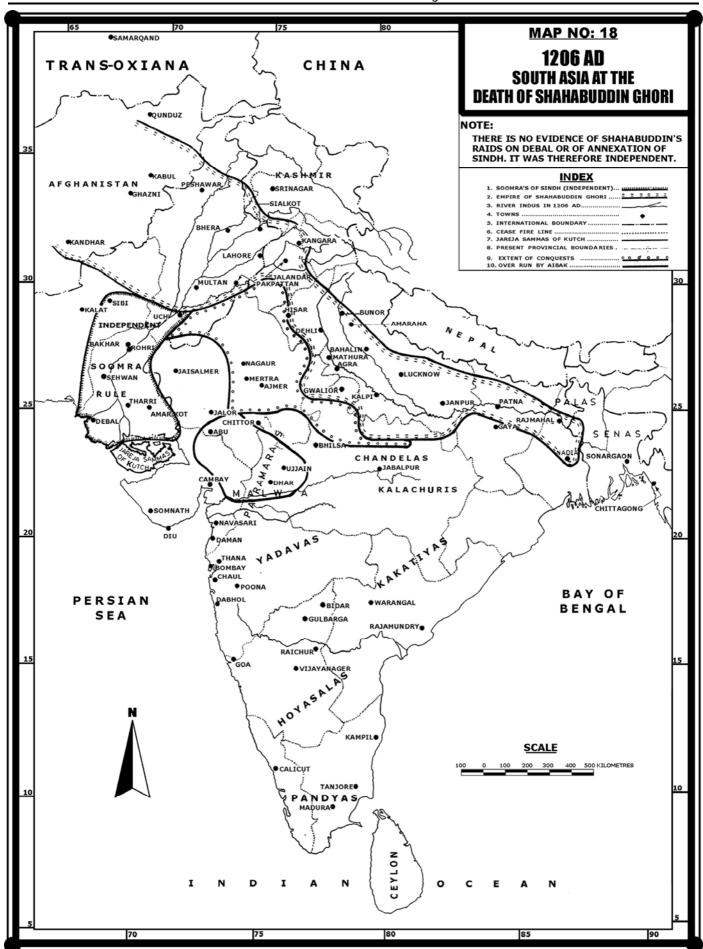
SOCIO-ECONOMICS AND POLITICS BEHIND GHAZNAVID INVASIONS

The main reason of Mahmud's sacking of Multan and Sindh was financial as both were rich states. But the purge of Ismailis from Ghaznavid territories was also a calculated move to please Abbasid Khalifas, who were being over-shadowed by the rival Khilafat of Fatmids of Egypt. Ismailis of Multan, once subdued by Mahmud did not rise again until Maudud's reign (1041-1050 AD). Since the early Ghaznavids had no civil administration in the South Asia, the tributes from various states reached them irregularly and military force was often used to recover it. Multan paid its tribute up to 1040 AD due to its proximity with Ghazni, but Sindh probably did not pay it after Mahmud's death. The provincial governors and tributary rulers sent presents to Sultan on Nauroz (Iranian new year day). No presents were sent from Sindh as early as 1030 AD, although Qusdar and Makran are shown on the list of contributors of the year.

MULTAN AS TRIBUTARY STATE TO GHAZNI

The Banu Saamah kingdom of Multan, which was taken over by Shaikh Hamid an Ismaili, was annexed to Ghaznavid empire in 1011 AD. Between

1032 and 1054 AD Multan regained independence under local Ismailis, who were most probably Soomras, though details of the dynasty are completely lacking. The Ghaznavids, who had occupied Lahore and were driven out from Transoxiana by the Seljuks, made Lahore their capital. Between 1054 and 1186 AD, the Ghaznavids occupied Multan twice for a brief period. Multan was finally reduced in 1186 AD by Ghoris, who found it an Ismaili stronghold showing no influence of Ghaznavid rule. Since then it remained under the control of Ghoris or Delhi Sultanate's governors until 1442 AD.



CONTEMPORARIES OF EARLY SOOMRAS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD AND INDIA (1011-1206 AD)

HE twelfth century AD was a great period of turmoil and turbulence in the Islamic world. There were changes of dynasties in most of the Muslim states, for example, Arabian Peninsula, which was united and held by Qarmatis, was restored to numerous Arab tribes and became a tributary to powerful neighbours like Seljuks, Ayubids, Hamdanids, Najahids, Julanidids and Nabbanids etc. In 1171 Salahuddin abolished Fatmid Khilafat, becoming effective sovereign of Egypt and giving great blow to Fatmid movement.

THE CENTRAL ASIA AND AFGHANISTAN

The central Asia was ruled by Ghaznavids, Ghoris, Khawarizm Shahs and Mongols during the period. In 1026 AD, Mahmud of Ghazni sacked Mansura, whose ruler Khafif probably escaped. Again in 1027 AD he attacked Jats of upper Sindh.

Khawarizm Shah sacked Sehwan and burnt Debal and Pari Nagar in 1223-4 AD, for plunder. Uktae, son of Chengiz the Mongol, following Khawarizm Shah also sacked Sindh in about 1227 AD. But soon the Mongols got so involved with Delhi's territories in the Punjab that both did not bother Soomras. It is possible that Sindh supplied grains and textiles to food deficit Mongols and in its return they did not attack Sindh.

MULTAN

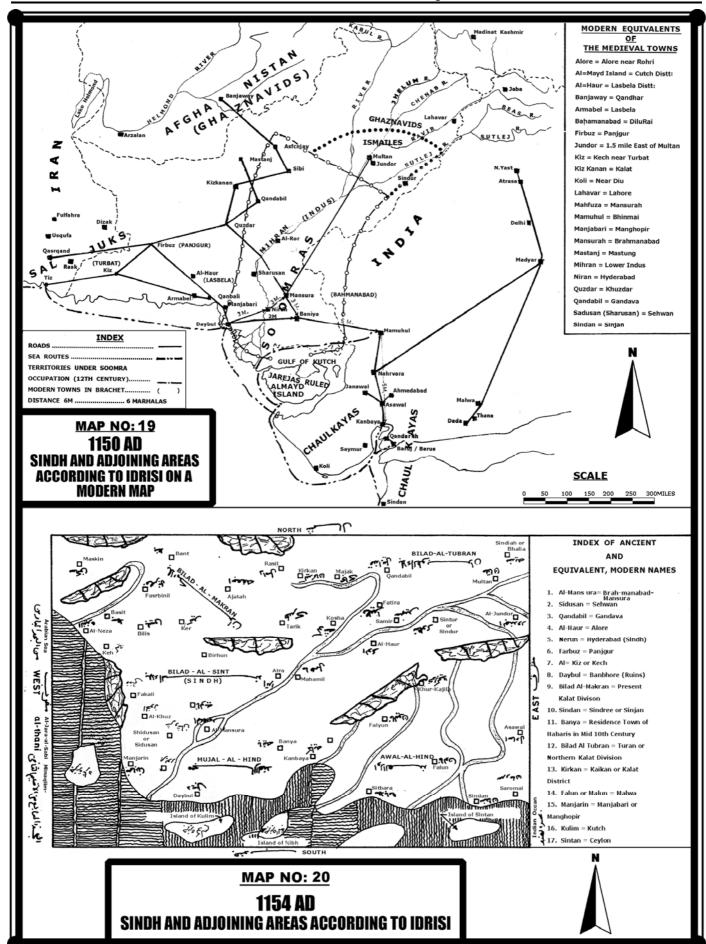
Multan changed hands during the period, but during most of the era between 1030-1186 AD it was ruled by local Ismailis, who most probably were Soomras, finally coming under Delhi's control.

MAKRAN

Maadans controlled Makran and became vassals of Ghaznavids until 1078 AD.

MUSLIM STATES CONTEMPORARY OF SOOMRAS

S.No.	Dynasty	Year AD	Remarks
1	Abbasids	749-1258	They had lost power on Baghdad in the ninth century, but retained claim to suzerainty.
2	Almohads	1130-1269	In the North Africa and Spain, founded movement of religious revivalism.
3	Almoravids	1056-1147	In Morocco, Spain and etc.
4	Ayubids	1169-1260	In Egypt and Syria.
5	Buywayhids	932-1062	In Persia. They were Shiite, but ruled in the name of Abbasid Khalifa.
6	Qarmatians	894 to end of eleventh century	In eastern and central Arabia. They were Shiites of Ismaili branch.
7	Fatmids	909-1171	In Egypt. They were Shiite of Ismaili branch and had contacts with Khurasan, Sindh and Multan.
8	Nasrids	1230-1492	Granada (Spain).
9	Ghaznavids	977-1186	In Khurasan, Afghanistan and the northern Punjab. They were Sunnis



			and sacked Sindh in 1026 and 1027 AD. Sindh paid tributes to them for a few years.
10	Ghoris	1217	Sunnis, in Khurasan, Afghanistan and India.
11	Golden Horde	1226-1502	In the southern Russia.
12	Hafsids	1128-1574	In Tunisia.
13	Hammadids	1015-1574	In eastern Algeria.
14	Ilkhanids	932-1165	Originating from Turkistan, established themselves at Kashgar, conquered Transoxiana in 999 AD, but were restricted to western Sinkiang by Mahmud of Ghazni.
15	Ismailis of Almut under Hasan bin Sabbah and his followers	1090-1256	In the northern Persia. They were Shiite Ismailis and were very active in Sindh and the Punjab after 1200 AD. They sent missionaries to Sindh, Multan and the northern India.
16	Karkhanids	992-1210	In Transoxiana. Their contacts with Sindh during the period are not known.
17	Karakoyanlu	1380-1468	In Azerbaijan.
18	Khawarizm Shahs	1077-1231	In Iraq and Persia. Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah attacked Sindh, looted Sehwan and destroyed Debal, Pari Nagar and the countryside in 1222-24 AD.
19	Mameluks	1250-1517	In Egypt, Syria and Hejaz.
20	Marivids	1196-1465	In Morocco.
21	Ottomans	1281-1424	In Turkey.
22	Rasulids	1229-1454	In Yemen.
23	Saffarids	867-1495	In eastern Persia. Their contacts with Sindh during the Soomra period are not known.
24	Seljuks	1038-1194	In Iraq and Persia. Their contacts with Sindh are not known.
25	Seljuks of Rum	1077-1307	In Anatolia.
26	Sultanas of Delhi	1206-1525	In northern India. Their contacts with Sindh are described separately.
27	Zaidi Imams	860-1281	In Yemen. They did have contacts with Sindh and Multan.
28	Zirids	972-1148	In Tunisia.

IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

Persia was occupied by Ghaznavids up to 1149 AD and then by Seljuks, Khawarizm Shahs, Salgharids, Hazaraspids, Ghoris and even Assassins occupied Almut.

Seljuks lost Khurasan to Khawarizm Shah in 1138 AD and the latter lost it to Ghoris in 1173 AD.

AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan was first divided between Ghoris (at Ghor) and Ghaznavids (at Ghazni). Ghoris occupied the whole of Afghanistan after 1173 AD. Almost all Muslim countries in Africa, Mediterranean and Spain had their rulers changed.

PUNJAB AND NWFP

Ghaznavids ruled the northern Punjab and NWFP until 1186 AD.

Of the dynasties described above Fatmids, Ghaznavids, Ghoris, Ilkhans, Ismailis of Almut, Khawarizm Shahs, Zaidi Imams and Sultans of Delhi had contacts with Sindh.

THE CONTEMPORARY NON-MUSLIM DYNASTIES AROUND SINDH AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

- a) Chaulkayas in Gujarat (998-1298 AD) and Kutch (1000-1147 AD).
- b) Jareja Sammas of Kutch (1147-1948 AD). Their relations with Sindh are described separately.
- c) Pratiharas of Malwa (960 to 1027 AD).

The secret of Soomras' independence was that there was no central power either in India (except under Allauddin) or in Baghdad to subdue them. It was an age of small principalities. Mongols had occupied Quetta, Loralai, D.G. Khan and the whole of western Balochistan. They had raided the southern Punjab year after year. They had occupied areas of food deficit west

An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh

CONTEMPORARIES OF SOOMRAS (1011-1351/52 AD)

1010	VIIYAPALA AND RAIYAPALA 960 – 1819 TRILOCHANPALA 1019-1027	SHAIKH HAMID AFGHAN 986-1005 ABUL FATEH DAUD 1005-1010 A CHEFO'R MAMINED 1006-1011 SON OF MAHMUD 1011 ? 1011 1020 SHAIKH IBN SOOMAR RAJA BAL 1030 – 1042	MAADAN BIN ISA BIN MAADAN ?-1031 ?
1010	TRILOCHANPALA	A CHIEF OF MAHMUD 1010-1011 SON OF MAHMUD 1011 ? 1011 1020 SHAIKH IBN SOOMAR RAJA BAL 1030 – 1042	ISA BIN MAADAN
1020 KHAFF SOOMRO-1 1011-1026 SOLANKIS OR CHAULKAYAS OF GUARAT 1000-1147	TRILOCHANPALA 1019-1027	? 1011 1020 SHAIKH IBN SOOMAR RAJA BAL 1030 – 1042	?-1031 ?
OR CHAULKAYAS OF GUJARAT 1000-1147	TRILOCHANPALA 1019-1027	SHAIKH IBN SOOMAR RAJA BAL 1030 – 1042	
1040 GUJARAT 1000-1147	TRILOCHANPALA 1019-1027	1030 - 1042	
			ISA BIN MAADAN BIN ISA BIN
KAIM CHAMUNDARAJA		HAMI GRAND SON OF MAHMUD 1042 – 1049	MAADAN 1031 ? - ?
1050 SOOMAR SOOMRO 1026"2 - 1054/55 CHAULKAYA 1053 - 1068			
1060 BHOONGAR - 1 1054/55-1068/69 DURIABHRAJA CHAULKAYA			ABDUL ASAKIR HUSSAIN BIN
1070 MAKTADI MUSTANSIR DODO - 1 MAKTADI ABU TAMIM 1075 - 1094 MAADO		POSSIBLY THE LOCAL	MAADAN BIN ISA ? 1076
DODO - 1 1068/69 - 1092 1080 1085-1094 BHIMA - 1 CHAULKAYA		ISMAILIS OR SOOMRAS	
1080-1122 GHAZNAVIDS 962-1186		OF SINDH 1049-1118	
ZENAB? TARI 1092-1098 MUSTAGHIR 1094-1118			
1100 SANGHAR 1098-11067 MUSTARSHID			
1110 1118-1135 KABNA CHAULKAYA 1112-1150 AHMED AHMED AHMED 1122-1150		MUHAMMAD BALNI 1118	
1120 RASMID 1135-1130 1094 - 1101			
1130 MUKTAFI 1136-1160 AMIR ABU ALI	CHAULKAYAS OF		
KHAFIF - II	GUJARAT UP TO 1299		
1133-1103 1160-1170 JAYASIMHA ADDAGANGEYA SIDDHARAJA	1299	LOCAL	
AND PRITHVIRALA—II MUST ADI 1150-1200 1150-1200 1170-1180		ISMAILIS OR SOOMRAS	
1160 SOMESVARA HAFIZ ABUL MANSUR ISMAIL 118869-1177 HAFIZ ABUL MANSUR ISMAIL 1130 - 1149		SINDH 1118-1186	
1170			
UMAR -1 1180 1141/42 1180/81 1147-1175 1192-1206 1180-1225 1154 -1168 KUMARAPALA			
QUTUBUDDIN AIBAK ADID ABU CHAULKAY A 1206-1210 1160-1171 1200-1229		ALI KARMAKH 1186 GOVERNORS	
1180/81-1194/95 AAYAPALA 1228-1232 GHORIS 1200 ZAHIR 1225-1226 MULRA-HI 1225-1225 1186-1215		OF GHORIS 1186 – 1203 MIR DAD HASSAN 1203-1206	
RAYADHAN ABDULLAH 1171-1195 SAMMA ALTADASU		NASIRUDDIN QABACHA 1206 – 1210	
1210 11/5-1215 12/0-1225 MUSTANSIR BHIMA - II 12/15-1227 BHIMA - II 12/15-1227		NASIRUDDIN QABACHA 1210-1227 INDEPENDENT	
1220 119495 - 1222 400-1200 1235 - 1298 1235 - 1298 1235 - 1298		MALIK KABIR KHAN (IZZUDDIN AYAZ)	
1230 GUNERO - 11228-123637 KOTT - VIRA WISHEN MISHEN MISHE		1227 – 1241 TAJUDDIN ABUBAKER	
WAGAD AREA KITCH MASAUJ MIAH LSH-1-240 1227-1242		AYAZ 1241 – 1244 MALIK KISHLU KHAN	
DADAR AND 1242-1247 1250 HIS OTHA GAJAN 1246-1265 SIGNAR 1242-1258 TRIBHUVANPALA 1286-1299 12247-1252		1244-1248 QURLUGHS (MONGOLS)	
MUHAMMAD TUR 124/42-1256 DENTS GINFEO_II 1256/259 GRESTORED) GRESTORED)		1248-1250 MALIK SHER KHAN SANKAR	
1260		1250 - 1251 KISHLU KHAN 1251-1257	
1270 DODO-III BIHAN PROPERTY DESTROYED DELHI MUBARAK SHAH 1266-1270 DESTROYED DESTRO		IZZ-UD-DIN BALBAN 1257-1266	
TAI BIN DODO 1280 1273/74 - 1283/84		SHER KHAN 1266-1274	
1290 CHANESAR - II 128384 - 130001		PRINCE MUHAMMAD 1274-1284	
7 ALLAUDDIN 1200-1315 AMAR ABDA 1200-1315		ANOBLE 1284-1288 MALIK ALLAUDDIN FEROZE 1288-1292	
BHOONGAR - III		ARKALI KHAN 1292-1295 NUSRAT KHAN 1295-1304	
1310	7	GHAZI MALIK 1304–1321	
1320 1309-1318 1321 1309-1318 1	SULTANS OF	MUHAMMAD SHAH 1321-1325	
1330 1315-1332/33 ? Hamidi ? TIRMASHIRIN 1322-1330 SINJAR 1330-1334	DELHI	KISHLU KHAN 1325-1332 AMADUL SARTEZ 1332-1333	
DODO - IV	1	TAJUDDIN 1333 – 1338	
1332/33 – 1350 ? ? ? 1350 — 7 YISHAN TIMUR 139-1340 ALI 1340-1342 1350 — 7		BANRAN AJA 1338-1341 BAHZAD KHAN	
HAMIR DODO IN EXILE 1351-1365/67 1215 1410[215 1504 125587] HAMIR DODO IN EXILE 1351-1365/67 1215 1410[215 1504 125587] KAZAN 1343-1346 DANISHMANDIA 1346-1388		1341 - 1343 AMADUL MALIK 1343-1351	
1360 BLYANKI LI 188-187 ANARCY 1358-1370		TATAR KHAN 1351 - 1359	

of the Indus. The southern Punjab was already vacated by the people and for Mongols, Sindh was the only source of grains and meat. They therefore had to maintain good relations with Soomras.

CRUSADES IN PALESTINE

In 1087 AD, the first crusade had been inspired as much as by population pressure in Europe as by religious zeal or strong desire for plunder. In this call whole Europe responded, but there was no response from Sindh, the only Muslim functional state in South Asia.

RAJASTHAN AND GUJARAT

The following incidents have been recorded in Gujarati, Rajasthani and Kutchi sources:

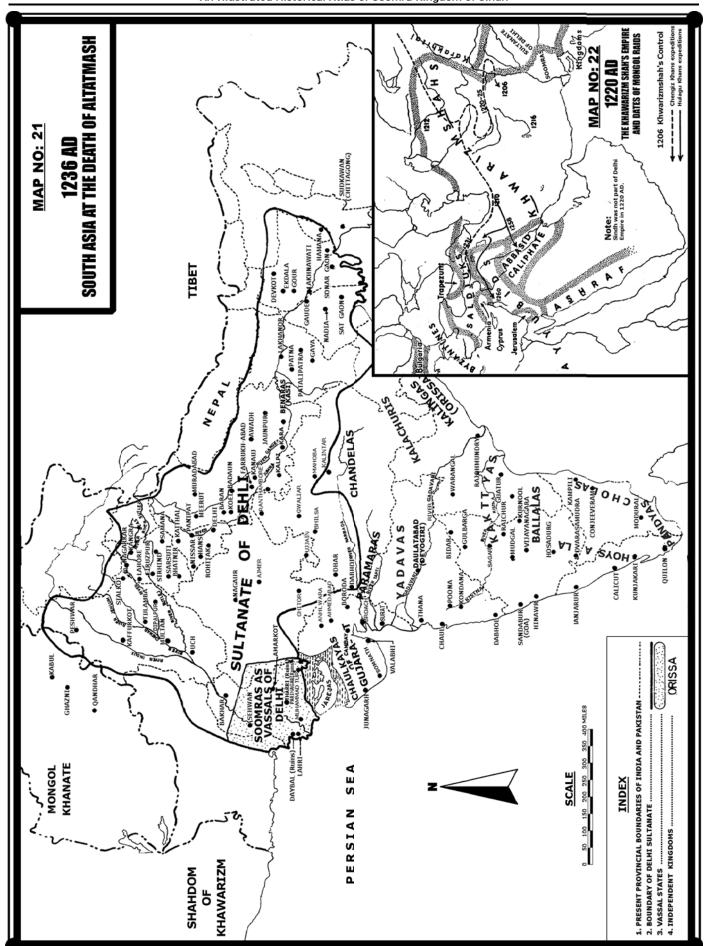
- Jayasimha Siddharaja defeated Sindharaja, who had been identified with a Soomro chief (not the king), between 1126-1138 AD. Somesvera has described the same incident stating that Siddharaja defeated the Lord of Sindhu and captured him. Merutunga has described that the ambassadors from Meleccha king (Muslim ruler of Sindh) arrived (probably to ask for explanation of the above expedition), but Siddharaja seems to have avoided retaliation of the Soomra ruler showing to these ambassadors that he had the support of all the Chaulkaya and other kings and has made adequate preparation for the retaliation. The ambassadors witnessing this gave presents and retired to their countries. Ganguly has identified Sindharaja with Parmar king of Malwa. Ray identifies him with one of the successors of Habari dynasty of Mansura (i.e., the Soomra). The possibility of his being a Sindhi is greater, as Sindh formed the western boundary of the Chaulkayas' empire and there was hostility between the two since Chamundaraja's rule (1053-1086 AD).
- * Lakho, a Jareja Samma of Sindh captured Kanthkot, capital of Wagad in eastern Kutch in 1148 AD. The whole Kutch was united and ruled by this dynasty, which continued for 800 years up to June 1948 AD.
- * In 1215 AD, after his father Lakho died, Rayadhan Jareja Samma ruled Kutch. He extended his

- territories to embrace the whole island of Kutch as well as the islands to the north. He also subdued Jutts (of the lower Sindh), who had migrated from Sindh to Kutch.
- * The Soomra chief Phatu of Nagar Parkar conquered the whole of Kutch and reached the city of Bhadresvara, which he destroyed and returned back to Nagar Parkar in 1178 AD or soon afterwards.
- * In retaliation the Chaulkaya king Bhim Dev-II (1178-1241 AD) sent an expedition against Phatu who fled. There is another version that Kutch was ruled by Jareja Sammas during the same period and Phatu may have gone to their assistance in a local uprising against Jarejas.

DID SHAHABUDDIN GHORI CONQUER OR GOVERN SINDH?

The following information from various sources leads us to conclude that Shahabuddin Ghori did not conquer Sindh or its port Debal.

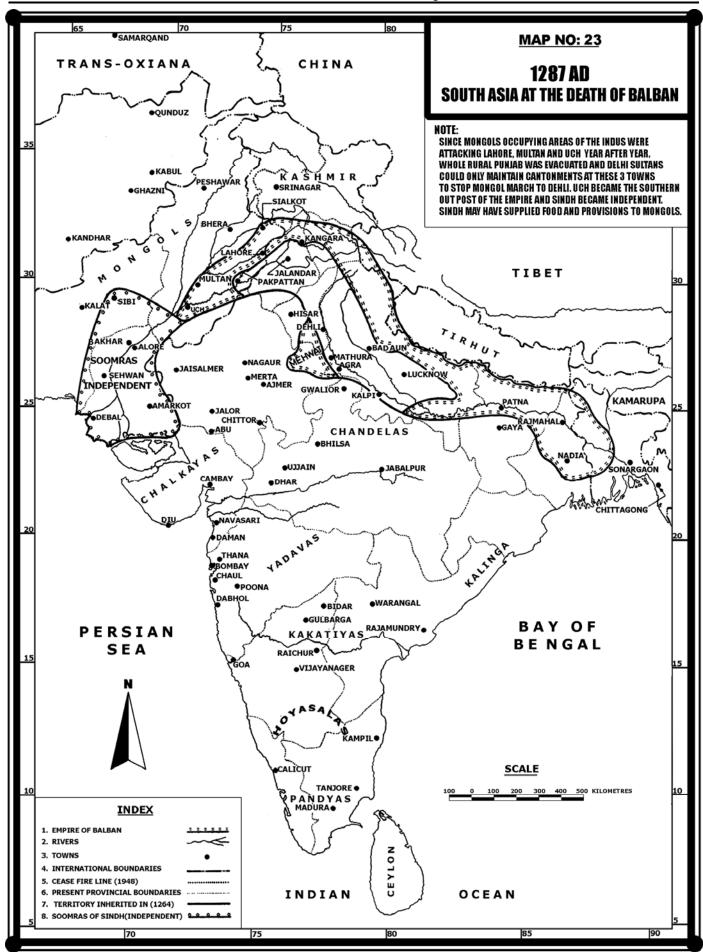
- * Sultan Shahabuddin (Muizz-ud-Din) bin Sam Mohammad Ghori, during the rule of his elder brother Ghiasuddin (569-599 AH or 1173-1202 AD), reduced Sindh (by Sindh is meant upper Sindh with capital at Uch) in 1175-76 AD.
- * He appointed General Ali Kirmakh to look after Multan and Uch and crush Ismailis. At that time the rulers of Sindh and Multan were Ismailis or Qarmatis as some historians call them.
- Hearing of this Muhammad bin Ali, the ruler of Almut (Paradise of Assassins) asked Bhim Dev Solanki-II (1178-1241 AD) of Gujarat to attack Sindh thereby meaning Ali Kirmakh's territory in the upper Sindh). It is reported that as a consequence Muizz-ud-Din Ghori attacked Debal in 1179-80 AD or 575 AH to cut off Solanki (Chaulkaya) Bhim Dev's route through Sindh and also to cut off the sea route of the Fidais of Almut, who were coming via the Persian Gulf to join Bhim Dev. However, this version of Muhammad Ghori's attack on Debal is not corroborated by Tarikh-i-Nasiri written soon after. With Gujarat and Kutch under Chaulkayas and Jarejas, the only course to attack Debal was via the River Indus and it meant conquering the whole Sindh first. This did not happen.



SINDH - DELHI SULTANATE RELATIONS (1206 - 1333 AD)

HE following are a few cases of conflict between Soomras and Delhi Sultanate after its establishment in 1206 AD.

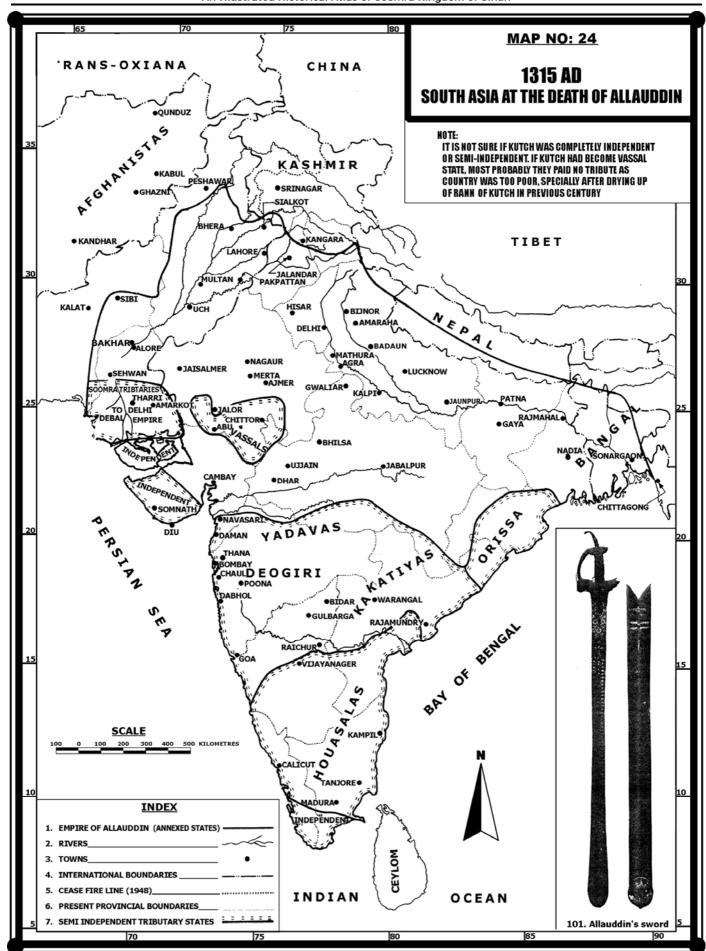
- * In 1206 AD, Nasiruddin Qabacha, a general of Sultan Qutubuddin Aibak, conquered Multan, Uch and Sehwan in 1210 AD and made Uch as his capital, however, Soomras continued to rule southern Sindh independently.
- In 1221 AD, Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah having been defeated by Chengiz Khan on the right bank of the River Indus crossed the river and sought help from Altatmash and Qabacha, but both of them refused. He reached Lahore, collected 10,000 of his dispersed troops, defeated the Khokhars of the Salt Range and married the daughter of their ruler Rai Khokhar Sangeen, an enemy of Qabacha. He then sent 7,000 troops to chase Oabacha. They succeeded in defeating Qabacha near Uch. Qabacha escaped and took shelter in the Bakhar fort. Jalaluddin's Uzbek general, who had defeated Qabacha's 20,000 troops near Uch, reached the camp and captured some of the latter's soldiers. Qabacha escaped to Multan while the Shah came and camped near Uch. He sent an envoy to Qabacha demanding the return of the son and daughter of Malik Amin, who had escaped during the battle of the Indus with Chengiz. They were returned and a request was made that the Shah would not destroy the countryside. Some time later in 1223-1224 AD, when Qabacha did not pay the tribute, Khawarizm Shah attacked Uch and burnt it. He also attacked Sehwan. Its governor Fakhur Salari surrendered and asked for peace, which was granted. From here Shah moved to Debal and on way burnt and looted most of Sindh. It is said that he burnt Pari Nagar and Dharmila too.
- * In 1222-23 AD, Chengiz Khan sent his son Uktae to Ghor in order to stop the entry of Jalaluddin, but the latter fled to Iraq in 1224 AD. Uktae returned via Sindh and Bolan Pass devastating whatever was left of Sindh.
 - In 1224 AD, Chanesar (Chanetar of Juwaini), who ruled Sindh could not face Jalaluddin and escaped by a boat from Debal to sea. This has been proved archaeologically. Jalaluddin burnt and looted Debal and sailed to Iraq. Jalaluddin had left behind his general Malik Khilj Khan, whose tribes had taken shelter in Sehwan. They were Khilji Turks, who were settled in Ghazni, a province of Khawarizm's state. When it fell to the Mongols they took flight to Sindh for shelter where Sultan Khawarizm Shah had spent some months. Malik Khanan captured some parganas of Siwistan (Sehwan). Nasiruddin Qabacha gave him a battle in which Malik was killed. The rest of the Khiljis fled to Delhi and sought the protection of Altatmash, the rival of Qabacha. Altatmash made the Khilji cause an excuse and asked Oabacha to pay the tribute failing which Altatmash attacked him in 1228 AD. Qabacha removed all treasurers from Uch to the Bakhar fort under his vizier Ainal-Malak. Altatmash occupied Uch and sent his vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Muhammad bin Asad to lay a siege on Bakhar fort where Qabacha had taken shelter. On the approach of the vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk, Qabacha committed suicide by jumping into the River Indus from the Bakhar fort. The vizier sent all the treasures of Oabacha to Altatmash and deputed his military officers to subdue the rest of Sindh right up to Debal. Qabacha ruled Uch and Multan for 22 years. Altatmash also got headquarters of his governor shifted from Uch to Bakhar.



- * Following the defeat and death of Qabacha the Soomra ruler of the lower Sindh Chanesar-I submitted to Altatmash most probably on the intercession of Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan. Chanesar-I, who ruled lower Sindh and Debal at that time, accompanied by Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, went to Delhi and accepted the offer to act as the vassal of Altatmash. This was the first time that the Soomras became vassals of Delhi.
- * On the death of Altatmash in April 1236 AD, Chanesar once again became an independent ruler of not only all his previous possessions, but also of additional territories up to Khuzdar and Jhalawan in Balochistan. This status remained intact till the rise of the Sammas except for a brief period of some 20 years under Khiljis.
- * In 1295 AD, Khilji Sultan Jalaluddin was murdered by his nephew Allauddin, who usurped the throne and in 1297-98 AD, Zafar Khan, the general of Allauddin, subdued Sindh and made Chanesar-II a vassal of Allauddin Khilji. Soomras remained vassals up to about 1317 or 1320 AD.
- * In 1320 AD (720 AH), Khusru Khan, a Hindu slave, who was captured at Malwa, converted to Islam, rose to the rank of the governor of all provinces of Deccan. He got Sultan Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji assassinated and became Sultan the next day calling himself Sultan Nasiruddin. Malik Ghazi (Tughlaq) asked his private secretary to write letters to various governors under the Delhi Sultanate to assist him in retaliatory war to avenge the death of the Sultan. No letter was written to Soomras of the

- lower Sindh, which means that the Soomras were independent rulers of their kingdom. Malik Ghazi looted a convoy carrying horses and taxes from Multan and Sehwan and used this wealth to defeat Khusru Khan. The soldiers were given two years salaries in advance. The success of this move was mainly due to the troops from Multan and upper Sindh. Malik Ghazi (Tughlaq) then ascended the throne of Delhi calling himself Ghiasuddin Tughlaq.
- * After the death of Allauddin in 1315 AD chaotic conditions broke out and as a result of historical process, rulers of remote areas defied Delhi and paid no tributes except at point of sword, many declared independence.
- * In 1325 AD, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Sultan of Delhi, was murdered and succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlaq.
- * In 1337 AD, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq punished his subjects for threatening to revolt, vacated Delhi completely forcing the citizens to move to Daulatabad 800 kilometers (500 miles) south, where he established a new capital. Rebellions started all over the empire and uprising in central Sindh at Sehwan was suppressed in 1333 AD. Conflict continued in the forties and finally led to Muhammad Tughlaq's invasion of Sindh in 1351 AD, which led to Delhi's disaster.
- * Delhi Sultanate maintained large flotilla of naval boats on the rivers and their fleet periodically occupied Bakhar (Sukkur-Rohri complex), Sehwan and Lahri Bunder, all on the Indus, but did not control rural Sindh.

PRE-DELHI SULTANATE PERIOD BIRD MOTIFS ON SOOMRA PERIOD POTTERY 100. Painted pottery from Banbhore with birds painted on them. (Pakistan Archaeology No.5, 1968).



SINDH-MULTAN RELATIONS

Since then the following are the brief events marking Sindh-Multan relations:

- By 326 BC, Sindh had been divided in to small kingdoms namely Malloi (Multan), Oxydrates (Bahawalpur), Musicanus (Uch, Alore and Sibi), Sambus (Sehwan, Larkana and Kachhi), Oxycanus (Khairpur, Naushero, Nawabshah), Mirpurkhas), Moeris-I (Sanghar, Moeris-II (Hvderabad, Badin and Thatta). Arabitai (Kohistan and Karachi) and Orientai (Lasbela and Khuzdar). These became almost the divisions of Sindh from 325 BC until recent times with modifications of borders, wherein sometimes smaller divisions merged into bigger divisions like southern Sindh below Laki, central Sindh from Sehwan to Larkana and northern Sindh from Alore to Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalpur and Multan.
- * Bacterian Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, Kushans, Sassanians and Vahlikas ruled Sindh maintaining the above boundaries.
- Rai Sehasi-II extended his kingdom to Panjgur and Kech (Makran division).
- * In 641 AD, Multan was ruled over by Malik Bajhara, a relative of Rai Sehasi-II, as governor. Chach, who was the successor of Sehasi-II, defeated Malik Bajhara's son and annexed Multan to Sindh, which remained a part of Sindh during Brahman rule.
- * After the defeat and death of Dahar, Muhammad bin Qasim marched on Multan ruled by Korsiah son of Chander, brother of Dahar. Korsiah was defeated and fled to Kashmir. A large quantity of gold, reportedly two hundred and thirty maunds and forty jars filled with gold dust, diamonds and

- pearls, were recovered as booty from Sun Temple in 714 AD.
- * Multan remained under control of Arab governors of Sindh up to 879 AD, but soon after Umar bin Abdul Aziz Habari overthrew the last Arab governor of Sindh, Banu Saamah, in 854 AD, established a kingdom in Multan leaving Walistan (Sibi), Uch and upper Sindh to Bahharis. They ruled it up to 1010 AD. They were not related to Habaris of Sindh.
 - Soon After 980-81 AD. Ismailis established themselves in Multan under their leader Jalam. destroyed the Hindu Sun Temple, a Sunni mosque and built an Ismaili mosque. They read Khutbah in the name of Fatmids. Abul Fateh Daud bin Nasar, an Ismaili ruler, was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1005 AD and again in 1010 AD, and annexed his territory to latter's kingdom. Soon after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, Ismailis established their rule over Multan and ruled it for nearly a century-and-a-half until they were finally crushed by Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori, who also occupied Uch, which hereafter became a military cantonment of Delhi Sultanate. Ismailis were crushed by his governor Amir Daud and as they occupied senior positions in government, they were replaced by Sunni officials. From 1206 to 1228 AD, Qabacha ruled Multan and Uch and occupied Bakhar restricting Soomras to Sehwan and lower Sindh.
- * Multan, Uch, Bakhar, Sehwan and Debal saw major upheaval between 1222 to 1228 AD when Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah looted and burnt many towns, exhorted heavy tribute from Qabacha and weakening his power. This was followed by the invasion of Torbae Toqshin, the Mongol, who laid a siege on Multan and Uktae, devastated the

SOOMRAS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY RULERS OF MULTAN ($893\ TO\ 1365\ AD$)

Name of ruler Year AD Muhammad bin Qasim bin Munba Saamah 893 - ? Asad bin Muhammad bin Qasim ? - ? Abdul Lahab Muhammad bin Asad ? - 970-986 Shaikh Hamid 986 - 1005 Abul Fateh Daud 1005 - 1010 Governor of Mahmud 1011 - ? Son of Mahmud of Ghazni 1011 - 1030 ?? *** SOOMRAS *** Shaikh Ibn Soomar-Raja Bal 1030 - 1042 Hami-Grand son of Mahmud of Ghazni 1042 - 1049 Ali bin Raja Bal (Rajpal) 1049 Local Ismailis or Soomras of Sindh 1049 - 1118 Muhammad bin ? 1118 Local Ismailis or Soomras 1118 - 1186 GHORIS *** Ali Kirmakh (governor of Ghoris) 1186 - 1203 Mir Daud Hasan (governor) 1186 - 1203 Mir Dad Hasan 1203 - 1206 DELHI SULTANATE GOVERNORS OF MULTAN
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Mir Dad Hasan 1203 – 1206
DELHI SULTANATE GOVERNORS OF MULTAN
Nasiruddin Qabacha (as governor of Qutubuddin Aibak) 1206 – 1210
Nasiruddin Qabacha (independent ruler) 1210 – 1227
Malik Kabir Khan (Izzud-Din-Ayaz) 1227 – 1239
Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Qaraqash 1239 – 1239
Malik Kabir Khan (Izzud-Din-Ayaz) second time 1239 – 1241
Tajuddin Abu Baker Ayaz (son of Kabir Khan) 1241 – 1244
Malik Kishlu Khan 1244 – 1248
Qurlughs (Mongols) 1248 – 1250
Malik Sher Khan Sunkar 1250 – 1251
Kishlu Khan (independent in 1257) 1251 – 1257
Balban 1257 – 1266
Sher Khan 1266 – 1274
Muhammad bin Balban 1274 – 1284
A noble of Balban 1284 – 1288
Malik Allauddin Feroz 1288 – 1292
Arkali Khan 1292 – 1295
Nusrat Khan (conqueror of Sindh under Allauddin) 1295 – 1304
Ghazi Malik 1304 – 1321
Muhammad Shah 1321 – 1325
Kishlu Khan 1325 – 1332
Amadul Sartez 1332 – 1333
Tajuddin? (Qiwam-al-Malik) 1333 – 1338
Banran Aja 1338 – 1341
Bahzad Khan 1341 – 1343
Amadul Malik 1343 – 1351
Tatar Khan 1351 – 1359
Ain-al-Malak Mahru (governor of Uch) 1351 – 1359
Ain-al-Malak Mahru (governor of Multan) 1359 – 1364

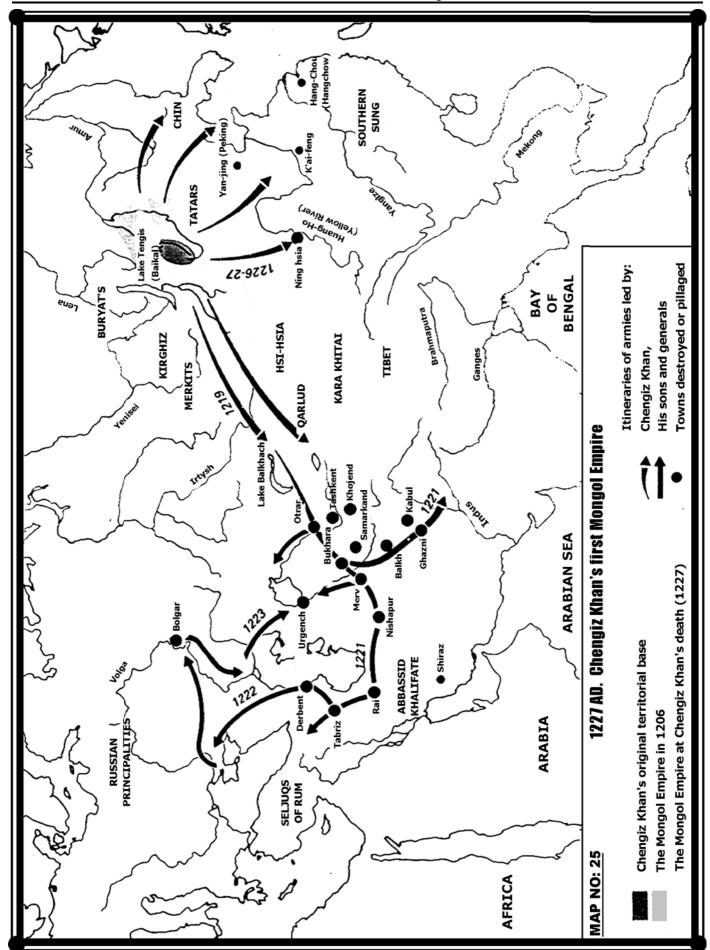
whole Sindh and finally by Altatmash who eliminated Qabacha and took Chanesar with him to Delhi in 1228 AD. Since 1228, Uch and Multan were annexed to Delhi Sultanate and Sindh of Soomras became a tributary, but Bakhar was included in Soomras' Sindh, as, due to Mongol raids, Delhi Sultanate had no control over the

- southern Punjab.
- * Between 1239-1266 AD, at least nine governors were changed and at least once Mongols occupied Multan. One governor also declared independence. The chaotic conditions in Multan worked in favour of Soomras who ruled south of Uch independently.

GYPSIES OF SINDH



102. Young married women of nomadic tribes, wearing age old dresses and ornaments, some probably similar to those in 14th century and bangles on the full length of left arm. Those women, who are not involved in heavy manual work, wear them on both arms. Un-married girls do not wear them as they are provided by husbands at the time of marriage. These could be considered closer to Soomra period than any others in vogue in Sindh today. (Khursheed Kaimkhani "Nomadic Tribes of Sindh").

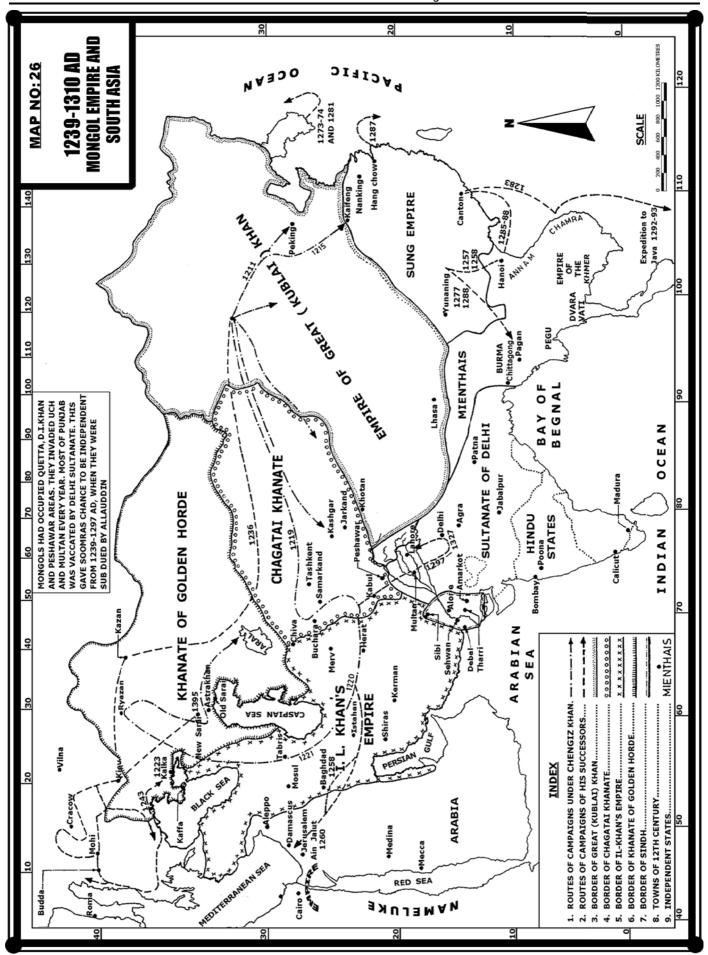


MONGOL EMPIRE AND SINDH (1221 - 1351 AD)

ONGOLS played an important role in the history of Sindh in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, has little been realised hitherto. They were to destroy most of civilised world, but present Sindh boundaries were little affected. Below are given some of their invasions, which indirectly affected Sindh:

- * The Mongol tribal chief Temujin (blacksmith) was raised to the position of Chengiz, the supreme ruler, at the age of 29 in 1197 AD.
- * The "Climatic Optimum", which had started around 900 AD ended by 1200 AD in most of the world and by 1250 in Sindh. It did so in central Asia and in Mongolia, probably 25 years earlier causing migration of people from grasslands and steppes into settled agricultural centres.
- * This movement of the central Asian people also caused Ghori's invasion of the Punjab and Delhi from 1173 to 1186 AD and established the Delhi Sultanate in India in 1206 AD.
- * By 1206 AD, Chengiz Khan stood ready for the conquest of the world.
- * From 1211 to 1215 AD, Mongols devastated Chin empire and utilised the technology of artillery, signal system and art of siege developed by Chinese engineers.
- * Next, they turned on to Khawarizm Shah's empire, which stretched from northern China to Black Sea and captured Iran in 1218 AD.
- * In 1221 AD (618 AH), Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah, having been defeated by Chengiz Khan on the right bank of the Indus near Attock, gallantly jumped on a horseback into the River Indus from a height of 100 feet and reached the other bank. His adventures have been described in chapter 8.
- * Reportedly, the Shah burnt Debal and built a

- mosque on the site of a temple, but this is not proved archaeologically. His general Khasi Khan attacked Naharwala (Anhilvada or Patan) and captured many camels. During the expedition most of the towns and countryside of Sindh had been burnt. Archaeological evidence shows that he burnt Debal. The Siva temple was destroyed after the conquest of Debal and mosque built on its site in eighth century. Maybe the mosque was repaired, renovated or rebuilt, but may have been destroyed again by Jagtai or Uktae, who was following Khawarizm Shah. There is another evidence of destruction of Pari Nagar and Dharmila may have been burnt at the same time.
- * In 1222-23 AD (619-20 AH), in order to stop the entry of Sultan Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah Mangbarni into Iran, Chengiz Khan deputed his son Uktae (Jagtai or Chughtai of later historians) towards Ghor. The latter camped between Feroz Koh and Ghazni and dispatched contingents of forces towards Kech (Makran) and Sindh to devastate those countries. Jagtai, finding Khawarizm Shah having sailed away to Iraq from Debal returned via Sehwan and Bakhar to Bolan Pass, devastating the whole Sindh.
- * On Chengiz Khan's death in 1227 AD, his empire was partitioned between his sons, who also followed their father's policy of expansionism.
- * In 1241 AD, they reached as far west as Poland and Hungary and occupied most of the eastern Russia. They had started using gunpowder since 1237 AD, the knowledge of which had come from the Chinese who had invented it in 1067 AD and by an edict of government had maintained monopoly on it.
- * Earlier in 1256 AD, Halaku, the brother of Kublai



Khan of China, seized Almut giving a blow to Ismailism.

- * In 1258 AD, they conquered Baghdad under Halegu (Halaku), had last Abbasid Khalifa killed and Baghdad burnt. The same year Kublai Khan conquered China.
- * This was the first Mongol empire, which collapsed by about 1336 AD, but before this Mongols were Islamised due to fusing of conquerors with culturally superior native people.
- * In Sindh they were called Tatars. They occupied areas west of the Indus in the Punjab, NWFP and northern Balochistan.
- * They destroyed juniper forests in Quetta and Ziarat hills. They used Bolan and Gomal passes for their ventures. Khyber Pass was used much later.
- * They attacked Delhi Sultanate every year from 1221 to 1298 AD. Their most important raids on Delhi territories were in 1221, 1241, 1246, 1260, 1291, 1298, 1304, 1346 and 1351. Their raids in 1358, 1399, 1429, 1520 and 1524 were during the Samma rule of Sindh. Delhi Sultanate had strong garrisons at Uch, Multan, Lahore and other major towns to retard their advance, but they devastated countryside and almost the whole unprotected rural southern Punjab got vacated, people moving to northern Sindh or to the great South Asian desert.
- * Some tribes of northern Sindh (Multan and Bahawalpur) were driven westwards to Iraq and Turkey, where from they finally reached Europe and formed a distinct group called Gypsies. Their language has large number of Seraiki, Punjabi and

- Sindhi words and their music has close affinities with music of Sindh and is similar to the music played at the marriage ceremonies in Sindh and southern Punjab.
- * As Delhi could not control areas south of Uch between 1237-1295 AD, the whole Sindh from Rahim Yar Khan to the sea became independent under Soomras until subdued again in 1297 AD.
- * In 1351 AD, Muhammad Tughlaq sought help from Mongols in his expedition on Sindh. This is discussed separately.
- * Sindh gained from their attacks on Delhi Sultanate's territories, though lost the area of Sindh extending from Multan to Kashmore for ever.
- * Their early raids were conducted via Bolan and Gomal passes resulting into direct attacks on Delhi Sultanate's southern Punjab, which Qabacha had earlier conquered including the northern Sindh. This weakened Delhi Sultanate's hold on Sindh.
- * Soomras maintained good relations with Mongols as the latter occupied areas deficient in food production and Sindh could supply this, if left in peace. Thus, Sindh enjoyed independence and only when Delhi Sultan like Allauddin was too powerful for Mongols, did Delhi subdue Sindh again in 1297 AD. Thus, Sindh remained independent under Soomras probably from 1237 or the latest from 1241 to 1297 AD. By about 1300 AD, Mongols lost vigour to retain a combined empire and soon in a war with Allauddin Khilji fifteen thousand Mongols were crushed by elephants under the former's orders.



END OF BANBHORE (DEBAL)

103. Khawarizm Shah's sacking of Banbhore to collect wealth and regain his empire was direct consequence of Mongol rise to power under Chengiz Khan. The street to street fight and man dying in street in shown by poisonous arrow piercing in the elbow. Death of many men and being buried on the streets shows violent end of the city and it has been proved archaeologically. (F. A. Khan, Banbhore, DGA)

MONGOL THREAT IN PAKISTAN AND NORTHERN INDIA











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- 104. Chengiz Khan accepts submission.
- 105. Portrait of Chengiz Khan. (PEW).
- 106. Central Asian princes displaced by Mongols taking refuge in court of Balban. [OUP. A short history of Pakistan by J. Hussain 1981.]
- 107. Mongol cavalryman with stock of arrows. (TWH).
- 108. Mongol movable circular tent on light wicker portable frames and easy to dismantle or reassemble. (ELA).
- 109. Mongol helmet with iron mesh, face chain, shield and axe for hand to hand savage fight. (ELA).

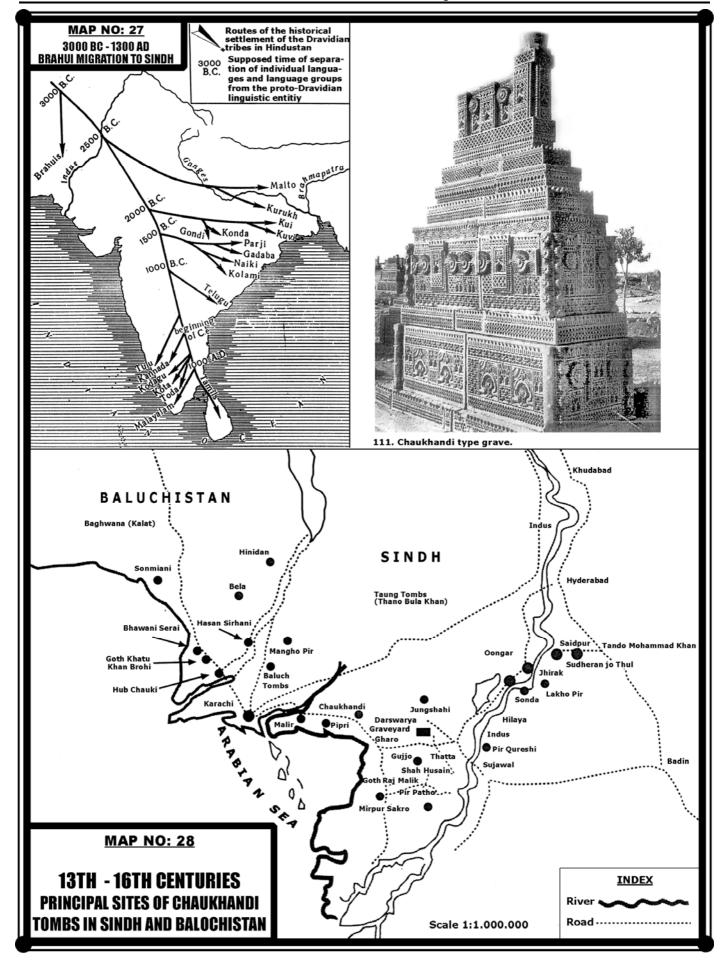


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CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS RELATING TO MONGOL CONQUESTS

S.No	Year AD	Incident
1	1214	Chengiz Khan successfully captured Beijing.
2	1216	Chengiz Khan invaded Near-East (Turkey and surrounding countries) and destroyed irri-
3	1218-1220	Chengiz Khan conquered Persia.
4	1219	Chengiz Khan's Mongols seized Bokhara.
5	1221	Chengiz Khan sacked Samarkand.
6	1221-1225	Mongols penetrated Delhi Sultanate's areas.
7	1222	Chengiz Khan invaded Russia.
8	1227	Chengiz Khan died at age of sixty-five.
9	1229	Mongol leader Ogadai (Jagtai or Chughtai or Uktae) elected as Great Khan.
10	1231	Mongols invaded Korea.
11	1238	Mongols seized Moscow.
12	1240	Mongols captured Kiev and exacted tribute from Russians.
13	1256	Halaku, brother of Kublai Khan, wiped out Persian Assassins.
14	1258	Mongols captured Baghdad bringing end to Abbasid Khilafat. Kublai Khan conquered
15	1260	Mameluks crushed Mongols at Ain Jalut (Palestine).
16	1267	Chengiz Khan's grandson Kublai Khan founded Chinese Yuan dynasty.
17	1304	Sultan Allauddin Khilji defeated Mongol army and massacred fifteen thousand Mongol





CHAPTER 11

BRAHUI MIGRATION TO SINDH AND EXODUS OF GYPSIES

BRAHUI MIGRATION

ALOCHIS of Balochistan are admixture of Brahuis, who migrated to Balochistan and southwest Afghanistan from the area south of Ural Lake around 3,000 BC along with other tribes of Afghanistan and Iran bordering Balochistan, who kept migrating specially due to political upheavals rising there from time to time. Many leading families of Balochistan namely, Zahris, Bizinjos, Raisanis, Mengals, Rustomzais, Satakzais, Sarparras, Lahris, Manashahis, Bangulzais, Langavs, Shahanis, Nicharis, Harnnis, Pandranis, Sajalis and Mamasanis are Brahuis and possibly a large number of other people calling themselves Balochis residing in Balochistan. There are more Brahuis in Afghanistan than Balochistan and they wander between Shorawak and Chakhansur. In Iran, they inhabit an area along border with Afghanistan and Pakistan from Subzwar to Bempur. They also live in southern regions of Turkmenia. In Balochistan, they live mainly in Jhalawan, Sarawan and Kalat valleys but are also scattered in other areas.

These tribes do not make blood-related associations, but are administrative-economic and military-political organisations formed by associations of different families and not infrequently including groups that had originally spoken different languages, but had gradually assimilated Brahui groups.

They were Dravidians originating from area between Ural Lake and modern Dushambe and Leninabad, and their first group settled into Kalat via Mula Pass in 3,000 BC. Their other groups subsequently moved via Gomal Pass to the east and south India as shown in the map. Brahui had separated

from other Dravidian groups much earlier and therefore there was independent parallel development of these languages leading to appearance of chance coincidence of Brahui with other Dravidian languages of India.

The Brahui migration to Sindh has been continuous over centuries. Essentially living on cattle, goat and sheep herds and facing shortage of grazing pastures in winters in the hills bordering Sindh, they migrated with their animals each winter in various talukas of Sindh from Garhi Khairo to Sehwan on the right bank of the Indus, spent four months from November to February and migrated back as winter rains from January to March producing fresh pastures. They were poor but honest, usually helped in harvest of Sugdasi rice in the late October and November as paid labour, levelling of land with the help of their oxen and a wooden levelling blade and undertaking many other odd jobs. In those days exchange of marriageable-age girls was common among Sindhis and in the absence of exchangeable girls, the bride price was settled. There was a shortage of girls as many were killed by neglect and Brahuis used to sell their girls taking care that family would look after the girl properly. In Sindh's culture purchased wife has the same social status as the one married from the own clan. This way many Brahui superstitions entered Sindh's culture through future mothers. So many girls were sold each year that Sindhis call Brahuis as "Mama" or maternal uncle to this day.

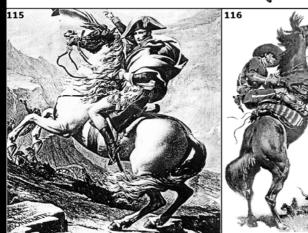
The customs, ceremonies and superstitions among the Brahuis discussed by Bray in 'Life History of Brahui', are exactly the same as those prevailing among the Sindhis from Garhi Khairo and Sehwan. This assimilation was a result of annual migration for centuries. However, no major and permanent migration

KINGS, CONQUERORS AND CAVALRYMEN

Paintings of kings, conquerors and cavalrymen on horse back were popular for the last 2500 years. Attempts were made to make an unparalleled hero of the man. As against them, Altatmash on horse back is depicted as man with will, determination and confidence.











- 112. Parthian on horse, riding forward and shooting with arrow back-wards, a battle strategy developed by them. It was a revolution in cavalry combat. (PEW).
- 113. Altatmash on horseback, shows him with will and determination. (PEW).
- 114. Mongol cavalryman practicing polo game. (ELA).
- 115. Napoleon on horseback. (TWH).
- 116. Cowboy on horseback. (ELA).
- 117. Alexander on horseback in musaic from Pompii. (CDS).

took place to Sindh until the thirteenth century.

In the thirteenth century Mongols occupied central Asia, Afghanistan and Balochistan. They attempted to throw out settled people and take over their possessions and houses, etc. They burnt juniper forests in Ziarat valley where no juniper tree more than 700 years old is found. The Mongol pressure forced Balochis to migrate to Sindh. They also attacked Multan and Uch every year forcing countryside people to migrate. Many Seraiki-speaking tribes moved to Sindh from southern Punjab. These tribes were recognised as Jatoi, Buledi and Korai Balochis of Jacobabad district and are not related to Brahuis.

Chandia Balochis for the first time are heard of during Shamshir Khan's governorship of Thatta around 1616 AD. It is uncertain when they settled in Sindh. Same is the case of Nahmardis of Mahal Kohistan. They now call them Balochis, though in the seventeenth century they were called a clan of Sammas. Jokhias are heard of after 1650 AD during Aurangzeb's governorship of Multan and so is case of Kalmatis. Chandias had two groups, "Black" and "White" by colour of their skin. They maintained seven hundred foot soldiers and 300 horses around 1635 AD. Nuhani Balochis cultivated land on two springs near Naing, now owned by Sayeds.

Balochi clans of Magsi, Lashari, Rind, Dinari, Domiki, Kaluhar and Buledi were settled in Jacobabad district and Chandias in hilly areas of Khairpur Nathan Shah, Johi and Sehwan talukas. Dal and Babar also calling them Balochis, were settled in present Kotri taluka in the seventeenth century.

It seems that most of these tribes settled in Sindh in the thirteenth century under Mongol pressure. They spoke different languages. Those from southern Punjab spoke Seraiki and those from Balochistan spoke

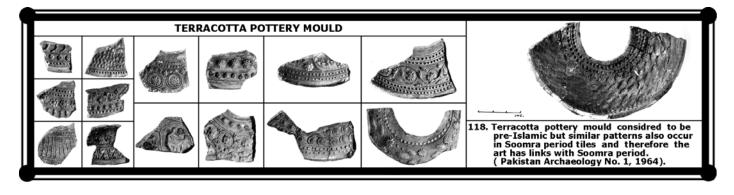
Balochi or Brauhki. The two groups were not related by blood. The details have been discussed by the author in Sindh's struggle against feudalism.

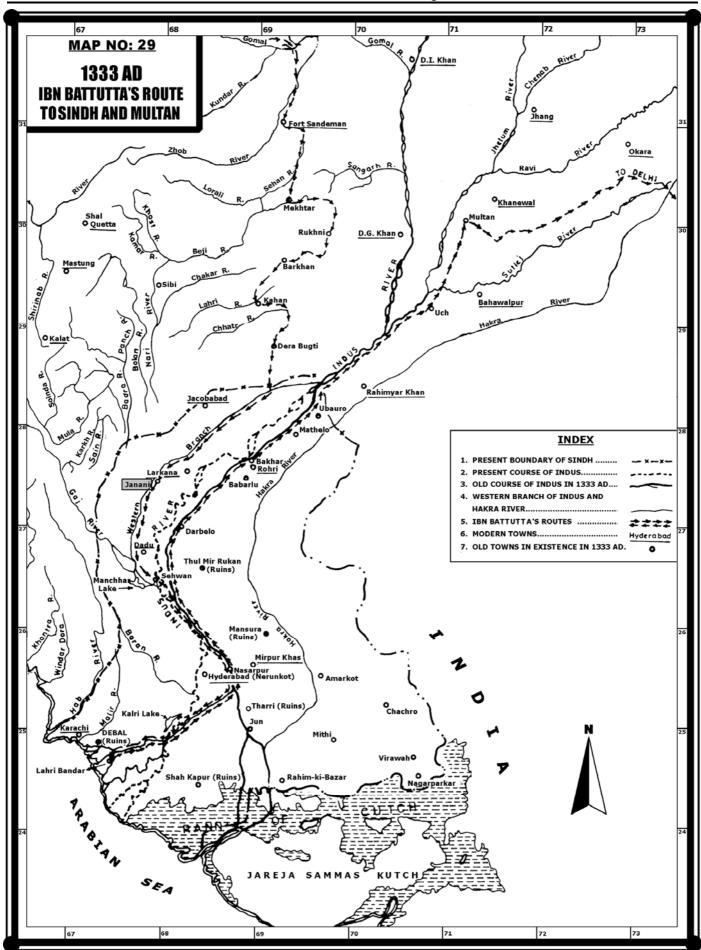
In five thousand years of the Brahui's contacts with Sindh and Iran-Afghan territories, Brahuis no longer look like Dravidians.

GYPSIES OF MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE

Study of Gypsy language in the nineteenth century and its vocabulary showed that their language had words of Punjabi, Sindhi and Seraiki languages. Study of their music specially songs sung by women during their marriage ceremonies, shows its close relationship with similar music of Sindh and the southern Punjab as observed by the author. Further studies in their origin by European scholars reveal that in the thirteenth century Mongols attacked Delhi Sultanate's territories almost every year. Military garrisons were established in Multan and Uch to check their advance to Delhi, but due to their loot and plunder of countryside, the whole undivided Punjab got vacated by the populace. Some moved south to Sindh, others to areas close or east of Delhi and some moved westwards and finally reached Europe, where they lived while working on odd jobs, theft and crime. Europeans despised them and they became nomadic population. It is now confirmed that they belonged to Seraiki speaking area east of the River Indus.

Some Balochi tribes buried their dead in graves of type known as the Chaukhandi. Their migration in the thirteenth century means beginning of this type of grave architecture and is shown in illustrations. It reached its full development under Samma and Mughal rule in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.





CHAPTER 12

IBN BATTUTTA'S VISIT TO SINDH (1333 AD)

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE TIME

HE River Indus flowed east of the present course

by about thirteen to sixteen kilometres miles in most of the upper Sindh. It was close to Ubauro and Mathelo, which were in its flood plains and about ten kilometres from it. The present Ghotki town site was just on its course. The river course is shown in the accompanying map.

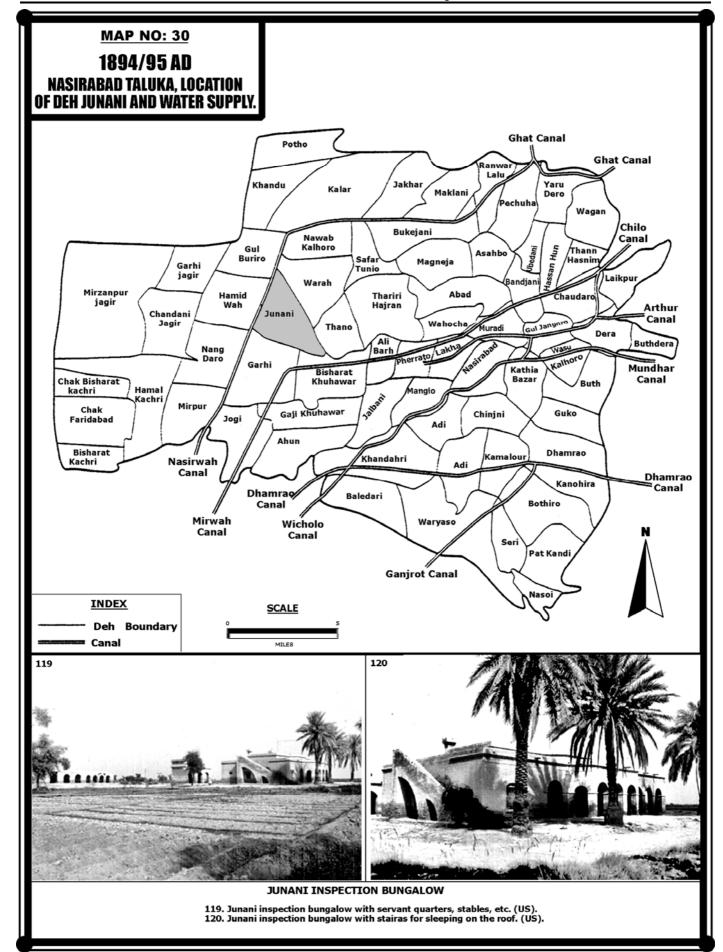
It passed through Bakhar, Darbelo, Odero Lal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio and Tando Muhammad Khan, which were important towns along it. Lahri was a new port on Kalri branch, which was the main branch then. Tharri had been deserted by the river and had decayed. Jun was on a new branch. Shah Kapoor, a previous Soomra capital, had turned into ruins. Alore, Brahmanabad-Mansura and Baiza (KahujoDaro or Dhaliya) were already in ruins and so was Thul Mir Rukan. The present Umarkot was called Amarkot for a long time after a Hindu chief Amar. Desert towns Nakni (Nagar Parker), Virawah, Chachhro, Mithi, Diplo and Rahimki Bazaar existed as they do at present. A latter settlement called as Islamkot existed then too. Dhambherlo was east of the present town of Digri on the border of the Thar desert and may well have been Fazal Bhambhro near Naokot or Naokot itself. Sehwan was some miles west of the river but was connected with the River Indus due to the existence of the perennial Aral canal. This was the reason that on return from Lahri Bunder, Ibn Battutta did not touch Sehwan.

Just like the Thar desert, towns and permanent settlements existed in Kohistan, which have survived well into twenty-first century. Wahi Pandhi, Laki, Bubak, Naing, Karchat, Pokhran, Arabjo Thano, Thano Bula Khan, Amri, Sann, Awais Qarni, Budhapur, Unarpur, Jhingri, Sari Singh and Mol, etc., were a few to mention. Kinjhar, Manchar, Makhi and Kalri were large lakes providing sustenance to Shah Hasan, Bubak and Jhimpir. Karachi existed in the name of Karaushi or Karaushti. Thatta either was not established or was a small township unworthy of mention and it was probably not near the main branch. New towns like Junani, Ubauro, Babarlo, Darbelo and Jun had come up on new courses. Lahri Bunder is mentioned for the first time after Debal ceased to function due to its destruction around 1223-24 AD by Khawarizm Shah. Debal had never recovered probably due to the change of course of the River Indus soon after.

Delta head was between Tando Muhammad Khan and Bulri. The River Indus shot a number of branches below this point including the present alignment of Phuleli canal, which flowed on the same course south of Tando Muhammad Khan. A large number of settlements existed on these branches some of which existed up to 1758 AD, the year in which the river took present alignment. These are detailed in maps under chapter 15.

IBN BATTUTTA'S ROUTE OF TRAVEL TO SINDH

Ibn Battutta, the famous Moroccan traveller (b. 1304 AD), who started his thirty-year travels in 1324 AD, reached Sindh in 1333 AD visiting north Africa, Arabia, Persia, Levant and Constantinople in the intervening nine years. His route to Sindh was from Al-Sara and Sarachuq to the north of Caspian Sea, Khawarizm, Almut, Bokhara, Samarkand, Kish, Tirmiz, Balkh, Anadarab, Parwan, Kabul, Ghazni and



Gomal Pass, from where he entered Balochistan. From here he took the caravan route now passing along the present towns of Fort Sandeman (Zhob), Mekhtar, Barkhan and Dera Bugti to Thul taluka in Jacobabad district of Sindh. From here he took the western branch of the River Indus, which had a Soomra town of Junani on its bank in Deh Junani two kilometres west of Warah town. The ruins exist near Junani Inspection Bungalow. Another two-day travel via Manchar Lake brought him to the town of Sehwan (Siwistan), also located on the western branch (Aral leading to the Indus). Having left Sehwan by the same branch of the Indus he met the main branch of the river near the present town of Sakrand. Further south he passed near Nasarpur, which did exist but probably not under the same name and reached Lahri Bunder. He mentions desert near Sehwan. Probably he means the area south of Sehwan where nothing but acacia (Babul tree) grew. On Aral they grew nothing but melons. North and west of Sehwan was all green.

IBN BATTUTTA'S RETURN ROUTE

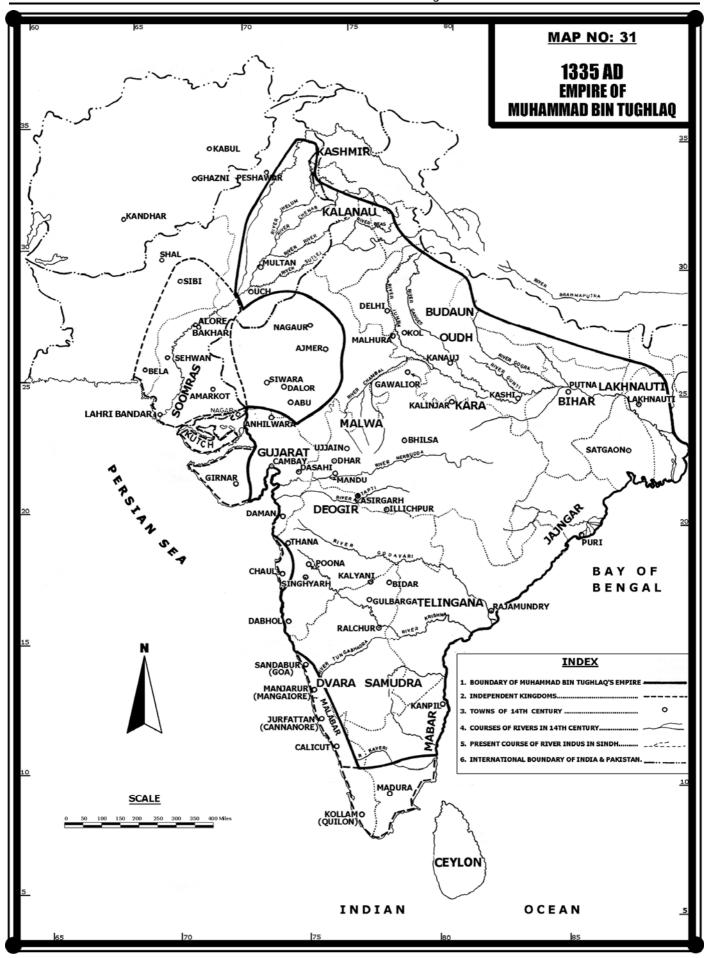
After spending five days in Lahri Bunder he returned on way to Delhi. His return route was Lahri Bunder to Nasarpur, Odero Lal, Darbelo, Bakhar and Uch to Multan, from where he proceeded to Delhi via Ajudahan, Abuhar, Sarsuti and Kansi.

IBN BATTUTTA'S OBSERVATIONS ON SINDH

His description of Sindh is briefed below:

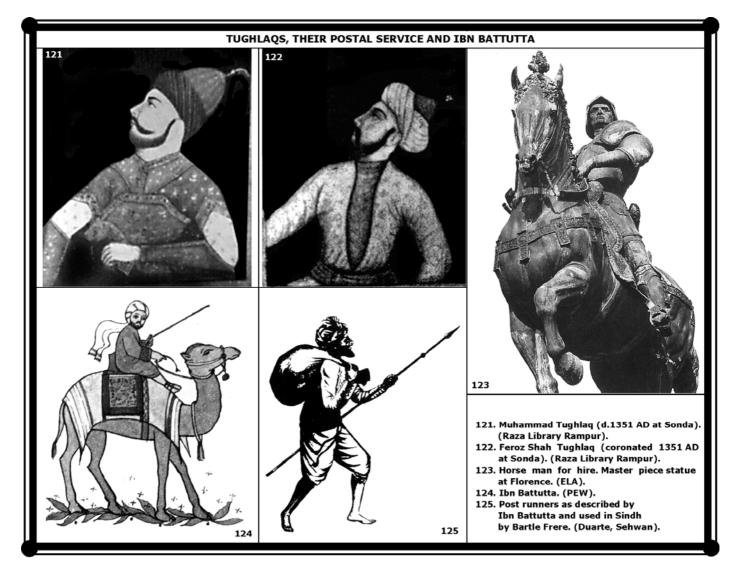
- * At Bakhar he met jurists Imam Sadruddin-al-Hanafi, Abu Hanifa the Qazi and Shaikh Shamsuddin Muhammad of Shiraz, an ascetic. He does not mention of Khawaja Khizir's shrine, though he mentions Usman Mervandi's Dargah at Sehwan, which seems to have been rebuilt by Feroz Shah Tughlaq in 1356 AD.
- * Seven miles from Lahri, he saw a ruined city with statues of men and animals (probably a temple of Hindus) along with buildings in ruins. It is recognised as Mora-Mari lying thirteen kilometres north-east of Lahri ruins, but it was an earlier town.
- * He left Bakhar for Uch where the governor was

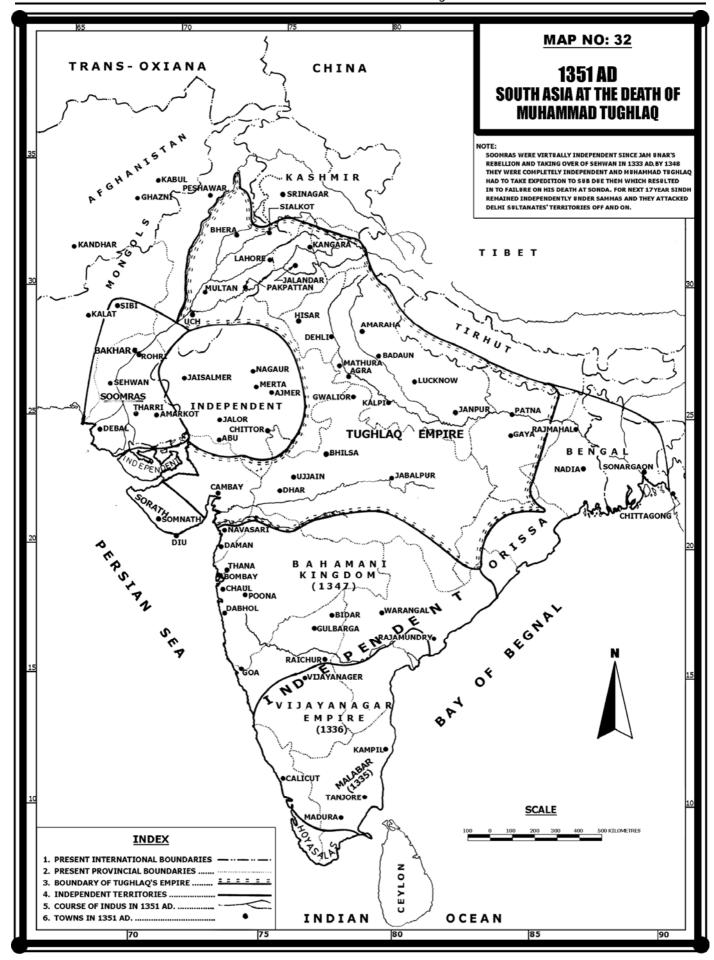
- Sharif Jalaluddin-al-Khilji, who made him stay for some months and assigned revenues of some villages to him. These brought him five thousand dinars.
- From Uch he went to Multan and thence to Delhi.
- * Postal services system existed in both forms, by horses and runners.
- * Junani a large and fine Soomra town existed on the western branch of the Indus (Warah course) at a distance of two-day journey by boat from his entry in Sindh.
- * Soomras had an Amir called Wunar (Jam Unar Samma, probably a joint leader of Sammas and Soomras), who was in the service of Tughlaqs.
- Sehwan was a large town surrounded by desert, where the only shrub or tree was acacia. Melons grew on the banks of river (Aral). Food of people was sorghum and peas (Mushunk). There was plenty of fish (from Manchar, Kinjhar, Kalri, Chotiari, Drigh and other lakes and the River Indus) and milk (from buffaloes raised along banks of the river as well as Manchar Lake and on irrigated agriculture). People also ate Shik or Gloi, a male chameleon or a sort of lizard. It is not known in the vicinity of Sehwan now, but found in plenty from Metting to Dabeji railway stations.
 - Jam Unar and Kaiser Rumi, both officials of Delhi government at Sehwan, raised a rebellion, killed Malik Ratan, the treasurer newly raised to the position of governor of Sehwan and looted the treasury of 1.2 million dinars. The former was titled as Malik Feroz by people and made him the ruler of the upper Sindh. When news reached Multan, its governor Sartez laid siege on Sehwan, who surrendered on some terms after forty days. Jam Unar escaped and took shelter with his tribe. After the surrender Sartez backed out of the agreement. Kaiser and his men were killed by beheading, some of them cut into halves, flaying others alive, filling their skins with straw and hanging them from the fort, a greater portion of walls was covered with these bodies. Their skulls were heaped together in the centre of the town, where they formed a mound of some size.
- * He travelled to Lahri with jurist Ala-ul-Mulk of Khurasan, governor-designate of Lahri Bunder.



- * The latter had come to assist Sartez. The journey to Lahri took five days. This port was visited by Persian and Arab merchants and travellers of the Arabian Peninsula (Al-Yemeni). The customs tax yielded from the port was six million silver dirhams a year, of which the governor got five per cent and the rest went to the Imperial Treasury. This amount of tax seems doubtful. Sindh's export trade in printed textiles through the Arab traders reached a peak during 1200-1500 AD period. Textiles were also exported to African coastal countries besides the conventional markets of Iran, Middle East and Europe.
- * Climate at Sehwan was so warm that people used to moisten sheets of cloth in water and wrap around their upper torso to cool themselves.

- These sheets had to be moistened as soon as they dried up.
- * The defect in his observation is that he has not tried to understand the area, local people, production, occupations, social customs, etc. We learn very little of historical geography from his writings i.e., flora, fauna, etc., though his stay in Sindh until arrival at Multan may have extended to eight months.
- * Ibn Battutta mentions an island on which Kishlu Khan's hospice (guest house) stood in the mid of river. This island may have eroded, as did many shoals on Sukkur side, which were a problem to boatmen in the early seventeenth century.
- * Ibn Battutta had lost his papers and notes and this may have been the reason of limited information.





CHAPTER 13

INVASION OF SINDH BY MUHAMMAD TUGHLAQ

REBELLION OF TAGHI AND INVASION OF SINDH BY MUHAMMAD TUGHLAQ (1351 AD)

WHAMMAD Tughlaq's invasion of Sindh was a consequence to his own appointee Taghi's rebellion in Gujarat and ultimately escaping to Sindh to seek shelter with Soomras at Thatta. Taghi, originally a cobbler and slave, had risen to important positions and while on a mission in Gujarat, joined hands with Qutlagh Khan and rebelled against his patron Muhammad Tughlaq in 1347 AD.

The rebellions against Delhi Sultanate had started in various parts of the empire some 15 years earlier. Jam Unar in central Sindh, i.e., Sehwan in 1333-34 AD, Jalaluddin Ashan in Malbar, Haljam at Lahore, Malik Hushand at Daulatpur, Shahu Afghan in Multan, Hindu chiefs in Sanam, Smana Kaithal Kuhram and Fakhruddin in Bengal, all of which took place between 1333-1338 AD. Then there were rebellions in the western Telegu, Talingana, Tandi and Mandalam. In the battle of Kadi in August 1347 AD, Taghi was defeated and had to flee to Kutch. Kutch, accepting suzerainty of Allauddin Khilji, became independent on his death in 1315 AD and was being ruled by Jareja Sammas originally from Sindh since 1148 AD. They had maintained extremely cordial relationships with both Soomras and Sammas of Sindh, who in turn had stood by Jareja rulers during the preceding two centuries. In 1333 AD, Jam Unar probably appointed as leader jointly by Sammas and Soomras, rebelled against Delhi. Jarejas of Kutch supported Taghi, who was to come under the protection of Soomras at Thatta.

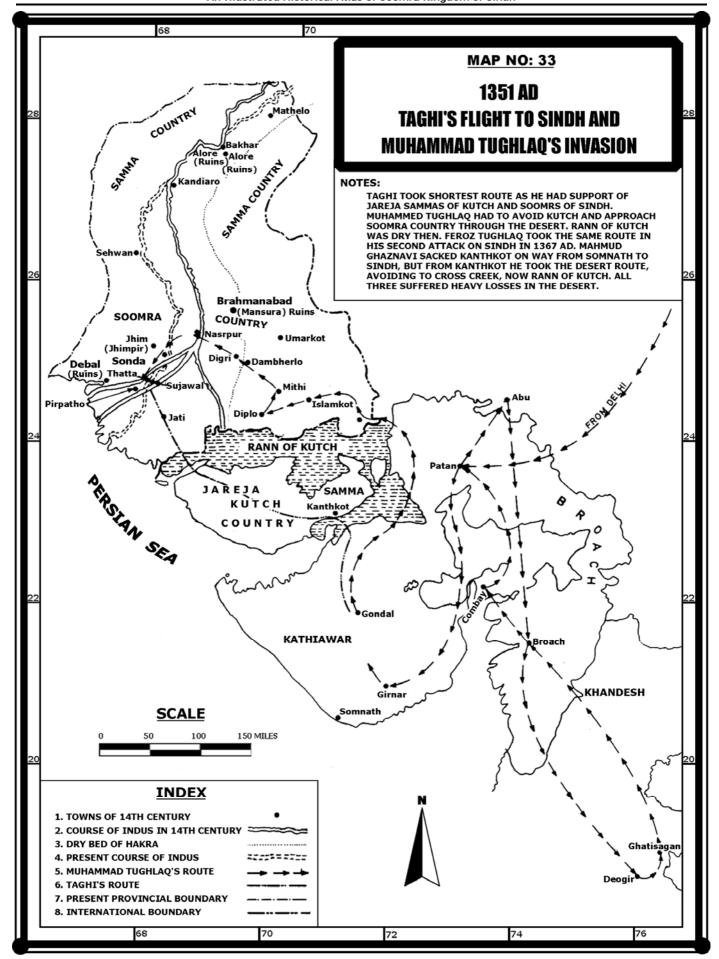
Comparison of maps of 1335 and 1351 AD shows how vast Tughlaq empire lost remote territories by centrifugal forces of history, reducing area under their control to just about half. Since its establishment in 1206 AD, Delhi Sultanate was under external pressures of Mongols and internal pressures due to end of "Climatic Optimum" by about 1200 AD and reduction in agricultural production as a consequence. The territory of Sindh was less affected as aridity was not so severe there, due to Indus being main source of water for irrigation.

ROUTE OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLAQ'S INVASION

Taghi took the shortest land route from Gondal to Thatta, i.e., via Kanthkot, Lakhpat, Jati and Sujawal. Muhammad Tughlaq could not take that route as Jarejas stood in his way. Kutch being dry, desolate and thinly-populated country would not only make movement of his troops difficult, but guerrilla tactics of Kutchis too could not be ruled out. The Rann of Kutch, approximately forty-five kilometres wide opposite the crossing points to Sindh, was marshy except for summer months preceding monsoons. Muhammad Tughlaq, therefore, had to take difficult and hazardous route from Cambay to Aswal, Dadi, Patan, Girnar, Gondal, Nakni (Nagar Parkar), Mithi, Dhambherlo (Dharmila or Naokot or Fazal Bhambhro), Digri, and Nasarpur, then along the river to the present Tando Muhammad Khan, Mula Katiar and Sonda.

DEATH OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLAQ

Before making assault on Thatta, Muhammad Tughlaq died most probably due to being poisoned at Sonda. He took the longer route via Nasarpur as he feared presence of Mongol troops and boats via Indus. These troops must have conquered Bakhar, Sehwan



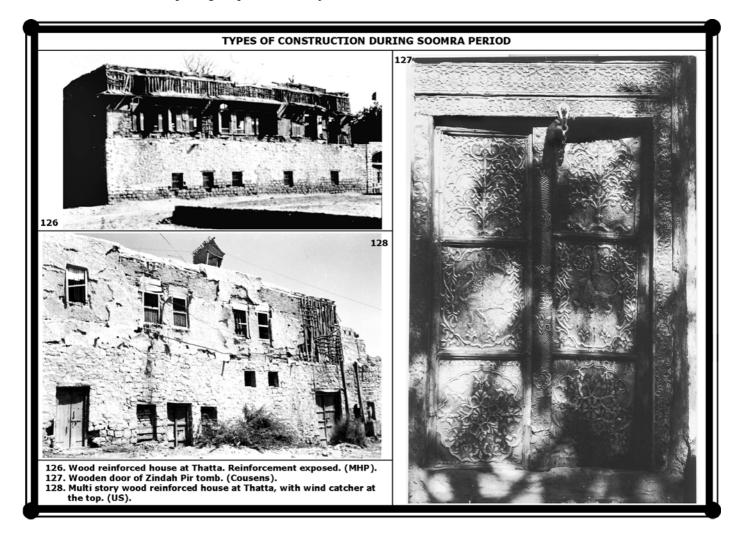
and Nasarpur as Feroz Shah had appointed his governors in these towns. The flotilla that came via Indus, must have been destroyed by the Sindhi and Kutchi seamen, as his successor Feroz Shah had to go back to Delhi by the land route from Sonda to the present Tando Muhammad Khan, Nerunkot, Nasarpur, Hala Kandi and Sehwan, of which except the last three places, the rest were not on the River Indus. He travelled along the riverbank to Tando Muhammad Khan as the direct land route to Nerunkot was devoid of water. Nerunkot may or may not be the present Hyderabad. It may have been a settlement on southern side of Ganjo Takar hill and north of Tando Muhammad Khan.

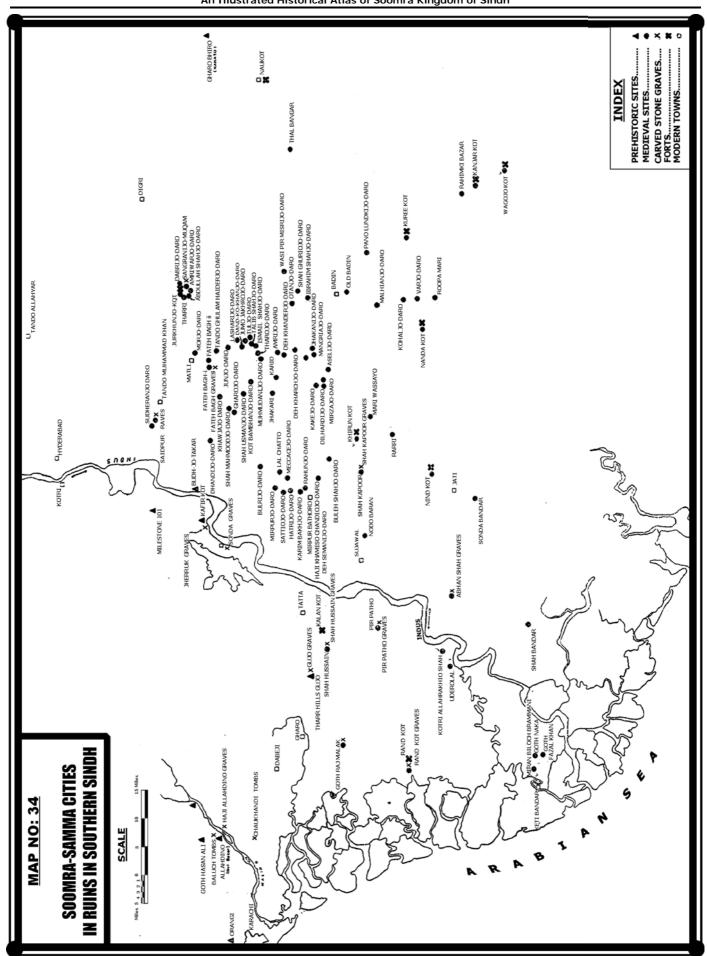
SOOMRAS' LOOTING OF IMPERIAL ARMY

On the death of Muhammad Tughlaq, the Mongol forces sent by Amir Farghan under the command of Ultoon Bahadur to help Tughlaqs, rebelled, joined hands with Soomras and looted the imperial camp in the plains between 140 and 143 kilometres from Karachi along the Karachi-Hyderabad National Highway. Here Feroz Shah became the Sultan. On Feroz' way back to Delhi, Muhammad Tughlaq was temporarily buried at Sehwan where from his body was shifted around 1356 AD to Delhi for final burial and was probably laid by the side of his father in such a haste that no epitaph could be fixed over his grave.

In 1351 AD, Delhi troops and boats, which came to join Muhammad Tughlaq (who invaded Sindh from Gujarat), occupied Bakhar, Sehwan and Nasarpur on way to Thatta, but the same year they were reoccupied by the Sammas and Soomras.

After occupying Bakhar, the Soomras must have occupied Sibi-Kachhi plains up to Bolan Pass, as Sibi had always formed part of Sindh since Vahlika dynasty (fourth century AD) and even earlier. Later on it formed part of Bakhar Sarkar until 1740 AD when Nadir Shah ceded it to Khan of Kalat.





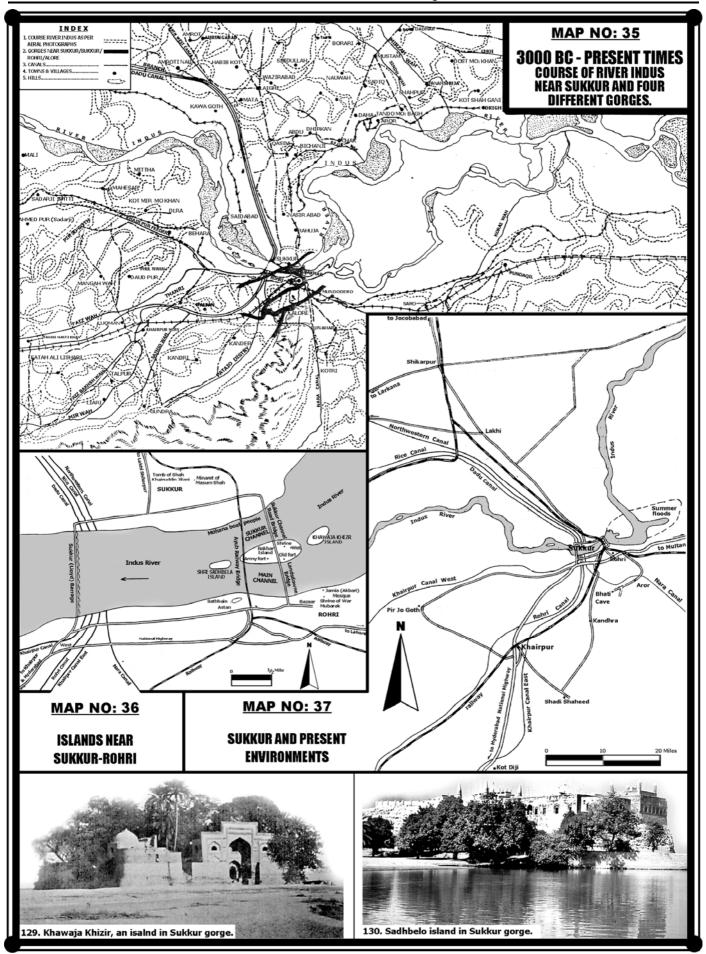
CHAPTER 14

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SINDH DURING SOOMRA PERIOD

HE following is the scenario of geographical positions and changes, which were mostly brought by the River Indus during three-and-a-half centuries of Soomra rule.

- * A major change took place in the course of the River Indus through Bakhar gorge in 1100-1200 AD, but a part of the river water still passed through Sindh Dhoro, Ruk and Lohano Dhoro. Whole water of the river passed through Bakhar by about 1250 AD. A branch of the River Indus passed through Alore gorge probably up to 1250 AD.
- Seismic activity in Kutch as well as in the Gulf of Sindh, now called Rann, which surrounds it to the north, east and west, raised the bed of Rann making it difficult and treacherous to be crossed. The name Rann of Kutch was coined by Burnes, who produced its first detailed map. "Post-Climatic optimum" (900-1200 AD) reduced river waters and this situation also brought hydrological changes. This also affected waters in Rann of Kutch, which at that time was termed as Gulf of Sindh. It also resulted into less spill waters from the Sutlei and the Indus to the Hakra, which finally dried up. Thus Kutch was cut off from Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat, connected by waters for many millennia. The influence of Sindh, which is clear from a number of pre and post-Indus sites in Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat, decreased considerably. However. communications between the people of middle and lower classes continued uninterrupted and seasonal migrations and trade between the two countries survived up to 1965 AD war between India and Pakistan. Kutchi language itself is a dialect of Sindhi. In Kathiawar there is a

- substantial population speaking the Kutchi or Memoni dialects.
- * Banbhore (Debal) settlement came to a sudden end in 1223-24 AD by violent disturbances and burning of it by Khawarizm Shah for booty after a bitter fight into streets as shown by archaeological excavations.
- * Pari Nagar (established in 512 BC) was destroyed by burning in 1222 to 1224 AD. There is a conjecture that it was too burnt by Khawarizm Shah for loot and plunder. It was a port and easy to reach by the Gulf of Sindh.
- * The Soomras shifted their capital from Tharri to Muhammad Tur or Mahatam Tur or Shah Kapoor in 1241-1246 AD, about eight kilometres north of Jati town on Gungro, a new branch the River Indus shot then. This happened due to change of course of the River Indus from Tharri to westwards. Tharri had been made capital of Sindh by Soomras after burning of their capital Brahmanabad or Mansura by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1026 AD.
- * During these hydrological changes, a new town was established on the site of Nasarpur and renamed as such by Feroz Shah a hundred years later.
- * The Soomras shifted capital to Thatta in 1317-1320 AD (717-720 AH). Simultaneously they threw off the yoke of Delhi, 20 years after Sindh was conquered by Allauddin's generals.
- * The River Indus seems to have changed the course between 1300-1340 AD. The Kalri, north of Thatta, became the main branch and the Baghar, south of Thatta, the secondary stream. The bifurcation took place about at Sixteen to twenty kilometres east of Thatta forming delta head



between Jhok and Bulri in the previous century. Ren or Reni branch kept flowing as usual, but Gungro, on which the Soomras' capital Tur stood, seems to have lost much of its water bringing the end of the city of Tur.

- * In the central Sindh below Bakhar gorge the river flowed about twenty-five kilometres east of present channel. Feroz Shah Tughlaq in 1351 AD renamed Nasarpur town already built on this course.
- * Debal was deserted by the people because of the changing course of the river before 1333 AD and abandoning of Gharo creek. A new port Lahri Bunder was established on the new Kalri branch. The eastern and western Purans too were abandoned for ever.
- * Around 1333 AD, Bakhar became an island, which till then was connected to main land on Sukkur side. Three other islands had come into existence in previous two centuries.
- * Major changes in the course of River Indus took place in 1330-1350 AD. The western Puran was abandoned, Kalri became the main branch and Baghar turned into a lesser important branch of the lower Sindh. Thatta city was established. Gungro branch declined and so did the Soomra capital Muhammad Tur that stood on it.
- * Due to decay of Pari Nagar its business community left first for Bhodesar in 1338 AD and then migrated to Jam Nagar.
- * The town of Samui was founded between 1300 and 1340 AD and not in 1373-74 AD (775 AH) as Tuhfa-tul-Kiram states that it was founded after the destruction of Muhammad Tur. Samui may have been founded by Sammas as a small town outside Thatta, as residence of their chiefs employed by Soomras.
- Around 1300 AD, the western branch of the River Indus called Western Nara became more important for the next 700 years. By carrying more water it became a perennial canal leading to prosperity in Jacobabad, Shikarpur, Larkana and Dadu districts, which gained unprecedented importance for the 650 years to follow. Its head was located at north of Guddu headworks and again entered the main

- river some kilometres east of Talti.
- * On this branch, west of Warah in Nasirabad taluka was established a beautiful town Junani by Soomras, which was visited by Ibn Battutta in 1333 AD. Inspection Bungalow and ruins of the same name still exist there today. The old branch was first merged into Ghar canal and now forms Warah branch running west of the ruins.
- Large number of Soomra settlements existed in the lower Sindh, which survived well up to Kalhora period. These are shown in the map no. 34. All these settlements are on various branches of the River Indus and there is a probability that the sites will be levelled up for settlements and cultivation or turned into graveyards sooner or later. They are listed in the table on the next page. The maps in this and the next chapter have been drawn with the help of aerial photographs and it has become easy to co-relate river courses with those sites, changes in the courses of the river and its branches and the causes of their decay between 1000 and 1500 AD. The changes in the river course changes below the delta head were frequent and much more than above the delta head. Thus, towns in northern and central Sindh were not destroyed frequently.

SOOMRAS' CAPITALS

The following four are recorded as capitals of Soomras:

- i. Mansura or Brahmanabad from 1011 to 1026 AD, when it was burnt and not re-occupied.
- ii. Tharri, 14km eastwards of Matli on the Puran from 1026 to between 1241 and 1246 AD, which was abandoned due to changes in the course of Puran.
- iii. Mahatam Tur or Muhammad Tur or Shah Kapoor, sixteen kilometres south of Mirpur Bathoro and eight kilometres north of Jati on the Gungro branch between 1241 and 1246, and during 1317-1320 AD.
- iv. Thatta from about 1317 to 1320 AD until the end of their rule in 1351 AD.
 - The following could be custom or border military

SOOMRA TOWNS IN SOUTHERN SINDH IN RUINS

S.No	Name of the site	Taluka	S.No	Name of the site	Taluka
1.	Banbhore	Mirpur Sakro	48.	Bulrijo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
2.	Goth Raj Malik	Mirpur Sakro	49.	Dhandijo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
3.	Rano Kot	Mirpur Sakro	50.	Shah Usmanjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
4.	Shah Hussain Graves	Thatta	51.	Gharojo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
5.	Pir Patho	Ghora Bari	52.	Shah Mahmoodjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
6.	Pir Patho Graves	Ghora Bari	53.	Khawajajo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
7.	Budhjo Takar	Tando Muammad Khan	54.	Saidpur Graves	Tando Muhammad Khan
8.	Nodo Baran	Sujawal	55.	Sudheranjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan
9.	Ubhan Shah Graves	Shah Bunder	56.	Tharri	Matli
10.	Shah Kapoor	Jati	57.	Jurkhunjo Kot	Matli
11.	Rarri	Jati	58.	Abdullah Shahjo Daro	Matli
12.	Nand Kot	Jati	59.	Dabrijo Daro	Matli
13.	Nanda Kot	Jati	60.	Amriwarjo Daro	Matli
14.	Deh Semanijo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	61.	Sangranijo Muqam	Matli
15.	Haji Khamiso Chandiojo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	62.	Morjo Daro	Matli
16.	Buleh Shajo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	63.	Thal Bangar	Tando Bagho
17.	Mirpurjo Daro	Thatta	64.	Wasi Pir Misrijo Daro	Tando Bagho
18.	Sattiojo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	65.	Otanjo Daro	Badin
19.	Hatrijo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	66.	Shah Ghuriojo Daro	Badin
20.	Karim Bakhojo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	67.	Ibrahim Shahjo Daro	Badin
21.	Rahunjo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	68.	Old Badin	Badin
22.	Maccacejo Daro	Mirpur Bathoro	69.	Malhianjo Daro	Badin
23.	Lal Chatto	Tando Muammad Khan	70.	Kohaljo Daro	Badin
24.	Junjo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	71.	Varjo Daro	Badin
25.	Tando Ghulam Haiderjo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	72.	Rupah Mari	Badin
26.	Lasharijo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	73.	Pano Lundkijo Daro	Badin
27.	Dano-ko-Khanjo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	74.	Kuree Kot	Badin
28.	Jumo Jakhrojo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	75.	Kanjor Kot	Diplo
29.	Talib Shahjo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	76.	Rahimki Bazaar	Diplo
30.	Tuljo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	77.	Naokot	Matli
31.	Mahmudanijo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	78.	Gharo Bhiro	Matli
32.	Tharojo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	79.	Haji Allahdino Graves	Malir
33.	Ismail Shahjo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	80.	Baluch's tombs	Malir
34.	Amrijo Daro	Tando Muammad Khan	81.	Vigih Kot/Wagojo Kot	Distt: Kutch
35.	Mari Wassayo	Golarchi	82.	Brahmanabad –Mansura	Tando Adam
36.	Khirun Kot	Golarchi	83.	Alore	Rohri
37.	Kakejo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	84.	Samui	Thatta
38.	Dilhardijo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	85.	Lahri Bunder	Sakro
39.	Mirzajo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	86.	Dhamraho	Warah
40.	Aselijo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	87.	Thul Mir Rukan	Moro
41.	Misri Shahjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	88.	Junani	Nasirabad
42.	Mangriajo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	89.	Baghban	Dadu
43.	Jhakanijo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	90.	Depar Ghanghro	Shahdadpur
44.	Deh Kharchjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	91.	Kahujo Daro	Mirpurkhas
45.	Deh Khanderjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	92.	Rano Bhiro	Tando Muhammad Khan
46.	Jhakari (Maijubanjo	Tando Muhammad Khan	93.	Gujjo	Existent
47.	Daro) Kot Bambhanjo Daro	Tando Muhammad Khan	94.	Loharani	Lahri Bunder

posts or both;

- * Vigih Kot or Vijeh Kot or Vigho Kot or Wagojo Kot or Wighia Kot in India near Rahimki Bazaar on confluence of Bhadar with the Puran, maybe a custom or border military post or both to avert any invasion from Gujarat via Kathiawar and Kutch. The ruins belong to the Indus culture times and are contemporary of Mohenjo Daro.
- * * Deval Kot or Debal Kot near Pir Patho, another military post established when Thatta became capital or earlier on Kalri branch.
- * Rupah Mari, 43 kilometres south of Badin on Ren river, said to be palace of Queen Rupah and may have been another border military post.

All above cities had destroyed or decayed due to changes in the courses of the River Indus or its branches called as eastern Puran, western Puran, Ren river or other names. Settlements below Badin and Jati could be affected by earthquakes but not to their north.

* History has not recorded Amarkot as capital of Soomras except in folklore. One version is that Rana Amar Singh of Sodha tribe in 336 AD, a branch of Parmars, built the Amarkot fort. Other version is that all Soomra rulers had non-Arabic and local Sindhi names. Umar Soomro's actual name may have been Amar, Amero, etc and he may have built it as subcapital. Still another version is that the present fort may have been built by Kalhoras, though it existed from eleventh or twelfth centuries. No archaeological explorations have been done to investigate its originality.

SOOMRA TOWNS IN RUINS

As aforesaid, a large number of Soomra towns in lower Sindh were destroyed by changing courses of the River Indus and many decayed after 1758 AD, when river changed its course from old one, i.e., north of Hala to Shahdadpur, Odero Lal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio, Tando Muhammad Khan, Matli, Talhar, Badin, Kadhan, Lowari, Rahimki Bazaar, Sindhri and Koree creek to the present course, west of Hyderabad to Keti Bunder. While levelling the lands for irrigation in Kotri barrage commands, the author found hundreds of sites and informed Dr F.A. Khan of the archaeology department, who had them surveyed, though not

explored. Since then Archaeology Department has done no further work and greedy landowners are levelling the sites up for cultivation. Table on opposite page gives a list of these sites, which are also marked on the map drawn by the department of archaeology and shown in the maps no.1 and 2, Soomra-Samma towns.

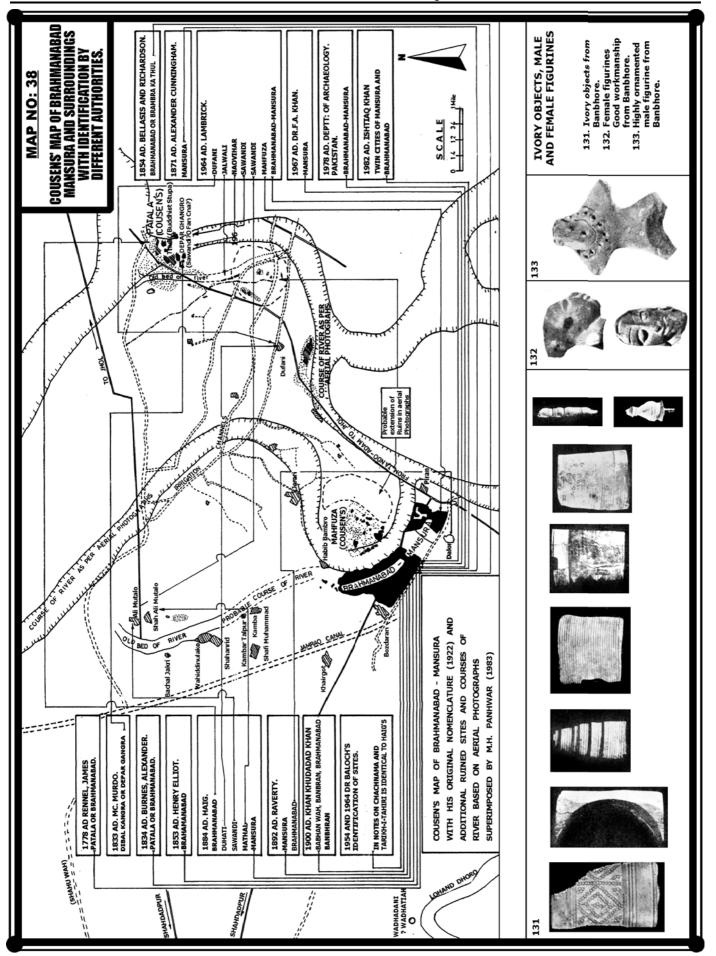
Dr Prof Mukhtiar Kazi (personal communication) has identified some Buddhist stupas in northern Sindh and a few in southern Sindh namely, Aror, Budahjo Daro, Bathoro, Chanharjo Daro, Gujjo, Gul Muhammad Jamro, Jhurar, Kafir Kot, Khijrari, Lailajo Aatan, Mari Sabara (Nawabshah district), Misri Shah, Nasuijo Daro, Qasim Kirio, Seeraj-ji Takri, Tharriri Dir Shanda and Vinjrot. All these existed in the early Soomra period.

HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Roofs of houses were covered with wooden beams, rafters and thirty-centimetre square burnt bricks or tiles, like the present steel girders, T-irons and square tiles. The tiles were die-cast decorated with geometrical patterns and cut with a knife or sharp poker and floral patterns were embossed before clay bricks were fired. This type of art for interior decoration was unique and a substitute of engraved stonework. Innovation had its roots in stonesites being suitable but far off and on difficult transport routes. Tiles depict best workmanship in interior decorations. Such tiles were in use in the sixth and seventh centuries and art seems to have continued during Soomra period. Cousens calls them cut-bricks. Such designs are shown in the illustrations.

LOCATION OF BRAHMANABAD - MANSURA

Aerial photographs clarify the position of Brahmanabad-Mansura site and it tallies with the description of mediaeval travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries. They had stated that it was an island hitherto not proven. The thick line at the right of Mansura ruins in the map no: 5 shows the course of Hakra-Sarsuti, an extinct river, which brought spill waters from the Indus and the Sutlej in the inundation seasons only and met the Indus at various points visible



in the form of different courses shown in the map. The influence of confluence for only a month would be overflow of waters in the Indus on right bank and the latter's shooting a branch above confluence on right bank and that branch would re-join the river some miles south of the confluence.

Another effect would be shift in the course of Hakra eastwards, but again meeting the Indus. Such courses of Hakra, though only a few, can also be seen on the map. A number of confluence points are visible along with islands formed from time to time. They were not permanent and kept changing, but were such that in case of change in courses of both Indus and Hakra by a few miles, water could easily lead to Brahmanabad-Mansura township. Hakra appears to have flowed invariably near Brahmanabad and in the antiquity around 400 BC when this town was first mentioned as Brahmanka by the Sanskrit grammerian Panini. Hakra may have carried spill waters of the Indus and Sutlei for longer duration of a few months there in eighth to thirteenth centuries during the "Climatic Optimum."

IDENTIFICATION OF BRAHMANABAD-MANSURA

The site on the left bank of Jamrao canal has been considered to date back to 400 BC and surviving under the names Bahmanka, Patala, Demetrias, Minagara, Brahmo, Bahmanya, Brahmanabad, Dalurai, Mansura, Babanva, Banbhra, etc. Of the various researchers, Belasis and Richardson (1854) considered the site as Brahmanabad and Alexander Cunningham (1871) was of the same view. Lambrick (1964) considered the site as Brahmanabad-Mansura. F.A. Khan (1967) called it exclusively as Mansura, but Halim (1978) following formers work and new excavations, concluded that it was Brahmanabad-Mansura and stated that minaret of mosque to call the faithful for prayers was built atop a Since this observation. Buddhist stupa. identification of site has become so controversial and politicised that even archaeologists are undecided.

The earlier reports by non-archaeologists are equally contradictory and a few examples are: James Rennel (1778) considered it Patala or Brahmanabad, but he was a cartographer and had not visited Sindh.

Alexander Burnes (1834) agreed with Rennel. Henry Elliot (1853) called it Brahmanabad. Raverty (1892) called it Mansura. Khudadad Khan (1900) called it Babanya. Banbhra and Brahmanabad. Most controversial of all of them was Haig (1884), who as Director of Survey and Settlement in Sindh for nearly 23 years, had studied many sites in the area and attempted to assign different names to them. He called the present site as Mansura and Depar Ghanghro as Brahmanabad. He went further and assigned names of various ruins to Duhati, Sawandi and Mathal. Dr N. A. Baloch has assigned almost same names to various ruins as Haig, but all these have not been excavated by archaeologists.

The confusion becomes further complicated by some historians, who have considered legendary Dalurai as genuine Soomra Hindu king and destruction of his city caused by the wrath of God in the form of an earthquake. They also believe that a merchant, Saiful Maluk, was responsible for the destruction of Dalurai's capital Alore by diverting the Indus water via Hakra to the present course in the dark of one night. Further confusion is created by the Persian poets and historians belonging to the tenth to fifteenth centuries who equate Gustasaf with Darius-I and his grandson Artaxerxes with Bahman. Even Darius and Artaxerxes did not know that they would be called by these names fourteen hundred years later. Based on them Raverty considers founding of city Brahmanabad by Bahman in the fifth century BC. Belasis trusted local narratives that Banbrajo Thul was Brahmanabad, one-and-a-half mile away from it, was the residence of its last king Dalurai and five miles further east at Depar Ghanghro, was the residence of his Prime Minister.

The conclusion of Henry Cousens in a report of 1908-09 cannot be overlooked. He states: "Though excavation upon the site is interesting, that interest is not commensurate with the cost of digging nor have this year's explorations yielded any results of special value beyond the confirmation of the fact of a Muhammadan city (Mansura) overlying the remains of Hindu city (Brahmanabad)."

A chart enclosed gives identification of various sites by different authors.

		IDENTI	IDENTIFICATION OF BRAHMA	N OF BR	AHMAN	ABAD-M	NABAD-MANSURA AND ADJOINING PLACES BY VARIOUS AUTHORS	A AND AI	OJOININ	G PLAC	ES BY VA	RIOUS A	UTHOR	S	
S.NO.	PLACE	RENNEL JAMES	MC MURDO	BURNES, ALEXANDER	ELLIOT, HENRY	BELASIS & RICHARDSON	BELASIS & CUNNINGHAM, RICHARDSON ALEXANDER	HAIG MR.	RAVERTY	KHUDADAD	COUSENS	N.ABALOCH 1954&1964	LAMBRICK	FA KHAN	HALIM
		1778	1833	1834	1853	1854	1871	1884	1892	1900	1922	CHACHNAMA AND TARIKH-I- TAHRI NOTES	1964	1967	1978
-	2	3	4	9	9	7	8	6	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Brahmanabad- Mansura of cousens	Patala or Brahmanabad	,	Patala or Brahmanabad	Brahmanabad	Brahmanabad or Banbhra Ka Thul	Mansura	Mansura	Mansura	Banbhran or Banbhan Wah or Brahmanabad	Brahmanabad Mansura	Mansura	Brahmanabad- Mansura	Mansura	Brahmana- bad Mansura
2	Depar Ghanghro	-	Patala or Brahmanabad	-	-		-	Brahmanabad	-	-	Patala Swandi?0- FanCna?	Brahmanabad	Swandi? Stupa Nao Bahar	-	
3	Dalurai (South of of Brahmanabad)						Brahmanabad I	Dolor	Brahmanabad			Dalor			
+	Shah Ali Matalo (south mound)							Mathal	-	-			Musthal		
co.	Ali Matalo (north mound) also called Dalu- rai Jo Bhiro	-		-	-			-	-		-	-	Swandi?	-	-
9	Dufani	-				,	-	Samadi	-		Dufani	Mahfuza? Dufani			1
7	Ruins east of Brahmanabad	-	-	-	-		-	Dumati	-	-	Mahfuza	Dufani		-	-
∞	Old bed of river through center of Depar Ghanghro			-	-		-	Jawali	-	-		Jalwali	Jalwali? Nao Vihar? Swandi?	-	
6	Ruins to south of Brahmanabad- Mansura but an extension or actually part of it			-	-				-		-	Mahfuza	Mahfuza?		
10	Riverbed to the east of Brahmanabad- Mansura		,										Manjhal? Wodhatiah?		
Ħ	Riverbed west of Brahmanabad- Mansura	1					,					-	Manjhal? Wodhatiah?		
12	Jariri 2kms (1 1/4 miles) NE Brahmarabad- Mansura on right bank of the branch of river passing between Brahmarabad and Cousens "Mahfuza"											Jariri Deh on He course of Jahvari 10 kms from Brahman- abad Mansura and on course passing passing passing changhro			

MANSURA

A city called Brahmanka existed in the 4th century BC and was capital of pargana of the same name on the left bank of Indus covering the whole central Sindh as mentioned by Panini, the grammarian of Sanskrit language. It may have been named as Brahmanabad during Sassanian conquest and their rule of Sindh from 183 to 256 AD and was renamed as Mansura by Umayyad governors of Sindh. It was fortified with four gates Bab-i-Turan (west), Bab-i-Bahar (south), Bab-i-Sandan (east) and Bab-i-Multan (north). It covered an area of about six hundred and eighty-five acres and circumference of the fort was about four miles. Its fort was made of burnt bricks with mud mortar and mud brick core with semi-circular bastions. A gateway opened eastwards to the river. The western gate connected it to country's roads. The fort was 2750 X 1375 metres with maximum height of eleven metres of Buddhist stupa above the present level of surrounding lands, which also have risen by four feet in the last one thousand years. The area enclosed within the fort was the inner city with government functionaries, but ruins extend much beyond the fortification. This city was intersected by wide roads and interspaced with private and public buildings. The city surrounding the fort supported the population with all kinds of provisions. The construction had typical features discussed below:

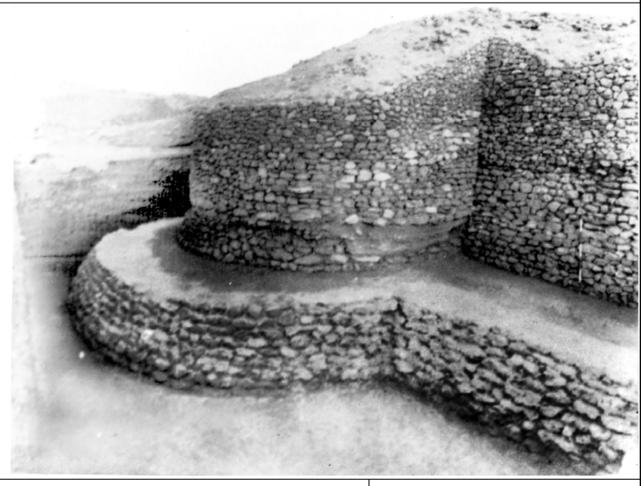
- * Mosque at Mansura-Brahmanabad had the size of 45.7 metres N-S x 76 metres E-W with 1.8 metres thick boundary wall and was roofed in western part 45.7 X 22 metres, leaving eastern part of 20.75 metres as open courtyard. It did not have an in-built Mehrab. The building deviates 23° with Macca and doubts are cost about its being a mosque. It may as well have been an important government functionary office. Inside, a Mehrab has been cut in the wall probably after its construction.
- * Gypsum-lime was common binding mortar, but mud bricks were also used with mud mortar.
- * Bricks used were thin but longer and wider than the present bricks.
- * For pavements of streets, bricks were laid on the edge.
- * For sanitary purposes town's liquid wastes were

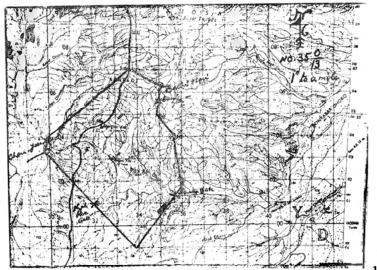
- drained out. The drains had wagon type roofs, i.e., curved and raised in the centre and usually bricks on edge were used. After Mohenjo Daro this was the second city in Sindh having drainage.
- * Streets and houses had square tile flooring laid above bricks on edge as sub-floor.
- * Stairs had bricks on the edge.
- * Iron smelting was done within fort area. This may have been done in the last days of Habari rule when their hold may have weakened.
- * Painted pottery depicts geometrical, floral, birds and animal motifs. Among animals camel is most prominent and has single or double hump showing existence of both types in Sindh in the eleventh century. Ducks, deer and lambs are other motifs. The stamped types show concentric circles and dots appropriately displayed.
- * Large heavy circular discs about twenty-two inches diameter with Arabic inscriptions and on the top riveted with demon figures called doorknockers have been fitted on boats probably to function as bells. They may have been some deities. Separate areas were earmarked for production of materials of everyday use. Ivory, pottery, beads, coins and glassware were manufactured at Mansura as at Banbhore.

BANBHORE

Banbhore, today thirty-five kilometres from open sea, was only twenty kilometres from the sea during the thirteenth century. When found as Alexander's Haven in 324 BC, it was probably on the sea itself or a mile or two inland on the Kalri branch of the Indus. The ancient fort existed much before the Arab conquest but was repaired periodically. Sandstone used in its construction and also of houses came from hillocks just outside the settlement but yet mud bricks were used for the poor men's quarters and in core of fortifications. The settlement occupies about fifty-five acres, only ten per cent of conspicuous area has been excavated and much cannot be known about life of the common man. The fort had three gates: one for road traffic, one connected to lake, which probably was connected with the river and the third one connected to the sea. The lake could also have been served a source of city water

TYPES OF CONSTRUCTION





134. Banbhore fort wall. (DGA).

134

- 135. Rani Kot fort circumference wall; Photo from air.
 136. Plan of a house at Brahmanabad excavated by Belasis in 1854 AD.



supply. There were poor men's quarters towards northern city wall housing textile dyeing workers and their workshops. The Muslim period mosque was built atop a Hindu temple and had no Mehrab like contemporary mosques at Kufa and Wasit. The fort had a strong revetment at the base, which tapered off more than two metres high. Cities like Banbhore and Brahmanabad had an efficient drainage system and soak pits have been found in the excavated area. The roofs were flat on wooden beams and rafters.

BHIRO BHAM

It was a small settlement covering about twenty-four acres on the bank of the River Indus. Like other forts it had burnt bricks on outside and unburned mud bricks formed the inner layer with twenty-four bastions. Located between Alore and Brahmanabad (Mansura), it was an important mid-way station and existed during Soomra period. It was destroyed by fire during eleventh century probably with Mansura.

ALORE

It was an important town of Soomras. Its destruction is not recorded by any Arab traveller. A branch of river passed through Alore gorge, another one through Bakhar gorge simultaneously, while the main branch passed west of Sukkur since at least 400 BC. On the Bakhar gorge stood the town of Sarkara (Sukkur) as reported by grammarian Panini. Alore was the capital of Musicanus defeated by Alexander in 325 BC and survived up to the end of the twelfth century AD as a major city. Its decline was caused by widening and deepening of Bakhar gorge, which later took the entire flow of the river. Aerial photographs clearly show the passage of river through Alore gap at velocities and volumes sufficiently high to cause fanlike spread of water emerging through the gorge in a few miles of length and width in alluvial plains. Drilling in the bed of Nara canal across the gorge in 1969 showed it to be a deep gorge. The River Indus had never passed through bed of Hakra or the Eastern Nara as was presumed by some historians and folklorists. It is also interesting to note that how Dalurai's story gradually developed over centuries

perfectly in a fashion of miracle. Name of Alore was Rore or Rora, which means noise and noise may have been due to the gush of huge water passing through the gorge. "Al" was added by the Arabs. It seems that ancient name Ruruka applies to it and Rohri probably means Rori or a little Rore or Rora. For further details author's article "Hakra-Sarsuti controversy" may be referred to.

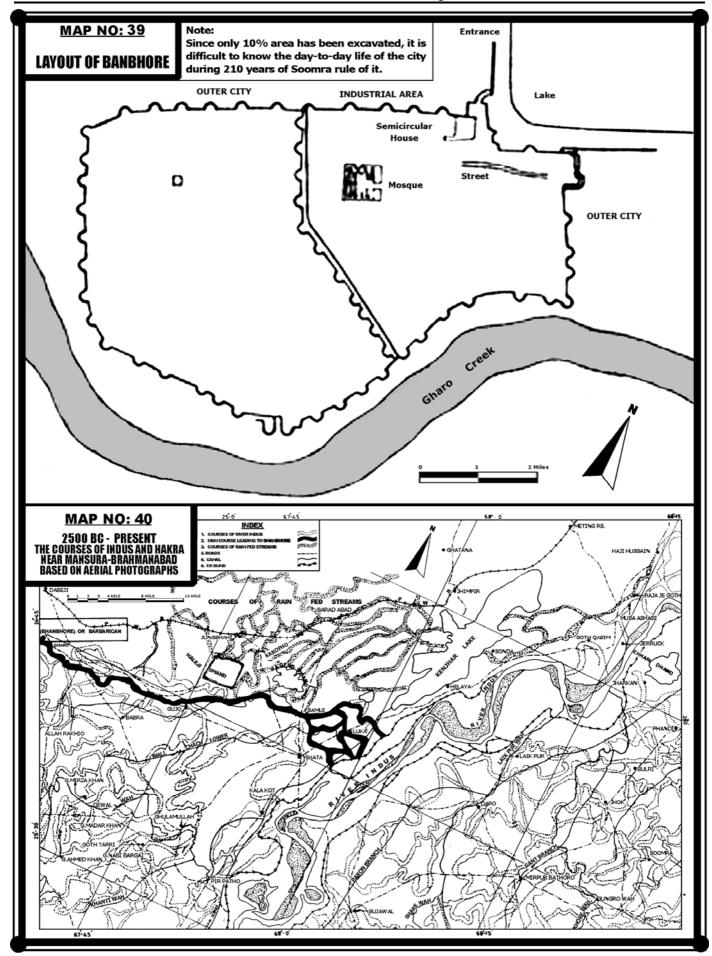
Alore decayed in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century after river water no longer flowed through its gap or only very little water flowed past it, but the town survived. Soomras then built a fort on one of the large islands created by the river near Bakhar. Around 1217 AD, northern Sindh was conquered by Qabacha and the fort was occupied. There is no mention whether he renovated or enlarged it, but committed suicide from its walls eleven years later.

That Alore still held importance, is shown by two tombs of the thirteenth century now called Suhagin and Duhagin. They have special architectural design evolved from Buddhist architecture. They may have been built in the last half of the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. It would be worthwhile to study these unusual tombs, further discussed in their illustrations.

SHAH KAPOOR

Shah Kapoor ruins are located in Deh of the same name in taluka Jati, Thatta district. They are spread over half-a-kilometre north-south and one-and-a-half kilometre west-east. Road approach is fifty-seven kilometres from Badin on Badin-Sujawal road, five kilometres south-east of Jati Chowk. Ruins of Shah Kapoor consist many dilapidated buildings, locally called Maris (bungalows), built with baked clay bricks. These buildings are in shape of red mounds having different sizes. Many buildings have recently been razed to be used as ballast material for a nearby road. Scattered brick pieces in surrounding agricultural lands are evidence of a large town and extent of its boundaries. An important building, of which bricks have been removed, is left only to plinth level. Some stone blocks have been taken away by nearby villagers for construction of a mosque.

Visible plan of the building and surface collection



show it to be an administration building or some secular structure. Surface collection consists stone and glass beads, pieces of glassware, terracotta pottery, copper coins and household objects, etc. Plan of the building is illustrated.

KHIRUN KOT

Khirun Kot is nine kilometres east of Shah Kapoor, but easy approach to it is getting opposite kilometre-40 on Badin–Sujawal road. The fort is spread over approximately eighteen acres. Its walls are nine feet thick with a maximum height of twenty-four feet at present. It is eight-hundred-fifty-seven feet north-south and seven-hundred-eighty-one feet east-west. The fort has twenty-eight bastions four thirty-six feet wide with sixty feet circumference at the corners and six on each side with forty feet width and sixty-two feet circumference.

At the centre of eastern wall there seems a construction of 15 x 12 metres hall divided into two large rooms of 9 x 12 metres and 6 x 12 metres. In the construction both baked bricks and stone blocks have been used. Many blocks are reported to have been taken away. The present owner of the 18-acre fort is a farmer to whom the land was granted under Hari

scheme a few years ago and is waiting for funds to level the land for agriculture. Excavation of this fort can throw new light on Soomra era.

THARRI

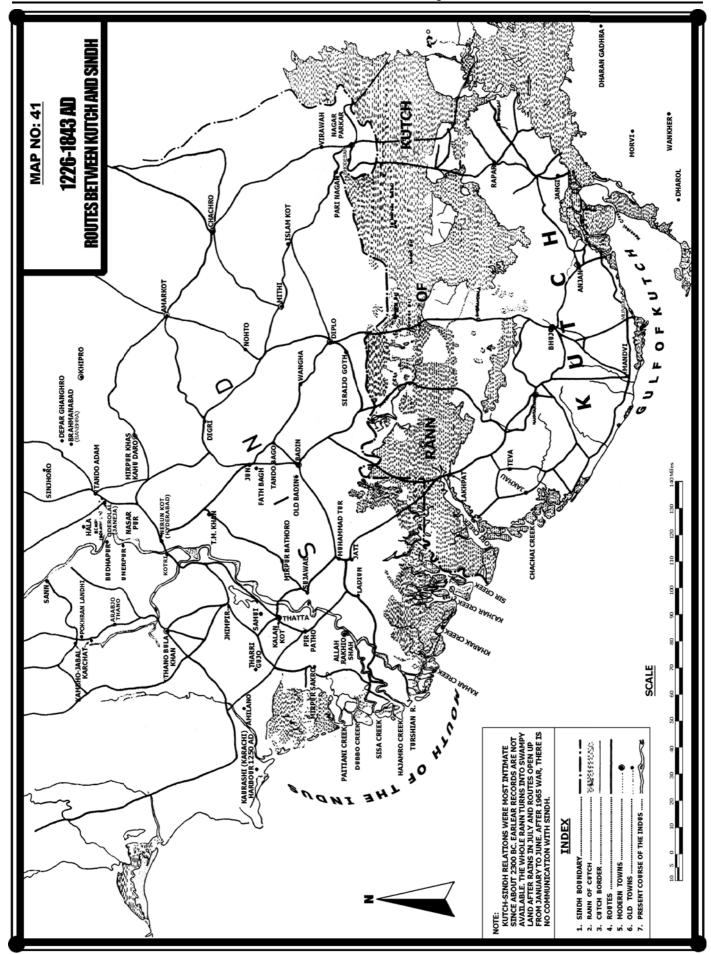
Tharri site is four kilometres off the road on kilometre-14 point on Matli-Tando Ghulam Ali road in Badin district. Major portion of the site has already been levelled and brought under cultivation. The remaining ninety-nine acres piece of land has been converted into a graveyard having tomb of Shah Deewano on eastern side and tomb of a renowned princess Sindh Rani of Talpur era on southern side. These names appear to be fictitious.

Shah Deewano's 729th lunar (709th solar) anniversary was celebrated on 27th of Ramazan 1422 AH (13th December 2001 AD) and may have died around 1292/93 AD. He may have been an important Soomra ruler or prince whose name changed with the passage of time. No saint named Deewano is reported in the thirteenth century. The site is presently identified as Garhi Bhir (red mound) due to red brick-pieces scattered all over the site.

Numerous signs, ruins and plans of buildings, built in baked bricks are visible at the site.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF SEA ALONG SINDH COAST

Present name	Name in the past	Present name	Name in the past
Seventh century AD		Seventeenth century AD	
 Red Sea Indian Ocean Persian Gulf Arabian Sea Sea near Sindh and Gujarat coast Eighth century AD Red Sea 	 Sinus Arabians Oceansus Indicus Sinus Persica Mare Erythraenum Sea of Lar Bahr-al-Qulzum Al-Bahar Al-Muhit 	 Indian Ocean Sea near west coast of Gujarat and Sindh Eighteenth century AD 	Indian Ocean, which was also called Socotra Portuguese or Portuguese Sea in 16 th and 17 th centuries Arabian Sea
Indian OceanPersian GulfArabian SeaSea near Oman	Bahr-i- FarasBahr-i-FarasGharb-i-OmanGulf of Sindh	 Persian Gulf Nineteenth century AD Persian Gulf Red Sea 	Bahr-e-FarasPersian GulfRed Sea
- Rann of Kutch			



LOCATION OF TOWNS OF SOOMRA PERIOD ON VARIOUS DRAINAGE SYSTEMS

Drainage system	Towns on it	Drainage system	Towns on it
Bolan-Manchar-Aral drainage	Pandhi Wahi, Sisam (Shah Hasan), Tando Rahim, Ghazi Shah, Ali Mu- rad, Sehwan and Dhamraho	Hakra	Vinjrot, Amarkot and Naokot
Branch passing through Alore gorge up to 1250 AD	Mahota, Likani, Mathelo, Hakra, Kadasur and Kot Dijji village	The western Deltaic branch	Sudheran, Rawar, Budhjo Takar, Kirr Kot, Shah Hussain, Tharri Gujjo, Pir Patho, Jherruck and Nerunkot
The main river	Sarkara (Sukkur) Bakhar (Baghrur), Rohri, Thul Mir Rukan, Kot Lalu, Depar Ghanghro and Brahmanabad	The Baran drainage Coastal towns	Taung, Pokhran and Desoi Debal, Pari Nagar and Lahri Bunder
The eastern Puran	Dhaliya	Western branch of Indus	Junani, Kakar, Baghban Sisam and Sehwan

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN SINDH AND KUTCH

KUTCH-SINDH RELATIONS

In 1148 AD, Lakho, Jareja Samma of Sindh, founded the Jareja Samma dynasty in Kutch. He died in 1175 AD and his son Rayadhan ascended the throne. Later on Phatu, a Soomra chief, attacked Kutch and destroyed the city of Bhadresvara probably to help Rayadhan in a local rebellion, but Chaulkaya king Bhim Dev-II (1178/9--1241 AD) sent an expedition against Phatu, who had returned to Sindh. These troops neither entered Sindh nor replaced Rayadhan. Kutch was subdued by Delhi Sultanate between 1206 and 1210 and again in 1297-1316 AD, when they may have paid some tribute, but Kutch was always too poor to pay and sparsely populated to be conquered and annexed. It was independent during intervening years. Kutch was under the influence of Sindh as Jarejas belonged to Sindh and were supported by both Soomras and Sammas.

In 1472 AD, Kutch passed completely under the political influence of Gujarat, whose vassals they became. Jareja Sammas ruled Kutch between 1148 and 1948 AD. During the period they accepted suzerainty of the following:

1.	1206-1210 AD	Qutubuddin Aibak
		(eastern Kutch only).
2.	1297-1315 AD	Allauddin Khilji.
3.	1396-1537 AD	Sultans of Gujarat
		(western Kutch only).
4.	1472-1537 AD	Sultans of Guiarat

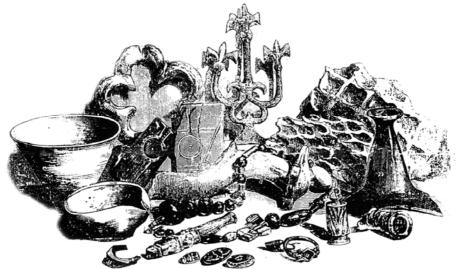
(whole Kutch).

5. 1580-1700 AD Mughals.6. 1817-1947 AD British.

CONSEQUENCES OF DRYING UP OF GULF OF SINDH NOW CALLED RANN OF KUTCH

Kutch, which has an area of 19,732 square kilometres, is two-hundred-fifty-eight kilometres from east to west and one hundred and thirteen kilometres from north to south. It is a barren treeless rocky area landscape which is intersected by the black ranges of hills, deeply cut river beds, rich pasture lands and fertile agricultural land plains. The average rainfall is twelve inches in the north and twenty inches in the south. With its low rainfall famine conditions occur once in every eleven years, when cattle must move out to adjoining areas. Until 1965 AD, the Kutchis used to migrate usually to the present Jati, Badin and Shah Bunder talukas to graze their cattle. Rains in Kutch occur in the months of July and August and luxurious grasses grow on which cattle grazes up to December. Rann of Kutch gets filled up with rainwater from the river Luni, but occasionally only. The west-most part also gets tide water from the sea due to monsoon winds and tidal waves from June to August (the difference between summer and winter sea level at the coast is about three metres). There is no tidal water getting into Rann of Kutch proper from the sea. Some rainwater from adjoining areas of Sindh and Kutch also drains into the Rann. The depth of water is usually not more than 75 centimetres. Swampy conditions prevail from July to the end of December, but in January cattle can

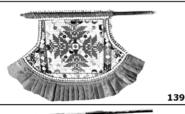
DECORATIVE DOMESTIC ARTICLES OF IVORY, METAL, STONE, PALM LEAVES AND STRAW

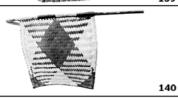


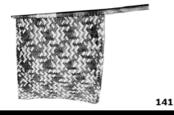
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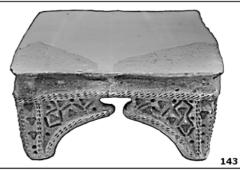












137. Some Objects collected by Belasis. (Cousens).

- 138. Ivory pieces of furniture excavated by Belasis from Brahmanabad, probably Sindhi cradle. (Cousens).
- 139. Decorated hand fan made up of straw.(US).
- 140. Hand fan made up of date palm. (US).
- 141. Same as 140. (US).
- 142. Copper grill. (BM).
- 143. Decorative stool solid die cast, yellow colour terracotta. (BM).

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move to northern islands of the Rann. Sindhi and Kutchi cattlemen shared these islands equally until 1965 AD.

Communication between the cattlemen of Sindh and Kutch for grazing their animals remained uninterrupted for about seven hundred years (since the drying up of Gulf of Sindh in the early thirteenth century) until 1964 AD, not due to political conditions, but due to conversion of pasture lands of the lower Sindh into agricultural lands under Kotri barrage scheme. Even without 1965-war, the fate of common grasslands used by the cattlemen of the two countries had been sealed. For the protection of grazing rights there was a common leader "Malik" of the cattlemen of the two areas. He was a Muslim, as majority of herdsmen were Muslims. In 1955 AD, Kutchis appointed their own Malik. Sindhis followed the same. This was unfortunate. The islands in Rann of Kutch would otherwise have been legally used by the Tharis, Jutts of Sindh and Kutchis, but after the war in the Rann of Kutch and consequent division of the Rann between Pakistan and India, Sindh lost more pasture. The islands of Kutch are grazed from the February-March period to the next rains in July, as the area gets surrounded by water in the Rann of Kutch for at least seven months a year from July to January. After that a dearth of pasture in the whole Sindh persists. This historical aspect was never known or discussed before the International Court of Justice.

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF DRYING UP OF RANN OF KUTCH

The routes of communications developed between Sindh and Kutch in the past seven centuries after the final drying up of Gulf of Sindh or Gulf de Indi (Indus) du Sindi, as Dutch and Portuguese called it. These routes were operative only from January to June as during the rest of the year they were submerged into rainwater. The Rann was treacherous, waterless desert and difficult to cross. A large army like that of Feroz Shah Tughlaq was bound to perish in 1365 AD. The invaders on way to Sindh had to avoid it and go through the desert an equally risky route as did Mahmud of Ghazni (1026 AD), Muhammad Tughlaq

(1351 AD) and Shah Hasan Arghoon while on way to Gujarat (1536 AD). Ghulam Shah's army (1762-65 AD) suffered badly in the Rann of Kutch. The British had planned some rail and road links as post-World War-II development, but they could not materialise it in time before partition of the South Asia. Five routes utilised for over seven hundred years are: Rapar to Nagar Parker, Bhuj to Diplo, Makhtarnana to Rahimki Bazaar, Mandvi and Bhuj and Bhuj to Lakhpat and Jati. These are shown in the map.

The last two were the more frequent routes. Taghi (1351 AD) used the last route to come to Thatta in 1350 AD.

Sindh had nothing to fear from the south and therefore did not bother about gateways to Kutch, but at least once in the history Rao Khenghar having differences with Jam Feroz occupied Rahimki Bazaar and Virawah to stop any assistance the latter might have given to the former's adversaries.

TRADE AND COMMUNICATION ROUTES BETWEEN SINDH AND KUTCH DURING SOOMRA PERIOD

The Gulf of Sindh had started its final drying up phase in the twelfth century, but it probably took nearly a century before it died down. The process must have been very slow and swampy condition must have existed for the next half-a-century. Communications between Sindh and Kutch also broke down completely for the first time. This created a difficult period for Kutch. Its relations with the southern and eastern neighbours became closer than with Sindh since then and new routes of communications were established.

As per local tradition the Gulf of Sindh (Rann of Kutch) dried up during the regime of Rayadhan (1175-1215 AD). On the one hand, a slow process caused by seismic activity raised the level of the bed of Gulf of Sindh and on the other dried Hakra (Sarsuti-Wahind-Hakra system). Probably the post-"Climatic Optimum" dryness prevailed and Hakra no longer received spill waters of the Indus and Sutlej to feed the Gulf of Sindh. Due to the onset of aridity the discharge of the Luni after 1200 AD had decreased and storm water flow from Thar of Sindh and island of Kutch too decreased. The level of bed of Gulf (Rann) in the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF JAREJA SAMMA RULERS OF KUTCH (1148-1948 AD)

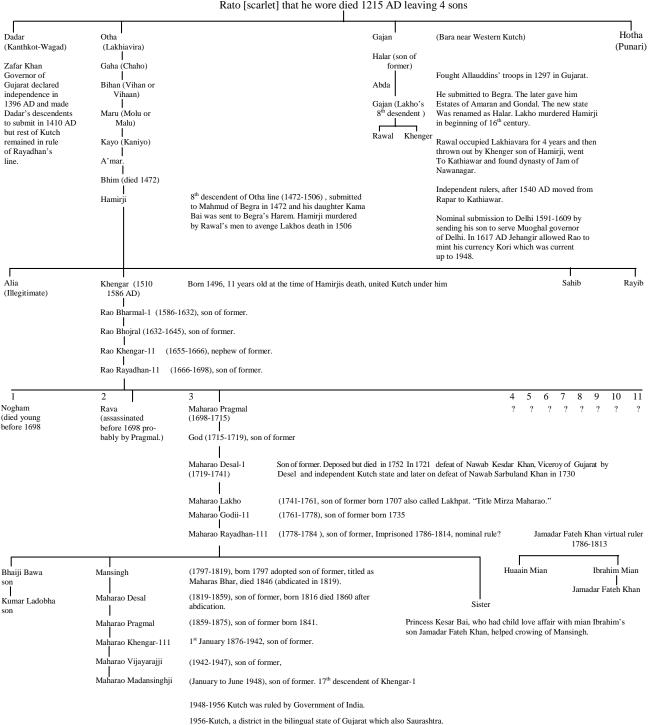
Lakho

(1144-1175 AD in Kutch as a tribal head)

Samma prince named Lakho, descendent of old line of Unars adopted by Jaro (), left Sindh for adventure as Jaro had a child at old age, arrived there

in 1147 AD alongwith his twin brother Lakhiar and built a city named Lakhiavara

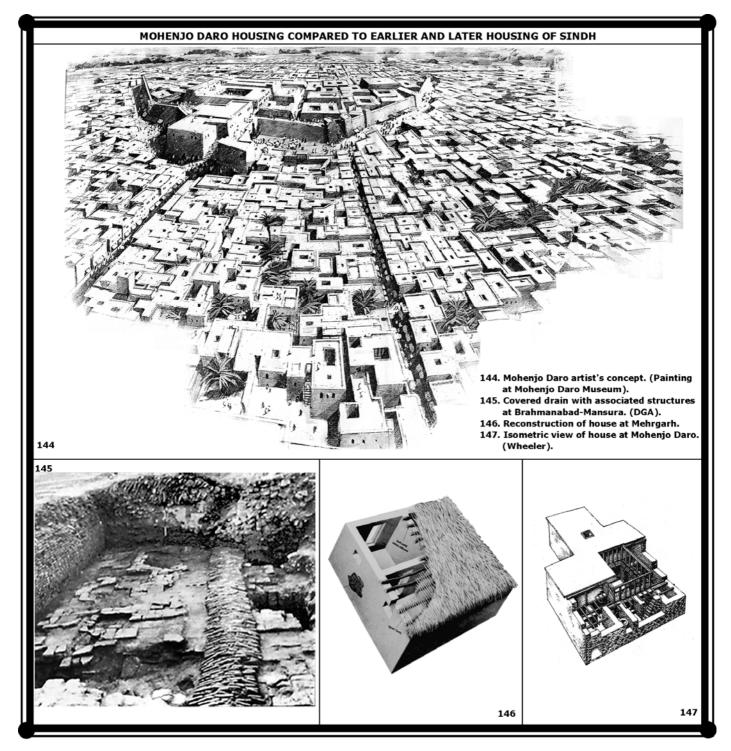
Rayadhan Rato [scarlet] that he wore died 1215 AD leaving 4 sons

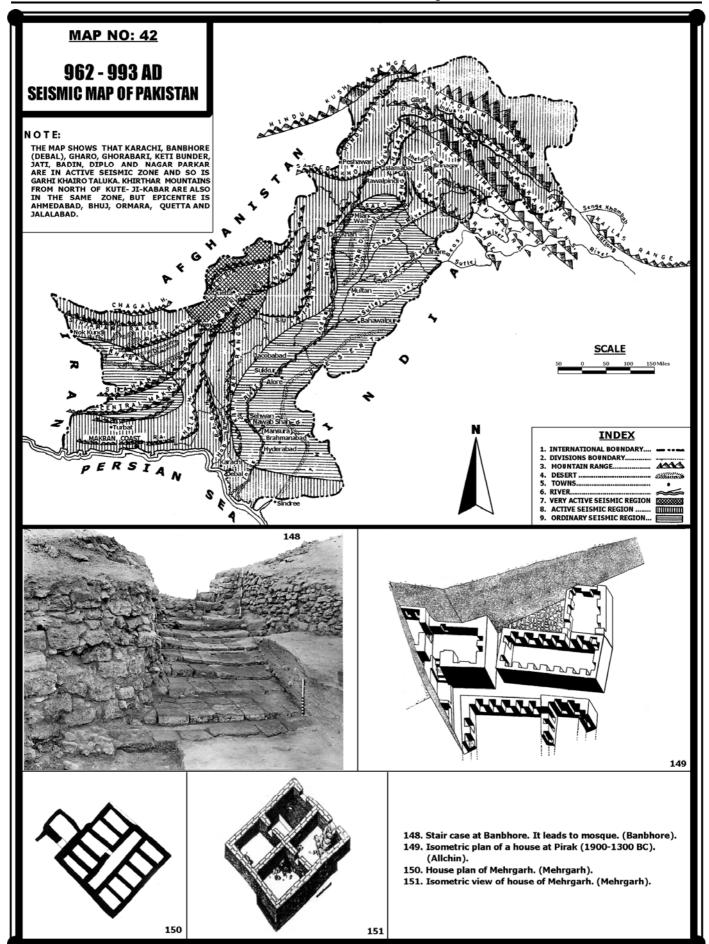


western part near the sea was also raised by seismic activities. Thus, whatever water entered the Rann from spilling Indus and Sutlej and also the eastern branches of the River Indus now passed in cutting, i.e., channel formed by these streams flowed below the ground level

and only at their entrance to the sea near Lakhpat water flowed above the ground helping some rice cultivation there.

Genealogical table of Jareja Samma rulers of Kutch is given on opposite page.



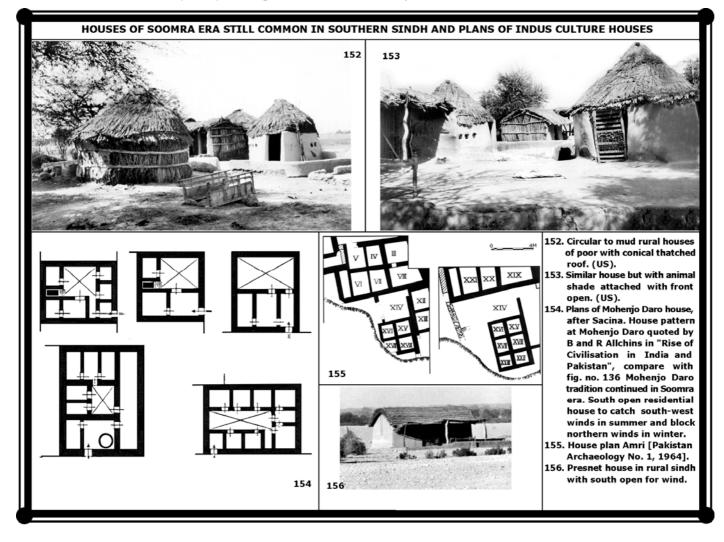


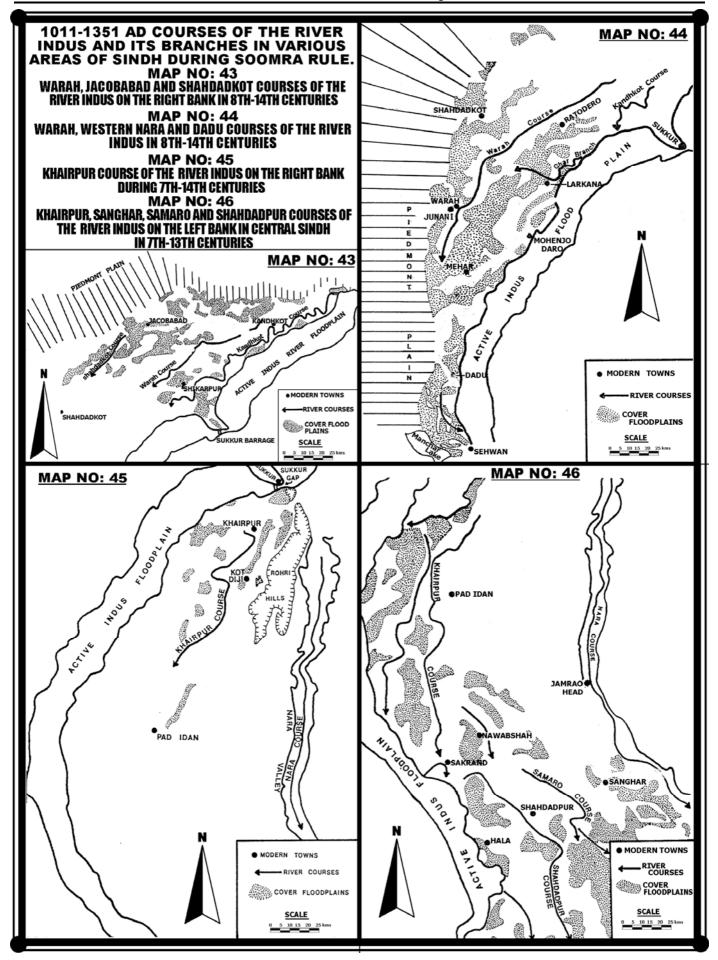
DID EARTHQUAKES DESTROY ALORE AND BRAHMANABAD

Seismic map shows that Sindh is not located in a very active seismic zone, which may create any havoc in Sindh at any time. It will cause no damage to any building except the one, which due to other causes is bound to fall soon. The Rann of Kutch is in an active seismic zone and so are areas within about fifty miles width of the border of Sindh adjoining Rann of Kutch and the belt from Jati to Karachi. This map shows that no town or city of Sindh could be destroyed by an earthquake. The belief that certain old settlements were destroyed by the wrath of God due to tyranny of a certain king popularly known as Dalurai is a fiction and is only accepted by a few superstitious people. Based on this it is simply hearsay that Alore and Brahmanabad were destroyed by earthquakes in 927

AD.

Sindhri, a Talpur border checkpost on the Rann of Kutch, was definitely destroyed by an earthquake in 1819 AD as it was in active seismic zone and so was Debal which was at least partly destroyed in 893-94 AD by a severe earthquake. Some small islands appeared in the Arabian Sea in 1945 AD as a result of an earthquake. The March 2001 earthquake, which destroyed Ahmedabad and Bhuj ran along the very active seismic line and it did not affect any settlement north of Badin. Dalurai, a popular legendary villian, is believed to have existed in Sindh, but there are also many mounds attributed to Dalurai in the Punjab and Sindh legends do not mention his existence in the Punjab and vice versa.





CHAPTER 15

BEHAVIOUR OF THE INDUS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES DURING SOOMRA RULE

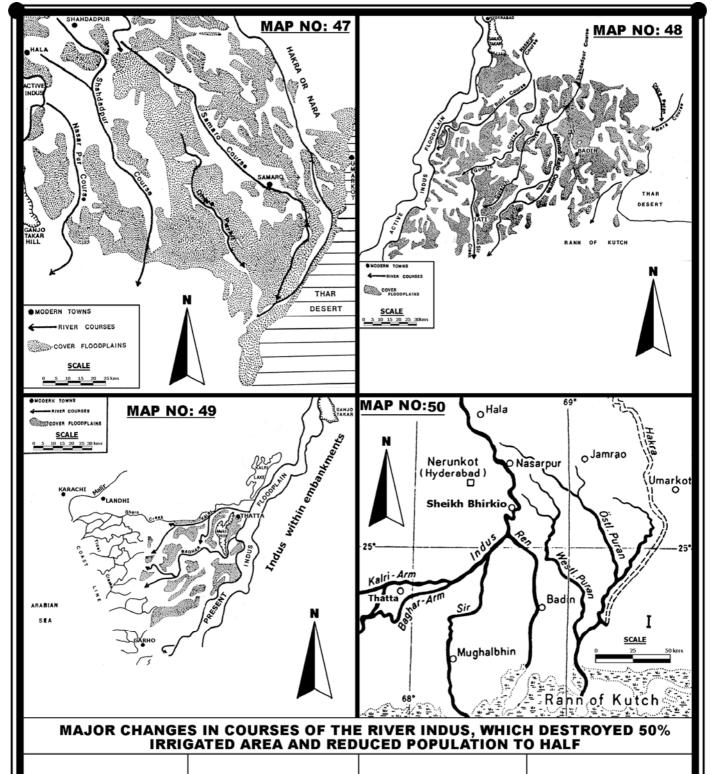
Sindh its serpentine passage is 805 kilometres. In summers, the river comes laden with silt, which in the inundation season easily reached six parts per thousand parts of water before 1950 AD. In Sindh, the slopes do not permit adequate velocities to water to hold this silt in suspension. This happens specially in areas in which water overflows the bed of the river and silt gets deposited where water velocity becomes low, i.e., on the edges and river bed where limited silt also deposits.

This process continued for many past decades. The river makes its own embankments and flows on a ridge above the surrounding country. Some day it breaches the ridge or its natural embankments give way, it starts flowing into the low-lying area and gradually raising it again. This process has been in action throughout the recent geological history.

The irrigation canals have been aligned on some of the ridges and so are minors and watercourses. The old courses of the Indus drawn from aerial photographs show that there is no place in Sindh more than six kilometres long and six kilometres wide, which has not been intersected by the River Indus at one time or the other. During the past twelve thousand years many parts of Sindh emerged out of rising sea, which twenty thousand years back had flooded a large area of Sindh. The ridges so left, have served for alignments of canals since the early Indus (Harappan) times. Some old beds of the river were actually utilised as canals as much by ancient people as by the latest dynasties the Kalhoras, the Talpurs and also by the British. Whenever the river changed its course, the irrigation system in the affected area was totally destroyed bringing about migration of people, chaos, diseases, famine, starvation, deaths and decrease in population for nearly half-a-century until new canals were established on a new channel of the river.

This has been the economic history of Sindh for the past five thousand years of prosperity, high population, depression, reduction in population, change of dynasties and rise and decline of civilisations, etc. Every time a major change in the course of river occurred, the masses rebelled picking new leaders, who brought change of dynasty and settled the loyalist tribes on the new courses. In three hundred and forty years of Soomras' rule of Sindh, river had three major changes but dynasty did not change, which is to their credit.

The depressions in the plains were drained naturally or artificially in October when the level of water in the river was low and the lands were cultivated for winter crops of wheat, barley and oil seeds, etc., as early as Amrian times 5,650 years ago. Cultivation has been carried out in Manchar Lake and riverain areas of the Indus in Rabi (winter) for centuries as today. This lake, occupying nearly two hundred and thirty square kilometres, is filled by rainwater from Kohistan hills as well as inundation water from the Indus in July and August. Water is allowed to drain out to the River Indus in September and October and thus about half of land inside the lake is naturally drained out and becomes ready for planting wheat and barely. There is enough moisture preserved in the soil to supply until maturity of crops at the end of March and April. The land is very fertile due to silt coming from the hills and the Indus, besides during the flood months special vegetative growth covers the water surface and on receding of water it decomposes adding organic matter to the soil. Fish, fauna and migratory birds also excrete



MAP NO: 47

NARA, SAMARO, PURAN, SHAHDADPUR AND NASARPUR COURSES, OF THE RIVER INDUS IN THE CENTRAL SINDH ON LEFT BANK IN 7TH - 13TH CENTURIES **MAP NO: 48**

BULRI, GUNGRO, GOLARCHI AND AHMED RAJO COURSES OF THE RIVER INDUS IN LOWER SINDH ON THE LEFT BANK IN 10TH-14TH CENTURIES **MAP NO: 49**

KALRI, BAGHAR, RICHHAL AND OCHTO COURSES OF THE RIVER INDUS ON THE RIGHT BANK IN 10TH-18TH CENTURIES **MAP NO: 50**

1250-1750 AD, COURSES OF THE RIVER INDUS IN SOUTHERN SINDH organic residues having fertilising qualities. The farmers found that deep ploughing to a depth of twenty to twenty-five centimetres, once in three years, further enhanced yields by cutting down roots of weeds. Even in the 1950s irrigated wheat crop raised as, Dubari (second crop) after summer irrigated rice, on preserved moisture, Sailabi in riverain areas and Sailabi in Manchar Lake, after draining it in October, yielded 400, 160, 480 and 600 kilograms per acre respectively, showing that potential yield from depressions was oneand-a-half times more than the irrigated areas because these depressions had more organic matter and nutrients than irrigated lands of Sindh. Besides Manchar Lake, Sindh had a large number of lakes like Chotiari, Makhi, Kinjhar, Kalri, Drigh and Sindh Dhoro, etc., which produced food, fish and exotic plants for human use.

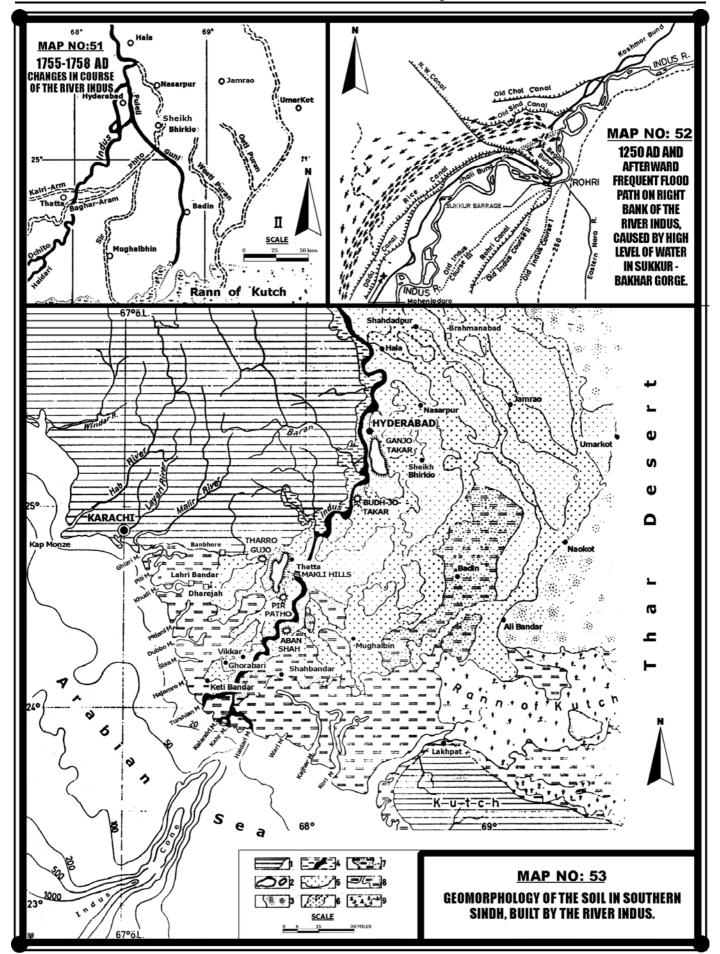
This type of cultivation must have been introduced at suitable sites in the Indus plains long before Amrian times and probably soon after the introduction of crops (Neolithic) at Mehrgarh 8,500 years ago. It could not have been on large-scale like deployment of large depressions as it would have needed large canals from the Indus to draw water to the depressions and draining it to other depressions in October by channels or canals. This would need a strong bureaucratic organisation to provide labour for large-scale operations. Such a system, though not on a large-scale, might well have been introduced during the Kot Dijjian times 5,250 years ago and created enough surplus in food production to support full time artisans for specialised jobs. These artisans became the backbone of early and mature Indus valley civilisation. This system was fully developed during Soomra-Samma period and was carried over to early British rule of Sindh. We thus have records to verify the type of winter cultivation on preserved moisture and its economic impact. Hence Sindh produced enough agricultural surplus to export it since antiquity and against it imported goods of foreign origin.

About half-a-century's involvement in agriculture, irrigation, drainage and ground water in Sindh, the present author has concluded that the contours of Sindh have all along remained such that swamps were always a minor feature of landscape and not only that but with small efforts only they could be drained off if need be.

Most of the plains consisted seasonally flooded natural basins, which supported various grasses (including wheat and barley), shrubs and vegetation and formed savannas while the higher levees along the river were covered with trees like acacia, tamarisk, prosopis, poplar, zizyphus mauritania and zizyphus rotundifolia, etc. There were also high spots permanently safe from floods on which habitation was possible, all the year round.

It was thought that deltaic area was unsuitable for human settlement. This is hardly true. The deltaic area below present Hyderabad was converted into thousands of islands in the inundation season, but there also grew a lot of rice in the fields. When water was drained out in October, the area got covered with natural grasses, shrubs and forest trees on which people raised cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats and camels. The depressions remained under water and were a source of abundant fish, fowl, exotic fruits, nuts and plant roots like Kumm, Lorh, Pabbin, Bih, etc, all cherished food for humans. The lakes provided more food and nutrition than irrigated land of the same acreage. Lack of communications in summer led to leasing out of area to local rulers, if emperors in India were strong enough, but it could not be annexed. The three-hundred-andforty years of Soomra rule is a glorifying example of Delhi Sultanate's inability to rule lower Sindh directly. The environment also had made lower Sindh the most fertile area of the country, specially after "Climatic Optimum", when Soomras and Sammas made Thatta as their capital.

The most important factor that has governed the social history of past is the environment of Sindh, which has again and again been moulded mostly by the River Indus. Looking to the past five thousand five hundred years, one witnesses the man to have considered it a blessing by settling in a flood plain, using its water for Sailabi cultivation, constructing canals to ensure water supply during the cropping season to irrigate lands, to live and reproduce, to build settlements, roads, boats and exchange articles of trade with his agricultural surplus. Then came organisers of canals, tax collectors, towns, urban bureaucrats, priests, soldiers and kings, but sometimes they were benevolent and most of the times despotic. By his own efforts the settler manipulates environments and feels secure with



plenty of food, fodder, shelter and leisure, but one day, at least once every two centuries, there is major change in the course of the River Indus; the canals flow no more, land cannot be cultivated, settlements are abandoned and people resort to pastoralism, which cannot support the population. Within two to three decades population is reduced to half by undernourishment, famine, disease and helplessness. The kingship also weakens. There are rebellions, intrigues, change of dynasties and man starts building canals on the new courses of the river, hoping that the disaster won't occur again and yet his grandchildren are going to die when the river changes its course again. This repeated on and on until nineteenth and twentieth centuries technology trapped the river within sixteen kilometres width.

This was a typical history of Sindh since antiquity and also under Soomra rule of Sindh. There is evidence that both the bed of the River Indus and its flood plains have slowly aggrandised in Sindh throughout centuries as a result of annual deposit of a thin layer of silt and the rise of bed from four to four-and-a-half metres has been recorded from Mohenjo Daro and other sites in the past four millennia. This comes to about ten centimetres a century, but this was never uniform either on a time scale or area-wise and not only varied from year to year, but from one period to the other.

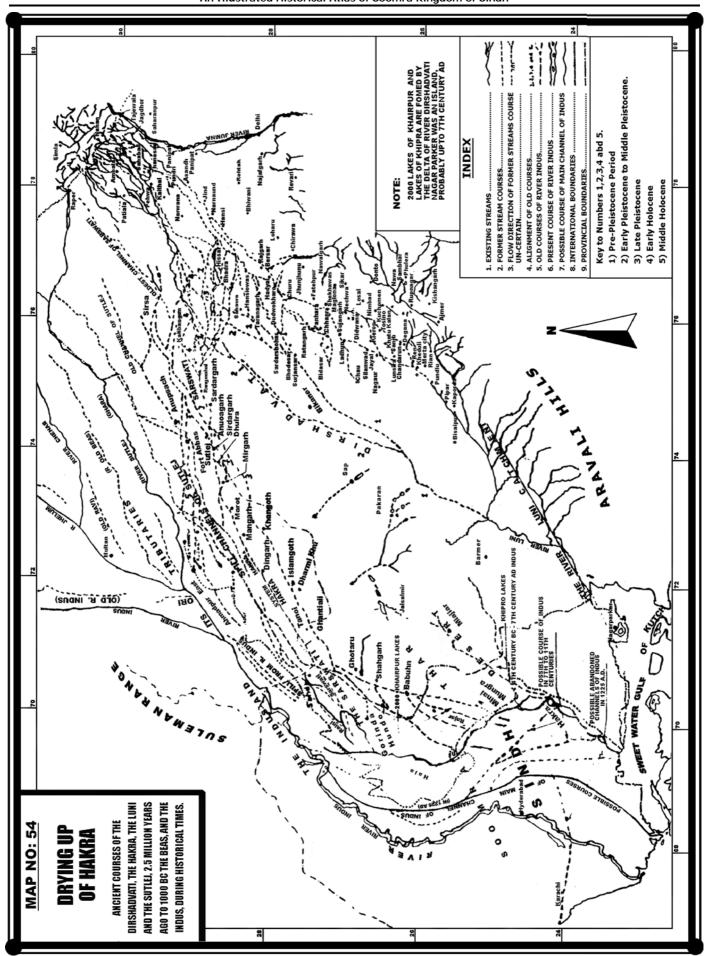
In brief, this typical pattern made Sindh surplus in food and its people wealthy and rendered lower Sindh quite inaccessible to invaders. The contours also made Larkana and northern Dadu districts the richest areas and its settlers too. The Samma clans soon asserted for power replacing Soomras, who had foothold only in the lower Sindh. Behaviour of the Indus has always affected people in Sindh, their prosperity or poverty, plenty of food and famine conditions discussed under irrigation in the next chapter.

RIVER COURSES AND PROSPERITY

The following were major courses of the river during Soomra times:

* River had a western branch taking off above Guddu barrage headworks and passed west of Kandhkot, east of Thul, west of Shikarpur, west of Rato Dero near Miro Khan and Drigh lake, west of Kambar, east of Warah and Junani, west of Faridabad near Garhi (north-west of Kakar by 13 kilometres), along the alignment of the Western Nara canal to Manchar and Danister or Aral to Sehwan as shown in the maps. Economically this was the most important branch of the Indus in the whole Sindh. It was perennial too. It was during Samma period (15th century) that Abra clan extended Ghar branch to it, as its upper reaches had been abandoned. Ghar and the Western Nara then kept the area fertile. Junani was about 3 kilometres south-west of Warah on this branch.

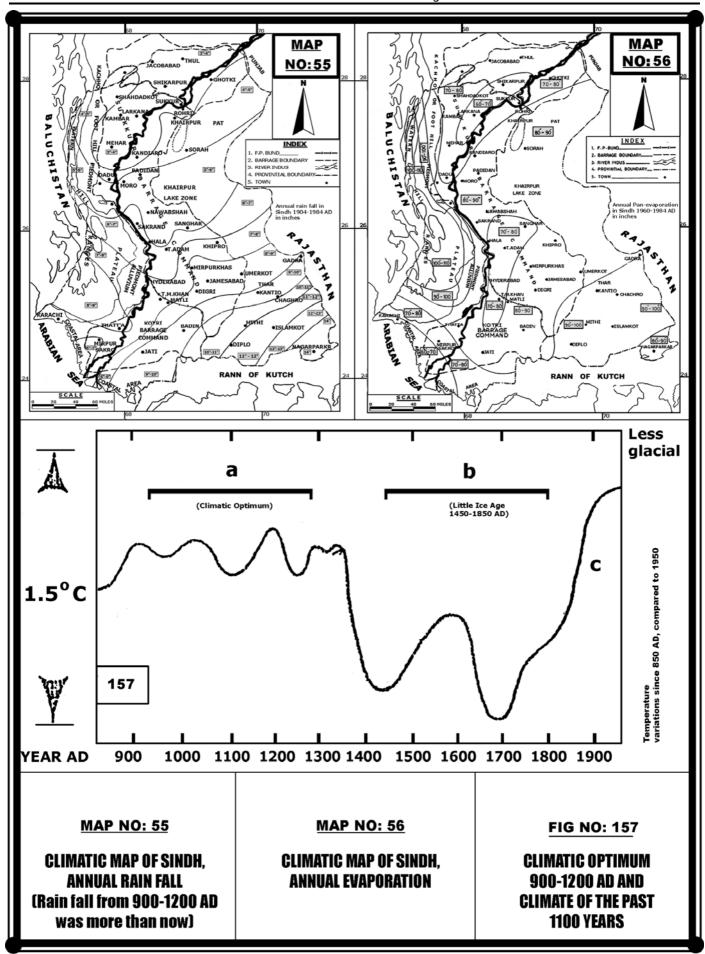
- * Ghar and Western Nara, both branches of the River Indus belong to Samma period. These two canals were to make Larkana and northern Dadu districts as "Garden of Sindh". These two channels along with Soomra-period branch, passing through Junani, were navigable throughout the year.
 - In the central Sindh, on left bank from Rohri to Nawabshah, some waters of the Indus passed through Alore gorge probably for nearly 2,000 years (3000 BC to 1250 AD) and on it thrived the town of Ror (Alore). Rori (Rohri) came up as a smaller settlement five kilometres north, as another branch of the Indus started cutting its channel through Bakhar gorge. Ror may have been Ruruka of Aryan texts. Some waters passed through Sukkur-Rohri gorge, but full volume did not flow until 1250 AD when water through Alore gap stopped flowing and Alore decayed. Sukkur-Rohri gorge widened leaving four cliffs in the bed of the river. These small islands seem to have been divided among four contenders: the Soomra government, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists. The government took over Bakhar island and built a fort on it, Muslims built Khawaja Khizir's tomb or Zindah Pir on island, Hindus occupied Sadhbelo and built Hindu temple and Buddhists built a stupa later on named as Satiyanjo Astan. It shows that the Soomra government was secular and not religiously fanatic, nor were the other religious groups, who lived in peace side by side up to 1351 AD. An interesting remnant of river flows through Alore gap is East Khairpur flood plains, which later on were irrigated by Lohano Dhoro, the main



- branch of the Indus passing west of Sukkur before it passed through Sukkur gorge.
- River water flowed through Bakhar gorge or gap almost along the alignment of Khairpur East canal and passed close to Kot Dijji, where it made a turn slightly in south-western direction to meet Lohano Dhoro, also called Khairpur course by Lower Indus Report (LIP 1965) and ran up to Sakrand along alignment of present Rohri Canal. Due to "S" curve below or near Daulatpur, the Indus river formed a number of streams flowing southeastwards. One of them ran east of Nawabshah and ended in Samaro course, on which stood Brahmanabad. This course was abandoned soon after the fall of Brahmanabad-Mansura in 1026 AD. The Khairpur course or Lohano Dhoro was connected with Sindh Dhoro (or Kandhkot course of LIP) and ran west of present Sukkur. Since early Holocene waters of eastern Nara or Hakra have split into three or at least two branches at the present Jamrao head site and various courses of the Indus met them. Of them, the earliest being Sanghar course, followed by Samaro course and Jamrao branch of Hakra, the confluence of which made Brahmanabad-Mansura an island. The river abandoned Samaro course soon after the fall of Brahmanabad-Mansura around or before 1050 AD and a new one, the Shahdadpur course, gained importance and on it Soomras built their capital Tharri near Tando Ghullam Ali. All the courses or branches namely Sanghar, Samaro or Shahdapur have joined eastern Nara or Hakra by a branch called Dhoro Puran, on which stood Mirpurkhas stupa (Dhaliya), probably later on called Baiza. Dhoro Puran was active during the Soomra rule.
- * Next change in the course of river in southern Sindh was on left bank known as Nasarpur course. Possibly river changed its course below Hala around 1225-1250 AD. Route of this course was Hala, Odero Lal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio and Tando Muhammad Khan, where it bifurcated into Bulri and Gungro branches. Bulri branch further

- bifurcated into Kalri and Baghar branches. Abandoning of Shahdadpur course led to the shifting of Soomra capital from Tharri to Shah Kapoor (Muhammad Tur or Mahatama Tur), north of Jati and on Nasarpur course of the Indus.
- * On the right bank of the River Indus stood Banbhore (Barbarican or Debal) on Kalri branch. It was abandoned due to the shifting of courses of Kalri, immediately west of Makli hills by sharp turn to southwest. Kalri was a main branch in 1524 AD and all early Lahri Bunders were situated on it. However by this change both Kalri and Baghar turned the present Thatta and Makli hill an island. Some hydrological changes around 1300 AD or afterwards compelled Soomras to abandon their capital at Shah Kapoor and shift it to Thatta after 1300 AD.
- * Full river did not pass through Bakhar gorge until about 1250 AD and certainly by 1333 AD.
- * It was around 1225-1250 AD that the change from Shahdadpur branch to Nasarpur branch caused drying up of eastern Puran and into abandoning of Kahujo Daro, but spill waters of the Indus in northern Sindh still flowed into western Puran and Ren river.
- In the north-east Sindh, regular spill channels from the Indus and Sutlej rivers could provide waters, which fed Khangarh flood plains and surplus flows entered the eastern Nara or Hakra. Such overflows could not have been lasted for more than six weeks in most of the years, but they could provide water for dry crops like sorghum and millets in Ubauro, Mathelo, Ghotki and Rohri talukas including the popularly known Khangarh flood plains, which extended from Reti to Rohri. From these flood plains water entered eastern Nara and again from eastern Nara below Jamrao head to plains in Sanghar and Mirpurkhas districts.

All these courses brought prosperity to Sindh and therefore a peaceful rule prevailed of the era, though capitals were shifted.



CHAPTER 16

IRRIGATION AND AGRICULTURE UNDER SOOMRAS

DRY CLIMATE, FALL OF SINDH TO ARABS AND 140 YEARS OF CIVIL WAR AGAINST ARABS 711-854 AD

ROM 700 to 900 AD was a dry period throughout the world. Expansion of Islam and weakening of Byzantine and Sassanian empires is considered due to aridity around southern Mediterranean from 630 AD onwards. Around 700 AD the River Indus changed its course deserting the canal system in the whole southern Sindh, which was vacated by the populace and the Arab armies marched under Muhammad bin Qasim through this deserted and unhindered area. A few years' aridity had weakened Sindh to such an extent that it fell an easy prey to the Arab armies. From 714 to 854 AD, in a period of 140 years, Umayyads and Abbasids respectively sent eleven and twenty-nine governors to Sindh. Due to aridity most of the people of Sindh had resorted to pastoralism. The canal cultivation was also limited due to change of course of the river and disuse of canals due to Arab governors' unfamiliarity with the canal irrigation system being practised in Sindh. People were not in a position to pay taxes. When forced by the Arab governors resorted to oppression so harshly that fifty per cent of the governors were dismissed by Damascus and Baghdad for their inefficiency to control rebellions, twenty-five per cent were killed in actions and local battles and only twenty-five per cent returned back honourably alive. The civil war finally led to takeover by Habaris from the Arab descent, who had been naturalised by one hundred and twenty five years of marriages of their ancestors with Sindhi women. They had support of the local tribes and to their luck the climate soon started improving around 900 AD, thus increasing the productivity and population.

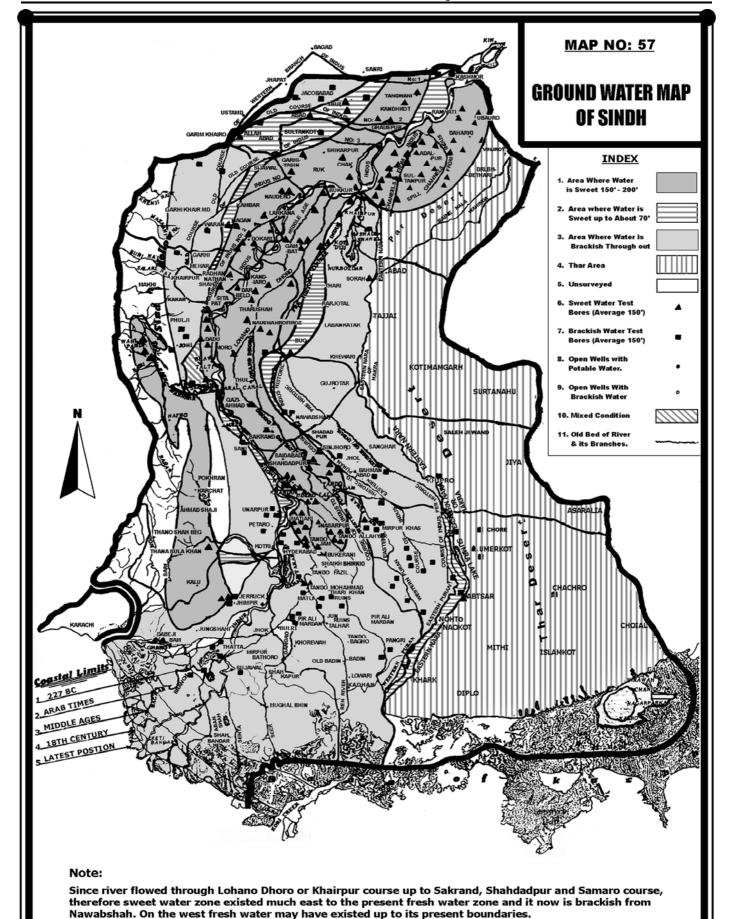
CLIMATIC OPTIMUM, LUCKY HABARIS AND EARLY SOOMRAS

The period 900—1250 AD is considered as a very warm period throughout the world with more rainfall and higher level of water in the rivers including the Indus. It is called "Climatic Optimum".

During this period irrigation system, which was ruined under the rule of Umayyad and Abbasid governors, was restored and gradually extended as population grew. There was enough agricultural surplus to support the government, soldiery and urban population besides the foreign trade. Under Umayyad and Abbasid rule, population must have gone down and with improvement of irrigation under the Habaris, population again rose and more land came under canal irrigation.

The maps of 1000-1525 AD and 854-1011 AD eras show the Habari kingdom, the courses of Indus in the ninth and tenth centuries and important urban centres. The Habaris had unique luck in having an even distribution of natural branches of the River Indus all over the plains. For example:

- * The western branch of the Indus taking off from the main river between Kinkot and Kashmore cut through the Kandhkot and Thul talukas to Shahdadkot taluka, where it turned southwards to Manchar Lake.
- * A branch from the above starting north-east of Shikarpur ended into present alignment of Warah branch and from there it moved south to meet the western branch again near Kakar.
- * The main river had its bed along Sindh Dhoro in Kandhkot and Sukkur talukas. At Ruk it made south-eastern turn to pass through Lohano Dhoro.
- * At Naushehro it shot a western branch, which met



Aral canal (filling and discharging Manchar Lake) near Oazi Ahmed.

- * Another eastern branch from the main course of the river, starting some twenty-five miles north of Nawabshah, joined Eastern Nara in Samaro.
- * In the lower Sindh, its branches were along the alignment of Dhoro Puran, western Puran, Ahmed Rajo and finally Kalri branch from Talhar to Banbhore.
- * The main river confined to flow along Golarchi branch.
- * Sarsuti-Hakra system was still active in the inundation season, though with much reduced supplies, yet it contributed towards irrigation of short season Kharif crop like millets.

IRRIGATION AND SOOMRAS

This period up to 1250 AD was also warm as "Climatic Optimum" continued, i.e., population and the irrigation area could remain at three million people and two million acres respectively.

There is a concentration of settlements in the lower Sindh. Comparing the River Indus courses in Habari era with Soomra period it is clear that the river had abandoned its old course ruining the irrigational system soon after 1250 AD and again around 1300 AD.

Soomras shifted their capital three times from the original capital at Mansura. The probable dates for changes of capital are:

- * Between 1026 and 1040 AD; from Mansura to Tharri (eight miles east of Matli). At Mansura it moved westward and passed to Koree creek via western Puran instead of eastern Puran.
- * Around 1250 AD; from Tharri moved westward on new channel on which stood the town of Jun.
- * Between 1241 to 1256 AD; from Tharri to Muhammad Tur on Gungro channel of the River Indus.
- * Around the same time the river deserted old course in the present Nawabshah district and passed through Odero Lal, Nasarpur and Shaikh Bhirkio and had delta head near Tando Muhammad Khan with eastern branch passing through Matli, Talhar, Badin, Kadhan and Rahimki Bazaar to Koree creek and western

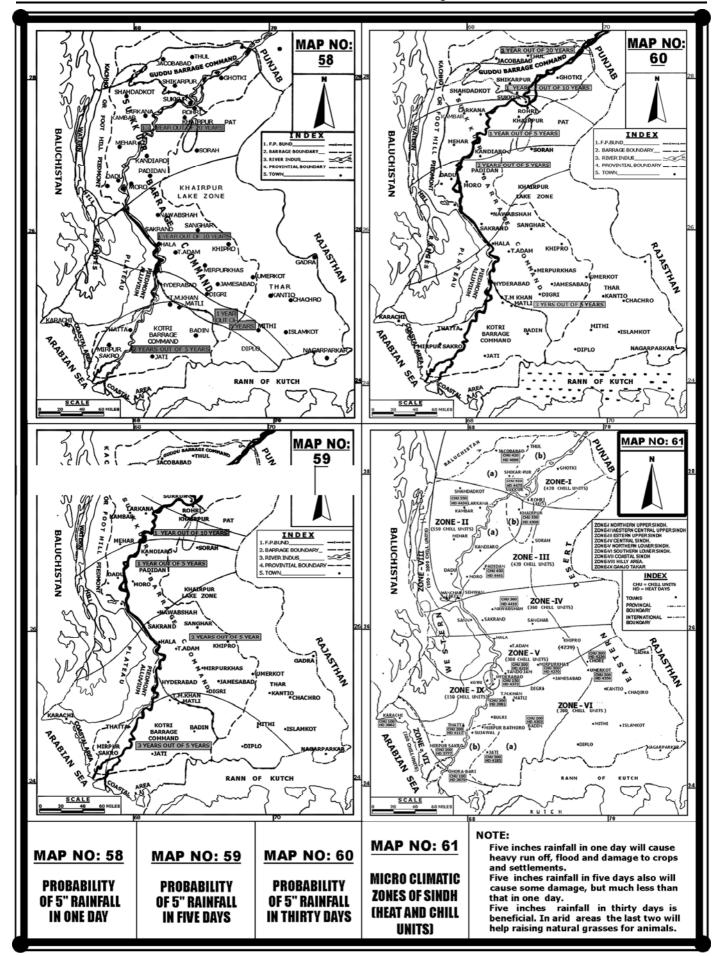
- branch through Bulri. This branch also bifurcated near Bulri one branch called Kalri passing through Samui gorge and the other minor branch called Baghar went towards Sakro.
- During the same period there was another change in Kalri and Baghar branches, which made Thatta an island. Between 1300 and 1333 AD Soomras shifted their capital from Muhammad Tur to Thatta.

Another important development was the final drying up of Hakra, thereby affecting some irrigated area in Sanghar and Tharparkar districts, where probably Jawar and Bajhri (sorghum and millets) were the crops raised on water available only when water spilled from the Indus and the Sutlej entered Hakra in the inundation season of six to eight weeks in some years and only for three to four weeks in other years.

Presumably the agricultural exports from Sindh during this period were cotton, textiles, indigo, rice, sugar and opium. Most of these products were exported to Persia and Arabia, where from they found way to other countries. Local people consumed sorghum, peas, buffalo milk and fish as reported by Ibn Battutta who was in Sindh in 1333 AD. Poppy for opium and marijuana were raised around Manchar Lake and on the Western Nara a perennial stream.

"Climatic Optimum" continued in Sindh probably up to 1250 AD and soon cold period started with low rainfall and low river level. Final drying up of Hakra may be due to climatic changes. Low level of water in the river led to very small changes in the course of the River Indus, which remained stable between Hala and Koree creek via Odero Lal, Nasarpur, Shaikh Bhirkio, Matli, Badin, Kadhan, Lowari, etc.

The dry climate caused troubles for Soomras after 1250 or the latest by 1300 AD and consequently soon after 1333 AD Sammas established themselves in the northern Sindh. After 1351 AD Sammas finally overthrew Soomras. To usurp their lands they converted Soomras to the jobs of artisan class, then considered menial work in South Asia, turning them into washermen, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, hair dressers, bricklayers, masons, painters, etc. As canals could not irrigate all the lands as they did during the "Climatic Optimum", it incited the Sammas to avenge on Soomras by usurping their lands.



The crops grown in Sindh during the Soomra period were the same as grown during Habari era (854-1011 AD), which as reported by Persian and Arab travellers, shippers and merchants are:

* Sugar-cane was most important crop (sugar-cane is a perennial crop and this shows that a substantial area had been irrigated by perennial canals from which water was lifted by Persian wheels). Others were Limo (lemon), Adrak (ginger), mango, orange, cotton, cane, rice, wheat, sorghum and millets, camphor, saffron, jera, garden products, medical plants, aloe-vera and honey (forest, garden and vegetable product). Istakhri states that the whole country was covered with fields, gardens and trees. Two fruit trees, which have escaped attention of Arab writers, were Jaman (syzinium cumimi) and Ber (zizyphus mauritania and rotundifolia), further elaborated under "Human food".

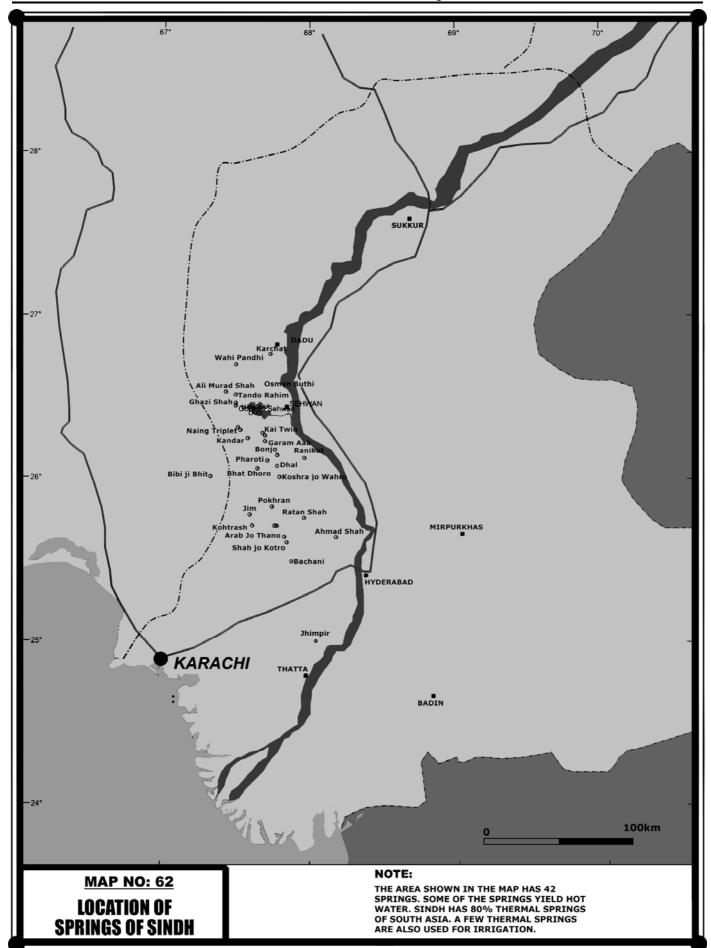
Acidic citrus originated in India and sweet citrus in China. In the tenth century AD sweet citrus was already known and grown in India. Hot climate of Sindh allows citrus to grow in Sindh, but high respiration demand causes high consumption of carbohydrates (sugars) and citrus in Sindh passes quickly from acidic state to sweet state and if not harvested quickly deteriorates to sub-standard grades. Therefore citrus is harvested when still slightly acidic. The Arab travellers called all citrus of Sindh as Limo (lemon).

POST-SOOMRA PERIOD IRRIGATION

The direct evidence of irrigation system during this period is scanty, but sufficient indirect material available shows the existence of a well-managed irrigation system. One change that took place was that the Indus shot a western loop in present Dadu district opposite to present Radhan station re-entering the river opposite to Bubak, south of Talti. Northern Dadu district then could boast of three irrigational channels: the western branch, the main river to the east and the loop in between. The remnants of this channel are now shown by a series of lakes namely; Maha, Sutiaro, Jakhpari, Pirghunio, Talti and many other small ones. This made Baghban an important town and Sehwan

Sarkar the richest area of the whole Sindh. Various canals existing in the period as described in five histories Tarkhan Namah, Tahiri, Mazhar Shah-i-Jehani, Masumi and Beglar Namah are listed below. Maybe they belonged to Soomra period.

- * Mir Abro canal, a large canal in Chanduka pargana (Larkana district), excavated by Abro clan, irrigated a large area. It may have been Ghar canal or a predecessor of it. It was very well managed as Mazhar Shah-i-Jehani mentions it.
- * Khan Wah constructed by Darya Khan from the River Indus north of Thatta at the foot of hills for dual purpose of irrigating Sakro pargana and defence of Thatta town. It must have been a very large canal running partly on the alignment of present Kalri canal as reported by Tarikh-i-Tahiri.
- * Three Nais (storm rivers) from the mountains, Nari, Bhuri and Naing, were converted by Darya Khan into a canal leading to Manchar Lake. This canal irrigated lands in Nerun pargana.
- * Sarwah or Saurah Wah excavated to divert water from the hills (probably of Gaj).
- * Kai and Naing springs were also utilised for cultivation.
- * Marui canal had its mouth from the Maha Lake (in Kakar taluka) and irrigated Deh Marui near the present village Ibrahim Kachhi of Dadu taluka.
- * Dadeji Wah called after a village of the same name and flowing near village Nar, irrigated an area in Bubak pargana.
- * Bolan Nai carrying waters reached Manchar Lake. Its waters were diverted to canals for irrigation. Two such canals, Sarwah and Moz Wah, irrigated Sibi and Gandava districts as reported by Mazhar Shah-i-Jehani.
- Eastern Nara was dry then and was called by different names, e.g., Hakra, Wahind and Wahan, etc., as mentioned in Tarikh-i-Tahiri. Beglar Namah and Mazhar Shah-i-Jehani give a number of names of canals and lakes and mention both by the same names, i.e., Ab and Kolab. The lakes were filled in during the inundation season and from them the Wahs (actually watercourses and minors) took their mouths. These canals and Kolabs were located at the following places:



- Chaneja Wah in Thatta district.
- Sabzah Wah near Aghamani in Matli taluka.
- Katira Wah in Thatta district (on it were settled Ganhwar tribe).
- Nahan Wah on Puran branch of the River Indus.
- Talao Sehta in Nawabshah district.
- Tarangchi Kolab in Nasarpur area.
- Tarabari Kolab in Nawabshah district.
- Jharani near Shah Garh fort in Nasarpur area.
- Ren Agham probably a canal in Matli taluka near
 Aghamani taking off from Ren river.
- Saran Kolab in Badin district
- Samrah Kolab or Lake Samaro, which existed until recently.
- Ma'ahood Kolab in Samaro taluka.
- Pakhar Kolab in Badin taluka, close to Puran.
- Lanbah Kolab (Lake Umarkot).
- Nihan Wah located either in Alore pargana or on Puran near village Pur.
- Sapanah Wah four miles from Thatta, as reported in Tarkhan Namah by Sayed Jalal.

WATER-LIFTING DEVICES - HISTORY AND NEED DURING SOOMRA ERA

BOKA OR SHADUF

The Boka seems to be a device originally adopted in Sindh from central India. It is similar to one used in Deccan and Madhya Pradesh. Boka has an advantage over the Persian wheel in as much as it does not spill water back into the well. It has the form of a tea kettle with a spout. It is raised or lowered from its top with rope over a pulley and other but smaller pulley kept at a lower level to pull the spout. When the bag passes over the level of the smaller pulley, the spout is pulled horizontally and the water rushes out from it into the outlet already built.

DISADVANTAGES OF BOKA

The animals have to walk forward and get back in the reverse for each turn. This walking back in the reverse is a very hard and slow job for the animals, unless wells are very deep and animals can be made to walk normally in forward and backward direction, while returning back.

At least one person is needed all the time to guide the animals and another to watch the lower pulley and guide the rope over it.

The capital outplay on the Boka devise is much less than that on the Persian wheel, but its hourly discharge does not match with that of the latter and instead of two adults, even a child is able to guide the animal in the latter case.

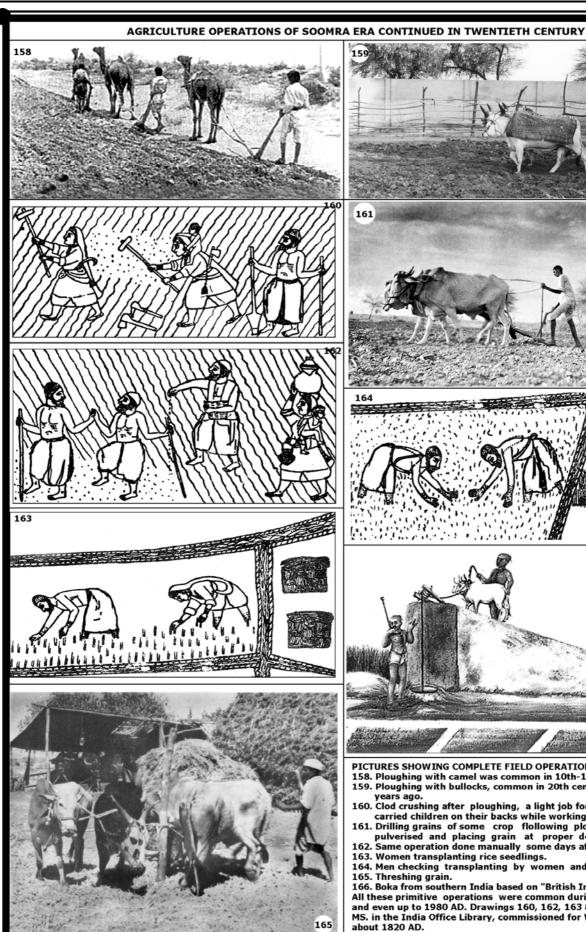
PERSIAN WHEEL

Persian wheel is a much later development. The gearing system used in it, transmits power from the vertical axle to a horizontal axle by cog wheels, working on the principle of bevel gears. Cog wheel was probably first designed by Achaemenians and Greeks for their war-machines like; wall-scalers, stonethrowers etc. Around 250 to 200 BC, the Greeks seem to have used cog wheel, to develope water lift wheel, now called Persian wheel. Low lift wheels may have been developed before high lift wheels. Persian wheel has limitation to lift water from long depths. It cannot work satisfactory beyond twenty feet depth, as the endless bucket-carrying ropes will slip due to heavy weight of buckets filled with water, without reducing the number of buckets. Boka is much more efficient than Persian wheel for depths of more than thirty feet.

Persian wheel may have reached Sindh during the Bactrian Greek's rule from 184 BC to 80 BC, most probably in the second century BC.

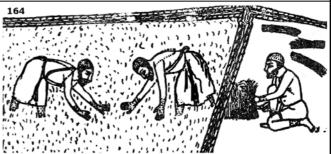
Low lift Persian wheel is very efficient among the ancient water lifting devices and is only next to Archimedes screw, which again has limitation to very low heads of one to one-and-half metres, above which it cannot perform satisfactorily.

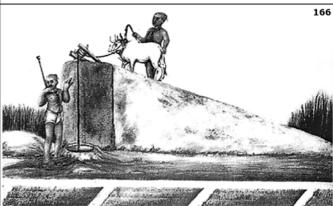
Use of Persian wheel was common before the British conquest of Sindh and it was a must in more than fifty per cent area of Sindh, for raising and harvesting the crops successfully on the inundation canals. The number of canals taking off from the Indus has varied from five hundred to one thousand, at different times. The level of water in them has varied with the level in the river. When the level was low as in the late May or early part of June, farmers used Persian











PICTURES SHOWING COMPLETE FIELD OPERATION

- 158. Ploughing with camel was common in 10th-18th centuries.
- 159. Ploughing with bullocks, common in 20th century as was 5,000 years ago.
- 160. Clod crushing after ploughing, a light job for women, who also carried children on their backs while working.
- 161. Drilling grains of some crop flollowing ploughing, as soil is pulverised and placing grain at proper depth by tube-drill.
- 162. Same operation done manually some days after first irrigation.
- 163. Women transplanting rice seedlings.
- 164. Men checking transplanting by women and filling any gaps.
- 165. Threshing grain.
- 166. Boka from southern India based on "British India" by Edwardes. All these primitive operations were common during Soomra rule and even up to 1980 AD. Drawings 160, 162, 163 & 164 based on a MS. in the India Office Library, commissioned for William Moorecroft about 1820 AD.

wheels to sow the crops (specially cotton, rice, nurseries, vegetables and fruits) and when water level in canals lowered in the late September or early October, water wheels were used to irrigate crops to maturity. The Persian wheels were operated by one camel or one or two bullocks, depending on the lift and number of buckets attached on the end-less string, acting like a belt.

Camel was preferred, as oxen needed better fodder and feed while camel browsed on wild shrubs and tree leaves. Camel also walks faster and does not tire soon.

There existed more Persian wheels in Sindh than any other countries and Al-Kazzaz Al-Jazari's book "Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices", written in 1204/1205 AD and published by Donald R. Hill gives details and drawings.

In spite of "Climatic Optimum" it is possible that water in the Indus would have risen late or had reduced in early autumn or even be low in the mid-season and therefore farmers had to lift water for irrigation in summer in some areas in some years. In winter for Rabi cultivation water would invariably be lifted in large number of cases and only in limited number of canals, located favourably for winter flow from the river. Only in case of the western branch of the Indus water would, by gravity, flow below Junani. The farmers, therefore, had to use Sindhi wheels (Persian wheels). In Thar and Kohistan they used Boka for lifting of water. These devices are illustrated. Sindhi wheel is used for a lift of less than twenty feet. Low lift wheel is fitted over water channel and water courses and high lift wheel on wells. For wells, deeper than twenty feet, Boka is used. Bokas are operated manually in case of low lifts and pulled by oxen or camels in case of high lifts.

Persian wheels were an essential part of even gravity irrigation as river could rise late is June to provide water to full supply level of canals or recede in September too early for crop to ripen. Sindh has limited fresh groundwater, but wherever it occurred, farmers have utilised it to supplement gravity irrigation from time immemorial.

In case of low lift of about one to two metres, animal power requirement is low, the number of terracotta pots (Loti) on the chain is increased and spaced closer to increase discharge and use the animal power to full extent. In some cases a double wheel with two bucket-chains (Malh) is used, primarily to reduce slippage.

It is not possible to raise water from depth of more than twenty feet (six metres), as the chain is bound to slip. In such cases water is raised to an intermediate height by one wheel and from there to surface by another wheel.

In case of Thar, Bokas were common as today. In case of Kohistan, both Boka and lift wheel were used.

DRYING UP OF HAKRA

Due to onset of aridity around 2,000 BC, the Hakra, the Sarsuti and the Drishadvati system of rivers arising between the Sutlei and the Jamna from Sawalik hills had started drying up and all Indus culture settlements on it decayed. Still some water flowed through the main channel of Hakra-Sarsuti and pastoral Aryans made it their holy river. During the hyper aridity 1300-650 BC, it completely dried up in its upper reaches. However, spill waters from the river Sutlei opposite to Bahawalpur and from the Indus in Sindh above Pano Akil and specially in Ghotki area during the inundation season kept it active in the lower reaches now indicated by Reni channel, Nara canal, Jamrao, and east and west Purans. It flowed actively in summer for 60-70 days during "Climatic Optimum" in 900-1250 AD, but its supplies dwindled during the "Little Ice Age", i.e., 1525-1850 AD, except warm years between 1700 and 1757 AD. During this period its upper reaches in Rajasthan and Bikanir were totally dry but below Bahawalpur it had enough waters to reach Lakhpat in Kutch to supply water for short rice season for 60-70 days.

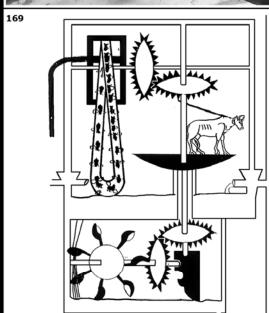
Implications of this spill water of the Indus and the Sutlej brought additional area under short summer season crops like sorghum and millets regularly along Hakra in Sindh during Soomra rule and also under Dhoro Purans. After major changes of course of the River Indus in 1758 AD, the Hakra did not flow as 1760 to 1850 AD was also a cold period with low supplies in the Indus and Sutlej turning the Hakra or Nara a dry channel. The Nara was supplied water from the Indus above Rohri by engineer Fife in 1859 AD.

IRRIGATION EQUIPMENT

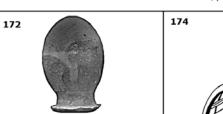
Boka or shaduf is water lifting device. The low lift Boka has a long pole to act as lever and is used since 2300 BC.For medium lift Boka is used over a pulley since 1500 BC. For high lifts in many metres, needs pulley and animal power to pull and is also equally old. Bucket wheel (Nar) or Sindhi wheel of Arabs and Persian wheel as the British named it, is also of two types, low lift for less than two metres depth of water and high lift from two to maximum six metres depth. It was a Greek invention as bilge-pump in ships around 250 BC and from this around 200 BC, evolved the bucket wheel. Around beginning of Modern Calendar (Christian Era), it was commonly used in Mediterranean countries and established it self in sindh in antiquity. Beyond six metre depths boka was used. Power pumps have gradually replaced these devices during second half of the last century, but in Thar of Sindh, Boka and in Kohistan bucket wheels are still used Sindh has rainfall of 3 to 8 inches (7.5-21 cms), but evaporation is 70-100 inches (178-254 cms) and therefore crops cannot grow without irrigation. Various types of irrigation devices have been used in Sindh since antiquity.

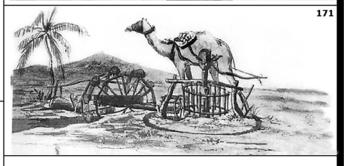




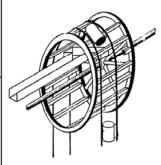












- 167. Sindhi Nar. Bilge-pump used by Greeks in 250 BC to lift leaked water in the boats, gave rise to development of Sindhi Nar or wheel. Lift wheel was introduced after 200 BC and became popular to lift water from low-level canals to the fields. A large number of such wheels existed in Sindh in the thirteenth century or Soomra era. (SM).
- 168. Same as 167. (SM)
- Same as 107. (SM).
 Sindhi wheel of 13th century. Drawing by Ibn Al-Qazzaz Al-Jazari in the book "Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices" written in 1204-1206 AD and translated by Donald Hill.
 Same as 167. (SM).
- 171. Low lift Persian wheel. Reproduced in History of India by Francis. 172. Sindhi Loti or bucket of Sindhi wheel, tied by rope to endless belt of the lift wheel. It is identical to modern Loti. (BM).
- 173. Teak wood pulley from Brahmanabad-Mansura. (NM). 174. Isometric view of Persian wheel endless chain and buckets like 167. by Donald Hill.

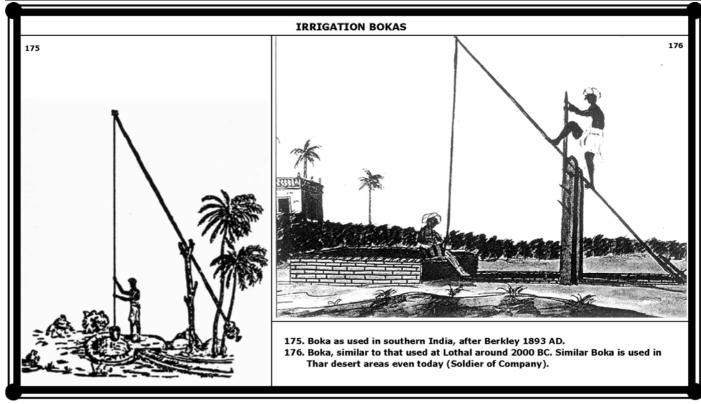
SPRINGS

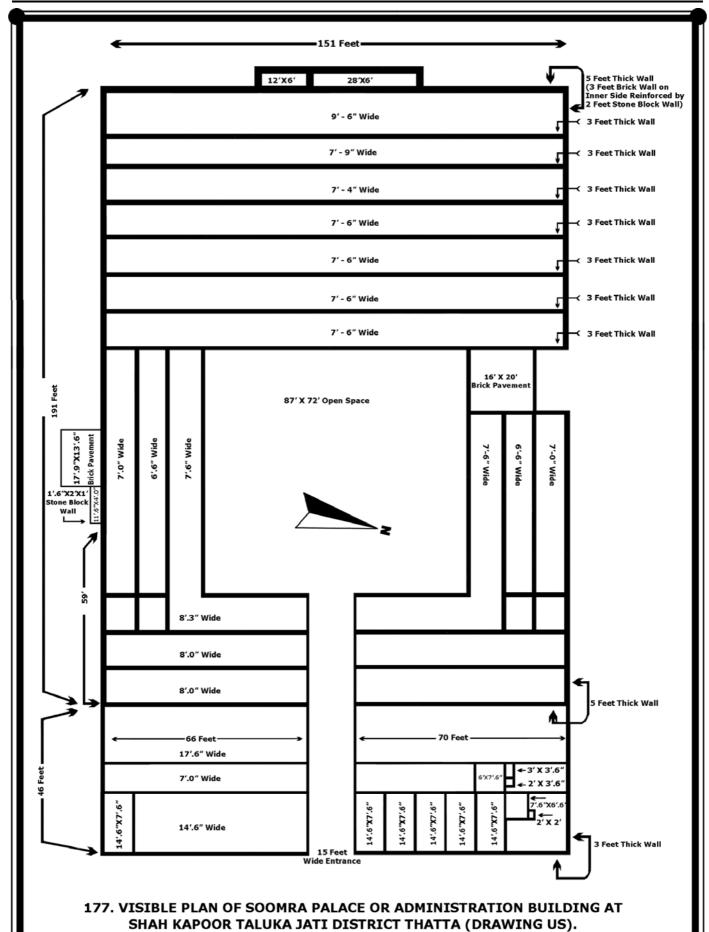
There are 42 springs in hilly areas of Sindh from Gaj to Karachi, visited by the present author between 1954 and 1973. These are easy to reach and some cultivation is still being made on them even to this day.

During "Climatic Optimum", i.e., 900-1250 AD, rainfall was more and as source of springs is rain water, their flow must have been more and more area would have been brought under cultivation then, than this day. The table below gives areas irrigated by some springs today.

SOME SPRINGS IN SINDH AND CULTIVATION ON THEM

S.No.	Name of Spring	Discharge in litres per minute	Area irrigated in acres
1.	Pir Gazi Shah	5,000	500
2.	Tando Rahim		Supplies water to village of same name
3.	Gaj Spring	Perennial channel	Irrigation down streams
4.	Kai	3,500	350
5.	Naing	5,000	500
6.	Bonjo	4,250	400
7.	Dhal	360	40
8.	Rani Kot fort springs	1,700	100-175
9.	Karo Gar	1,135	100
10.	Gorandi	400	50
11.	Ali Murad Barejo	150	10-15
12.	Karchat	225-450	25-50
13.	Ratan Shah	900	100
14.	Jin	250	200
15.	Khadeji fall	3,500-7,000	It flows down stream and disappears after running 2 miles. It changes wells in the vicinity of the Malir river.





CHAPTER 17

ADMINISTRATION

N 1011 AD, Sindh extended up to Sibi and Uch. The divisions were the same as under Chach in 641 AD, though Kutch, Makran and Multan had been lost respectively to Solankis, Maadans and Quresh Shaikh Daud, who had lost it to Ghaznavids. Various divisions of Sindh were Uch, Bakhar (which included Sibi) Sehwan and Brahmanabad (Mansura). There were also districts. They appointed governors for divisions and districts, directly responsible to the king. The governors usually were related to the rulers and were either sons or brothers or close kins. Governors were absolute rulers within their jurisdiction. In some cases local governors were non-Soomras and usually Sammas, who also occupied important positions.

TAXES AND RESOURCES

Since antiquity agricultural resources necessary for support of court, its projects and militia were divided into three classes namely: estates owned directly by the crown, those belonging to pious foundations whose relationship to the crown was suitable one and lastly in the hands of private individuals who were liable to taxation. This is true for most of the ancient world. Soomras gave Jagir to Sufi saint Bahauddin Zakariya near their capital Tur. In general demands of the state seem to have been well met since antiquity and in order to increase revenues to meet increasing demands owing to increase in organisation, the government had to enhance cropped area under irrigation in arid zones. Whenever irrigation system was destroyed by a change in the course of the River Indus and if government quickly restored the system by new canals, it survived otherwise there was change of the government in form of dynastic change or by outside intervention. During the Soomra rule the River Indus changed its course three times and there

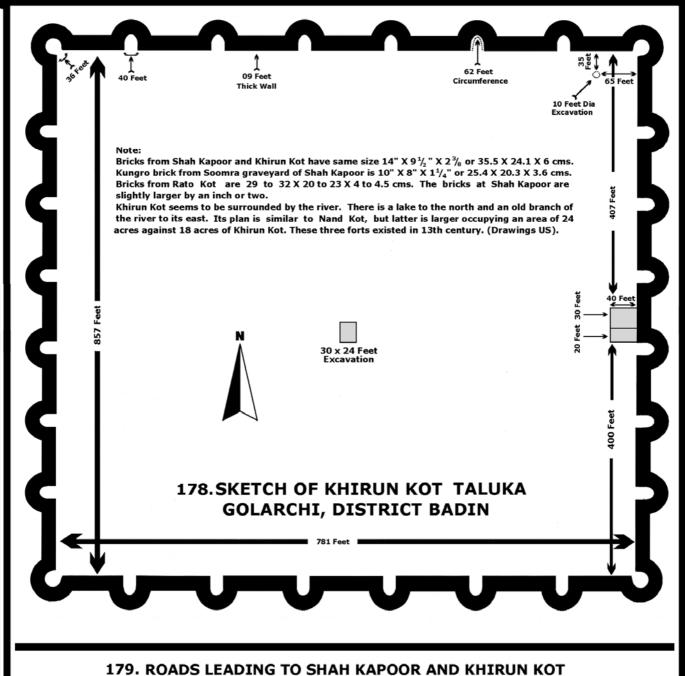
could have been reduction in taxes and changes in the rulers, probably from one Soomra dynasty to another, who could quickly restore the canal irrigation.

The chief function of the government was the management of resources. They would also carefully watch the management of land by pious foundations, so that they did not demand extra land and also provided to the government, necessary support in the form of some controls over populace, by popular religious doctrines and producing by education, candidates fit to carry out secular functions of the state. The bureaucrats were required to assess taxes according to the area under different crops and they had to be well-versed with area under different crops and also with fundamentals of arithmetic and geometry calculating the exact area brought under cultivation. From the Indus civilisation this system was copied by the Vedic people and introduced in the whole South Asia from 1,000 to 300 BC and the Brahmans stood as heads of pious foundations, to be replaced by similar class (Sayeds, Pirs, Sufis, etc.) under Muslim rule after 712 AD. Incidentally pious foundations did exist in Egypt since old kingdoms and intermediate period 2686-1552 BC, coinciding with Kot Dijjian, Amrian, Mohenjo Daro and Jhukar times. There were pious foundations in Mesopotamia, Sindh had frequent trade contacts with it and thus they may have influenced each other.

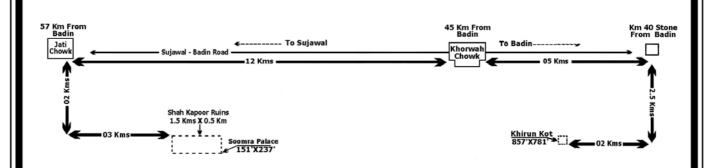
NON-AGRICULTURAL TAXES

The following were the taxes during the period in the whole South Asia and similar taxes were expected in Sindh.

* Income from Lahri Bunder was six million dinars, of which 5% was given to its governor and the rest to the central treasury. Delhi Sultanate charged twenty-two per cent import duty on all types of







goods.

- * Jizyah was imposed at ten Tankas from poor, twenty from middle class and forty from rich. Arabs had exempted Brahmans, monks and priests from payment of Jizyah in Sindh to pacify masses, but Delhi Sultanate withdrew this concession and then this class no longer helped the government to subdue masses in Hindu dominated areas. Sufis however played this role in Muslim-dominated areas.
- * Waqaf or religious endowments were granted to Muslim saints both living and dead. Grants were extended to mosques, Madaris, orphanages and Makatib. Their function also was to support the rulers. They were exempted from taxes.
- * There were fixed taxes on shops and commercial establishments, according to estimated turnout, as was being done since ancient times:
- * Individual technicians or large guilds were taxed annually which varied according to income.
- * There was house tax, grazing tax and water tax.
- * Tax on all minerals was levied at 20%.
- * All property of men dying without heirs went to the state.
- * Inam land was free from revenue assessment.

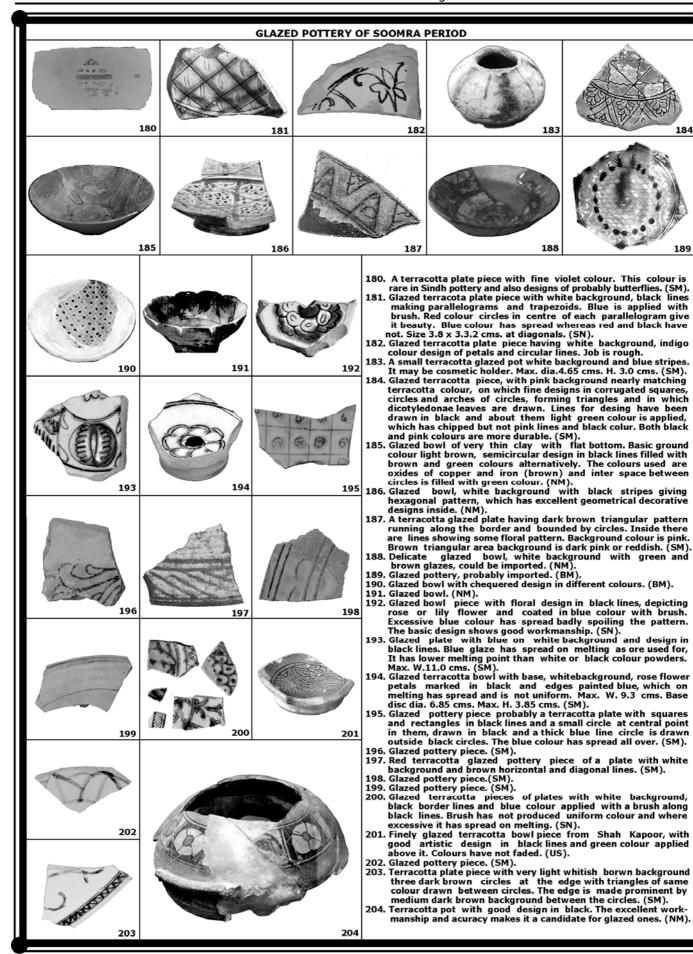
LAND REVENUE OR AGRICULTURE TAX

- * Cultivated land under Delhi Sultanate was divided in three classes: Kharaj, Itiqa and Khalsa.
- Kharaj lands belonged to non-Muslims.
- Itiqa lands were managed by Maota, who guaranteed fixed amount to be paid to treasury after collection from cultivators.
- Khalsa lands were held by the central government and managed through officials called Amils.
- * These taxes had evolved since Mauryan rule of South Asia after 321 BC and various Hindu and Buddhist dynasties had continued them. They were in vogue in Sindh with little modification all these centuries. They were charged according to area and crops.

COINS AND CURRENCY

* Before Soomras, Habaris were minting their own

- coins in gold and silver. Copper coins dating to that period have been found.
- * Evidence is not found that Soomras minted coins of their own, but they did manufacture copper coins in large numbers and some of very small size. They were transacted most probably by weight.
- * In that era golden coin dinar was accepted in all countries surrounding Bahr-i-Faras (Arabian Sea) and Tanka was a silver coin.
- Coins of Delhi Sultans and even early Ghaznavids were current in Sindh.
- * Coins of Fatmid Khalifas were also current in Sindh.
- * In the whole South Asia people converted their savings in gold and silver ornaments and could encash them at the time of need. Women wore ornaments on their bodies most of the time to avoid thefts.
- * Traditionally, dinar and dirham were used internationally for trade and silver and gold Tankas for trade with Delhi Sultanate.
- * Seashell (cowry) was in use for small purchases and even as late as Talpur times. The British discouraged its use.
- * Silver Tanka weighing 175 grains each or 11.25 grams or about one Tola was current during Delhi Sultanate rule.
- * Grain is the smallest unit of weight and seven thousand grains made a British pound and on the average equivalent to 0.064 grams or approximately twenty per cent of a gram.
- * Silver Tanka was divided into Kanis. Sixteen Kanis made one Tanka and coins of 1, 2, 6, 8, 12 and 16 Kanis were used. It was an old system, in which, eight silver Tankas of 175 grains made one Tanka of gold. Weight of silver Tankas varied and was between 140 to 175 grains during different periods of Muhammad Tughlaq's rule catching up with inflation.
- * Gold Tankas of 169 grains were also minted under Muhammad Tughlaq from 1333 to 1340 AD. These were current in Sindh due to trade with various provinces of the Delhi empire and other states.



LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE

Soomras followed the system of Panchat or Bhayat for settling disputes and the decision of this body was final and binding on the parties involved. Punishment involved was according to the nature of offence and was severe in case of theft, robbery, fornication and rape and could lead to capital punishment.

Aggrieved parties claimed compensation, which was allowed to complainants or even to informants.

Mutilation, blinding, banishment, fine and servitude were some of the punishments.

WAR AND WEAPONRY

- * Soomras had inherited warfare techniques from Habaris, who maintained 80 battle elephants and 500 foot soldiers with each of them, but later Soomras did not seem to have any elephants. They did have strong cavalry and foot soldiers. Weapons were the same as used in India since the days of Mauryans.
- * In war with Mahmud of Ghazni, Soomras seem to have war elephants like their predecessors, but Mahmud had superior cavalry, which was unmatchable and he had already fought and won many battles with Indian elephant troops. Elephants are helpless before petroleum (naphtha) fires and guns.
- * Even one hundred and twenty years after their overthrow by Sammas, Soomras maintained 24,000 cavalry in south-east Sindh and became sore for Jam Nizamuddin and Mahmud Begra of

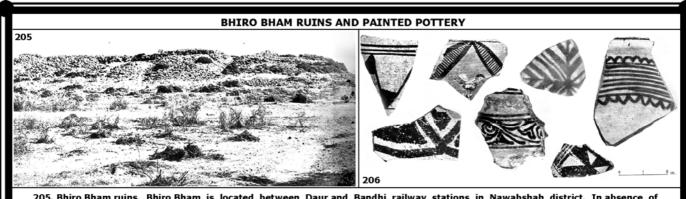
- Gujarat. Possibly then, Begra had given them Jagirs and settled them in Kathiawar.
- * Under South Asian traditional war elephants, the tanks of ancients, were the only acceptable weapons to assure soldiers and cavalrymen of success and fight without fear. In all wars lost by any offensive or defensive party, the fate of war was geared to behaviour of elephants in the midst of attack. Only Europeans avoided to use it with success.
- * Soomras lost major battles to Mahmud of Ghazni, Qabacha, Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah, Uktae, Altatmash and Allauddin.
- * In all wars lost by Soomras it was not due to the bravery of the aggressor, but superiority of their weapons and trained army.

ELEPHANTS IN WARFARE

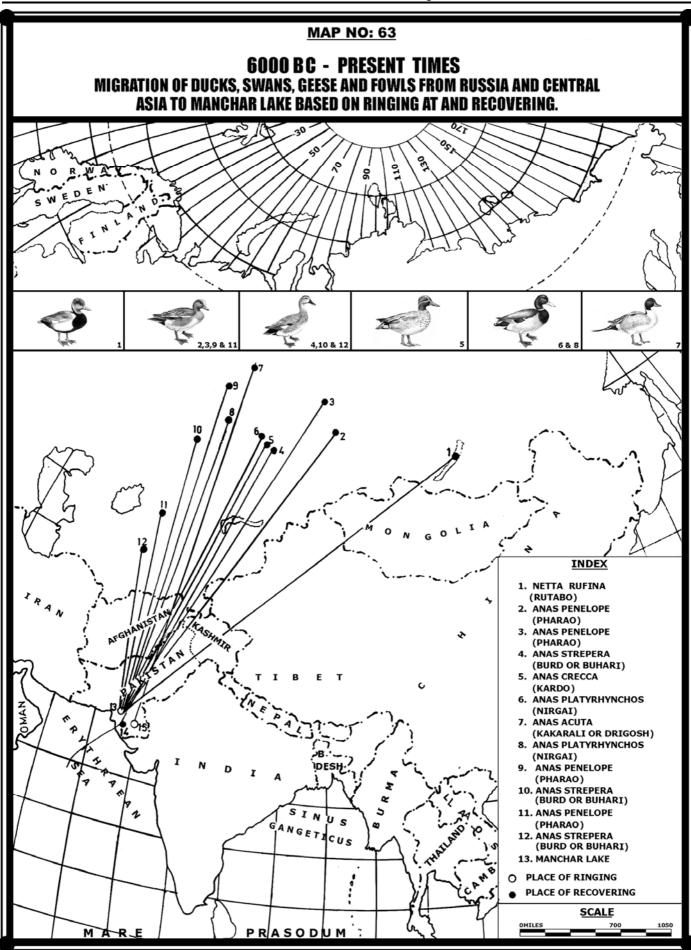
Nadir Shah had rightly remarked:

"What strange practice is that rulers of Hind have adopted? On the day of battle they ride on an elephant and make themselves target of every one. When wounded, elephants were liable to get out of control, escape on the top of their speed, some times jump off a bank into river or canal, drown themselves and sometimes along with princes." Results were unfortunate for the people of South Asia.

It is known that Habaris maintained 80 elephants and it is also confirmed that in 1365 AD, Feroz Tughlaq brought 480 elephants, 90,000 cavalry and 5,000 boats. Against this Jam Banbhriyo had 20,000 cavalry and routed imperial army with heavy losses and forced them to flee to Gujarat.



205. Bhiro Bham ruins. Bhiro Bham is located between Daur and Bandhi railway stations in Nawabshah district. In absence of adequate excavation, its beginning is attributed to Arab period and end in 11th century by fire and probably simultaneously with Brahmanabad-Mansura. It may be pre-Arab site and coluld have survived later than 11th century.
206. Some pottery pieces from Bhiro Bham. (Pakistan Archaeology No. 1, 1965.)



CHAPTER 18

HUMAN FOOD DURING THE SOOMRA ERA

ATING habits of Sindhians did not remain the same throughout their long history. For example wheat and barley formed main grain of food from 7,000 BC to 2000 BC. Millets and rice were added respectively from Arabia and Utter Pradesh after 1900 BC and became summer crops. People gradually reduced the intake of wheat and barley, but they still remained important food grains. Among the sources of meat were: cattle, pig, goat, sheep and fishes of different types. The intake of pork was reduced during the mature Indus times, as pig was no longer domesticated due to its preference for the same food that humans took, i.e., grains, fruits and vegetables.

BOS MEAT

Status of bullock as a very useful animal for agriculture and earth moving and therefore for human living was obvious since Amrian times and it became a very important and indispensable animal. Like its status in Mesopotamia and Egypt, it probably was already a deity in the Indus culture times and its status further increased during Jhukar and Jhangar period, due to aridity causing shortage of meat. It probably was during this period (1800-950 BC), that partaking of its meat became taboo. It was this influence which finally made cow holy and partaking of beef a taboo among Brahmans around 700-600 BC. This also was a borrowed idea, as long before this time, Pharaohs of Egypt had made cow a sacred animal. Buffalo was not sacred, but heavy milk yielder. Cows were reared to produce bullocks, which were draft animals. Both categories of Bos animals were eaten usually when old and not useful. Male buffalo calves were eaten when young. Soomras with local names, Hindu customs and mixed religious practices were fond of buffalo meat.

GOAT AND SHEEP MEAT

Goat meat became popular as goats were easy to raise on all kinds of vegetative growth, which other animals did not partake. It reproduced at an early age and if fed properly, could produce two or more offsprings in time almost half that of cow. Sheep was raised for its wool, fat and mutton. It appears that Sindhians preferred goat meat to sheep as they do even today. The parallel can also be found in Egypt where according to Plutarch, "No Egyptian eats mutton (sheep meat) except Lycopolilites". Similarly in Sindh sheep meat was taken mostly by those who raised them and also by Jutts and Jats, considered low in caste hierarchy.

MIGRATORY BIRDS - AS LUXURY FOOD AND POULTRY

Migratory birds namely: Rutabo (Netta Rufina), Pharao (Anas Penelope), Burd or Buhari (Anas Strepera), Kardo (Anas Crecca), Nirgai (Anas Platyrhynchos), Kakarali and Drigosh (Anas Acuta), have been coming from north-east of China, Mongolia and Siberia each winter to Sindh's lakes for wintering, beginning from early October and leaving at the end of March. They were captured and eaten. Typical methods of capturing them during Soomra times have survived today.

Poultry was raised since Mohenjo Daro times. It was domesticated in China around 6,000 BC. Up to 1980 AD, every household raised chickens in rural Sindh for meat and eggs. Rural or urban Sindhis did not partake chicken eggs as they were considered too hot to eat, but Europeans took them as main breakfast dish. Rural families usually maintained three to four hens and a cock. In summer season indigenous eggs

An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh POPULAR EDIBLE MARINE AND FRESH WATER FISHES (R. QURESHI, 1964) **MARINE FISHES** 210. DHAMBO (Serranus diacanthus) 209. KANGO (Belone strongylurus) 207. MANGRO (Carcharias acutidens) 208. MITHOO (Clupea sindensis) 211. DANGRI (Lates calcarifer) 212. GINGANO (Therapon jarbua) 213. BHAMBOR (Sillago sihama) 214. BANGDO (Caranx djedaba) 215. DANDYA (Pimelepterus cinerascens) 216. MUYO (Lutianus rivulatus) 217. DHOTHER (Pristipoma hasta) 218. MUSHKO (Otolithus argenteus) 220. SURMAI (Scomber microlepidotus) 221. ACHCHO-PITHO (Stromateus sinensis) 219. KISSI (Chrysophrys sarba) 222. DUGI (Polynemus sexfilis) **FRESH WATER FISHES** 223. DAMBHRO OR KURIRO (Labeo rohita) 224. GANDAN (Notopterus chitala) 225. PALLO (Hilsa ilisha) 226. DAHI (Labeo calbasu) 230. SEENGARI (Mystus aor) 227. MORI (Labeo sindensis) 228. THELHI (Catla catla) 229. POPRI (Barbus (Puntius) conchonius)

231. KHAGGO (Rita rita) 232. SHAKUR (Ophicephalus striatus) 233. GOJ (Mastacembelus pancalus)

234. JARKO (Wallago attu)

usually do not hatch, but autumn eggs produce twelve to twenty-five chickens. Though mortality rate is high, some families can manage to slaughter one chicken a week from their household poultry. The same must have been the case during the Soomra times. Domestic poultry industry has failed to compete with modern industrial poultry raising and is now declining.

During Soomra-Samma period, Sindh had four groups of lakes namely: Hamal, Drigh, Daun (Mehar), Sanhari, Kokarho, Ahadrob, Jakhpari Sutiaro, Talti and Manchar in north-western Sindh, Makhi, Farash, Amarkot and Samaro lakes on the eastern Nara in the eastern Sindh, Kinjhar, Kalri, Haleji and Sonahri in south-western Sindh and Sindh Dhoro in northern Sindh. These lakes also provided fish all the year round. The deltaic area below Thatta-Sujawal in summer used to become a sheet of water and difficult to traverse. It used to form thousands of small lakes, which produced fish and attracted migratory birds. Partridge was common throughout Sindh and was trapped.

Fishermen formed an important caste. Fish was a source of food since early times. Almost all depressions in the Indus plains were filled with water in summer either naturally or artificially and were drained out in October for sowing winter crops and fish was trapped for food. Fish could even be dried, but archaeological evidence on species is lacking as fish bones specially of the head are not preserved once buried.

In brief, Sindhis had no shortage of animal proteins and they had better bodies than those of other areas of India in the past and so in Soomra times.

REPTILE MEAT

Ibn Battuta saw the people eating meat of Saqanqur, a small reptile probably Sanda or Gloi, which burrowed in the ground; people dug it out, ripped open its stomach and cooked it stuffing with yellow vegetable. Sanda is still captured around Jhimpir-Jungshahi, but is not eaten. Its oil is used as aphrodisiac.

SLAUGHTERING METHODS

There were no slaughtering houses and

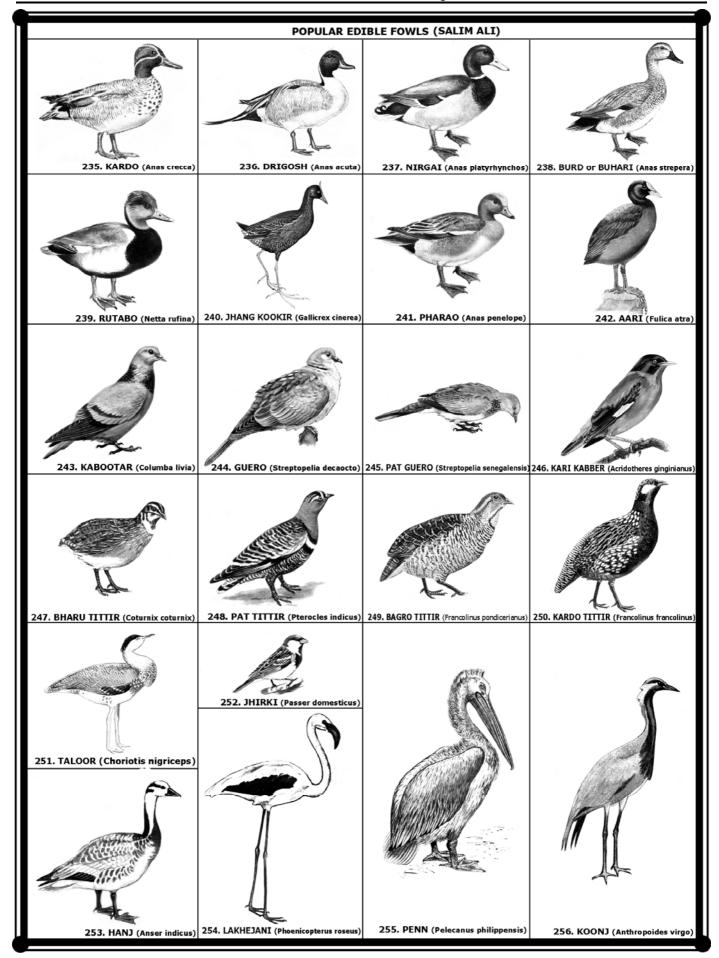
slaughtering of animals in rural areas was done in front of the house or at a convenient place as is being done today, but there may have been selected places in the towns. How did Sindhians slaughter animals is not known, although Egyptians, contemporary of Indus culture times, cut the throat of animal from one ear to the other. The Jews were to do the same as Egyptians and considered this as the only method to slaughter animals for kosher meat. Any other method of slaughter was forbidden religiously. Egyptians, however, collected blood from slaughtering and used in cookery, which Jews forbade. Muslims adopted Jewish method. From the method of slaughtering used by Sikhs it seems that the ancient Sindhians slaughtered animal by hitting it on cerebellum and killing it instantly with blood remaining within the body. They killed birds by pulling their neck and causing an instant death. The ancient Egyptian gentry did not eat head of animals, which was left with skin and horns and was given away to the poor. As against this in Sindh, brain is considered a breakfast delicacy and tongue is also another delicacy. Sindhis do not take hoofs or hoof joints, which are delicacy in some parts of South Asia, where from it travelled to some urban areas in the eighteenth century during Afghan rule of Shikarpur. The early Soomras had accepted Ismaili faith, but retained pre-Islamic Hindu and Buddhist traditions and may have used the Sikh's method of slaughtering until at least mid-thirteenth century.

VEGETABLES AND OILS

Vegetables known in Sindh during the Soomra times were peas, beans of various types, onion, garlic, carrot, sesame (as oil and vegetable from pads), mustard (as oil and vegetable) and gourds of various types. Ibn Battutta specifically mentions Mushunk (Moong) been in use. Cottonseed was another source of oil, but most popular was butter from milk of buffaloes and cows. Vegetable oils were fed to bullocks and some times to milch animals. Vegetable oils were commonly used in lamps.

BREAD, BISCUIT AND PASTRIES

Grain was converted into flour under rolling grinding wheel called "Jand". Sindhis had various



kinds of breads before introduction of the European breads. A few kinds of common breads in pre-British era were:

- * Bread from flour of wheat, barley, sorghum, millets and rice. The last was peculiar to Sindh.
- * Sweet bread, in which oil and sugar or honey was added, could be kept for a week or two.
- * Busri was made of wheat flour in two layers. Between the layers honey or red sugar and butter was put, baked and eaten with butter.
- The bread was widely used as fork and spoon while eating with hand. Tablecloths and napkins were not used. In feasts the guests sat on cloth sheet spread over the floor on which food was laid in large earthen pots and platters. Each guest helped himself directly out of small plates in which food was served from large pots and platters. The guests used their fingers to secure morsels of food without knives, forks and spoons. It was customary in the South Asia since antiquity to use the right hand for eating, as the left hand always used for toilet purposes, was considered unclean. Bread was used to mop up sauces. It was customary to wash hands, before and after each meal. What dishes the people used would be any body's guess.

WINES, LIQUORS AND TOXICANTS

Sindh produced grapes both for wine and table use. Up to 1947 AD, grapes were grown near all towns by Hindus, harvested before the end of June and converted into wine for use on special religious occasions. This was done secretly from Muslims to avoid agitation and from the government to avoid licensing and taxation.

Poppy (Dody) was grown in Sindh and from it was extracted marijuana (Chars) and opium. Smoking of marijuana is prevalent among labour class even today. An object like smoking pipe has been found from Mohenjo Daro dating (c.2,350 BC). Smoking pipes (Sulfis) have been found from Soomra sites. Tobacco was not known in old world and the Portuguese introduced it in South Asia in the sixteenth century. Bhang (hemp) was another intoxicant grown in Sindh. Some types of cups found from ruins show that they were used for wine. Quality wines were

imported as far back as 200 BC to 200 AD, but information on Soomra period is lacking.

TYPICAL SINDH-MULTAN FOOD OFFERED TO IBN BATTUTTA

Ibn Battutta describes food dishes offered by Qazi Khudawand Zadeh between Multan and Delhi in 1333 AD and these were: Chapati (bread), roast mutton, round bread filled with Sabuni sweets (similar to sweet bread or Sindhi Mitha Lola), Alkhishti bread made of flour, sugar and ghee (called Busri in today's Sindh), Samosak (Samosa), which was thin bread filled with minced meat, almonds, walnuts, pistachio, onion, spices and fried in ghee or butter and chicken Biryani. Food was followed by fruit juices and lastly by Pan. Food for sick people was Bhata Shamak (Sanwan), which may be rice with Sanwo or Moong Dal.

FRUITS

Among the fruits Sindh had dates and zizyphus varieties growing wild since very early times and had been domesticated more than seven thousand years ago. Both of them can easily be dried and processed into various products, which can be consumed during the period of their non-availability as fresh fruit. Sindh has two varieties of jujubes growing wild. They are called zizyphus rotundifolia and zizyphus mauritania, Limo (lemon), citrus and mango, were also grown.

Arab travellers have reported Jaman a fruit of India. It must have been grown in Sindh too. Its applications in Ayurvedic (Indian medicine) were known since ancient times and on that account this tree was worshipped and Brahmans were fed under its shade. Its medical applications included diabetics, dysentery, spleen enlargement, stomachic carminative, anti-scar, diuretic and diarrhoea used in various forms like fruit, vinegar, syrup, and juice. Even its leaves and bark have medical uses.

Similarly, various species of Ber (zizyphus species) were grown in Sindh in wild state and were domesticated since 5,500 BC. Besides a desert fruit it was considered a blood purifier, laxative and antiacidic. Its root extracts were used as medicine against fever, ulcers and healing of wounds and its bark for

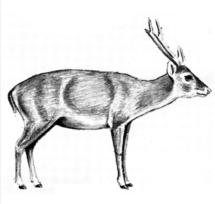
EDIBLE WILD ANIMALS (WWF KARACHI)







259. SINDH IBEX (Capra aegagrus)







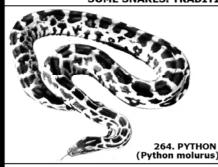
262. BLACKNAPED HARE (Lepus nigricollis)

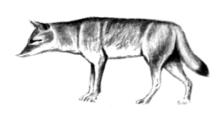


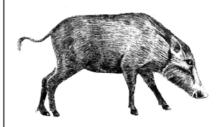
263. SPINY TAILED LIZARD (Gloi) (Uromastyx hardwickii) was eaten in 14th centutry as Ibn Battutta saw at

260. HOG DEER (Axis porcinus)

SOME LOW CASTE HINDU TRIBES NAMELY BAGRI, GURGUILA AND JHABER EVEN NOW EAT ANIMALS LIKE JUNGLE CAT, JACKAL, WILD BOAR, TURTLE, TORTOISE, MARSH CROCODILE, PORCUPINE, GHARIAL, MONITOR LIZARD AND SOME SNAKES. TRADITIONALLY THESE HAVE BEEN THEIR CHERISHED MEAT FOR CENTURIES.







265. JACKAL (Canis aureus)

266. WILD BOAR (Sus scrofa)

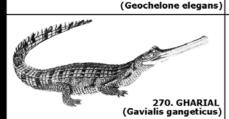






268. SOFT SHELLED TURTLE (Lissemys punctata)

269. JUNGLE CAT (Felis chaus)







271. MARSH CROCODILE (Crocodylus palustris)

272. MONITOR LIZARD (Varanus bengalensis)

curing diarrhoea. Its seed was used as tonic for heart and brain diseases. Leaves of Ber were used for making bread during famines. The popular lacquered furniture of Sindh has its lac coming from Ber tree. On its leaves and bark insects like chardia laccad feed and yield lac.

Sugar-cane was an important crop and was grown along the western branch of the River Indus, which was perennial. When water level in the canals went low, it was lifted by Nar, popularly known outside Sindh as Sindhi wheel, during the Soomra times. White sugar was produced from it.

The edible field crops were: rice, wheat, oil seeds, peas, beans, melons of various types, sorghum, millets, camphor, saffron, onion, garlic, jera, and gourds. Cotton had two varieties: perennial bushes and annual crop. Perennial bushes were seen by the Europeans in

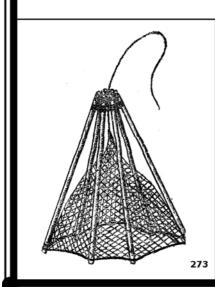
the seventeenth century in Gujarat and reported by Mazhar Shah-i-Jehani in Sindh. Sindh produced a lot of cotton and exported it and textiles since Mohenjo Daro times. During the Soomra-Samma period cotton textiles formed major trading article of Sindh. Cottonseed oil was extracted, but used only by the poor and also fed to cattle by mixing it with other feed. Most Sindhians used butter and ghee as it was plentiful and considered more nutritious by populace.

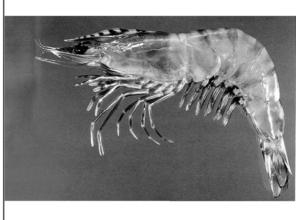
PRICES OF FOOD ITEMS

The prices of various food items during Muhammad Tughlaq's rule (1325-1351 AD) were recorded. Similar would be the prices in Sindh and are given in the table below.

FOOD ITEMS PRICE 1325-1351 AD

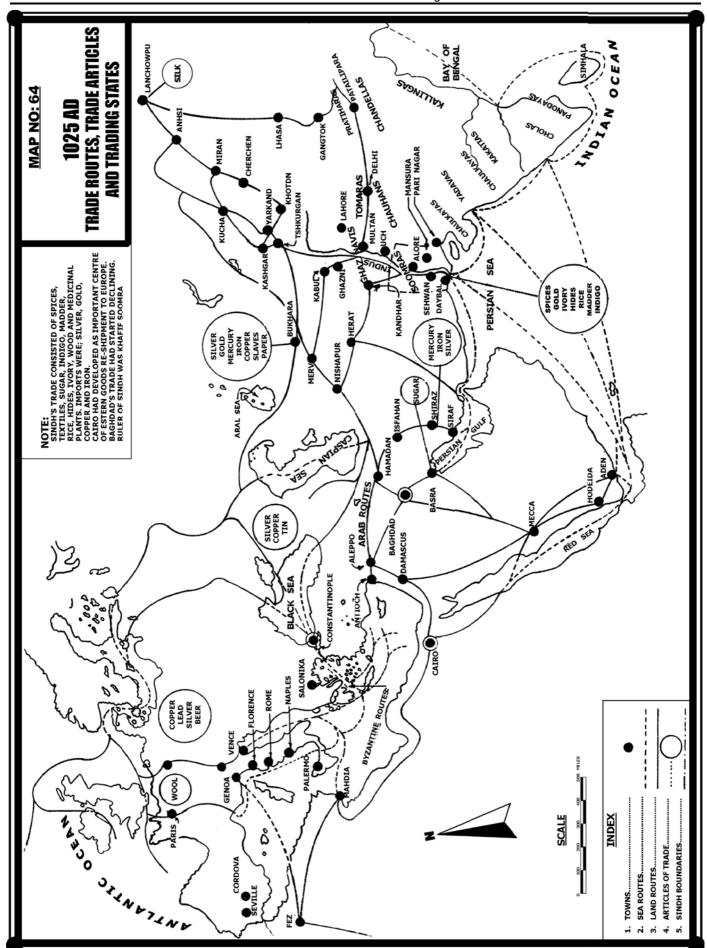
Item	Measure	Price in Jitals (8 Jitals = 1 Sultani dirham weighing 11. 25 grams of silver
- Wheat	Maund	12
- Barley	Maund	8
- Rice	Maund	14
- Peas	Maund	4
- Beef and mutton	6 seers	2
- Sheep meat	4 seers	2
- Chicken.	4 Nos	8
- Sugar (red)	5 seers	8
- Khand (Qand, white sugar)	4 seers	8
- Sheep	4 Nos	64
- Cow	4 Nos	128
- Buffalo	4 Nos	128





FISHING AND FOWLING

273. Dip net or Kurhi of Sindh for individual fisherman, consisting of 6-8 wooden rods tied around a wooden ring at the top folded like an umbrella and with net forming a cone inside the ring from bottom to top ring, opended and pulled by string at the top and kept over fish in shallow waters. By releasing string fish is trapped and is picked up by hand. Height 1 to 2 metres, mesh 3-4 cms, diameter when open 1 to 1.2 metres. (Sorley).
274. Ganghat or shrimp.



CHAPTER 19

TRADE UNDER SOOMRAS (1000-1400 AD)

HE following is the background of trade of Sindh during this period:

- * By 732 AD, Venice in Italy had developed into an important seaport at the cost of Rome and Milan. It became an important export centre to the western Europe.
- * Although Arab expansion was at the cost of Byzantine empire, Constantinople still enjoyed the importance as a trading centre due to trading contacts with Europe and export of substantial amount of European goods through it.
- * From 750 AD onwards Baghdad developed as an important trading centre and Damascus had started losing its importance.
- * After 950 AD, Cairo developed at the cost of Alexandria and was already competing with Baghdad.
- * By 1000 AD, Antioch had already decayed and Venice had become a much important trading centre than Constantinople, as it was trading with most of European countries besides Russia and Iceland.
- * Most of the goods from Sindh and South Asia were being sent to Europe via Cairo and some via Baghdad, which had remained an important trade centre from Sindh to Europe until 950 AD.
- * Decay of Baghdad was connected with the rise of Fatmid Khilafat and break up of Abbasid empire into small semi-independent kingdoms, which owed nominal allegiance to Khalifa. They paid small tributes and read Khutbah in his name.
- * Two centuries from 1000 to 1200 AD, saw the rise of many European trading cities like Geneva, Naples and Florence in Italy.
- * By 1000 AD, Venice in Italy had become the most

important and unique centre for Europe's trade overshadowing Constantinople and from Venice goods were exported to the whole Europe including the continent's important trading cities of Paris, Cologne (Germany) and Novgorod in Russia.

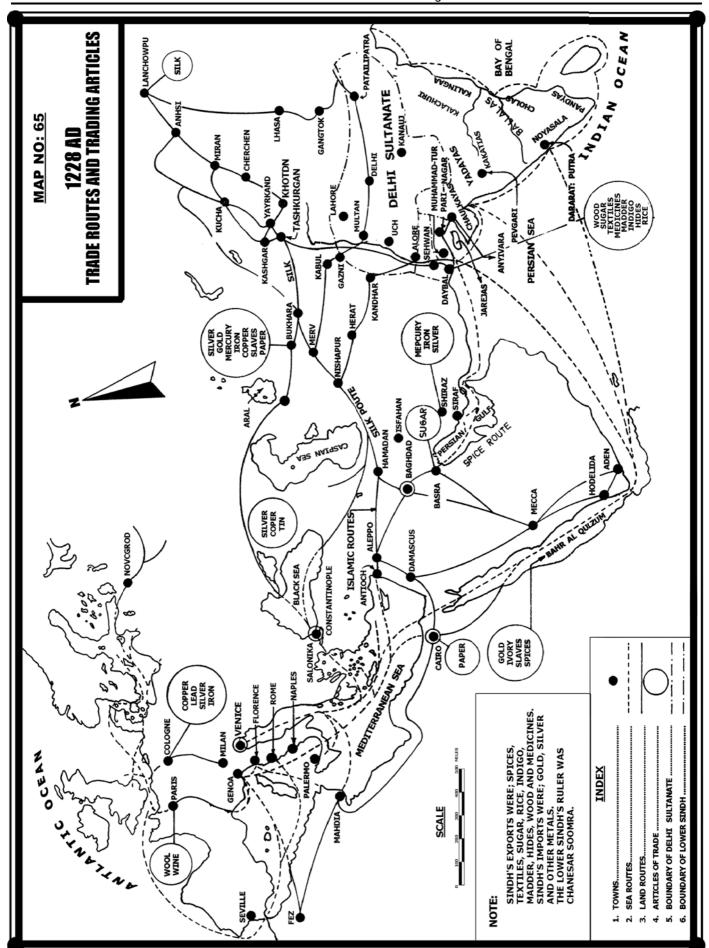
- * Baghdad and Cairo enjoyed the same status as they had two hundred years earlier.
- * Venice gained further importance in the next two centuries and so did Geneva.
- * Constantinople maintained its position as it had in the two past centuries and as secondary to Venice and other Italian cities.
- * Around 1400 AD, the Dutch had gained importance in trade with Britain, Scandinavian countries, Finland and Russia. They also traded with Geneva via Gibraltar. They frequented Mediterranean and countries adjoining to it.

ARTICLES OF TRADE

The articles of import into Europe from the east including Sindh were categorised as spices, but these included some 200 different items of which cotton was an important item. For centuries the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes with South Asia were called spice routes. A main item of export to the east was gold. The South Asia was its main importer, where it was converted into ornaments since Harappan times.

ITEMS OF EXPORT FROM SINDH

In general, the following items were exported from Sindh to other countries including South Asian states: chintz, camels, ghee, wool of sheep, goat and camel, silken cloth, ivory and ebony inlays, lacquer-



ware palanquins, leather of cow, buffalo, sheep, goat and camel, leather goods, calico (all kinds of cotton cloth), wooden furniture, Bafta (in the eighteenth century it meant fine cloth and in the twentieth century it meant rough cloth), sugar, stripped carpets, antimony from Kohistan, craft products, indigo, madder, opium and processed agricultural products like grains wheat, rice, oil-seeds, peas and beans, barley, sorghum and millet.

Some other items of trade produced in Sindh or imported from northern parts of undivided India were camphor, elefumidi, horns, lac, musk, Misri (large crystal sugar), pearls, peacocks (from Thar desert) and dried fish. Horns of rhinoceros were in great demand for making necklaces and ornaments. They were also used as aphrodisiacs in China. Rhinoceros were native to the River Indus. Ivory was imported and fine articles made from it were exported.

At Banbhore a series of rooms and an open space have been discovered for manufacture of large-size pottery vessels used for dyeing cloth and curing leather. Bronze was manufactured both with lead and tin as admixture to copper. The grotesque cast figures from Mansura prove high quality of workmanship in metallurgy.

Regular and profitable trade was maintained in the Indian Ocean countries. Trade decline of both Mansura and Brahmanabad was not related to the decline of trade of Sindh, but destruction also took place at the hands of invaders. During the period, important ports had developed in the Indian Ocean, for example, Siraf in Persian Gulf in Iran, Suhar in Oman, Manda in Kenya and Mantai on north-east coast of Sri Lanka. The ships from Banbhore touched Japan, China, Egypt and Iraq. Full use was made of monsoon winds. Demand for luxury items increased as many efficient new states and Fatmid Khilafat was established. Banbhore, Siraf and Mantai depended solely on trade and imported luxury items like white or thin glazed pottery of Iraq, porcelain and stone ware of China, white-paste decorated ware from Syria, coarse storage jars and alkaline glazed ware from the Gulf region. This shows high standard of living in Soomra era. Banbhore also exported lapis lazuli, Mushk (musk), indigo, madder and other expensive items in 1200 AD as it did from 200 BC to 200 AD. Suhar in Oman had

fifteen thousand acres of fruit orchards, which were exported to food deficit areas and possibly Banbhore was dry fruit deficient, but quantity could not have been large.

Chinese pottery imported in Sindh consisted white porcelain, olive, green glazed stoneware, celadonware and painted stoneware. Blue green glazed jars with thick pale red body came from west, i.e., Iran, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. This type of pottery produced during Sassanian era continued to be manufactured up to twelfth century. Imitation of Chinese porcelain pottery was produced in the Middle East and brought to Sindh. It was distinguished by its pale fabric and opaque glazed surface. Glazed pottery with designs painted on it in gold lustre was imported from Iraq and Iran. Mantai, a Sri Lankan pottery and the copy of Chinese porcelain, is also found at Banbhore. Glazed pottery was also produced in Sindh, though quality appears to be inferior.

The Sindh's trade with rest of the South Asia was mostly by boats either through Banbhore (Debal) up to 1224 AD or Lahri Bunder later on. There was a cosmopolitan community of Persian Jew traders settled at Banbhore. Benjamin of Tudela visited them in 1165-1173 AD.

There were pirates around Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat coasts as Marco Polo saw and they used more than one hundred corsairs also called Bairas by Al-Beruni for their activities. Ships were large for sea trades carrying up to 2000 tons. On the river they used flat bottom boats. Trans-shipment was done probably at Kaureshi port.

General articles of export form Sindh to Arab countries were indigo, madder rice, wheat, camphor, opium, sugar, spices, ambergris, cotton and fine textile cloths. Indigo was grown in Sindh and the southern Punjab. Indigo was in great demand by Abbasid Khalifas and Sultans of various areas for their exclusive use. Madder was grown in northern Sindh and the Punjab and was also exported. Poppy for opium was also grown in Sindh. Hemp or Bhang, an intoxicant, was also grown in Sindh on the perennial canal Western Nara or western branch of the River Indus. These articles were exported to Baghdad, Arabia and Cairo, where from they were re-exported to adjoining countries and Europe. Wheat was grown in

COINS AND CURRENCY DURING SOOMRA ERA







277







279





280





281





- 275. Muhammad bin Sam's coin struck at Kanauj.

 Obverse: copy of Kanauj coins having the goddess
 Lakshmi seated. Reverse: Sri Muhammad bin Sam
 in Devnagri script. These coins may have been
 struck for local use in their most acceptable form
 to the newly conquered public. (Thomas: Pathan
 Kings of Delhi).
- 276. Coin of Mahmud of Ghazni having in Devnagri script "Abyaktamek Muhammad Avatar Nripti Mahmud" (The invisible one, Muhammad's incarnation, King Mahmud). The margin is in the same script stating "In the name of invisible this Tanka struck at Mahmudpur Samavt 418." Reverse has legend in Arabic as well as Hijri year. Bilingual coins existed in Scythian, Parthian and Kushan era too. (Thomas: Pathan Kings of Delhi).
- 277. Coin of Masud of Ghazni, showing a cavalryman and king's name in Kufic script (Thomas: Pathan Kings of Delhi).
- 278. Gold coin of Altatmash.
 - Obverse: Cavalryman above and (Muhammad) Rasul-u-Allah in the margin. Reverse: Al-Sultan Al-Muazam Shamul-Duniya-wa-Din Abu Al-Muzafaral Shams Al-Qutbi Bazaman Amir-ul-Momineen. (Thomas: Pathan Kings of Delhi).
- 279. Gold Coin of Ghiasuddin Balban (Thomas: Pathan Kings of Delhi).
- 280. Silver coin of Allauddin.
- 281. Gold Coin of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (Thomas: Pathan Kings of Delhi).
- 282. Brass Coin of Muhammad Tughlaq, forced Currency. (Thomas).

Note:

Dirham was also accepted in Sindh. Value depended on weight and purity of gold and silver. (Continued on page 153). riverain areas and also on the western branch of the Indus

Lahri Bunder, which stood first on Kalri branch and later on Baghar, had retained the same name from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries though its various sites were miles apart and on different estuaries.

The Gulf of Sindh had dried up probably before 1200 AD and subsequently called Rann of Kutch, cut off Sindh from Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat politically, socially and economically and trade with them dwindled.

Printed textiles with various designs were exported from Sindh to east African coastal countries from 1200 to 1500 AD. Fragments of them have been recovered by archaeologists and are shown to be from Gujarat, although they depict current designs of Sindhi textiles.

Non-agricultural export items were finished ivory goods, fish and pearls.

TRADE OF SINDH (1025 AD)

The trade of Sindh with the outside world must have flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We know from Behaqi about Jats of Alore area launching 4,000-8,000 boats against Mahmud of Ghazni's 1,400 boats in 1027 AD. But as the latter were fitted with long iron projecting spears one on the prow and two on the sides, they were able to destroy all boats of the Jats. Debal was still the main seaport of Sindh. We get notes on it from Al-Idrisi (1150 AD). Sacking of this rich town by Shahabuddin Ghori is not supported by contemporary sources, but its finally looting and burning by Khawarizm Shah is mentioned in literature and is proved archaeologically.

Sindh's trade must have decayed after 1224 AD due to the loss of the port of Debal, which probably was never re-occupied after its burning and soon afterwards change of course of Indus, which caused the establishment of new port of Lahri Bunder in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. There is an inference from Al-Beruni that Lahri Bunder existed in early eleventh century. Marco Polo (1292 AD) did not touch Sindh coast. He saw piracy active along Gujarat coast, where the pirates used more than one hundred corsair

vessels for this activity. Sindh and Kutch could not have been immune from it. Sindh, Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat were small independent principalities at the time of Marco Polo's voyage and were continuously under pressure of invasion and as such could not have been in a position to control the pirates.

By the end of twelfth century AD, large ships requiring a crew of 150, 200 and 300 men were being manufactured in South Asia. They carried five to six thousand baskets or gunny bags of spices, i.e., approximately 2,000 tons load as reported by Marco Polo. The articles of trade were the same as described above.

TRADE OF SINDH (1025 - 1351 AD)

Taxes on non-Muslim traders during Arab governors and Habaris were double than those on Muslims, i.e., 5% against 2.5% and this may have prompted the Buddhists to convert. The amount of trade taxes under Soomras is not known.

Sindh's trade in the mediaeval period under Soomras with Arab world was limited to indigo, opium, sugar, rice, cotton, textiles, etc., and this did not get a setback until the establishment of Portuguese factory, with or without permission, at Lahri Bunder in the early sixteenth century. Exports were mainly to Iran and Arabia, where from they were re-exported to Europe and Africa. The Arabian Sea was called Persian sea or Bahr-i-Faras.

One valuable commodity taken as a tribute was indigo, which was reserved partly for Sultan's own use and the rest was sent as a gift to the Khalifa at Baghdad by Habaris as well, but early Soomras may have sent it to Fatmid Khalifas. The indigo and poppy for opium was most probably from the upper Sindh and Multan, where it was grown even in early parts of the last century. Madder was also produced and exported.

TRADING PORTS

Debal underwent decline around 874 AD due to rise of a number of independent states in central Asia, west Asia and northern Africa as very few silver or gold coins of dating afterwards are recovered from Banbhore and type of repairs carried out to its mosque

FISHING, FISHERMEN'S BOAT HOUSES AND FISH TRADE







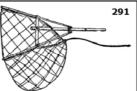






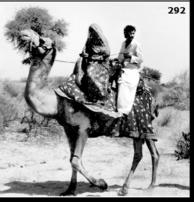






283. Fisherman using large clay pot with mouth at the top for floating while fishing and storing fish in it. The mouth of pot covered with belly.
284. Woman cleaning fish before shipping to markets, done now as centuries back.
285, 286, 287 & 289. Boat houses.
288. Small boat for small scale fishing in shallow waters.
290. Palla fishing on the Indus in 1876, as was during Soomra rule. He used large earthen pot called Mutt in Sindhi with a mouth on which he keeps his stomach, while floating or swimming in the Indus. His net called Samboohi has some 4.5 to 5 m long pole, discussed in Sindh Gazetteer 1876. (Illustrated London News 19th February 1876).

291. Samboohi.
292. Camel was best of burden as well as riding animal. Riding camel was light weight but swift runner.



have degenerated, compared to the original. No attempt was made by Ghaznavids or Delhi Sultans to control Debal until probably under Allauddin after 1297 AD, showing that its trade had suffered. There could be some revival of Debal during Fatmid Khilafat to channel Sindh's exports through Egypt to Europe, but for a short period.

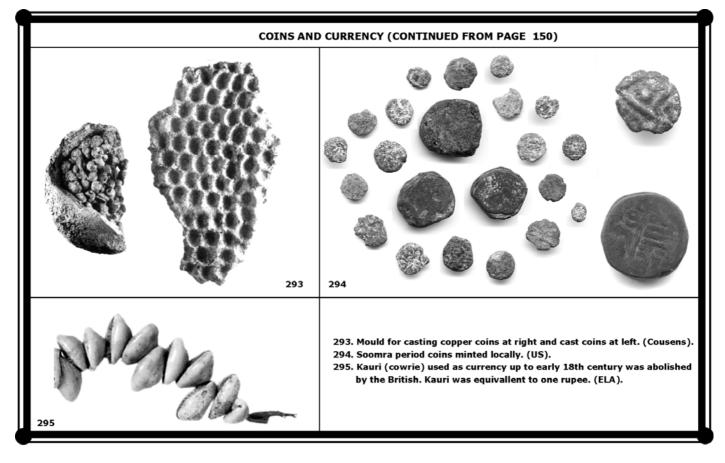
Important event of the period was burning of Debal, the ancient Barbarican or Banbhore, by Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah in 1224 AD. It possibly was Alexander's Haven as his historians called it. For about 1600 years this settlement on Gharo creek and Kalri branch of the River Indus served as Sindh's leading port. Later, the Kalri branch of the river too changed its course. A new port was established on Baghar branch of the River Indus and named as Lahri Bunder. The Baghar branch was unstable and changed courses. Lahri Bunder located on it also changed its sites many times. A number of sites claimed as those of this port are indeed all Lahri Bunders, flourishing between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. One such site occupying an extensive area had a Portuguese fort and church now in ruins.

IMPORTS OF DEBAL

Sindh imported silk, silk cloth, perfumes, aromatics, dates, wines, slaves, glass, crystalware and elephant tusks.

TRADE OF SINDH WITH AFRICAN COUNRIES

Trade with the eastern African countries in textiles and other goods became most prosperous business in exchange for slaves, gold and ivory. African elephant's tusks are soft, easily carved as compared to Indian elephant's tusks. The items of export from south African ports were: gold, ivory, mangrove plies, iron ore, copper, elephant tusks, tortoise shells, slaves; and their imports were cloth, cowries (sea shells), glass-beads, porcelain vessels, glassware and swords. Zimbabwe's main production was gold. Arabs settled there from Somalia carried out most of the trade. Exports from Sindh were dyed and printed cotton fabrics. The sources of dye were indigo, madder (grown in Sindh and the Punjab) and other plants.



ORNAMENTS THROUGH THE CENTURIES TO SOOMRA TIMES

Both men and women adorned them-selves with ornaments long before Mesolithic and Neolithic revolutions. The materials used were; carnelian, onyx, agate, lapis lazuli, faience, steatite, natural glass substances, mineral crystals, antlers, bones of animals and fish, ivory, shell, stone, terracotta, copper, brass, bronze, iron, silver and gold. Silver and gold ornaments were like saving in bank and others were for decoration. Colour of ornaments depended on raw material. Local clay in Indus plains gives reddish colour, but clay from piedmont soils of the western hills of Sindh gives yellowish or greenish colour. Faience can be deep blue, blue, green, white and yellow. Bangles and necklaces go back to Mehrgarh times. These are plentiful at Mohenjo Daro. Terracotta bangles have not been collected from surface of Soomra sites as broken pieces are not collected by villagers or bought by museums. Stoneware can be white, creamy, yellow, reddish and grey. Molten silicon can be white. Shells are white, ivory is creamy white, fish bones are white, steatile is white and agate is greenish to white. Shell ornaments with intricate designs are found from Mohenjo Daro. A few shell ornaments from surface collection of Soomra sites show its use and reasonable quality. Fired steatite becomes red with white lines. Carnelian is reddish. Lapis Lazuli is deep blue and amazonite/fuchsite/quartzite are blue green. The materials for ornaments making in 10th to 14th centuries were the same as during Mohenjo Daro times. It is known that South Asians convert their savings is silver and gold, which are being imported since proto-historical times. Port of Sindh was Debal or Barbarican through which Romans and Ptolemys of Egypt imported goods in exchange for gold and silver. Surface findings are usually broken pieces and people threw them away, thus only a few pieces have reached museums.



- 296. Men also wore ornaments and their designs repeat in tiles, stone work, grave architecture, embroidery and possibly in metallic utensils and decorative furniture. Here Akbar the Great is shown wearing ornaments like males of South Asia and similar designs as on ornaments, are found on Soomra tiles. The designs can be compared with those on P. 200 and 202.
- 297. Venus of Indus valley civilization. Highly ornamented with well cut waist, chest and hip line and ornamented at these points, neck, shoulders, ears and head with a kind of hat and six necklaces.



CHAPTER 20

SOCIAL LIFE DURING SOOMRA PERIOD

MARRIAGE AND LOVE LIFE

OOMRA, Samma and mediaeval periods of history (1011-1525 AD) are considered as periods of chivalry and love with Romeo-like princes and kings ever on their knees for a smile from the perfect beauty ever created on the earth. They had fallen in love even without seeing her. It would shock many Sindhi romantics, story-writers and poets of today that in Samma-Soomra period this gentle class had no choice of selection of partners and marriage had even no remote connection with love. Often the bride and bridegrooms were pledged for life within years of their birth and as adults, some of the girls were also sold by the parents to the highest bidder. Occasionally, the less affording party thought to give away the girl to rich to secure support of a powerful party. It invariably helped the party socially and sometimes economically. Thari Hindus gave their girls to powerful Muslim landed aristocracy so that they could get shelter when there is a famine in Thar, occurring with frequency of two in every ten years. If the girl resisted to the proposal, she was crushed with utmost physical brutality by the parents. In most cases the girl was never consulted and her consent was taken for granted. Love might indeed chance to grow out of marriage and at times it did, but if it did not, the wife tried to assert her right by her sometimes with a success. "Mastership" of the house was vested in the husband and when he asserted it with a slap and stick, he was never blamed for harshness by the public opinion or parents of the girl. Women also laboured under the burden of constantly bearing children. Most of them died young and had to be replaced and if necessary even by a second wife in case of the Muslims. Such marriage, though not ideal, had served the society of Sindh since Neolithic era. Situation in the whole world

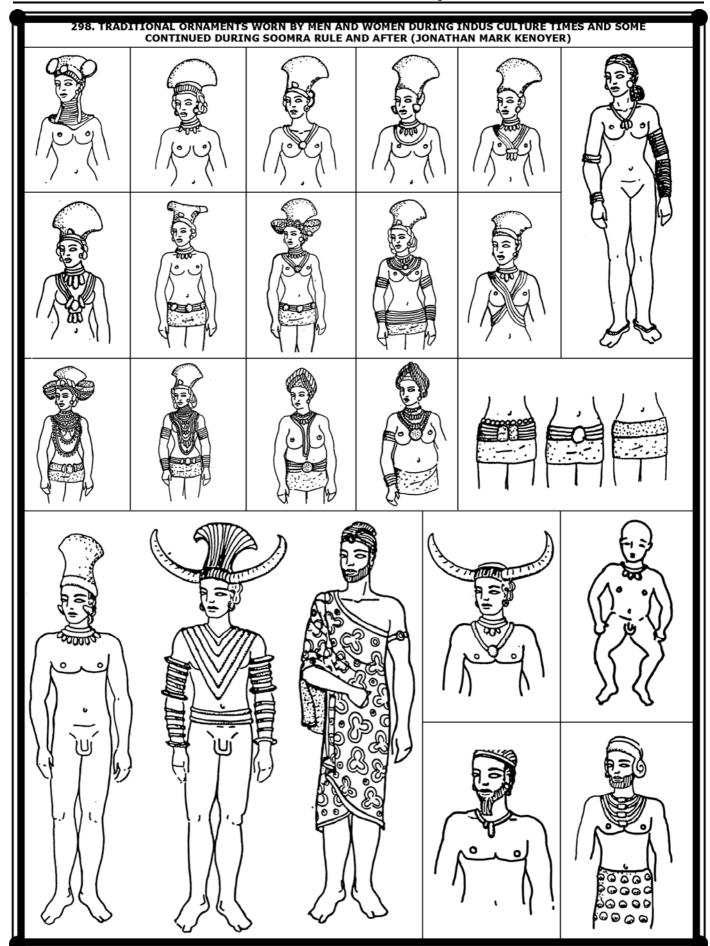
was just the same and the worst in the irrigated agricultural areas of arid river valleys, where even hard labour could not provide more than 1600 kilocalories per adult. Both men and women had to browse wild fruit, vegetables and roots, and hunt and fish for extra food to meet the required daily calorie intake. Under such conditions of shortage of labour woman's position was even not as good as a slave, who morally was to be fed and clothed like free persons.

Thus there was no difference in love and marriage patterns between that era and the 1930s. The glorification of chaste women, their love and loyalty expressed in poetic works was to keep society going smoothly. The present university education, urbanisation, radio, television, internet and news media have started breaking the stagnancy. There was no Marui. The capital of Umar-I was Tharri and capital of Umar-II was Thatta. There was no Umarkot. This town was called Amarkot after Rajput chief Amar.

Thus stories of Umar-Marui, Sasi-Punnu, Mumal-Mendhro, Leela-Chanesar, Umar-Ganga and even Noori-Jam Tamachi of Samma period are fictions dating back to pre-Soomra times and incorporated in the poetry of various reformers to train women of the role they were to play in a tyrant married life.

This folklore, however, makes one thing clear that during the period caste was no barrier to the selection of partners or even in fictional literature. Jam Nizamuddin's queen, the mother of his successor Jam Feroz, was a fisherwoman considered as menial profession and lowest caste in Sindh's hierarchy and even fictional love of Jam Tamachi for Noori, a fisherwoman, has been idealised. This may be due to the Buddhist and Ismaili teachings, which had abolished all barriers in the caste system of Sindh.

However, people believed these fictions to be true and invented grave of Noori and Jam Tamachi and in 1959 AD, the same grave was restored in the midst of



Kinjhar Lake by irrigation department as was being done to ancient Egyptian sites being submerged in Aswan dam in Egypt.

Marriages were arranged by parents, who after mutual understanding, exchanged gifts. Marriage ceremony was celebrated with beating of drums and playing other musical instruments. Money was distributed in charity on the occasion. Polygamy was practised.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Position of women in household and society is discussed above under "marriage and love life". There were other customs, which degraded the position of women. The following are some more points to elaborate the women's position in society:

- * Soomras did not allow a woman to share the bed of her husband after a child was born, considering her to have become impure, just as they wore clothes only once and not after washing.
- * They never married from their tribe like Hindus of Sindh, who picked up brides from families unknown and unrelated to them.
- * They were polygamous, an advantage to men Ismailism gave.
- * They drove out women from the house during menstruation, a custom in vogue in south India in the early nineteenth century and reported by Abbe Debois in 1818 AD in his book "Hindu customs, manners and social laws".
- * Women performed "Sati" and burnt themselves on the pyre of their husbands or killed themselves rather than falling in the hands of enemy in case of defeat in a war, a popular custom among Hindu Rajputs.
- * However, a good point in Soomra ruling society was to allow women to act as regents during childhood of heir to the throne, as was common among Hindu dynasties or Rajputs, but a custom alien to Islamic dynasties as a rule, with a few exceptions.
- * They also allowed the queens and women of royal families to come in Darbar regularly, participate in deliberations concerning statecraft and administration and give advice, a custom

- alien to Islamic dynasties. Their opinion usually counted in decision-making.
- * They did not intermarry among non-Soomras as Ibn Battutta reports.

WOMEN RULERS OF SOOMRA KINGDOM

Hamoon became queen on the death of her husband Sanghar and appointed her brothers as governors, as Sanghar had no issue.

Dodo was succeeded by his daughter Tari, who extended the kingdom and ruled with masculine energy and wisdom. She ruled for more than a decade on behalf of her minor brother Sanghar and handed over the kingdom peacefully. Her contemporary, Sultana of Delhi was removed from throne and finally killed.

CONJUGAL RELATIONS

Al-Beruni states: An adulteress was driven out or banished, if it was with consent of both partners both were executed, if a man was guilty of rape he was executed, but fornication among unmarried was tolerated. Custom of Karo-Kari belongs to Balochi tribes and was introduced by them in the eighteenth century.

Devdasis were presented to temples by parents. Somnath had three-hundred-and-fifty Devdasis or dancing girls in its famous temple.

Like ancient Egyptians chopping of the nose of an adulteress was allowed. This sentence amounted to loss of the chief and conspicuous feature of the face, an indispensable ornament of human beauty and the greatest detriment of personal charms, which deterred adultery.

POLYGAMY

Polygamy was allowed to Khatri (warrior race) chiefs, kings and ruling aristocracy, but common man was monogamous.

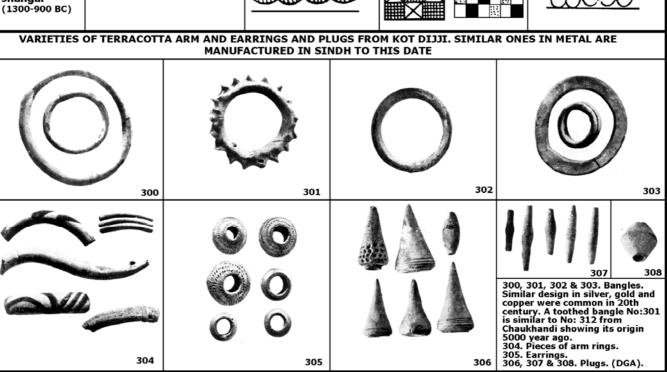
SECLUSION OR PURDAH

There could be no seclusion (Purdah) of women in a culture whose economy is pre-dominantly agricultural. The agriculture in Sindh has always been

299. INDUS CIVILISATION PATTERNS ON TILES, ORNAMENTS, CLOTHES AND INTERIOR DECORATION STILL USED DURING SOOMRA ERA

Indus valley civilisation designs have persisted to this day. The motifs are categorised as, Solar or sun, beads, squares and crosses, carbels and fish scales. In the Indus civilisation they are shown mostly as paintings on pottery but during Soomra period they were applied to bricks, tiles, graves, decorative material and were even stamped on pottery. They repeat frequently in ornaments. Below are some basic designs, in common use even to this day.

below are some basic designs, in common assessment and day.						
Archaeological period	Sun	Beads	Squares and crosses	Fish Scales		
Amri (3700-3300 BC)						
Kot Dijji (3300-2500 BC)						
Mohenjo Daro (2350-1650 BC)						
Jhangar (1300-900 BC)	OF TERRACOTTA ARM AND E			TTTTT		
VARIETIES OF TERRACOTTA ARM AND EARRINGS AND PLUGS FROM KOT DIJJI. SIMILAR ONES IN METAL ARE						



combined with raising animals for milk, meat and draft. In arid environment, animals have to be stall-fed during most part of the year and they are taken out for grazing when natural or cultivated or post-harvest residual grasses are available in the fields. This needs extra manpower and women and children have to help in all indoor and outdoor jobs. Women of farming community therefore could not be kept in seclusion at any cost, as this was neither economically feasible nor was extra male manpower available. Irrigated agriculture could not produce enough surpluses to keep fifty per cent human power at home. Farmers lived from hand-to-mouth and women had to work side by side with men.

PERFORMANCE OF SATI

Friar Jordanus (1323-1330 AD) mentions the existence of Sati among Hindus in Sindh. He saw Sati performance in Malwa in 1342 AD. He mentions that though this custom was not obligatory, it was highly esteemed and permission had to be taken from Sultan to burn a widow. A widowed woman could choose to remain a widow and chaste or commit Sati with preference for the last. Wives of kings were burnt whether they liked it or not, as reported by Al-Beruni. Custom of Sati existed among early Soomras.

WOMEN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS

They were governed under the Smriti's Law and had some property rights. In general, woman's right to the property of her husband was equal to that of her sons or at least a half share in case of Brahmans. The wife's share was three-quarters, half and one-fourth in cases of Khatris, Vaishas and Sudras, respectively. The widow's right to property provided that she had to remain chaste. Since Soomras retained most of Hindu customs at least during their first two hundred years rule while Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism survived side by side, it is fair to assume that these rules were followed except the Muslims, who allowed one-eighth of property to wives, irrespective of number of sons and daughters. In case of polygamous men, all wives combined got one-eighth share. Soomras were exogamous and the marriage within the clan was

considered as incestuous and this way they looked to other classes for wives. Usages of isogamy and hypergamy are also found. Men of a higher sept could take wives from a lower one, but corresponding privilege was denied to the women. This resulted into surplus women in higher septs and lack of husbands for them, therefore high prices were paid to get a bridegroom. It is a custom unknown among Sindhi Muslims and Hindus, but common among Muslims too in areas with Hindu majority.

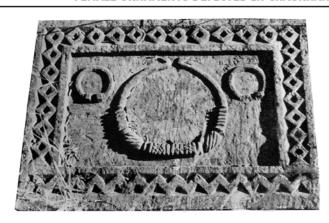
DRESS AND FASHION

Information on dress and fashion in the last half of tenth century comes from Arab sources, and it is fair to assume that at the beginning of eleventh century fashions and dresses must be the same.

Ibn Haukal (976 AD) mentions that kings of Sindh (Habaris) wore Qaratif (tunics) or gown-like garment and grew long hair like Indian kings. The elite wore skirts with long sleeves and cloaks and used long pieces of cloth as turban. Kings wore gold earrings studded with precious stones, fine necklaces, rubies and emeralds. Even common men and women wore earrings and gold bangles on their wrists. The kings wore crown of gold and robes woven in gold. Men wore articles of females' dress like arm rings, finger rings and anklets even in the first quarter of eleventh century as observed by Al-Beruni. Dyeing hair by men and women up to roots of hair was common. Henna (Lawsonia) was the most common plant material. Mixed with cutch it gives yellow colour and with indigo, blue-black colour. Henna used with mordents like alum, chrome, copper and iron produced many colours and had been used for dyeing textiles in Europe until middle of the last century. Henna, originating from Orissa (India), was exported to Egypt, where it was applied to feet, hands and nails of Pharaohs and other mummies producing red, orange and yellow colours. Egyptians used it to colour men's beards and moustaches and Jews copied it. Around 3200 BC it was mixed with indigo to turn grey hair black.

The dress of Soomra kings must have been the same for the first two hundred twenty-five years of their rule, but may have changed when they accepted the vassalage of Altatmash in 1228 AD, although there

FEMALE ORNAMENTS DEPICTED IN CHAUKHANDI TYPE GRAVE ART (14th - 18th CENTURIES)





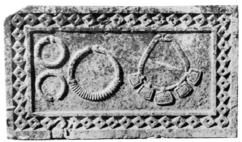
309



312

310





314

315

309. Hasli and bangles on Chaukhandi graves are almost identical to 21st century Hasli and bangles as in figure 310 and 315.

310. Hasli.

- 311. An ornament on Chaukhandi grave at left is similar to Sindhi golden Duhri of 21st century and those at right namely; necklace, earrings, Chandanhar, Pazeb or Payal or silver leg bangles rings of 21st century rural Sindh, etc., and also Kathmal of modern Sindh.
- 312. Shows two bangles similar to 20th century silver bangles.
- 313. Sindhi girl with silver Hasli, beautifully embroideried shirt with glass work and silver earrings playing with goat.
- 314. It shows Sindhi silver Taith, Hasli and bangles.
- 315. Silver bangles similar to those in figure 309 and 314.
- 316 & 317. Sun-wheel ornaments from Chaukhandi grave. Solar wheel with lilly petals was common in Soomra ornaments and tile work. Such bangles with teeth or cut out perephery have been found at Kot Dijji. See fig. no. 301. See figures 476, 490 & 493.





is an evidence that the Hindu vassals continued wearing their dresses during the rule of Delhi Sultanate.

The other people except elite must not have changed methods of dressing until the end of Soomra rule

Cotton was common thread for weaving clothes, but the rich also wore silken clothes. Two pieces of cloth belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries found in Gujarat have colours and designs similar to Sindhi Ajrak and Loongi. The first one is cotton and printed with indigo while the other one is silken. Silk threads were dyed first in different colours and later on woven. The dyes used appear to be indigo (indigofera), madder (rubia tinctoria or rubia cardifolia), cutch (acacia species), onion (allium species), buckthorn (rhamnus species), sanders wood, turmeric and many other natural colours from plants of the South Asia. Since these colours would either fade or be washed off, mordents were used to fix them by reaction with protein and fats in fibres. Common mordents were: alum, copper-sulphate, vinegar, acetic acid, tin chloride, iron-sulphate and probably potassium dichrome.

FOOD AND DRINK

STAPLE FOOD

The staple food was rice in the Indus' alluvial plains and sorghum and millet in the Thar and Kohistan. Sorghum (Jawar) was hardy enough to accommodate itself to stringent climatic conditions and its stalks provided good fodder for cattle. Millet (Bajhri) could be grown on inferior soils, but had a disadvantage of being inferior to sorghum as foodgrain and fodder. Its yield of both grain and fodder was lower than sorghum, though it had shorter crop cycles and could grow where water was available for a very short time. Such as the upper Sindh, which had the winter form 15th October to 15th March. Canal water availability in that area was for four to five months as compared to lower Sindh, where canal water was available for two to three months and only poor quality rice, sorghum and millets could be raised against better quality rice in the upper Sindh. The lower Sindh had

vast pasture lands on which domestic animals flourished. Milk and butter was plentiful in lower Sindh.

LIQUOR AND WINE

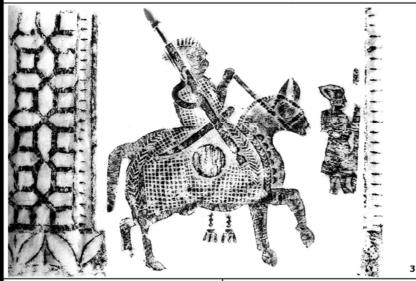
Wine was manufactured from grapes, molasses (Gur) and honey, but there was a restriction on its use for different castes and was totally forbidden to women. Islam strictly forbade drinking of wine. It appears that the use of liquors may have been limited during the Soomra period, mainly due to its high cost rather than as a religious taboo. Ismailis were more tolerant and the Soomras who could afford it were fond of wine and drank it. However, the use of locally-grown hemp (cannabis) for drinking and marijuana for smoking may have been common, as was reported among populace of the eighteenth century. Both these intoxicants are comparatively cheap.

SOME STRANGE CUSTOMS AMONG SOOMRA TRIBE

The following were unusual customs or beliefs of era:

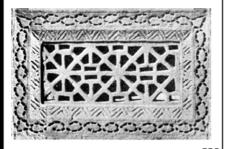
- Soomras did not take food in presence of strangers, a custom found common among Hindus of Sindh even in the twentieth century.
- Soomras were fond of buffalo meat unlike Hindus, who did not partake it.
- They burnt their dead and also buried them.
- To prove innocence they practised the ordeal of walking through fire or water, in which a person had to dive deep into water and stay in for a fixed time.
- They believed in magic, Jins, snake charmers Jogis, witches and Bhopas, deciphering languages of birds and many other superstitions.
- There was a belief that Sindhis of lower Sindh were Jigar Khors (liver eaters) and by mesmerism would remove liver of a man and make him sick. Such beliefs were reported by Abdul Karim Shahaistani (d. 1153 AD) who himself had belief in. Sidi Ali Rais was told of the same powers of Jigar Khors in 1554 AD.

MALE AND FEMALE ORNAMENTS AND OTHER WARE OF SOOMRA ERA



323





322











- 318. Rubbing of a soldier from Chaukhandi grave. His dress matches upholdstry on horse. A well dressed attendent with lance stands before him. He carries sword shield and lance. Geometrical pattern 419 and flower at bottom left end is similar to the Indus culture pattern painted on pottery.
- 319. Foot soldier with shield, sword and fine dress.
- 320. Decoration from Chaukhandi tomb. The pattern continued even up to 18th century on Yar Muhammad Kalhora's grave. (d.1718) See also figures 415,416,417, 418,419 & 420.
- 321. Decoration of a Chaukhandi grave depicting ornaments having similar design as on Soomra tiles. See figures 473,478 & 503.
- 322. Dancing girl of Mohenjo Daro.
- 323. Sindhi woman wearing bangles on the whole arm, a tradition since Mohenjo Daro times dipicted by dancing girl wearing bangles on fore and rear left arm from hand to shoulder. Right hand which is employed for domestic work has a few bangles near palm and above elbow.

 These show that their religious beliefs were a mixture of Hinduism, Paganism and Ismailism, a trait which only Ismailism of that era could accommodate, as that was essentially a political movement against Sunni Abbasids of Baghdad.

SOCIAL STATUS OF SOCIETY AS INHERITED BY SOOMRAS

During the Arab rule of Sindh, Muslims were divided in two groups of Arabs and non-Arabs or locals. The Arabs called themselves as "Ashraf" and locals were called "Muwali" or clients. Ashrafs distinguished themselves as a superior race. They held fiefs or Jagirs. They could marry a girl from Muwalis or non-Muslims, but not vice-versa. Non-Muslims were placed in the third category as Zimmis and were obliged to pay "Jizyah" or poll tax. Zimmis were governed by their own laws.

The population was divided into four castes of Ashraf, Muwali, Zimmi and slave, almost similar to Hindus comprising of Brahman, Khatri, Vaisha and Sudra.

Religious tolerance in Soomra period had produced saints, reverend both by Muslims and Hindus. For example, Hindus called Lal Shahbaz Qalandar as Raja Bhartari, Khawaja Khizir as Chutto Amrani and Odero Lal as Pithoro saint.

They did have matrimonial relationships with rulers of Rajasthan, specially of Marwar and Jaisalmer.

CHILDREN'S TOYS

A great number and variety of fired clay toys found from various Soomra sites meant that they served a great educational purpose. Some toys were crude and imperfect, but others were figurines of human and animal bodies. Craftsmen who made these toys showed immense skill and attention to realistic details of toys representing agriculture tools, specially moving carts, household utensils, crockery, etc. Similar toys made by Bagris are still being made and sold to children of rural Sindh. Toys found at Mohenjo Daro are much superior and realistic, showing decay in art and economy of Soomra era.

CIRCUMCISION

Originally an Egyptian custom was copied by Jews, who made it a compulsory religious duty. Among Muslims it was not compulsory, however, recent studies have shown that in the South Asia uncircumcised males suffered from penile cancer more than circumcised and thus was an advantage practice. The early Egyptians of warm desert may have realised it as a sanitary precaution and for the same reason Jews may have given it a sacred status. Egyptians performed the operation before the age of fourteen years. Usually, this is considered the maximum age in Sindh also.

Among Sindhi Muslims it was made compulsory by Mullahs and Sufis. It is not known if the early Soomras (1011-1200 AD), who were Ismailis and had retained Buddhist and Hindu customs, ever practised it, but the later Soomras under the influence of Sufis may have adopted it.

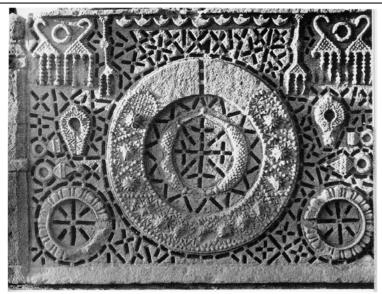
PERSONAL CLEANLINESS

Sindhis use fine but soft clay known as fuller's earth or bentonite in place of soap. It easily forms an emulsion in water and when applied to body it absorbs all kind of dirt and oils from the skin making it smooth. Emulsion is usually mixed with a small quantity of oil and applied before bathing. Fuller's earth also serves as soap for cleaning hands. It dates back to Indus culture times and is used in rural Sindh households even to this day. It must be in use during the Soomra time. It is essentially calcium carbonate and a source of calcium. Pregnant women eat it as a source of calcium in rural Sindh, but it is absorbed only in the presence of vitamin-D. Rural population takes lot of milk, which contains calcium and vitamin-D and the body absorbs bentonite.

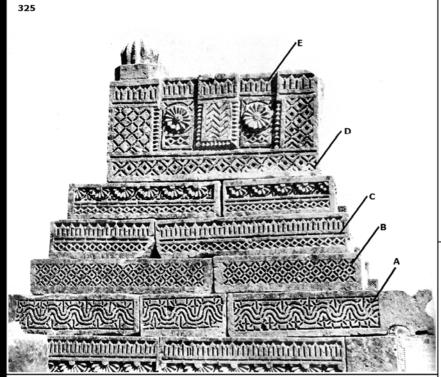
TOILETRIES

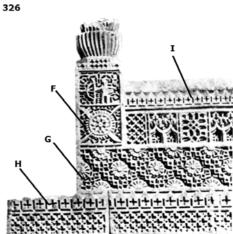
Adorning of eyes with kohl has been an important custom among the Sindhis. Kohl powder is made from antimony sulphide, black manganese oxide or lead sulphide. The powder is stored in brass receptacle with long narrow neck and is applied with a brass stalk, which is dipped in receptacle to pick some powder on

FEMALE ORNAMENTS DEPICTED IN GRAVE ART OF FOURTEENTH TO EIGHTEETH CENTURIES

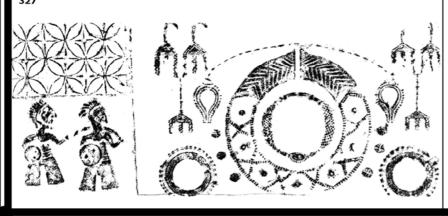








- 324. Fourteenth to eighteenth centuries Chaukhandi graves show types of ornaments some of which were common in silver ornaments in twentieth century as shown in drawing to the right.
- 325 & 326. Are highly decorative Chaukhandi tombs and designs on them at A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H and I repeat in ornaments in use even before tenth century and down to twentieth century. 324 is female and 325 and 326 are male tombs. Lily flower depitcs sun and chain around it is ornament.
- 327. Rubbings of ornaments on Chaukhandi grave. Geometrical pattern at top left is found from Amri to Jhukur and is repeated in print and Rallie (patch work) in twentyfirst century. Anklets are surrounded by rosettes.



its polished lower end. These have been unearthed from Soomra sites and some show highly decorative designs in cast brass. Perfumes may have been used with a great deal. These were made from natural essences, nuts and vegetable oils. There were also numerous ointments. Caster oil from plant growing wild in Sindh may have been used in ointments, plasters or creams as was common in every household in the first half of twentieth century.

Mirrors were used at least for the past 4,500 years and consisted highly polished copper with tin coated on it or of bronze coated with tin. Glass mirrors with mercury coating are a seventeenth-century invention.

Hair was held in position by hairpins and combs. The former were wooden or metal and latter wooden or ivory. The combs had a row of fine teeth on one side and coarse on the other side. Generally they were made of wood and of ivory for the rich. This pattern persisted since Mohenjo Daro to the first half of twentieth century, when plastic started replacing wood and ivory.

Fan was a necessity and luxury. Made of reeds, they had numerous designs woven with threads and also with fancy coloured handles. Sizes varied and there were large ones to be handled with both hands while standing. The Jhali, common in offices and Autaqs in the nineteenth and twentieth century was the invention of a British clerk of Kolkata (Calcutta) around 1784 AD.

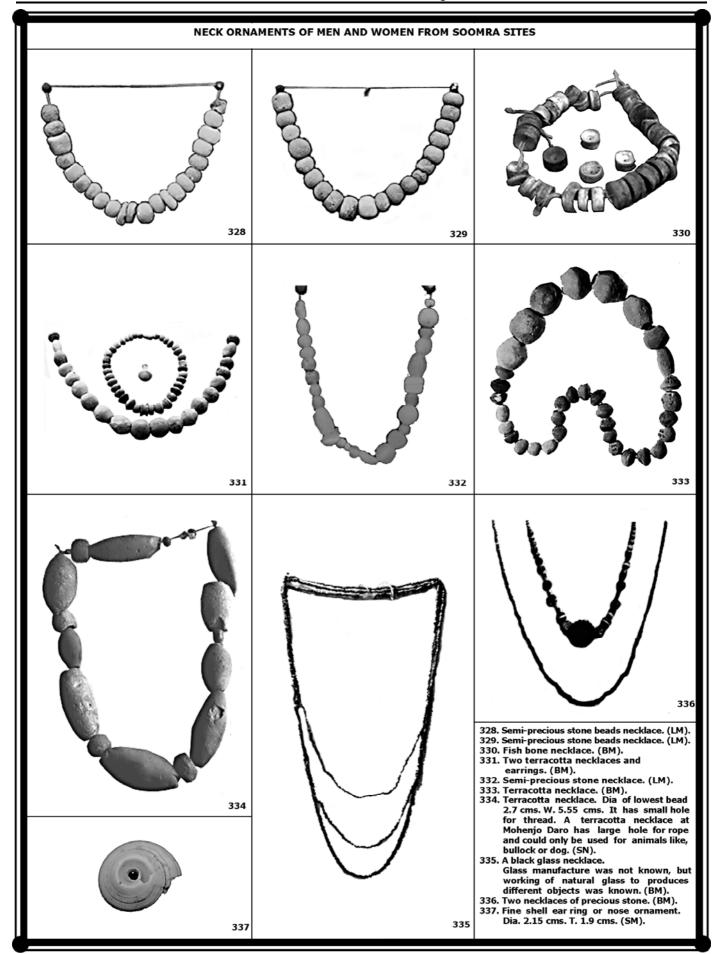
FURNITURE

Though no domestic furniture of Soomra period has survived, known trends of eighteenth to twentieth centuries of rural Sindh show that it included rectangular beds having four legs, usually three to four feet wide and two feet high and woven or strung with reed rope. This type is still in common use. The rope was made from Peesh and Munih grasses. The latter was smooth and fine but less durable. Some well-to-do people used thread made from goat and camel hair. This type was a fashion among the rich but was less durable. The legs of bed were simply square or cut to some pattern or even turned. Turnery was special job among some carpenters. The best furniture was turned and lacquered. For sitting around a fireplace they used small-legged stools of about eighteen to twenty inches square and about eight to ten inches high. Sometimes it had back similar to that of a chair but of much longer height. The seat was woven with the same materials as of bed.

Sindh had typical swinging bed called Peengho or cradle hung from a beam six to seven feet long. This beam was supported on the ground by four legs two on each side and inclined to keep swinging cradle or bucket bed within its centre of gravity. The bucket was about five to six feet long supported by legs, which were further strengthened by at least two horizontal supports on all sides. For small children a similar swinging bed was made and suspended from some beam in the ceiling of house by ropes. This is common to every household in Sindh since antiquity. Ivory furniture pieces similar to bucket cradle today were found by Belasis from Brahmanabad in 1854 AD and are illustrated.

For the purpose of writing, a bed-like table with solid wooden plank tops but of the same dimensions as bed and called "Sandal" was common since pre-British era. It could be used as bed but was mostly used as writing desk. It had another accessory an inclined box or desk with drawers and locks for keeping books, papers, pens and inkpots. It was as wide as the sandal and some times smaller. The scribe sat on sandal with legs crossed and used inclined surface of desk for keeping papers while reading and writing. It was a common piece of furniture among merchants, village chiefs or their Munshis. Some religious men involved in writing also used it. This was also a common piece of furniture among Pharaonic Egyptians, probably contemporary of Indus culture and is still common among shopkeepers in big and small towns of Pakistan.

Another piece of furniture was wooden chest or Sandooq, common during pre-British era. Essentially, it was a strong wooden box usually six to eight feet long, three to four feet wide and two-and-a-half to three feet high with a small shutter about eighteen to twenty inches square on the top. On the inside it had drawers, which opened inside and space for storing costly articles and ornaments. It was usually made by carpenters outside the house, but was assembled in a small room so that thieves were unable to take it outside. These chests were also decorated with engraved designs and metallic plates were nailed to them. Similar chests have been found in ancient Egypt too and must have been introduced in Sindh thousands



of years ago. These are being abandoned now and costly precious metal articles and cash, find their way into banks and lockers.

KIDNAPPING FOR RANSOM

It was common in the tenth century in Gujarat reported by Buzrig bin Shahryar, as was in the last two decades of the twentieth century in Sindh. They kidnapped mostly rich businessmen.

KITCHEN EQUIPMENT

They were not highly advanced. The cooking vessels for boiling and cooking food were made of earthenware with hemispherical bottom as this shape easily sits on three clay supports put just outside the fire pit and also exposes maximum surface of pot to flames. Firewood was the fuel used in rural areas but in urban areas charcoal may have been used for keeping clean environment. In case of shortage of firewood, dried animal dung was also used in villages. Since there were no match boxes and match sticks, fire was allowed to kindle in the house round the clock and as dung burns slowly it was invariably used for the purpose.

CROCKERY

Two types of crockery were in common use: one for ordinary purpose and other either for decoration or for special occasions. The first one was kiln fired clay pottery and the other of stone cut into the shape. Copper or bronze pottery was in use too. Cutlery made of copper, brass and iron too was used. Clay pottery was of two types: glazed and unglazed. Both had designs. The Soomra period pottery also shows inscriptions on pots, which may have been made for shopkeepers to display certain articles, the names of which appeared on the vessel. Glazed pottery was imported as well as locally made.

SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

The orthodox has frowned up entertainments of all types and wants people to lead serious and hard

working lives. The general public needs some entertainment as break away from hard toil, which keeps them over-occupied all the time. Thus sports and entertainments have always important position in the society and in spite of orthodoxy the two invariably have survived side by side. To make them acceptable to orthodox these were organised annually at Dargahs of some saints to celebrate their death anniversaries. The orthodox collected there for prayers and common man for entertainments and shopping.

In contemporary South Asia popular and royal amusements dancing. were: music. dramatic performance, poetry and debates, gambling, wrestling, military exercises, elephant sports, South Asian polo, combats and duels, wrestling contests and fights of birds and beasts such as cocks, quails, rams, buffaloes and pigeons. The pigeons of best breed came from Sindh (History and culture of Indian people Vol: V) and were kept in pairs in gold, silver and wooden cages. Hunting, hawking and angling were also common sports. It would be fair to assume that Sindh had similar sports.

POPULAR AND ROYAL AMUSEMENTS

The games would be the same as were all over the whole South Asia and consisted of balls for children and swings for married young women. Dancing, music and drama were popular. Musical instruments of various kinds were popular, i.e., wind instruments, string instruments, tube drums and musical horns. Gambling was well known and popular among all classes of people. Wrestling was a favourable amusement. Military and literary exercises were common in courts and in noblemen's gatherings. Fights of birds, beasts and pigeons were common. Pigeons of best breed came from Sindh. This would include cock fighting, even now a popular entertainment in today's Sindh. Hunting and angling was also popular.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

People's belief in superstitions has changed little in the past three thousand years. For example: auspicious and inauspicious time and favourable and unfavourable omens were indicated by the behaviour

ORNAMENTS 338 339 341 340 342 345 338. Assorted ornamental pieces of glass, semi-precious stones, shells, etc. (SM). 339. Assorted pieces of semi-precious stone and glass. (US). 340. Nacklace. (BM). 341. Semi-precious stone. (SM). 342. (Above) Modern silver ear and nose ornaments similar to design on Fig. no. 503. (Below) Earrings with beads. Similar bead designs occur on tiles. 343. Assorted beads of various materials assembled. (US). 344. Silver broche from Brahmanabad-Mansura. 345. Semi-precious stones, beads and pendants from Brahmanabad-Mansura.

of dogs, cats, lizards, crows, some birds, etc. Use of astrology for day-to-day life since child's birth and diviners skilled in sorcery and magic were also common.

SLAVERY

It was very common in the whole South Asia. According to Ibn Battutta acquisition of slave girls in lots and their distribution as gifts throws lucid light on moral values of the time. In Delhi Sultanate the conquered people's women, even princesses, were enslaved who were made to entertain court and nobility with dance and music. If Hindus conquered a Muslim territory, Muslim women, including those of Sayed families, were enslaved by Rajputs. They were taught the art of dancing.

There were four classes of slaves: born in household, purchased, acquired and inherited, but one could sell oneself into slavery too. This was a rule of Smriti authorities of the period. Marco Polo saw many wives, concubines and slaves of South Indian kings.

Among the imports of Sindh slaves formed an important item. Slaves were sold at rates given in table.

Outside Delhi rates were lower. Outside South Asia in Arab countries Indian girls were sold even at 20,000 Tankas, but these costly slaves, if Muslims could read Quran, write, sing, dance, had manners and usually could capture the heart of their master. Indian girls were considered superior to Turk and Byzantine (European and other origin) in the Arab world.

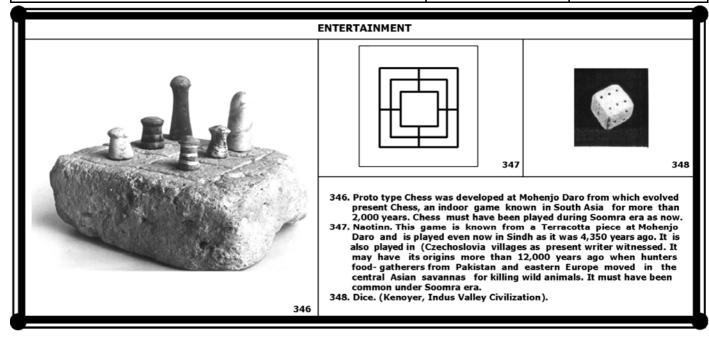
Indian women were very much liked by the Arabs on account of their charm and beauty. Women of Sindh were very much in demand outside India, as reported by Jabiz, Suleman Tajir and Masudi in the tenth century.

MUSIC

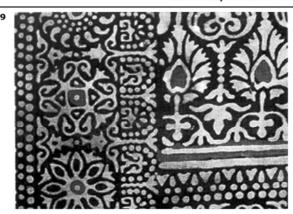
Musicians were experts in their art. Their music sometimes caused listeners to weep and sometimes to laugh. Besides slave women there were women entertainers and there was no prejudice to these occupations.

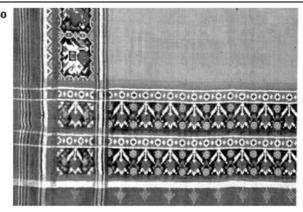
PRICES OF SLAVES IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Period	Category of Slave	Price in Tankas (Taka of Sindhis)
Allauddin's rule 1295-1315 AD.	Serving girl (demostic servant) Concubine Male slave	5-12 20-40 100-200
Muhammad binTughlaq's rule (1325-1351AD)	Serving girl Concubine Boys of adolescent age	8 15 4



CLOTHES, MAKE-UP TOOLS AND COLOURED ORNAMENTS



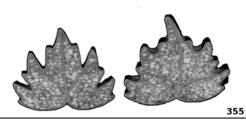












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- 349. Ajrak like print of twelfth century reported from Gujarat. Communication between Sindh and Gujarat before drying up of Rann of Kutch had made possible similar types of designs on textiles in Sindh and Gujarat. (Smithsonian).
- 350. Loongi type piece or male head-wear from Gujarat. (Smithsonian).
- 351. Brass Kajal or kohl holder. It appears to be extremely well fabricated job. Both men and women used Kajal and was considered good for eye health. Max. H.7.4cms.W.of octagon 5 cms. Dia at base 4.12 cms. (SM).
- 352. Pieces of bangles. Surface collection from Shah Kapoor. (US).
- 353. Heavy duty Kajal holder of brass. Four pieces brazed together. Good design. H. 7.5 cms. Octagonal, width 3 cms. (SM).
- 354. Glass and stone beads threaded together. Surface collection from Shah Kapoor. (US).
- 355. Leaf shaped ornaments of brass with precious stone work, probably lapis lazuli, used as hair holder or hairpin (Choti Phul) and held in position by hooks or straps. Max.W.4.7 cms. Max. H. 5.0 cms.T. 0.3cms. Two hooks 1.5 and 3.5 cms. wide. (SM).
- 356. Kajal holder of brass. (US).

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357. Brass Kajal holder from Mohenjo Daro, has similarties with that of Soomra period, but the design of the latter is better than that of former. They also used terracotta Kajal holders at Mohenjo Daro.

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CHAPTER 21

EDUCATION UNDER SOOMRAS

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM BEFORE TENTH CENTURY

HE education before the tenth century AD in South Asia was according to Smriti Law, which was based on commentaries and interpretations of various works of political theory and administrative organisations of Manu, Narada and many other Sanskrit texts on the social and political theory, administrative organisations and day-to-day affairs. According to these commentaries, mass education in a broader sense of term consisted of recitation of Epics, Puranas and similar teachings for the Hindu and Buddhist followers. The education in these Sanskrit texts was accessible even to the lowest castes, which the pupils were to recite in Sanskrit without understanding it. It was the primary education.

The higher education was meant for upper three classes Brahmans, Khatris, Vaishas, and Sudras during the varied stages of study. Among the duties of students they begged every morning and evening for food. The exception was when he was sick. Non-performance of begging entailed penalty. He was to avoid partaking honey and meat and using unguents for body and colloquium for eyes except under medical advice. The student was to refrain from reviling his teacher or even mentioning his name. He was to avoid conveyances, shoes and umbrellas, singing and dancing, harsh and coarse speech, etc. He was not allowed to touch or even look at women.

In some circumstances teacher could receive money from pupil, as learning from a paid teacher and teaching for fee was not a virtue but a lesser sin. The fee paid without prior agreement was acceptable while teaching by stipulation for payment of fee was forbidden. To correct an inattentive student the teacher may reprimand him or failing it he could resort to beating which may be done by a rope or split bamboo and not with hand and not applied to head, but lower part of the body. The pupil must study under a Brahman and only when Brahman was not available learning from Khatri and Vaisha was permitted.

The Smriti Laws contemplated students of upper classes to receive education from the Brahman teachers. There were special grants of lands by kings and other donors to Brahmans, who taught at their residences. There grew numerous educational establishments on grants of different types and donations by the rich. The beneficiaries were Brahman teachers. This type of education was prevalent in Sindh up to 1000 AD.

The business class, after primary education taught their children on the job in their shops for a few years to become well-versed with business records, i.e., day's journals, ledgers, receipts and issue books, hundies, etc. By the time they attained the age of thirteen, they were allowed to leave their house with small pocket allowance for earning their living by trade. According to Marco Polo, these urchins ran about all day from pillar to post buying and selling various goods and by the time they become eighteen they returned home to join the parents or start a new venture.

The princes were given education in special schools on Vedas as well as military science, i.e., mounting horses and elephants, managing chariots, use of weapons, etc. In addition, they received training in fine arts, literature, logic, Dharma, Sastra, belles, letters, grammar, etc.

EDUCATION UNDER ISMAILIS

In the latter part of tenth and eleventh centuries when under the influence or Ismaili preachers, many Hindus and Buddhists became Muslim, the same system of education was carried over except that in

TOYS AS CHILDREN'S EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

Children's toys serve educational purpose and make them ready for what they are expected to do when grown up. Toys of wood cannot survive long when buried. Only terracotta toys survive. Most of these depict animals like horse, camel, calf, ram, goat, elephant, cow or bull, dog, pig, etc. Some toys represent boats and other household devices like flour grinding mills. Some have shape like glass spheres. They are similar to some of Mohenjo Daro toys, but are inferior in shape, design, workmanship and finish. (SM,LM,SN,BM).



358. Dog excavated by Balasis from Brahmanabad.



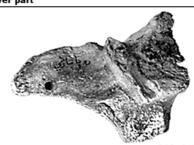
359. Animal.



360. Grinding wheel. Left upper part, right lower part



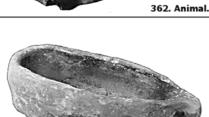




363. Animal.



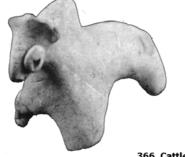
361. Horse with wheels.



364. Boat.



365. Animal.



366. Cattle.



367. Animal.



368. Animal.



369. Animal.



370. Baby elephant riding another elephant.



371. Dog.



372. Horse with saddle.



373. Man riding an animal.



374. Animal.



375. Elephant, dog andother animals.



376. Horse.



377. Toy piece.

place of Hindu religious texts the Holy Quran and Muslim theology was brought in and medium of teaching became Sindhi with the exception of the Holy Quran, which was recited in Arabic. The teacher-pupil relations were the same. Pupils begged for food. In case of special endowments and Jagirs, which invariably were poorly managed, the returns went to the owner of institute, who engaged teachers. The pupils from poor class went to schools for being poor and begged for food. In case of endowments, the pupils of privileged class got free food or in case parents donated the institute in cash or kind sufficiently to bear their expenses and fees. No fees were fixed in advance but the amounts paid in the form of gifts were more than sufficient for a normal fee.

The same system continued in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries when Ismailism was being gradually replaced with Sunnism. Whatever the merits and demerits of Pathshala education, their syllabus covered many subjects useful for living a better life. These subjects were later dropped from Muslim education in Sindh.

MUSLIM EDUCATION AT DEBAL

The main building at Debal has a school attached to it and this may be the trend in rest of urban areas. In late Soomra period when they started being converted to Islam, mosques may have been used as such.

SCHOOLS

Mosques, Makatib and Madaris played an important role, where besides Arabic and Persian mathematics was also taught, which was essential need of the government employees. In all these institutes even Persian and Arabic works were verbally translated into Sindhi as the records from seventeenth century show.

Separately, there were Buddhist and Hindu schools, where besides religion yoga, witchcraft, snake-charming, snake-poison cures, horse-riding, incantation, esteomacy, physiognomy, astronomy, astrology, palmistry, forecasting, poisons, women's diseases, herbs, mesmerism for curing diseases, magic, mathematics, music, medicine and grammar were taught in local language or Sanskrit. These schools also

taught dancing, singing, painting and sculpture. The instructions were given to pupils of all religions without discrimination. Some of the subjects were unscientific and superstitious. It is doubtful if Muslim institutions taught all these subjects except probably mathematics.

Students were given free food, books, lodging and clothes in Muslim institutions as reported by Ibn Battutta. He saw such institutions at Sehwan, Bakhar, Uch and Multan. The funds for Muslim institutions usually came from government endowments and for non-Muslim institutions from local landowners and businessmen.

Sindhi language received no support from the government, but Pathshalas, supported by business community, contributed to its development through the medium of instruction, which were probably Sindhi and Sanskrit.

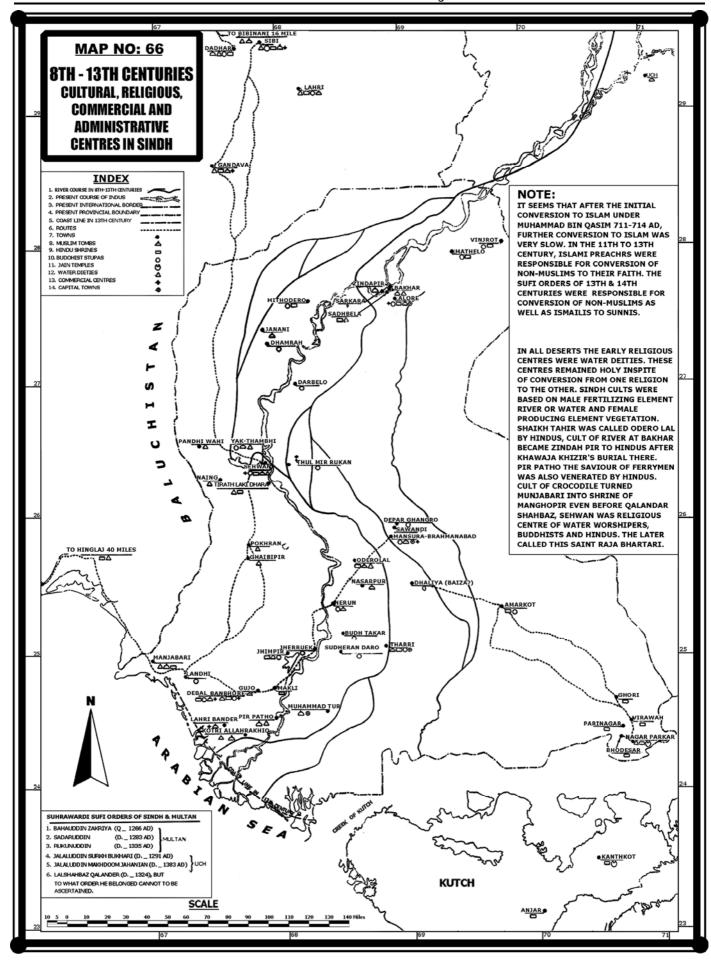
Sometimes students were sent out to beg for food and other provisions according to Smriti Rules prevalent under Hindu and Buddhist regimes.

SCRIPTS USED

These were Ard Nagri in upper Sindh, Malwari or Malvashan in the lower Sindh and Sandhava or Sayandab in the central Sindh. These were used in Pathshala and in business. Probably these were scripts used for official writings.

Muslims used Arabic script and this has continued to this day. The geometrical principles for six major scripts were devised by Abu Ali Ibn Maqbool, a vizier at Baghdad (d. 940 AD). The Arabic script has not changed since then. Scripts are further discussed under chapter 24, "Languages of South Asia" and chapter 25, "Development of Sindhi as official language".

The Soomra kings promoted education. They were called by the title of "Malik Feroz" by the public. The great educational institution of Uch, Madresa-i-Feroziah, was named after its founder, a Soomra. Feroz Tughlaq did not find it, as it existed under this very name during the reign of Balban in 1266 AD, whereas Feroz Tughlaq became Sultan of Delhi in 1351 AD, about a century later. The institute may have been established for their Sufi Murshids or spiritual mentors.



CHAPTER 22

RELIGION AND MYSTICISM DURING SOOMRA RULE

RAB conquest of Sindh did not materially affect the religious outlook of Arabs settled in Sindh and the conquered Hindu and Buddhist people, except probably a small minority of new converts to Islam. The following are highlights of some religious activities:

- * There was very little religious activity among new Muslims, which was distinctive from that practised in main Islamic countries of Arabian Peninsula and Iraq.
- * The Buddhist stupas were being repaired up to thirteenth century showing their peaceful co-existence with Hinduism and Islam.
- Under the later Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore for nearly two hundred years, Sufi saints Shaikh Ismail, Ali bin Usman Al-Hujwairi (Data Ganj Bakhsh (d. 1072 AD) and others came to Lahore. They were followed by many others. Some of them connected with history of Sindh were Bahauddin Zakariya (who was granted Jagir by Soomras near their capital Muhammad Tur) and his descendants Shaikh Sadruddin and Abul Fateh Ruknuddin. Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and Maggar Pir (Manghopir) are said to be disciples of Zakariya. Another saint Sayed Jalal Bokhari came to Uch in 1244 AD and his grandson was Makhdoom Jehaniya Jehan Gasht, who brought Sammas' surrender to Tughlaqs three times.
- * Ismailism in South Asia tolerated local religions. Soomras, converted to this faith, were tolerant of Buddhism and Hinduism and their temples and stupas were under renovation up to the end of thirteenth century. Even their names were not Arabised. They remained traditionally local with no connection even with Indian names.
- * Qalandar Shahbaz converted all Hindu residents

- of Sehwan to his faith and on his death, they buried him in the old Siva Temple. The converts abandoned old practices only gradually and Yoni and Lingam were kept adjoining Sirandhi or head side of his grave to the north. Women, seeking a child, symbolically worshipped these.
- * Superstitions, magic and beliefs in divine powers were common in South Asia. Use of astrology was common even among Muslims. They predicted future of a child right at his birth. For most of the day-to-day actions, like travels, going to war and fixing dates of marriages, astrologers were consulted.
 - As roots of Islamic administration under Umayyad and Abbasid governors (714-854 AD) were shaky, hardly any conversions could be possible. Habari kings had accepted local manners, customs, dresses and court ceremonies and were tolerant to the local faiths. Under them conversions may have been but only a few. It was Ismailis who made inroads to local faiths by amalgamation of local traditions and customs in their religion, specially by teaching religion in local languages by composing suitable poetry called "Guinans" sung on musical instruments as a combination of entertainment as well as religious propagation. This is what no other religion had done in South Asia and response was immediate as the new religion was not antagonistic to local people's own faiths. Ismailis were at work in Multan at the beginning of tenth century and in Sindh during the same century. Shiites became so strong that Abbasid Khalifa was virtually their captive and Seljuks led by Tughril Beg liberated him. By the end of twelfth century it formed major religious group in Sindh. There was Soomra population in

RELIGIOUS POSTURES, STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS

Due to lack of excavations of Soomra ruined cities, little is known of religious architecture. Since Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam co-existed up to the end of 13th century, construction ideas came from stupas originally built in sixth to seventh centuries. As only two mosques at Banbhore and Mansura-Brahmanabad are known and some tombs of the twelfth and thirteenth century Muslims are existent, there is limited scope in time scale to throw light on religious structures of Muslims in Soomra Sindh. Two such tombs called Suhagin and Duhagin constructed probably in thirteenth or early fourteenth century show heavy Buddhist influence. Suhagin and Duhagin graves are not those of married and widowed women as the word implies, but of some noblemen of Alore (which city survived up to mid-thirteenth century) and Bakhar in northern Sindh, which area came under the rule of Qabacha and later on Altatmash from 1217-1236 AD. The hemispherical dome came from Iran and the central Asia, but these two domes at Alore are raised over four-corner pillars having bell shaped capitals, essentially a Buddhist innovation. Sculptured or cut bricks are used to produce pseudo-Kufic inscriptions. No attempt is made to read them. Sculptured, moulded and cut bricks were common in Sindh during the era. Panels on outer walls are also not copy of any other monument in South Asia, except that in Sibi (Balochistan), which then was part of Sindh. Decoration also appears to be local. It seems that Buddhist-Hindu architects have attempted to produce Muslim monuments with outside resembling popular Islamic architecture of era. So called demons from Brahmanabad-Mansura may be deities of some group of non-Muslim Sindhis. Deity with snake around the neck appears to be Siva. Twentieth century Siva, in wood from Shikarpur Sindh, in Sindh Museum looks like 13th century brass die and has moustaches. Siva is also shown in Yogic posture.

ORIGIN OF YOGIC POSTURE





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- 378. Mohenjo Daro seal shows Yogic posture of three-faced deity with horned head gear, which has tamed all kinds of animals. It has been identified with Siva or Mahisa. Buddha's posture is similar too.
- 379. Also from Mohenjo Daro shows three-faced deity in Yogic posture
- 380 & 381. Buddha from Mirpurkhas stupa in Yogic posture. (Cousens).
- 382. Siva in Yogic posture and snake around his neck.



(Karam Chand Dodani).

Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat. They were powerful enough to raise an army of 24,000 cavalrymen and rebel against Jam Nizamuddin in 1471, 1472 and 1506 and to help him Mahmud Begra, ruler of Gujarat, defeated and converted them to Islam (Sunni faith). As a compromise he settled them in Kathiawar and they established themselves in Jam Nagar, whose Nawab was a Soomro. They worked as mercenaries in Begra's army. Bahauddin Zakariya converted some Soomras at the mid of thirteenth century, but the process was slow.

- * Delhi Sultans assumed the process of a genuine conversion to Islam unlike their contemporary Mameluks or Turks, where there were different taxes from subjects and therefore the conversion was financially unprofitable. The practice encouraged war of conquest for booty, but discouraged attempts to convert. Sufis and Ismailis became interested in unorthodox conversions.
- * Sufis gradually absorbed many Ismailis to their own teachings. One influence of Ismailis was that Sufis were compelled to compose their teachings in local languages and also use music and dance as part of Sufi ecstasy.
- * Many of Sufis had endowments from the governments and lived in luxuries. Monumental tombs were raised over their graves by the rulers of the day showing to the people that rulers themselves had great regard for piety of the saint and thereby expecting public to accept that the ruler too was pious. Monthly and annual festivals at their graves reminded the people of pious acts of the rulers in executing wonderful pieces of art and architecture.
- * Polygamy was not allowed in Hinduism and Buddhism, although Khatri kings and their generals were polygamous. Marco Polo mentions 500 wives of king of Maba and 300 of king of Cail. Soomras' acceptance of Ismaili Islam facilitated polygamy to even small landowners, businessmen and soldiers. It downgraded position of woman in the Sindhian society.
- * Early Sufis of the twelfth century were not bigots and were tolerant to other faiths but many of them

- lived luxurious lives at the cost of the government, which raised monuments on their graves.
- * Ali bin Usman Al-Hujwairi, founder of Sufi cult in the South Asia, died in 1072 AD. He is also known as Data Ganj Bakhsh and his tomb is at Lahore. His book Kashf-ul-Mahjub is a popular text for Sufis of Sindh and the rest of the South Asia.
- * Shaikh Mohiyuddin Abdul Qadir of Gilan lived between the years 1077-1166 AD and founded the Qadri school of Sufism, popular in South Asia.
- * In the year 1079-80 AD (462 AH), Sayed Nooruddin Satgur Noor, an Ismaili preacher, came to Sindh under the orders of Shah Mustansir Billah (eighteenth Imam) and preached in poetry. He is reported to have studied Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Multani and Bahawalpuri languages and dialects and composed his poetry in these languages. His Hindi poetry has survived and resembles Sindhi in many respects.
- * In the year 1090-91 AD (483 AH) Hasan bin Sabbah established the Ismaili school, called Nizari in Khurasan. This school did not spread to Sindh immediately, but in the thirteenth century it exercised great influence in Sindh. The Soomras were Ismailis from the beginning, but accepted Nizari school of the Ismailis at the end of thirteenth century or probably early fourteenth century.
- * The Nizaris in general allowed their followers to maintain some of the old customs and names and this is true about the Soomras, whose local names have been Arabised by Daulat-i-Alviya, probably a forged work.
- * Shaikh Shahabuddin Umar Suharwardi, the founder of Suharwardi school of Sufism, lived between the year 1145 and 1234 AD. This is most popular Sufi school in Sindh.
 - In 1071 AD, Fatmid Khilafat was dissolved by Salahuddin and he became the virtual sovereign. It is not certain what effects it had on Ismailis of Sindh. To raise funds Salahuddin sold books in Fatmid library and many buyers were European crusaders who took knowledge of the East to Europe.

RELIGIOUS POSTURES, STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS

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383 to 391. Buddhist idol possibly Buddha in Yogic postures on tiles from Sudheranjo Daro excavated by Bhandarker in 1915 and reported in Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) 1918. 392. Frame of an image from Brahmanabad. (Cousens).
393 & 394. Jain temples at Bhodesar, near Nagar Parker town of Sindh

continued in 14th and early 15th century. (DGA).



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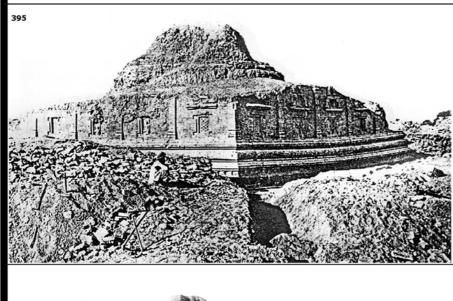
- * Usman Mervandi or Lal Shahbaz lived between the years 1143-44 and 1252 AD (538-650 AH). In the year 1125 AD (622 AH), he came to Multan and to Sehwan in 1250 AD.
- * Pir Shamsuddin Subzwari, an Ismaili preacher and a well-known poet, came to Sindh in the year 1201 AD (598 AH) and continued his preaching for the next 66 years up to 675 AH or 1267 AD in Multan. He composed his preachings in Multani as well as in Sindhi. His Sindhi probably has undergone periodic changes and appears to be more recent. He converted many people including Lohanas to the new faith called Noor Bakhshi.
- * In 1236 AD, Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti died in Ajmer. He had no followers in Sindh.
- * In the year 1268 AD (666 AH), Pir Patho died. His tomb is on the hill named after him, fourteen miles south of Thatta on an old bed of Baghar branch of the River Indus. His disciples were boatmen and fishermen of Sindh.
- * The last Abbasid Khalifa Mu'tasim was murdered in 1258 AD. His uncle Ahmed escaped to Egypt then being ruled by the Mameluk Turks. The reigning King Zahir welcomed Ahmed and installed him as Khalifa. Thus began the revival of the Abbasid Khalifas, their names were to be read in Khutbah and names from Balban to Ghiasuddin Tughlaq were dropped from Friday Khutbahs throughout the Delhi Sultanate, which included some parts of the upper Sindh too. Muhammad Tughlaq got Sanad from Abbasid Khalifa residing in Egypt.
- * It is believed that Muhammad bin Tughlaq sought this Sanad to attract masses in his tenet against the rebels who besides being Muslims were led by Ulema, Qazis, Khatibs, Faqihs and Mashaikhs.
- * Persian poet Jalaluddin Rumi died in 1273 AD at the age of 66. He founded Sufi order of dancing dervishes. His poetic ideas are very popular among the Muslims, the world over.
- * Makhdoom Jehaniya (Sayed Shaikh Jalaluddin Bokhari) of Uch lived in 1307-1383 AD (707-781 AH). He probably was the fief of Sehwan in the days of Muhammad and Feroz Tughlags as per

- he built a tomb on the grave of Waliullah Allaul Haq Ali Baghdadi on seventh Safar, seven hundred fifty-eight AH (1357 AD). The Soomras and Sammas did not occupy Sehwan after Muhammad Tughlaq's defeat, as it was the territory of their Murshid Makhdoom Jehaniya. During the reign of Feroz Shah Tughlaq, Makhdoom Jehaniya frequently went to Delhi and was kept as the state guest either in the Kush of Ferozabad or at the residence of Fateh Khan. He was responsible for the unconditional surrender of Jam Banbhriyo to Feroz Tughlaq in 1368 AD. Makhdoom Jehaniya was the grandson of Sayed Jalaluddin Surkhposh, one of the disciples of Bahauddin Zakariya, the sponsor of Suharwardiya school of Sufism. During the reign of Feroz Tughlaq, the Multan branch of Suharwardi school had lost its importance, but Makhdoom Jehaniya enabled its Uch branch to gain importance. Due to his influence in Sindh he converted many Ismaili Soomras to Sunni faith. Once, Ain-al-Malak Mahru, governor of Multan, sought his help to realise Kharaj in Sindh. It was the magic of his religious influence, which secured the submission of the Sammas to Feroz Tughlaq at least on three occasions, first before 1364, next in 1368 and lastly in 1371-72 AD. He died in 1383 AD.
- * The arrival of an envoy of the Abbasid Khalifa Al-Hakam-II in the year 1334 AD from Egypt in Delhi is of mention. Muhammad Tughlaq had himself written to the descendants of the Abbasid Khalifas, reported to be in Egypt, requesting them to send him a Sanad and accept him as the Sultan of India.

BEGINNINGS OF SHIAISM IN SINDH

Abdullah bin Muhammad Al-Shattar Alvi, a direct descendent of Hazrat Ali, visited Sindh in 757 AD, while Amar bin Hafas was the Abbasid governor of Sindh at Mansura, the capital. Al-Shattar Alvi was a Shiite. He had come to stir up sympathy and support for the descendants of the Holy Prophet (PEUB). The Sindhis, who were Buddhists before accepting Islam.

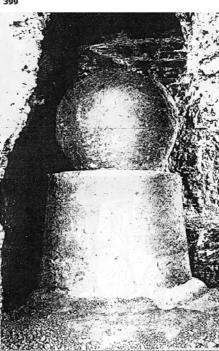
RELIGIOUS POSTURES, STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS











- 395. Mirpur Khas stupa after excavation by Cousens.
- 396. Saidpur stupa or Sudheranjo Daro. (Arch. Sur. Ind. 1918 AD).
- 397. A male image found from Mirpurkhas stupa holding lotus flower and is not Buddhisattava. It maybe an image of an important Buddhist monk. (Cousens).
- 398. Brahmanabad tower or Thul. Actually Buddhist stupa, photographed around 1900 AD. (Cousens).
- 399. Dagoba or Holy relic holder 6 feet 9 inches tall, of sun dried bricks was the original Buddhist structure, which later on was encased in Sudheranjo Daro in ASI, 1918.

disciple and gave him protection by sending him to a non-Muslim Raja's capital (possibly Alore), where he spent ten years in popularising Shiite beliefs unobstructed. Khalifa Mansur deputed Hisham bin Amar to recover Abdullah from the Raja. He attacked the Raja, won the battle and Abdullah Al-Shattar was assassinated by Hisham at the instructions of Mansur in 767 AD (151 AH). Expecting uprising of Al-Shattar's 400 bodyguards, under the leadership of Al-Shattar's minor son, Mansur ordered that Al-Shattar's followers be eliminated and the widow, the minor boy be captured and sent to Baghdad. This was done. It appears that Shiaism had made some beginnings in Sindh.

FATMID KHILAFAT

In 297 AH (909-910 AD) Ubaidullah bin Muhammad Al-Habib established Fatmid Khilafat in Tunis on similar lines as Persian dominated Khilafat of the Abbasids at Baghdad (Muqtadiyah). Its headquarter was shifted to Cairo in 361 AH (971-972 AD). Of these, thirteen Batini rulers remained in power for 270 years. These rulers are called Mahdwyyah, Alwiyyahi, Fatmiyyah and Ismailliah, but commonly they are known as Fatmiyyin of Egypt. Ubaidullah claimed that he was the direct descendent of Sayyidtun Nisa Hazrat Fatimah (PBUH). In 270 AH he declared that he was Mahdi, so he named his followers as Mahdwyyah. He and his descendants believed in Batini cult, but to win the popularity among the masses they performed some apparent rituals also. During their rule Ismaili religion spread widely in Egypt. Ubaidullah got many jurists and Muhaddseen assassinated. Islam permits a man to marry four women at a time, but Ubaidullah permitted his followers to marry eighteen women at a time.

From 973 AD to 1171 AD Egypt was ruled by Fatmid Khalifas. They controlled northern Africa, Syria and Mediterranean islands. During this very period Hasan bin Sabbah founded his Nizari school in 1090 AD, extending from Khurasan to Sistan. The Druze school of the Ismailis developed in Syria. This school is the follower of the sixth Fatmid Khalifa of Egypt Al-Hakam bi Amrillah. Druze had its start in 470 AH (1077-78 AD). This school flourished in Lebanon, where today they number about 400,000.

Fatmids spread Ismailism in the central Asia and Khalifa of Baghdad assigned special mission to Mahmud of Ghazni, a Persian, to crush them. Mahmud fought twenty wars against them and weakened them but crushing below came from Shahabuddin Ghori, when Fatmid Khilafat of Egypt had already fallen to Ayubids under Salahuddin, who abolished it in 1171 AD.

SATI IN SINDH

Up to at least 1250 AD a bulk of Sindh's population was non-Muslims.

Sati was common among Soomras. Folklore, though written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, does reflect on social conditions of Sindh in Soomra era, but not the political history. Folklore describes cases of Sati, ordeals and burning oneself alive. These non-Muslim concepts and beliefs prevailed among Soomras.

ISMAILI DAWAIS IN SINDH BEFORE SOOMRA RULE

First Dawai was Ibn Al-Haytham sent by his cousin Abu Al-Qasim Ibn Hushshab of Yemen around 1883 AD. He probably was Qarmati.

Abu Muizz Fatmid Khalifa, sent Jalam Ibn Shayban, who bore Batnite views.

Bishari Al-Muqadisi, who visited Sindh in 375 AH (986 AD), reports that Khutbah was read in the name of Abbasid Khalifas, but he also mentions that Khutbah was also read in the name of Adud-al-Dawlah, the Buwayhid ruler of Shiraz, showing Ismaili influence in Sindh.

FATMID INFLUENCE IN SINDH DURING SOOMRA RULE

As a result of the establishment of Fatmid Khilafat, the Ismaili missionaries came to Sindh. Ibn Al-Haytham's missionary successors finally succeeded in establishing a pro-Fatmid rule in Multan and Khutbah came to be read in the name of Fatmid Khalifa of Egypt. Shiaism spread to Multan, Sindh, Gujarat and the Punjab. Abbasid Khilafat was on the decline since

RELIGIOUS POSTURES, STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS



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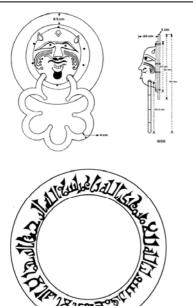






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- 400. Yoni and Lingam was deity of Hindu religion. This was found from Banbhore temple on the site of which mosque was constructed.
- 401. Some deity.
- 402. Brahma from Kahujo Daro Mirpurkhas, having 4 faces instead of traditional three. The finding shows influence of Hinduism and co-existence with Buddhism up to the end of 13th century. (Cousens).
- 403. Deity called demon and Arabic inscription around it. (DGA).
- 404. Deity called demon and Arabic inscription around it. (DGA).

the death of Mamun. Forces working against it were the rising nationalism of eastern empire, the interference of army in state affairs and rise of a number of Shiite kingdoms, which were aiming at dissolution of Abbasid power. Besides, while the Arabs considered the Abbasid Khilafat dominated by the Persians, the latter thought that they did not have enough autonomy and participation.

But the Fatmid movement suffered from basic conceptual objectives, which were neither properly defined nor handled. Though aiming at a universal empire embracing all Islamic countries, their efforts to give it a practical shape never went beyond sending missionaries to South Asia, eastern Persia (Khurasan) and even Baghdad. There were a number of Shiite states such as Yemen, Palestine, the Red Sea coast of Africa, Sicily and Tunis, controlled by Idrisids, Kharjiites, Rostamids and Qarmatis, but they were neither part of the Fatmid empire, nor federated to it. Qarmatis, however co-operative, did so for business and financial considerations. Fatmid missionaries achieved an important purpose of conversion of people to Ismailism in the remotest parts of Islamic world such as Sindh, Multan and Khurasan. Habaris do not seem to have interfered with it in spite of their reading the Khutbah in the name of Abbasid Khalifa. Soomras of Sindh seem to have accepted the early Fatmid Ismailism, but after the split of Dawa into Mustalian and Nizari groups, they drifted away from both the rival Dawas and finally accepted Nizari school, though in name only, under Pir Shamasuddin and Pir Sadaruddin. Bahauddin Muqtana's letter to Shaikh Ibn Soomar Raja Bal of Multan 1033 AD (425 AH) is an evidence of Soomras being Fatmids. After Schism of 1094 AD (487 AH), Nizari school of Ismailism instead of Tayvibi was represented in Sindh, from where it was introduced in other parts of South Asia, particularly Gujarat.

After the end of ninth and early tenth century, the influence of Ismailis increased greatly in Sindh. Probably most of people accepted that faith. Khutbah also came to be read in the name of Fatmid Khalifa first at Multan around 900 AD and later in Sindh.

They were tolerant to other faiths of Hinduism and Buddhism and had developed cordial relations with the Hindu rulers of the neighbouring countries. Their relations with local population and tribes also appear to be good. During their rule Buddhist stupas were also repaired and renovated.

SOOMRAS' NAMES

Soomras had local names like Hindus and Buddhists. The only Muslim and Arabic name among them is Umar, which seems unlikely and it may have been Amar, Amero or Amrah.

ISMAILISM - A COMPROMISE BETWEEN CONVERTS BY THE ARABS AND DEVALA'S NEW SHUDHI MOVEMENTS

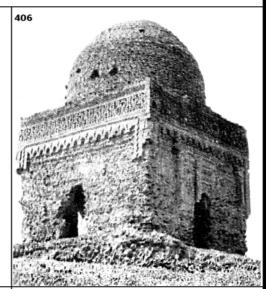
It appears that tolerance shown by Ismailis to both Hindus and Muslims in Sindh could easily attract members of both sects within their fold. Even Fatmids themselves had accused a local Sindhi Dawi, who converted Hindus to Ismailism, but allowed them to retain many Hindu rituals as permissible in his own school of Ismaili faith, but not acceptable to Fatmids. Soomras, retaining original local and some apparently Hindu names, clearly shows the tolerance of Ismaili Davais, which is in sharp contrast to conversion by Arab conquerors, who invariably gave Arabic names to their converts. Thus, Ismailism implies unorthodoxy, un-authoritarianism and more secular trends to promote population harmony.

Gradually Ismaili Dawais in Sindh attempted to establish a unified religious system.

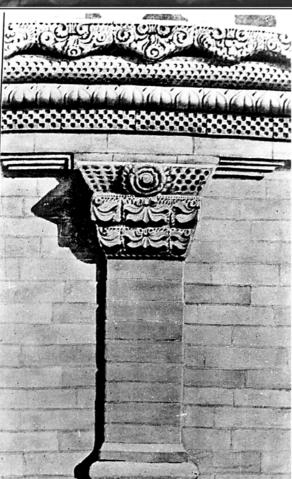
The rival religions in Sindh asserted for prominence and dominance under Soomra era. It appears that there was influence of Sufis, who gradually under late Soomras and Sammas converted a vast number of Buddhists to Sunni Islam without imparting orthodoxy of Ulema. The Sufi trends existed in South Asia under teaching of Shankar Acharya (though not popularly known) and Sufis found it easy to convert Buddhist masses and also attract intellectual Hindus (who understood Shankar) to unorthodox form of Sufism and after co-existence of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam in Sindh up to the thirteenth century. Four new groups: Sufi Islam, Sunni Islam, orthodox Islam and Hinduism co-existed in Sindh, without much conflict.

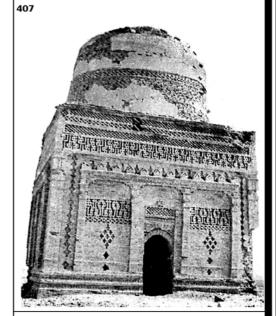
RELIGIOUS POSTURES, STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS





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405. Hindu custom Sati, also practised by Soomras. (from a painting of 1710 AD,

- reproduced in India Britanica by Geoffery). 406. Tomb of Duhagin. (Shaikh Khursheed Hassan).
- 407. Tomb of Suhagin. (Shaikh Khursheed Hassan).
- 408. Thul Mir Rukan. (Cousens).
- 409. Inner pillar at Thul Mir Rukan and dails of floral mouldings. (Cousens).



It must be said of Ismailis that Arab governors and Habaris were indifferent to conversion, but Ismailis supported conversion, though by accepting some basic ideas from Hinduism. Ismailis also tried to propagate religion through literature produced by them in common Sindhi language, thoroughly understood by common man and so early in Sindh's history that it deserves a credit in its own right.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AMONG THE SOOMRAS

There is archaeological evidence that Hindu temples and Buddhist stupas were being repaired and renovated up to thirteenth century, showing that Soomras were tolerant to other faiths. Only in the fourteenth century large-scale conversion of Buddhists and Ismailis mostly by Sufis, brought an end to Buddhism and orthodoxy against Hindus, who quickly reacted by accepting Muslim Sufis as their own saints to retain harmony among various segments of population.

CONVERSION OF SOOMRAS TO SUNNI ISLAM

The first conversion was done by Bahauddin Zakariya (d. 1258 AD), but the process was slow. The Soomras of lower Sindh were not Sunnis. Mahmud Begra of Gujarat had to invade the Soomra stronghold in lower Sindh and forced them to accept Sunni Islam as aforesaid.

Sayed Jalal Bokhari converted some Soomras to Sunnism. Makhdoom Jehaniya also converted Soomras to Sunnism. After his defeat by Sammas, Hamir Soomro and his followers seeking help of Mahru, governor of Uch and Multan and accepting his hospitality, had no course but to accept Sunni faith and had their names Arabised.

Hammu and Muhammad sons of Dodo-IV called their father Muhammad Dodo, as comes from inscription on the mosque constructed by Hammu in Gujarat in 1382 AD. Dodos in Sindh had no prefix of Muhammad to their names.

STATE SUPPORT TO SUFIS AND SOME SUFI SAINTS

Ghaznavids deputed many saints to important towns and localities. These saints preached Sufism to people and were paid from central treasury with such affluence that they needed no help from any other source. This policy was also carried out by Ghoris and Delhi Sultanate. Mughals also used Sufism against the orthodox.

Some Sufis received great patronage from Delhi Sultanate with vast endowments and preferred to remain in Multan and Uch, mostly under control of Delhi. Some Ismaili Dawais also chose Multan and Uch as their headquarters to compete with Sufis in the absence of patronage. On the death of Sufi saints impressive monuments were raised on their graves by Delhi Sultans. On graves of Ismaili saints, monuments were raised by contributions from their followers. Below are some important Sufis and Dawais of Soomra era.

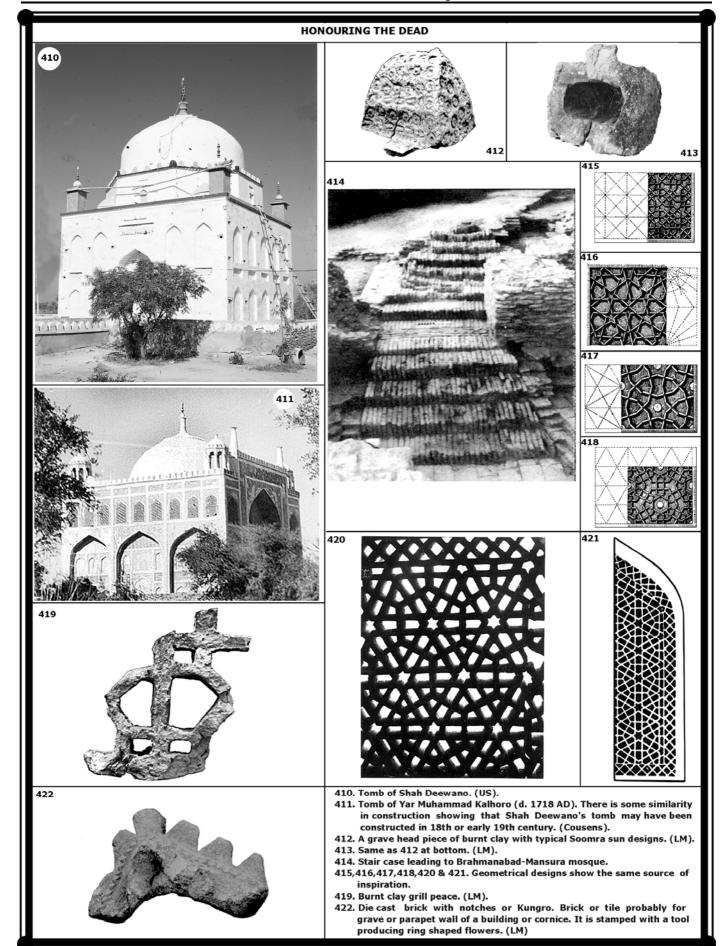
KHAWAJA MOINUDDIN CHISHTI (D. 1236 AD)

Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti, founder of Chishti order, died at Ajmer at the age of 97. He had no followings in Sindh.

BAHAUDDIN ZAKARIYA (D. 1258 AD)

He was a descendent of Habari family, was very rich, carried out business and even loaned money to the governor of Multan. He avoided to meet common people. His early followers were Thahims, Sehtas, Korejas, Solangis, Agras, Varyas, Chanas, Norsiyas and Lokhats. Soomras had given him Jagir near Mahatam Tur. It is stated that on the defeat of Qabacha, Chanesar submitted to Altatmash on intercession of Bahauddin Zakariya. This is how Soomras became vassals of Delhi. Immediately after completing his studies he was made Imam of mosque at Tur, showing that by that time Soomras of ruling family had accepted Sunni faith, however, majority of people were Ismailis.

On the death of Qutubuddin Aibak, Nasiruddin Qabacha became an independent ruler of upper Sindh (Multan, Uch and Bakhar) from 1211 to 1228 AD and



extended his kingdom to include Bhatinda, Ghurham and Sarsuti. Yilduz, the ruler of Ghazni, also became independent simultaneously, but claimed sovereignty to entire Hindustan and was defeated by Altatmash in 1236 AD. There was a state of warfare between Altatmash and Qabacha for the possession of Lahore, Bhatinda, Sarsuti and Ghurham and there were minor battles between them from 1216 AD onwards. In 1221 AD, Chengiz Khan drove out Mangbarni Khawarizm Shah from Ghazni and the latter, with the help of Khokhars, attacked Qabacha's territories, i.e., Multan, Uch and Bakhar, exacted large sums of money from Qabacha and looted many of his cities. It was during these troubled times that Bahauddin Zakariya and Sharaf-al-Din, Qazi of Multan, wrote letters to Altatmash about Oabacha's designs and weakening of his power. The letters were intercepted by Qabacha's men. Oabacha summoned both of them who confessed their deeds, but Bahauddin Zakariya stated that it was "The will of Allah". Qabacha did not take action against Zakariya, but had Qazi beheaded. After the conquest of Qabacha's territories, Altatmash appointed him as Shaikh-ul-Islam for his Sultanate.

Bahauddin Zakariya was very rich man and was an exporter of sugar abroad. He controlled many sugarcane plantations in southern Punjab and in 1257 AD, when Mongols attacked Multan and Delhi Sultanate was not in a position to defend, Bahauddin Zakariya paid a heavy amount to Mongols to save the city from destruction. He ran a religious training school and also trained many young men in art of business and accounting, many of whom later on ran his business.

The Sufi institutions inevitably became vested interest. They even reserved the right of admission to their Khanqahs. Bahauddin Zakariya closed gates of his Khanqah to Jawliqs, a sect of Qalandarya school. Some historians put his death in 1262/63 AD (661 AH).

QALANDAR SHAHBAZ (B. 1165-66 AD)

His name was Muhammad Usman Mervandi. He belonged to Mervand in Azerbaijan, which was conquered by Ali Ashrafi in 624 AH (1226-27 AD). He left that place the same year and finally came to Multan in 633 AH (1235 AD) at the age of seventy.

The mausoleum of Qalandar Shahbaz, who died in

1252 AD, was built by Malik Ruknuddin around 1356 AD. It was redesigned and renovated by Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan. It was beautified by Nawab Dinar Khan Bokhari during the rule of Shah Jehan. Khanqah and other buildings were built in 1759 AD by Ghulam Shah Kalhoro. Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur added silver spires to the edifice and constructed gates and balustrade. The golden gate was donated by Shah of Iran and installed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

PIR PATHO OR SHAH HASAN UPALAN OR RAJA GOPI CHAND (D. 1297-98 AD)

The name of Shah Hasan may be a forgery as Sindh did not have local Sayed saints during the Soomra era. Monument on it may have been raised by local contributions during this era. The tomb is unique in Sindh as it is the earliest one built in stone with lime mortar, lime plaster and the floor of stone having some bricks introduced later on. A hole in one of the chambers within precincts of edifice emits cool air in hot season. The hole maybe connected to some long cave or underground cold water spring. Some authors consider his death in 1268 AD (666 AH).

OTHER SUFIS OF ERA:

- * Sadruddin Arif
 - Son of Bahauddin Zakariya.
- * Rukun-ul-Alam
 - Grandson of Zakariya.
- * Sayed Jalal Surkh Bokhari

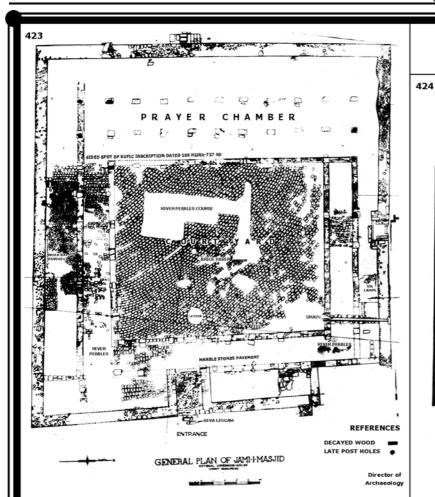
A disciple of Bahauddin Zakariya, converted some Soomras to Sunnism.

* Makhdoom Jehaniya Jehan Gasht

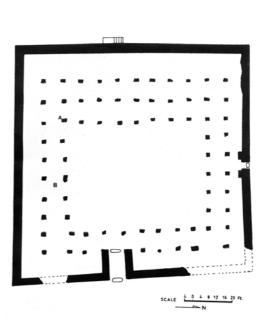
He was instrumental in large-scale conversions of Soomras to Sunnism as said above.

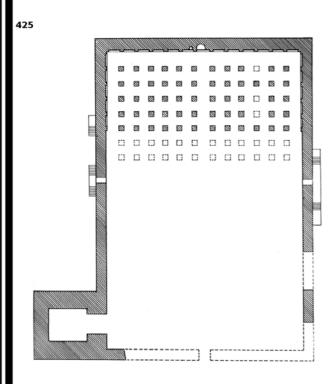
- * Sayed Muhammad Makki
- * Sayed Shamsuddin
- * Shaikh Nuh Bakhri
- * Manghopir

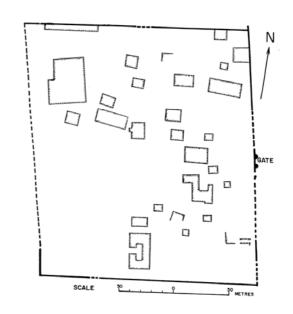
A number of saints were sent and settled in the interior of Sindh at important places like Bubak, Norai, Bukera, Notiar and Hala. Most of them supported their patrons of Delhi.



MOSQUES SURVIVING DURING SOOMRA PERIOD







- 423. General plan of Jamia Masjid Banbhore (Debal).
- 424. Layout plan of Jamia Masjid Banbhore. (DGA).
- 425. Layout plan of mosque at Brahmanabad-Mansura. (DGA).
- 426. Layout of fortified town of Bhiro Bham destroyed probably alongwith Brahmanabad-Mansura in 11th century. (M.R. Mughal, Islamic Studies, 31:3, 1992).

ISMAILI PREACHERS

PIR SHAMSUDDIN SUBZWARI NOOR BAKHSHI

He composed 'Bhajans' on the pattern of Hindu religious hymns and also wrote a book "Ahut" on the greatness and piety of family of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), called Ahl-Bayt. He belonged to Nizari school. He looked like Jogi and came to Uch in the first half of twelfth century during Soomra rule. It, therefore, is doubtful if Soomras were Nizari Ismailis, but the present Khojas of Sindh claim so.

PIR SADRUDDIN (B. 700 AH OR 1300 AD, D. 819 AH OR 1416 AD)

He was a Lohana (originating from local Hindu caste), born during the Soomra rule and contributed to Ismailism during Samma period. He belonged to Nizari school. He learnt Sanskrit and adopted a Hindu name Harish Chandra or Soha Deva.

He established his headquarters at Kotri Allah Rakhyo Shah, called himself as Hindu and wrote Guinans in a Sindhi book Dasa-Avtar, in which he identified Adam with Siva, Muhammad with Brahma, Ali with Vishnu and Fatima with Saki. He appointed Mukhis (chiefs) over Ismaili community and assigned the title of Khawaja (Khoja) to his followers, who built a tomb over his grave rather than the government, as had happened with Sufis and other saints. He educated businessmen and doctors. This was a great change in preaching style after the fall of Almut. They also had to compete with Sufis, who also had adopted promoting religion through poetry, music and dancing.

PIR HASAN KABIRUDDIN

Son of Pir Sadruddin, composed "Bhajans" on Hindu style. He is buried at Uch.

SOOMRA GRAVES

Graves of Pak-Daman Soomries, Dodo, Chanesar and Abra Samma of the era may or may not be genuine, specially as graves are not close to any known capital of theirs, but they are visited as saints' graves.

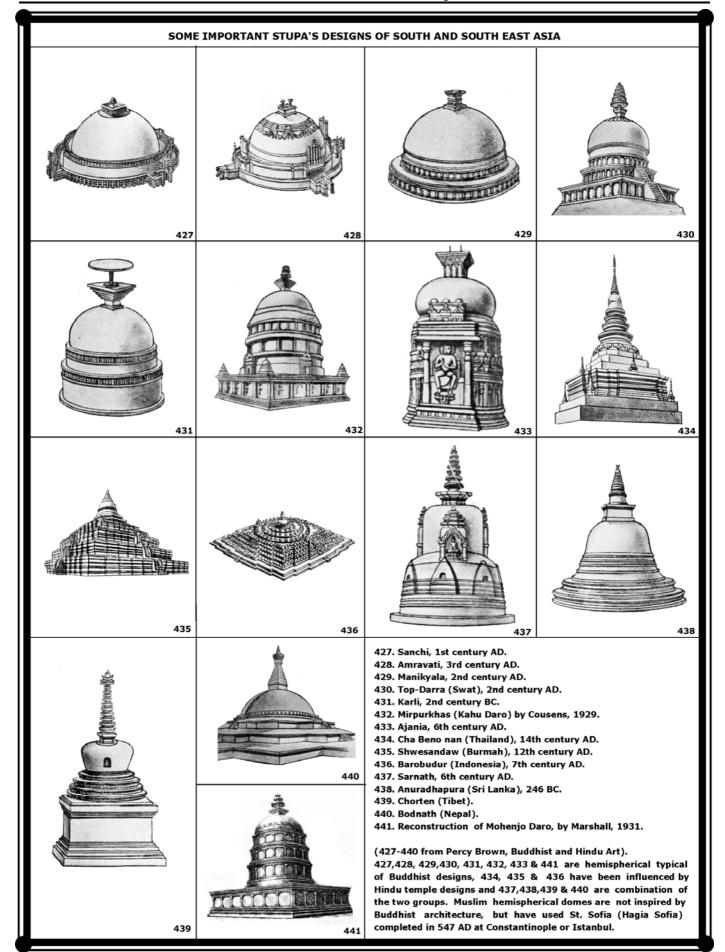
CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND COMMERCIAL CENTRES OF EIGHTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

From the hunter food-gathering era the communication routes had developed and in the arid zone of Sindh the resting places developed where availability of water and food was ensured. Such places became centres of water worshipers, communication made them commercial centres. The places had already become holy and deity had to change from initial water worship. All important places which have survived to this day, had changed from water worshipping to Hindu shrines, Buddhist stupas, Jain temples and Muslim Pir's tombs. The map shows centres as Alore. Bakhar. Bhodesar. Brahmanabad, Budhjo Takar, Darbelo, Ghanghro, Dhadhar, Dhamraho, Dhara Laki, Dhaliya (Baiza), Gandava, Ghaibi Pir, Hinglaj, Amarkot, Junani, Jherruck, Jhimpir, Kotri Allah Rakhyo, Landhi, Lahri Bunder, Mathelo, Makli, Manghopir, Mansura, Mithodero, Muhammad Tur, Naing, Nasarpur, Nerun, Nirwah, Odero Lal, Nagar Parker, Pandhi Wahi, Pari Nagar, Pir Patho, Pokhran, Tharri, Thul Mir Rukan, Tirath Laki, Vinjrot and Yak-Thambi. Since places were holy and revered by both Muslims and Hindus equally, they assigned different deities to each place and evaded fighting. Water was considered a malefertilising element and vegetation as female element.

SIGNIFICANCE OF HOLY PLACES OF SINDH

In all the arid zones of the world as in Sindh, the places of permanent sources of water supply have become important due to this factor alone. Such points also connected the ancient routes of migration latest by 4,000 BC, though many times even earlier and in case of Sindh probably immediately after the rise of Mehrgarh around 6,500 BC.

Subsequently when the governments were formed, these settlements became centres of various state functionaries. Around this time, the priests raised symbolic buildings of different religious orders. The early religions, which were invariably sponsored jointly by the government and priests, decayed in time, but places did not lose their symbolic importance once



gained. During this period arose the natural religion of water worship, a religion befitting the environments of the arid zones, wherein by some mysterious process, which they did not understand, the places were provided with water by nature. Water worshipping may have been the chief religion before the rise of the Indus culture (3,500 BC) and after the decay of Sindh's irrigation system caused by the change in the course of the River Indus around 1650 BC and setting in of arid climate. This religion continued to thrive up to 825 BC, when two religions one of the Aryan gods and the other of the lingering deities of the Indus culture, started interacting and in the seventh century BC came up a refined new religion of the Aryan people in the form of Upanishads. The gods like Siva, goddess Kali Devi, Yoga postures of meditation and Pipal tree are considered the contributions of the Indus religion to the Aryan religion and so is the symbol Swastika. In the sixth century BC, the population increased due to extension of irrigation and more areas came under plough at the cost of pasture lands causing shortage of meat. The priests (Brahmans) elevated cow to the level of a holy animal to increase number of bullocks for ploughing and banned use of meat of all kinds of animals for everybody except themselves. But these injunctions were not workable in non-irrigated arid zones of low rainfall, where crops could not be raised and animal husbandry was possible even on scanty shrubs produced by small quantity of rainwater. The people of Sindh, therefore, ate meat even when they embraced Buddhism and Jainism. Hindus called them untouchables and Bhil, Kohli, Menghwar, etc., of Thar belonged to this category of people. After the creation of Pakistan they are still downtrodden, though called Hindus by Muslims.

In Sindh, all such centres where water is permanently available have become holy and have changed names of shrines and gods as one religion displaced the other.

COMMON RELIGIOUS CENTRES OF MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS

Conversion of Hindus and Buddhists to Islam did not lead to abandonment of holy places. The old deities were converted to Muslim Pirs' tombs and both Muslims and Hindus revered them equally. The following are some examples:

- Qalandar Shahbaz was called Raja Bhartari by Hindus.
- * Shaikh Tabari Tahir is believed to have come in the form of camel and his grave was visited by betrothed men and married women. He was considered an incarnation of the river god and Odero Lal by Hindus.
- * Cult of the River Indus, Darya Panth, was peculiar to Sindhi Lohanas.
- * Cult of the river at Sukkur-Bakhar-Rohri became Khawaja Khizir to Muslims and Zindah Pir to Hindus.
- * Cult of river near Thatta and adoration of Shah Jhando became saviour of fishermen and Pir Patho to Muslims.
- * Cult of crocodile at Manjabari was converted in to shrine of Manghopir.
- * Vegetation was closely associated with feminine, like Pir Jhariyan.
- * Pir Khalifa was a woman of Hingora clan.
- * Mai Pir (mother saint) was found near the River Indus.

These entries are detailed in the form of table attached.

RELIGIONS AND POPULATION PATTERNS

Buddhism, Hinduism, Ismailism and Sufism survived side by side, in the thirteenth century. Buddhism disappeared totally at the end of that century while Hinduism and Sunni Islam survived, leaving Ismailis only as a small minority. The causes for this change are to be investigated and most probably can be due to following factors:

Buddhism had introduced worship of Buddha as deity under Mahayana doctrines and they became close to Hinduism. Sacred language of Buddhists was Pali but due to large-scale conversion of Hindus to Buddhism, the new Buddhist preachers (Brahman converts) started writing Buddhist holy books in Sanskrit, a language on which they had mastery. The Buddhist contribution to Sanskrit language from 200 BC to 200 AD was no less than of Brahmans from 1000 BC. This brought the two religions close and easy

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	COMMON RELIGIOUS CENT	NELIGIC	JUS CEIN	INES OF			VICINI I I I LE	IN SINDE	RES OF VARIOUS COMMUNITIES IN SINDH SINCE ANTIQUITY	TOOLLY
No.	Name of Centre	Water Diety	Buddhist Shrine	Hindu Shrine	Muslim Shrine	Commer- cial Centre	Govern- ment Function- aries	Whether existed in 800-1300 A.D	Whether existed in 1300 –1800 A.D	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	9	7	8	6	10	11
1.	Dhadhar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
2.	Sibi	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
3.	Lahri (Kachhi)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
4.	Gandava	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
5.	Pandhi Wahi	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	
9.	Vinjrot	0	Yes	Yes	No	No	$ m N_{o}$	Yes	No	Indus culture.
7.	Mathelo	0	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		Yes	Yes	
8.	Alore	0	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Capital of Sindh.
9.	Bakhar	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
										The Muslim Shrine
10.	Zindah Pir	Yes	N _o	Yes	Yes	o O	o N	Yes	Yes	was revered by
										Hindus too.
										No.9 to 13 are in fact
11.	Sadhbelo	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	one large centre
										serving a combined
										function.
										N.9 to 13 came up at
12	Sukkur	Yes	Z	Z	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	about the end of 10"
į		3))				3	3	century. Sakara belongs
										to 5" century BC.
13.	Rohri	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
14.	Mitho Dero	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	
										A short-lived Soomra
										town, burnt by
15.	Junani	ı	1	,	Yes	ı	Yes	No	Yes	Sammas on Western
	(Junnanni)									Nara. Ruins near
										Warah town.
16.	Dhamraho	1	Yes	?	?	Yes	?	Yes	No	
17.	Darbelo	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
18.	Yak Thambi	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	It is connected with Sehwan, the oldest living city in Sindh.

1	2	3	4	5	9	7	~	6	10	11
										300-400 acres under cultivation on
19.	Naing	Yes	$ m N_{o}$	No	Yes	Yes	m No	Yes	Yes	spring water now owned by Sayeds.
20.	Pokhran	Yes	$^{ m oN}$	No	No	$^{ m oN}$	No	$sa_{\mathbf{A}}$	Yes	
21.	Ghaibi Pir	Yes	oN	No	Yes	No	No	SeX	Yes	
22.	Sehwan	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
23.	Thul Mir Rukan	No	$^{ m oN}$	No	No	$^{ m oN}$	0	$_{ m Aex}$	No	
24.	Tirath Laki	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	λ es	Yes	
25.	Depar Ghanghro	Yes	$^{ m oN}$	No	No	Sea	Yes	$_{ m Aes}$	No	
26.	Brahmanabad- Mansura.	Yes	Хes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	SeY	No	
27.	Odero Lal	Yes	oN	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Established in 10 th century.
28.	Nasarpur	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
29.	Nerun	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	SəĀ	Yes	It is not Hyderabad, but 10 miles south.
30.	Dhaliya	No	Yes	0	0	Yes	0	λ es	No	East of Mirpurkhas.
31.	Amarkot	Yes	A	Yes	No	$_{ m A}$	Yes	SəX	Yes	
32.	Budhjo Takar	0	Yes	No	No	0	0	Xes	No	
33.	Jherruck	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Khoja sanctuary.
34.	Jhimpir	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Water spring and rain water.
35.	Makli (Thatta)	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Aes	Yes	
36.	Manjabari	Yes	0	Yes	Yes	oN	No	$_{ m A}$	Yes	
37.	Landhi	Yes	SəK	$^{ m oN}$	No	oN	No	SəX	No	Early Indus culture.
38.	Gujjo	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	SəX	Yes	Early Indus culture.
39.	Sudheranjo Daro	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	λ es	No	3 rd century AD.
40.	Tharri	No	sa_{A}	Yes	Yes	səX	Yes	$sa_{ m A}$	No	2 nd Soomra capital.
41.	Debal (Banbhore/ Barbarican)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	səX	No	Jewish synagogue.
42	Pir Patho	Yes	i	Yes	Yes	No	No	$_{ m Aes}$	Yes	
43.	Kotri Allah Rakhryo	Yes	i	No	Yes	No	$ m N_{o}$	Yes	Yes	11 th century Ismaili town.
44.	Muhammad Tur	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	3 rd Soomra capital.

1	2	3	4	5	9	7	∞	6	10	11
45.	Lahri Bunder	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	A number of sites of same name.
46.	Ghori	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Originally Jain.
47.	Virawah	Yes	No	Yes	$N_{\rm O}$	Yes	$N_{\rm O}$	Yes	Yes	Originally Jain holy site.
48.	Pari Nagar	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	5 th century BC Jain temple.
49.	Nagar Parkar	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Jain Temple.
50.	Bhodesar	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Originally Jain.
51.	Bhag	Yes	i	i	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
52.	Uch	Yes	i	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
53.	Larkana	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
54.	Shah Godriyo	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	
55.	Garhi	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
56.	Mian Nasir	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
57.	Pat	No	No	No	Yes School	Yes	$N_{\rm O}$	No	Yes	A river port.
58.	Baghban	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
59.	Talti	No	No	No	No School	No	No	No	Yes	
.09	Samtani	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	
61.	Bubak	Yes	Yes	0	Yes	Yes	0	0	Yes	
62.	Rel	No	No	No	Yes School	No	$N_{\rm O}$	No	Yes	
63.	Hala Kandi	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
64.	Samui	No	No	No	Yes School	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
65.	Sonda	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	
.99	Chaukhandi	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	
67.	Jun	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
68.	Bulri	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	

to understand. Under Kushans and later on under Guptas, Hinduism incorporated many doctrines of Buddhism, bringing less disparity between the two. In the fifth century Huns destroyed all kingdoms of north India and West Pakistan (Sindh excluded) and forcibly converted Buddhists to Hinduism. Buddhism survived in Sindh even after Hun devastation, but it was not a practical religion in Thar and Kohistan, as both being rain-fed pasture lands, people raised cattle, goat, sheep and camel there, but no fruits and vegetables and therefore, ate meat forbidden in Buddhism. Thus, they were not good Buddhists anyway. Hinduism also tolerated eating meat except of cow and bull. Thus closeness to Hinduism absorbed many Buddhists to their rank. Ismailis had converted many Buddhists and Hindus to their faith, but they started losing ground, due to overwhelming influence of Sunni Delhi Sultanate. Delhi Sultanate supported Sufis, who too were Sunnis. Soomras were squeezed between two faiths, Sunnism and Ismailism. So long the religion of majority was Ismailism they stuck to it. There is a universal rule that kings must either impose their religion on the masses or accept their religion. Soomras did accommodate Sufi saints, but majority of their tribe stuck to Ismailism and therefore they did not convert, though paid homage to Sunni Sufis. Sufis started converting Samma tribes to Sunnism and in the first half of the fourteenth century, Sunni Sammas striving for power replaced Soomras easily. Soon after losing power Soomras too became Sunnis to gain support of Sunni Sultanate of Delhi and its governors of Gujarat and Multan, but it was too late and after the fall of Soomras, only a small minority retained Ismaili faith in Sindh. They were business class and for them to remain in business while not charging interest from loanee and pay interest to those advancing them funds for business, was not practical. Ismailism was not too harsh in these matters.

SNAKE WORSHIP

Many rural Sindhi people to this day consider poisonous cobra snake as saint and avoid killing it unless direct attack becomes imminent. They kill other snakes coming in their way. Eighty-five per cent snakes farmers kill them whenever came across.

They believe in magic powers of Jogis (Yogis), who claim to attract snakes by musical instruments in spite of the fact that all snakes have no ears and are deaf. Since about 1000 BC, Brahmans had been teaching subject of "snake charming" to the selected students and common men believed in the mystical powers of Jogis to attract snakes by music. Two dies originating from Tharri ruins show two snake deities, a male and another female, with snakes wrapped around their bodies and hair, indicate strong influence of snake charmer's powers in Sindh. This has not declined up to this day, though deities are no longer worshipped.

Serpent worship goes back to Kot Dijjian times, from where a snake figure on a pot has been discovered. Both Buddhists and Hindus believed in male Nagas (serpent gods) and female Nagin around 200 BC. Buddhists made sculptured panels in the form of human head and torso with serpentine extension below waist and a canopy of five or seven cobra heads above human face. In contemporary India there were and still are exclusive Naga shrines in which snakes are brought and fed with offerings by priests. The worshippers are assured of protection from snakes, in addition to human and agricultural fertility and women desiring children set up snake stones. Today's rural people of Sindh due to lingering influence of the past consider cobra as Fakir or saint. Kundalini godess of Tantra sect, established in the seventh century, controls all snakes and even those with two heads at both ends. It is believed that Kundalini coils around people many times while they are asleep. Buddhists, Hindus and Tantra all believed in snake gods and goddesses. Finding of two deities from Sindh dating to eleventh to thirteenth century show snake worship in the then Sindh. These deities are different from those found from India and show local influence or local creation. In Hindu faith Siva is shown with snakes coiling around his neck and hair.

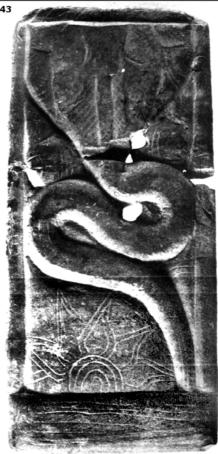
DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS FLEXIBILITY AMONG SINDHI HINDUS AFTER ARAB CONQUEST AND HABARI RULE

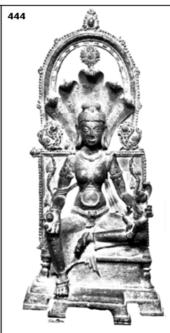
SNAKE WORSHIP

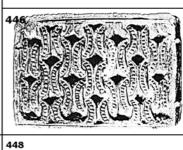
Snake worship or snake as deity can be traced back to 3000 BC in Sindh as discused on previous page. It was common in Crete and other Mediterranean countries





















- 442. Coil Naga 125 X 85 cms. Alampur Archaeological Museum, Andhra Pradesh.
- 443. Naga Raja carved on schist stone decorated with lily flower from Brahmanabad-Mansura.
- 444. Manasa goddess of snakes. Bronze 46 X 18 cms, British Museum.
- 445. Mycenaeans snake goddess from Crete 1600 BC from palace of Knossos. She may have been queen, princess or priestess. Faience, H 29.5 cms, Heraklion Museum Crete. (Art of Classical World, by Donald Strong, London 1965 AD).
- 446. Design on a tile from Kahujo Daro showing serpent coil around various diamond-shaped impressions. (Cousens).
- 447. Highly decorated female deity with snakes around hair, neck, arms, etc. (MHP).
- 448. Highly decorated male deity with snakes around neck, hair, arms, etc. Probably Siva. (MHP).
- 449. Indian snake charmer kissing cobra. Dawn Karachi dated 9th August 2002 calls it "Kiss of Death". Cobra gets paralysed by summer heat and can not open its mouth. Only in cool of night he is able to feed. It is therefore safe to play with it.

Devala-Smriti, a text dating between 800 to 1000 AD by Devala, who while sitting on the bank of the River Indus (the holy river of Aryans), is said to have been approached by a number of Hindu sages to guide them on re-purification of members of all the four Hindu castes, i.e., Brahman, Khatri, Vaisha and Sudra. He laid down certain principles for re-conversion of those Hindus who had become Muslims. The text has survived to this day. The rules laid down were:

- A Hindu becomes Meleccha (impure) only after four years contact with Meleccha (Muslim), but Devala provided exception by extending the period to twenty years.
- Various periods of Hindus remaining Meleccha were condoned by certain simple ceremonies, like drinking Yavaka for a fortnight.
- iii) A woman who became pregnant by direct contact with Meleccha, had to clean her private part with clarified butter, but child of such union was given away to others to adopt and was not killed.
- iv) A woman could be re-admitted to Hinduism even after twenty years of living with Meleccha.
- v) A person remaining Muslim up to twenty years was re-admitted to Hinduism by undergoing lunar penance i.e., diminishing his food by one mouthful during the dark half of lunar month i.e., 23rd day to 7th day of next month and increasing it by the same amount during the bright half of lunar cycle, i.e., 8th to 22nd day of the month.

This text was used by Sindhi Hindus. By taking beef they became Meleccha, but could easily purify themselves. This type of flexibility changed the Hindu mind in Sindh and they accepted peaceful co-existence with Muslims even up to now, unlike in other areas of South Asia.

HOW BUDDHISM DIED IN SINDH?

Buddhists were in majority in Sindh since Asokan times (272 BC) as were its rulers except for brief period under Vasudeva and Sassanians (183-256 AD). Chach's Brahman dynasty (641-711 AD) and his successors accommodated Buddhists by appointing them as governors of southern Sindh, but retained Hindu governors in northern Sindh and Multan. In rural areas Buddhists formed majority and in urban areas they

formed a class of rich businessmen. They had a large number of stupas scattered all over Sindh, but had no stupa at Debal, which was Saivite at least since early 7th century and Heun Tswang (629-641 AD) records it as Mahesvara Deva (epithet of Siva). Since a substantial population of Persian Jews lived at Banbhore and were visited by many Jew traders and Rabbinates (business guides), presence of a synagogue (Deval) there may have given it the local name Debal.

In 711 AD, Moka and Basil, the two Buddhist brothers controlled the area between two branches of the Indus or delta. The governor of Nerun was a Buddhist and they were in majority between Nerun and Sehwan. They were also in majority from Nerun to Alore on the left bank of the river. North of Alore to Multan was primarily a Hindu populated area. A number of caves in the Khirthar hills of Sehwan and Kohistan were Buddhist sites. Buddists of Sindh belonged to Sammitiya school and not to Himayana, which was the popular school in India. Tantric Buddhism, a late form of Mahayana, was also known in Sindh, but was unpopular among Sammitiyas and had fewer adherents.

Of Hindus, Saivites formed nearly 90% (235 out of 273 temples). In 6th century Kali Devi temple of Hinglaj was called Bibi Nani or Mai Nani or Parvati, Kali Mata etc. A Saivite temple existed in Kalat and another at Mastunj (Mastung). Saura or solar cult, worshipping Sun god existed in Sindh and Surya at Multan, but stone frame of Surya was also found at Brahmanabad. Multan's Sun Temple was most important in the whole India.

After Saivites next important sect of Sindhi Hindus was Vaisna, the fragments of whose image have been recovered from Banbhore. Probably this sect was responsible for writing a drama concerning separation of Radha from Krishna in Sindhi dialect (Saindhava Bhasa) latest in the tenth century AD. The word Odero Lal on the Indus, came in existence some time in twelfth century, is derived from Prakrit "Udda Yara" (creator of waters). Muslim and Hindu shrines there made it holy for both communities since then. Buddhists did not play any role due to their shrinking numbers. Kathias, immigrants to Kathiawar, had their dynasty established there and named as Saindhava in 8th-9th century. They were not Buddhists in the new country, showing decline of Buddhism in migrant



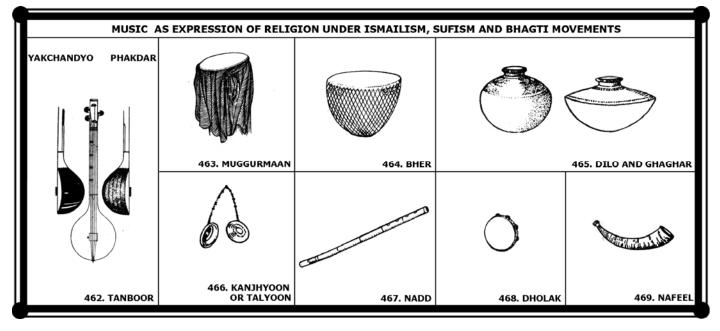
population.

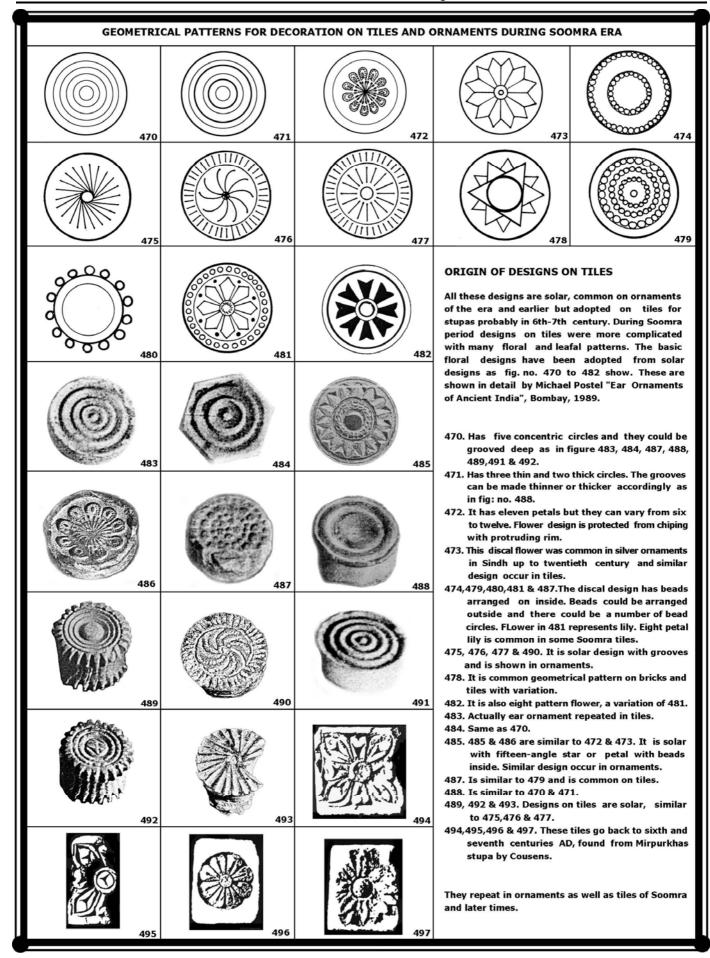
Arabs did not encourage conversion. They granted "Aman" to any one asking for it and 65% population were given Aman. Agriculturists, merchants and artisans who contributed towards taxes were readily given Aman or peace. Muhammad bin Qasim imposed Jizyah according to income at forty-eight, twenty-four and twelve silver dirhams. The later governors reduced this amount to half, i.e., within affordability of the parties.

Muhammad bin Qasim appointed hereditary Brahmans for rural administration and tax collection. Both Hindus and Buddhists were allowed to repair places of their worship. Caste system as existed among the Hindus was allowed to continue. Of Jizyah collection's three per cent was allowed to be paid to non-Muslim religious institutes and priests were allowed to solicit contribution from public. So long public paid taxes to the government regularly, they were allowed to observe their religious duties peacefully. The policy of Arabs in Sindh concerning conquest and governing was focussed on submission of Sindhis and not their conversion. Arab policies also reconfirmed local restrictive traditions regarding caste hierarchy and privileges of high castes. It was only during Ismailis from the end of tenth century that this policy was challenged to attract masses, but start was made only with locally influential people.

Buddhists, as inter-regional traders, collaborated with Arabs in the hope of opening markets restricted to them, but Hindus were not collaborators. Buddhists had collaborated in case of Debal, Nerun, Bet, Sahrah, Siwistan and Buddhiyah. After Dahar's death some Hindus collaborated, but majority of Hindus did put military resistance.

Buddhist businessmen were helped by monasteries in central Asia, South Asia and China. Monasteries even acted as banks and accepted Hundies (cheques). However, initially there was discrimination against all non-Arab traders, but later on under Abbasids, Iranian merchants were treated at par with Arabs. It was then that the Buddhists voluntarily embraced Islam to improve their chances. Sindhi Hindus also made efforts to reduce rate of conversion, accepted re-conversion, adopted liberalisation of religion to attract Muslim converts as well as to convert Buddhists. On the other hand rich Buddhist business community converted to Islam and their poor kin of rural area followed. Thus Buddhism gradually lost ground before the end of thirteenth century, though Sudheranjo stupa survived up to at least mid-fourteenth century, as presence of Muhammad Tughlaq's coins there shows.





CHAPTER 23

ARTS, CRAFTS, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURAL TECHNIQUES

COTTON TEXTILES

was a perennial bush, but as it moved north to cold subtropics, it was either killed or damaged by frost and grew again to become annual bush or plant. It was known to Mehrgarhians in 4,500-4,000 BC and came under cultivation. In Sindh and Gujarat on perennial trees flourished even in the seventeenth century. Cloth was woven from it and methods of weaving are known, but due to lack of excavation of Soomra towns in ruins no samples have been obtained. One sample of Ajrak piece, dyed with indigo having some resemblances with modern Sindhi Ajark found in Gujarat may have been of Sindh origin. It is presumed that Mohenjo Daro Priest-King maybe wearing an Ajark.

Another piece of silken cloth found in Gujarat has close similarities with Sindhi Loongi and may have originated here. Rann of Kutch was a sea creek called Gulf de Inde de Sindi by Dutch in the sixteenth century. It dried up after 1224 AD. Khawarizm Shah had burnt Pari Nagar, which was a trading port on this Gulf until then. Till that time Sindh had close contacts with Gujarat as Kutch, an island, acted as bridge between Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat and finding Sindh's textiles there is not surprising. Silk originated in China, but was imported in Europe until silk worms reached there by stealth around the beginning of New Era. Silk was being imported in Sindh from China via Silk Route or across Gilgit hills and then down the Indus for export as well as local use far back in 200 BC to 200 AD. Silk threads were dyed to various colours and then woven to chosen designs for Loongis.

DYES

Sindh produced indigo and madder for many millennia for local use and export. Tamarisk fruit also fixed dark colour. To fix colours they fermented millet flour with iron powder and dyed cloth was submerged into this liquid.

PRECISION, METAL CASTING AND DYES

Metal working, specially precision casting in brass showed high level of skill. Deities made by die-casting process show precision workmanship usually achievable only after the use of modern tools and magnifying glasses.

Casting in brass has shown high skills in case of three kohl or Kajal or antimony holders. A brass kohl holder found from Mohenjo Daro has similarities with those from Soomra ruins. Some terracotta kohl holders of similar shape have been found from Mohenjo Daro.

POTTERY

It was invented at Mehrgarh about 7,000 to 7,500 years ago against 8,500 years ago in Mesopotamia, Egypt and China, with a gap of one thousand years. It reached its highest stage of development in Mohenjo Daro. Pottery of Soomra era is similar to that of Mohenjo Daro in many respects, with some modifications, discussed in various illustrations.

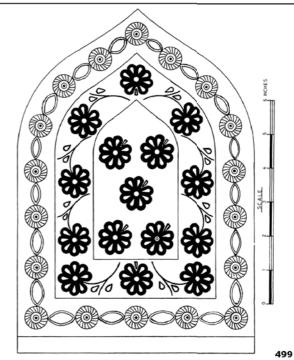
IVORY

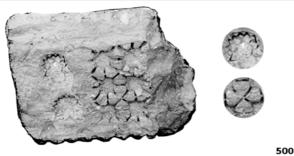
Belasis found ivory balusters of furniture and rails from Brahmanabad in 1854 AD, similar in shape to

ARTISTIC TILES AND BRICKS OF SOOMRA PERIOD

Origin of die cast stamped and sculptured tiles and bricks in Sindh goes back to antiquity. Knife cut bricks have been found at Mohenjo Daro and such bricks and tiles have been unearthed from Kahujo Daro and Sudheranjo Daro Buddhist stupas. Sculpturing was done while brick was still wet. The job was delicate, artistic and time-consuming. It is no longer being practised, due to heavy influence of Delhi Sultanate and Mughal architectural methods, which were again borrowings from Iran and central Asia. The die cast tiles have designs, which were copy of ear and nose ornaments from neighouring countries and some designs are illustrated to show similarities. Die cast tiles had many floral designs going back to 6th century and this art continued being practised until early 16th century. Fig. no. 498 to 513 are tiles of the period.









501

- 498. Die cast tile probably for religious purposes used in mosques or graves. It has extremely beautiful floral pattern and figure attached shows the details. The 8 petal flower is not South Asian lily. At the border other circles are divided in-to inner and outer circles with different designs. The workmanship is highly artistic and wooden mould surface must have either metallic dies fixed to it or it maybe a design engraved in stone to form bottom of brick mould. W.18.03 cms. H. 25.4 cms. L. up to shoulders 20.3 cms. T.8.2 cms. (SM).
- 499. Tile of Soomra period, a reconstruction. It is drawing of tile 498 by the author to show the high standard of workmanship. (MHP).
- 500. Die cast tile or notched tile. It has die cast flowers at one end and knife sculptured patterns at other end. Edges are notched with knife to produce triangular patterns. FLowers are shown separately. (LM).
- 501. Die cast block for special decoration of parapit walls of houses or graves and mosques. (LM).
- 502. Tile of Soomra period, a reconstruction by the author. The square tile has four designs of leaves and flowers die cast uniformly in fifteen rows. To separate the rows four squares are drawn with sharp tool manually. In the centre the circular flowers are arranged on sixteen leaves of three different sizes. Workmanship is of excellent quality. The original is in Sindh Museum. (MHP).

those of twentieth century wooden cradle common in houses of all middle class Sindhis. They show fine turnery job by the artisans. This dates to 1026 AD, the year of burning of Mansura-Brahmanabad by Mahmud of Ghazni. The art has not been lost to this day, but is too costly in ivory and instead wood is used.

Some ivory pieces used as ornaments have been found in museums in Sindh also belonging to Soomra period.

GLAZED POTTERY

Glaze of blue on white background in pottery invented in China reached Sindh in Soomra period and many samples of pottery have been collected from the surface of Soomra ruins by people who have sold them to museums. Patterns on them are simple geometrical and unlike highly sophisticated designs of China and Iran and should be considered as local art.

Glazed pottery goes back to Mohenjo Daro times (2,350 BC). The word Kashi has no connection with Kashi (Benares) and Kashgar in Sinkiang (China). It existed when Kashi or Kashgar did not exist. It comes from word "Kach", meaning glass and Kashigar for a person producing glossy surface.

Decorative glazed Sassanian jar has been unearthed from Banbhore. Similar unglazed jar has been found from Soomra site. Both have four small handles near the neck, which are highly decorative and possibly for hanging from four ropes. Their use could be storage of liquids like sesame, mustard, castor and other oils.

Glazing in Soomra period was limited to small house-hold crockery pieces as no larger pieces have been found so far but the presence of blue on white glaze found sufficiently in the early thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is definitely to be considered unique. A glazed tile of this era from Sindh Museum shows the beginning of glazed tiles in Sindh.

TYPES OF LIDS

Four types of jar lids are commonly found in Sindh since Mohenjo Daro times:

- Recessed lid.
- Cutting ring on the base of a form.

- Levelling off the base.
- Lid sitting inside the pot.

Similar and identical types have been found from Soomra sites.

All the four can be with or without lifting knob, though knob usually was common. And all are still used in Sindh. They can be glazed or unglazed and even made of polished stone.

GLAZING OF CROCKERY AND TILES IN SOOMRA ERA

Flux is used to melt glaze at lower temperatures. Lead is commonly used for the purpose. It is prepared by white lead mixed in equal quantity with red clay. If lead is less than 66 per cent it will give it dull rough surface and if above that quantity it produces a shining surface. Alumina is added so that clay flux containing sand or silica does not melt to form liquid glass and spread. Lead flux and lead glazes need temperatures of 906-990°C. Advantage of lead flux is that other fluxes such as calcium, zinc and magnesium used along with soda and potash, though considered as low temperature fluxes, are soluble in water and therefore are difficult to use them. Borax, salt soda, soda ash, sodium bicarbonate, pearl ash and potassium bichromate are added as flux, but the results are never certain. Alkaline glazes give brilliant colours. Copper oxide added to alkaline glazes gives turquoise colour and coppers added to lead glaze produce harsh grassy green.

COMMON GLAZES

- * Copper is used as black copper oxide or copper carbonate and 1 to 6 per cent copper will produce different shades.
- * Cobalt is used in small quantities from 0.5 to 2.5 per cent. It gives blue colour to the glaze.
- * Iron is used as ferrous oxide (FeO) as well as ferric oxide (F₂O₃). The first produces black colour and second red colour. With different mixtures the first produces buff and yellow at 5 to 10 per cent and if added at 8 per cent to high lead glaze, it gives dark red colour.
- * Manganese in form of manganese dioxide (MnO₂) and as manganese carbonate (MnCO₃) at 5 to 10

ARTISTIC TILES AND BRICKS OF SOOMRA PERIOD 503 504 505 506 503. Die cast tile has four floral patterns drawn very accurately possibly on stone mould. It is highly accurate and drawn by artist with the help of

- good geometrical instruments, used by modern engineers from eighteenth to twentieth centuries. L.23.5 cms. W.15.25cms. T.4.25 cms. (SM).
- 504. Sculptured tile with triangles, squares and crosses. The sqaure and rectangles have been sculptured with knife and they are not of uniform size and bottom portion is rough. Thickness 3-4 cms, Max.L.18.4 cms. Max.W.9.1 cms. (SM).
- 505. Drawing of die cast tile. It is a tile having floral design with eight petals. Flowers are laid diagonally in a rectangle in five lines as 1,3, 4,3 and I flowers in each of five lines, but spacing of rectangles from each other is not uniform. Flowers are delicately provided with 8 leaves all uniformly of same size. L. 25.4 cms. W.18.4 cms. T.4.25 cms. (SM).
- 506. Decorative die-cast tile for interior or exterior decoration. It has two patterns, one embossed or raised and other too raised but has six petal flower sunken. (SM).

- per cent produces purplish-brown glaze. Added to alkaline glaze, it gives egg- plant colour or violet.
- Antimony oxide at 3 to 6 per cent produces yellow colour.
- * Tin oxide added at 10 per cent to glaze, gives it white opaque background.

The above gives an idea of technology used during Soomra period to produce different shades in glazed pottery and tiles.

MIXING GLAZING

Mortar and pestle were used to make fine powders to pass 100 mesh sieves. There was no ball mill in the antiquity and only mortar and pestle were used. Glazes mixed in this way do not produce colour unless mixing continues for days. Glazes are kept stirred after mixing with water in mortar and pestle. Gum is mixed with it as binder. Organic gums of trees acacia nilotica, zizyphus species and many other trees are readily available in Sindh and on firing they break into carbon dioxide, steam and nitrate gases without affecting glaze. Addition of gum is guesswork and usually one tablespoon or in olden days one common shell spoon was used per litre.

Glazes are applied by dipping or pouring as first coat. The clay objects are dipped in water for several minutes to saturate them with water so that they do not absorb water from glaze. They are then taken out and glaze poured on surface or spread on surface by brushes, but the coat is not uniform as would be with dipping. However, dipping would cover the whole internal and external surfaces, whether needed or not and consume more glaze. In Sindh the artisans coat surface by pouring and then drying it before applying more colours on the background so produced, by brushing. Applying glaze with brush needs a delicate touch and requires a lot of practice. It is problematic, as brush does not give an even coat and leads to thick deposits of glaze where strokes overlap. As long as glaze coating is damp it can be brushed over, but once it is somewhat drier another brush stroke is risky. These deposits melt and spread on firing.

It seems that in Soomra period many of following oxides were used as glaze, but only large collection of material after exploration can determine the full picture.

GLAZE ORES OF SOOMRA PERIOD

S.No.	Colour	Ore powders used
1.	Blue	Copper + cobalt oxide
		or copper.
2.	Dark blue	Cobalt oxide.
3.	Green	Copper oxide, chrome in
		reduction furnace and
	_	ferrous oxide.
4.	Tan	Iron oxide
5.	Red	Iron oxide, cadmium and
		selenium. Copper in reduction
_	D' 1	firing below 950°C.
6.	Pink	Chrome + tin oxide.
7.	Yellow	Antimony oxide.
8.	Grey violet	Manganese carbonate.
9.	Black	Manganese carbonate + copper
		oxide + cobalt oxide as
		20:5:8 or combination of
		any three of four namely
		cobalt, iron, manganese and
10	D 1	copper to a total of 8 to 10%.
10.	Purple	Cobalt.
11.	Grey green	Chromium oxide.
12.	Brown	Iron, manganese + lead oxide and chrome + zinc oxide.
13.	Grey	Nickel.
14.	Yellow base	Red lead + antimony oxide +
		tin oxide as 15: 10: 4.
15.	White	Tin oxide as 10% or zirconium or zircopax 20%.
CD1		

The percentage of oxides is kept low from 1 to 5 per cent in most cases. White and red leads are commonly used as base material. Flint, easily available in Sindh, is another common material. Copper, tin and zinc oxides in different proportions can be used.

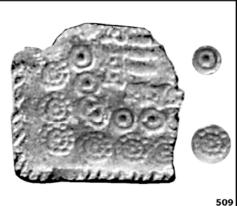
FURNACES OR KILNS

Clay is fine-grained rock, which when suitably crushed and pulverised becomes plastic, wet-leather hard when dried and on firing converts into permanent rock-likes mass. It is part of soil, which consists of sand, silt and clay. In irrigated areas or areas prone to annual flooding for many millennia clay particles move down the soil with water and as force of water is not able to push these particles beyond a depth of 75 to 130 centimetres, it forms hard pan of about 30 to 45 centimetres thick at those depths. In the Indus plains of Sindh, during the Holocene, clay collected at above depths, is easily emoved for making un-burnt and burnt bricks, tiles, pottery, decorative pieces, toys, etc. This

ARTISTIC TILES AND BRICKS OF SOOMRA PERIOD













512

507. Sculptured decorative tile. It has a flower shaped circular pattern stamped at edges and two rows of triangular holes sculptured with knife or sharp tool with a triangular cutting edge similar to one used for cuneiform script. (LM). 508. Die cast tile. The designs resemble fig: no. 474 & 479 of ear ornaments. Patterns on it resemble design of ornaments of Pelo period. (LM). 509. Die cast tile with decorative design. Moulds are not of uniform

- size. It has two type of designs. Outer one has three circles, with hemispherical balls or beads arranged as 1,6 and 12 in each of three rows. The other also has three circles with hemispherical flower in the centre, second circle is depressed and third circle a ring with small hemispherical balls or beads. The edges of tile are sculptured with a knife to produce triangular patterns. (LM).
- 510. Die cast tile. (LM).
- 511. Highly decorative die cast tile. The design can be considered as having three large circles, central and out side sunken and middle raised. The out side circle has design in form of beads common in ear and nose ornaments of era. The circles have raised rectangular border and to fill space between borders, two circles are sunken, with small hole in the centre depicting eyes. The raised border is sculptured with series of crosses by a sharp knife. Max.L.9.3 cms. W. 6.9 cms. T.2.8 cms. Depth of pattern 1.2 cm. (SM).
- 512. Sculptured tile with sunken crosses and squares. (LM).
- 513. Die cast decorative tile with solar disc having two circles of beads; inner circle with 6 beads, outer circle with 18 beads. Beads are protected by raised rims. Discs are connected with stems and leaves. Leaves also have four rows of beads. It has been reproduced on Sindhi Ajrak. (SM).



clay is not 100 per cent pure, is already mixed with sand and silt particles and also contains salts. Its strength, quality and colour are affected by the presence of these impurities. Predominantly it is alumino-silicate.

LOW TEMPERATURE GLAZES

Item	Minimum Temperature ^O C	Maximum Temperature ^O C	Thermal expansion
Lead oxide	800	1180	Low
Potassium oxide	900	1400	High
Sodium ox- ide	850	1400	High
Boric acid	800	1400	Very Low
Zinc oxide	1050	1400	Low
Calcium ox- ide	1100	1400	Medium
Barium ox- ide	1150	1400	Medium
Magnesium oxide	1150	1400	Medium

BASIC GLAZES

Type of glaze	Ore/material	Percent	Remarks
Earthenware glazes (1060°C)	Lead bisilicate China clay	80% 0%	For white colour 8% tin oxide is added and for black, 4% manganese oxide, 2% cobalt and 2% iron oxide are added.
Glazes for stoneware (1280°C)	Felsar Dolomite Whiting China clay	0% 2.5% .5% 4%	If need be 5% tin oxide is added.
Transparent glazes	Felspar Whiting Kaolin (china clay) Flint	70% 12.5% 13% 4.5%	
Black glazes	Iron oxide	10%	
Calcium mat	Felspar Whiting Dolomite Zinc Fflint	20% 22% 15% 3% 40%	
Felspathic glazes	Barium carbonates Colemanite Dolomite Zinc oxide Magnesium carbonate Talc	5-10% 5-10% 5-10% 1-6% 2-7% 5-15%	

Cutting away excess clay from sides of a pot is done before biscuit firing to harden the clay so that it can easily be glazed. It is fired at a temperature below that of gloss, but it must reach maturing temperature either at gloss firing or at biscuit firing. Biscuit temperatures are 1,000 to 1140°C, but 1050°C is normal. Temperature is raised slowly to 500°C over first six hours. Free water will be driven off and needs gradual rise of temperature so that steam formed in the process does not burst the clay object. At 300°C most steam is removed.

DECORATION IN BRICKS

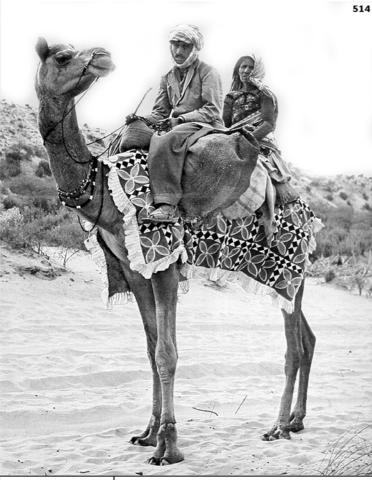
Archaeologists Cousens and Bhandarker found a large number of bricks with motifs of Buddha and geometrical patterns in both Kahujo Daro (near Mirpukhas) and Sudheranjo Daro (near Saidpur). These bricks were cast like the present bricks, in which trade mark is embossed in the frog of the brick. Many intricate designs of bricks have been found from Soomra period mounds by villagers. professionals have bought and sold to museums. The bricks have triangles, squares, crosses and flowers on their face and they probably formed external or internal face of housings, secular and religious structures and probably of graves too. They are highly ornamental. Absence of human or animal motifs shows that they belonged to the late Soomra period when Buddhism was disappearing in the form of conversion to Islam or merger with Hinduism, as the latter faith had accepted many Buddhist doctrines and the two had become nearly undistinguishable. However, a few findings cannot lead to final conclusions.

Besides the designs on the face, there are bricks with notches called Kungro. A notched or cut brick of similar shape had been found at Mohenjo Daro. All these bricks must have been burnt on edge so as not to damage protruding designs. Transportation also must have been on edge. Their use must have been in the ceiling and external walls and sometimes even for internal walls. They seem to have been laid in mud plaster. Even in the first half of twentieth century bricks were laid in mud plaster but pointing was done in lime-sand plaster.

Another development of the era was the

PAINTED ROSETTE PATTERN OF INDUS CULTURE STILL IN USE IN RURAL SINDH

Rosette designs of Indus culture from Amri to Chanhu Daro (3700-1650 BC) led to lily petal designs and during Soomra period in 4,6,8,12 & 16 petal designs found on tiles and ornaments. The design of camel rug in figure below is the same as used on pottery from 3500 BC to modern times as shown in fig: no. 517 & 518.





515



516

519



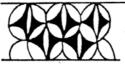
AMRI (3700-3300 BC)



Early Indus

KOT DIJJI (3300-2500 BC)







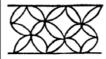
MOHENJO DARO (2350-1650 BC)



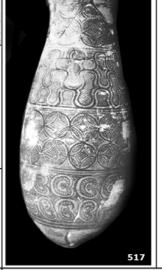


Mature Indus

CHANHU DARO (Contemporary of Mohenjo Daro)







514. Design on modern camel rug is similar to rosette figures in 517 & 518 and also 299.

- 515, 516 & 519. Baskets from date-palm, peesh or wheat straw have many artistic designs going back to early and mature Indus culture as shown in fig: no. 518 and 299 and were common through all these centuries.
- 517. Mohenjo Daro painted pot with rosette and solar design.
- 518. Rosette designs common in Indus culture are still used in 21st century rural Sindh.

manufacture of grills for fixing in windows and ventilators with or without wooden windows. A design in geometrical pattern shows outer influence. Grills in stone or marble were common in tombs in Delhi Sultanate's territories. Grills in burnt bricks was an innovation and it manifested itself in the highest development under early Kalhoras. Yar Muhammad Kalhora's tomb, which has thirty-two grills and one of them is almost similar to a grill from Soomra era, now in Badin Museum. This grill appears to be well burnt. The Yar Muhammad Kalhora's grills were glazed on both sides. For burning bricks high temperatures of around 1400°C are used while for glazing, temperatures are maintained at 900-1200°C and the objects get low strength. For Chinaware they use kaolin and very high temperatures 1450-1699°C are used which give it high strength.

GLASS

Glass is made by fusing silica (sand) with soda or potash or both, a process which was discovered accidentally by explorers in the sixteenth century while cooking food. Later on barium oxide, flint, lead oxide and brosilicate were added to prepare ovenware. It was toughened by rapid cooling. Glass crystals were found in hills, were collected and fused to make different ware. It was also used in ornaments. Glass pieces resembling to bangles have been recovered from surface collection of Soomra sites. Glass jars, jugs and other decorative stuff were luxury items among the elite and were imported during the Habaris' rule of Sindh, which also continued during the Soomra rule, as surface findings show.

ORNAMENTS

The use of ornaments by both males and females goes beyond civilisation to hunter food-gatherer tribes in Sindh or elsewhere. Elaborate ornaments existed during Mohenjo Daro times and afterwards. A number of ornaments have been collected from surface of Soomra's ruined towns and are made of terracotta, metal, stone, bone, ivory, shell, agate, lapis lazuli, copper, silver, coloured stones, carnelians, onyx and crystals and have some similarities with Mohenjo Daro

ornaments specially in bead shapes and sizes.

There is also some influence of ornaments from geographically surrounding areas, trade contacts, wars of conquests and occupation by foreign invaders. Ancient ornamental designs have survived in modified form even today. The Mohenjo Daro tradition has survived even now and so must have been reflected during the Soomra period. The Indus culture or Mohenjo Daro male and female ornaments shown in figures could well be compared to the pre-British Indian ornaments. In the same way it is difficult to deny the influence of ornaments of areas adjoining to Sindh over traditional Sindhi ornaments. A study of earrings shows very close resemblance between Kutchi and Sindhi ornaments.

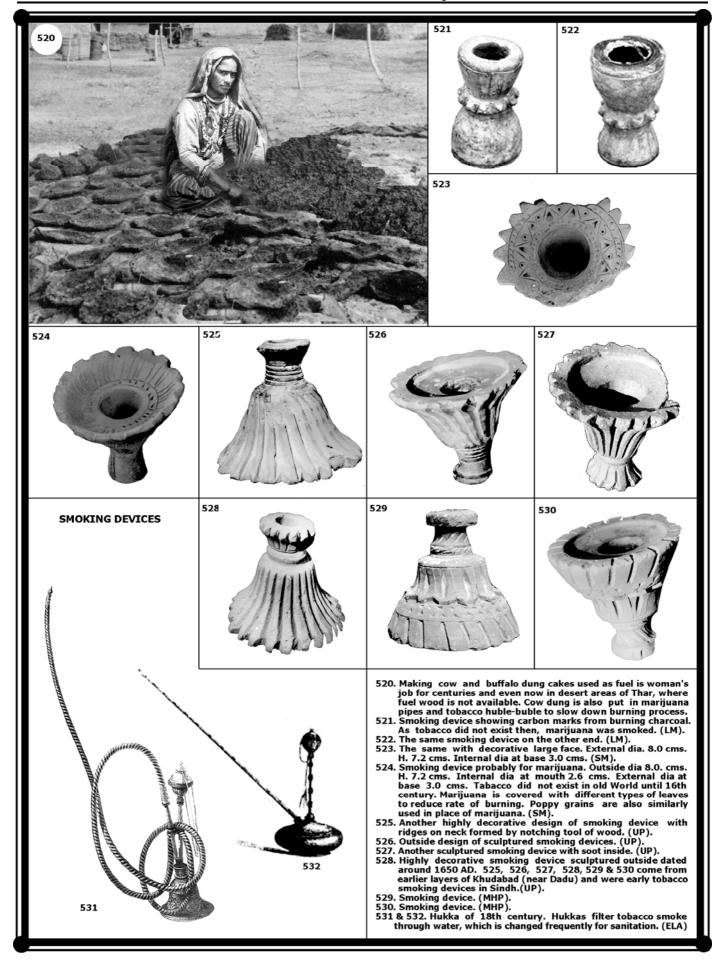
Common ornaments found at Mohenjo Daro are made of jade (hard stone), lapis lazuli (from Badakhshan), chalcedony, gold, carnelian, heliotrope, plasma, jasper (from Rajasthan), amazon-stone (from Urals), tachylite (tachylite or basaltic or ultra-basaltic glass), silver, nepheline soda lite-rock (Rajputana), turquoise and agate (Deccan trap basalt found in Sindh, Kutch and Kathiawar). Similar type of material is expected from Soomra ruins, as found from Mohenjo Daro.

Some of the findings from museums are disc shaped with tiny pieces of ivory, shell or precious stone with a hole. These may be earrings or nose plugs to be fitted with some other piece by rod, wire or a thread.

Many pieces of shell stone, agate, glasses and lapis lazuli found from Soomra sites have thread passed through the holes to form a necklace. Beads for necklaces have similar shape to those found from Mohenjo Daro. However, one necklace has beads with very large holes for passing thick rope. It may be for animals as Sindhis upto this day decorate animals.

A pair of leaf-shaped ornaments of brass with semi-precious stonework, probably lapis lazuli, is available in Sindh Museum. Their exact use is uncertain. They have too loops at the back, one large and other small, through which leather belts could be passed for tying to some part of body. They are too small for any animal. They probably are Choti Phull, an ornament commonly used by Sindhi women as hair buckle.

It is inferred from the above that ornaments used



in Sindh also carried fine workmanship.

SMOKING DEVICES

Tobacco came to the Old World from New World in the sixteenth century. There is a terracotta piece, which could be considered as smoking pipe, found from Mohenjo Daro and since tobacco did not exist at that time it has become difficult to find its exact use. Smoking of marijuana is common in Sindh and was prevalent in the past. All smokers prefer fancy smoking devices. Three such devices found from the surface of Soomra ruins are available at various museums and are illustrated.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHTING

Various devices have been in use for lighting and oil-wick lamps have been in common use. An unusual lamp piece is 8-wick brass lamp with a knob in the centre to suspend it from a metallic wire, as thread would easily burn down. A five-wick oil lamp has been found from Kot Dijji. Four-wick lamps are found from many Soomra sites. A single-wick lamp is very common since 3,000 BC. Some lamps still show carbon deposits. Oil lamps throw light better on table if they are raised fifteen to twenty centimetres or more above it. For this purpose stands were made on which oil lamps were placed. A four-wick lamp with a hole to receive a stick to be raised is another piece of the era. All these are illustrated.

A small delicate piece from Shah Kapoor shows that it may have been used for keeping in a mosque, over a grave or other kind of worship place. The oil used in the lamps was of mustard or Sarianh (B.junceo), Janbho (taramira), castor and Indian rape or Torio for celebrations only.

UNGLAZED POTTERY

The unglazed pottery from Soomra sites have a very close resemblance to that of Brahmanabad-Mansura pottery, found by Belasis (1854) and are illustrarted. A few examples of Soomra pottery are:

Brahmanabad, is similar to one even used to-day, though modern ones used for ablution in mosques are smaller as man has to carry it in one hand and wash face, hands and feet while sitting on a low chair or squatting. The large ones during Soomra or Habari era were meant for an attendant to carry and help his master or guest to wash hands and feet.

- * Some pottery was also painted. Interesting cylindrical pieces with venturi-type and narrowed in centre were stands for lamps or possibly small cups used for drinking wine.
- * Some terracotta jars are similar to modern-day glass or metal jugs with narrowed neck, handle and a disc base.
- * The quality of workmanship was similar to that of this day's pot makers.
- * Some jars have slip at the surface. Slip is clay suspension of creamy consistency for coating or decorating pottery surface.
- * A cylindrical cup with narrow neck and flared mouth is highly decorative and well turned, and seems to be used by an important person. Its flat base shows that like modern glasses it could be kept on table or floor and drunk from it at ease.
- * A narrow-necked piece with holes seems to be used for burning wood or charcoal inside and be kept on head while dancing, a popular dance called Garbo in Gujarat. This may be a common entertainment in Soomra period.
- * Even children's toys depicted some animals and some of them had wheels to be pulled or pushed.
- * Pot covers were very well turned.
- * A bread pan had edges notched for decoration. It is covered with a haematite slip.
- * Some of unglazed pottery pieces have slip on surface to give them a good look and attractive colour.

QUALITY IN POTTERY

The following are some peculiarities of the pottery manufacture:

LIGHTING

Light is necessary to work in dark. Man has used wood and fat fire for various purposes including lighting since mid-Pleistocene. After start of Neolithic and production of vegetable oil, wick lamps burning oil in terracotta lamps became common. Same types and designs are fabricated even today, as was used at Kot Dijji and Mohenjo Daro. On special occasions multi-wick lamps are still used. A five-wick lamp was unearthed from Kot Dijji and is similar to four-wick lamp of Soomra era.

534

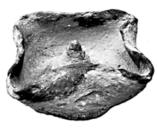
















540

538

533. Small finely turned lamp from Shah Kapoor. Such lamps are in use today by disciples of some dead persons, on whose grave they lit token lamps, with small quantity of oil, good for an hour or less. (US).

539

- 534. 4-wick oil lamp with recessed hole in the bottom for straight or angled handle to carry it around. (LM).
- 535. Metallic wick lamp on stand. (BM).
- 536. Same as 535 on different stand.
- 537. 4-wick lamp with small hole at bottom for handle or peg. (LM).
- 538. Same as 537.
- 539. 5-wick lamp from Kot Dijji (3000 BC), with arrangement to fix wooden rod at bottom to carry or mount it on a peg. Tradition countinues to this day. (SM).
- 540. Terracotta oil wick lamp. Max W. 9.4 cms. H. 9.4 cms. Dia. 7.35 cms. Bottom disc dia. 4.0 cms. (SN).
- 541. Garbo lamp, a decorative jar with wide holes. Similar jars were used in Gujarati Garbo dance with wick lamps or charcoal burning and flaming inside and throwing light outside. Women carried this on their heads and danced. H. 8.8 cms. Max dia at centre 7.85 cms. dia at mouth 4.4 cms. Some perforated jars from Mohenjo Daro called heaters could have served as lamp shade. (Marshall 1931, P1. LXXXIV-13, Mackay 1938,P1. LXII, 32 and P1. LXVII, 13) as shown in figures 5,6 & 7. They could not have served as Garbo lamps as their bottoms were also pierced. There are also small size perforated jars and they could not have been used as lamp shades (Marshall P1. LXXXIV, 1931 and Mackay P1. LXII, 1939. One pot (Mackay 1938,P1. LXVII) as shown in fig: no. 6, has wide mouth and can be kept above the lamp. (SM).
- 542. 8- wick brass lamp with brass knob for wire to suspend from roof or stand. Dia. 2.5 cms. H. 3.5 cms. (SM).



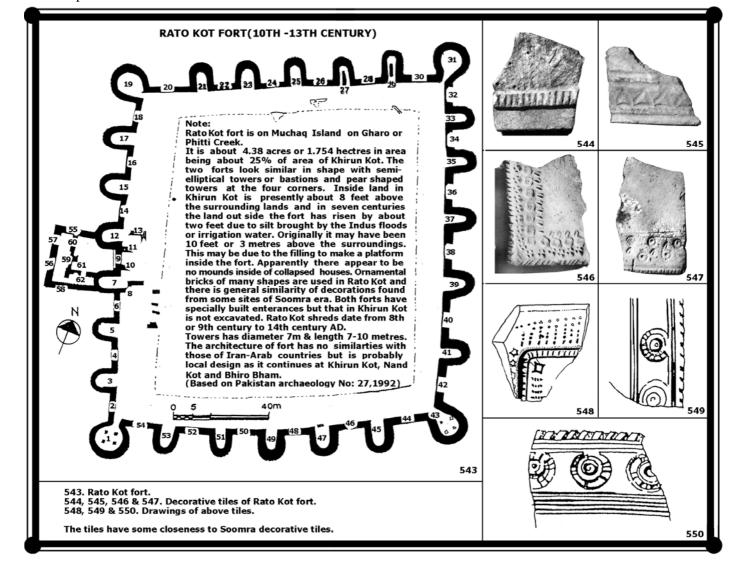
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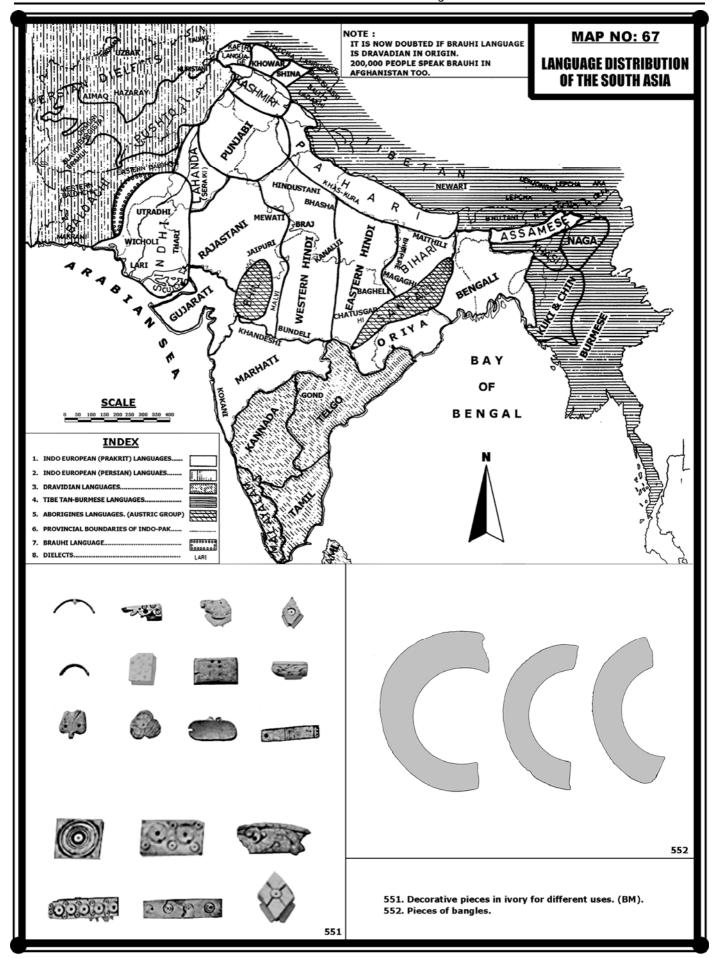
- * Spout and handles were made separately and welded to the pottery manually.
- * Flanges for underside were made separately.
- * Lids with knobs were also made.
- * Templates and scrapers of metal or wood do not seem to have been used to smoothen cups, jars, jugs, tumblers, etc.
- * Sponging was done in case of decorative objects.
- * Square or rectangular pots or jars were probably not produced.
- * Pierced ware like Garbo pots are found only occasionally.
- * Decoration pieces carved on outside have been found.
- * Pieces thrown on the wheel-head are cut off with a thin flexible wire. In Sindh they use a thin rope or a strong thread. It leaves the bottom in rough shape.

- * Finger ridges on pitchers are common.
- * Roughing out shape with wood block was common, but finishing with a metal scraper was rare.

MISCELLANEOUS

Kohl is a fine powder of antimony or lead sulphide was used in the East to darken eyelids. It is still popular makeup ingredient in rural Sindh called "Surmo" in local language. Two very fine kohl pots, called Surmedani of the Soomra period are in Sindh Museum and one more has been found from the surface at Shah Kapoor. Kohl container of brass has been found at Mohenjo Daro. It was rare and for the rich, but poor people used similar pieces made from terracotta and a number of such pieces have been unearthed. Terracotta kohl containers disappeared after the fall of Indus civilisation and none has been found from Soomra sites.





CHAPTER 24

LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTH ASIA

HE latest thinking on the origin and similarity of Indo-European languages and similar facial characteristics is based not only on linguistic studies but also human genes. The latter reveals that some 16,000 years ago, when the Last Ice Age ended and warmth started, the deciduous trees grown in the flat plains started moving uphill in climate suiting them and the plains turned into savannas all over the world. A vast stretch of such savannas was on both sides of Ural Mountains to Afghanistan. Savannas attracted a large number of animals to graze and their predator animals and the men too. Large-scale creation of savannas increased population of animals to be hunted and human population too increased. People from areas as far north as Petersburg came down to Ural Lake and south to the River Oxus. People from north-west India (Pakistan) too moved in search of hunting. Hunting requires well-disciplined co-operation and all hunting tribes co-operated. During this intermingling and moving from pasture to pasture, there was frequent interaction of languages the tribes spoke and also of human blood by intermarriages, etc. This accounts for linguistic affinities between European, Iranian and some languages of northern South Asia.

Sanskrit is not the mother of all languages of South Asia. It probably was one of many Prakrits spoken in the ancient India and may have originated in Swat, where Rig Vedic people's symbolic iron tools and grey ware is first found. Those people introduced a new religion of Vedas and by conquest subdued people of the other parts of South Asia. Sanskrit, a religious language, could impart many words to other languages as Arabic has done to all languages of Muslim countries or Latin has done to European languages.

Thus Indo-European languages were formed also dominating Indo-European features in such areas.

When the first Neolithic civilisation started at Mehrgarh in 6,500 BC or even in 7,000 BC people spoke a language, which led to the evolution of the Sindhi, Seraiki and Punjabi languages.

Grammarians can decide which of these three is the earliest language and which has the right to be mother of all languages of South Asia.

The research on the origin of languages of South Asia started after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1783. This continued for the next century until the monumental work done by Grierson was completed by 1930 AD. The "Census of India" reports started classifying the various languages and people who spoke them. This soon led to the preparation of maps of languages in the South Asia. These languages are divided in four main groups:

- 1. Indo-European (Prakrit) group comprising some twenty-five languages, chief of which are: Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Oriya, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Sindhi, Asamese, Marathi, Kashmiri, Ceylonese or Sinhalese and Bihari. Minor languages of the same group are Pahari and Lahanda and sub-minor languages are Dardic or Kafri (spoken in Kafiristan), in Chitral Khowar, in Gilgit Shina and Swati in Swat. Kashmiri also belongs to this group.
- 2. Indo-European (Persian) group consists of Pushto and Balochi. Minor languages of this group are: Gholchah of Pamirs and Ormuri of Waziristan. Pushto of Kandhar area is soft and sibilant. Pashtu of NWFP and north-eastern Afghanistan is guttural. Burushaski spoken in Hunza and Nagar has not been classified as yet and so is the case with Andamanese.
- Dravidian group of languages consists of fourteen distinctive languages of which Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese (Mannada), Tulu, Brahui and

SINDHI SCRIPTS IN VOGUE IN SOOMRA ERA

553

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ः महिला महि

⁵⁵⁴ »⁶ भ**र्सरीजर्सना**र्गञ्जना। » दतनञ्जलालिषतः राज्यस्त्राति

"इस्ट्रिक्कलोकलाः निकस रिक प्रलिखे । अस्ति प्राचित्र प्







555

- 553. Proto-Devnagri script dating to 15th century written only 100 years after over-throw of Soomras and from a book in the British Museum.
- 554. Devnagri script of a book written in 15th century and now in the British Museum.
- 555, 556 & 557. Inscriptions on terracotta pottery of 12th or early 13th centuries found from Banbhore, probably for storage of some herbs used in Ayurvedic medical practice. It is some thing unusual for common unglazed pottery in Sindh.

Scripts 553 and 554 must be in use in Soomra era.

- Malayalum are most important. Some authorities think that Brahui is not a Dravidian language.
- 4. Tibeto–Burmese or Tibeto–Chinese group is confined to northern and eastern margins of the South Asia. This group includes Balti, Ladakhi, Newari (Nepal), Lepeha (Sikkim) Lho-ke (Bhutan), Dafla Garo, Naga, Kufi, Chin, Burmese, Bhatia (Sikkim) and Kuki-Chin (Manipur).
- 5. Aborigines or Austro-Asiatic group, consisting of nineteen different languages, was spoken by some eight million people in 1991 AD. Of these Bhil and Santali or Eherwari or Har are more important. Less important of the group are Savara (Andhra Pradesh near Orisa border), Kurku, (Kahdeo hills) and Nicobarese. The British found western Hindi as most important language of the South Asia. Its principal dialect "Hindustani" became the nearest approach to the lingua franca. Urdu was Persianised from the Hindustani and written in that script. Its four other dialects are: Bangaru (south-east Punjab), Brajbhasha (Musttra and central Gangetic Doab), Kanauji and Bundeli (Bundel Khand and upper reaches of Nerbudda)
- Rajasthani has three main dialects: Malwi, Nwati and Jaipuri. Pahari language is closer to Rajasthani as it resulted from colonisation of Rajputs in that area.
- 7. Sindhi is spoken in Sindh, Kutch, Lasbela, Sibi, Kachhi and Rahim Yar Khan districts and parts of Rajasthan, west of Barmir and Jaisalmer. Its main dialects are Seraiki, Vicholi, Larhi, Kutchi and Thareli. Written and spoken Sindhi is very much unlike Bengali, whose literary form differs from colloquial due to highly Sanskritised vocabulary adopted by the latter's writers.

Sindhi was spoken in Sindh and Multan till the thirteenth century. For more than a century-and-half Mongols attacked Delhi Sultanate's territories in the Punjab. They had occupied Quetta division, NWFP, D.G.Khan and Lahore and attacked Multan and Uch almost every year. For some time Lahore too was under their occupation. Delhi Sultans maintained military cantonments at Multan and Uch. The rural areas were unprotected. The southern Punjab was vacated by the people, who migrated southward to the present Sindh, in north to the NWFP and to the riverain areas of

Punjab. When order was restored in the fifteenth century people occupying the banks of the River Indus in Punjab moved to the plains. They were Seraikispeaking people and thus Seraiki, a dialect of Sindhi, became dominant in southern Punjab, but Sindhi was then restricted to Rahim Yar Khan district of Punjab. Colonisation of this area under new irrigation works in the 1950s and 60s brought immigrants from the northern Punjab. All the same there is a large percentage of Sindhi-speaking people in that district. Sibi-Kachhi (including Bugti, Dhadhar and Kohlu districts) are multi-lingual areas. The languages spoken there are: Balochi, Brahui, Lahanda and Sindhi. Unfortunately the census reports are politically motivated and cannot be relied upon. More than 90 per cent of Lasbela's population speak Sindhi. Kutchi is a dialect of Sindhi and almost the whole population of Kutch is Sindhi speaking. Sindhi is also the language of Sindhi Tharis bordering areas of Jaisalmer. Memoni is a Sindhi dialect of business community of Sindh who migrated to Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to civil war of ruling Arghoons, Tarkhans and Mughals with local population.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS

During the Habari rule of Sindh both Arabic and Sindhi languages were spoken and written in towns, but in rural areas only Sindhi was spoken. The Sindhi scripts were many and used specially by the business community. Some forty such scripts were in vogue during the early nineteenth century. Potsherds found from Banbhore give one such script. It is also possible that Arabic script of 30 letters was modified by dots above and below Arabic letters to connote 22 additional letters of Sindhi language, showing that the development of script and writings in it must have been slow. Ibn Nadim has illustrated the script, but copyists over ten centuries have destroyed its originality. In numerical, numbers written then in Sindhi and now, there is very little change except five () is written as () and eight () as () or (). Single or double dots below each number probably signify tens and hundreds respectively. He states that Sindhi had nine scripts. Sindhi numerals reached Damascus and Baghdad in

SINDHI AND ARABIC SCRIPTS OF SOOMRA ERA

Alphabets and numerals used in Sindh

1177384711.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 0

Sindhi Numerals (711 AD), as Arabs saw.

Arabs adopted numerals (800 AD), from South Asia using Sindhi numerals.

Western Europen Numerals (Present), adopted from Arabic.

559

1) Lytege nX Vege

11/68&chl

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8 4 7 7 5 6 7 7 7 1



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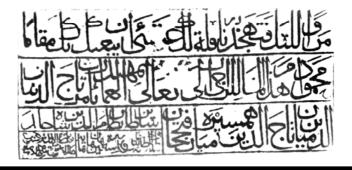
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564



- 558. Evolution of European numerals from South Asian numerals through Arabs.
- 559. Sindhi numerals as reported by Ibn Nadim.

 Note: One dot below makes 10, 20, 30, etc. Two dots below make 100, 200, 300, etc.
- 560. Kufic inscription on pot. (BM).
- 561. Same as 560.
- 562. Same as 560.
- 563. Same as 560.

(560 to 563 from Banbhore and Brahmanabad- Mansura) (NM).

- 564. Pre-Soomra Kufic script from Banbhore mosque.
- 565. Post-Soomra Arabic script used in Sunni Samma tombs.

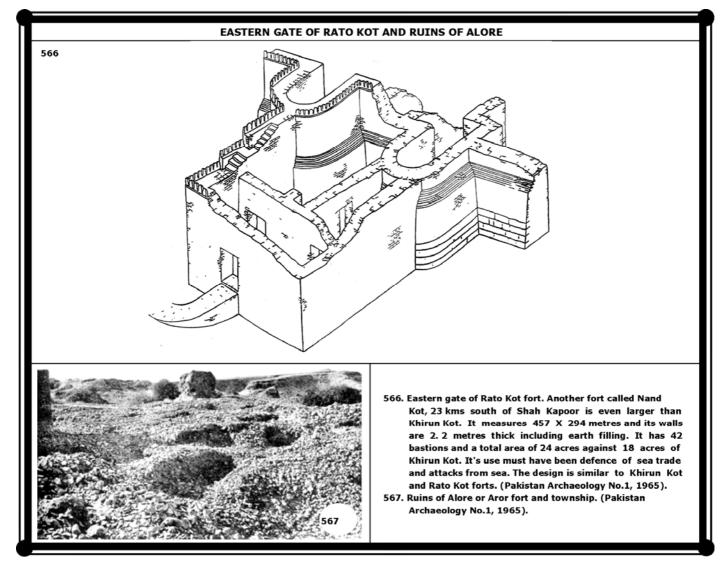
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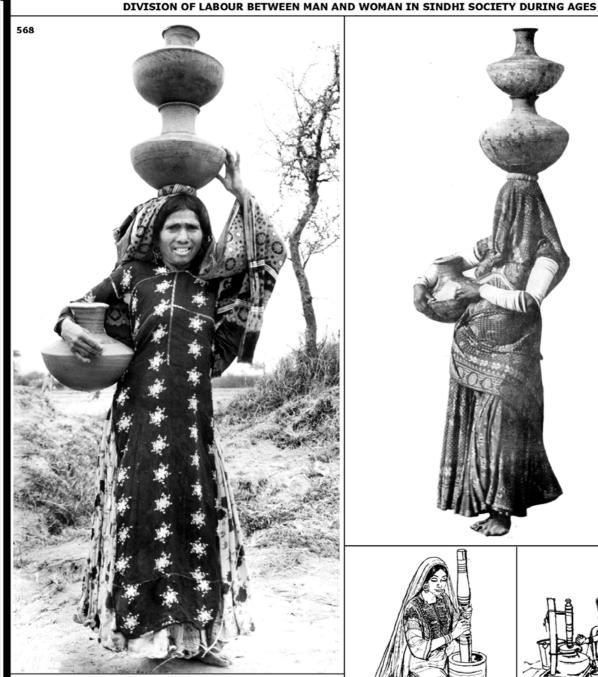
eighth and ninth centuries and Arab numerals were simplied in writing from Sindhi in Arabic and from Arabic numerals modern European numerals evolved. Figure no. 558 shows the transition from Sindhi to European numerals, which replaced Roman numerals.

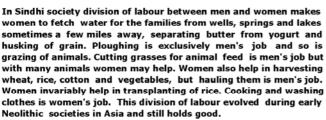
In the early Soomra rule around 1020-1030 AD, Al-Beruni records that the script of Sindhi called "Sayandab" in Arabic script was used in Mansura. The use of Arabic Sindhi script seems to have continued specially for writing religious texts and by the end of 17th century it was used for teaching in schools (Madaris). Ghaznavids and other Persian-speaking central Asian states gave a great blow to Arabic as

official language during their rule and it is doubtful if Soomras continued Arabic as official language. Sindhi must have been their official language and probably written in some form of scripts in vogue in South Asia as shown on potsherds from Banbhore, figures no. 555 to 557.

There are various theories about the origin of Indo-European group of languages in which their descent from Sanskrit was accepted by most authorities, but the latest archaeological evidences show that the presence of Rig Vedic Aryans in the South Asia is shown around 1000 BC. Therefore the Indo-Aryan languages including Sanskrit may have evolved from an earlier local language or Prakrit.







568 & 569. Kohistan and Thar women carring three jars of watter. Thari woman hides her face. She has Banhi (arm-rings) on fore and rear arms exactly as dancing girl of Mohenjo Daro wore them and were also equally used during Soomra period.

570. Woman husking grains.

571. Woman separating butter from yogurt. Yogurt was mixed with plentiful water to make butter float on it. After separating butter the remains were used as a drink like milk.

572. A group of women carrying water jars in present Sindh.







569



CHAPTER 25

DEVELOPMENT OF SINDHI AS OFFICIAL LAN-GUAGE DURING SOOMRA RULE

SINDHI BECOMES A LITERARY LANGUAGE

B Y 900 AD, Sindhi language acquired its own peculiar features developing independently of other Prakrit languages. It was spoken in Multan as well as in Sindh and Kutch. Seraiki had not yet developed, which is corrupted form of Varachada. Apabhransa evolved around 1100 AD. Mahabhartha was translated into Sindhi in the tenth century and Ramayana in the eleventh century. These works made Sindhi an important literary and religious language.

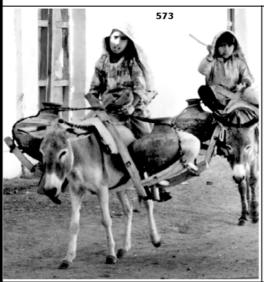
Arabic was the official language, but both Sindhi and Arabic were spoken in the capital town Mansura. In the interior of Sindh only Sindhi was the spoken language. Sindhi was written in some kind of corrupted Devnagri script as shown in the pottery inscriptions from Banbhore. Arabic script was adopted for Gujarati language by Gujarati-speaking Ismaili community of Gujarat, but was restricted only to Ismaili literature in that language. There is no evidence yet that Sindhi too was written in Arabic script then.

None of the Sindhi writings of that era have survived, but enormous information on Sindh comes from Arab and Indian writings of the period. This has helped in understanding the Sindhi language from 800-1351 AD and the following are a few instances:

- * Sindhi was well-established language in the ninth century when Holy Quran was translated into it for the Hindu ruler of Alore.
- * Mahabhartha was translated into Sindhi in the tenth century.
- * Ramayana was translated into Sindhi in the eleventh century during Soomra rule.

- from tenth to fourteenth centuries.
- * Guinans of later Ismaili Dawais in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries like those of Pir Nooruddin and Pir Shams are in the form of Doha, but those of Pir Sadruddin are in the form of Kafees. Languages used in them are Sindhi and Gujarati with words of Seraiki, Punjabi, Hindi and occasionally Rajasthani.
- * Folklore developed during this period or even earlier.
- * Arabic had influenced Sindhi due to religious terminology and official language for 300 years from 711 to 1011 AD. By this time Abbasid empire was totally controlled by non-Arab Iranians or Mameluk Turks. Iranians had started replacing Arabic with Persian in the tenth century. Soomra Kingdom was very little under foreign influence from 1011 to 1216 AD and may have used Sindhi as official language by using both Arabic and Devnagri scripts for written Sindhi. There is no evidence that they used Persian, which was enforced as official language in northern India by Ghaznavids and later by Delhi Sultans.
- * Due to Islamic influence Munajat, Madah, Munaqibah and Maulud were absorbed in Sindhi along with Ismaili Guinans.
- * Due to Arabic being used as official language many Arabic words were introduced in common Sindhi. Sufis introduced many Arabic, Persian and Hindi words in Sindhi during the Soomra period.
- * Poetic genres like Doha, Geet, Guinan, Sith and Gabeto were also developed during this period.
- * Sindhi language absorbed Persian words on large scale only after Soomra rule

WATER CARRIERS AND CRAFTS OF SINDH















- 573. Donkeys loaded with water jars for long distance travelling.
 574. Kanvathi. Carrying water is exclusively woman's job. For any requirement of water outside household and animals man uses "Kanvathi" He also does it when housewife is sick in bed.
 575. Printed cloth with design worn by priest king of Mohenjo Dano.
 576. Sindhi women at spinning wheel. See bangles on whole arm.
 (Note: White colour plastic bangles on whole left arm from hand to shoulders, replacing ivory of rich women of old times. The so called "dancing girl of Mohenjo Daro" has bangles covering the whole left arm and only three to four pieces on right arm.
- 577. Sindhi low chair with lacquered wood frame and decorative weaving in "Sar" grass.

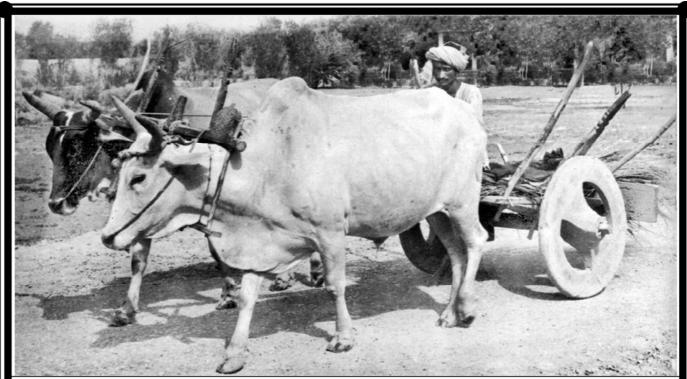
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- 578. Highly decorated Gag or Cholee or blouse with embroidery and glass-work. 579. Rallie or patch-worked sheet to adorn favourite bull.

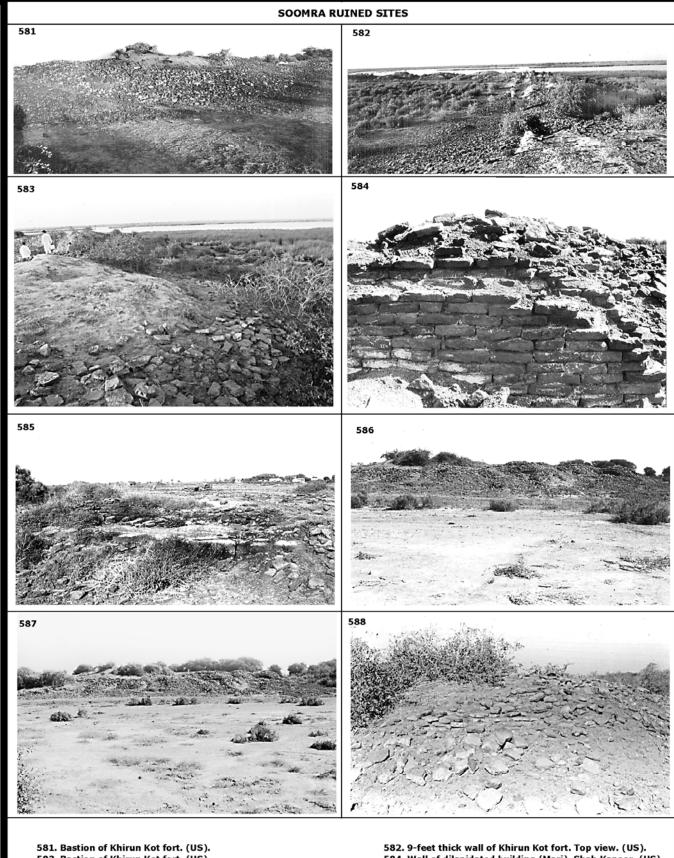
Sindhi had developed a script resembling to that of Arabic in Sindh. This is true even to this day that Sindhi script has Arabic rather than Persian script form. Some other scripts must have been used by businessmen. At least three such scripts not resembling to Devnagri were used by Sindhi merchants up to 1947 AD.

- * Al-Beruni states that around 1000 AD there were three scripts in use in Sindh namely Ard-Nagri, Laqari or Malwari or Malvashan and Sayandab.
- * The first, which was a mixture of Sindhamatrika and Nagri, was used in northern Sindh and Bhatia (Bhatinda). Malvashan was used in Malwa and southern Sindh towards the sea coast. Sayandab was used in central Sindh around Mansura and was probably the standard script in Sindh during the Soomra period.
- * Whether only Hindus and Buddhists used these scripts is doubtful, as two hundred years later Qazi Qadan's poems were written in Devnagri script. Arabic script was used by religious scholars for writing in Sindhi and continues to be used to this day, while for other purposes, local language in

- Devnagri script was in vogue in the whole South Asia. Samma period books like Hadiqat-ul-Awliya show that Sindhi was written in Arabic script during Samma period (1351-1525 AD).
- * Some Persian literature was produced on a small scale by migrants to big towns like Sehwan and Rohri (Bakhar), but it is limited to a few works like Chachnama of Ali Kufi. Author of Tarikh-i-Nasiri Minhaj-al-Din Siraj settled in Multan, wrote about some incidents about Sindh in Persian.
- * Sufi poets also wrote in Persian and fragments of some poems of Qalandar Lal have survived. Other Sufis usually wrote in Persian, but outside Sindh.
- * Ismaili preachers introduced many Seraiki, Gujarati and Hindi words in Sindhi literature and their contribution to Sindhi during the Soomra period was much greater than any other religious group. Original Guinans have undergone local revision from time to time and the latest version does not have eleventh to fourteenth century Sindhi language.



580. Bullock cart which dominated transport from Kot Dijjian times to 2000 AD in Sindh, is fast disappearing and is being repleaced by donkey cart with rubber tyres for short hauls and motorised pickups for long distances in rural Sindh. There may be no bullock cart except museums in Sindh after 2010 AD.



- 583. Bastion of Khirun Kot fort. (US).
- 585. Soomra palace at Shah Kapoor. Stone blocks visiable. (US).
- 587. Soomra palace at Shah Kapoor. (US).

- 584. Wall of dilapidated building (Mari), Shah Kapoor. (US).
- 586. Soomra palace at Shah Kapoor. (US).
- 588. Dilapidated building at Garhi Bhir (Tharri). (US).

CHAPTER 26

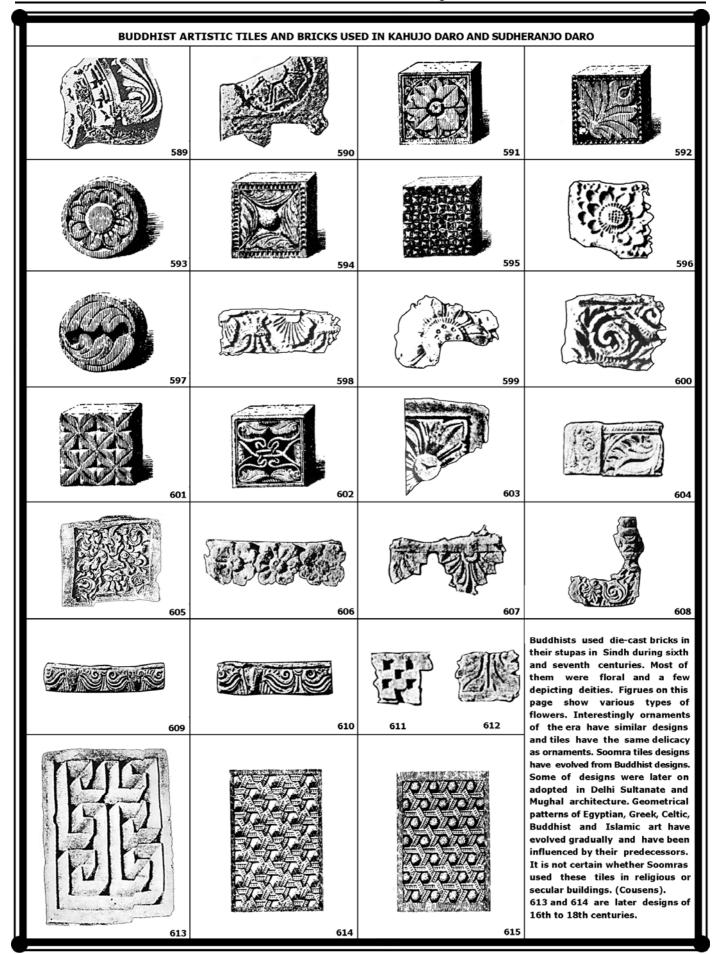
LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LITERARY CONTACTS WITH OUTER WORLD DURING SOOMRA RULE

PUBLICATIONS ON SINDH IN OTHER COUNTRIES

HE following publications written outside Sindh during the era, give information on Sindh during the Soomra rule and are listed below datewise:

- * Al-Beruni visited northern India and Pakistan right up to Multan. His Kitab-ul-Hind (Sachau's translation entitled as Al-Beruni's India), written in the year 1019-20 AD (410 AH), describes the Indus and some geographical names of Sindh. His works give a number of Sindhi words pertaining to seafaring, medicine and other trades and reflect on many important cultural practices.
- * In 1020 AD, the death of Firdausi (Mansur) Abul Qasim, poet and composer of Shahnama, which has references on Sindh, but are not accurate.
- * Abu Nasar Muhammad bin Abdul Jabar Utbi, courtier of Mahmud of Ghazni, wrote a history in Arabic, which describes events of Sabkatgin. It was contemporarily translated into Persian in 1186 AD (582 AH) by Jabardican. It is an important source on Ghaznavids and Mahmud's expeditions on Sindh and Multan and is popularly known as Tarikh-i-Utbi.
- * In 1026 AD (417 AH), Abul Hasan Ali bin Muhammad Al-Jil translated an old Sanskrit history in Persian and named it Majma–ut-Tawarikh.
- * In 1037-38 AD (429 AH), the death of Abul Hasan Ali bin Jalagh Farrukhi, the poet who mentions Mahmud of Ghazni's attack on Mansura and Khafif Soomra's escape.

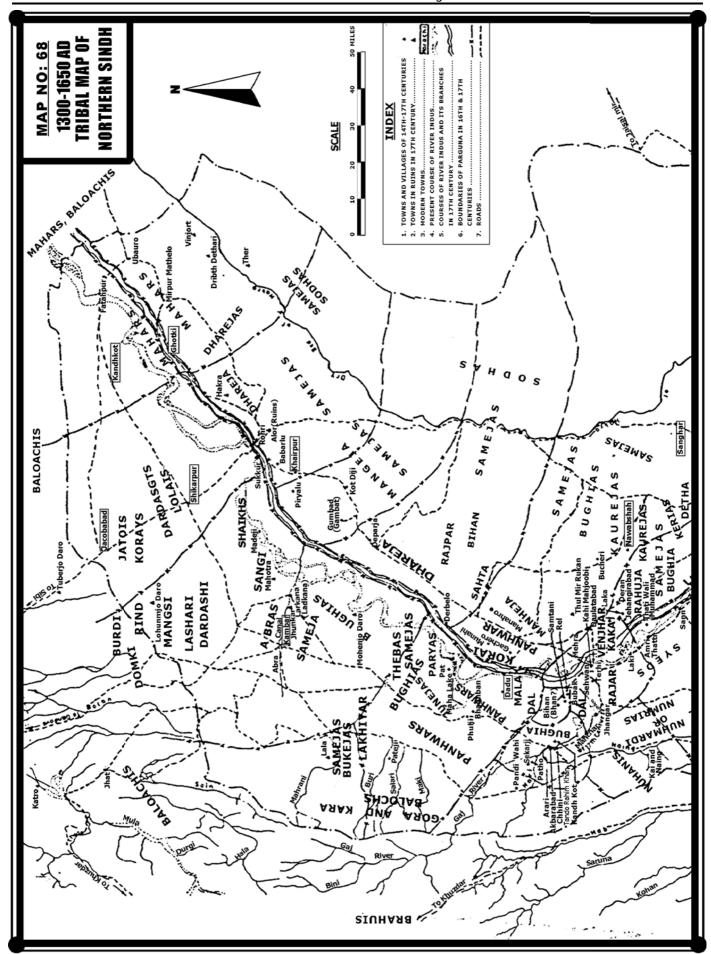
- * In 1038/39 (430 AH), Al-Beruni wrote Qanoon-i-Masudi. It has information on religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, astrology, etc, of the South Asia and describes Sindh too. Some Sindhi words also have been noted in his books.
- * In 1050 AD (441 AH), Abdul Hayee bin Al-Dahhak bin Mahmood Gardaizi, the Persian geographer, wrote his book Zainul-Akhbar (The jewel of histories). It has references pertaining to Sindh specially Jayratha, Rai dynasty, Persian-Sindh conflicts and also Ghaznavid raids.
- * In 1070 AD (462 AH), the death of Qazi Saeed Andlusi. He wrote that Sindhis were extremely sharp in mathematics.
- * In 1070 AD (462 AH), Qazi Rashid bin Zubair wrote Kitab al-Zakhair wal-Tuhf. It has references on Sindh.
- * In September 1071 AD (463 AH Zil-Haj), the death of Hafiz Abi Bakar Ahmed Ibn Ali Ibn Thabit Ibn Mahdi al-Katib al-Baghdadi. He wrote Tarikh-i-Baghdad, which gives information on Sindhi scholars settled in Baghdad.
- In 1077 /78 AD (470 AH), the death of Abul Fazal bin Hasan Behaqi. He wrote the history of Ghaznavis, also called Tarikh-i-Behaqi. It describes Ghaznavi's adventures in Sindh, including Mahmud's expedition in the upper Sindh. The book was known as Tarikh-i-Sabkatgin to Minhaj Siraj and Hamadullah Mustavafi and Rieu calls it Tarikh-i-Masudi.
- * Hemchandra, who lived during 1088-1172 AD, wrote Kumarapata-Charita, a grammar of Prakriti dialects like Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisachi and



Apabhransa. He lived in Maharashtra, had no contacts with Sindh or Sindhi language, but remarked that one of the Prakrit languages was Apabhransa, a language of Abhiras (those who raise cattle) and Sindh's Abhiras sang songs and composed poetry in that language. This statement is totally doubtful, as Sindhi was already a spoken and written language by about 850 AD, as reported by the Arab sources. Mahabhartha and Ramayana had also been translated in Sindhi in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

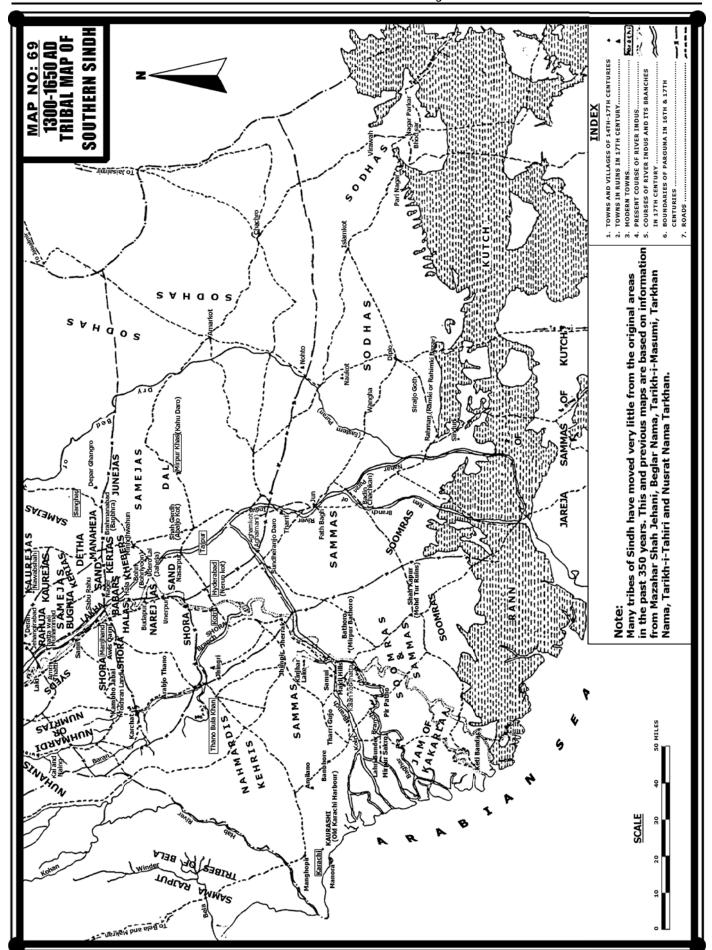
- * In 1094 AD (487 AH), Abi Abid Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz wrote Al-Mujam-Ma'a-ist-Ajam. It has references about Debal and Sindh.
- * In 1150 AD (549 AH), Idrisi wrote Nuzhatul Mushtaq Fi Akhtarul Aafaq (The delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world). It describes Sindh, its cities, rivers, ports, trade routes, etc.
- * In 1154 AD, Idrisi, the Andlusian geographer of Cordoba, completed his geographical work Nuzhatul Mushtaq Fi Ikhti (Enjoyment for the seeker) in the court of Roger-II, the Norman king of Sicily. For this king he also made a round table out of silver on which he engraved the map of the world as was known then. His maps show Sindh, Indus, Debal, etc.
- * Abdul Karim Shahaistani (d.1153 AD) described Idol of Multan and another one at Sadusan (Sehwan). The Siva temple of Sehwan is clearly mentioned.
- * In 1166 –67 AD (562 AH), Samani wrote Kitabal-Ansab.
- * Imam Saghani died in 1252-53 AD (650 AH). He travelled in India from 1194-1195 AD (590-595 AH) to 1219-20 AD. His book "Al-Adab al-Zakhir Wa-Al-Lu-Babal Fakhir" describes Sindh and the pirates of Debal, who paid regular tribute to the Amirs and rulers of Debal for their protection. He was an ambassador of Khalifa Naziruddin to the court of Altatmash in 1219-20 AD (616 AH).
- * In 1205-6 AD (602 AH), Sadruddin Muhammad bin Hasan Nizami Nishapuri commenced the writing of the Taj-ul-Maasir, a history of

- Qutubuddin Aibak. It describes Qabacha's death at Bakhar while Altatmash's forces laid siege to it. It contradicts Masumi's statement that Qutubuddin, the general of Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori, had subdued Sindh.
- * In 1216 AD (613 AH), Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakar Kufi started translation of an Arabic work known as Chachnama in Persian. He made many changes in the text as if to lay policy for the Muslim rulers of Delhi Sultanate. This reduced its reliability as an original authentic source.
- * In 1224-25 AD (621 AH), Yaqoot Hamavi, born in 1179 AD of Greek parents in the Eastern Roman empire, taken as war prisoner and sold as slave in Baghdad, wrote Ma'ajamul Baldan (Encyclopaedia of geography). The book gives information on Sindh in its volumes IV, VIII, and IX. He died in 1229 AD (626 AH).
- * Juwaini, a historian and governor of Almut, (The paradise of Assassins), since its fall at the hands of Halaku in 1256 AD, lived and wrote the history of the world conqueror "Tarikh-i-Jehan Gusha-i-Juwaini". It describes Khawarizm Shah's defeat, his flight to the Punjab and Sindh, Chanesar Soomro's panic and former's sacking of Debal. It also throws light on the Ismaili Shiites, Fatmids and Assassins (terrorists).
- * Nooruddin Muhammad Ufi, a historian, wrote Jami-ul-Hikayat in the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Altatmash (1210-1236 AD). It gives a detailed description of Qabacha's suicide by jumping from the Bakhar fort into the River Indus in 1228 AD and removes all misunderstandings created by other historians, as he was then present at Bakhar. He also travelled Sindh extensively and had useful information on Sindh. He describes the hospitality of Sindhis specially keeping a guest for one to three days, depending on if he was healthy or sick. He died in 1266 AD (665 AH).
- * Ufi also compiled a poetical work Lubabul Albab. Edited by Brown EG and Mirza Muhammad Kazwini, Lyden 2 Volume 1903 and 1906. The editors state that the work could not have been done without his travels in Sindh.
- * In 1230-31 AD (628 AH), Ibn Asir completed his



- history Kitab-al-Kamil-i-al-Tarikh. It has material on Sindh.
- * In 1258 AD Halaku burnt Baghdad, destroying the world's largest library of Abbasids. The collection had started five hundred years earlier.
- * In 1260 AD (658 AH), Minhaj Siraj completed Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. It has information on Mongol raids on upper Sindh.
- * Ibn Said Maghribi (1223-1286 AD) wrote about Sindh.
- * In 1263 AD (661 AH), Zakariya bin Muhammad bin Mahmud al-Kazwini, from town of Kazwin, wrote Asar-ul-Bilad wa Akhbar-ul-Ibad or "Monuments of countries and memories of men". It describes Sindh, Multan, Mansura, Debal and local conditions and shows existence of Zoroastrian temples in Sindh and Balochistan. He also wrote Ajaib-ul-Makhlukat wa Gharaib-ul-Maujudat. "Wonders of things created and marvels of things existing" in 1275 AD (675 AH).
- * Isami wrote Futuh-us-Salatin, dedicated to the founder of Bahami dynasty Alud-din Hasan Gangu and covers a period from the last half of tenth century to 1349-50 AD. It has references on Sindh.
- * Abul Fida (1273-1333 AD) and Ibn Ali Usaibia also wrote about Sindh in their works.
- * Ziauddin Barni, the author of Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi, died at the age of 74 lunar years or 72 solar years in 1357 AD (758 AH). He completed his history Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi just before his death. It is an important source on Sindh and Delhi relations from 1264 to 1357 AD. Employed in the court of Muhammad Tughlaq in 1333 AD, Barni lists only 12 provinces of his empire which do not include Sindh. His history contains 23 pages on Muhammad Tughlaq's expeditions against Sindh and his failures. In addition, it has a large number of references on Delhi and the upper Sindh contacts for ninety-four years for which period it is the only source.
- * In 1333 to 1351 AD, during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Mubarak bin Mahmud and Abu Safa Sirajuddin Umar visited South Asia and preserved their accounts in Masalik-ul-Absar-Fi-Mamalik-ul-Amsar. They have named twenty-

- three provinces of the Tughlaq empire, which include Multan, Uch and Siwistan, but the lower Sindh is not mentioned. (Quartremere: Masalik-ul-Absar-Tomex II, p. 167 ff., quoted by Agha Madhi Hussain in Muhammad bin Tughlaq p. 90).
- Ibn Battutta names fifteen provinces and a number of towns in the empire, which include Multan and Uch, but not Sehwan, which had revolted against Muhammad Tughlaq in 1333-4 AD and was recovered, but it is definite that Unar Samma (wrongly called Soomra by Battutta) must have reoccupied it soon afterwards and probably ruled it independently. It shows that the lower Sindh was being ruled by Soomras independently.
 - In 1398/99 AD (801 AH), Shams Siraj Afif wrote Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi, which starts with Feroz's accession to the throne at Sonda and gives details of Feroz's two expeditions on Sindh. He was born in 1350 AD. In the first expedition Afif's father was in charge of a flotilla of 1,000 boats, out of a total of 5,000 deployed for the purpose. The work conceals the weaknesses of Sultan Feroz Shah and depicts him as an orthodox pious Muslim and great admirer of religious men and saints. The Sultan's lack of military abilities is covered by his being too humanitarian and merciful. The details of the second Thatta expedition have not been fully covered. The Sultan received a complete setback until arrival and negotiations Makhdoom Jehaniya of Uch. This has been distorted. The Makhdoom has been depicted only as a pious man. His role in setting right the affairs of Sindh in favour of the Sultan, at least three times, has been suppressed. The book covers thirty-seven years reign of Feroz Shah from 1351 to 1388 AD. The 1365-68 expedition was to replace Sammas rule with that of Hamir Soomro who was under protection of Mahru, the governor of Multan and deserves to be mentioned under Soomras. With the help of Mahru, Soomras established a small Zamindari / Jagirdari in Layyah area of the Punjab controlling it for nearly another 125 years. This history has preserved one sentence of Sindhi language of the fourteenth century in the words that on flight of Feroz Shah



Tughlaq from Sindh to Gujarat, Sindhis said "ببرکت پیر پٺو, هڪ ڊٿو ٻيو ٽٿو" (Meaning with the miracle of Pir Patho one (Muhammad Tughlaq) died and other (Feroz Shah) ran away to wilderness.

- * Umari (1301-1348 AD) is another writer who discusses Sindh.
- * There are a number of writings of Persian travellers and writers of the tenth century, but they describe conditions which apply to the early Soomra period, i.e., 1011-1206 AD and may be referred to. These writers are: Abu Zaid Sirafi (950 AD), Suleman Tajir (851 AD), Muqaddasi (965 AD), Matahhir bin Tahir (tenth century), Bashari Muqadi (d. 1000 AD), Masudi (956 AD), Ibn Nadim of Fihrist fame and Buzrig bin Shahryar (tenth century).
- * Some Sindhi scholars wrote on Hadith and commentary on the Holy Quran outside Sindh. Of them Muhammad Abid Sindhi arranged Hadith, which came down from Imam Azam through Sadruddin Musa who died in 1252 AD. Abu Bakar Isaq al-Bakri-al-Muhani also called Ibn Taj (d. 1335 AD), wrote commentary on the Holy Quran. The scattered material in above sources and also

histories of Kutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat and Rajasthan heve material on Sindh.

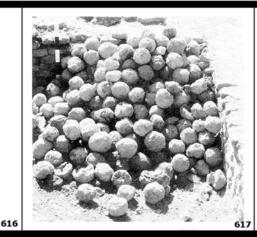
FOLKLORE CONNECTED WITH SOOMRA PERIOD

The following are popular folklore stories:

- Saiful Maluk and Badiul Jamal.
- Leela-Chanesar.
- Umar-Marui.
- Ganga-Umar.
- Sasui-Punnu.
- Sorath-Rai Diyach.
- Dodo-Chanesar.
- Mumal-Mendhro or Mumal-Rano.
- Kalachi-jo-Kun.
- Mokhi-Matara.
- Dalurai and destruction of Alore and Brahmanabad.

These stories were composed from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries and were revised by different folklorists and therefore the language in this folklore belongs to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and not earlier.



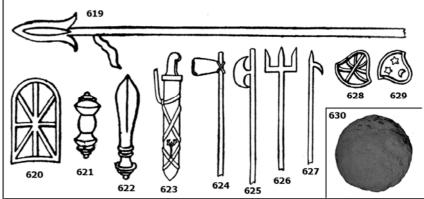


PEACOCK AND CATAPULT TERRACOTTA BALLS

- 616. Blue peackock of Sindh is conected with folklore symbolically depicting beauty of humans and animals. It is also eaten by some people. They still abound in large numbers in Thar area of Sindh. Its feathers are used as book mark in religious books.
- 617. Catapult terracotta balls found from Rato Kot. These are similar to those found from Mohenjo Daro (Fig: no. 41) and also found from Khirun Kot.

WAR AND WEAPONARY





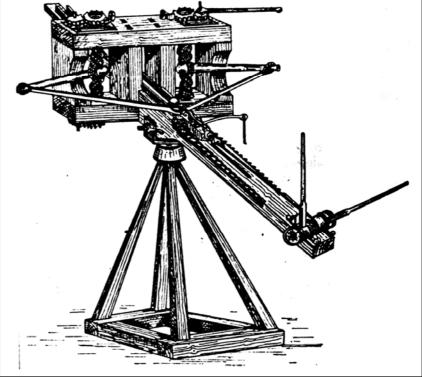




633

- 618. Early Muslim foot soldier with shield, sword, bow, arrow and spare swords. (ELA).

- 618. Early Muslim foot soldier with shield, sword, bow, arrow and spare swords. (ELA).
 619. Pik.
 620. Infantry shield.
 621. Virga carried in kings hand.
 622. Dagger.
 623. Sword.
 624. & 625. Axe.
 626. Trident.
 627. Elephant goad.
 628. Cavalry shield.
 629. Cavalry shield.
 629. Cavalry shield.
 619 to 629 based on Vincent Smith "Early and Ancient Hindu India", Oxford, 1923.
 630. Ball for Manjaneek. (BM).
 631. Iron rings, knives, nails and sickle from Brahmanabad-Mansura.
 632. Shield and sword in sheath. Shield dia 32.9cms. Sword length from handle to tip, 89 cms. (SM).
 633. 711-714 AD. A type of catapult or "Manjaneek", which was used by Arabs during the seige of Debal. It was a Greek invention, developed and perfected by Romans, copied by Parthians and Sassanians of Iran and operated by army recruited by Muhammad Bin Qasim from Iraq and Iran. Mahmud Ghaznavi used similar machines. South Asians did not use them on large scale. (MHP).



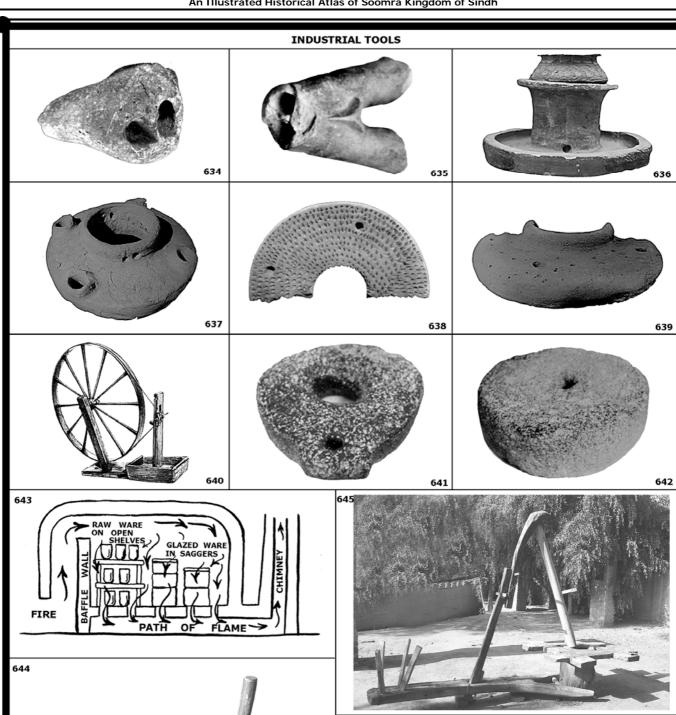
CHAPTER 27

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

N 1021 AD, Abu Ali Sina, a Persian physician, became vizier at Hamdan (Iran). His book Qanoon was a standard text on astronomy.

- * In 1030 AD, Monk Guido of Arezzo (Italy) devised modern musical notations. This gave rise to the western music.
- * In 1041 AD, Pi Sheng introduced movable printing type in China.
- * In 1067 AD, A Chinese edict maintained state monopoly of gunpowder.
- * In 1086 AD, compasses invented by Shen Kua were used in China. Their ships frequented Indian ports in the eleventh century, but Indians did not pick it up as the marine trade was in the hands of Sudras or untouchables and educated class had no interest in this community. The country suffered.
- * In 1120 AD, Wetcher of Malern introduced measurement of latitude and longitude and this helped in accurate map making.
- * In 1123 AD, the Persian poet, mathematician and astronomer, Omar Khayyam died in eastern Persia.
- * In 1126 AD, the first artesian well produced water in Artois (France). Artesian conditions exist in western hills of Sindh, but they are unutilised even today. First artesian well in Sindh was located near Karachi University in 1957 by the author.
- * In 1198 AD, Ibn Rushd, the great Muslim scientist and Philosopher died in Marakesh, aged 78.
- * In 1202 AD, Leonardo Fibonacci, the mathematician, introduced Arabic numerals from north Africa and zero from India via Baghdad, in Europe. These are modified from Sindhi (also Indian) numerals as shown in illustration.

- * In 1225 AD, manufacture of cotton cloth based on South Asian techniques began in Spain.
- * In 1232 AD, surgeons in Salerno dissected human bodies for the first time since Ptolemaic enlightenment of Alexandria in 3rd century BC.
- * In 1237 AD, Mongols used gunpowder, a Chinese technology, (1067 above) and possibly firearms to conquer much of eastern Europe.
- * In 1238 AD, Mongols introduced spectacles in Europe originating from China long before this date.
- * In 1250 AD, crusaders introduced the Arabic decimal system in the Europe. (see 1202 AD above)
- * In 1259 AD, Chinese introduced firearms on large scale in their army.
- * In 1278 AD, glass mirrors were introduced in Europe.
- * In 1280 AD, Kublai Khan summoned Egyptian experts to improve upon Chinese technique of refining sugar to pure white colour. Sindh knew the process before Arab conquest in 711 AD and it was exported as medicine to Iran, central Asia and Arabian Peninsula.
- * In 1289 AD, wood block printing was carried out at Ravenna (Italy). It was not introduced to South Asia until mid-eighteenth century and thus people remained ignorant and had low level of literacy. (see 1237 AD.)
- * In 1298 AD, Europeans introduced spinning wheel from South Asia.
- * In 1315 AD, Italian surgeon Mondino Le Luzzi carried out the first public scientific dissection of human body. (See 1232 AD).
- * In 1335 AD, artillery was used in Europe and



- 634. Blacksmith's bellows, air out-let. (SM).
- 635. Blacksmith's bellows, air out-let. (LM).
- 636. Cooling milk etc, probably used by Hakims (medicine men) too. (BM).
- 100. (BM).

 637. Rice huller top found by author from a mound in his father's land in Dadu. It dates back to 14th century. (MHP)

 638. Rice huller bottom roughened to help in hulling operations. (US).

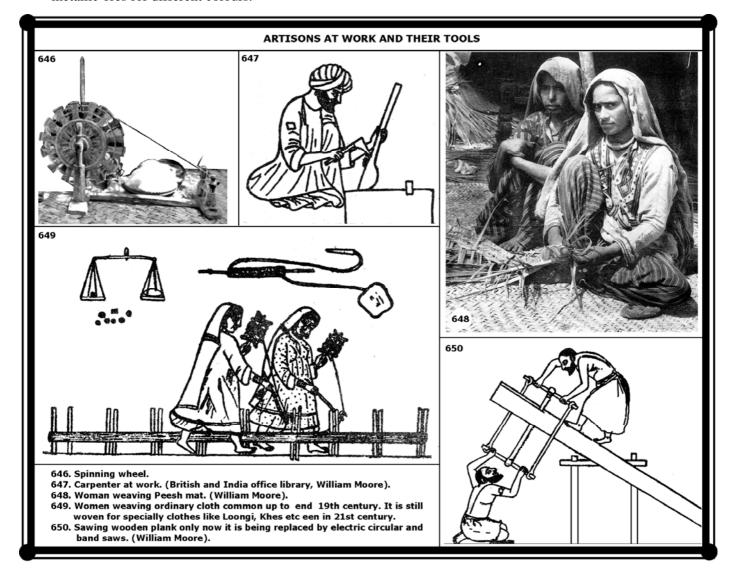
 639. Other side of 638. (US).

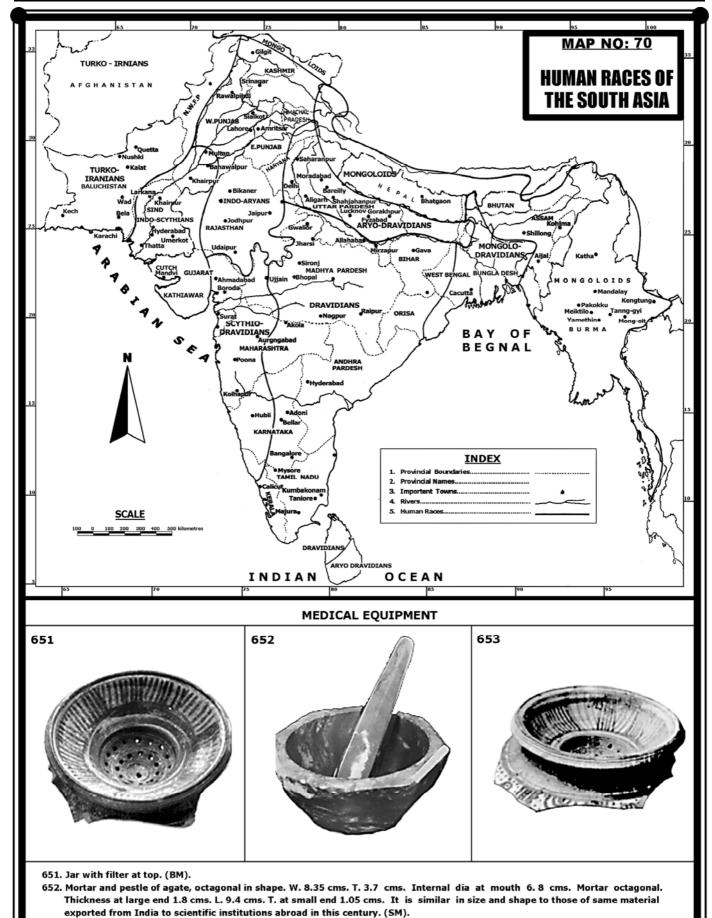
 640. Spinning wheel of 18th century, copy of wheel used in Sindh in

- Soomra era.
- 641. Upper part of domestic flour-mill having smaller diameter, but handle portion projected out, and tapered to help in throwing flour on outside in container in which it is fixed. It is heavier than those used in 20th century. These are still used in some parts of Sindh. (BM).
- 642. Domestic flour-mill lower portion. (BM).
- 643. Kiln for glazing ware. Similar kilns are used even now at Hala and Sehwan.
- 644. Domestic flour-mill of 20th century. Until end of 20th century rural women had to grind flour needed by family, daily for couple of hours. (SM).
- 645. Oil expeller. (SM).

- reached India where Bahmani Sultans used it to crush Vijayanagar forces in 1376 AD. It was the Chinese invention. (see 1237 AD).
- * Use of sculptured and knife cut bricks and tiles goes back to the sixth and seventh centuries as found from various stupas, but a new development of very fine floral patterns by die-casting became popular under Soomras and the patterns used in the bricks' frame were the copy of terracotta and metallic ear ornaments produced in the adjoining countries since antiquity. These were both raised as sunken type patterns. It is inferred from the above that ornaments used in Sindh also had fine workmanship.
- * Glazed pottery improved considerably and became common during the Soomra era. They used many metallic ores for different colours.

- * Metal working and precision casting in brass by wax process shows high achievement. Metallic grills for interior decoration, brass lamps for lighting, Kajal or kohl holders show artistic abilities of workers.
- * Cotton and textile printing with vegetable colours reached a high stage of achievement, which was only superseded in the second quarter of twentieth century. Silk thread was imported, dyed and then woven to various designs.
- * Casting in brass has shown high skills in case of three kohl or Kajal or antimony holders. Excavations of the sites alone will show level of development in the era. Basic pattern has similarities with one in brass and few in terracotta found from Mohenjo Daro.





653. Jar with filter at top. (NM).

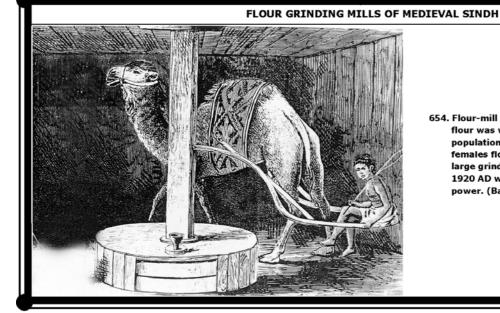
CHAPTER 28

HUMAN RACES OF SOUTH ASIA

UMAN races are divided into three groups: Whites (European features), Mongoloids (Chinese features) Negroids (African features, black or coloured). Human being originated in Africa and about 200,000 years ago spread to the whole Asia and Europe in form of small bands of 30 to 50 persons as hunter food-gatherers. No agriculture existed and they harvested wild fruits, grains, roots of some plants, vegetables and killed animals for meat. They split as soon as the groups became big. When more food became available the population increased. The last Ice Age ended some 16,000 years ago and deciduous trees, which grew in plains, gave place to savannas, which attracted vegetarian mammals and their predators. The hunters followed them. They co-operated with each other and this led to exchange of blood and also languages they spoke. From Finland down to central Asia and also via Khyber and Bolan passes, these hunters moved season after season giving rise to mixed genes of white races

and Indo-European languages. This is why people of northern South Asia have features similar to the Europeans.

There have also been continuous conquests and thereby migrations of the central Asian people due to repetition of adverse climatic conditions. Such conditions are known to have prevailed around 800 to 500 BC, 300 BC to 250 AD, 600 to 900 AD and 1480 to 1850 AD. Due to these climatic changes migrations to Sindh and the Punjab have occurred. In general, people of the southern Punjab (below Multan) to Kutch and Kathiawar are Indo-Scythians and those of Punjab and Rajasthan are Indo-Aryans. The people of Utter Pradesh (India) are Aryo-Dravidians, those of Bengal are Mongolo-Dravidians and those of south India are Dravidians. People of Balochistan and NWFP residing west of Indus like Afghans are Turko-Iranians. People of Gilgit, Nepal, Bhutan, Asam and Burma are Mongoloids. The map gives the areas of different races of mankind in South Asia.



654. Flour-mill pulled by camel. Grinding of grain to flour was women's job, but in towns with large population of labour without accompanying females flour was ground in animal powered large grinding wheels. This was common upto 1920 AD when diesel engines replaced animal power. (Baille, Karachi).

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From 1970 to-date, has been running an engineering consulting company, specializing in irrigation, drainage, ground water, agriculture and scientific equipment for education, research and industry and has worked only on government projects.

He has continued ancestral occupation of farming and has established a horticultural research farm near Hyderabad (Sindh), in which he has introduced twenty-five new fruit crops of which twelve are now commercially grown. He has developed a number of new and different fruit cultivars, which extend harvest season of each fruit by many months. He has also eliminated pesticides and herbicides from his farm, to make it fully organic during the past decade. For his researches on farm, he has written manuals, one on each fruit crop, running into four thousand pages and another ten manuals on post-harvest of fruits and vegetables. He has published more than eighty articles and books on engineering and agriculture and more fifty reports on scientific subjects.

His hobby has been studies in every aspect of Sindh since school days. As local libraries cannot afford to buy every book on Sindh or horticulture or engineering. He buys books for his personal collection and reference and has some fourteen thousand books on Sindh, equal number of books and bulletins on fruits crops, some twelve thousand books on engineering and environment and ten thousand books on other sciences, a total of fifty thousand books. His wife collection is also some ten thousand books and publications available to them.

Of his writings on Sindh, "Source Material on Sindh", 1977 (600 pages), and "Chronological Dictionary of Sindh", 1983 (700 pages), are still referred as standard classics. His "Six Thousand Years of Irrigation in Sindh" (1993), is undergoing second edition and will come out in 2003. A number of his books namely: "Historical Atlas of Sindh" (300 maps), "History of Sindh in Pictures", "Climatic changes and their Impact on History of Sindh" and three volume "Social History of Sindh" are ready for press.

He has published more than one hundred articles (nine hundred pages) on Sindh and plans to publish them as "Ancient Sindh". He has recently written two books on Sindh: "Water Requirement of Riverain Area of Sindh", already published and "Kohistan Area of Sindh" (in press). For his 'Historical Atlas of Sindh' he has collected more than eighty historical atlases of different areas, many showing Sindh and besides three thousand maps showing Sindh. His wife Farzana supports him in all his researchers, travels and office work. His four sons stay in USA. He has received many awards for his work on Sindh, agriculture, science and technology and was awarded "Sitara-e-Imtiaz" (Star of Excellence), by the President of Pakistan for work in engineering and agriculture in 1992 and another two awards followed in 1999 and 2002. He is well traveled and visits Europe and Northern America regularly since past thirty years in search of new knowledge in all the fields, he is interested in.

His autobiography of the first ten years of his life is also ready for press.



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