

Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari

STUDY OF MURAL CERAMICS OF
SUKKUR
AND OTHER PAPERS



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*Congratulations, the Nishan-e-Tahniyat,
be the rejoicing mark
Dedicated to the hard work.*

Preface

During last few years I had many occasions to speak at various forums, with in the country and also outside the country, about the mural ceramics in Pakistan.

At times the development of ceramics in particular region got the focus of the discussion, and from this emerged a series of lectures which I gave on the *tiles and glazed bricks of Sukkur*, also the possible influences on the ceramic practices in this area.

Luckily the Sukkur Historical Society asked me to present a study of mural ceramics of Sukkur and also offered to publish the book on the occasion of the proposed seminar on Sukkur.

Though I accepted the offer, but I was not sure whether I will be able to put together my views and ideas. Keeping in view the extra ordinary engagements, which my office required on me.

As the date of proposed seminar got closer, my affairs got entangled, meanwhile I also got transferred from Sukkur. This came as relief as I was to leave the busy routine of mine and expected to be getting some place where the office routine couldn't interfere with my frequent visiting the sites of my pending researches, and also be at home having access to my mterial and work peacefully.

Leaving Sukkur, fully packed & landing at Karachi looking for the related reference material, photographs, field notes and reference material of the earlier lectures was

really a difficult task. Specially when there only were seven days to go for the seminar.

Some how or the other the long extended observations on ceramic development in Pakistan, and the study of regional architectural decorations has been given a shape and a look has been cast on the mural ceramics of Sukkur.

This is appearing as the major part of this volume.

The second part comprises some thought provoking writings on Sukkur, couple of these have already been published, but in some less circulated/ less read periodicals. That it was considered necessary that when a seminar on Sukkur was called and all papers to be read in the seminar are to be published, these papers too be published, so that all material on Sukkur is brought together.

Also included are the papers written down by scholars on the occasion of the seminar.

It is hoped that the readers will find it quite interesting to focus on various aspects of Sukkur history and heritage. This volume is thus divided in to two portions.

The papers written in Sindhi and Urdu are appearing under separate volume, so that it can be easily refered to and circulated accordingly.

I am thankful to all individuals and institutions who had made this seminar possible and have supported an extensive publication programme, under which we are publishing fifteen books on Sukkur.

It is really a proud occasion for me as being the Chairman of the Organising Committee of the seminar *Sukkur Through Centuries*, to reach to this point of time, when all arrangements of the seminar are almost complete, and the extensive publication programme is enacted and books are into the press.

But it wouldn't have been possible if my colleagues would not have been there. I am highly indebted to Dr. Nawaz Ali Shauq for his constant help, and the support rendered to me by Mr. Bakhsh Ali Lakho, Organising Secretary of the seminar.

I am thankful to Nawabzada Hassan Ali Khan, a personal friend of mine for his encouragement and unfailing help.

Mr Abdul Aziz Memon and Mr. Taj Mohammad Shaikh were always there when I needed them and they voluntarily came forward to support the cause of the society.

It has really been a role of considerable importance which is enacted by Mr. Zafer Farooqui, D.I.G, Police, Sukkur Range, as Patron of Organising Committee of the seminar. I am specially thankful to him to take care of things, when I bowed out of Sukkur.

The members of Sukkur Historical Society and the officers from District Administration have really contributed in the arrangements and they deserve special mention.

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Study of Mural Ceramics of Sukkur

Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari

The turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Sukkur in its most productive span. By Sukkur we mean Sukkur, Bukkur fortress and Rohri. When we refer to Sukkur region we have in mind the *Bukkur Sarkar* of Mughal days, as it was part of Multan *Suba*; Pl. refer to the map.

With in Pakistan at the cessation of Khairpur State there emerged an administrative unit, that was initially named as Khairpur Division. It was later re-named as Sukkur, it comprised of Larkana, Jacobabad, Sukkur, Khairpur and Nawabshah Districts. It roughly coincided with the limits of the *Bukkur Sarkar*. The variation which can be ascertained is that the *Ubauro* at the time was included in Multan Sarkar, as presently it is in Sukkur Division¹ the *Mathila* was included in the Bukkur Sarkar and from here to *Darbalo pargana* on east of Indus it ran, some part of the Nawabshah District thus remained excluded. On west of the river the large pargnah of *Chandaka* had its limits up to *Sehwan Sarkar*² that means some of the portion of present day *Dadu* District, which forms the part of Hyderabad Division, did fall in Bukkur. Like

¹ (Masumi 114,228, Mazhar Shahjhani,14,Rai Chaturman Saksena: Chahar Gulshan, MS, Aligarh, MA Liberary Habib Ganj F.140a).

² Mazhar Shahjhani, Intro, 54,15,16)

wise the parganahs of *Sivi* (Sibi) and *Ganjaba* (Gandaba) were³ out side the present or former Sukkur Division. Now in present text when we refer to Bukkur we mean the Bukkur Sarkar of Mughal empire. Any mention to Bukkur fort will be to the archaeological site and not to the headquarters of the former Bukkur Sarkar.

The standing monuments amply indicate at this fact, as we see impressive mosques, grave enclosures, monumental buildings and also some secular structures proudly displaying the indulgence of their sponsors. These buildings were constructed by the persons who were either high officials and had in any way chance to work for Mughal administrative setup. Mir Abul Qasim Nimkeen, Mir Masoom and Mir Abdul Baqi Purani though hailed from the areas falling under the former Timurid Empire but were settled in Bukkur of those days. They not only identified themselves as part and parcel of the Bukkur, but had taken interest in putting up permanent structures. They contributed positively to the social set up and also brought some consequential likings to the innovative trends in arts and architecture of the area.

The Mir Masoom's tower at Sukkur a unique building, with its peculiar design is braving the vagaries of centuries and harshness of weather.

This Minar is most conspicuous feature in the landscape⁴, though it is not considered as a poor specimen of its kind⁵.

There are many buildings at Sukkur and Rohri which are attributed to Mir Masoom and these can not however be termed as poor as this tower. He was born at Sukkur⁶ His

³ (Masum 128-30, & also see (Mazhar-e-Shahjahani)

⁴ (Cousens, .122)

⁵ (Ibid 122)

⁶ (his birth date is not clear, in one of the sources is 7th Ramazan 944; another indication places him it in the year 952 AH.

father a migrant Syed from Trimiz, who had fully settled at Bukkur and had enriched it with his graces⁷ and occupied the seat of Shaikhul Islam in the year 977 AH ⁸A Jama Mosque is also attributed to him, which he had constructed in 960 AH⁹

The Mir has to his credit a good number of buildings, at least one of which is reported to have been, unparalleled and matchless¹⁰. His buildings are decorated with ceramics and the ones which are lost did also contain mural ceramics, as we have the indication from a junior contemporary. Mirak Yousaf says that the dome of the building was green (turquoise?) and the construction very pleasing.¹¹

The building of *Mazilgah* do have the use of glazed bricks, likewise the *Eidgah* of Rohri has some panels of interesting geometrical designs, made out of glazed bricks. He was a widely traveled person with important royal assignments. Being one of the confidants of the great Mughal Emperor Akber, he had lot of chances to observe the royal indulgence in the architectural concerns. That would have surely provided him with the chances to see the Mughal architectural decorations and also to have the idea about royal preferences.

Mir Abul Qasim Nimkeen has also to his credit a few buildings of which *Sufa-e-Safa* is famous and also in good condition, withstanding the unfriendly atmosphere through all these years.

Husammuddin Rashdi, *Mir Masoom Bukhari*, Sindhi Adbi Board, Jamshoro. 1979, pp.91,92)

⁷(*Zakhiratul Khawanin*.I, p.201 Badayoni III, p.364, *Maaser-e-Rahimi* II, p336)

⁸ (*Tarikh-e-Masoomi*(Sindhi Tr. p237)

⁹ (Zakhirat ul Khawanin I, p. 120-21)

¹⁰ (Zakhirat-ul-Khawatin I 203,p.4,1):

¹¹ (*Mazhar-e-Shahjehani*, p.4)

He belonged to Hussaini family of Herat. His father Mula Mir Sabzwari¹² was *Mutawali* of the tomb of Imam Musa Raza.¹³

During Uzbek disturbance left Herat and settled down at Qandhar.¹⁴ It is around 906-916 that he migrated.¹⁵

Abul Qasim was initially in service of Mirza Hakeem, brother of Akbar, and well before 980 A.H came and joined the court of Akber¹⁶.

Mir Qani says he joined service at Lahore and was appointed on (4000) Chahar Hazri Mansab¹⁷, it remains unconfirmed but it is sure he was very well treated¹⁸ till, his death in 1018 A.H, he remained active in Imperial service.

Initially was in Bhera & Khushab, in 982 A.H, went on Gujrat expedition, followed by Bengal rising (against Daud Khan), against Mirza Hakeem in Kabul (989H), He remained busy in 991 Katta Khan, in 994,996 in Baluchistan,996 Kalu Khan,1003 Sibi, 1006 Kashmir, was in Gujrat in 1014, was active against Khurram in 1015, was appointed in Jalalabad in 1015, Qiladar of Bajaur in 1016, accompanied Ghazi Beg to Qandhar in 1017, on return died in 1018.¹⁹

¹² Shahnawaz Khan, *Maaser-ul-Umera* (tr.) Muhammed Ayoub Qadri (urdu), III, P.67 Lahore, 1970.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Tuhfat ul Karam*,(tr.)Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, Sindhi Adabi Board Hyd.(1976),p319

¹⁵ Pir Husamuddin Rashdi,Tazkira Amir Khani Sindhi Adabi Board Hyd p.7

¹⁶ Ibid 8 and f

¹⁷ *Tuhfat-ul- Karam*, p.319

¹⁸ *Maaser-ul-umera*, p.67

¹⁹ *Tazkira Amir Khani*

He served Mughal interest in Bukkar , Sibi & Sewhan.

Rashdi considers that he was given²⁰ charge of Bukkur in 1002 and remained till 1008. During this time he went on important mission i.e Sibi. As can be seen he was at Bukkur first in 1004 and second time in 1007.²¹

In Sehwan 1009 to 1013²². Akber appointed him to Qandhar but he died, Jehangir sent him to Jalalabad specially.

Sufa-e-Safa is a platform created by exploiting a natural rock, washed by Indus river, on the brinks of Rohri, the twin town of Sukkur²³. This building seems to have been further developed by the descendents of the Mir, as it kept on receiving additional platforms. It has considerable mural decoration, substantially achieved through imaginative use of glazed bricks²⁴.

The decorative scheme is much close to the one executed on the family mosque of Mir Abdul Baqi Purani. Which presently stands in ruins near his tomb in Sukkur city. Which had previously a lot of glazed tiles²⁵. Purani was member of a well known family. The head of the family was Mirak Bayazid.

²⁰ *Tazkira Amir Khani*, p 24

²¹ Khudadad Khan, *Lub-e-Tarikh-e-Sindh* (tr.) Hafiz Khair Muhammad Ohdi, Sindhi Adbi, Board Jamshoro, 1989, p.85

²² *Ibid*, P.32

²³ *Tazkira Amir Khani*.

²⁴ Dr. Kaleem Lashari, Sukkur's unique ceramic tradition. *The Archeological Review*. Vol: 8-10, 2001, pp,39-51

²⁵ Cousens, *Antiquities of Sindh*, p.125

The second wife of Mirak Bayazid was Khanzadah Begum, daughter of Mirza Khawind, maternal grandson of Khawajah Ahrar. She died at the age of seventy five at Sukkur in 981 A.H.²⁶ who died in 1019 A.H and was buried at Sukkur. His date of birth effectively debunks the myth of his coming in 928 A.H. and being nominated as governor of Bukkur by his father, as mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Sukkur

Three Daughters were also born to Khanzadah Begum, viz Zaynab Sultan, Khuram Sultan & Khadijah Begum, alias Shaykh Begum. The last named was married and settled in Lahore.

Mirak Abdul Baqi married Sayyed Begum, the youngest daughter of Sayyed Qalander Sabzwari of Sukkur & had a son from her, (Mir Abdul d. 978) & a daughter Aisha Banu Begum (b.1019H.) He married also grand daughter of his slave Bahbud, from her he had a son and a daughter, the son is buried with him in his mausoleum²⁷.

On folio 160 of Shajrah-e-Sadat-e-Purani, Mirak Baqi himself is reported to have recorded the birth of his daughter Zainab in Delhi, (in 978 H/ 1570 AD). Perhaps his wife's family helped him in securing service there.

The marriage of Mir Abdullah took place in 1003 A.H/1594 AD in Lahore, for we find that his first two Children(girls) were born there in 1004 A.H & 1006 A.H. Most likely he had got some job in the Mughal administration for he was found moving from place to place, as is eviden from the birth of his children. He was in Agra in 1008 and again in 1015 A.H. Meanwhile he also visited Jaunpur . His son was born in Allahabad. He again came back to Agra where his second son Mir Abdul Azim was born in

²⁶ (Mirak Murtaza Purani, Shajrah-e- Sadat-e- Purani MS. folio 28,157)

²⁷ (Ibid, folio87)

1018 H, he was in Bukkur where his daughter Khadijah Sultan was born. In 1035/1025 he died and was buried in the mausoleum of his father²⁸

Mirak Adbul Baqi of the Puranis lived at Sukkur while most of the other members of his family including his own step brothers & sisters preferred to live at Thatta, where they enjoyed a high position of reverence like that of their grandfather.

Shaykh Abu Saeed Purani(d.923/1517), who lies buried in Qandhar and was holding the position of Shaykh al Islam there. The office continued in his family. His youngest son, Mirak Muhammad or Shaykh Mirak Purani (d.962/155) remained Shaykh al Islam of Sindh under the Arghuns.

It seems that Mirak Abdul Baqi was living with his mother and did not receive any support from other kith & kin or brothers. His father Mirak Byzaid was also living, perhaps with his first wife & son Shykh Abdul Wahab at Kabul.

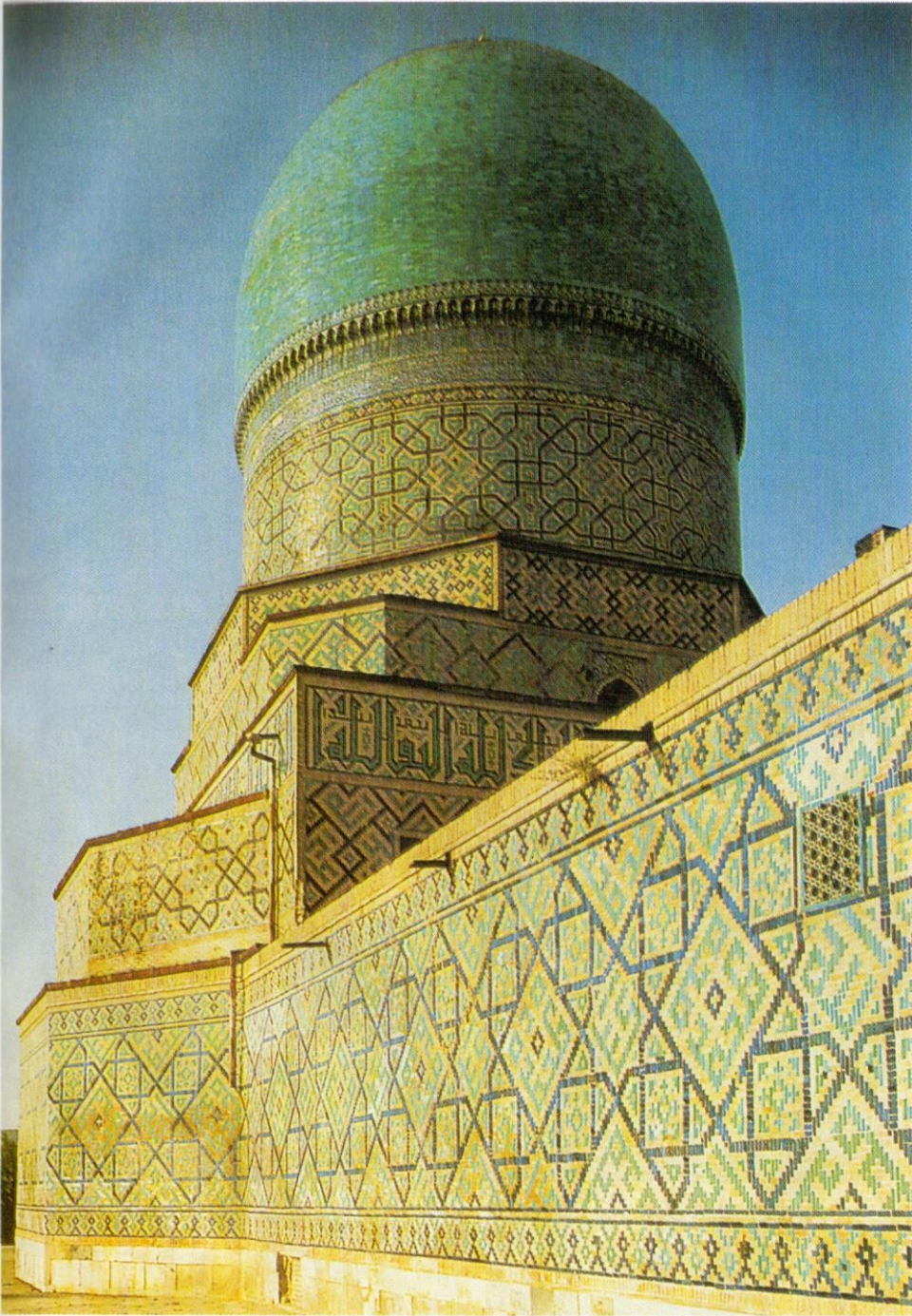
Mir Muhammad Purani brother-in-law of Mirak Abdul Baqi, after marrying his step sister at Thatta had come and settled down at Bukkur.²⁹

All these stalwarts of the Bukkur society had considerable links with Afghanistan and central Asian regions. This relationship had effective influence upon their social and cultural outlook.

No doubt the Timurid architectural developments and its aftermath had been too strong to resist and the Persia as well as near Persian areas had been under its sway. However the *Saffavid* upsergence had introduced some emphasis in the decorative concerns. That enriched mainland

²⁸ (Ibid folio 92, see also folios 96, 101, 107)

²⁹ (Mirak Murtaza Purani: Shajrah-e-Sadat-e-Purani. MS.)

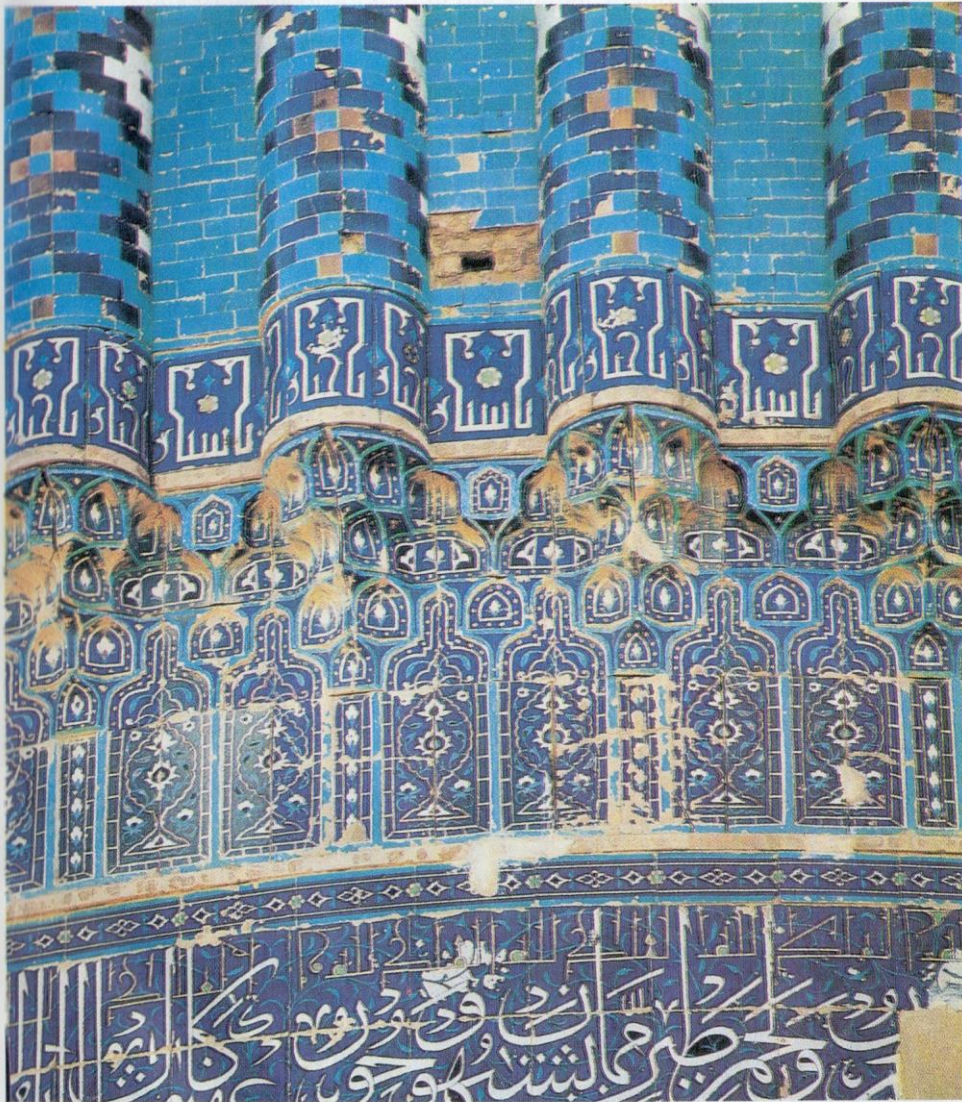


The Timurid's concern for decoration knew no limits. *Tilakari Mosque* in Samarqand is a good example.



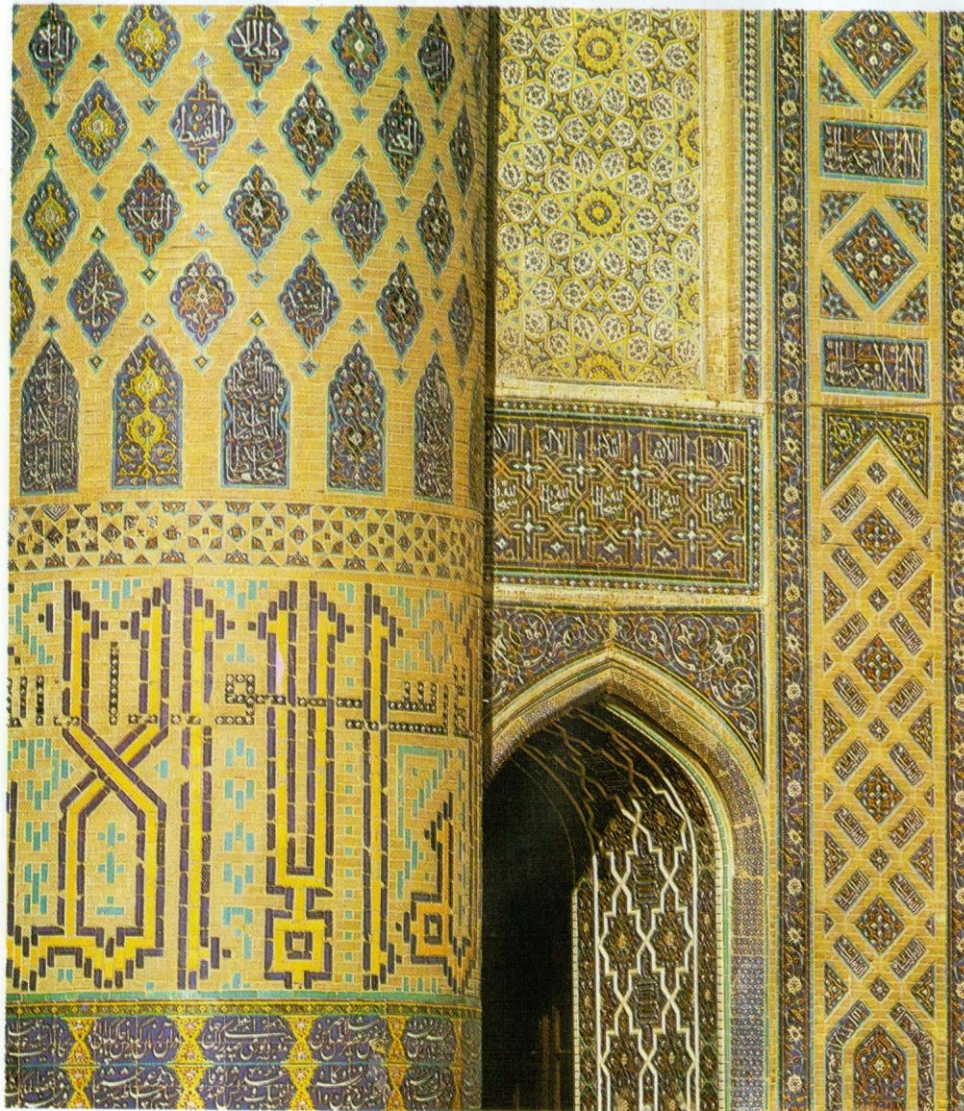
The high *peshtaq* of *Tilakari Madrasa*. Mega proportions were another preference with Timurids.

The Timurid's concern for decoration knew no limits. Tilakari Madrasa in Samarkand is a good example.



Mausoleum of Gawharshad (1447) Herat, embellishment at its height the drum and the dome, detail.

Abella, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 131
Thomas W. Thayer & Glenn D. Lowry, *Princeton University Art Museum*
Country Museum of Art, p. 131



Mosque of Gawharshad (1418) Mashhad, elaborate refinement, so many elements balanced together produce great effect.

architecture projects and also sent across some decorative trends to be incorporated in the Mughal architecture.

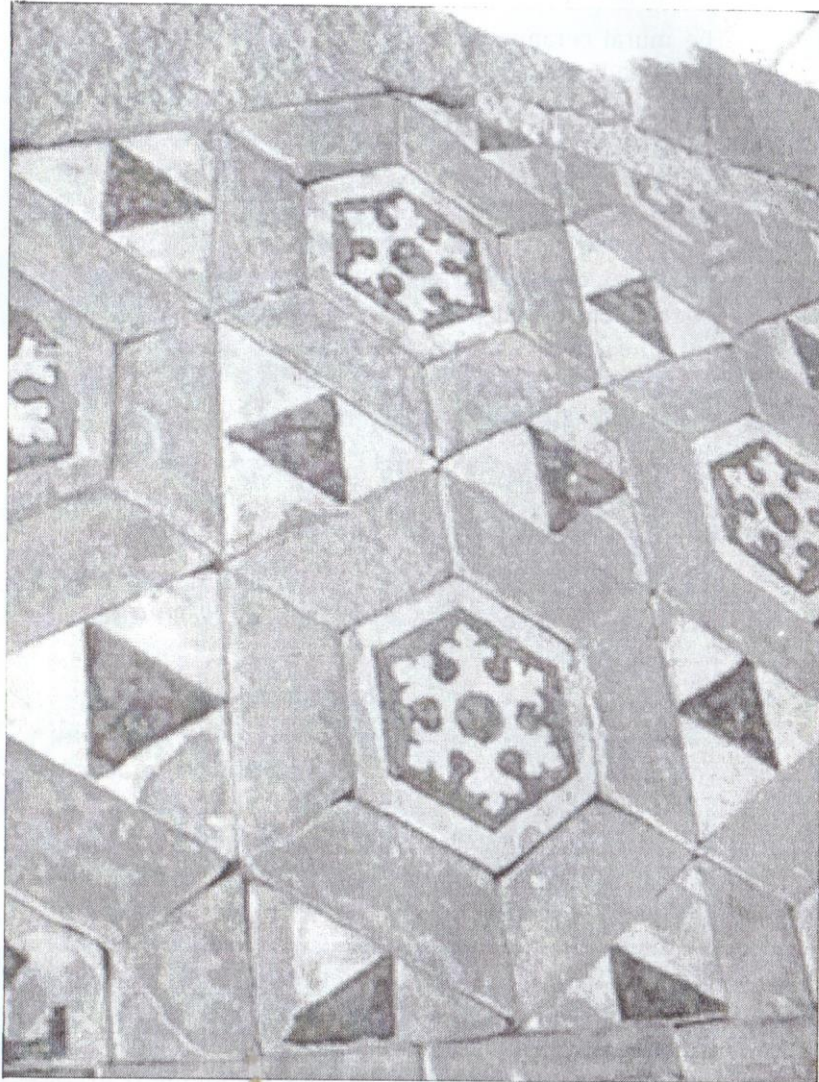
The mural ceramics in Sukkur at this period was rich, sumptuous and very pleasing. The decorative schemes were geometric in design and the emphasis was on the use of glazed bricks. When we look at *Sufa-e-Safa*, its outer walls are fully taken care of, the glazed bricks of diverse sizes & shapes are gainfully used. The designs are pre-dominantly geometric; squares, hexagons, triangles and octagons are frequent. The red polished brick along with the glazed ones create very pleasing impression. Blue, turquoise and white are the colours used. These basic ceramic colours along with the red of polished bricks give sufficient variety in colours and hardly leave any room to complain.

There is a vestibule, the only indoor space, where the glazes are employed. Here plenty of tiles are used. These tiles are square as well as hexagonal.

In order to trace the origin of the inspiration under which the ceramics of Sukkur took its general trend we have to look at the influencing regions.

Timur, the great warlord (1338-1405) & his successors created an empire that spanned central Asia and Iran. With them the political stability and benevolent rule practices were considered to be the outcome of the autocratic princely rule. They thought to use art as vehicle of royal ideology³⁰ and also enthusiastically practiced it, thus earning for themselves positive titles to the effect as *cultivated and powerful* rulers. They had good sense to take along the semi-nomadic traditions of the areas of their origin and also adopt the urban institutions of Islamic Iran. In order to strengthen their claims as the legitimate rulers of Iran as well as central Asia they embarked on an active and elaborate plan of

³⁰ (Thomas W. Lentz & Glenn D. Lowry *Princely vision* Los Angeles County Museum of Art, p.13)



On Sufa-e-Safa, Rohri Glazed brick has been employed extensively, out doors as well as indoors.

cultural patronage. Resultantly an array of buildings and objects came in to existence which can be defined as *refined and visually arresting*,^[30](*Princily Vision* p.13)

Timurids were only seen as military commanders leading brutal campaigns and their other talents have not been seriously studied³¹ There is no doubt that the Timurids possessed remarkable political and cultural talents.³²

The cultural ambitions of Timur himself were grand , as were his military designs. He wanted to do everything on a scale which should be matchless. The subtler and more refined patronage of his son Shahrukh (1377-1447) was not less productive than the one his father caused. To his credit goes the consideration of the developments which took place all around the empire with the Timurid artistic vision.

The fifteenth century thus created Timurid artistic ideals, which had great influence, even though the great Timurid Empire was divided into fragments. Its influence can be seen effecting far and wide, in distance and time, from the Uzbek court to Ottoman, Saffavid and Mughal courts.

It was through adaptations, modification, and refinement of the existing rich artistic practices of Persia, Central Asia and China that a sophisticated medium was developed. Through which a wide range of buildings were brought in to being that enhanced the image of the great Princess and also helped in establishing the Timurid tradition, an idiom which became easily identifiable and went in to the practice.

To achieve uniformity of design the Timurids adhered to the line and designs, which were initially used, and its repetition brought into refinement as well as standardization. There is no doubt that this aesthetic development was out come of extensive, often fine

³¹ (Ibid Vision p.13)

³² (Ibid p.13)

interaction between semi-nomadic values and Islamic Iranian traditions.

In order to understand the Tirmurid tradition we may have a look at the Timur's world. His rule was about forty years, he changed the map of the known world and redefined the political, social and cultural landscape of the eastern Islamic world.³³

He unified different groups and cultures into his domain and created a huge empire. This allowed a wide based interaction between vigour and refinement thus emerged a new visual idiom.

The Timur inherited a refined culture of urban Iran and also he incorporated their practices to everyday life, for instance the festivities were held under elaborately made huge tents³⁴ in the gardens outside the city. He also started an extensive building programme in Samarqand, His mosque had colossal dimensions. The *Gur-e-Amir* another majestic structure all riveted with glazed bricks and tiles. Other members of royal family too contributed to the construction of various buildings in the city & at other places. Many of Timur's wives and sisters, among others, built colorful tile sheathed tombs.³⁵

The glazed tile facades of the tombs in *Shah-e-Zinda* provide a befitting glimpses of early Timurid architectural practices, developing from contemporaneous central Asian

³³ (*Princely Vision*, p.17)

³⁴ Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406*, trans. Guy le Strange (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928) p.238. Also Peter Andrews, "The felt tent in Middle Asia: The Nomadic Tradition and its interaction with Princely Tentage", Ph.D.Diss.(School Of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, .1980), pp 561-66),

³⁵ (O' Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, Costa Mesa(California: Mazda Publishers,1987p.82)

and Persian practices. Timur's *Aq Saray* palace, as ascertained through its ruins, must have been an impressive building,³⁶ its decorations of ceramic revitments, depicting geometric as well as vegetal designs. Massive inscriptions ran on the walls, indicative of its free use at other parts of the building.

His extensive building programme, colossal scale and profusion of expensive materials, especially, for decoration, attest to his great resources which he got together to create an impression of abundance & prosperity.³⁷

The shrine of Ahmed Yasvi (1397) is also covered with turquoise, blue and black glazed bricks. The massive forms of the buildings and their extensive decoration was the hallmark of the Timurid tradition.³⁸

The Amir was not alone responsible for creation of this tradition, but he created such an environment in which diverse artistic and cultural trends fused together. He constantly brought and encouraged artists from the areas he conquered to come to, Samerqand³⁹.

³⁶ (Jhon D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*(New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc: 1977) p.260)

³⁷ (Beatrice Manz, "Tamerlane and the symbolism of sovereignty", *Iranian Studies* 21, (1988): 105-88, Beatrice forbes, *Tamerlane* (Cambridge 1989), & Lisa Golombek, "Tamerlane, Scourge of God," *Asian Art* 2, (1989): 31-61.

³⁸ Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* p.262 also Blair & Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd, Ahmedabad, 1995, p.37)

³⁹ (Ibne Arabshah, *Tamerlane*, p.161, Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafanama*, trans. Petis de la Croix (London: v.Darbis, 1723); and Nizamuddin Shami, *Zafernama* " Historic des conqueters de Temerlance ed. P.Tauer, in Monografie Archive orientalsicho (Praque;Crechoslorak Oriental Institute, 1937), Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, pp 286-87)

This built up a pool of resources from which a new and coherent system of images could be formed. This could be understood by observing the mural ceramics of early fifteenth century and the inscription in mosaic at the *Gur-e-Amir*. Elaborate decoration in glazed material became the mainstay. Huge free standing structures were fully sheathed in colourful tiles.

The transformation of action mongering military class in to patrons of arts and crafts can show the changing times and its needs. Shahrukh & his wife Gawharshad had a large number of mosques & madrasas to their credit ⁴⁰their buildings reveal highly confident aesthetic order⁴¹. A cultural decentralization emerged as Shahrukh appointed, mainly his sons as governors in the far off cities across the realm. Ulugh Beg re-embellished Samarqand. The large central square of *Registan* can be termed as his crowning achievement, in his architectural contribution⁴². Babur too took fancy to it, he refers to it in his memoirs,⁴³The surviving building is draped with pleasing glazes, a brilliant tapestry of zigzagging compartments and geometric inscriptions.⁴⁴ The spandrels have the stars. The predominant geometric and to lesser extent the floral ornaments are remarkable aspects of Timurid architectural decoration.⁴⁵ It has been result of the refinement achieved of the earlier designs.

Turkoman confederations who controlled the Western Iran in fifteenth century have also left behind some remarkable buildings. It shows that how much Timurid

⁴⁰ (Hoag p.265)

⁴¹ (*Princely Visio*, p.76)

⁴² (Hoag p.267)

⁴³ (Zaheer-uddin Muhammad Babar, *Babar nama*, Trans, Annette Susannah Beveridge (London: Luzac & Co. 1971), pp 78,79)

⁴⁴ (*Princely Visio*, p.93)

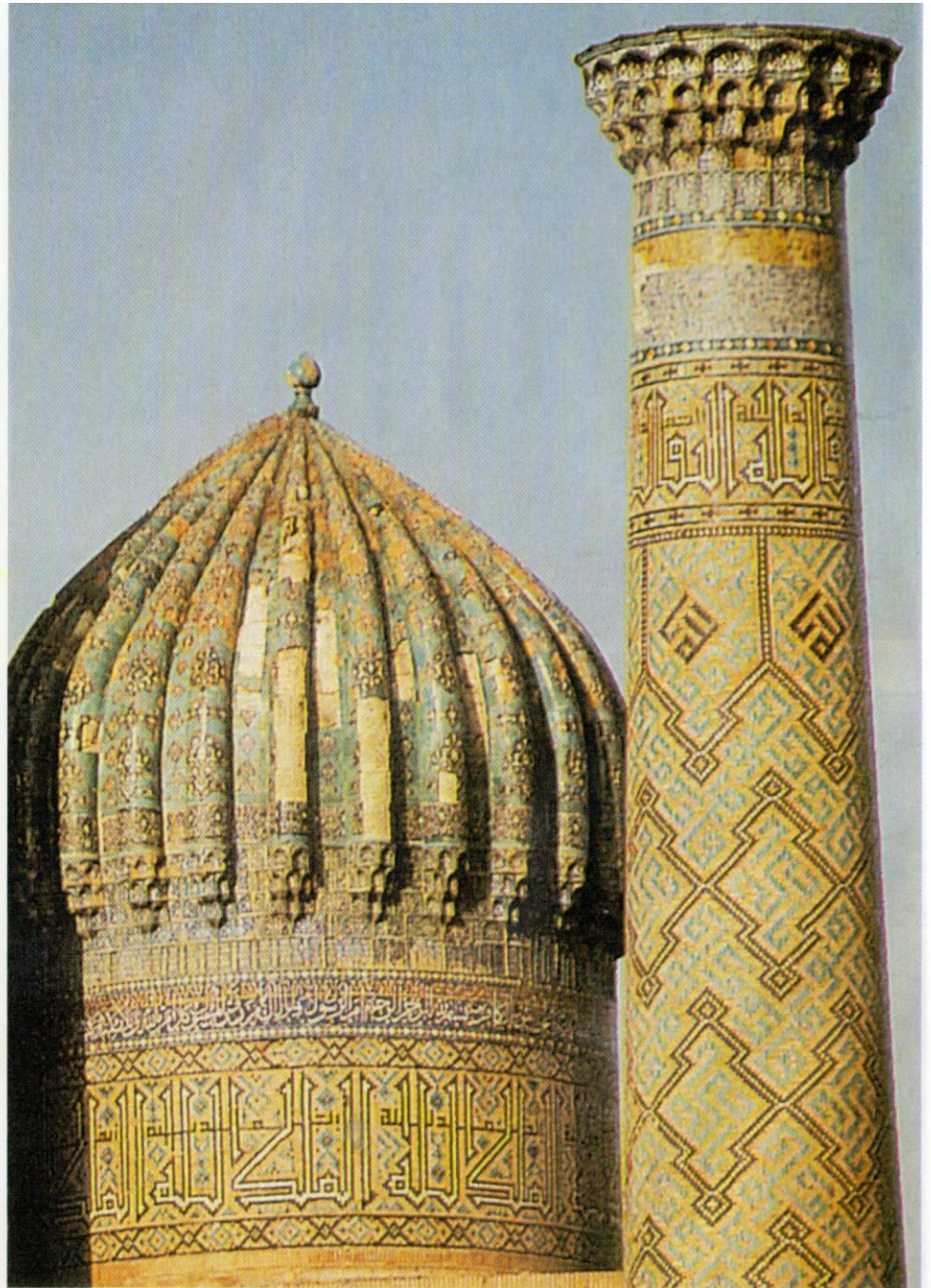
⁴⁵ (Blair and Bloom, *The Art & Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*, p.45)



Gur-e Mir (early 15th century), Samerqand, beauty in flowing rhythm.



Though restored the drum and dome of *Mir-e-Arab* show the characteristic Timurid practice of elegant inscriptions and preference for blue colour.



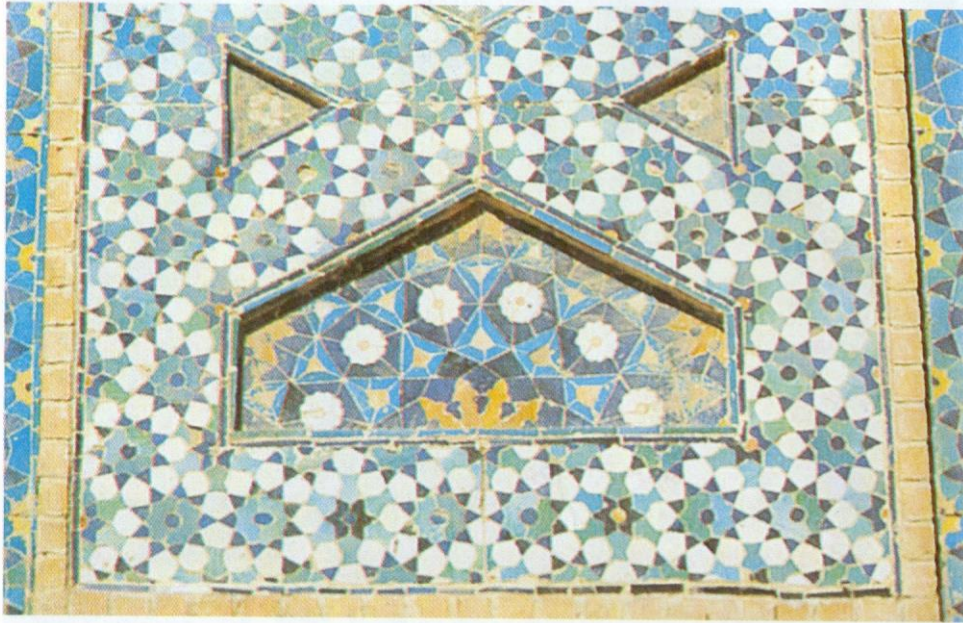
Uzbeks embellished their buildings more elaborately, but lacked Timurid refinement, *Sherdar Madrasa*.



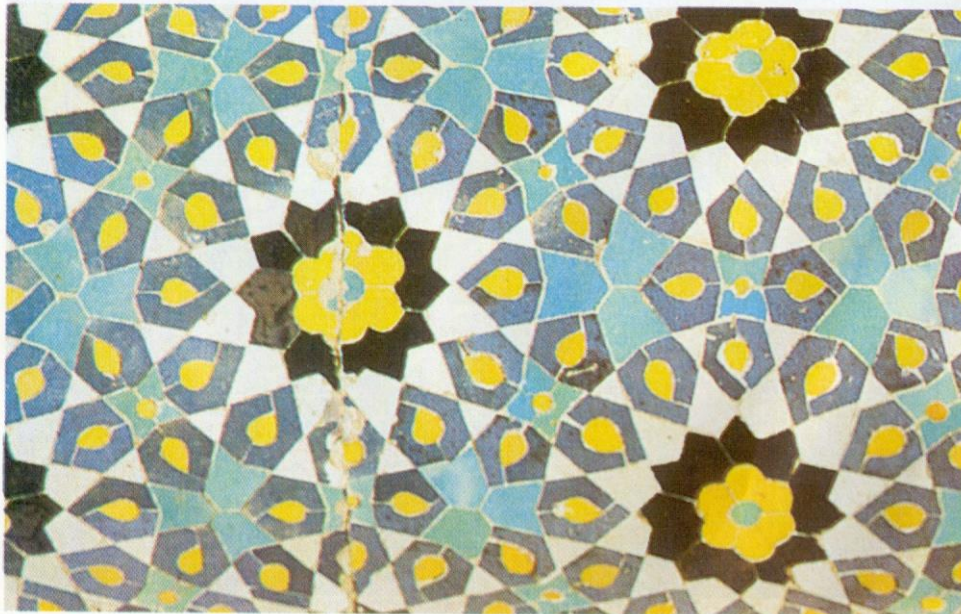
An Imitation of *Madrasa of Olugh Beg*, *She Dar* (1619-36) lacks the fluid fineness.



Representation of the lion, as the name goes *Sher Dar*, Samarqand.



▲
The common mosaic patterns of Bukhara (*Kalyan Mosque*),
these obviously lack the refinement.
▼



Representation of the Islamic art and architecture of Bukhara, Uzbekistan.

traditions had influenced & spread universally its appeal and was so freely adopted.⁴⁶

The Blue Mosque in Tabriz is one such monument, it is superbly revited with the blue tiles. The tile mosaic in six colours cover the exterior & interior walls, it is a superb decoration. Fluid arabesque motifs and beautiful inscriptions on darker back ground are very impressive. Hexagonal tiles are also used and luster tiles too are used unusually in fifteenth century.⁴⁷

Turkoman buildings in Isfahan testify to the presence of same traditional influence of Timiurid idiom. The Yazd and areas around it did receive the attention, old buildings were repaired and tile mosaics were restored. Mosques were either built or repaired mostly on the plan of Yazd Jami.

The Timurid architectural vocabulary penetrated further west i.e Hassan Keyf, Turkay, the decoration in brick and tile mosaic is unmistakably Timurid.⁴⁸ Another good example is *Civili Kiosk* (Tiled Pavilion) built by Ottoman Sultan Muhammad II (1444-81).

There is no doubt that the Timurid tradition was the inspiration throughout the eastern Islamic lands from Turkey to India and it went on to inspire, world and transform many regional styles and practices to considerable degree.

If one looks at the Mughal Architecture its roots can be found entrenched in the Timurid tradition.

Though it is difficult to evaluate Babur's, architectural contribution, but some good buildings still remain to be looked into. His mosques in Panipat, Ayodhya & Sanbhal show that the sultanat period traditions were incorporated in these. It is said that the decreasing sultanat form were

⁴⁶ (Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* p.50)

⁴⁷ (Ibid p,52)

⁴⁸ (Ibid, p.53)

quite inadequate but yet were taken-up (Ebba Koch: *Mughal Architecture*, Munich prtd-Vrlag, 1991 p.32). However some innovations were incorporated as the Timurid arched transition zones were applied to the pendentives of the small domes.⁵⁰ Babur in his memoirs⁵¹ (has set quite high Timurid traditions, but when we come to compare it with his buildings in India that hardly fits in to these writings.⁵²

However it is truth that Babur caused introduction of Timurid-Persian scheme of a walled-in garden normally subdivided into four quarters.⁵³

As reported in Babur Nama & attributed to Zayn Khan, Babur's nobles followed his example and built on "Khurasani" pattern.

It was his nobles again belonging to Afghanistan, central Asia and Khurasan proper that the buildings were influenced such as "royal hot baths were constructed for Khurasanians & Samarqandis."⁵⁴

With Humayun the situation did not change much, the rich Timurid tradition remained much of influence and the late Sultanate forms of decoration fully inter acted.⁵⁵ The mosque at *Kachpura*, Agra(937/1530-31) is mainly an import if we refer to the 16th century *Namazgah* mosque at *Qarshi* a small town near Samarqand which shares all its main

⁵⁰ (Ibid p 32, O Kane, pp. 51 ff)

⁵¹ Eng: to pp. 60 f, 634 also see Crane for survey of Babur's buildings)

⁵² (for instance *Bagh Nilofar* is preserved to some extent see Moynihan 1988 but its descriptions in Babur Nama pp. 606 f. 634 is in contrast to the modest facts.)

⁵³ Eba Koch *Mughal Architecture* 33-34)

⁵⁴ (*Babur Nama* pp: 160f.)

⁵⁵ (Ebba Koch: *Mughal Architecture* p.35)

features with it⁵⁶ This *Namazgah* is mentioned by Babur also.⁵⁷

Subz Burj and *Nila Gumbad* of Delhi are also Timurid structures imported, having their peculiar stylistic characteristics⁵⁸ of octagonal tombs having elegant proportions, *Subzburj* having pronounced late Timurid ideals with its elongated *peshtaqs* and a slightly bulbous dome.⁵⁹

And we find specially in ceramics preferences of late Timurid reflected on the outer surface with tile revitment arranged in geometrical patterns.⁶⁰ The ground plan adheres to the standard i.e lately post Timurid form; an irregular octagon having central square chamber connected to axial *peshtaqs* in the outer faces. Alternating with smaller half octagonal niches in the narrower sides, and can be compared with the tomb mosque of Abu naser Parsa at Bulkh⁶¹ and the shrine of Momo Sharifan at Ghazni (c. 1500).⁶² This plan went a long way with the Mughals, in smaller mausoleums & garden pavilions⁶³, plate 29 Ebba Koch p. 37 and p.48-51 figures 26-27-28-29-30-31) Sooner the local architectural decorative traditions, which had lost their appeal in the elite areas and were only alive in back alleys⁶⁴ revived.⁶⁵ This revival is in use of highly ornate revitment of stone, inlays,

⁵⁶ (Carlley'e pp 100. ff).

⁵⁷ (Eng: Tr. p. 83)

⁵⁸ (Naqvi p.13)

⁵⁹ (Ebba koch pp.36-37)

⁶⁰ (Ebba Koch P,37)

⁶¹ (Golombek & Wilber *The Timurid Architecture of Iran & Turan*, Princeton University Press, 1988, I, cat no 59)

⁶² for illustration see Golombeck and Wilber, I, Cat. No. 66, II, Fig 71)

⁶³ (Naqvi p.17 Subhash, Parihar, p.32 Mughal Monuments in the Punjab & Haryana, (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications,1985)

⁶⁴ (Such provincial centers as Bayana & Kannauj see Ebba Koch p.38),

⁶⁵ (Ebba Koch 1987 a p. 135 f)

geometrical designs, relief work, engaged columns, stone screens, ribbed domes, eaves, ornamental brackets etc etc, for this we can refer to the buildings of *Purana Qila* (old Fort) at Delhi.⁶⁶

The Sher Mandal, only surviving palace building of the Qila is a representative of heterogeneous picture of Hamayun's period. Representing the Timurid Safavid pavilion type⁶⁷ with cruciform interior plan.⁶⁸

The Timurid inspiration is reflected in inner dome and arch netting of the vaults. The structure wears the red sand stone, with white stone, inlays the local inspiration. None of Humayun's own palace buildings seems to have survived, if we refer to the contemporary author Khwandmir.⁶⁹

The dated building of the period is Muhammad's Pavilion, in fort of Vijaymandrigarh, Bayana, it is the only dated building which has survived. He was Bakhshi of Hamayun, the date is 940/1533-34.⁷⁰

Looking at this key building one can observe two important constituent elements, its post and beam

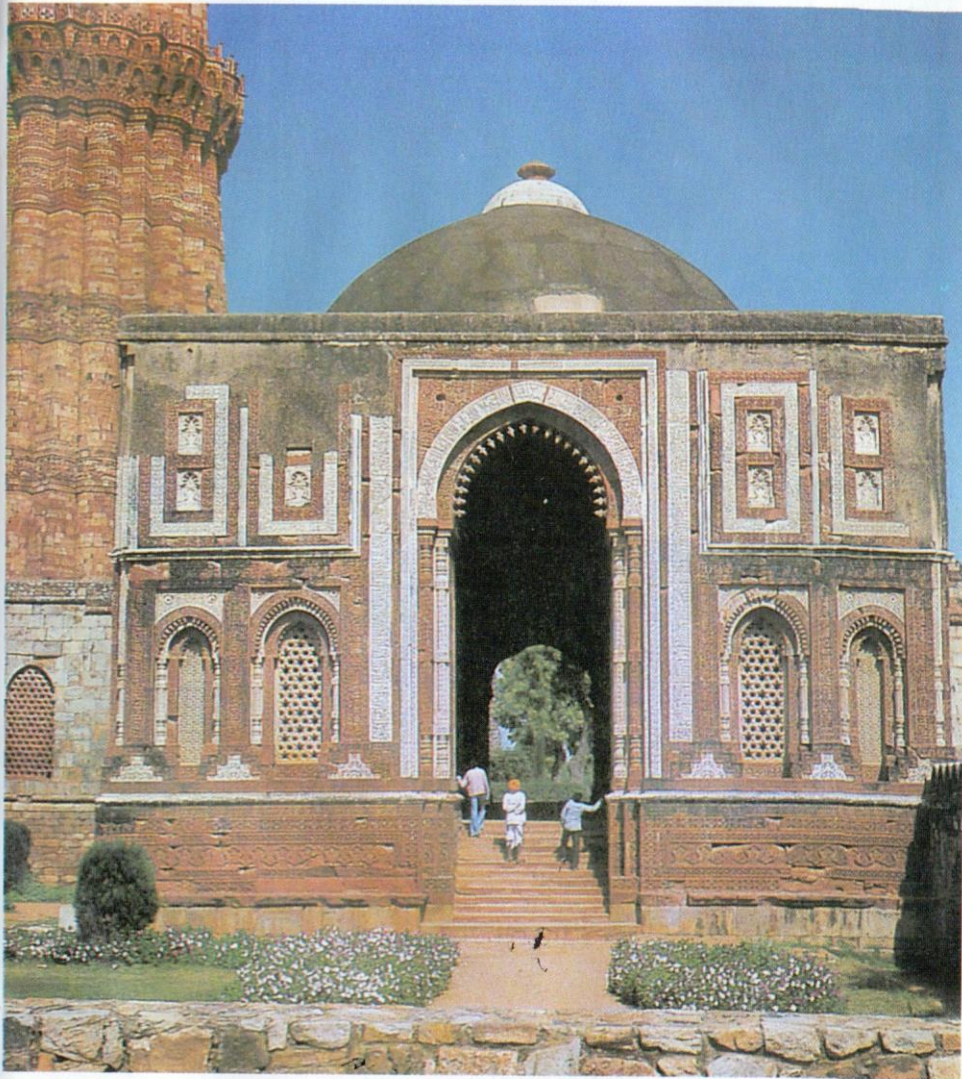
⁶⁶ (Catherine Ashar, The Qilai-Kuhna Mosque: A visual symbol of Royal Associations. In CHHAVI 2 (Varanasi: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University), pp.212-17 1981, for plans see Joshi. The Authorship of Purana Qila & its Building. In *Indian Epigraphy Its bearing on the history of Art*, ed. F.M. Asher and G.S.Gai (New Delhi: Oxford, 1985) fig 1,2)

⁶⁷ (Ebba Koch p.38)

⁶⁸ (*Attilis and Terranora*, Antonio Petruccioli, Fateh pur Sikri, *La citta del sole e delle acque*, (Rome; carucci Editore, (1988 fig 237)

⁶⁹ (Andrews, 1986b.Mahal. VI In encyclopedia of Islam, V,pp.1214-1220)

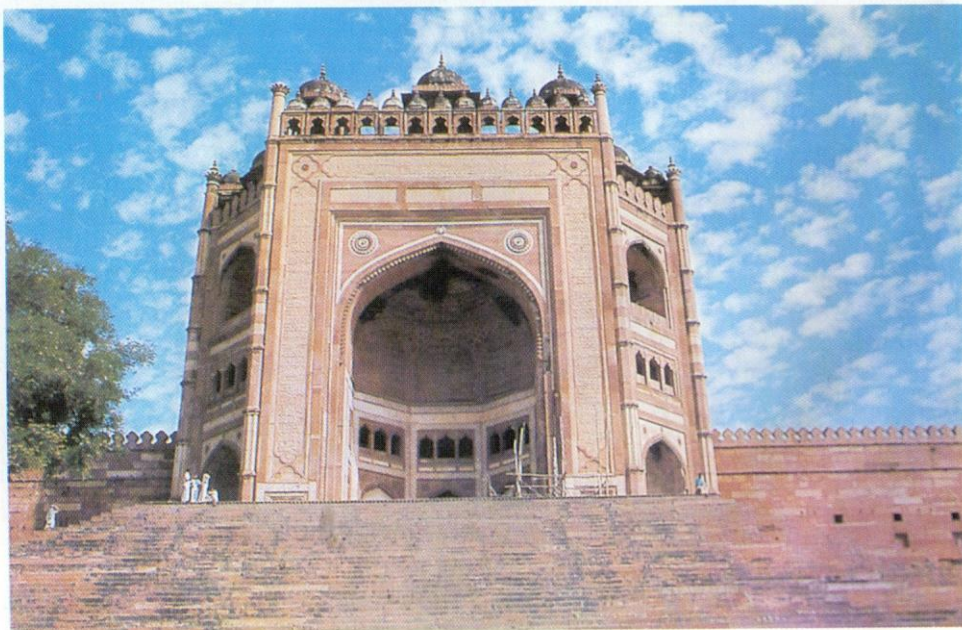
⁷⁰ (A. Khan 1990 Jahangir Eng: Tr. II p.63)



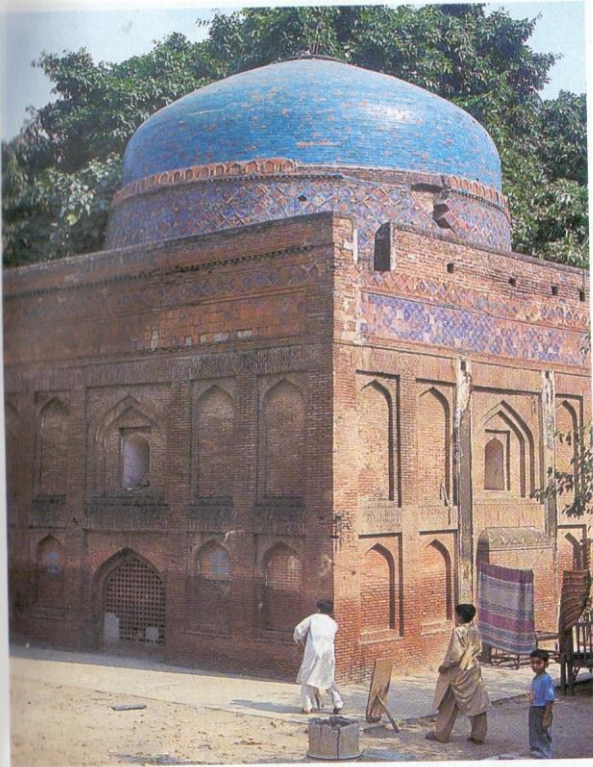
Alai Darwaza, Quwat ul Islam mosque (1311) Delhi, show the stone in decoration.



Jahangiri Mahal, Agra fort (Later half of sixteenth century) contrasting stone in decoration .



Buland Darwaza, Jami Masjid, Fatehpur Sikri(1568-78), shows Akbar's indulgence with stone.



The tomb of *Musa Ahangar*, probably the only Mughal period building in Lahore, having earthenware tiles.



A remarkable folial pattern on Asif Khan's tomb, Lahore.



Colourful folwing floral patterns are the hall mark of Mughal ceramic decoration panel in Lahore fort

construction with flat roof, and closed central block with open Verandah all around.⁷¹

This is the connection with local trabeate pillared building tradition and the masonry building with post beam porches (Wooden pillar used) in Iran & Transoxania, which is called talar & ivan respectively. The Mughals had shown visible interest in this kind & use of word (Ivan) in their ancestral traditions.⁷²

The Akbar's genius rests in the fact that he bridged the gulf between various segments of society. The amalgamation thus achieved brought an impressive growth of local as well as foreign elements in the arts. The development of architecture too was obvious and its fruits can still be cherished. It achieved its destructive character during this reign/ period.⁷³ Expansion in empire, brought in new trends & craftsmen from the annexed regions /areas. It produced "*supraregional synthesis characterised by extensive borrowing of features from earlier Timurid, Transoxianian, Indian & Persian styles*". The red sandstone, local building material had such an impact that it helped in unifying the diverse effects.

The tomb of Humayun, the first major building to come up in this reign, can be labeled as synthesis of creatively developed Timurid ideas & local traditions.⁷⁴ It is a true grand scale building which went on to inspire the monumental character of subsequent buildings.

⁷¹ (Ebba Koch pp 41-42)

⁷² (Koch Ebba Koch, The lost Colonnade of Shahjahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra. *The Burlington Magazine*, 1982, p,331)

⁷³ (Ebba Koch p.43)

⁷⁴ (Ebba Koch p.43)

There is no doubt that the design & execution of the projet was by an Herati architect Sayyed Muhammad.⁷⁵

The major decoration is brought about by use of white marble on red sandstone veneer. The balanced use of these produced impressive results, which went on to influence the building trends for a long time to come.

The plan of this building is also a derivative of Timurid tradition, which has already been used in Subz Burj and Nila Gumbad at Delhi.⁷⁶ Its inspiration might have come from *Khangah* of Shaykh Amani, in *Deh Minar*, Herat, (Late fifteenth century) and in *Khanaqah* of Qasim Shaikh at Kermin, Bukhara (1558-59).⁷⁷

This form of plan became current in Mughal architecture i-e a square or rectangle with corners chamfered (and termed as *muthamman Baghdadi*) or some times with towers at the corners. The four lines intersect each other to give nineparts, that comprises a domed hall in the centre, rectangular open chambers in the middle of the sides, normally as *pishtaqs* or as verandah with pillars. The corner rooms are usually two storeyed. These features assumed universal approval with Mughals⁷⁸ the surfaces receive decorations, that is applied in panels, freizes, decorative arches etc.

⁷⁵ (Khwaja Bahauddin Hasan Bukhari Nisari, *Muzakkir-e-Ahbab*(1566), ed. S.M. Fazlullah, Hyderabad Dairat-ul-Maarif, 1969, pp 37-38, 103,283, 86, Eng: intro, pp.23-24)

⁷⁶ (Ebba Koch, pp.36-37)

⁷⁷ (Golombek & Wilber, cat, no 64; & Lisa Golombek, From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal. In *Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Kathrine Otto-Dorn*, i, ed. A.Dannishvari, pp.43-50

⁷⁸ (Khwandamir, pp. 52 ff; the Eng: trans, PP. 37 ff also Ebba koch, p. 45-46,61.)

The Gujrati influence has been visible after the annexation of it in Mughal Empire , perforated stone screens are the major character.⁷⁹

The interior had plasters with sand stone carved to cover the transit Zones in the archnetting or *Muqarna* designs. There used to be vaults, covered with stucco shells, having arch-netting combined with *muqarnas*, but some time also with geometric patterns, usually stars and polygons. Khurasanian type of vault is also adapted, which creat four large intersecting ribs with central area, four squinches & rectangular field.⁸⁰

This geometric combination of stars & polygons is seen practiced in Sindh extensively at Makli and Sukkur. The *Sufa-e-Safa* contain this design in the stairs vestibule comprising two vaults.

The other influence from provinces can be termed as inception of low single storeyed structures, three main buildings come to mind at once, that is tomb of Akbar, Jahangir and Itmad- daula.⁸¹

The Akber's architectural style is most visible and articulated in great imperial projects, the fortress, palaces and the large Jami mosques.⁸²

Abul fazl indicates five hundred buildings in impressive designs influenced by the provincial architectural practices i.e Bengal & Gujrat in Agra.⁸³

⁷⁹ (Ebba Koch p.48, Koch 1988 a, p-170,176)

⁸⁰ (O' Kane,p.50 et Pasim Ebba Koch pp. 49-50)(Koch, 1987 a pp.126f)

⁸¹ (John Terry, *The charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture*, D.B. Taraporevala sons. Bombay, 1955,p.19)

⁸² (Ebba Koch P. 53)

⁸³ (Ain-e-Akbari) Eng. Tr. II p.191, cf. NurBakhsh 1903a; Andrews 1986b).

It is a clear indication of the extension level of synthesis reached in Akbar's period. When the foreign ideas were given the dress of regional /local practices, for example see the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra fort which has symmetrical ground plan with central Asian style verandah, that re-sounds the Timurid plans on the patterns of Khwaja Ahmed Yoswi's mausoleum at Turkistan(1394-99)⁸⁴

The expansion in Mughal Empire is seen as the welcome period for artisan from the provinces and caused its incorporation in the larger scheme of works. (Even before the absorption of the kingdom of Gujrat in 1572, masons from Gujrat had been working for the emperor.⁸⁵

It were however the Akbar,s personal preferences coupled together with his extensive practical involvement with the matters related to arts and architecture that a cohesive and impressive achievement became possible⁸⁶. The buildings give a feeling of carefully accentuated arcuate façade towards the outside and inner courtyards are inspired by regional styles⁸⁷. It shows a greater control of the architects over different varieties & techniques & their potentials fully realised. If one looks at the variety of vaults it is very broad, stress domes, having geometrical sub division, at times arch-netted, ribbed domes, coved domes in lotus designs, pyramidal vaults, carved ceiling etc⁸⁸. The buildings are mostly covered with exquisitely carved red- sandstone.

⁸⁴ Pl. see Golombet & Wilber II, fig59)

⁸⁵ John Terry, *The charm of Indo Islamic Architecture* pp. 17-18)

⁸⁶ (The architectural vocabulary mixes various Transoxanian features with broader Gujrat-Malwa-Rajasthan- traditions. Ebba Koch, p. 55)

⁸⁷ (Ebba Koch, p. 55)

⁸⁸ (Ebba Koch p.55

The construction of Fateh Pur Sikri(1571-85⁸⁹ is in a way expression of Akber's preferences in architecture.⁹⁰ As it is said that the inclusion of Gujrat had really rendered this new city its unique look.⁹¹ The decorative elements are driven from the ornamental style of the Delhi Sultanate,Gujrat, Gujrat-Rajasthan tradition, and influences from Transoxiana & Khurasan. And the elements were picked up with view to their translation in sandstone.⁹² The vault over the central hall in *Rani ka Mahal* in Allahabad fort is the transformation of Khurasanian vault type in to sandstone⁹³. The facade of the *peshtaq* of *Khayr al Manazil* (1561-62) at Delhi is reviled with sandstone.⁹⁴The mosque of Akbar at Ajmeer (1570) is in Timurid plan⁹⁵. But its architectural decoration is obscured by a heavy layer of white wash, but the use of ceramics is ruled out⁹⁶.

At Fatehpur Sikri the Jami mosque is typical Mughal building, observing various elements from all inspiring influences such as sultanate architecture provincial elements from Juunpur & Gujrat but the sandstone with carved designs is the mural decoration. One can agree with the view taken by Andrews that the mosques of Akbari period too had variety of styles, Timurid ideas and localised constructive elements are found getting along side by side, one of the earliest of the mosques *Khair-ul-Mannzil* amply shows it.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ [Habib 1987,81]

⁹⁰ [Koch 1987a]

⁹¹ [Koch 1988 a, Ebba, Koch p. 56]

⁹² [Koch. 1988a, pp.42, 171,182-83].

⁹³ [Ebba Koch, P.62]

⁹⁴ [Zafar Hassan 1915-22, II, 1919, pp 51-53]

⁹⁵ [Zafar Hassan 1921]

⁹⁶ [Ebba Koch, p.65]

⁹⁷ (Zafer Hassan, 1915-72, II, 1919, pp,51-53)

The *Kachhwaha* Rajputs did follow the Akbar's architectural practices, wherever they were serving the imperial command or even back at home in their building enterprises in Amber and Jaipur.

Jahangir adopted selected ideas from previous period and put them into practice on larger scale.

Highly decorated surfaces are typical of his period. Variety of mediums is used, traditional sandstone carving, use of white marble, stone intarsia, stucco and the tile work.

Though the carving of sandstone was already there but it got more finer. Likewise this stone intarsia was also practiced during Akbari period but was not given such prominence. Tile work too had an added role now.

Jahangir also brought in figurative representation with more emphasis, even though we have its examples in Akbar's reign at the Agra fort.

Jahangir's decorative motif was *Chini Khana*. On walled surfaces real or blind niches were created, and in these niches contained bottles or flower vases. At times this is so densely depicted on a given surface that it looks sort of over indulgence. This can be seen in every medium.

Let us have a closer look at the Mughal work and practices with regard to glazed tiles to find out their peculiarities, which may help us ascertain the extent of influence exercised on the use of ceramics here at Sukkur in our architectural decoration.

During Akbar's period glazed tiling was used on brick surfaces & also on stone structures. In Delhi we find the whole dome revited with tiles, Thus have the name *Nila*

Gumbad and an other building is famous as *Subz Burj*, these were covered with blue and turquoise tiles.⁹⁸

It is indicative of the practice of covering the whole dome with glazes. Similarly the *Subz Gumbad* of *Musa Shah* or *Musa Ahangar* at *Lahore* too belongs to early period of *Akbar*⁹⁹ some domes & cupolas of chhatris of *Fatehpur Sikri*, also seem to have been glazed tiled.

In tomb of *Shamsddin*, *Akbar's*, foster brother green and blue tiles are combined with white marble in geometrical patterns, a rare mode of decoration.¹⁰⁰

Glazed tiles were used for covering the roof and instance is at *Fatehpur Sikri* in *Jodhabai's Palace*.

In *Jami mosque* of *Fateh pur Sikri* the *Qibla* wall has received glazed decoration in yellow, blue & turquoise along with white marble and red sandstone in geometrical designs.

The *Akbari Darwaza* of *Agra fort* has green (turquoise?) blue, yellow, red and white colours in geometric form, showing the increased range of colours.

In *Jehangiri Mahal* the glazed tiles are used with pink, blue and green on stone surface alongwith the tiles polished bricks, stone work.¹⁰¹

No doubt *Akbar* seems to have not much faith on the glazed decoration, instead gave preference to the stone

⁹⁸ (R Nath, colour Decoration in *Mughal Architecture, India and Pakistan*, (Jaipur, 1989) p.24)

⁹⁹ (Ibid, 26)

¹⁰⁰ (J.Ph. Vogel, *The Mosaics of Lahore fort*.p.8)

¹⁰¹ (R.Nath *Colour Decoration*. p-25)

carving and sculptural decor for architectural ornamentation.¹⁰²

Jahangir has put glazed tiles to great use, his mosaics have been praised far and wide. The great wall decoration of Lahore fort is an amazing piece of work. He decorated the upper parts of buildings structures-domes, cupolas, freizes parapets, battlements combined with stone bands the glazed tiles have been used. He carefully accommodated both forms in his buildings. On Akbar's tomb this combination has worked well. Here orange and blue tiles have been used on freizes and parapet.

In Lahore, apart from the tomb of Shah Musa or Musa Ahangar, which is an earlier building, all other glazed buildings are of Jahangiri period, and much later than the famous buildings of Sukkur.

Here in Sukkur we find that the monuments are not on the imperial scale, but have received due care and attention of the sponsors.

The colours too have been limited to the classical blue and turquoise, unlike the Mughal preference of going "colourful"

The glazed brick along with the glazed tile are in use here, where as the Mughls have not shown much use of glazed bricks.

It is an interesting fact that at Lahore, except one, all the monuments have received glazed tiles, which are on stone paste, where as in Sukkur we have earthenware glazed tiles.

Even though in Sindh there has been a rich tradition of stone carving and the material too is easily available , the

¹⁰² (Ibid, P.25)

glazed tiles have not been used along with the stone in this period.

Apart from these reasons the stylistic study also put the architectural ceramic activity in Sukkur on independent footings, with less influences coming from the centres of Mughal Empire.

It seem rather confirming more to the Timurid tradition of style and form, though on a much smaller scale. It is during the Akbar's sign the Bukkur's elite was in mainstream of Imperial service, Jahangir seems to have neglected the locals greatly, resultantly no one emerged as an important personage, thus no consequential building was erected. It is again in the days of Aurangzeb that a few respectable families were given royal assignments, and the importance brought a good number of buildings in existance.

Use of Glazed bricks in Mural ceramics

Right after the Summa dethronment obvious preference was given to the use of glazed bricks in the architectural ornamentation.

Apart from the debate on the role this form of ornamentation played in the antiquity, we are limiting the scope of present study to this practice in post Summa period, which culminated with the coming of *Kalhoras*.

The use of glazed bricks is a part of the wave of ceramic mural decorations, enacted with the inception of central Asian people in Sindh.

The fall of Summas of Sindh saw an abrupt end to strong currents traveling from Cutch and Gujrat. It was the cultural influence from the Central Asia and Persia, which made itself visible in practices of elite.

It is at this juncture of time that we find the architectural trends replacing the existing ones. The tile took some years to set its foot here, but once it was here, it took the construction industry by storm.

Post Summa period produced a great wealth of this art form and almost every building was decorated with it.

Closer scrutiny show a great variety in practice during *Turkhan* and Mughal periods.

The red colour of polished bricks, contrasting with the deep blue and tranquil turquoise of tiles produced somewhat magical impression.

The artisan went on experimenting new designs, and novel methods of application of colored glazes were executed.

The simplicity of earlier colours, multiplied with infinite variety of geometric patterns caused production of such a mass of mural ceramics, that its approximate quantity is mind bogling.

The mural ceramics comprised few variations, among which glazed bricks, tiles, moldings and screen occupy important place.

The bricks which was the basic unit of construction was also glazed at times to be used in decorative themes.

In fact the glazed bricks had preceded the glazed tiles in decoration, in antiquity as well as in medieval times. In neighboring Multan and D.I Khan we have thirteenth and fourteenth century standing monuments where the glazed bricks is the main stay of mural decoration.

In Sukkur too the glazed brick was the major element at the turning point of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Glazed brick was used in multiple roles, the major modes were:

- I. Glazed bricks used along with the polished bricks.
- II. Glazed narrow bricks used with red polished bricks
- III. Glazed square bricks used with polished square as well as large bricks.
- IV. Glazed bricks of various sizes and colours used to form some design.
- V. Glazed bricks used with glazed filler bricks

The elaborate arrangement, which went into the production of the ceramics was most probably the cause popularising the usage of glazed bricks decorative themes, as it implied less consumption of the ceramics.

The other reason must be the lighter look, this type of decoration rendered to the whole structure.

Whatever the reason may be it is a fact that in 17th century this mode of decoration enjoyed respect, in Sukkur.

The earliest specimen in Sindh could be seen at Sultan Ibrahim's tomb and *Dabgir* Mosque. Immediately followed by the Bukkur buildings i.e. *Sufa-e- Safa*, Mir Masum's buildings. These sites are rich in overall ceramic decoration, but use of glazed bricks in forming the patterns are extensive. The execution of these patterns indicate work of sure hands. Apart from many things it helps in conclusion that the use of glazed bricks came here while it was already mature in the influencing areas.

The glazed brick at its earliest is used in almost all modes already mentioned.

The multiple roles and places where it was employed are:

On soffits,

In Stalactites, Coves and Vaults;

Over the Spandrels;

In the false arches; the decorative arch panels

On the battlements

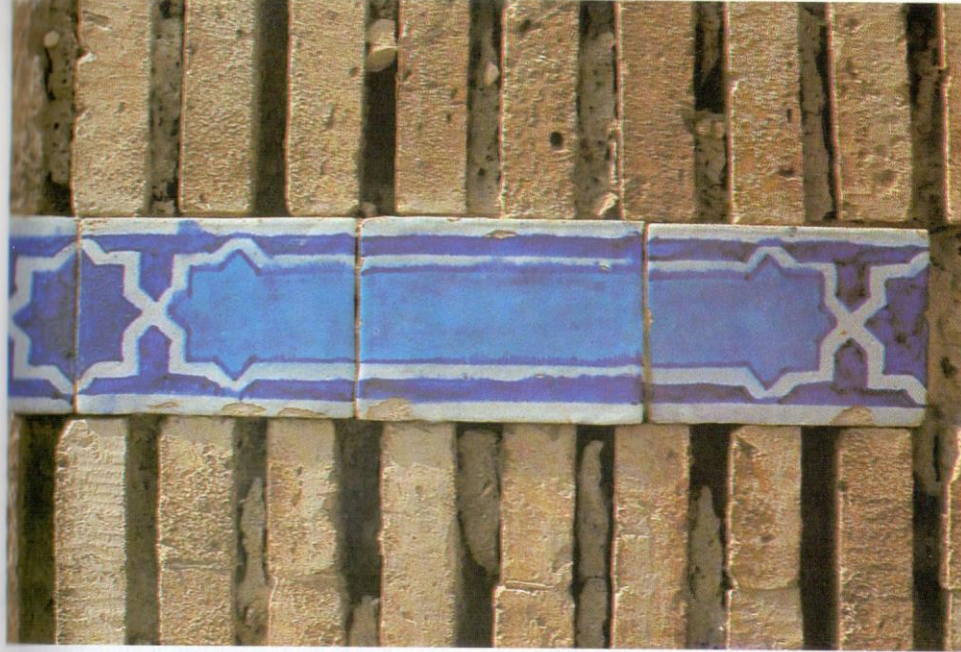
Inside the dome or on inner dome

Over the dome

On the drum

Worked as cornice, border and bands

Laid as frames



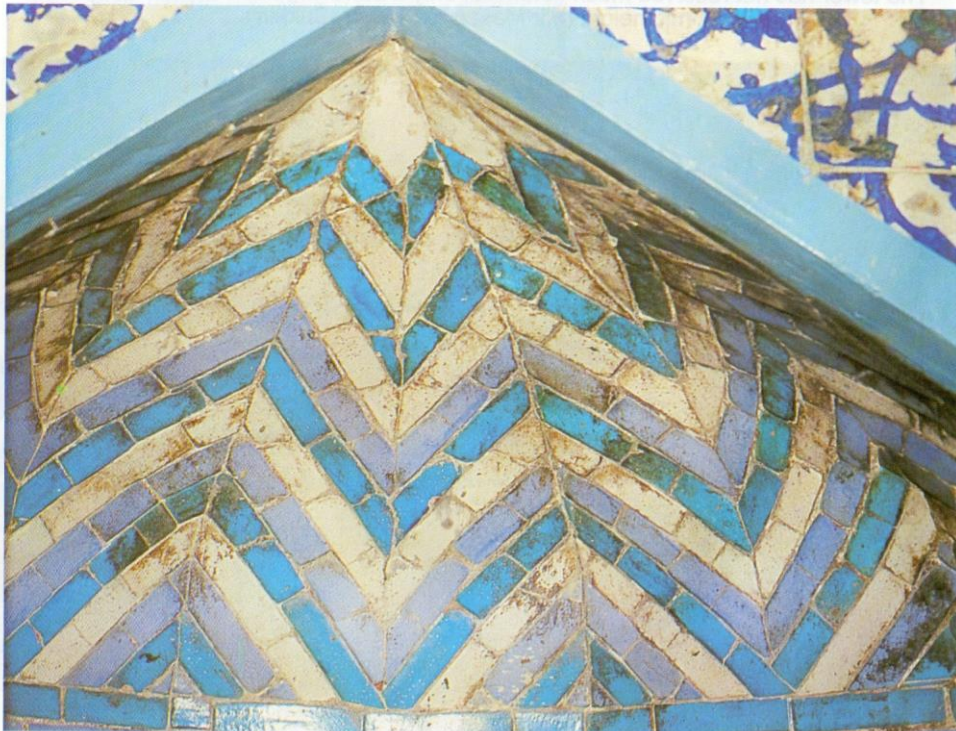
Decorative band (*Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri).



The vault at *Sufa-e-safa*, is tastefully decorated with patterns created with geometric negotiation of the angles.



Cupola is decorated with bands of divers designs. (Mir Masoom's Tower).



Mihrab niche receives usual Ziqzag pattern.

On the Minarets

As lining and demarcation

In the rectangular/ arched panels

And also on the Floor.

There is fairly extensive list of places which were adorned by the imaginative use of glazed bricks, independently and in combination with other bricks and fillers.

The sides and the steps of stairs are also adorned with many patterns, achieved with the use of glazed bricks.

Its popularity can easily be visualised when we find this mode of decoration at the high rectangular projection as a frieze.

The earliest patterns and designs were achieved through use of bricks over the mortars, thus the joints were left to be visible, thus the glazed/polished bricks alongwith the white fillings of mortars presented contrasting look.

This earlier mode is not common here with the glazed bricks. It is only seen with the red polished bricks. The smaller glazed bricks of the white colour were used instead. The other colours used are turquoise and blue.

The glazed brick was of the same size as was its counter part, that is the normal unglazed brick.

But there are some other designs where the glazed bricks were cut accordingly to fit in the decorative scheme, all such patterns were not necessarily based on the square plan.

This normally happened while decorating the spandrels, stalactites and interlaced arches inside the drum of the dome.

But there are also some patterns even on plain surfaces where the compelling design requirements were met with the use of cut bricks.

One of the premier places where the glazed brick patterns are displayed is the rectangular panel. These panels are normally placed on the parapet walls, on the sides of main entrance, over the real or false arches, wall of the platforms, sides of the stairs, under the battlements and even within the larger false arches.

Indoors it appears more colourfull and based on chess board square formula.

Outdoors, the polished bricks normally occur in larger portion of the designs. Here the formula covering the designs generally is on elongated lines, interspersed with colored bricks. Two colour with red polish of the normal bricks is the regimen. Sometimes fleuron is also seen, at times starfret is formed.

In this simple design some variation is brought in by introducing a square at centre of the rectangle. Thus the immediate adjacent lines rise at the centre to cover the sides of square, creating diamond shape.

The second formula is use of squares, connected together by the corner, squares within are alternating with glazed and normal bricks.

Larger panels prefer such designs and look grand

The hexagon too was popular form. Added with triangle it gives interesting patterns. The hexagons, were naturally allied with hexagonal stars, in replacement of triangle.

The other important place boasting of glazed bricks patterns is arched panel. The panel is framed, normally with the polished bricks interspersed with narrow filler glazed bricks.

Within the frame the brick courses are alternating with the polished and glazed. The simple design comes out to be impressive.

The bricks were laid to form patterns, within the arches. Here formula behind designs was based in chess board standards. The basic unit being square brick, was doubled and tripled in length, thus used alongwith the glazed filler bricks very interesting designs were produced.

The square as always remained governing force behind majority of designs. From simple single square to multiple larger covering squares, bright impact was achieved.

Besides being easy workable geometric unit, square seems to enjoy popularity, as we find some designs, not really impressive, worked with in this prime panel.

However in similar tradition we find impressive workout squares. One is out at 45° and other is simple done by overlapping the axes.

It is interesting to note inception of the square tiles in each unit. This multiplication was too heavy and seemed to defy the requirements. The crowding effect of tiles was reduced by doubling and tripling the square outlines, by using two and three glazed bricks.

The hexagon followed the square, into the arched panel.

Three colours, alongwith the red polish of the brick made impressive impact. In its wake the hexagonal star was to come. Its application was specially suited to the arch panels and arch vaults insides the base of dome. As it helped in forming designs of stalactites.

The arch panels in indoors were bright coloured as the rectangular panels. Here the core fabric of the design was the chessboard, and resultant impact was desirable.

Some very simple designs do occur in the arch panel where the glazed border adds grace to the frame and also double marking of the arch.

During later period the simplicity was too shocking to be absorbed.

The arch false and real both are sunk usually in the rectangular panel. Thus the spandrels are formed.

The glazed brick besides other ceramics and non ceramical measures are used in decorating these somewhat triangular shapes. As per dictation of the space the glazed bricks are also laid in triangular shape. This one type is frequently met.

The second type is use of glazed bricks vertically. The white narrow glazed fillers contrast with turquoise, thus good impact is created.

In follow up the white bricks with fleurals were laid, contrasting the turquoise glazed fillers.

The Soffit also got attention of the artisan and, glazed bricks did go there to give colourful decoration.

Outdoor Soffits normally did not receive such bright treatment. The glazed filler bricks were used to form the decorative pattenrs.

The general trend however remained that the alternate courses of glazed and polished bricks formed the design.

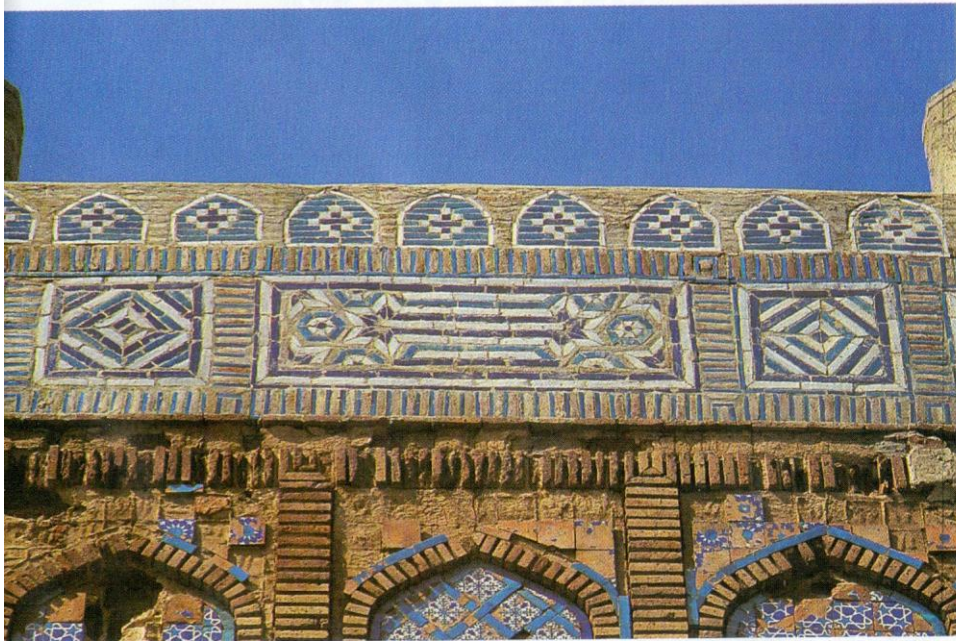
The arch sometimes lead into the semi octagonal alcove. The smaller room or the alcove is covered with half dome.

The squinches are also covered with the ceramic decoration, most of the times glazed and polished bricks play this role.

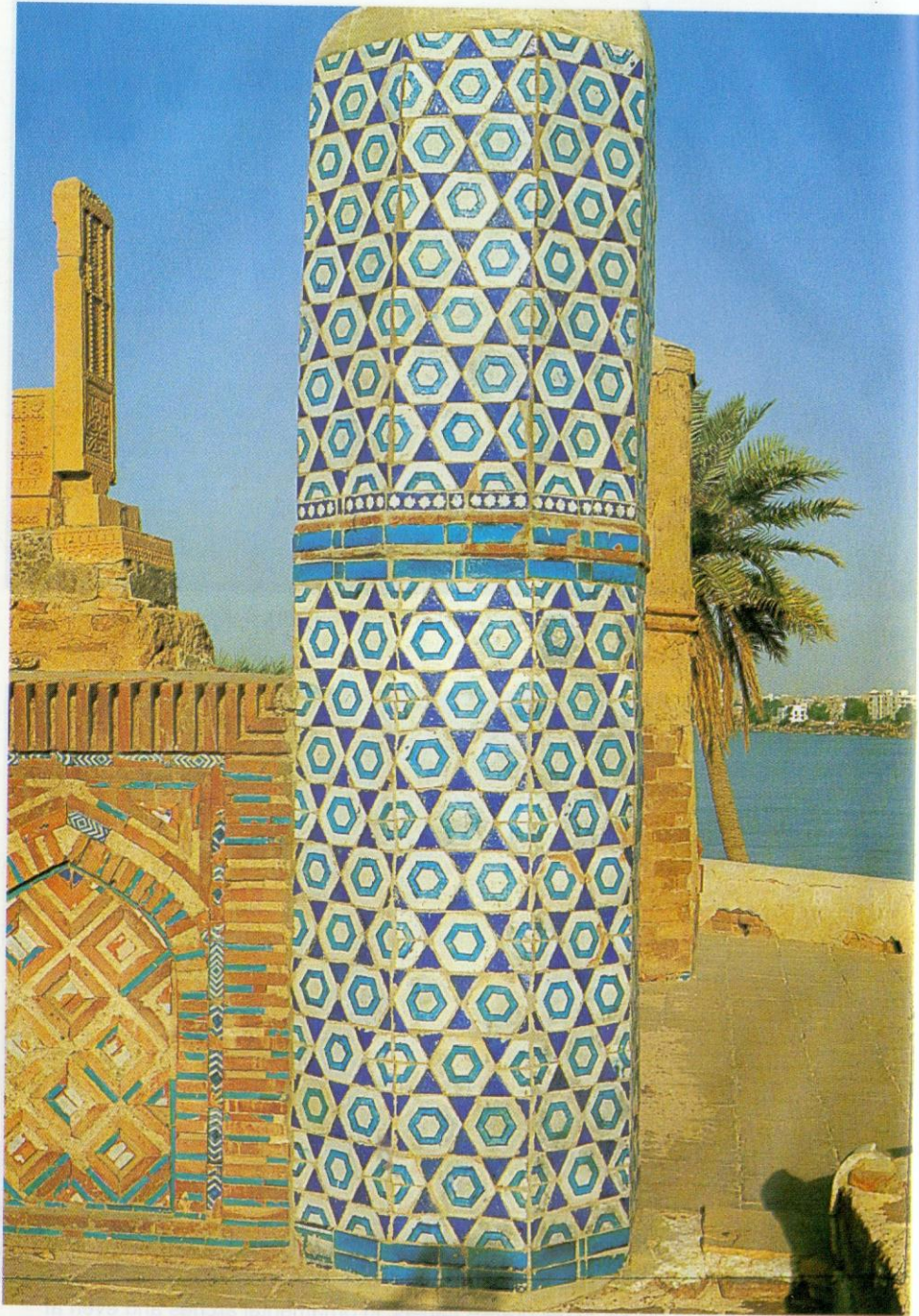
The outdoors are characteristically receiving light touch. Alternating courses of glazed and polished bricks, starting



Vault is embellished in usually interesting squarish pattern, *Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri.



Imaginative use of bricks, in decorative panels, in ornamental arches and even at creating impressive battlements (*Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri).



Ornamental tower embellished with tiles, in close follow up of the earlier cut brick designs, late seventeenth century (*Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri).



Strictly geometrical design enclosing late sixteenth century floral motifs (Mir Masoom's Tower, Sukkur).



Use of cut bricks in graves, Mir Masoom's graveyard, Sukkur.



Decorative arch, a usual way at the turn of sixteenth & seventeenth centuries, Mir Massom's graveyard, Sukkur.

from the centre of dome comedown all the way, to the plinth level, and sometimes upto the dado. These simple alternating brick course patterns do sometimes received additional designs. It is an effort at breaking the monotony. But the effort hardly succeeds.

But in earlier buildings we find the hexagon and pentagonal stars alongwith the diamond shapes, while coping with the curves and groins of coves for decoration. Mostly uncoloured glazed bricks alternating with the polished brickss; but at times one comes across glazed bricks with smaller flowers or some squarish patterns over these.

Inside domed rooms the similar pactice is carried out. Earlier buildings upto the second decade of seventeenth century have very intricate designs worked on. These are based on geometric division.

The frame posed not a great challenge to the brick layers. Moving in right angles and sometimes crowning the arches the bricks required no calculable cuts. Thus the frames are invariably of bricks, of which glazed bricks take the major chunk. These frames are made of simple layout, only at corners special bricks with 90⁰ arm join the other sides.

With the frame over arch, diamond shape brick takes care of the gap formed at the apex.

In between these frames and the panel designs there is normally intervening border. That is formed by putting the brick glazed on edge, as a demarcation line. Its impact is desirable, as it eases out the disturbing effect of abrupt change from one design to other.

The frames often were jutting out, thus gave a good effect of light and shade when employed outdoors.

Apart from the frames and borders, the glazed brick was most sorted after as running band, marking divisions and

demarcating the building at various places, such as parapet level, dado, cornice, flanking wings, drums, domes and also as divider between the designs.

A band may be a single course of bricks or various courses running parallel to each other, ranging from simple unicolour brick course to complex combinations.

The glazed bricks, laid with its corner jutting out, produced tooth ornament. Such dentate bands are also in vogue, coupled with jutting out glazed bricks either on one side or covering both the sides. These bands are marking divisions indoors as well.

The drums usually receive lesser attention, due to the fact that it is hidden from view due to parapet wall/ornamentation or due to high *peshtaq* in some buildings. However where high drums are found, it usually gets special attention. The glazed bricks are found laid in most simple manner. Sometimes we find a designs enacted in laying these bricks, coupled with the band.

The domes of this period are mostly brick layed, thus the possibility of use of glazed brick is more. So is the finding.

From simple laying to intricate designs the glazed brick is used extensively.

The battlements, largely being a decorative element in these buildings, received aesthetic treatment. Not only seen above the parapit, it can be found on decorative minarets and over the bands, dividing the wall in two distinct portions. It is an outdoor feature, thus it naturally received light touch.

The glazed bricks form the back bone of its decoration. The towers/Minarah in its aesthetic role, was caused into being during this period. An example of large prominent tower is in brick work, but it received very little glazed

bricks, it remained restricted only to a couple of bands running across its whole course.

Smaller towers, more like pillars got more attention. Extensive application of glazed bricks, however is not that impressive as that of lighter touch.

The screens were popular because these normally allowed the interiors to receive light, but also provide cover to blank spaces and gaps left in the walls.

Ceramic screens are a separate entity, but the glazed bricks too were employed in this role. Earlier half of the seventeenth century has good examples created with smaller sized glazed bricks.

Apart from all these major parts of building the glazed bricks were employed on the floors, on the stairs and were even seen decorating the graves.

The brick size normally governed the designs of decoration, as the glazed brick too was of the same size. But at times the special features of the part of building, or some intricate design dictated the sizes and shapes of the bricks.

The Stalactites, vaults, coves and groins were decorated with the tiles and bricks polished as well glazed. Here various designs were enacted on similar feature in various buildings. To cope with it bricks were cut to fit the appointed slots.

Beside this compulsion, the master craftsmen went on for few intricacies on plain surfaces. Designs were executed with cut bricks and these are appreciated by the onlookers not for their beauty but for complexity.

As we saw the use of glazed brick, in the buildings with ceramic decoration, was extensive during the post Summa period. This mode of adornment came to this part, with inception of Timurid tradition along with the Turkhan influx.

In all earlier buildings the mature designing and masterly execution of this element suggest some progressive level it

had achieved in the influencing areas i.e former Timurid empire.

The one hundred years of its application has handed over fairly good level of development, but it is most unfortunate that the subsequent political chaos in Indian Sub-continent caused neglect of development of arts and crafts in Sindh.

Later Mughal ruler's contribution towards aesthetic element in Sindh is none.

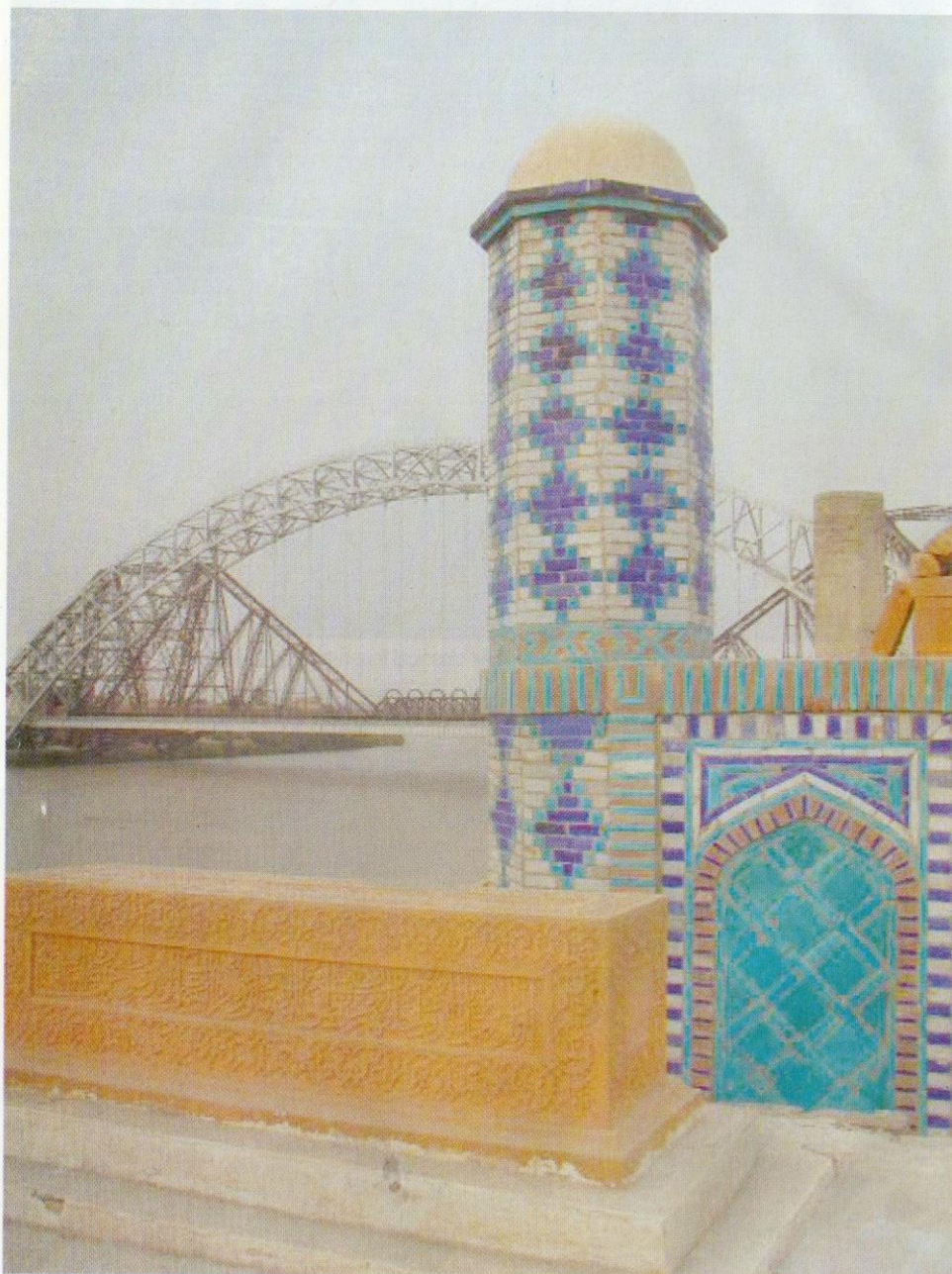
The century of elegance was followed by one hundred years of solitude. It is during this period that the use of glazed bricks as an element of decoration was lost.



The arabesques on spandrels are more folial than their classical fore runners, Mir Masoom's tower, Sukkur.



Use of diverse bands running parallel to each other, as can be ascertained in this picture, *Safa-e-safa*, Rohri.

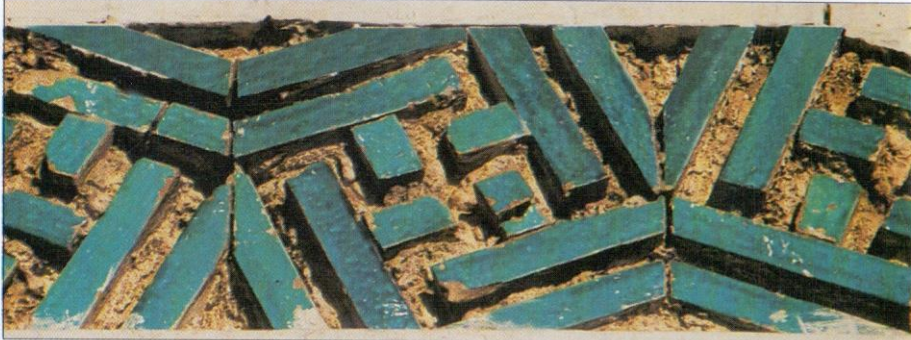


Ornamental tower, bricks indicates less and less dependence on polished brick during late seventeenth century, *Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri.

Use of diverse bands running parallel to each other, as can be ascertained in this picture. Sufa-e-safa, Rohri.



Ornamental tower, lightly studded with glazed brick pieces, has decorative bands, the Kungra (battlements) band creat quite an impact. *Sufa-e-safa*, Rohri.



The intricate patterns, remarkable decoration on *Eidgah* of Rohri.

Ceramic Beauty; The building that is no more

Probably the most beautifully adorned building of Bukkur region was the mosque of the Puranis.

Adjacent to the tomb of Mir Abdul Baqi Purani is a small mosque near the Sukkur District Council office.

Presently the building is in ruins. The domes have long gone, also gone are the side walls.

During the early days of the present century the Qibla (i.e. Westren) wall of the building was bravely with-standing the accesses of men and nature, keeping intact the ceramic revitment.

Presently this wall is left bare of its once most beautiful coat of ceramics. The cementing mortar at places indicates the shape of the gone fixtures.

Event this mortar betrays the most symmetrical scheme of use of tiles and bricks. It is our good fortune that there are three drawing of this building, made at the start of twentieth century, preserved in a folio of *Sindh Tiles*.¹⁰³

There are also a couple of photos appearing in the famous book *Antiquities of Sindh*. Henry Cousens writes about these walls "Upon which still remain large areas of coloured tile work in designs and combinations of tints very

¹⁰³ Henry cousens, *Sindh Tiles*, 1906, reprinted by the Deptt. Of Culture, Sindh, Karachi.

different in their treatment to what is found in other parts of Sindh.”¹⁰⁴

He admits that when the famous drawings were made then walls were in such a dilapidated condition that, while he was writing *Antiquities of Sindh*, he feared that it is likely very little more remains many years later.¹⁰⁵

These drawings reveal quite an interesting range of ceramic activity. The designs made out of the combination of unglazed bricks, tiles and glazed bricks are numerous. If we compare these with contemporary buildings in existence in Sindh we can certainly put this building in a class of its own.

The brick is used in every perceivable position, by cutting it, shaping it and by narrowing it down.

If we look at the narrow glazed bricks, that is used not only as borders, but also applied as decorative bounds, in wide variety and designs. Some carry hexagonal stars as running fret, others have six petaled flowers, unconnected but running, there is vine luxuriantly running, some contain squares accompanied by oblong lines, others are mono coloured, with colour range of white, turquoise and blue.

The hexagonal tiles. Having narrow glazed brick borders and triangular unglazed brick fillers is another popular combination. The other square designs are achieved through application of glazed & non glazed narrow bricks. All the frames are made with alternating courses of glazed and non glazed bricks.

The Mihrab has a zigzag pattern of bricks that has a very pleasing look. The lower part of it has the hexagonal tile design. The high wall over the Mihrab too is in arch shape, it is elaborately decorated. The middle panel has

¹⁰⁴ (Cousens: *Antiquities of Sindh*, p.125,(r))

¹⁰⁵ [Ibid. p.125]



The niche shows the geometric decoration, all with bricks glazed and unglazed (Ruined mosque of Puranis) Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



The decorative panel most popular in Sukkur ceramic tradition. Hexagon is made out of cut bricks (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur). Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



Most pleasing pattern achieved through masterly control over the medium, cut brick glazed and unglazed (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur).
Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



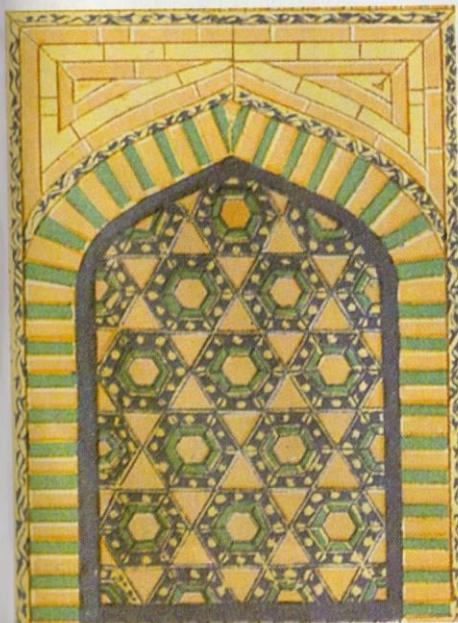
The square pattern, glazed floral border enclose each square made out of polished bricks (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur).
Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*



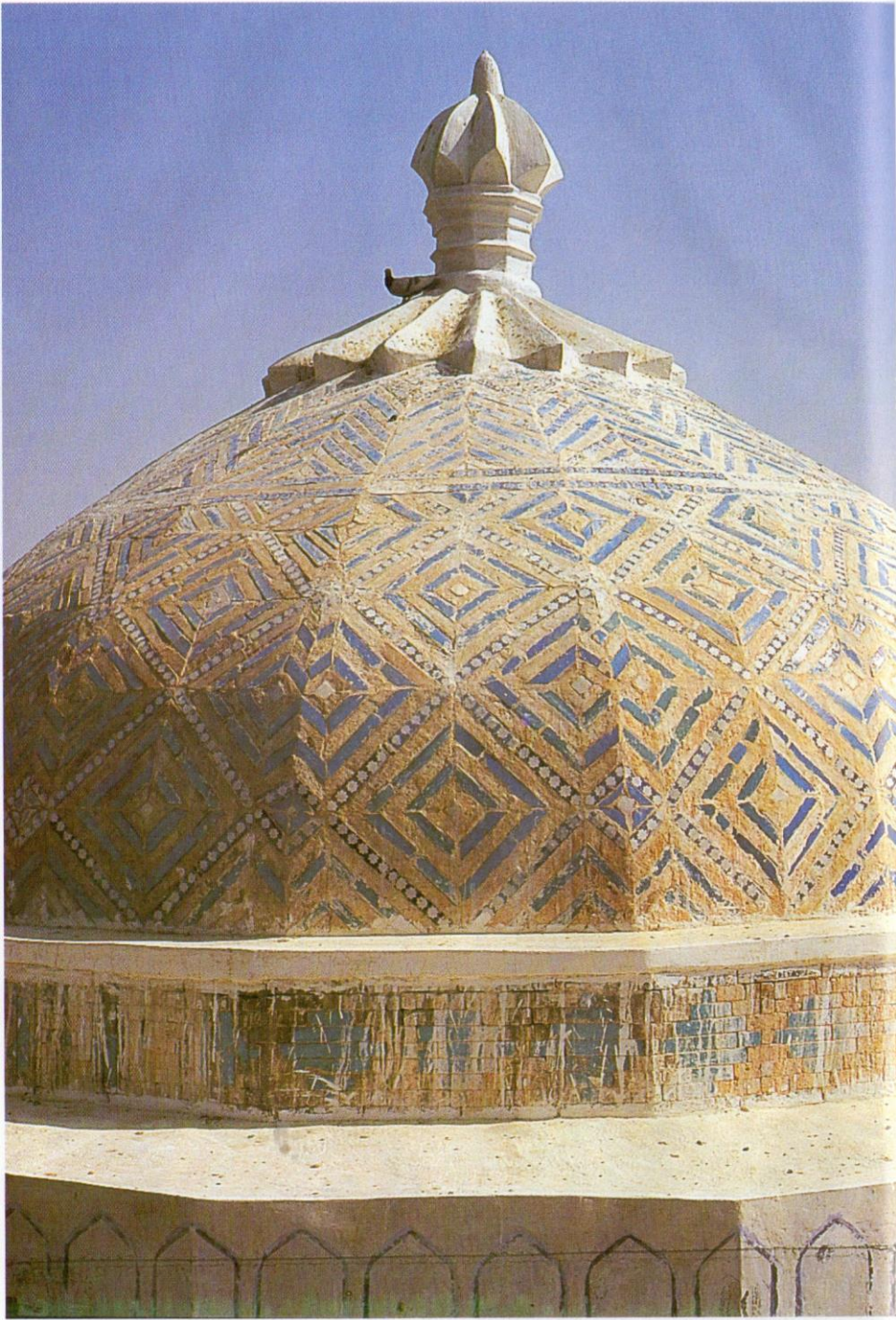
A pleasing design achieved by simple patterns, bricks at their best, the bordering narrow bricks show fret of small flowers (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur)
Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



The Mihrab niche has the glazed, unglazed and designed bricks in zigzag pattern. Quite a few mosques has similar designs (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur)
Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



Decorative arch panel is popular design, the spandrel too has got glazed/non glazed bricks (Ruined mosque of Puranis, Sukkur)
Taken from folio *Sind Tiles*.



The dome is embellished lightly, unlike heavily covered Timurid domes, the use of glazed brick has achieved a pleasing look. Octagonal building adjacent to Mir Masoom's tower, Sukkur).

interesting decorative element, same as *Safa-e-Safa*. The coloured square tile, bordered with narrow glazed bricks is the design.

It is so designed to come right at the center of the whole scheme. Another panel, combination of the cut diamonds is very impressive and has come up very well. Pentagonal stars and diamonds give another very pleasing combination.

There are cartouches also as running fret. These cartouches are made out of glazed bricks. Hexagonal stars and hexagons in some very pleasing designs. One such combination makes an extensive pattern, using diamond shapes at its outer fringes. This is most pleasing of the patterns not yet observed at any other site.

Another design based on octagon is no doubt unique. There has not been any such design seen yet in all the old sites in Sindh.

Mir Abul Baqi Purani had settled down in Bukkur while his step brothers and sisters were settled in Thatta. As we had already discussed earlier he was a widely traveled person and has frequently visited Agra & Delhi. He was a contemporary of Mir Masoom and like him seems to have been interested in buildings. During the earlier days of seventeenth century some really interesting buildings were constructed in Bukkur, and this mosque is unique among them as far as its decoration is concerned.

The decoration on its dome can not be ascertained but a drawing shows elaborate embellishment on inner dome. In elaborate geometrical distribution, combination of glazed and polished brick has achieved very pleasing. It is similar in look to much inferiority dome of the rectangular building besides the famous masoomi tower.

Satyan Jo Astan

Show Window of Sukkur's Ceramics

Satyan Jo Astan washed by the waters of Indus, is constructed over a high rock, which has on its south the old town of *Rohri* and the *Bukkur* Island fort on its north. It is such a picturesque setting that *Abul Qasim Namkeen*, one of the high officials of the great Mughal Emperor Akbar was in love with this place. He exploited the location and constructed a platform by dressing the ridge, commonly known as *place of seven virgins*¹⁰⁶. Mirak Yousuf, the historian and son of Abul Qasim writes that his father developed the place and used to frequent it, during moonlit nights the prolonged sittings were quite an event¹⁰⁷.

Addition of chambers on south, north and west sides by raising support walls, straightened the non-regular shape of the ridge; thus the area of the platform increased

¹⁰⁶ *The Akbar Nama*, Vol.III, p.637

Qasis-e-Auliya-e-Sindh Bama-e-Waqyat-e-Hind a recently published *Tazkira* gives an interesting information about this place. Around 419 AH seven pious persons have been busy in their prayers here and then left for Arabia, it became famous with that pious act and was revered. Mir Namkeen and Abdul Razzaq Kashani also used to frequent this place.

According to the author this place was also called, by some as *Qasim Khani* after the burial of the Mir:

Henry Cousins writing in the early part of this century too confirms that the place is known as the then *Qasim Shah* or place of internment of Mir Qasim

Henry Cousins : *Antiquities of Sindh*, Department of Culture, Sindh, Karachi, 1998® p.127.

¹⁰⁷ *Mazhar-i-Shahjehani* (tr.) p.229, Vol.II

and it achieved regular shape. Mir Abul Qasim used to hold festivities there. He was a notable eater with an amazing appetite. It is on record that he in one sitting used to consume one thousand mangoes, one thousand apples etc.¹⁰⁸ Here usually he used to hold intimate gatherings and it justly received the required attention. The walls all around the SUFA-E-SAFA are elaborately decorated in good taste with the glazed and polished bricks.

The devastating effect of neglect and disrepair throughout all these years can be visualized when one looks at the repairs carried out on few occasions in the recent past, and the subsequent damage.

The SUFA is building devoid of any architectural element of note. Quite understandably as its name employs it is a platform constructed over an irregular shaped hill. The walls erected on and about the hillock help in forming a regular rectangular shape.

The surface of the walls is treated with decoration, and is divided in various sections. The chambers have arched windows, in the wall and the decorative blind arches too stretch in line, to create harmony of look.

Above these arches are decorative panels, mostly rectangular in shape interspersed occasionally with squares. Over these the running battlements render an impressive look.

The access to the platform is through open stairs, from southern side. It climbs by the side on the extended part of the hill itself. Once it reaches the wall at the height in line with the arched windows it enters in the wide arched opening which has a welcome look. Once inside there is a small chamber, having depressed arches on west and east sides. Further few steps and one reaches over the platform.

¹⁰⁸ *Ma'asur-ul-Umra*, Vol.III p.77

The monument, which was initially constructed, as a place of relaxation was later converted into a burial place. SUFA-E-SAFA is a unique building among the secular and non-secular architecture in our country in all respects.

As we know that in the early years of seventeenth century the Bukkur monuments were extensively decorated with glazed bricks, for instance the Eidgah of Rohri, Mosque near the tomb of Abdul Baqi Purali, Manzilgah and the tomb complex of Masoom Shah. Similarly the SUFA too received glazed bricks. But here these bricks are not only used extensively but have also been utilized to create new patterns.

There is no doubt that the spaces normally adorned with the ceramics are same throughout the whole Central Asia, Persia and India, such as spandrels of the arches, decorative arches and panels over these, the outer shell of and inside of dome, but the manner of application has rendered individuality to this interesting building. When we talk about seventeenth century buildings in Sindh we find this to be quite a different building.

The salient feature of the decoration is the extensive use of glazed bricks. It is quite understandable that being out door embellishment, the brick is always considered tough therefore a desirable element.

As the requirement of the builders was to create a platform and there was also not much room to exploit it further thus architecturally the building had to be devoid of depths and multilevels.

The flight of stairs on south, as we saw, convey the visitor to the vestibule, a small anti-chamber having opening to stairs carrying one further up and on the platform. This interior has the extensive ceramics applied in shape of tiles and glazed cut bricks.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Ibid Vol.III p.77

In the vestibule a small door on east leads to the dingy chambers. These chambers have openings in the wall, in shape of arched windows facing south. These chambers are devoid of any decoration. The eastern most and fourth chamber in number has windows and one door that leads to a terrace. Utilizing a depression on the ridge that has been smoothed down has created the terrace, thus a small squarish platform has been created. The original walls of the higher platform on the west and north sides are elaborately embellished. The remaining two sides might have a low wall that have since fallen with the retaining works, which must have been carried out to create regular squarish shape. There is every likelihood that this terrace too was subsequently created to bury some important member of the family. The traces of the grave/graves can't be found on it, but the search reveals two stone sarcophagus down on the ground, one of which is hidden behind the thick bushes, while the other is kept over a wall of later date. The stairs lead up from the vestibule and one finds himself among the crowded graves, of dressed stone, those made with backed bricks and also lime plastered.

The growth of the graveyard through the years seems to be quite unplanned, though the care has been taken not to create offending look.

There is no doubt that this place was originally planned as a place for spending moments of leisure, but was later turned into resting place of its master when he died. Though some of the scholars claim that it was conceived and created to be utilized as graveyard after the death of its builder¹¹⁰. It is a fact that Abul Qasim, founder of this platform died in 1018 AH and was first to be buried there.

¹¹⁰ Though Syed Hassamuddin Rashdi is quite emphatic that the *Koh-e-Haft Dukhtar*, the hill of seven virgins was developed by Mr. Abul Qasim with the clear intention of using it as the family graveyard after his death. But he has not quoted any source in support of his idea

Till 1036 AH no one was brought to be buried here. It was only when one *Asfandyar* was martyred ¹¹¹, an additional space was created on north and west corner to bury him there. [Pl. refer to the site plan, A] Next year *Ateequllah Mirza*, again a martyr was brought in to be buried besides the *Mir*.¹¹²

In 1042 AH another platform was added at north side and *Mirza Muhammad Salae(?)* was enterned there.[Refer B, to the site plan].

In the year 1045 AH when *Abu Naser* died another platform was created besides the one, which has the grave of *Mirza Mohammad Salae(?)* [Refer to the site plan]

It was a good many years afterwards that the platform on the east was added where *Mouaduddin* was buried, he died in the year 1075 AH. [Refer D, to the site plan]. This can clearly indicate the reluctance of the sponsors to allow Sufa, the plateform as a regular graveyard. Only when some family tragedy had occurred initially then the body of such important person was brought to be buried here, and even for that an additional space was created and the main platform it seems was not readily available.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the emphasis was on the use of glazed bricks. Likewise this monument had the glazed bricks extensively employed. But unlike any other building in Sindh or Punjab, here the bricks have been used to create new patterns.

Similarly the square tiles too are employed, sometimes alone and occasionally coupled with the glazed cut bricks, to create quite a different look.

¹¹¹ see the additional plateform A on the plan.

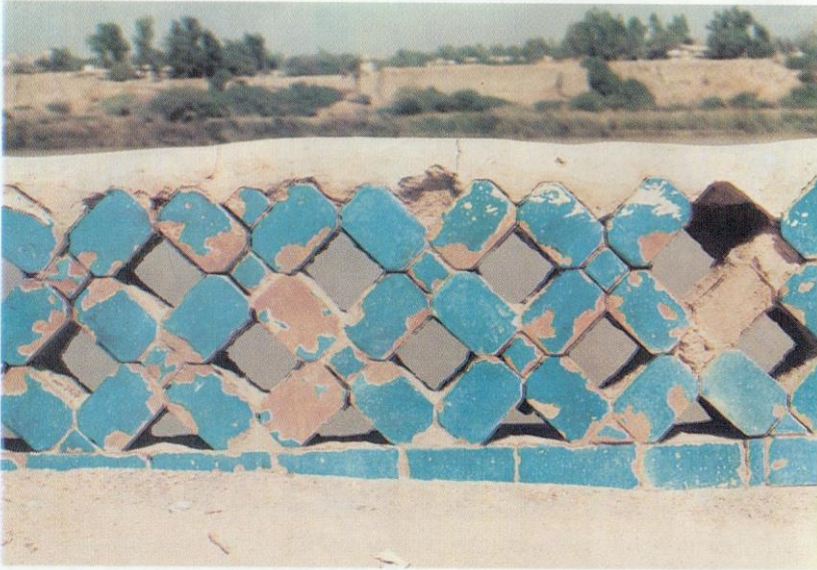
¹¹² On the central raised platform (489.6 feet x 38 feet) where Mir Abul Qasim is buried there ae ten graves. The inscription on his grave gives 1018 AH as year of his death. The other date nearer to it is 1037 AH, next are 1045 AH, 1053, 1057 and 1062 AH.



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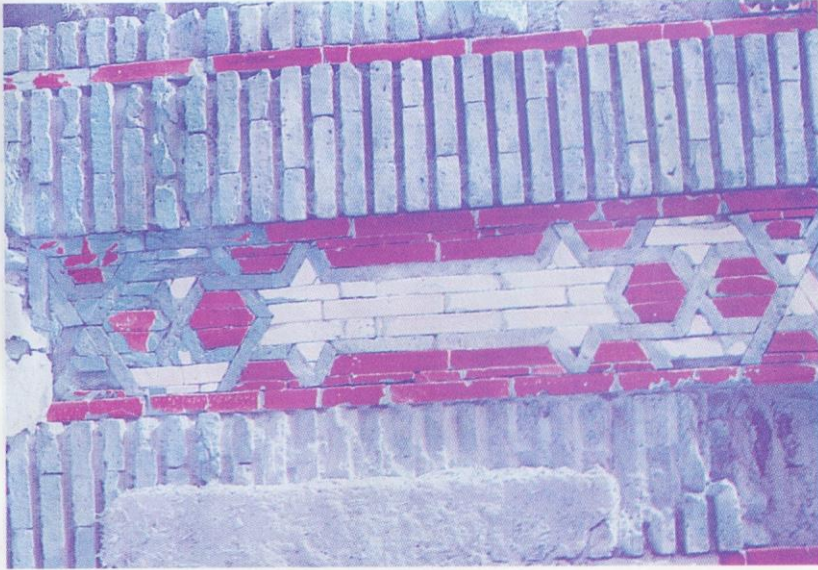
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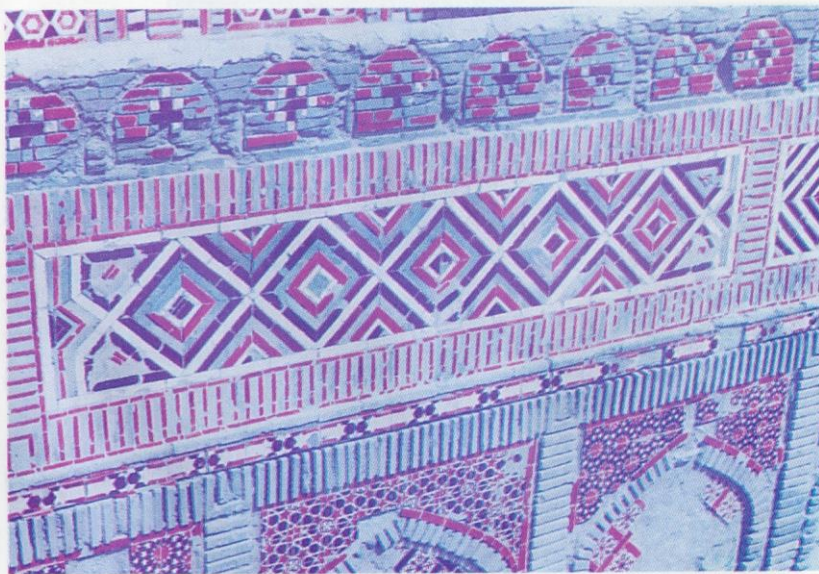
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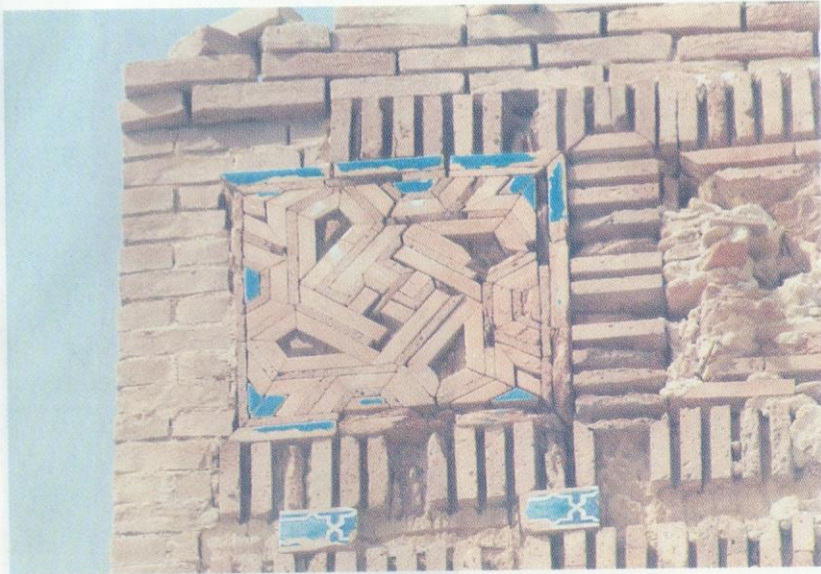
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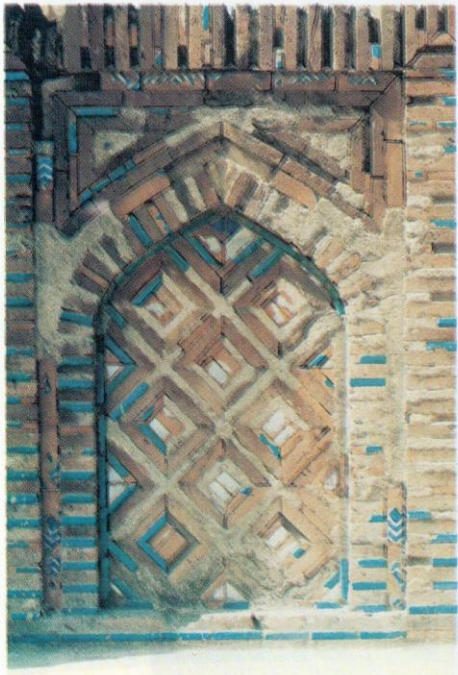


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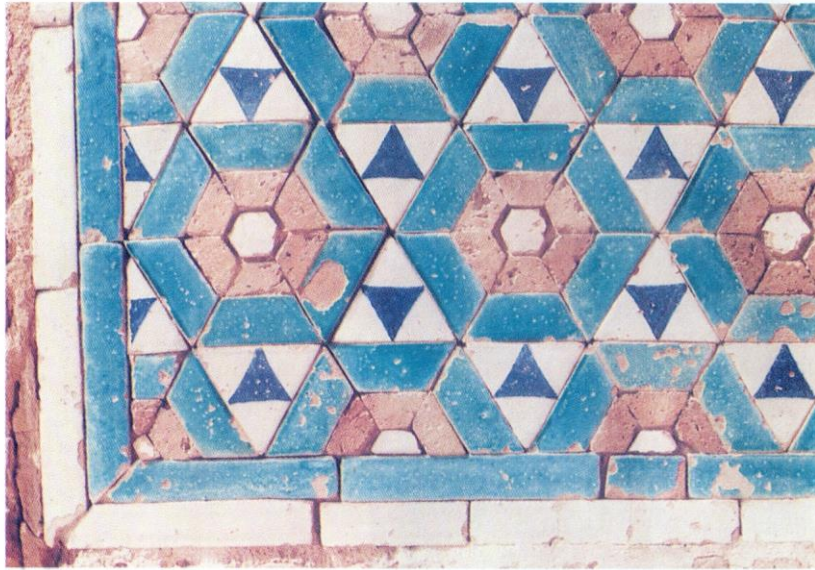
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P. 16



P. 17



P. 18

Everywhere the spandrels have traditionally been embellished with the impressive arabesque, wherein the intertwined vines move gracefully, creating circles and waves, often creating space for decorative cones; but here at SUFA you can't find such practice. The square tiles of various designs can be seen employed on spandrels instead [Pl. see picture 1,2, &6]. Notwithstanding this a contemporary building just a few miles separated from SUFA-E-SAFA has the spandrels decorated in the traditional way with the arabesque.¹¹³

One popular pattern catching attention of every on looker is created by placing square tiles in a frame created out of the glazed bricks [Picture 1].

The other very interesting feature is the creation of screen out of the glazed bricks [Picture 2]. Similarly using two different sizes of glazed pieces creates the low curtain wall. [Picture 3]. There are no such parallels to both these patterns yet observed.

Another thing of interest is the use of glazed bricks to fill in the whole space of spandrels. Here too it has been done quite imaginatively [Picture 4]. Between major decorative panels there has been used narrow bands where in the cartouches are drawn, some containing pure geometric designs [Picture 5] [Picture 6] whereas others combine geometric designs with impressive floral patterns [Picture 7]

This monument has a special knack for geometric patterns, the emphasis is so clear that one can't possibly avoid the spell of it. The decorative panels have been fully given to geometric patterns creating good impression [Picture 8]. Some of these have very complicated designs

¹¹³ The pavilion besides tower of Masum Shah, a contemporary building, the spandrels have the traditional vines moving leisurely into circles.

[Picture 9]. Others based on easy formula are so often left out in subsequent additions [Picture 10].

The enthusiasm of the founder in creating this space is fully matched by his successors. As one looks at the places added and the construction carried out by the later builders, one can hardly find enterprise or the commitment lacking in any manner. There is hardly any space left, which may be considered as under utilized. Even the sides of stairs up on the platform are used to depict enthusiasm of the sponsors [Picture 11].

This platform was developed in the early years of eleventh century AH and after the death of its builder Abul Qasim Namkeen, as we have discussed earlier it continued to receive additions. Quite interestingly whatever is added, it is done in same spirit, and the quality of work has only declined imperceptibly, towards the next fifty years or so.

It may be taken as an indication of the successive generations of the Mir Abul Qasim being not only in sound financial condition but also culturally very groomed.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Mir Abul Qasim was a man of letters and also a good scribe.

He had to his credit at least one book of letters, please refer to India Office Catalogue, Dr. Ety, Vol.p.1141-2

Likewise his son penned down famous History of Sindh of Arghun-Turkhan and Mughal period called *Mazhar-e-Shahjahani*. Though there is not much about succeeding generations in the written sources yet the archaeological evidence gives ample indication to this fact.

The building provides some evidence to this effect. There is only one reference in *Tuljatul Karam*. Mir Alisher Qani writing in 1181 AH indicates that *Mir Mohammad Salih alias Mir Qalander* son of Mir Mohammad Naeem grandson (from daughters side) of Mir Abul Qasim Namkeen was the only one notable left:

The later day decorative patterns are slightly bigger and larger in size, but in same vein. It is needless to add that the major thrust of decoration is geometric.

The square and hexagon are two popular patterns. Designs based on the hexagon and six sided stars are everywhere in sight [Picture 5,8,12,13 and 15].

The decorative pillars standing by the corners of three major platforms are in fact a novel feature. These are not found in any other graveyard. Embellished in three different manners, the earlier pillars are of glazed as well as polished bricks [Picture 16], the later ones are laid with the six-sided tiles [Picture 17] and the third category has the glazed bricks [Picture 18]. The earlier pillars are in good taste, and are in consonance with the overall decorative scheme which goes along with the platform, corners of which they adorn. Likewise the later day pillars are in line with the more glazed platform of which these mark the corners. It is however a sad fact that these later day pillars have lost their cone like final [that can be seen in Picture 16] in twentieth century restoration.

This building has indeed assumed a unique position among the buildings of seventeenth century as far as mural ceramics is concerned. It provides a strange visual experience, pointing out to the richness of the ceramic tradition of the Bukkur, which has a variety of buildings to its credit.

There is quite a wide range of similarities between the SUFA and MASOOM SHAH'S buildings such as Eidgah at Rohri, Manzilgah at Sukkur and his tower complex. But the differences are immense as certain features, discussed earlier, place the SUFA in a unique position. Its features can be seen in the ruins of a mosque near MIR ABDUL BAQI'S tomb at Sukkur. The mosque is in a very dilapidated condition, only the mortar remains on the walls are indicative of hexagonal tiles and cut bricks in various designs used there.

The folio of Sindh tiles containing only the drawings prepared by the Archaeological Survey of India,¹¹⁵ and black and white pictures appearing in Henry Cousin's book¹¹⁶ indicate the range of decorative patterns in this mosque. There are very many similarities between SUFA and this mosque, about which no further information comes up. It is a fact that the early 17th century buildings were mostly decorated with the glazed bricks, belonging generally to same tradition.

However, there were some design variations. *Sufa* had almost many similar designs and beside these few novel applications are also there.

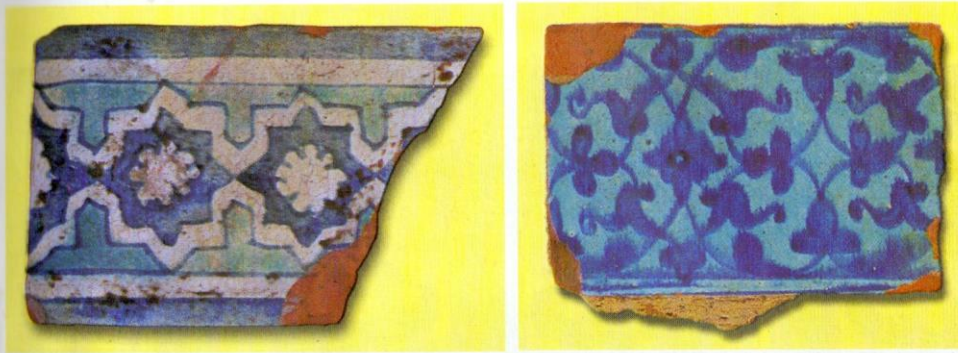
This building is therefore a show window of the ceramic tradition at Sukkur during the seventeenth century. The time during which the Central Asian and Afghan Persian aristocrats had clear ascendancy in settled areas. It is a remarkable record of their preferences and the source of their inspirations. Resembling in a way to the ceramic tradition of Makli, SUFA has its own peculiarities, which may be taken as a valuable indicator in the study of the development of ceramics in Sindh.

As this building continued to get additions for fifty years or so this can be safely said that it is representative of ceramic tradition of seventeenth century Bukkur.

This building with its rich decorations is an evidence of the flourishing ceramic tradition at Bukkur. Being one such building which went on receiving continuous attention of its sponsors for so long may indicate the depth of the roots which provide sustenance to mural ceramics to go on unhindered, even when the society was undergoing a lot many changes.

¹¹⁵ Henry Cousins: *Tiles of Sindh*

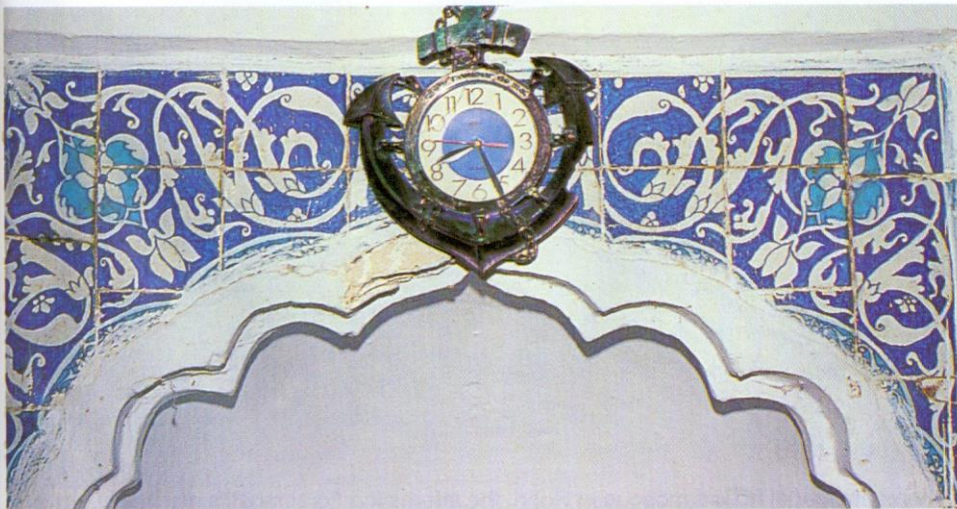
¹¹⁶ Henry Cousins: *The Antiquities of Sindh*



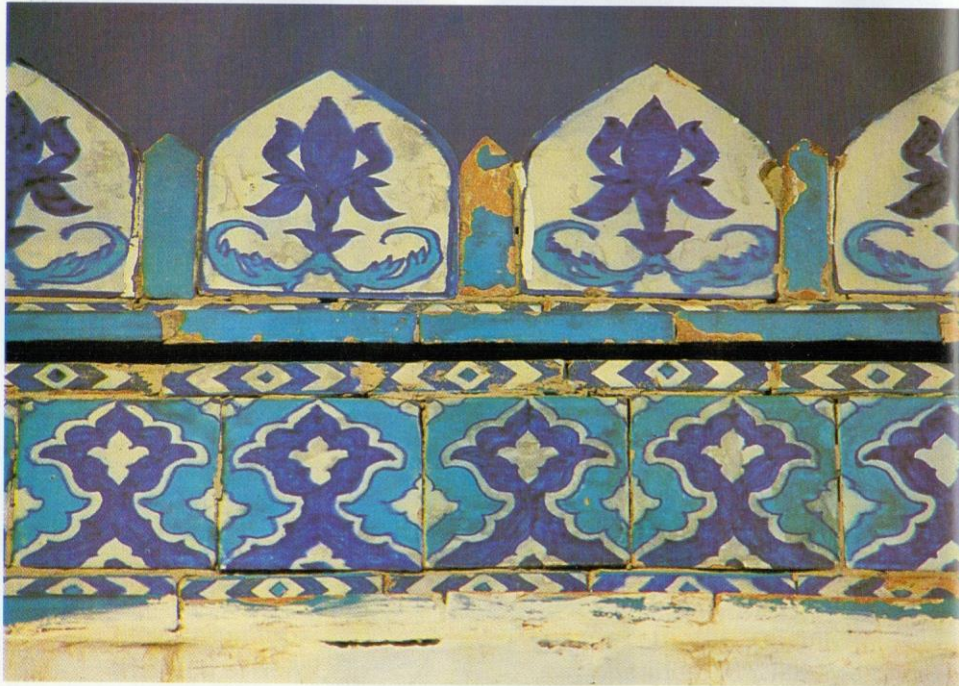
Tiles from fort of Bukkur, sixteenth century.



Tile from the gateway of *Kot* (residential fortress) of Mir Yakoob Ali.
An unusual design indicative of changing times,
late seventeenth century, Rohri.



Mihrab of a mosque in Rohri, late seventeenth century spandrel decoration.



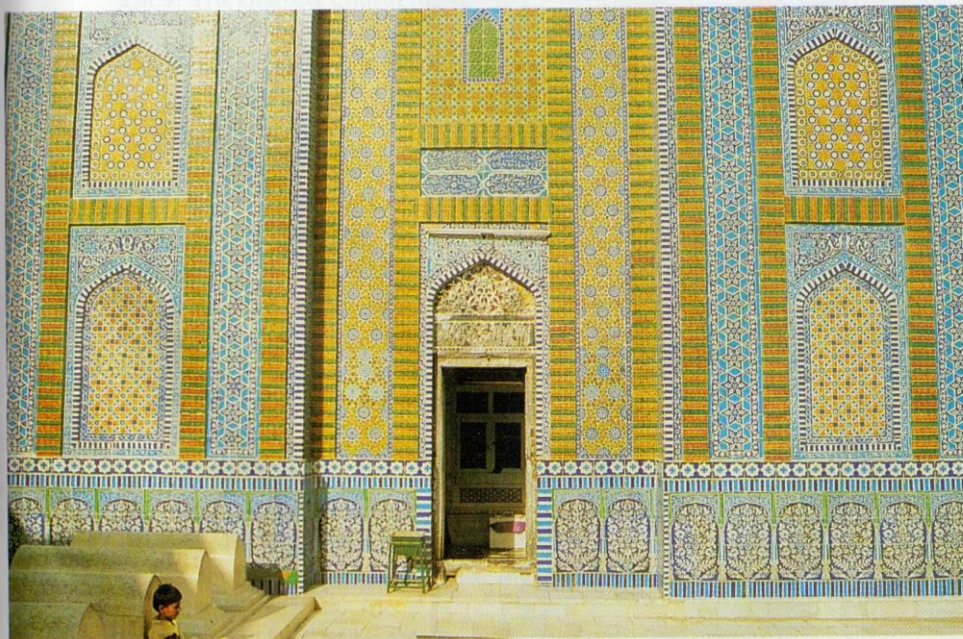
Ornamental *Kungra* on a mosque of late seventeenth century, it seems to be a later day addition/alteration, Rohri.



Ornamental panel from a mosque in Rohri, the interesting floral motifs are highly ornate, derived from earlier folial patterns, late seventeenth century.



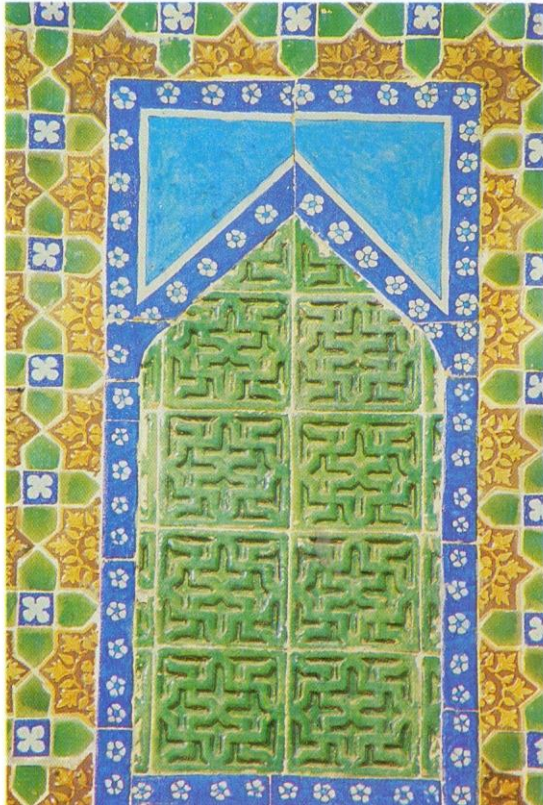
Adopted from earlier motifs, this became current from late seventeenth century onwards, from a mosque in Rohri.



The highly decorated tomb of Shah Khairuddin at Sukkur, constructed some two and a half century ago, altered and decorated in later part of last century.



Designs current during last century,
re-inacted, Shah Khairuddin,
Sukkur.



Moulding and baked screens were
popular during last century,
Shah Khairuddin Sukkur.

Small mosques of Rohri, their importance in the study of development of mural ceramics

Rohri a famous old town on the left bank of Indus is just opposite the Sukkur City, which is connected to it through old Lansdown Bridge, Lloyds Barrage and now a newly constructed bridge.

The Rohri most have been a flourishing commercial entity during the Neolithic period, as the cores and flakes there have were of exceptional quality.

Anyway there has been human habitation of some consequences, as all around it there has been important towns and villages flourished as far as historical evidence goes. The sacred character of Rohri was enhanced when the Syeds settled in Bukkur fort were shifted to Rohri by Shah Beg Arghun, as he intended to re-strengthen the old fort.

The first mosque is said to have been built in Rohri in 1545 A.D to receive the Holy hair of the beard of the Holy Prophet.

Later during the days of Akbar the Mughal Jami Mosque was built at about 1583 by one Fateh Khan an officer of the Mughals. It is quite big mosque. It did receive some sort of ceramic embellishment, since the mosque has gone through unplanned repairs on various occasions that it is quite difficult to accept present tiles as the replicas of the original used on the building. Another small mosque was built by Mir Yaqub Ali Shah in 1677 AD in his residential fortress. Same has undergone the repairs as well but we can have some idea of the ceramic decoration. As was the order of the day and in follow up of the tradition the glazed bricks along with the

polished bricks were employed and also square tiles were put in at the panels.

Another mosque of Muhammad Saleh Tajir is small one. It has the decorative arches and spandrels and these are embellished with arabsque designs, balancing cone at the central positions. The colours are the basic blue, turquoise and white. A few inscriptions decorate the Qibla wall, that one of these gives the name of the person who caused it into being as Muhammad Salih Tajir. It also gives the date in the chronogram.

Couples of inscriptions are enclosed in blue cartouches, which have a novel floral pattern on its sides. It indicates some later day development, when the Turkhan influence has been weekend considerably. The mosque presently called *Allah Wali Masjid*.

One mosque famous as Qazi's masjid has an inscription denoting it to be the mosque of *Muhtasib*. It is presently styled as *Madni Masjid*. This too has under gone repairs, but the ceramic design seems to have been preserved by copying during earlier repairs. This fact of repairs has been recorded in a iscription on a glazed arch-shaped brick, that is put on wall. It gives the date as 1334 AH. Ghulam Mehdi who caused those repairs was a men of letters and has to his credit a biography of *Bedil*. Later repairs were quite recent that didn't touch the mural ceramics.

The designs are executed in the classical colours, the square tiles which are frequently met during early Kalhora period monuments.

Rohri the town of small mosques can now only boasts of a very few mosques worth study as far as ceramics is concerned. The majority of these mosques are lost and only few stand, which have undergone considerable repairs, thus the original decoration is lost.

However the *Quba* mosque, *Taker wari* and *Madina* mosque can still give some traces.

These mosques were constructed in 1096, 1106, 1109, 1132, 1144 A.H and likewise. This period is very important if we are studying the mural ceramics, because in all over Sindh we can hardly find any standing monument of the period, with ceramics on it.

The Aurangzeb was busy in fighting Deccan and subsequently dying away from the capital. The later Mughals, worthless as they were not able to revive the say of the central power and respect due to the Kings's court.

In such days there was bound to have extensive decentralisation in all the matters political as well as culture. The arts & crafts can no more be influenced or even inspired when its patronage is extended from the court.

The glazed tiles used on these small mosques have shown some indigenous influences on designs. Though old run of the mill patterns remained in currency and the classical vine scrolls kept embellishing the spandrels, some new themes showed popularity. The limited number of floral patterns which were introduced seems to have been inspired by the designs stone cutters were employing.

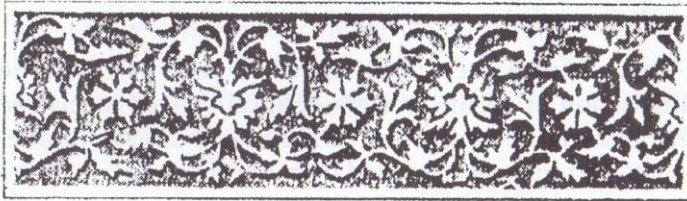
The tiles used on the northern gate of the Kot(fortress) of Mir Yakub Ali show interesting flower blossoming between unusually long leaves, which are patronisingly enclosing it. This pattern is met with at a tomb stone on a the grave of one of the descendent of Mir Abdul Qasim Nimkeen. It has no other connotation but its use as an impressive design that have been further used in other medium.

Thus the Rohri tiles helps us in concluding that the earlier influences had died down at the end of seventeenth century to considerable extent.

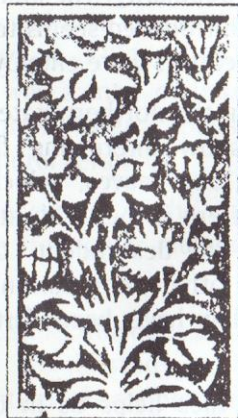
The glazed bricks had almost bowed out, and the classical vine scrolls along with cones persisted in their limited role to adorn only the spandrels.

Some new geometric forms, derived out of the earlier practiced designs emerged, in simplified forms. The colours remained restricted to normal blue, turquoise and white.

New floral patterns were introduced, even at the cost of visual balance, that might be gained by continuous usage.



Late seventeenth century ceramic designer has adopted stone carves designs, these appear in Rohri mosque.



On a gateway of residential fort in



Another band in practice during eighteenth & nineteenth centuries, Shah Khairuddin, Sukkur.



A tombstone from Sangrar, Sukkur, during the early days of present century this form of decoration became current.



Popular band normally covers the portal, Shah Khairuddin, Sukkur.



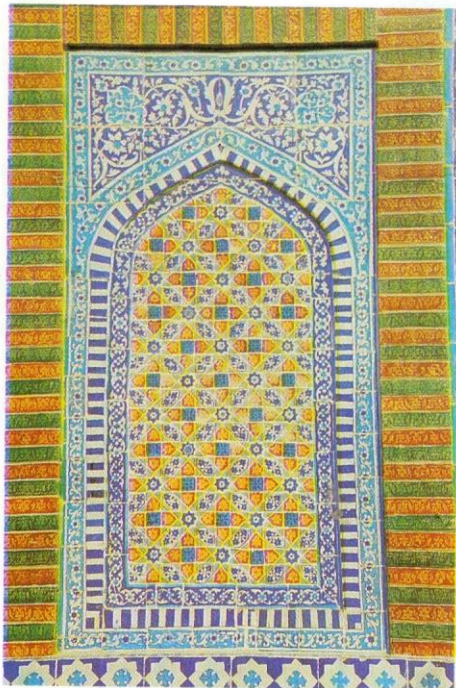
The *Katba* on the tomb of Shah Khairuddin, Sukkur.



Famous floral motif, remained popular since last two centuries, Shah Khairuddin, Sukkur.



Fully clothed in ceramics, a grave from early years of 20th century, Qadir Bakhsh Ja Quba, Sukkur.



Ornamental panel in fashion during last two centuries.

Prehistory of Sukkur, Sind

Dr. M. Salim

Prehistory is a period of human history with no written record. The Indus script is still un-deciphered and falls in this category. The British began studying prehistoric antiquities of Sind. A first ever detailed archaeological and lithic study was made by Peterson (1939) on the chert stone implants of Rohri. These stone implements were made by man during the Indus Civilization some 4000-5000 years ago.

Dr. Rauf Khan (1979), a geomorphologist, discovered Palaeolithic tools in 1972-73 in lower Sind. The results were published later in 1979. He tried to place them in some chronological order by study terraces and surface geology.

With intent to locate earlier material, in August 1974 a brief survey of surface collections of Sukkur-Rohri was conducted by me with a collection of Harappan and Middle Palaeolithic tools (Salim 1974). Allchin made field survey in 1975 with collections of Lower Palaeolithic to Bronze Age (1976:471-489). An Italian team under Biagi and Cremaschi (1988: 421-433) explored for more sites of Acheulian and Harappan. They used a microscope to study colour and patination on stone artifacts; the oldest Acheulian tools are darker as compared to the fresh Harappan ones. Since 1990-91 Prof. Mr. Kazi from Khairpur has been doing field research on Palaeolithic and Harappan; he had discovered late Pleistocene handaxes and flakes. A well-known and important site Kot Diji an early Indus Valley site is excavated near Rohri (Khan 1965: 13-85).

In Pakistan man's earliest tools are found where the good raw material is. Quartzite Pebbles are common in Rawalpindi in Quaternary deposits along Soan river and the hunter employed it; first he flaked them and then used the sharp-edge flakes as knife to cut hunted animals (Salim 1997). Similarly chert nodules in Sukkur-Rohri when broken with stones, produced sharp edges. Different types of tools such as choppers, handaxes, blades, scrapers were used by him to cut meat or tree branches. Mostly he was living in the open and had a primitive life.

New Pind, Sukkur

- 1 The site is near Railway water tank. It contained a few flakes with plain butts. They have red patina on them and could be of Bronze Age period. A couple of Middle Palaeolithic scrapers have desert yarnish and brown patina (Fig.1)
- 2 The other site is near hills and behind Police Barracks. Laboureres were breaking the chert tools and nodules and use them for buildings etc. Some blade cores and flakes are patinated. Artifacts include blade cores, blade, flake, retouched tools and utilized flakes all of Bronze Age period.

Rohri I-II

Three sites were discovered near Rohri Railway Station to the south of Rohri Station. Site I is on hilltop near New Jar. It had limestone base with reddish soil on top, on whose surface blades core, blade, micro blade core and waste flakes are found. Site II is in the Loco Shed Area with same stratigraphy as in Rohri I. The artifices includes blade, scrapers, cores and flakes. Rohri III is a hill site separated from Rohri II by a Railway line. The geological layers of I and II are represented here. The size of hills was reduced to a smaller one due to quarrying and using explosive. The tools are made on dark brown chert and are different than those of I and II localities.

Following Middle Paleolithic chert tools were identified. Flakes with thick butts and black patina and retouched are of Middle Paleolithic tradition (Fig.1)

		Quantity
1	Single side-scrapers	4
2	Notched tool	1
3	Denticulated scraper	3
4	Burin	2
5	Borer	2
6	Core	1
7	Flake	4
8	Blade	3
9	Point	1
Total:		21

Chronology

Although no palaeomagnetic dating has been in Sukkur area, we can compare such sites with those of Potwar. The Lower Palaeolithic in Rawalpindi dates to about 2.5 m.y with Pebble tools from Pijnor silts (Salim 1997:221). Those from Sukkur, the crude Handaxes collections, are late and could be assigned to 2-1 lakh years. The hand axe have affinities to Acheulian assemblages of Didwana in Thar in Rajasthan (Misra etal 1982:72—86). Other Middle Palaeolithic flakes collections can be placed around 50,000 years and the Late Palaeolithic blade collection to about 20,000 years. The Mesolithic with small blades is Holocene and sites like Kot Diji

represent a phase of early farmers and settlers who laid the foundation of a vast riverine civilization at Mohenjo-daro.

Much more work such as stratigraphy, typology of tools, living floors and soil analysis is required to understand different cultural phases of early man in this area and its relation with adjoining regions.

Allchin, B.	1976 Palaeolithic sites in the plains of Sind and their geographical implications. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> Vol.142, No.3, pp.471-489.
Biagi, P. & Cremaschi, H.	1988 The early Palaeolithic sites of the Rohri hills (Sind, Pakistan) and their environmental significance. <i>World Archaeology</i> , London. Vol.19, No.3, pp.421-433.
De Terra, H. & Paterson, T.T.	1939 Studies on the ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures. Carnegie Institute, Washington. Publication No.493.
Khan, F.A	1965 Excavations at Kot Diji, Pakistan <i>Archaeology</i> , Karachi, No.2, pp.13-85.
Khan, Rauf	1979 Palaeolithic sites discovered in the lower Sind and their significance in the prehistory of the country. <i>Grassroots</i> . Jamshoro, Vol.III, No.2. Pp.80-82.
Misra, V.N., Rajaguru, S.N., Raju, D.R., Raghavan H. & Gaillard, C.	1982 Achenlian occupation and evolving landscape around Didwana in the Thar desert, India. <i>Man and Environment</i> , Pune. Vol.6. Pp.72-86.
Salim, M.	1974 Middle Stone Age sites of Pakistan. Unpublished report submitted to Central Research Funds Committee, University of London.
Salim, M.	1997 The Palaeolithic Cultures of Potwar with Special Reference to the Lower Palaeolithic, <i>Central Asian Studies</i> , Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad.

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Hakra or Sarswati Controversy – Various Versions of Scientists, Historians and Folk-Lorists

M.H. Panhwar

Hakra was not controversial 150 years ago, as very few people had heard of it and these had their own imaginations and explanations. For such opinions, they owed responsibility to none, as they would not be challenged, due to lack of mass media.

The British investigators always verified the facts, and controversy once started, was ultimately resolved by most scientific methods, available in each decade. The Hakra question was such a controversy with different versions and it took about 150 years to resolve the issue. Unfortunately the issue still remains too confused, before, the people of Sind, due to lack of communication. There are three types of versions, based on three classes of investigators:-

- i) Scientists
- ii) Historians
- iii) Folk-lorists

Historical versions on Hakra, recorded mostly in the 17th century and afterwards, cannot be considered authentic, especially about the events which in this particular case, took place around 2000 B.C., or even in 11th-13th centuries A.D., Although historians of these works have been too assertive, the fact remains that their source of information was contemporary folk-lore. Folk-lore on the other hand is full of eulogies and exaggerations and the story tellers (sugarhs) have given free reign to their imaginations and these have changed from occasion to occasion, according to how good a sugarh was. The very Sindhi language used in folk-lore does not show its antiquity to more than two hundred and fifty years, barring very few isolated cases. Under any circumstances, the recorded and intelligible poetry of Sind cannot be assigned a date earlier than 15th century. Folk-lore, therefore, is not a media to resolve an issue, totally contradicted as it is by the scientific evidence.

It is worthwhile to describe briefly the continuous efforts that have gone into the probe, to find out if the Hakra was an independent river or it was the Sutlej or some other river of antiquity. It is also certain that new facts will always come to light, clarifying the position further.

1) The earliest mention of Hakra is by Alexander Burnes, a diplomat who in 1833, while describing the eastern branch of the river Indus, (formerly taking off from the main stream, on its upstream's side above Rohri, was irrigating large tracks of land in the eastern desert) mentions of diverting of its waters by Ghuallam Shah Kalora in 1761 A.D., to dry up the rice fields near Lakhpat in Kutch, and also alternations produced by an earth quake of 1819 A.D., on the waters of Hakra or Eastern branch of the river Indus.

2) Similar views were expressed by many other writers, including McMurdo and the early Gazetteer of Thorononoton, who thought that the Eastern Nara took off from the Indus on north of Rohri. W.Pottinger and del Hoste held similar views.

3) Richard Fransis Burton, a surveyer, linguist and scholar, was the third writer, who described Hakra as an ancient course of the river Indus, in his various writings. He used Ma'mui Fakirs' poems in support of Hakra and its courses.

4) Fife, the first Superintending Engineer in Sind, who opened the Eastern Nara Canal, thought that the Eastern Nara was a spill channel of the Indus rather than an eastern branch, but was getting water constantly from spill channels of it, in the former (ancient) days and occasionally in subsequent years. This was the first major deviation from the thinking of the times, but was not totally correct, as he had no information about Hakra courses in Bahawalpur, Bikanir, and Ambala.

5) In 1871, Cunningham, the first Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, expressed that Raini, Solra and Chautang were different from the Sutlej, and met the Indus above Aror (Alore). The Eastern Nara was an old bed of the Indus. It bifurcated near Jakhro into Puran, flowing south west course, past Hermetelia (Brahmanabad), Patiala (Hyderabad) and turned south-west to-wards Guni to join the main stream. The other branch turned south-east past Umarnot to meet the first branch near Wanga Bazar, on its way to Koree Creek mouth. Since in his times Indian Archaeology was just born and archaeology was based on history, the results depended on how good the historical works referred for the purpose were.

6) In 1874 C.F. Oldham of the Survey of India, wrote that Sutlej was discharging its waters in the bed of Saraswati or Ghaggar which in Sind is known as the Eastern Nara and continued doing so, until about 1st quarter of 13th century and the Eastern Nara was not the bed of the river Indus as assumed by 1, 2, 3, and 5 above. His information came from official records and maps of the Survey of India, which showed depressions as they existed physically.

7) In 1875 an anonymous writer the Survey of India under a pseudonymous name Nearchus, contradicting No.6 above stated that

the Sutlej never flowed west-wards directly into the Indus, but it was the Jamuna instead, which once flowed west-wards and fed the Hakra. He also supported the view of 1, 2, 3, and 5 above that east of Rohri the Indus passed through the bed of Eastern Nara.

8) Hughes, an ICS officer in his 'Gazetteer of Sind' (1876), considers the Eastern Nara or Hakra, an old bed of the river Indus and having its source from the Indus, between Bahawalpur and Rupar. He discards Fife's theory completely and thinks that spill water of the Indus near Sabzalkot and Ghotki may have been just another source of supply of water to it, rather than sole source.

9) In 1886, R.D. Oldham of the Geological Survey of India, based on hydrological studies, stated that the Indus could not have flowed into the Eastern Nara at all. It was Jamuna in the recent geological times (i.e., during Pleistocene, or 1.7 million years ago to 10,000 years ago and the Sutlej later on (i.e., during Holocene or 10,000 years ago to present times), that fed the Eastern Nara. In general he supported C.F. Oldham's opinions expressed 12 years earlier, against Nearchus' views. This opinion was respected by some researchers until aerial photography rejected the Jamuna theory.

10) Somehow this infuriated Raverty (of Survey of India until 1865), who in 1892 wrote an article of 350 pages, theorizing that there was a mighty river formed by the combined waters of Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Beas all of which discharged into that river and then passed through the bed of Eastern Nara. The Indus too discharged into this river as its tributary was called the Mihran". Its main course was along the alignment of Sutlej in the Punjab and the Eastern Nara in Sind, through which it discharged into the Sea via the Koree Creek.

Raverty's maps were highly inaccurate, his theories were imaginary, but he had used vast historical material from Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, French and English sources and for the general history of Sind, the book is still indispensable. His courses of river Indus and Hakra with references to chronology of the historical geography of Sind is unacceptable, but his approach has misled

many subsequent and some leading historians of Sind, who have periodically repeated, what was stated by him and created historical blunders.

11) In 1894 Major General Haig produced a short but well written history Sind. Although he avoided getting into the hot bed of controversy, his approach leaves no doubts that he believed that the Eastern Nara was the bed of the river Indus.

12) In 1904, col. Minchin and J.N. Barnes, after study of physiography of Bahawalpur State concluded that the bed of the Hakra was too narrow to have carried all of the Sutlej's waters through it, leaving aside that of the other Punjab rivers or the Indus. Thus, it must be an independent stream. However, they did not probe into Bikanir and Ambala areas, to get to original courses, leading from Ambala to the Hakra or Sarswati.

13) In 1906 Henry Cousens an archaeologist, became the first writer, who drew the course of the major branch of the river Indus, the Lohano Dhoro, at the time of Arab Conquest of Sind in 711-712 A.D., between the present course and the Eastern Nara. Unlike Fife (Superintending Engineer in Sind), he did not think that Nara was a spill channel of the Indus. He believed that Nara was the bed of another branch of the river Indus.

14) In 1924 Ward, a geographer, basing on the general theory that all rivers in the northern hemisphere have westering tendency due to rotating of earth from west to east, stated that the Sutlej which now has westered, was one time tributary of Hakra, which passed through the Eastern Nara. The Jamuna may have fed it too.

15) In 1929, Khan, a historian, theorized that Hakra was a tributary of the Indus and not of the Sutlej or of the Jamuna i.e., the Sutlej was tributary of the Hakra. The Eastern Nara was the bed of the Indus through which past the combined waters of Indus and Hakra and was called the Mehran. Hakra dried up about the middle of 13th century A.D.

16) In 1932, Whitehead, an archaeologist, stated that the Sutlej could not have oscillated 70-80 miles, to pass through the Hakra and it seems to have dried up due to diminishing rainfall in the Ambala area and consequently the Ambala streams dried up.

17) R.D. Oldham, in a personal communication to Pithawalla in 1933 mentioned that, at an early date when Jamuna flowed west-wards, it probably followed the same course as Hakra did in the latter times, as shown in Whitehead's map.

18) In 1942, Stein, an archaeologist, after examining a number of sites in Bikanir and Ambala, concluded that the Ghaggar or Hakra at one time carried the combined waters of a number of streams, including one or two spil channels to the Sutlej in Bahawalpur and also of a channel of the Indus through the Alore Gap near Rohri.

19) In 1942, Ali, a geographer, discussed the problem of desiccation of Ghaggar or Sarswati due to declnining rain-fall in its catchment, that led to its drying up.

20) Pithawalla, writing in 1959 states that a portion of Hakra waters seems to have been derived from spill waters of the Sutlej, when it flowed further south. Ambala streams reduced in size owing to accumulation of silt and sand and finally Hakra dried up. Hakra seems to be a distinct, moderate, and perennial river system, flowing around the corner of Bahawalpur and Sind and almost parallel to this border. It was a degrading stream, having cut a channel of its own, now known as Nara and quite unlike mature type of aggrading the Mehran or Indus of Sind. The Indus itself did not flow through the Hakra valley. Had the Hakra not dried up because of failure of supply in its upper reaches, the process of depositing silt and raising its own level by the Indus on the One (west) side and that of excavating its own channel on the other side (east) by Hakra, would have resulted in a sudden breach of the Indus into low lying channel, the Eastern Nara, from which it could not have been able to get out without raising its bed to the level of adjoining plains. The Indus on

account of its westering tendency left Alore gorge dry and occupied Bakhar gorge.

21) In 1963, M.H. Panhwar, using his theory that, where-ever a river like the Indus has flowed for a number of centuries, water from it must have seeped underground and left large quantities of sweet water, in a considerable depth and width, and these could be tapped for irrigation; verified this fact by actual drilling. It turned out that there was no ground water along Raini and Eastern Nara, right up to Sindhuri in the Rann of Cutch except very small quantities of water in a very narrow width and a shallow depth tapped by dug wells. From Alore to Jamrao head situation was only slightly better. He attributed the latter to the Eastern Nara canal having been flowing in that length for over a century now. In his opinion the Indus did not flow through the Eastern Nara bed and Nara or Hakra was a minor river that had dried up many centuries ago, except that, in occasional years, it received spill waters from the Indus and the Sutlej. He also found presence of some courses of a desert river in Khipro Taluka. These courses were finally confirmed 16 years later by Ghose and others by remote sensing.

22) In 1964, M.H. Panhwar, drew district-wise maps of the old courses of the river Indus through historical times and also discussed the sources and events which indicated the existence of the river Indus at various places throughout the historical times and also proved this by existence of ground water at these courses. There was a small improvement on Pithawalla's work of 1959, in terms of historical sources and courses, but ground water occurrence was a new idea.

23) Lambrick's classical work and analysis to the historical geography of Sind (1964) is very well written and well discussed document on Hakra, but he has not acknowledged Pithawalla's findings on the Indus-Hakra controversy, although this portion of Lambrick's work, is extracted from Pithawalla almost verbatim. What is more interesting is that Pithawalla has listed authorities from 4 to 18 above and so had Lambrick in the same order, but has omitted 4,

5, 8, 11, 15 and 17, comparatively less important sources. However, on the merits of evidence of historical courses of the Indus, this book may not be superseded for decades.

24) In 1965 Holmes working with McDonald and Partners on the Lower Indus Project, based on aerial photographs, worked out courses of river Indus during various historical periods and published such information in Vol. 2 of the supplementary volume of the report. This was reprinted. He found no clue of Hakra discharging into the Indus, but found Khangarh flood plains edging the desert in the alluvial plains, caused probably by spill channels of the Indus. His maps show Raini and Wahind totally in the desert and not entering the Indus plains.

25) In 1966-67, M.H. Panhwar drew a 4x8 feet map, of the courses of the river Indus in Sind, during the past 5000 years, based on aerial photographs and found spill-channels from the Indus towards Raini in Sukkur district and also a branch of the Indus passing through Alore gap.

26) In 1968 Raikes, probably influenced by Pithawalla (20 above), and Lambrick (23 above), emphasized that the Jamuna was alternatively captured by the Indus and the Ganges systems. This theory, besides remote sensing of Ghose (31 below), was also rejected by Rao etc (1974) basing on the evidence of the Jamuna Fault along the west bank of this river, showing that the river Jamuna could not have westerned.

27) In 1969, Wilhelmy wrote on Sarswati-Problem, depending mostly on sources cited by Pithawalla, He mentions that Jamuna formerly flowed west through the present Hansi-Hissar branch of the western Jamuna Canal and was known as Drishadvati.

Aerial photographs have completely rejected this theory of Jamuna flowing westwards. He does not think that the Hakra was a tributary of the Indus. According to him the Jamuna was captured by Ganges in Rig-vedic times. He seems to have been influenced by

Lambrick (23 above) and Raikes (26 above). The latter believed that the Jamuna was alternatively captured by the Indus and Ganges systems.

28) In 1969, M.H. Panhwar by use of aerial photographs, showed that Hakra getting spill waters of the Sutlj and the Indus bifurcated at Jamrao Head and its western branch passed along the alignment of Jamrao canal, then passed to the east of Brahmanabad-Mansura site and again joined eastern branch many miles south, on way to Koree Creek, via the present Dhoro Puran. Above Brahmanabad-Mansura it was also fed by an eastern branch of the Indus making the lower part perennial.

29) In 1972 Gurdip Singh and others, after Radio-Carbon Dating of stratigraphy of 3 salt lake deposits in Rajasthan concluded that between 9500 to 4000 years ago, rain-fall in the western Rajasthan was one stage higher and about two to two and half times the present rains and there was adequate rain-fall in Ambala districts and adjoining Himalyas to start run-off streams of some importance. From this it was inferred by the subsequent writers that a number of streams were flowing south from Ambala district and Sarswati or Hakra being one of them during that period was a perennial river,

30) In 1979, Rafique Mughal of archaeological Department of Pakistan, after survey of archaeological sites along the Hakra in Bahawalpur, put forth the evidence, that the Mature Indus settlement in Bahawalpur started declining around 2000 B.C. due to declining waters in that river. This supplemented Stein's work in the Indian territories (18 above).

31) In 1979-80, Bimul Ghose, Amal Kar and Zahid Hussain, by use of Landstat imagery and aerial photographs produced courses of the Sarswati through Rajasthan to the Luni, through the Raini and the Eastern Nara and through the north western part in 5 different stages, namely: earliest course, three successive major courses, the last one being Ghaggar-Hakra through Bahawalpur to Raini. The three intermediate courses met present Nara in Khipro and Khairpur

areas. There is also a course of some river entering Sind and meeting Eastern Nara north of Umarkot, but traceable only to some reach and not to the above five systems. This may have been a course before author's five successive stages.

This paper more or less is revolution in the post-1970 thinking on the lost river.

32) In 1984, Amal Kar and Bimal Ghose, with the help of aerial photography, concluded that there was no evidence proving that the Jamuna flowed west-wards to feed Drishadvati. They also concluded that the Drishadvati had several courses by which it flowed southwards through the desert and was also supplied water from streams originating in the Aravali Hills. Its drying up therefore was mainly on account of climatic changes.

There already existed as much controversy on the Drishadvati as on the Sarswati or Hakra. For example Conningam (5 above) considered Hansi-Hissar branch of western Jamuna canal as lower course of this river. Rapson considered it as present course of the Chautang. Keith and Dey considered its course along the Chautang and then through Hansi-Hissar branch of the western Jamuna canal. Further identification was made difficult, by similar views of Vasishtha, Sharama and Law. Kar and Ghose's use of remote sensing identified capture of some of tributaries of Drishadvati by Jamuna and not vice-versa,

An interesting finding contradicting their previous studies of 1979 and 1980 (31 above) was that only an eastern and less important branch of Drishadvati flowed to the Luni in early times and it collected rain water from Aravali mountains enroute, but later on, westered to pass through the centre of desert upto 74 longitude E and is difficult to trace further beyond this parallel.

At a third stage the Drishadvati was to become a tributary to the Sarswati or Hakara. But even the change to Hakara system went

through a number of stages of various times, while Hakra or Sarswati too kept shifting west-wards.

The authors found it difficult to date the courses of Drishadvati, but think that major trend of shifting was from east to west and most probably river flowed to the Luni prior to start of aridity during the Pleistocene period.

33) In 1985, M.H. Panhwar, on verifying courses of Drishadvati as given by Kar and Ghose found that the river Drishadvati could have three different, but of the major courses in the antiquity the earliest course discharged in to the Luni. The subsequent two courses passed through the central part of the western Rajasthan desert towards the Sind, where they joined Hakra, the earlier courses was to the north of Umarkot and the last course passed through Nara and Khipro Talukas. The first of these three courses was considered to belong to the pre-Pleistocene by the Central Arid zone Research Institute and second and third during Pleistocene.

With the help of aerial photographs Panhwar came forth with a theory that the 2000 soda water lakes in Khairpur and Khipro Talukas may have been formed by the Drishadvati river which met in these Talukas and the lakes of Sanghar district, the Makhi-Farash depressions were formed at the confluence of Drishadvati with the Hakra system. His main source was 32 above and he felt that Drishadvati may have passed through the Central part of Sind's Rajasthan or the Eastern desert. The Drishadvati, alongwith the Hakra, dried up due to reducing rain-fall, around 2000 B.C.

This statement was true for Sind's lakes but due to lack of aerial photographs it was not true for the Indian side.

34) After the last finding, the present writer kept probing further into the Sind desert and on examination of latest 1:50,000 maps, which are based on aerial photographs, found that the direction of lakes of Khairpur and Khipro was NNE to SSW. If lakes were formed

by Drishadvati, then their direction would have been almost east to west.

He also found two branches of some ancient rivers coming from the north-east direction and meeting Hakra near the present town of Umarkot.

35) Conclusion:

The whole issue was re-opened. The work done by the Indian authors (31 and 32), and the Central Arid Zone research Institute Jodhpur, on ancient rivers of Rajasthan, was re-examined and this was further supplemented by remote sensing studies in the Rajasthan or the Eastern desert of Sindh. Following are the conclusion arrived at by the present water and are illustrated in the enclosed map.

- i) The Sarswati (Hakra) and the Drishadvati changed its courses a number of times in the Ambala district and Haryana state, due to heavy load of silt they carried from the denundating Siwaliks. The numerous old streams existing here represent various channels of the Sarswati and the Drishadvati systems, over many a millenia.
- ii) The Drishadvati and the Sarswati of Aryan Vedic and religious literature were two distinct rivers in the beginning but by the time Aryans reached that area, these had joined together to form one stream, which at various times fed the Eastern Nara or Hakra.
- iii) The Chautang, one time considered a tributary of Hakra, was the main stream of the Drishadvati and later on when the Drishadvati discharged in the Sarswati, it indirectly became a tributary of the Sarswati.
- iv) The Drishadvati is another name for the Chautang. Its earliest recognizable course was approximately Rajgarh, Hadyal, Churu Ratangarh, Mokala and Pundlu.

v) Due to existence of Jamuna fault in Siwaliks, the Jamuna could not have flowed west-wards through the bed of Hakra, which is too narrow to carry its waters.

vi) South of Simla between, the towns of Jagadhar on the east and Patiala on the west, there are at least seven beds of ancient streams and also two more to the west of Patiala. All these flow from NNE to SSW and merge into each other forming two major streams the Drishadvati to the east and the Sarswati to the West. The Drishadvati is represented by the eastern most stream now called the Chautang and the Sarswati by the rest eight streams, which are considered its tributaries, although stream capture was common between the two, throughout their life time.

vii) It appears that during pre-Pleistocene period (more than 2.0 million years ago), the Drishadvati discharged into the Luni river below the town of Bisalpur, some 250 miles east of Sind border on 26th parallel. The Luni carried its waters to the Gulf of Cutch probably near the town of Virawah and Pari Nagar, making Nagar Parker a peninsula. The Drishadvati's nearest point was 260 miles away from Nagar Parker. It could never have flowed through the lower Sind. The Sarswati also flowed NNE to SSW to meet Drishadvati West of Chrun and the combined stream discharged into the Luni near the town of Panchapadra.

viii) During the Early or the Lower Pleistocene (2.0 million years to 5,00,000 years ago), due to start of aridity, the Drishadvati's water reduced and it could not reach the Luni. It then westward to meet the Sarswati in the latter's new course parallel to its old course. The confluence was midway between the towns of Nagaur and Jaisalmer and North of Jodhpur. The tectonic movements in the head reaches of the Drishadvati and the Sarswati in Siwaliks may to some extent have been responsible in changing courses of these streams but the major factor was large amounts of silt, which they carried with themselves from Siwaliks and deposited it down streams blocking their own path. It is not certain whether united stream of the Drishadvati and the Sarswati entered Thar but two branches of some

river coming from the central part of the Western Rajasthan desert, entered the Indus plains near present Umarkot. It appears that either Drishadvati alone or combined waters of the Sarswati and the Drishadvati system, which entered Sind at this point, followed the western edge of Thar desert to the Rann of Cutch via Rahim-ki-Bazar and thence to the sea.

ix) Further changes took place during Upper Pleistocene i.e., 35000 years ago to 10,000 years ago. The Sarswati westered towards the Indus system, running parallel to the Sutlej for some distance and then making a NNE to SSW turn, towards the central and the northern Sind in four major and a number of minor shifts.

Chronologically these four major shifts took place in following stages:-

a) Sirsa to Pilibangan, Khangarh, Islamgarh, Dharmi Khu, Ghantiali, Shahgarh, Babuhri, Rajat and Mihar Mungra and further along the Eastern Nara to Koree Creek, touching western edge of Registan or Eastern desert.

b) Sirsa to Pilibangan, Anupgarh, Sarkhi, Darwar, Mithrau Mandra and further along the Eastern Nara to Koree Creek.

c) Same course up to the Mithrau as above but further down to Wahinda branch and from there along Eastern Nara to Koree Creek.

d) Same course up to Mithrau, but further to Sandhand Raini and from there to Eastern Nara and Koree Creek.

x) During the Early and the Middle Holocene, series of further changes took place in westering of the Sarswati. New courses were established from Anupgarh. These were as under:-

a) From Anupgarh to Fort Abbas and to the north of Darwar. From there towards Raini and from Raini along the Eastern Nara to Koree Creek.

- b) Anupgarh to Ahmedpur and from there to Raini.
- c) Anupgarh to Ahmepur and further to the Sutlej. While it entered the Sutlej, it was still flowing to Raini and the Eastern Nara.

During this period the Drishadvati seems to have westered from its course of the Chautang to Hisar, Nihar Suratgarh and Anupgarh. At Anupgarh, the Drishadvati had confluence with the Sarswati.

xi) The Sarswati had a number of tributary streams in Ambala district of the Punjab, Haryana State and Ganganagar district of Rajasthan, These tributaries covered a wide valley extending from the Siwaliks and area presently occupied by towns of Dadwali, Ganganagar, Jakhal, Tajewala, Jagadhar, Panipat, Thanesar and Patiala almost a catchment area of about 10,000 square miles, from which it drained its summer and winter monsoon waters, as well as Himalayan snows, making the Sarswati a perennial river.

xii) The Sutlej in its upper reaches contributed some water to the Sarswati, through some of the branches starting at the east and the west of Ludhiana and meeting it at Jakha, Hanumangarh and south of Dabawati. These were minor channels belonging to the Lower or the Middle Pleistocene period and did not supply any waters during the Late Pleistocene or the Holocene. However spill water during the same era seems to have been a regular occurrence even in the historical times

xiii) 2000 desert lakes in Nara and Khipro Talukas were formed by the combined waters of Sarswat-Drishadvati during the later part of the Upper Pleistocene (35000 years to 10,000 years ago), or even in early Holocene. These lakes are oriented towards NNE to SSW, along the Courses of the former streams.

xiv) Hakra or Sarswati had no major change its course south of Chotiari lake i.e., from this point to the sea via Umarkot, Naokot, Rahim-ki-Bazar, Sindhuri and Koree Creek, at least since Middle Pleistocene (500,000 years to 35,000 years ago). There was an

oscillation of about 5-10 miles from east to west over the entire period. The dunes in this belt are not as high as to the east and were formed during Upper Pleistocene (35000 – 10,000 years ago).

xv) Hakra or Saraswati entered Chotiari and Jamrao head at two different times but definitely during the Late Pleistocene (35000 to 10,000 years ago). During this period Drishadvati had joined the Hakra or Sarswati along Hissar, Nahar and Suratgarh alignment. Change to Anupgarh took place during the early Holocene (10,000 years ago to 6500 years ago).

xvi) The Hakra has westered above Chotiari in about 5 stages and as soon as it reached the present course of Raini, it started flowing almost north to south. The fifth stage was via Raini, the second stage between Sorah and Jamrao Head and fourth stage along the old course which is known as Wahind.

xvii) When the river Indus and the Sutlej were in spate, they spilled. The spill channels of the Sutlej originated on up and down stream sides of Bahawalpur town. The spill channels of the Indus started north-west of Ghaunspur (50 miles from boundary of Sindh and opposite to Mithan Kot) in Rahim Yar Khan district and also between Ubavro and Pano Akil. Their waters flowed into the Sarswati or Hakra or Eastern Nara, usually each year, even upto 13th Century A.D., and occasionally thereafter.

xviii) It is not certain from aerial photographs if the whole of the Sutlej during pre-Pleistocene period passed into the Sarswati or only a part of it. During Mid and Late Pleistocene the Sutlej was an independent river allowing only its spill waters to the Sarswati.

xix) The Indus Culture settlements exist along the old courses of the Sarswati from Fort Abbas to Derawar Fort, as investigated by Mughal. Stein investigated the following sites along Ghaggar and Hakra bed in Bikanir and eastern Bahawalpur; - Bhadrakali, Munda Fatehgarh, Kalibangam, Bhawar, Badopal, Rangimahal, Karnisar, Sardargarh, Sohankot, Suwaiki, Bijnagar, Ramsinghpur, Binjor, Walar,

Sandhnawala, Kudwala and Luriwala. All these sites are either chalcolithic (Indus Culture) or early historical going back to period of arrival of Aryans and none later than about 750 B.C. The earlier sites go back to 2300 B.C.

xx) Once Hakra or Sarswati became non-perennial, its contribution to the local economy was limited to pastoralism in Rajasthan and Cholistan, but in Sind below Jamrao-Head it supported some agriculture in summer, although not very regularly probably up to 1200 A.D, and occasionally after-wards, but this date cannot be stated with accuracy. There are however indications of occasional supply of water upto mid 18th Century.

xxi) Even as a non-perennial river, it could not have been utilized for navigation at the time of Greek conquest of Sindh, in 325 B.C., and after-wards. As a perennial river it did contribute to navigation and means of communication with the other Indus culture cities in Sind Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujrat.

xxii) Rann of Cutch was always connected with the sea. It is possible that when the Indus discharged into Gulf of Cutch, this Gulf may have been a fresh water lake, for a few months a year, but in the months of low discharge of the river Indus, it definitely was a sea water gulf.

xxiii)Pari Nagar, claimed to be a port, could not have been a river port, but a sea port on the Gulf of Cutch.

xxiv)Pari Nagar now is quite far off from the Rann of Cutch as the area in front of it was probably silted up by Luni during past 1000 – 1500 years.

xxv) Even in its hay days, before 2000 B.C. the Hakra could not have irrigated any land in the Thar desert, except probably some Sailabi cultivation along its bed in winter, but below Jamrao-Head it would have irrigated lands in the Indus plains on its right bank only.

xxvi) Vast stretches of alluvium lying under sands in Pat of Sukkur district, Nara and Khipro Taluka could have only been deposited by Sarswati-Drishadvati group during many a millenii.

xxvii) A study of ancient cultures gives indication that Archaeological sites of the Early (3500 B.C. – 2350 B.C) and the Mature Indus Culture (2350 B.C – 2000 B.C) existed along the ancient courses of the Sarswati, Ghaggar the main channel of the Sarswati on which flourished Kalibangan, and the Chautang. The Iron Age or Greyware sites (around 1000 B.C) also exist along the upper reaches of Ghaggar, but not along the lower the Sarswati (or Hakra proper) and not many exist along Chautang. This shows gradual drying up of the Sarswati-Drishadvati system. The supply of water declined very fast around 2000 B.C. destroying urban life, but yet some water was flowing seasonally to support the pastoral Rig-Vedic Aryans, connected with Grey-ware and thus some settlement dating to even Gupta period (3rd to 5th centuries) survived on its bank.

xxviii) During Holocene, spill waters from the Sutlej near Bahawalpur too reached the Sarswati or Hakra but during inundation season only and continued doing so during the historical period.

xxix) Along major courses of the Sarswati and the Drishadvati there is fresh ground water, specially along Dharmi Khu, Ghantial, Ghotarou and down to Shahgarh, where it is available at 30 – 40 meter depth. It appears that this ground water in the area moves under the old courses from Himalayas in a slow movement which takes centuries.

xxx) The Sarswati or Hakra was a river much smaller than the Sutlej, an immature and young river, still in the stage of cutting its own channel.

xxxi) The Sarswati or Hakra was an independent river, on which existed the Indus civilization cities like Kalibangan and others.

xxxii) The Indus never discharged into Hakra, but an Eastern and less important branch of it the Puran, entered Hakra below Naokot.

xxxiii) Hakra never passed through Alore gorge. An eastern branch of the Indus was flowing through Alore gorge upto end of 10th century A.D. Waters of the Indus did not pass through the Alore gorge to reach the Hakra.

xxxiv) The Sarswati or Hakra was a perennial river, water supply of which started reducing around 2000 B.C. and the Indus Civilization cities on its banks started declining. The death of the river was slow. From perennial it turned non-perennial. Below Bahawalpur the river still had some quantity of water in summer months, so dwindling settlements survived on its banks for a long time, even during the Vedic and historical times.

xxxv) The ancient settlements along the banks of Hakra or Sarswati go back to the Indus Culture times (2000 B.C., in its whole reach and 2350 – 1650 B.C., below Naokot), and some of these have been located very close to its mouth in the Rann of Cutch, i.e., near Rahim-ki-Bazar and Sindhuri.

xxxvi) After 1650 B.C. when it entered Sind it had sufficient supply of water to help in raising some short term crops in the Lower Sind and Cutch in summer, for some years, for many centuries. At least after 500 B.C., it became very irregular in summers and also its water reduced in terms of discharge and the number of days it flowed.

xxxvii) The Mehran is another name for the Indus. The Mehran never flowed through bed of Hakra, nor did a branch of it.

xxxviii) It had never flowed through the present desert area of Thar Parker district as many folklorists have thought and written, nor was Pari Nagar a port on it.

xxxix) It had always discharged into the Gulf of Cutch, then a sea creek and thence to the sea, via Koree Creek. Later on it discharged into the Rann of Cutch.

xl) The level of Rann of Cutch, a shallow sea gulf, gradually rose due to silt brought by the Indus, the Hakra, Cutch streams and the Luni. Tectonic movements may also have added to the process, but the contribution of the last factor could not have been substantial as compared to silting. Earthquakes cannot produce a uniformly flat land as that of the Rann of Cutch.

xli) An eastern branch of the Indus discharged in Hakra but below the line passing east to west from Tando Bago i.e, below the present town of Naokot in Thar Parker district. It continued doing so even up to 1758 A.D., when a major hydrological change in the course of the Indus at Hala, cut off this source of supply. The eastern branch of the Indus was called Puran or Sanghro and its different channels of different periods, are known as the Eastern Puran and the Western Puran.

xlii) This eastern branch of the Indus was never the main stream of the river Indus.

xliii) Archaeological sites in Jaisalmir district to the east of the Rains and the Wahinda can provide a clue to early settlements and civilizations in the region.

xliv) Important sites on Chitang or Chautang after it westward near Hisar to meet Sarswati at Anudagarh are Bahadra, Nohar and Rowatsar. Important archaeological sites along the main Sarswati channel are Hanumangarh, Pilibangan, Rangmahal, Sardargarh and Anupgarh in India, and Dhuldra, Mirgarh, Marot, Mangarh and Dingarh in Pakistan.

The Indian sites were examined by Stein (18 'above) and Bahawalpur sites by Dr. Mughal (30 above).

In Sind Vinjrot and Dribh Buthi are two sites on Raini and Nohoto and Gurho Bhiro, on the Eastern Nara or Puran. All these sites belong to the Indus civilization.

xlv) Sites along old courses leading to Khipro and Nara Taluka have not been examined for their antiquity either in India or Pakistan.

36. Folk – Lorists.

The collection of some two score volumes of Sindhi folklore by Dr. N.A. Baloch since mid – fifties for Sindhi Adabi Board, opened a way for a new pursuit into mediaeval poetry, thought, customs, beliefs and modes of life in the ancient Sind. Full of legendary stories, many people have accepted folk-lore for a sober history. They, in vain, have been searching fictitious monuments, settlements and tracks of legendary romantic figures and trying to fit these into history by distorting the latter. Below are a few versions of the folk-lorist and present writers comments.

1) The great folk-lorist Dr. Baloch many a times has been tempted to prove the impossible. Basing on Tarikh-i-Tahiri's legendary tyrant king of Alore, Dilu Rai's story, that this menaic in 962 A.D., wanted the merchant Saiful-Maluk to have latter's beautiful mistress Badi-uj-Jamal, to spend a night into his chambers, Saif-ul-Maluk asked for a grace period of seventy two hours. During the dark of the night, having engaged a fleet of paid labourers, he successfully diverted the river Indus, from the Alore gorge to a new bed and sailed way, depriving the city of Alore of water for ever and causing it to fall in ruins. Dr. Baloch, probably having been influenced by Raverty (10 above) and, like him believes, that the river Indus was previously passing through the Alore gap, to the Eastern Nara bed and Saiful-Maluk successfully diverted it during the dark of one night. The Kotri Barrage was built dry land and the river Indus was diverted through it. No less than 30 bulldozers of 150 horse power would have worked for nearly two years to perform the job. One horse power is equivalent to the power of 8 men working for 8 hours. One horse power working throughout a day and a night means work done by

24 men in one shift. In terms of man-day 30 bulldozers working for 2 years are equivalent to 3.0 crore men working for 8 hours of one night, provided that this labour can be obtained, passage for movement provided and tools for excavation and haulage made available. Like Raverty believing Saiful-Maluk to be genuine, Dr. Baloch has concluded that the Indus has in the past flowed into two groups of channels, the Eastern system or Hakra through the edge of the desert and the Western system through the central Sind. He has even produced such a map, which is based on Henry Cousens, (13 above), with a few modifications. There are other versions of Saiful-Maluk and Badi-uj-Jamal in Kashmir and the Punjab and one such version is also in Persian, but none of these versions mention Dalu Rai of Sind, or changing course of the river Indus. Many ruins in Sind are attributed to Dalu Raj. One mound of same name in the Punjab has been explored by the Archaeological Department of Pakistan. Dalu Raj and Saiful-Maluk both are legendary and so is this story. There is however, a bound not across Hakra or Nara, but across a spill channel of the Indus leading to Nara at Bihra 5 miles east of Alore, built by Ghullam Shah Kalora in seventeen sixties for spreading the water of the river Indus into adjoining lands. Folk-lorist somehow believe that this is the bound of Alore built by Saiful-Maluk and Raverty too believed so.

II) Of other folk-lore writers Ursani believed that a part of Western Thar bordering the old bed of the Dhoro puran was called Muhranno because it was adjoining Mehran or the Indus, or Hakra or Wahindo and this river irrigated the Mehranno area of Thar (Mehran never passed along this route). He also believed that at one time, Hakra a branch of the Indus starting in the Punjab passed east of Umarkot through Thar to the Rann of Cutch near the Nagar Parker Taluka and Pari Nagar was a port on the mouth of Hakra, in the first century A.D.

Raichand Harijan in Tarikhi Registan has maintained the same versions as of Ursani's. The former was encouraged to write on Registan by the latter and the draft copy of the book was also shown to Mr. Ursani. Raichand's book came out earlier than Ursani's, by about a year. It is not certain who influenced whom on

these folk-lore versions, which are totally incorrect. 'The Vol.II of Harijan's Registan has also repeated same versions.

III) In 1975 Dr. Abdul Majid Memon Sindhi combined some of the Western writings with folk-lore, to come to conclusions, which are only partly correct. Those mentioned below are considered incorrect as concluded by the present writer in para 35 above. Further comments are given in the brackets.

a) During Ramaya na period, elephants were supplied to Ajhudhia, from forests on the Hakra banks.

(Ramayana is a fiction, written around 400-200 B.C, when the Hakra was too dry to support thick forests for elephants to live in)

b) Hakra tribe living in Sind and Baluchistan were boatsman, who sailed their boats on the Hakra river.

(The Hakra tribe could not be boatmen on a dry stream. The name Hakra for the dry bed of this river is less than 1000 years old. Its original name known to Aryans was Sarswati, as mentioned in Vedas, Puranas and Mahabhart, all written between 1000 B.C. to 2000 B.C. Its name when Indus culture cities flourished on it, is not known. Thus there is no link between this tribe and name of the river).

c) The Kot-Dijji Culture which is different from the Indus Culture of Mohen-jo-Daro, established it-self at Kot-Dijji on the Hakra river.

(Kot-Dijji was situated on Indus and not on Hakra. Kot-Dijji culture categorised as the early Indus culture. All sites on the Sarswati are either the early or the Mature Indus culture and do not represent a different culture.)

d) The town of Sarsa was an important rice market, situated on the Ghaggar a tributary of Hakra.

(There is yet no evidence of rice cultivation on the Indus or its tributaries including the Sarswati or Hakra, during the Indus Culture times, when the Sarswati was active).

e) When Aryans came to the Sub-continent, the Hakra along with its tributaries was a mighty and perennial river. The Sarswati was another river between the Jamuna and the Sutlej and had confluence with the Hakra.

(When Aryans came to the Sub-continent, around 1000 B.C., the Hakra had already dwindled. The Sarswati was the Aryan's name for the stream now called the Hakra).

f) The Drishadvati also called Chautang, which got its waters from the Jamuna, had confluence with Ghaggar near Shor.

(The Drishadvati was an independent stream and was not fed Jamuna, but had its independent source from Siwaliks).

g) The Sultej was a tributary of Hakra and confluence was at Valhar near the Bahawalpur border.

(The Sutlej was never a tributary of the Sarswati at least during Holocene or past 10,000 Years.

h) Marwat was a fort on the Hakra, It belonged to Umar Soomro, who kidnapped an interned Marvi in the fort.

(Capital of Umar Soomro was Muhammad Tur and neither Umarkot nor Marwat. Marvi is legendary figure rather than historical. In Umar Soomro's times Hakra was dry).

i) A canal from the Hakra took off near Dribth Dhethari, a river port and on its way towards Jaisalmir, it bifurcated into two branches and one of them was called Ludano. Mumal's Kak (magic place) was located on Ludano, which dried up during the Soomra times, turning Kak into ruins.

(Contours of area show that land towards Jaisalmir is at the higher level and a canal can only flow from Jaisalmir towards Dribh Dhethari. Ludano is only an ancient course of Sarswati belonging to pre-Holocene or the Early Holocene period. Mumal and her Kak are legendary).

j) The Hakra passed through Alore gap and due to drying up to the Hakra, Alore got deserted and turned into ruins. During the Soomra period, there was a short supply of water in the Hakra and the ruler of Alore, raised an embankment across it for diverting water to his lands and orchards.

(It was branch of the Indus and not the Hakra, that flowed through the Alore gap. Diverting of water of the Hakra on up-stream side, by a powerful land owner was firmly believed by people until the British conquest of Sind, when British engineers on checking found no truth in this story.).

k) Below Alore, Hakra had many branches which finally discharged into the Indus. Kot-Dijji, Halakandi or Halla, Brahmanabad, Mansura, Pattala or Nerunkot or Hyderabad were situated on those branches of the Hakra.

(Level of the Hakra was too low for its waters to discharge into the Indus. All above towns existed on the Indus or on its branches. Patal may have been near or at the site of Brahmanabad i.e., Mansura and not near Hyderabad).

l) Dhoro branch or Eastern Nara took off from the Indus, near Alore and was flowing through bed of Hakra during the Soomra dynasty's rule.

(It was spill waters of the Indus, rather than a branch of Indus, which fed Hakra but only during the inundation season only. No branch of the Indus passed through the Alore gap, to feed the Hakra).

m) There are a number of ruins on Hakra namely: -

Daseranjo Daro, Bhorij-Daro Hamiro-jo Bhiro, Hasan Bagh-jo-Bhiro, Patan -jo-Bhiro, Tubhian-jo-Daro, Rani-jo- Bhiro, Mumual-jo-Bhiro Sonpari-ji-Bhiri, Amrano, Rahundian-ji-Bhiri, Gharho Biro, Lehoor-jo Bhiro, Lailan-ji-Mari, Kinji-ji-Mari or Bhiro, Kauru-ji-Mari, Noor Ali Shah-ji-Bhiri, Sami-jo-Dhir, Pachat-jo-Bhiro, Nihato Bhiro and Khanpur-ja-Dara all in Thar, belonging to the Soomra period, as the names show.

(These ruins belong to the Indus Culture period i.e., 2500 B.C.-1650 B.C. or earlier and not to Soomra period. The folk-lore names of Hamir, Rano, Mumal, Sonpari, Amrano, Lailan, Kinjh and Kauro, cannot put them to 12th or 13th centuries, nor can folk-lore stories prove that Hakra was flowing in 12-13th centuries. We should, however, be grateful to the author for listing 21 sites on Hakra, which can be explored by archaeologists).

Another folk-lorist Maamoor Yousifani has been very active in interpreting of folk-poetry and co-relating it with history and historical-geography. According to him:-

a) The Wahind or waheenday-jo-Darya, an eastern branch of the Hakra, passed through the Punjab, Bahawalpur and Jaisalmir and entered Sind in Thar parkar district. Pari Nagar was a sea port at its mouth on the Koree Cree at the place, where it entered the sea.

(Pari Nagar is 120 miles east of Koree Creek. The port on the Koree Creek mouth is Lakhpatt.)

b) The Wahind had two tributaries, the Sarswati and the Drishadvati, which dried up 3000 year ago, but Wahind kept flowing, and when it dried up, is not known.

(If its sources dried up, where from did its water come?).

c) Mehran used to flow through Thar. Its route was from Vijnot, Nara Taluka and eastern part of Khipro Taluka to Chore, where it entered the Hakra.

(Contours of the area show that Vijnrot is at a lower level than the desert area of Khipro and Nara Talukas, and therefore, no river can take this direction).

d) A branch of Hakra south of Umarkot made an easternly turn toward Chachro and from there to Pari Nagar.

(Contours cannot allow this to happen as Umarkot and Hakra are at a lower level than Chachro or its eastern parts).

e) A branch of Mehran on bifurcation near Naokot, passed near Diplo and etc.

(Contours cannot permit this to happen).

f) Another branch of Mehran called Meenni Nadai, passed through Mithi and on it flourished town of Kerti and Karli Nagar.

(This flow would also be against contours).

g). Raini was a third river of Thar desert which was flowing west of Hakra and after traversing desert parts of Khairpur and Sanghar districts, entered the Thar desert near Shadipali. From thence it entered Samaro Taluka and joined Hakra near Naokot. Important archaeological sites on this course are Dasrhan-jo-Bhiro, Bhor-jo-Shahar, Gharho Bhiro, Laila-jo-Bhiro and Patan or Lihore.

(Yousifani's interpretation of river courses knows no limitation of hydrology or contours. Rivers flow from valleys to hills and jump from one hill to another without touching the valleys in between. Rivers siphon across each other without difficulty and rivers fly across a hundred miles of the Rann of Cutch to the sea. Geography has no meaning in his interpretations).

The above are only four examples out of hundreds of versions of folk-lore, repeated in various forms. There is no historical and scientific truth in them as is concluded in paragraph 35 (i to xiv) above.

The map attached shows various courses and their probable ages based on remote sensing technology.

V). The other categorised as historians but holding similar views on genuinity of Saiful-Maluk are: Maulai Shedai, Bhirumal, Shamasuddin and Arshad. Essentially they have taken folk-lore as sober history.

VI). Folk-loreists have adhered to the poems of Momai Fakirs and also to predictions of Girohrhi to Hakra, as was done by Burton and Haig. Dr. Daudpotta, an authority on Girohri, considers these poems as forgery of early twentieth century and has even traced out the forger.

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35) The ages assigned are probable and not absolute. The exact age can be determined after Radio Carbon dating of pollens from the beds of ancient courses.

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Brief History and Antiquities of the Sukkur Region

Professor Hussain Khan

As a preamble to the subject, Sindh has been the home of very ancient civilizations. The land, consisting of the delta of the Indus river and lying at the head of the Arabian Sea, is separated by the Kirthar Range from the upland of Baluchistan and is further distinguished from the Karachi plain of the Indian coast by the sand dunes to the east¹. The historical marches of the Scythians and the Arabs have left traces of their own.

Looking into grassroots of SUKKUR, the important town of Upper Sindh, Major H.G. Raverty, the author of "*The Mehran of Sindh*", tells us that, "no such place as Sukkur is mentioned down to the time of Syed Mir Masoom alias Buskhare. It is not mentioned in the *Ain-I-Akbari*, although Bukkur, Rohri and Arore are. Henry Cousens, author of *The Antiquities of Sindh*, thinks Sukkur was originally Bukkur before the latter was separated from the fort by the river. He has no idea what the name of Sukkur means. Sir H.M. Elliot, in *The History of Sindh as told by its own Historians*, offers "embankment" as the meaning..."²

¹ Dr. Madad Ali Qadri, "Glimpses of Sindh Culture", A.H. Dani, proceedings of History Congress, 1975.

² Muhammad Siddique G. Memon, SUKKUR THEN AND NOW (O.U.P., 20001).

As regards the antiquities of the area under review, in the first instance the ancient city of ARORE and secondly SHIKARPUR, the important city of the late middle ages, need to be analyzed in order to bring SUKKUR into the limelight.

The pillars to the rule of Sindh wa Hind were ARORE and MULTAN.

They were not only capitals but were rich in treasury. ARORE was a contemporary of INDERPARISTA (DELHI), PATALIPUTRA (PATNA) and AYUDHIA (OUDH)¹

During the Ramayana period, Sindh was the only country which disintegrated into 4 parts at the time of invasion of Greeks, but it was united by the Rai Dynasty. It is, therefore, possible that Arore was the capital of this region during Ramayana period. After this period, this city was ruled and developed in the year 1100 B.C. by the sons of Raja Balaka of Syndhia who belonged to the Soorajvansi Rajputs. The Soorajvansi were also called Arorevansis because of their connection with Arore. This city was rich. In the hills surrounding the city there were gold and silver mines. After the decline of the Rajput rule, Sindh was occupied by Iranians from whom Alexander the Great took its control. It is confirmed by Lambrick that the capital of Moseqanis (Sindh) in the Greek period was Arore. Greeks have also praised the economic richness and arts of the city. The city was full of palaces and gardens and it was so peaceful that there were hardly any court of law sittings there. People were brave, fearless and great craftsman.

1. Prof. Zafar Hassan Sayyad, "LOST SETTLEMENT OF SIND: ARORE. FIRST MUSLIM CAPITAL IN THE INDO-PAK GRASSROOTS. Jamshoro Vol. X, 1986, 19 Sub-CONTENT"

The Arore region, which is historically referred to as Northern Sindh, was occupied by a tribe of Scythians around 140 B.C. At that time the region of Sindh was known as 'Abhetia' and

¹ Besides this discussion, the rest of the controversy on this issue does not seem sound.

its capital was Arore. Then under the Parthians, Arore was most probably the capital. In the first half of the 1st century A.D. under the Kushan Dynasty, northern Sindh and Southern portion of the present Punjab i.e. Bhawalpur were merged into a single province and the Viceroy of this province lived in Arore. After the Kushan Dynasty, the Guptas only received tax from the Raja of Arore.

In the year 6 A.D. Sindh was occupied by Iranians and from them the Rai Dynasty wrested power and ruled Sindh. After the Rai Dynasty, Sindh came under the rule of the Hindu Brahmin Dynasty and Arore flourished as its capital. The second ruler of this Dynasty, Raja Dahar, was defeated by the invading Arab forces under Muhammad Bin Qasim and the era of Muslim rule began and thus Arore became the first capital of the Muslims in the entire region of the sub-continent¹. When Umar Bin Qasim became Governor of Sindh, he built a new city Almansoora and shifted capital from Arore to the new city. This gave a big jolt to Arore from socio-economic point of view. But there was more in store for it. In the 10th century A.D. the region suffered a terrible earthquake that changed the course of the river from Arore to Bukkur. Arore was no longer a commercial center and people started moving out of the city which caused its decay. When Shah Beg Arghun razed the Arore Fort to use its bricks to consolidate the Bukkur Fort, it ultimately vanished.

Shikarpur

Among the cities and towns of Sindh, having extensive trade connections with Central Asia from 18th century onwards, ranks the name of Shikarpur which was founded by Daudpotas in 1617 A.D.

Describing the geography of the town, George Bease writes, "(Shikarpur) is the Headquarter of Upper Sind Collectorate and is the most important in commercial point of view, situated 25 miles due west of the Indus. According to Langley also, "Shikarpur is situated on the high road to Kandahar by the Bolan

¹. GRASSROOTS *ibid.*, 18-19

Pass, and this must always give it an important influence on the trade of the countries beyond.”¹

Upper Sindh at the period of the invasion of Hindustan and the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah formed part of the subah of Multan. On the dismemberment of the empire of Delhi, the portion named Moghulee comprising Sukkur, Bukkur and Shikarpur and its dependencies was annexed to the Durrani Kingdom by Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose capital was Kabul. It appears that perhaps the importance of the so-called Moghulee portion lured the Afghan ruler to subjugate it to his dominion because of commercial point of view.² This being so, Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi narrates³ that Ahmad Shah Abdali was

- i. to bring Shikarpur permanently under Afghanistan;
- ii. and to settle the bulk of Afghan tribes in Shikarpur and its neighborhood in order to reduce the numerical majority of its real inhabitants to minority.;
- iii. he appointed his own administrators in shikarpur.

Shikarpur Cum Sukkur

During the British period, the name of the Shikarpur district was appropriately changed to Sukkur, the headquarters of the district having long before in 1883 been transferred from the unhealthy town of Shikarpur to Sukkur.⁴ It had so happened that at the turn of the century in 1901, Shikarpur as district was divided into Sukkur and Larkana districts. However, as part of

¹ Dr. M. Yakub Mughal, *Studies on Sindh* (Jamshoro, 1988), Iqbal Ahmed Memon, “Shikarpur the Eighteenth Century Commercial Emporium of Asia”, 99, 100.

² *Ibid.*, 98

³ Pir Hussamudin Rashdi, *Proceedings of History Congress, Islamabad, 1975*, 330, 331, 338.

⁴ Qasim Ali Qasim, “The Explorations in Sukkur District” *Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXXVI October 1988 IV, 355.

Sukkur division, the District of Shikarpur was created in 1977. Talukas of Shikarpur and Gari Yasin were separated from Sukkur district to form the new district.¹

As regards the location of the district of Sukkur, it is situated on the left bank of the river Indus lying between 27° 5' 28° 26' North and 68° 15' 70° 14' East. Sukkur and Rohri are situated on the opposite bank of the river Indus, and Bukkur is an island in the Indus between Sukkur and Rohri. With this background, Sukkur is the dawn of ancient Arore and the Shikarpur of the late middle ages.

Ancient Sites

As regards the ancient sites of the area under review, the valley in between Kot-Diji and Moenjodaro was the center of human activities in Neolithic age and earlier which is evident from the presence of stone tools on Rohri Sukkur lime stone hills. In this regard, B and R Alchin says² that from these hills came nodules of fine flint and finished flint blades which were worked at vast factory sites. The complete

“Sukkur District formed part of the old Shikarpur District created by Sir Charles Napier in 1851 “Sukkur then And Now12”.

2 Studies on Sindh, Prof Qazi S. Ahmed and Prof. Zafar Hassan. “Evolution of Administrative Boundaries in Sindh (1843-19770)”, 162 167.

technique was evolved which Kot Dijian and Mohejo-daro also continued and manufactured chart blades and other stone implements.

In order to ascertain the antiquity which followed the Stone Age in the Sukkur region, the explorations were undertaken to identify and map the sites located on the dry bed of the Raini River. The Raini described as Hakara Nara on the whole deserves its titles of “Nullah” for it is a deep water course, not more than

¹ Ibid., 356

² Ibid., 357

forty yards wide in places, with steep banks some fifteen or twenty feet high.

Its general direction confirms curiously to that of the Indus, at a distance varying between twenty and seventy miles to the eastward. The area has already been explored by H.T Lambrick² and out of the thirty-five sites explored during 1983.

Forts and Cultural Sites in the Sukkur Region

From Rohri to Pani Aqil, Known for a strategic point to check the inroads of invaders, who wanted to have onslaughts on this vantage ground before advancing to Kot Diji Fort and then to the capital of the Talpur Mirs at Hyderabad. The Mirs of Sindh (1783 to 1843) built a strong fort for the deployment of the garrison to offer resistance to the hostile aggressors and to have effective control of the area.

The Fort Miran-jo-kot lying in between 27° 50' 25" North 69° 6' East was in ruined condition but the sixteen bastions were narrating the grandeur of the fort which once it possessed with its dimensions 600 x 500 feet and the thickness of the walls up to 5 ft. The fort built with burnt bricks defy the ravages of time and its walls still resist the vagaries of Nature and one of them is intact with over 17' in height.¹

Khair Garh Kot (27° 54' 40" North 70° 1' East)

The Khair Garh Kot built by the Mirs of Sindh on the border of former state of Bahawalpur shows its strategic importance. This was the border fort erected to keep the borders safe from any aggression. The fort is in ruined condition with only bastion of the northwest corner intact. The bastions built on the exterior of the fortification wall were majestic. The sun-dried bricks have been employed which have the capacity to resist the thrust of the sling balls thrown by catapult better than any other material due to their shock absorbing splinters. The fort was measured 200 x 213 with some of the walls still exist having mud bricks.²

¹ Ibid.,357

² Ibid.,359

Suchart Kot (27° 43' 30 North 69° 51' 10 East)

Another fort built with packed clay by the Mirs of Sindh was found near the Gabar post of Pakistan Ranger at Suchart. It was almost a square shape with 90' each side with bastions on the four corners. The thickness of the walls measured 3' with existing height of wall little over 8'.¹

Mathelo

At Nagar Matelo, or Mathila, some six or seven southeast of Ghotki railway station, are the ruins of an ancient fort. The fort first appears in the historical record in AH 440 (AD 1047), when it was captured by Abul Hassan the general of Sultan Muiddin. It continued to be a place of importance for some considerable time (tradition says 900 years). It had its own governor under the Emperor Akbar.

The bricks, beads and other ornaments, and fragments of stone carving are found here. There are pottery balls found here which were discharged by the ancient war engine known as manjaniks, or balistas.

All that remains today of the fort is a deserted mound with a commemorative stone set up by Muhammad Siddique G. Memon.²

Cultural Sites

Site of Saidpur is located just opposite to the Pak-Saudi fertilizer and the Kachcha path from the National Highway leads upto the mound. The site is subject to heavy encroachments with the erection of hutments and the modern graves, which have occupied the major area leaving little room for the field investigations. But the ancient buried walls still peep showing the existence of some flourishing city in the medieval period.

Tham (27° 54' North 69° 52" East)

¹ Ibid., 357

² Sukkur Then And Now. 209/210.

A site practically littered with sherds is situated 10.5 Kilometer from Goth Ahmad Khan Meher close to the Tham Check post of Pakistan Rangers. The site measures 750 x 611 with present height of 16'.

The Surface collection comprised cylindrical beads, potsherds of painted designs and a few pieces of corroded and rusted iron. Since iron was introduced in the plains of the Punjab and Sindh around 600 B.C., the site can therefore, be dated back to the early historic period.

Madagarh (27° 48' 30" North 69° 47' 30" East)

The site, which revealed chert flake and potsherds similar to that of mature Harappa sites shows the extension of the Indus Valley Culture even upto the Great Desert of Rann of Kutch (Cutch). The site is 213' from E to W and 202' from the road of the Raini River. Some spadework is essential to ascertain the potentialities of the site.

Khenjoo Daro (27° 57, 30" North 69° 53' East)

It was simply a mound without any cultural material in the shape of pottery and is situated on the eastern side of Khenjoo. The aboriginal tribe of Sindh who inhabited the area has constructed their "GOPAS" with all the comforts of life which one can expect in the vast desert. It is a huge site measuring 815' x 657' with a height of 37'. The local people relate the stories of finding some sherds and beads after the rains.

Dribh Dethri (27° 50' 45" North, 69° 34' East)

The Ded tribe of Hindus have populated a village Tharn-jogoth on its southern fringes. The enormous site covering an area 2115' x 1325' with a height of 19' is strewn over with thousands of potsherds depicting the regimentation of life in the ancient past.

Qasim Ali Qasim's statement of strategic forts as well as one fort mentioned in the Sukkur Then And Now and a few important cultural sites out of several mounds having little

visible signs of culture, are from "THE EXPLORATIONS IN SUKKUR DISTRICT"

Besides the aforesaid description, the remaining significant details of the antiquity of the area under review are as follow:

The Minaret of Mir Masoom

"The most conspicuous object of antiquarian interest in Sukkur is the minaret of Syed Nizamuddin Muhammad Masoom, the celebrated author of *Tarikh-i-Masoomi*. He was born on Monday, 7th Ramzan, AD 1538. His father, Syed Safai Bin Syed Murtaza, belonged to a family of Syeds of Tirmiz who had settled in Kandhar. Mir Muhammad Masoom was appointed Nawab of Sukkur by Emperor Akbar and was given large jagir in the surrounding countryside. The minaret is said to have been commenced by Mir Masoom in AH 1003 (AD 1594) and completed by his son, Mir Buzurg Munawar, in AH 1027 (1618). It is 84 feet in circumference at the base and about 100 feet high. Between Mir Masoom's grave and the base of the minaret is a domed, octagonal building called Faiz Mahal apparently intended as a rest house built in AH 1004. It is 17 feet wide and 50 feet high. Near the minaret, the tombs of the holy man, his father, family and disciples lie under canopies, resting on fantastic stone pillars covered with Persian writings.²

Bukkur

Named Bakr (Dawn) by the pious Syed Muhammad Maki in the seventh century of Hijra, this island is a limestone rock, oval in shape, 800 yards long by 300 wide, and about twenty-five feet in height. Bukkur must have been fortified and garrisoned at a very early date, because Sheikh Abu Taurab, the Arab whose tomb near Gajo in taluka u Mirpur Sakro bears the date AH 171 (AD 787) is reported to have distinguished himself by taking it.

¹ Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Oct. 1988 355-365.

² Sukkur then and now 189.

The fort has figured prominently in the history of Sindh. It had been held by Mughal emperors, Kalhoras, Afghans, and Talpurs; in 1839, the Amirs of Khairpur handed it over to the British.

The British converted the governor's place on the east wall into a powder magazine, and the entire area is covered with mounds, fifteen to twenty feet high, of bricks, debris from buildings, and rubbish that has accumulated over the ages.¹

Hakara: A Description of the Ancient Site

Situated some two and half miles south-east of Rohri, Hakara lies east of the Indus and must once have been a place of some importance. It would appear to have been a Harappan settlement. Captain Kirby, who visited the spot in 1855, claimed that, while excavating the Nara Canal, the workers occasionally came upon detached masses of brickwork, and at a depth of about ten feet, the burnt-brick foundations of a very large number of houses were exposed over a distance of some five hundred yards. One large well, over four feet in breadth, was excavated to a depth of twelve feet. A stone lined wall was found as well as a number of articles made of brick-clay, e.g. drinking cups, a khuja (flagon), some water pots, a large number of children's toys, and some stone weights. It appears that the town was built on the extremity of a rocky hill, and that it had gradually been covered by mud held in suspension by the floodwaters of the Indus, which even now flow over the spot. Hakara was the name of the Lost River and it is attached to a town which was perhaps lost at about the same time.²An Inscribed Stone of Mir Muhammad Masoom This has been translated by Dr. Yazadani as:

¹ Ibid., 197-198

² Sukkur Then and Now, 205-206

March like (experienced) traveller, place thy foot in the wideness (i.e. the world) like (courageous) men. Written by order of the refuge of Sayyed Mir Muhammad Masoom AH 1008 (AD 1599).

The inscription is on the dressed portion of a large block of yellow sandstone. The inscription measures thirty-one and a half inches by nine and a quarter inches; the stone itself measures roughly fifty by thirty inches. The inscription was found under the shade of a tree in the dried-up bed of the River Indus. The inscribed stone dated AH 1002 was lying at a short distance from the stone dated AH 1008. The first one has been lost and the second stone has, therefore, been removed from its site and lodged in Moenjodaro Museum.²

The Ruined Site of Vinjrot

Vinjrot is now totally deserted. It is situated in un-surveyed area 106, covering 122 acres of deh Vinjrot in taluka Ubauro. The area is covered with heaps of debris. Little is known of its history, but enough has been found in the ruins to show that it was once an important town. The artifacts, including coins, beads and pottery, are similar to those found among the ruins of Brahmanabad.³

Sadh Bela

Downstream of the island of Bukkur, and separated from it by a short stretch of river, is the pretty little island of Sat, or Sadh, Bela. On it is a Hindu religious establishment founded in AD 1823 by Swami Bakhandi Maharaj Udasi; the gaily-painted buildings are, however, more or less modern. The place is held in high esteem by Hindus throughout Sindh and even in India.⁴

² Ibid, 204-205

³ Sukkar Then and Now, 210.

⁴ Ibid., 197

Landsdowne Bridge

An ingeniously designed railway bridge spanning the River Indus connects Rohri with Sukkur. Completed on 27 March 1889, it is considered a great feat of engineering. It is a suspension bridge, i.e. one with no pillars, weighing 30,300 tons. The bridge spans 200 feet in the center, and extends 310 feet on each bank, a total length of 820 feet. The proposal to construct the bridge was drafted between 1872 and 1874, and the material began reaching the site in 1879. Expenditure on the bridge was estimated at about Rs. 3,375,000. The contract for building the bridge was awarded to the Westwood and Bailey Company of England, and Mr. F.A. Robertson was the chief engineer. The opening ceremony was performed by Lord Ray of the Government of Bombay and was attended by dignitaries from all over Sindh. The bridge was named after Lord Landsowne, the Governor-General.

An interesting incident took place at the time of the opening ceremonies: as the bridge was without pillars, no driver could muster up enough courage to take a train across. A Habshi driver (Habshis are the descendents of African slaves imported into Sindh via Muscat) who was in jail offered his services and he opened the route with a pilot train. He received many awards.

After the construction of the Ayub Bridge, train traffic was diverted from the Landsdowne, which has subsequently been converted into road bridge.¹

The Study of domes and mosques of the ancient and medieval times need a separate portion to be dealt with. The present essay briefly covers the description of the antiquities of the Sukkur region through ages.

¹ Ibid., 208

Bakhar Island in Historic Perspective

Shaikh Khurshid Hasan

In the mid – stream of river Indus between Rohri and Sukkur, there are some islands. They are known as Bakhar, Sath Bela and Din Bela. There is also a compact island upstream above Bakhar and opposite Rohri known as Khawja Khizr. It contains the shrine of a legendary saint, Znda Pir.

The biggest of all the islands is Bakhar. It is oval in shape, 800 yards from east to west, about 300 yards wide and 25 feet high. The northern fork of the river separating it from Sukkur is between 100-200 yards at different points while the Rohri fork is between 300-400 yards. The total width of the river between Sukkur and Rohri including the island of Bakhar being 800-900 yards.¹

There is a Fort in Bakhar island from time immemorial. The entire island falls within the fort as the fortification wall runs on the outer periphery of the island touching the Indus water all around. The fortification wall is still extant at some places. A number of bastions of semi-circular and elliptical shape are also visible. Some gates of different sizes are also there. These have been blocked with

¹ former Director General of Archeology, Govt: of Pakistan.

the rubble stones. The railway line divides the island into two parts. The island / fort continued to change hands.

The island remained under the occupation of Sultans of Delhi. Nasiruddin Qabacha, when he was ousted from Uchh by Altatmash took refuge in Bakhar fort in 1228 A.D. Nizam-ul-Muluk, a Vazier of Altatmash laid a siege of Bakhar Fort. Qabacha committed suicide by jumping into the river Indus. After the demise of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq at Sonda near Thatta on 20th March, 1351 A.D., Firoz Tughlaq was crowned as the new Emperor. On his return journey to Delhi, the Emperor visited on the way, besides others, the khanqah of Bakhar. Again in 1365 A.D. when the Emperor came to Sind to take punitive action against the Summa rulers, Firoz Tughlaq visited Bakhar and placed the fleet of 1000 boats under the charge of Shams Afif. Alauddin Jam Juna bin Banhbinah, (1352-53 & 1366-67 A.D.) a Summa ruler occupied Bakhar, but it was recaptured by the forces of Sultan Alauddin. From the subsequent historical accounts, it appears that Summas again gained control over Bakhar. Jam Nizamuddin alias Nindo (1461-1508 A.D.) remained in Bakhar, for about a year, after his succession, to subdue the rebellious activities.

Bakhar, however, came into prominence when Arghuns gained ascendancy over Sind in 1520 A. D. According to Tarikh-e-Masumi, Shah Beg was very much pleased to see the fort. He inspected the quarters and houses of the town and allotted these to the nobles and soldiers. He surveyed the fort and divided it among the nobles, so that they could build it gradually. The fortress of Alor, which was formally the seat of Govt: was demolished and its baked bricks were carried to Bakhar. Some of the dwellings of the Turks and the Summas which stood around Bakhar were pulled down and the materials were utilitied in the construction of the Fort. During the time when the foundation of the fort was being laid down, Shah Beg said to his son Mirza Shah Hasan, "These two hills, which are situated on the southern side of the fort, are dangerous head strikes against this fort. We should first of all give our attention to these hillocks and then proceed to the construction of the fort". But after pondering for sometime, he said: "Fist of all the construction of the

Fort is more important. Since a large river flows round it, we should not be so much frightened about these two hillocks. For that reason no shrewd king would turn his attention to attack this small fortress and in case of defeat the king and the nobles would not be able to make good their escape. The building of the fort was completed in a very short time. Shah Beg decided to reside in the citadel himself alongwith Mirza Shah Hasan and gave some quarters to some of the nobles.

Earlier when Shah Beg had arrived in the outskirts of Bakhar, he was received by Mir Fazal and his son Sultan Mahmud Khan. They had brought with them some 47 Chiefs of the Darejas. Sultan Mahmud Khan narrated the conduct of the Darejas to Shah Beg, who turned to Qazi Qazin. The Qazi said "The lands of this country have become flooded with water, where weeds grow up in abundance and (therefore) the hoe must always be kept in hand". On hearing this advice, Shah Beg instantly gave orders for the execution of those men. Sultan Mahmud Khan returned to the town immediately and beheading those people, the same night, threw their bodies from the tower, which subsequently came to be known as the "Bloody Tower". The next morning Sultan Mahmud Khan took the Syeds into the presence of Shah Beg and introduced them to him making some complimentary remarks about the loyalty and faithfulness of the Syeds. Shah Beg showed great favours and honour to them and made many inquiries about their welfare. When, the meeting was over, Shah Beg summoned Sultan Mahmud Khan in private and inquired about the conduct of the Syeds. Sultan Mahmud Khan repeated what he had said before and in the end said "Although these people are loyal, yet the presence of all these people of the same ethnic group inside the Fort is not in the interest of the State". Shah Beg remarked with a smile "Your have put forward their case in an excellent manner". He eventually sent a message to the Syeds asking them that since the Mughals had arrived with their families, they should all move to two or three large houses. The Syeds finding it unsafe to remain inside the fort asked for permission to quit. Their request was accepted and they were given some quarters in the village of Rohri.

Bakhar also figured during the visit of the deposed Mughal Emperor Humayun in Sind sometime in January 1541 A.D. He wanted to occupy Bakhar, but could not do so due to the situation being diplomatically handled by Sultan Mahmud Khan. Earlier Sultan Mahmud Khan had re-enforced the Bakhar Fort. In his time, the Bakhar Fort had got double walls, the outer enveloping wall with four gates and seventy bastions. At that time the circumference of the Fort was 1875 yards. Emperor Akbar had constituted Bakhar as a separate Sarkar and taken it away from Tarkhans. It was one of the 17 mahals of the Birum-i- Panjnad area of the Sarkar of Multan in the province of Multan. Bakhar was held as jagir by such eminent personalities as Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Asaf Khan, Empress Nur Jehan etc. When the war of succession took place between the sons of Emperor Shah Jehan, Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent, like his great grand father Emperor Humayun, sought shelter in 1656 AD in Sind. He besieged Bakhar Fort, but without any result. He had hoped that the native country of his mystical teacher Mian Meer would be more hospitable to him, but it was his wishful thinking. After the down fall of the Mughals, Bakhar was passed on to Kalhoras and subsequently to Talpurs. On the British occupation of Sind, they took over the island from the Talpur Mirs of Khairpur as per treaty of 24th December, 1838 AD and named it as 'Victoria. But the new name could not gain popularity. The island is still known as Bakhar.

It is not quite certain as to when the place was named as Bakhar. According to Tuhfat al-Kiram the town did not exist in the time of Hindu Raj nor we hear its name in the early Muslim period. In Fathnama-I-Sindh, there is a reference to a place 'Baghrur Fort'. When Muhammad bin Qasim completed his strategic campaigns upto the northern most limits, he turned southward (to the side of Jacobabad – Shikarpur – Sukkur) till he reached the banks of the Indus opposite to the Baghrur fort. The Fort stood on the other side of the river and belonged to Raja Dahar. It was under the direct administrative control of the capital city of Aror. According to Dr. Baloch, the ancient name of 'Baghrur Fort' has continued in that of the Bakhar Fort which is at present situated in the mid river island. Just as the capital city or 'Arur' situated on the Rud (the main Indus

or its distributory) was named as 'City on the Rud' (Persian rud= river; al-rud, Arrur; Sindhi, Aror, Alor) during the political ascendancy of the Sassanid Persia (circa 5th century A.D), so also the other town founded on the river was named 'Baghrur (Per. Bagh+rud=the river gift of the god 'Bagh'). It seems that the northern Deltic Apex was then higher up, to the north-east of Rohri-Sukkur from where a smaller channel took off on the left hand side and passed by (on the north-west) Aror, while the main trunk-river flowed on the north-west of Baghrur (Bakhar) Fort in between the Bakhar island and the hilly formation in northern sector of the present Sukkur city (which area was the main bed of the Indus). Thus, the twin cities of Arur and Baghrur were not separated by the main course of the Indus (which then intervened between Muhammad Bin Qasim's camp on its northern bank and the Baghrur Fort on its southern bank) and because of the main river intervening, Muhammad bin Qasim could not conquer the Baghrur Fort.

According to Tarikh-e-Lubb- Sind the origin of Bakhar Fort dates back to Arab period. As per its version, the date of construction of the fort can be derived from 'Bala Hisar'. It comes to 333 A.H/944-45 A.D; There is a reference in some historical accounts that during the reign of Caliph Harun-ur-Rashid, the fort was reconstructed and renamed as Farishta. On the contrary, Mirza Qaleech Beg has stated that Farishta was founded by Shaikh Abu Turab in 171 A.H/787 A.D. All these assertions are not backed by contemporary historical evidence. Tahfatul Kiram's version is that the place was named as Bakhar instead of Farishta by Syed Muhammad Makki who came from Yemen to Sind in 644 A.H./1246-47 A.D. There is a popular tradition that Syed Muhammad Makki, while arriving at this place expressed his feeling by saying

(God has dawned our day in a blessed place). The place came to be known as Bakra or Baqar and from it the name changed to Bakhar.

In the mediaeval period, we hear the name of Bakhar round about the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. The place may have

existed prior to this time of no significant importance. Had its position commanded the passage of the Indus as it has subsequently continued to do so, it would have certainly figured in the campaign of Sultan Muhammad Sam Ghorī. The Sultan after capturing Multan invaded Gujrat by way of Uchh in 1177- 8 A.D. and five years later marched from Multan to Daibul and annexed the whole province. Bakhar is not mentioned in the accounts of these operations. Presumably, it did not had the strategic importance at that time. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that according to Tarikh-e-Masumi, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna after having captured Multan and Uchh established his H.Qs at Multan. From there, he sent his Minister Abd-al-Razzak who entered Sind in 417 A.H/1026 A.D and conquered the country by subduing Bakhar, Swistan and Thatta .The version of Tarikh-e-Masumi appears to be a concoction disapproved by historical evidence. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna had no Minister by the name of Abd al-Razzak. The Minister of Khawja Ahmad Hasan Mayamndi had a son by the name of Abd al-Razzak, who was appointed as a Governor of Seistan long afterwards during the reign of Maudud; a grand son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

It is also controversial as to when the Bakhar island came into being. Some scholars believe that the island was created in 341 A.H/952-953 A.D. This assumption is based on the date given in an inscription in the Zinda Pir shrine. According to Eastwick, this inscription commemorated a great change in the course of the river Indus from Alor to the Rohri side. But this date has been discarded by the scholars. Yazdani's view is that the inscription could not have been produced till long after the date which it records, since Nastaliq character and custom of composing chronograms in Persian did not come into vogue until several centuries after that period. The purpose of these verses is also ambiguous and the idea that it refers to the date when the river Indus adopted this course, though attractive, must be discarded. There are also some legendary stories as given by Eastwick and Cousens about the change of the course of river Indus, but they do not stand the test of the historical facts.

According to Lambrick, it is likely that a branch at least of the Indus had begun to flow through the Bakhar gap at sometime in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D if not earlier). Raverty's theory is that the main stream of the Indus river continued for at least another century and a half in the former bed in all probability to the north of present Sukkur. He also contends that down to the Year 1228 A.D. at least Bakhar had not been encircled by the branch first mentioned, but was a peninsula from the right bank the river running past its southern side. This view is based on an event occurred in this year at Bakhar when the forces of Nasiruddin Qabacha were besieged in the fort by Nizma-al-Mulk. It is also stated in the Jam-i-ul-Hakayat that Nasiruddin Qabacha was driven from the outer fortification into the inner citadel from which it can probably be inferred that the former included the modern Sukkur. In the description of this event in the Tajul-Masir also, there is nothing to suggest that Bakhar was an island, though it is styled 'the eye of the forts and face-of the kingdom of Hind.....which had not been taken by any Khusru'. Similarly we would not infer from the accounts in the Tabqat-i-Nasri, a reliable work that Bakhar was an island at that time.

On the other hand, Juwaini in his 'Jahan Kusha' states clearly that Qabacha fled to 'Akar and Bakar', two forts on an island and this is confirmed by the accounts in Jami-ul-Tawarikh of Rashid-ud-din. Elliot in his note on the passage remarks that the Tarikh-i-Alfi says plainly 'He (Qabacha) went towards the island of Bakhar. The Jahan Kusha was written about the year 650 A.H/1252 A.D., so the positive evidence that Bakhar was an island at the time of Qubacha's downfall may on the whole be held to outweigh the negative evidence of the other histories in which the fact is not mentioned. At least the process of insulating Bakhar was complete before 1333 A.D. when the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta passed this way. He describes Bakhar a handsome city through which ran a channel deriving from the Sindh river. In the middle of this channel was a splendid hospice, where travellers were entertained. It was built by Kashlu Khan, the local Governor. M.H. Panhwar and Ansar Zahid have given the date of shifting of river Indus, which had resulted in the creation of Bakhar island, as 1100-12 A.D. and 1030-1100 A.D. respectively. Some

believe that due to seismic activity in the region, the Bakhar island came into being.

Bakhar possessed the far famed Charbag, which attracted Emperors and nobles. Its two gardens Nuzur Gah and Guzar Gah were quite well known. Which were laid out by Sultan Mahmud Khan. According to the author of Bahr Al Asrar Fi Ma 'Rifat 11-Akhyar, who undertook extensive travels from Kabul to Dacca in the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan, Bakhar produced lot of good quality dates, grapes, pomegranates, melons and mangoes. The melons of Bakhar rivalled those of Kabul. Besides, Bakhar was noted for its butter and ghee, which was supplied in round flasks of hide weighing as much as 165 to 320 pounds. Bakhar, besides its political importance, also served as a centre of commercial activities in Upper Sindh. It was a place for the procurement of ghee, indigo, textiles etc. which found a ready market abroad. Carvans were sent to Jaisalmeer and Qandhar.

Bakhar was a centre of great learning. During the Arghun Period, the Purani, Sadat, the family of Qazi Qazin and Sain Ditta of Swistan were noted for their scholarship. In the reign of Sultan Mahmud Khan, the number of Ulemas was quite considerable. Those included were Shah Qutub-ud-din Harvi, Mir Syed Safai, Qazi Daud, Mir Mahmud Purani, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Diwan etc. Mir Syed Safai also served as Shaikh-ul-Islam of Bakhar. He was the father of Mir Muhammad Masum, the well known Commander Diplomat, Poet and Calligrapher during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar. He was born at Bakhar on 7th Ramzan 944 A.H/7th February, 1538. Sometime in 1599 A.D., Mir Masum returned to Bakhar where he erected a domed cistern for the benefit of the inhabitants. The Background for the construction of the cistern is that at some distance from the Fort there used to be a small hill in the middle of the river. During the summer, when the water subdued, it became visible whereas in the flood season it disappeared. Consequently, the boats coming down stream ran into it, were ship-wrecked and sunk. Mir Masum caused a ship laden with stones to be sunk at that place and upon it constructed a green dome naming it Sitasar, which was

developed into a beautiful recreation spot. Plenty of people used to go there for a walk and enjoyment. In front of this dome, in the direction of Sukkur, Mir Masum also built a ship like mosque on the top of a hill on the bank of the river Indus. This was also a pleasant spot. With the passage of time, all these edifices, built by Mir Masum, have disappeared.

This was all about Bakhar. With a little bit care and efforts, the pristine glory of the Bakhar island can be restored and it can become a centre of great tourist attraction.

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Mirak 'Abd Al-Baqi of Sukkur

A Noted Scion of Sadat-i-Purani (Musawi)

Dr. Ansar Zahid Khan

History of Sindh as the first cradle of Islam has always fascinated the Muslims of South Asia. To us the river Sindhi and its lands, and the deeds of Muhammad b. Qasim were / are parts of our glorious historical heritage.

Therefore, when I took up historical research and teaching of history as my career, interest in the history of Sindh was but natural. Thanks to Allah Almighty, I was able to contribute something to it.

Work in this field brought me closer to the late Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi Sahib who was always ready to help in intellectual fields. He allowed me to use his excellent library, procured manuscripts for me and, when I completed my Ph.D. dissertation, he hosted a dinner to introduce me to the literati of the city. Even during his fatal illness our contact continued. During his last days he handed over to me the precious photocopy of the long lost Nusrat Namah-i-Tarkhan and asked me to edit and annotate it. The blurred copy took more than a decade to be finalised. Thanks God, it is now under print.

When the news of its publication spread, it attracted the attention of the relations of Mirak Muhammad Purani the author of Nusrat namely residing in Sukkur and some in Thatta as Musawi Sayyids.

Through the courtesy of Sayyid Abdul Hassan Musawi, I was able to secure photostate copies of their family shajrah. The present younger step-brother of Mirak Muhammad s/o Mir Bayazid Purani s/o Sayyid Abu Sa'id Jalal al-Din Purani in the light of the original sources on the Mughal period of the history of Sindh and the Nasab namah or Shajrah Sadat-i-Purani compiled by Mir Murtada Purani (d. 1162 / 1748).

Historical Information

The Nasab namah/Shajrah Sadat-i-Purani give details about Mirak Bayazid's family particularly the offsprings of Mirak 'Abd al-Baqi'. The designation Purani is explained on folios 26-30. It tells us for the first time that Shaykh Jalal al-Din Abu Sa'id married Khanzadah Begum d/o Sayyid 'Inayat and had four sons and three daughters (ff. 26-30). The sons were Mirak Bayazid, Mir Nur al-Din, Sayyid Ahmad Khushnawis and Sayyid Mahmud, better known as Shaykh Mirak Purani of Thatta. The daughters were married to Jalal al-Din Yusuf Ghuryani (Khwajah Kalan), Khwajah Abu'l Fath Jami and Amir Sayyid 'Ali Nishapuri. The Shajrah, also provides details about the descendants of Mirak Bayazid but gives no details about his personal life or accomplishments as a poet and khushnawis except some chronograms about his death (folios 154-55). He had two wives. From the first, a Sabzwari Sayyid lady, he had three sons and three daughters (folio 88). The eldest son was Shaykh Mir Muhammad (the author of the Nusrat namah-i-Tarkhan) who died issueless at Thatta. If one is to believe the Shajrah traditions he died at the age of 70 years. However, there is some confusion about the year of his death. In the photocopy of the Shajrah the year of his death is given as 1000H/1591 A.D. In 931 H. he had his audience with Shah Hasan Arghun and recorded events upto 968H/1560 in the

Nusrat namah-i-Tarkhan. The Tuhfat al-Kiram mentions his death in 970/1562 while Ma'sumi gives 990/1582 as the year of his death. The traditions recorded in the District Gazetteer of Sukkur mentions Bayazid's arrival there as 928 H. His third son from the same lady, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab died as per the Shajrah at the age of sixty in 973/1565 which means that he was born in 913/1505., the year when Shaybani captured Herat and drove out. If Shaykh Muhammad Mirak died in 1000 H., it means that he lived in Sindh for seventy years. But if his age was seventy years, his year of death could be 970 H. as mentioned by Qani 'or 972 H. as given in the Shajrah. Keeping in mind the fact that the Nusrat namah refers to both 'Isa Tarkhan I and Salih Tarkhan as living and records events upto 968 H., then the year of his death as given by Qani ' appears more probable. Moreover, recent recovery of the few original pages of the Shajrah refers to 972/1564 as the year of this death. The Nasab namah / Shajrah also does not refer to his magnum opus, the Nusrat namah-I-Tarkhan.

Mirak Bayazid's second son, Mir 'Abd Allah died issueless at Herat. As there is no reference to his death by the hands of the Uzbegs it means that he died earlier than 913 H. or died a natural death.

The youngest of the three brothers was Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab who came with Mir Allah Dost on an embassy from Kamran Mirza on 23 Rajab 950 H. and died in 973 H. in the reign of Akbar at the age of sixty years. Reference to him and the chronograms recording his death do not refer to his assassination as referred to by Tahiri (pp. 133-34). Reference to 23 Rajab as the date of his arrival could have been based only on written records of the family. He had three wives and from each of them had a son each, 'Abd al-Ghafur, 'Abd al-Ghaffar, and Muhammad Hashim. The last named was drowned but the other two also had no issues. He also had two daughters and one of them had a son, Khwajah Mir.

The second wife of Mirak Bayazid was Khanzadah Begum d/o Mirza Khawind, maternal great grandson of Khwajah Ahrar. She died at the age of seventy five at Sukkur in 981 H. (folio 157). From her

was born Mirak 'Abd al-Baqi in 942 H. (Folio 28, 157) who died in 1019 H. and was buried at Sukkur. His date of birth effectively debunks the myth of his coming in 928 H. and being nominated as governor of Bhakkur (Bakkhur) by his father as mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Sukkur.

Three daughters were also born to Khanzadah Begum, viz. Zaynab Sultan, Khurram Sultan and Khadijah Begum alias Shaykh Begum. The last named was married and settled in Lahore.

Mirak 'Abd al-Baqi married Sayyid Begum, the youngest daughter of Sayyid Qalandar Sabzwari of Sukkur and from her had a son, Mir 'Abd Allah (d. 978 H.) and a daughter, 'A'ishah Banu Begum (b. 1019 H). However, he also had a son and a daughter the grand daughter of his slave Bahbud. This son died and was buried in his father's mausoleum (folio 87). On folio 160 Mirak Baqi himself is reported to have recorded the birth of his daughter Zaynab in Delhi (in 978 H./1570 A.D. Perhaps his wife's family helped him in securing service there.

His son, Mir 'Abd Allah, married 'A'ishah Sultan Begum d/o Khwajah 'Abd al Qadir who was descended from Khwajah Muhammad Ata better known as Shaykh Hamid. He was a descendant of Salman Farsi, the Companion of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.). It is said that Salman Farsi's real name was Arsalan Bab. The Shajrah gives legendary figures of Salman Farsi's age stating that in the time of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) he was 157 years of age and after Prophet 's migration (Hijrat), he lived for 360 yeas in this world (folios 98-99). The marriage of Mir 'Abd Allah took place in 1003 H. 1594 A.D.) in Lahore for we find his first children, two girls, born there in 1004 H. and 1006 H. Most likely he had got some job in the Mughul administration for he was found moving from place to place as is evident from the birth of his children. He was in Agra in 1008 and again in 1015 H. Meanwhile he also visited Jaunpur. In 1013 H. his eldest surviving son, Mir 'Abd al-Awwal, was born at Illahibad (Allahabad). He again came back to Agra where his second son, Mir 'Aabd al-Azim, was born in 1018 H. In 1023 H. he was in

Bhakkar where his daughter Khadijah Sultan was born. In 1035/1625 he died and was buried in the mausoleum of his father (folio 92, see also folios 96, 101, 107).

His sons 'Abd al-Awwal and 'Abd al-Azim were found settled in their home town marrying into local families. Mir 'Abd al-Awwal had three sons and five daughters. The sons were Sayyid Muhammad (b. 1050 H.), Sayyid Mahmud (b. 1051 H.), and Sayyid Taqi al-Din (1062 H. – 1135 H.). Sayyid Mahmud was mentioned moving from place to place. In 1085 H./ 1674 A.D. he received a mansab (?) at Lahore. Next year he got the amini of paraganah Khurjah (in U.P India). In 1087 H. he accompanied (prince) 'Alam Shah to Kabul and returned back to 'Hindustan' in 1088 H. and accompanied the prince to the Deccan. In 1093 H. when he was in Ajmer, he resigned from his service and went to Delhi and after some time returned to his home town. He died in Bhakkar in 1077 1685 in the tenure of Murid Khan, the fawjdar of Bhakkar. He had five sons; 'Abd al-Awwal, Muhammad A'zam, Muhammad Mu'azzam, Mustafa, and Murtada (1100-62 H.) The last named is the author – compiler of the Shajrah (ff. 25, 136) to which additions were made by the members of the next generation.

Mir 'Abd al-'Azim s/o Mir 'Abd Allah married a daughter of Payandah Beg Arghun in 1039/1629 and had two sons and three daughters (ff. 121-22). The sons were Muhammad Baqi and 'Abd al-Baqi.

The Puranis of Sukkur and their Relations with Mir Ma'sum and his descendants.

The Puranis (also Musawis), and Mir Ma'sum and his descendants, who were Tirmidhi, were the two leading Sayyid families of Sukkur-Bhakkar-Rohri, the three towns complex, but their mutual relations provide an interesting study.

It may be noted that Mirak 'Abd al-Baqi of the Pruanis lived in Sukkur while most of the other members of his family including his own step brothers and sisters preferred to live in Thatta where they

enjoyed a high position of reverence like that of their grandfather Shaykh Abu Said Purani (d. 923/1517), who lies buried in Qandahar and was holding the position of Shaykh al-Islam there. The office continued in his family. His youngest son, Mirak Mahmud or Shaykh Mirak Purani (d.962/155) remained Shaykh al-Islam of Sindh under the Arghuns. Later this office continued in his family with a small break.

Why did Mirak' Abd al-Baqi s/o Mirak Bayazid, preferred to remain at Sukkur, away from the Arghun court while his elder brothers, Mir Shaykh Muhammad (author of the Nusrat namah-i-Tarkhan) and Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab, the revered peace-maker and scholar (author of Jami Faṭawa-l-Purani) were closely attached to the Tarkhan ruler, Isa Khan Khan I (915/547) who had succeeded the Arghuns in Thatta while Sukkur-Bhakkar [upper Sindh excluding Siwistan (Sehwan)] became a small, independent principality under Sultan Mahmud.

It seems that the Puranis first came to Bhakkar with the Arghuns and later most of them moved over to Thatta. Mirak Abd al- Baqi who was born in 942/1535, sixteen years after the Arghun conquest of Thatta, was living with his mother and does not seem to have received any support from his other kins or brothers. It may also be noted that his father Mirak Bayazid was also living, perhaps with his first wife and son, Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab, at Kabul, Mirak Abd al-Baq, perhaps, was unable to achieve a leading position as a scholar or found Sultan Mahmud, the new ruler of Bhakkar, not very sympathetic for his step brothers were with Mahmud's rival, Isa Khan Tarkhan – I. Perhaps for these reasons he appointed Shah Quthb al-Din as the Shaykh al-Islam of Sukkur and after his death, appointed Sayyid Safai, father of Mirza Ma sum, as the shaykh al-Islam. Internal evidence of the Shajarah suggests that Mirak'Abdal-Baqi had been in Delhi in 978/1570 where one of his daughters, Zaynab, was born and died in the same year. May be he moved out in search of a job.

Lack of reference to him as among the countries of Sultan Mahmud appears puzzling as one finds Mir Mahmud Purani, his

brother -in-law who, after marrying his step sister in Thatta, had come and settled down at Bhakkar and, though a recluse, at least paid visits to the court of Sultan Mahmud on 'Id days.

Another point of interest is the mutual relations among the Puranis themselves. It is reported in local traditions that Mirak Bayazid came to Sukkur in 928 H. It was the year of Shah Beg's death and at that time the Arghuns had kept Bhakkar as their headquarters, and, therefore converging of their clients at Bhakkar was very likely. Bayazid's son Mirak Baqi from his second wife was born in Bhakkar in 942/1535, while he himself lived, perhaps with his first wife an son Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab at Kabul as is confirmed by the fact that when sent by Mirza Aman to the court of Shah Hasan, he fell seriously ill and died at Qandahar (950/1543) and Shaykh Abd al Wahhab brought his dependents to qandahar from Kabul.

This brings forth the question of leaving his second wife and her son and three daughters in Bhakkar-Sukkar. Who was looking after them? References in the Shajrah to all the progeny of Mirak Bayazid proves that at least cognitive relations were maintained. But when shaykh al-Islami of Bhakkar went to non-Puranis, why did not their members living in Sukkur moved over to Thatta where their step brothers were in high favour at the Tarkhan court ? Perhaps relations were not so cordial.

The other interesting thing is their relations with Mir Masum and his descendants. Mir Masum returned to Bhakkar in 1014/1605 while it is presumed that he already authored his Tarikh-i-Sindh (Masumi). A study of his stay and visit in Sindh reveals the fact that after joining the Imperial service, he was allowed to pay a visit to his mother in 999/1590 (Masumi, p.251) From 1004-07 he was in Qandahar, returned in 1014/1605. Meanwhile in 1009/1600 he was writing his history. Five years before his death he had completed writing his history and was in a position to refer to the leading persons of his native town. He refers to those persons who were living in the reign of Sultan Mahmud and were contemporaries of his father, Mir Safa'i, who, after the death of Sh. Qutb al-Din was made

shaykh al-Islam of Bhakkar, a post which legally became untenable as there could be only one shaykh al-Islam of the dominions after the Imperial conquest. One may hazard the view that introduction of the Imperial rule, perhaps, adversely affected the position of local ashraf and a'immah except those who were able to secure linkage with the new set up. Ma'sum's early penury and later prosperity is a point in this case. A number of them could have moved on to seek better opportunities somewhere else because Sukkur-Bhakkar now was simply reduced to the status of a sarkar of Subah Multan. We find son and grandsons of Mirak Baqi of Sukkur also moving out, though perhaps for jobs only and, like Masum, always tended to come back to their birth place.

Masum does not refer to these changes and, unfortunately, there is no other source except deductive reasoning. Perhaps, Masum did not deem it proper to refer to local luminaries under the Tiumurid rule as he had already mentioned them under the rule of Sultan Mahmud Khan. In his references to the contemporary luminaries under Sultan Mahmud he

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Art and the Graves of Satyun Jo Astan

Tania Baig

I shall begin writing with the following verse of Iqbal:

”کائنات ابھی نا تمام ہے شاید
کہ صد آرہی ہے کن فی کون“ اقبال

The Universe is probably still incomplete because we still hear the Word (to come into being) thus testifying to the process of creation and re-creation.

This eternal process of creation and recreation is the result of a tension between the higher and the lower plain, between the metaphysical and physical (material), between eternal and transitory, between pure and vile. And the humans in quest of the impossible answer to impossible questions regarding the very nature of all creation itself, create themselves not as an imitation of nature, but as Grabar (1990) says, a defiance of nature in the process of parallel creation. For them an artist realizes his absolute dependence on nature, for whatever the composition the materials of making it ultimately come from nature. But they assume new meanings for even a point in a particular composition has a place in that particular composition which is a universe in itself.

It is the humble earth which gives all the materials to create and take back what it gives to re-create. So it is inherent in the dust of

humans to create for it is the humble earth which is the first mother of all beings which bears flowers. As the potter violently pounding the fresh clay would hear as Omar Khayyam says, in mystic language that, "I was once like thee; so treat me well". It follows that the most humble but the most resilient and the most problematic and the abstract of arts is pottery. For then, who is the pot? Who is the pot-maker? Who's the pot-seller? And who is the pot-buyer? The simple work 'art' is most usually associated with those arts which we distinguish as 'plastic or 'visual' but properly speaking it should include the arts of literature and music. There are certain characteristics common to all the arts. A definition of what is common to all the arts is the best starting-point of our enquiry. Read (1931) has quoted Schopenhauer to have said that all arts aspire to the condition of music. This remark could cause a good deal of misunderstanding but it expressed a truth as Schopenhauer was thinking of the abstract qualities of music. Music here being a representation of rhythm, melody and harmony waves on which all arts ride to reach their climax. And the climax is a vision, which is neither good nor bad, not in the sense of understanding of person, but in the sense of being. For an aesthetic approach is intrinsically good, like a religious experience or the quest to find a truth of a scientific system – an experience which is not even dependent upon the goodness of its result or outcome, like say an experience of a social uplift. But ultimately such a pure aesthetic experience leads to the uplift of humankind. For on whosever heart the leaf of love, as Omar Khayyam says is grafted, loses not his life for he either spends his life in search of bodily comfort or God's approbation as the word of love is written with intensity and vigour and all-consuming fire of passion. This tension of love, as the desire for the consummation to occur with the fire of passion but not to be consumed shatters and renders the soul into pieces of tension of longing to meet but to stay an entity, for the answer to longing is more longing, which is the extreme pain of love (as to meet and not to meet, which is impossible) rendered in the beauty of art. Although may have passed before us, whose words are but wind.

Such a place where the beautifully carved and executed designs on stone graves speak eloquently of the elegance of those whose remains lie in them is *ساتيون جو آستان* (satyun jo astan) *ساتيون جو آستان* of a place where there are chambers for mediation as dark and secluded as caves in a hillock where the 'satis' (seven sisters or friends or daughters had taken the vow never to marry) lived and disappeared. This site is still respected in tradition. People, especially women, visit it to pray. We shall begin a study of the history of this place by asking the question why is Sakhar called Sakhar? Historians have different opinions about it. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi (1961) has written that the Sindh Historical Journal tells us that the Arab historians writing about Sakhar have stated that during the era of the Abbasid Caliph Almutism Billah (218-227 Hijra) Musa Burmaki was the wali' or the caretaker of Sindh. When his son Imran bin Musa became the ruler of Munsoorah the *ميد* (Mad) of Sindh revolted against the Arab government. There was a bloody war in which three thousand rebels (or patriots) were killed and a large group was captured. Imran made this group build a barrage on the river Indus to stop the floods. It was called '*سكتة المير*' (Sakatul-Mad), i.e. bridge of the mads. Also it has been written that Tahir Nisyani, a writer of Akber's time, in his book *Tarikh-e-Tahiri* gives the name 'Shakura' to Sakhar. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi (1961) writes that Masudi has called Sakhar as Shakra. Nevertheless, different historians have written about Sakhar under the names of Shakar, Shakura, Shakra, Sakka. Aryans called the Sindhi river as Sagar. This name with usage became Sakhar. In history books about Sindh, written in Persian, like Masudi, Tahiri etc., the name Sakhar has been written. At some places due to the mistake of the copy-writer Shakhar has been written. As has been written in Yusuf Mirak's *Tarikh-e-Mazhar Shahjahani* that facing the fort on the north, is a city of the name of Shakhar on the river.

The location of Sakhar is very beautiful for it is situated on the bank of the river. On one side of the river is situated the city of Sakhar and on the other is located the ancient city of Rohri. In between is the historic fort of Bakhar. It may be added here that it is

written by Cussens (first published in Calcutta, third edition 1998) that Raverty tells us that such a place as Sakhar is not mentioned in history down to the time of the Sayyid, Mir Ma'sum, styled Bakhari. It is not mentioned in A'in-e-Akberi, although Bakhar, Rohri and Aror are. He thinks Sakhar was originally Bakhar before it had been separated from the fort by the river. Raverty has no idea of what the name Sakhar means, but Elliot ventures the meaning 'embankment', and says it is better known to the inhabitants as Chipri-bandar. It is further suggested that the names Sakhar-Bakhar are simply a catching repetition of sound, which is often found in the names of two equally important places in close proximity to, or over against one another. Also in A'in-e-Akberi it is written that Bakhar was a good fort. Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998) states that in ancient books Bakhar was called Munsoorah.

Upon the lower side of the island of Bakhar, and separated from it by a short length of the river, is the pretty little island of 'Sat Bela', or 'Sadh Bela'. Upon this island is a religious Hindu establishment known as the temple of 'Sadh Bela'. This establishment is surrounded by a thick grove of umbrageous trees, and the various buildings connected to it are more or less modern and gaily painted.

Upon the upper side of Bakhar and joined to it where the river is low is a little island on which in the shade of some large trees is the famous shrine of 'Zinda Pir' or 'Jinda Pir', also known as 'Khawajah ka Than' or the 'astan of Khawajah Khizr or the 'gaddi' or seat of Khawajah Khizr or the living saint, who is traditionally believed to be an ancient saint who instead of departing from this world merely changed his visible form for an invisible one. It is claimed on the authority of an inscription on the shrine that it dates A.H. 341 (A.D.952), i.e. two hundred and forty-eight years after the conquest of Sindh.

The remains of Sakhar are not many but they are interesting. The most conspicuous of them being the 'minar' or the minaret of Mir Ma'sum, on high ground and rising to height of about a hundred

feet, facilitates an excellent view of the city. It is said to have been commenced by Mir Ma'sum in A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), and finished by his son, Mir Buzurg Manwar in A.H. 1027 (A.D. 1618).

The ancient city of Rohri, which as stated by the Sind Gazetter and as written by Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998) was found in AA.H. 698 (A.D. 1298) by Sayyid Ruknu-din, but who this person was is not clear. There are many historic buildings and the mausoleums of great people in this city, and also a shrine where a hair of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) is placed. In addition to historic buildings there is a small hillock, which was known in a certain period as 'Satyun jo astan'. Later a nawab of Akber's period chose this place for his parties and in later time this place became his and his family's graveyard. It has been given the name of 'صفہ صفا' (Sufah-e-Safa) by Mir Abul Qasim. His son Mirak Yusuf has written in his Tarikh-e-Mazhar Shahjahan that a four cornered platform was made, with a minaret in each corner. This platform was given the name of 'صفہ صفا' (sufah-e-Safa). Moonlit nights were usually spent on it in the pleasant company of those who were worthy, and in the company of his friends he used to eat melons from a nearby village which was famous for this fruit. This pleasant location of the hillock, overlooking the river, before it became the above mentioned platform and later a graveyard was known as 'ستین جو آستان' (satyun jo astan) or 'ستینو کا آستان'. In Persian it is known as 'ستیا سر' (satyasar) which is probably the corruption of the word 'ست سرتیون' (sat sartyoon) i.e. seven friends. In the Akber-nama this hillock is called 'کھوہ ہفت دختر' i.e. hill of seven daughter. In Masur-ul-Umra this hillock has been called 'کھار ماتری' (Khar matri).

Pir Husamudin Rashidi (1961) in his book 'Tazkara-e-Amir Khani' writes that the platform at the site of 'satyan jo asthan' of sufah-e-safa' is about five feet four inches above the ground, with length of forty-eight feet six inches and breadth of thirty-eight feet. There are graves on it. One of these graves is that of Mir Abul Qasim Namkeen. On the four corners of this platform are four minarets in Turkish

style, with an approximate height of five feet each. On the south side there is a staircase leading to the platform. Only the graves number nine and ten bear plaster, while all others are of stone, showing beautifully carved designs.

Not all the graves have tomb-stone 'کترتات'. Some of the tomb-stones do not render reading, while others were destroyed before the official renovation by the Archaeological Survey of India. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi (1961) has written that according to the photograph given by Mr. Cussens, this graveyard was in dilapidated condition, before the renovation. The minarets had fallen down and the stones of the graves were shattered. But this beautiful graveyard caught the attention of some aesthetically inspired officers and was taken over by the A.S.I. and renovated to its present state.

The dates on the surviving tombstones are as follows:

1018 Hijra (Abul Qasim Namkeen), 1031 Hijra (Khatam Bilkhayr Walzafar), 1036 Hijra (Mir Asfand Yar) 1037 Hijra (Atiqullah), 1040 Hijra (Abdul Wahid), 1041 Hijra (Mir Muiddin), 1042 Hijra (Mirza Muhammad.....), 1045 Hijra (Mirza Abdul Nasr), 1045 Hijra (Abul Qasim), 1053 Hijra (Abdul Rahim) 1056 Hijra (Fatah), 1057 Hijra (Mir Abdulbaqa Amir Khan), 1062 Hijra (Abdur Razzaq), 1070 Hijra (Marhuma.....), 1086 Hijra (Mirza Muhammad Afzal).

On the eastern side of the platform, on the ground, there are sixty-seven graves. Adjacent to the western wall a mosque, whose only remains are its four walls. Department of Archaeology has renovated its walls. The length of the mosque site is fifteen feet six inches while its breadth is eight feet. On the eastern side of this mosque may be seen there door-ways with arches. There is a single door-way on the north and south side (of the mosque site) each. Also while climbing on to the platform by the southern staircase we seen ancient 'حجرے' or quarters on both sides. Those on the right side are in the control of 'مجاوروں' (caretaker) while those on the left side are closed. Stairs on both sides reaches these quarters. Near the staircase climbing up this hill, towards the west, there is mosque on

the ground, which looks ancient. There is no indication of its date. And as it is not under the control and protection of the Department of Archaeology, it is in a dilapidated condition.

The site of 'satyun jo astan' is itself in a state of ruin. Than sati 'تھان سستی' as is hand-written by Sayyid Mohibullah, in Persian, was famous for being the establishment of seven ladies, upright, pious and free from sensual pleasures. Or it may have been the symbol of authority of a lady known for her leadership as 'سستی' which due to much use became 'سستی' the other explanation as to seven pure, innocent ladies is elaborated further by stating that they disappeared somewhere in the cave at the site. Also, this site was the place where some holy men of Islam came and meditated. The date given is 419 Hijra (the time of the domination of Sultan Mahmud Ghazi on Sindh). This place became sacred due to their stay, and people in difficulty visited the site to pray to Allah for relief from their difficulties. Later noblemen of Bakhar like Mir Abul Qasim Namkeen were buried at this place. This happened, according to the writing of Sayyid Mohibullah, in 1011 Hijra. In later times this place came to be known as or became famous as Qasim Khani,. Also according to Kitab-al-Ansa, as written by Sayyid Mohibullah, the above mentioned Muslim holy men who meditated at the site were: Abdul Hameed Suharwardi, Abdullah Hariri, Hamza bin Zama, Ali bin Ahmed Basri, Yousuf bin Ahmed Balkhi, Safi-ud-din Sabzwari.

Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998) has written that Captain Westmacott writes Sultan Mahmud of Bakhar died in 980 [Fredunbeg says 982 (A.D. 1574)] while Meer Essa of the Turkhanee tribe from Thutta was besieging the fort. In the same year Sadood-deen, son of Meran, of the lineage of Muhammad Mukae Kuguree, was chief of the Suyuds of Bukur, amounting to seventeen hundred families.

They had suffered great inconvenience and privations during the siege, and determined with the consent of their superior to abandon the fort. They accordingly settled on the east bank of the

river on the Lohuree hills, a little to the south of Bukur, and founded a city known after the hills as Lohree, improperly Roree.

Upon one of the hills, those base ins washed by the river, is a leveled, platform or terrace upon which are many graves with carved gravestones like those on the graves at the Makli hills at Thathah, mostly with chain ornaments around panels showing extracts from the Holy Quran. The whole of the top of the platform between the graves has been paved. Some of the tomb-stones have been placed on plinths and on the four corners are little stumpy 'minars' or minarets. Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998) has also given that the earliest dated inscription on terrace or the platform is dated in A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609) and they run on to 1070 (A.D. 1659), when there is a gap until A.H. 1306 (A.D. 1888). The grave dated 1018, which is the resting place of Mir Abul Qasim seems to be the most important one, as it, alone, is honored with a lamp and lamp-post, which stands before it. There is another Abul Qasim, buried on the hill, with the date A.H. 1045 (A.D. 1635).

The general flat surface on the hill which is steeply scraped, is formed by building retaining walls round the edge. The intervening depressions are filled with masonry. In the masonry, on the south side, is a suite of shallow rooms, with little stuffed up windows, and connected by a passage, partly cut from the rock, which is occupied by mujawirs, or caretakers and their families. The exterior has been decorated with enameled tile. These chambers, as also written by Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998), are said to have been occupied, at one time, by seven virgin sisters, hence the name 'Satbhain' which has been given to the place who had shut themselves up here for life under vow never to look upon the face of a man. He also writes that from certain points the hill is very picturesque, and forms a favourite subject for amateur sketchers. The place is, as he says more correctly known as the Than Qasim Shah, or palace of interment of Mir Qasim Shah Sabzwari.

Cussens (first published Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998) also writes that the War Mubark was erected about A.H. 952 A.D. 1545) by Mir Muhammad as a shrine for a hair of the Prophet, which is said to have been brought to Rohri by Makhdum Abdul Baqi of Stambul. Once a year the hair is exposed for viewing by the Faithful.

Islam which arose in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century (by the early eight century it had dominated the lands from Spain to Samarqand in Turkistan to India), was to choose Arabic as the language of its message, and the Muslims whether they knew Arabic or not were to esteem Arabic as the language of the book-Quran; as revealed, according to Muslim faith, by Allah through the archangel Gabriel on the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) of Islam and to accept the Jews and the Christians as the People of the Book, for the Prophet had declared Himself as the continue of the Faith. The revelations as received by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), were written down in addition to be stored in the hearts of Muslims and the minds of those who memorized the message. The Word of God sand human expression in writing - the actuation of the line and the movement on free creativity of tones of nuances of the artist in understanding and conceiving it; to give sound and image (as the character of Islamic arts is without icons or is abstract, correctly termed as non-figurative; for all art is ultimately abstract) to it in calligraphy (beginning from nothing in a culture where oral literature with its immaterial values was the tradition).

The evolution of the aesthetics of Islam took the Byzantine tradition of art and culture and civilization as an example or a model. The Byzantines (who had become Christian in the fourth century), were the heirs of the Graeco-Roman tradition and also exhibited Christian traditions of Syria, the Coptics, Nestorians, and even Armenians. With Constantinopole as the capital of the empire (which was to continue to entice the Muslims until it was occupied by the Ottomans in 1493); it was to exercise great influence on the Muslim art tradition, especially as exhibited in the geometric fascination of Mathematics conjoined with Islamic concept paradise and the

analogy of the vegetation, garden and paradise, was to produce beautifully intriguing geometric designs and the intricate, continuing development of the vegetal scroll, with an impression of no beginning nor end, like the quiver of the free and pure line of movement. Also, the Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Pharaonic and the Persian tradition in art and culture was to play a vital role in the development of the Islamic tradition of art and culture. Particularly the Persian tradition of the Sassanians, showing a millennial period of development, was to prove the fertile ground to foster the ground of the Islamic aesthetic revolution, with its unique character and way of looking at the world. It is interesting to note that Persian, as we know now, developed when the tradition of Islamic art and culture was developing. Hence, it imbibed not only the very spirit of Islam but also that of the language of its revelation the Quran, which means to read or to recite. Hence, where the Christian, if a literate person, which means to recite. Hence, where the Christian, if an illiterate person, could look at images of the Christ, the Muslim had examples of calligraphy to read, and also as in Islam as the profession of faith declares that there is no god but Allah. Hence the act of prayer was to read and write the verses of the Quran the first verse as revealed to the Prophet of Islam asks him to read. So in this background, it is no surprise as one walks through the graveyard of the 'Siyun jo Asthan' and sees softly curving calligraphy in 'naskhi' and the vegetal scrolls and curves and designs transforming stone, made as soft and malleable as wax in the hand of the engraver; to reach a state of fluidity and freedom of expression, as the scattered tribes of Arabia melted together and formed unified armies to conquer and reshape and transform more than half of the known world. And as seen in the geometric patterns of the tile-work at this graveyard and the Persian writing, one sees that Sindh is a land which was steeped in Iranian aesthetics of Islamic art, where places like 'Siyun jo Asthan' need to be preserved and well cared for, not only for their beauty but also because they are a part of our glorious tradition art and culture.

Walking through the graveyard one wonders as to whose love was it that joined the parts of the human body together and whose hate was it which dismembered them. And then one realizes the permanence of the underlying factor, in the world of transitory beings, for what begins or is born in time has to end or perish in time. And by creating such beautiful patterns on graves as in the 'Satyun jo astan' the creators of such beautiful art-work re-create the knowledge of the understanding of what is the permanent factor in all the impermanence of this world; i.e nature itself with its power of creation and re-creation. This has been the focus on many a tombstone at the site of 'Satyun jo astan' where the Quranic verses and the hopes of going to paradise are expressed in fervor.

List of photographs and photo-copy of a selected extract from a hand-written book:

I: Satyun Jo Astn:

A- floral ornamentation on a grave in the ' Satyun Jo Astan'

B-1,2-Examples of calligraphic decoration surrounded by vine - scrolls a chain ornamentation.

C-1,2,3,4-Geometric speculation or fascination of mathematics as one of the ideals of Islamic aesthetics as depicted in the beautifully (geometrically) patterned, colorful, tile-work on the graves of 'Satyun Jo Asatan'.

D-A part of the decorated wall of the platform at 'Satyun Jo Astan'.

E-A general view of 'Satyun Jo Astan'.

Courtesy. Prof.Dr. Nawaz Ali Shauq (Bhitai Chair), Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari (D.C. Sakhar).

II: Satyun jo Astan and its plan:

A- General view of Satyun Jo Astan from the river.

B- Plan and tracery of ornamentation on the graves of 'Satyun Jo Astan'.

C- Ruined state of Satyun Jo Astan.

Cussens (first published in Calcutta 1929, third edition 1998).

III: A-General view of Satyun Jo Astan after renovation; Pir Hussamuddin Rashid (1961)

IV: A-Photo-copy of an extract selected from the hand-written book, on the areas, forts and places of importance of Sindh and its people, by Sayyid Mohibullah.

Thanks to: Prof. Dr. Nawaz Ali Shauq (Bhitai Chair)

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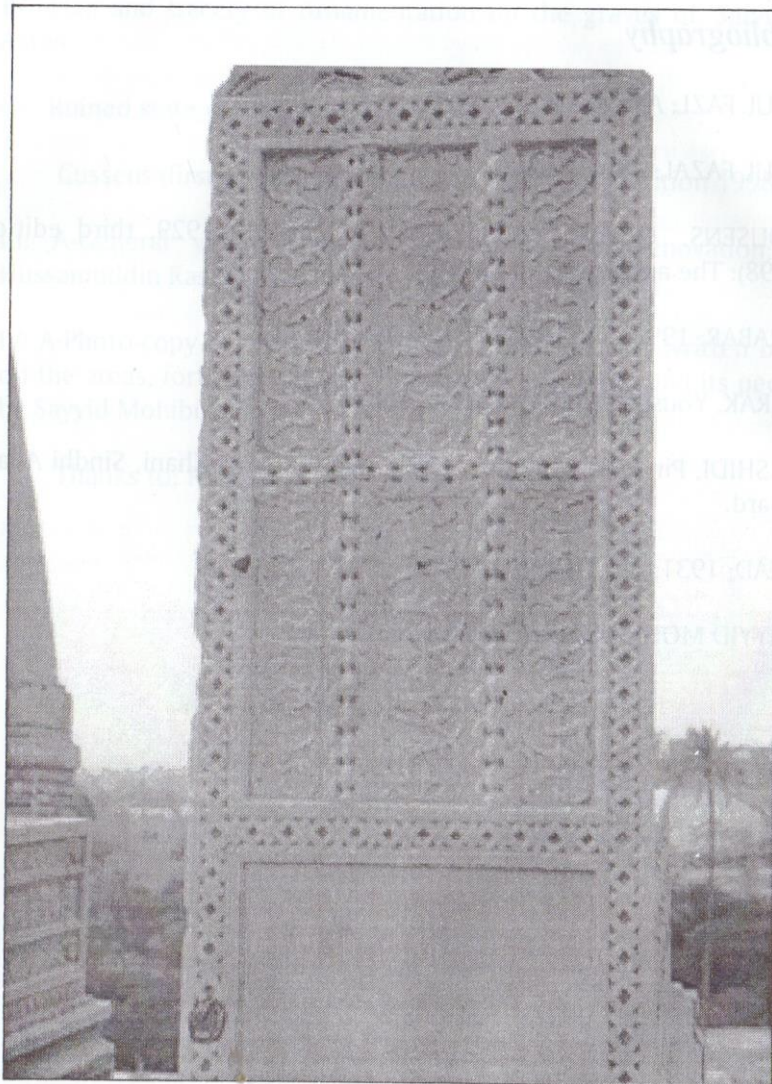
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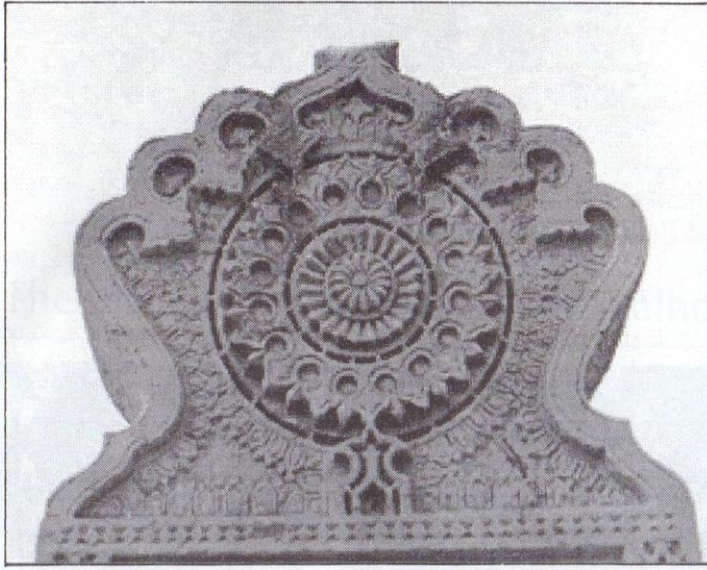
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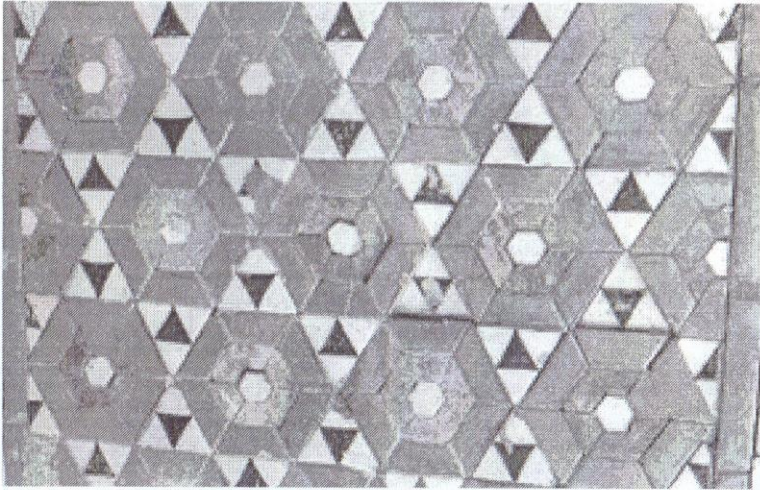
B-1,2-Examples of calligraphic decoration surrounded by vine - scrolls a chain ornamentation.



A- floral ornamentation on a grave in the ' Satyun Jo Astan'



ornamentation on the graves of 'Satyun Jo Astan'.



C-1,2,3,4-Geometric speculation or fascination of mathematics as one of the ideals of Islamic aesthetics as depicted in the beautifully (geometrically) patented, colorful, tile-work on the graves of 'Satyun Jo Asatan'.

The Mausoleum of Adam Shah Kalhoro

S. Hakim Ali Bokhari

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

The Mausoleum

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

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

additional elevation. Same could be the reason for the lack of enclosure or compound wall.

The mausoleum is square in plan measuring about 29'-8"x'29' - 8" exteriorly and rising to the height of about 42' -6". Only one entrance to the tomb has been provided on the southern side through a deeply recessed arch slightly pointed in shape, admeasuring about 8'-5" in height from the ground level and from 3'-9" to 4'-2" in depth. The feature of lofty central recessed arch occurs in Kalhora architecture passim. These arches above the springing level here bear the stalactiform decoration. Between the raised borders surrounding the door arch, has now been provided, a border of modern coloured tiles.

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

The stunted dome has in fact retarded the proportions of the building. The cordinal sides of the octagonal drum sustaining the dome are pierced with the clerestory windows having slightly pointed arches (in A.D.1998). These openings were probably either square or rectangular originally. And, who knows, whether or not those too were original or transformed at some stage by the restorers during the past centuries. Interiorly, the square (c.615 cms. on each side) chamber of the mausoleum has been converted by four corner squinches, apparent also exteriorly, into an octagon to hold the base of the dome. It is presumed that the panels ornamenting

the interior were perhaps once decorated with painted designs but distempered afterwards by means of restoration, as has been done at several other places. Located within the mausoleum are two graves. The one, on the west, appears to be that of Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro. If the second tomb/grave in the mausoleum does not pertain to Daud Khan son of Adam Shah, of whom it could then be? We should not be mistaken to infer that the person sharing the shrine of an awesome and pious man, like Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro, can be less than his close kindred or at least an alter ego, who is not acquainted to the history. Some one at home in the history from among the keepers of the mausoleum and or the descendant could add to our acquirement.

Some more details.

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

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

beautifully done, that still (in sept,1995) existed, were indicative of the original decoration in painted designs on the interior of the Mausoleum.

In the Sahn in front of the Mausoleum are built three graves. One of the two made with carved buff stone is inscribed with the name of Jam Feroz Faquir Talpur, and bear the date (Mah Shawwal, year 1214 (AH?). The third grave could be that of Shabaz khan "Golaandaz", who fled from Hyderabad, when the Talpurs succeeded Kalhora, died in upper Sindh, and is said to have been buried on Adam Shah-Ji-Takri at Sukhar.

Surroundings.

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

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

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

Presently the Sukhar Municipal corporation has established water supply system for the area on immediate south of the

mausoleum which has not only disturbed the view of the monument on that side but is a source of degradation of the limestone rock itself. Between two visits (in 1998 and 1995) the monument has suffered a lot. And now that plaster over the dome is chipping off, the whole roof is at stake.

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

An outline history of newspapers and periodicals from Sukkur

Samina Qureshi

What's happening, we all want to know. Curiosity it may be, but we all know, our lives may be affected. Moreover a community needs news of the same reasons that a man needs eyes for. It has to see where it's heading. Newspapers over the years have proved to be our eyes, ears and thought processors.

The newspaper business or Journalism has broadly been defined as the systematic and reliable dissemination of information, public opinion and entertainment. Journalism comes from coining of two words; Jour and Nal. The former means 'day' and later a 'diary'. It then becomes a daily diary of events and happenings. Today it embraces all forms through which news and comments on news reach public. Journalism has four basic purposes, namely:

- Information.
- Education.
- Interpretation.
- Opinion formation.
- Guidance.

Thus the newspapers are inseparable, deeply penetrated entities of any society and have a duty to promote understanding and involvement of people in the ongoing socioeconomic and political developments.

Newspaper occupies a commanding position as a medium of mass communication. This holds true despite widespread illiteracy and limited circulation of newspapers in Pakistan. History stands a witness to it.

World over the origins of the functions of press may broadly be defined as that of:

- i) Conveying government policies to the public and
- ii) Keeping governments informed of the
 - a) Needs and
 - b) Reactions of the public to government policies
- iii) Keeping everybody informed of the events.

Each of these functions developed as need was felt for it.

Coming to Journalism in Sindh it is said to be as old as 113 years. The history of Journalism in Sindh could be traced, back to the 10th century when Mughals in accordance with the historic functions of press, disseminated orders of the authority. Records also show existence of at least three newspapers in 901 A.D. published under the authority of Mughal government at Bhakhar, Sehwan and Nagar Thatta.

Recent history shows the birth of newspaper in Sindh in 1844. The earliest were simply mouthpieces of the Empire. Heading towards the mutiny against the Raj, Sindh was faced with political uprising. This led people to become conscious of knowing and being a part of it. Moreover a need was felt for a united Hindu- Muslim stance to get rid of the British. This resulted in efforts for wide dissemination and diffusion of information.

Since Sindhi is one of the oldest and richest languages, and above all with a script of its own, it took lead an evolved mechanisms quicker than any other language to respond to the demands of the day. Amongst all regional languages, Sindhi published the largest number of dailies and other periodicals at that time.

Realizing the need of the day the intellectuals involved in early journalistic endeavors tried to touch every aspect of life one could find along-with the usual mention of topics like politics and culture, mention of unusual topics as women education and economic empowerment and even science and agriculture in traditional newspapers and periodicals.

After Karachi and Hyderabad, Sukkur was the main center of literary and political activities. Sukkur has been a witness to major political upheavals since the mutiny of 1857. It has seen rise and fall of the great leaders, intense affection of the Hindus and Muslims and then the unending Hindu Muslim tussles. All of which was reflected in journalism as well.

This paper outlines; various publications from Sukkur, elaborates on their nature and very briefly traces the role that each played in shaping the history of Sukkur.

A Brief Account of Newspapers and Periodicals from Sukkur since Beginning to 1980.

Matla- e- Khursheed: (1860)

Matla-e-Khursheed was a bilingual newspaper, established in 1860 by Mirza Mukhlis Ali. His son Mirza Mohd Shafi was the editor.

This newspaper was published in Sindhi and Persian simultaneously. The Sindhi and Persian columns were printed in juxtaposition where the Sindhi column was a translation of the Persian one. The script of the Sindhi column also looked like Persian script.

Khursheed had a good reputation and was appreciated not only in Sindh but also in Iran and Afghanistan (probably due to the language). It was a widely read newspaper and satiated the literary hunger of its readers. The readership included scholars, ambassadors and elite of the society. It could not get the status of public

representative as it was all praise for the elite and catered to the taste of rich and affluent.

The contents largely included announcements of laws and legislation passed by the British Government. One of the weekly columns gave a roundup of events and incidents of the week.

The newspaper also had a column focusing on news of the elite and the landlords; another one was about peasants and farmers.

Matla-e-Khursheed was published on Lithograph. It had an episodal page count system. Each issue consisted of 12 pages and the count of the pages continued from the commencement of the year to the year-end. This newspaper continued publication till 1910.

On a local level Matla-e-Khursheed is considered the first newspaper to provide a pedestal to the Sindhi Journalism. It is also very important because it was the first Sindhi newspaper in private sector.

The followers were Al Haque and Aftab Sindh; two weekly newspapers, which blew life in Sindhi journalism.

Al-Haque: (1895)

This newspaper was brought out in 1895 (Few researchers quote 1899 as its year of publication). The newspaper initially started off from Sukkur but was later shifted to Hyderabad in 1901. It was finally relocated in Sukkur in 1907 where it flourished and played its due role, though for a very short time, in shaping the social, political, educational and moral destinations of the people of Sukkur.

This daily newspaper owed its existence to the hectic efforts by Shaikh Mohd Suleman (Karachi) and the then Deputy Collector Sukkur- Sardar Mohd Yaqoob. It has been termed as the first national newspaper of Muslims in Sindh by Pir Hisamuddin Rashdi.

In the beginning it was a bilingual paper, published in Sindhi and English. As its first editor it had an able guide, Ali Mohd Dehvi who was followed by famous editors like Mohammad Hashim Mukhlis, Hakim Fateh Mohammad Sehwan and also Shamsuddin

Bulbul, to name a few. Bulbul's stint with Al-Haque was very brief when the paper was shifted to Hyderabad.

Al-Haque took much of its inspiration from Aligarh Movement. The paper, by virtue of its policy, disregarded Congress and crusaded for the awareness and education of Muslim masses.

Al-Haque also played its role in the separation of Bengal. The Hindu press was against the separation and played its part in conspiring against Al-Haque. As a result Al-Haque was shut down intermittently many times.

To say the least, this newspaper played a pivotal role in Muslim awakening and in the uplift of their social, political, moral status and educational betterment.

Al-Haque was always found conscious of its surroundings and boldly commented on topics of current interest, a quality that was time and again appreciated by its contemporaries, especially the English press.

In 1908, after Sheikh Suleman's death, his son Sheikh Abdul Aziz took over and carried forward his father's passion. Sheikh Abdul Aziz also remained instrumental in bringing out many other publications in and around Sukkur.

Appraising the role of Sheikh family Al-Waheed once wrote in its editorial column that Al-Haque was the first newspaper to raise its voice against Muslim suppression. It stood as a leader and guide for the Muslims at a time when there wasn't much to look towards.

Al-Haque breathed its last under the supervision of Sheikh Abdul Hakim, younger brother of S. A Aziz. The paper could not maintain its standard and became highly dependent on the government advertisement. It lost focus and became a mere trumpet of the authorities. Financial problems gradually forced its shutdown in 1925.

Aftab-Sindh: (1896)

Close to the end of nineteenth century Muslims faced a lot of social and political problems. For safeguard of the due rights of

Muslims in Sukkur and for their general awareness, a philanthropist, from Sukkur, Haji Ahmed Memon brought out this weekly newspaper in 1896. The need was fulfilled and Aftab proved to be a success from day one.

It was lucky to be bestowed upon as its editor Mr Shamsuddin Bulbul, a well-known poet and journalist of his time, who had established his career by the success of Al-Haque. Under him Aftab Sindh rose to heights in Journalism. Ali Mohammad Rashdi has rightly termed him as the Father of Journalism and Literature in Sindh. Renowned for his wit and humour, Bulbul was also famous as 'Akbarabadi' of Sindh.

Under Bulbul the newspaper maintained a high standard and was very popular. Through Aftab Sindh, Bulbul tried to inculcate his political perceptions into the Muslim minds and also argued Muslim cause and case against Hindu and Christian prejudiced writers. Bulbul is accredited with mobilizing Muslim public opinion towards the creation of Pakistan.

Aftab-Sindh was a reflection of the Muslim thinking in the society and played an important role in awakening political rights among Muslims.

Very importantly, it fought simultaneously against the Hindwasi and Al-Ameen during the Home Rule Movement and prevented Muslims from adopting a wrong stand. As compared to Al-Haque, Aftab-Sindh represented the liberal Muslims.

Al-Haque and Aftab Sindh had many similarities and differences at the same time both newspapers were schools for Muslim political and educational thought and cause. Both doubted the sincerity of Hindus, believing that Hindus had taken a lead and Muslims would suffer if they joined Hindus in the freedom movement. They convinced the Muslims to launch a separate struggle for independence to avoid Hindu domination.

Importantly, Aftab-Sindh played a crucial and historical role in journalistic and political mosaic of Sindh.

Initially it earned quite a name but then gradually lost fame and was shut down in 1923.

The untimely demises of Aftab Sindh and Al-Haque created a void and Sindhi journalism required a new body to house the soul.

Sindh Zamindar: (1923)

Zamindar is considered to be the second largest newspaper of Sindhi Muslims. Established in 1923, Sindh Zamindar was initially a weekly newspaper. It was later changed into a biweekly with a modified format of six full sized pages.

The contents included scholarly, literary, informative, research-oriented essays and columns.

Sindh Zamindar made a name for itself in journalism by playing an instrumental role in the educational, political and social uplift of the Muslims of Sindh.

This newspaper came into being due to sincere efforts of Sheikh Mohd Oadir, who always wanted the 'Zamindars' and their kins to be literates and active participants in the political process.

The policy of the newspaper was a constituent of this thinking and approach. It not only worked to promote education among the "Zamindars" but also highlighted and safeguarded their rights.

Sindh Zamindar had Master Abdul Wahab as its first editor. After him Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan Alig took over for a year. The next five years were to see Zamindar rise to optimum journalistic standards, under the able editorial stint of Pir Ali Mohd Shah Rashdi.

This great journalist, politician and intellectual son of the soil had an inherent love for journalism. He started political writings from Sindh Zamindar. His political write-ups were widely read and appreciated.

Due to his continuous hardwork and God gifted abilities, he acquired the presidential slot of the Hind-o-Pak Editors.

Sindh Zamindar owed its bold stance to Rashdi. And the fact was proved when after Pir Ali Mohd Shah Rashdi, Sindh Zamindar quickly lost its standard.

Zamindar served Muslims with dedication and sincerity, and had a reputation in the journalistic circles. In 1936 due to insensitivity of its proprietors it fell in incapable hands and gradually faced a shut down.

It had an impressive list of editors; Hafiz Khair Mohammad Ohadi, Master Abdul Wahab, Pir Ali Mohd Rashdi, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Sitai, Agha Nazar Ali, Dur Mohd Owaisi, to name a few.

Sindh Zamindar was actually brought out as a rival paper to Al-Waheed. It was initiated as a politically motivated paper supported by the British with an aim to neutralize the nationalist feelings instigated by Al-Waheed. It tried hard but could not revert the effects of Al-Waheed.

The paper underwent a policy change when it was brought out of the influence of the elite by Khan Bahadur Khairay. When the Rashdi brothers took over it no more voiced the 'Zamindars' rather the Nationalists. The new management came under Agha Nazar Ali Khan. The paper played its due role before shutting down in 1960.

Ai-Hizb: (1927)

It was a monthly magazine established by Maulana Din Mohd Wafai. Din Mohd Wafai also became its editor later. The magazine used to publish scholarly, literary and religious material.

Sitara Sindh: (1934)

Initiated as a weekly this daily newspaper came into existence due to efforts of Nawab Nabi Bux Bhutto, When he became the political heir to his brother Sardar Wahid Bux Khan in 1934.

The paper was brought out with an aim to support Nawab Nabi Bux Bhutto, in his election campaign for the Hindustan Central Assembly. He established the Sindh Gazette Press for this purpose and arrangements were made for bringing out a weekly. Rashdi

Sahib wrote so strongly about Bhutto that he made it to the assembly, surprisingly, defeating Sheikh Abdul Majeed.

It was the best newspaper amongst contemporaries. The contents were politically dominated and most of the time was loaded with election propaganda. The other contents included well-researched, literary and education articles. Humour was another area where this paper contributed with its regular column Mullan Lutr. It stopped publication in 1938.

Sindhi: (1907)

A weekly brought out by Bhagat Veerumul Begraj in 1907, Sindhi was a strong advocate of Hindu Nationalism. All its editorial contents followed a similar line of thought; the Hindus were right and the Muslims were the transgressors. Begraj was also a very strong anti- Imperialist and his paper reflected his thoughts, as a result he was jailed many times.

As a journalist Begraj was quite resolute and never compromised on his principles. This endeared him to the Hindu masses and he was well respected for his stands. His sincerity as a Hindu leader and a journalist par excellence earned him the presidentship of Hindu Mahasabha.

This newspaper created a general political awareness in Sindh and continued publication till the creation of Pakistan.

Dharamveer: (1908)

Weekly brought out by Mehraj Amardas in 1908, Dharamveer was also quite popular in the Hindu populace in Sindh. It was rated as second only to "Sindhi". Its contents were basically religious in nature.

Although it also believed in furthering the Hindu cause, as compared to "Sindhi", it was not Dharmaveer lasted six year and was closed down in 1914. Unnecessarily hostile to the Muslims.

Dawat-e- Islam: (1928)

This was a weekly established in 1928 by Dr Mohd Yameen who, although a dentist, was fascinated by the printed word and made into journalism as Dawat-e-Islam's proprietor and editor. It was a religious bilingual weekly.

Its contents included articles based on Islamic education and propagation and for the social uplift of Muslims.

It fought back to back for the Muslims and was a staunch ally of the Muslim League. It owed its popularity and fame to its League allegiance and bold coverage. It provided an excellent coverage to the Pir Sahab Pagara case (1930) and the Masjid Manzilgah agitation (1939). From a weekly it climbed to the status of a daily newspaper. It ceased publication after the demise of its proprietor.

Ai-Minar: (1930)

Al-Minar started as a monthly in 1930 under the editorship of Abdur Raheem Azad. After Azad left for his appointment as the Chief Judge of Khairpur, Al-Minar changed to a weekly in 1933. Hafiz Abdul Hameed Bhatti, its proprietor, took over as its editor. After his death, his son Rasheed Bhatti took over reigns of the newspaper. This weekly stood the test of time always. Al- Minar was conceived when Rashdi brothers came to Sukkur; Justice Abdul Raheem Kharal was working as a lawyer in Sukkur at that time. A schoolmate of Maulvi Sahib in Tehri, he also had acquaintance with Pir Hisamuddin Rashdi. Both these bigwigs intended to bring out a Sindhi magazine, on the lines of AL- MAAROOOF (Azam Garh). Maulvi Sahib when heard of this not only offered printing facilities free of charge, but also obtained a declaration for the paper in his own name. Rashdi and Kharal were designated as its Editors.

This magazine was named Al-Minar, in line with an Arabic periodical. The magazine couldn't survive and after a year, Maulvi sahib took initiative and transformed the paper into a weekly; which continued so for the rest of his life.

A reading through the files of Al Minar reveals that during the unrest and freedom movement uprising, besides Rashdi brothers and Maulai Shedai, many well known writers contributed to this newspaper including; Abdul Karim Chishty, Abdul Rehman, Maulana Din.M.Wafai and Maulana Sadiq Khaddi Waro.

Apart from contributing to the movements the paper published articles written by Maulvi Sahib focussing on both, the material and spiritual worlds. Maulvi Sahib believed in a balance and considered it as a secret to the economic and social survival of the Muslim masses, which was ultimately to lead them to break the chains of slavery. Close to the end of 1940s the paper voiced in favor of the farmers uprising. The farmers were rebelling against the system 'jagirdari'. Negotiations did not prove fruitful and the result was street processions and demonstrations. Through his paper, Maulvi sahab supported this movement and to this day he is hailed as a hero for this feat. This was the first uprising for farmers' and peasants' rights and bore fruits.

As a weekly, the policy and objectives of Al-Minar were kept as: Al-Minar files are a witness to this historic uprising and the coverage was so extreme that according to Rashid Bhatti a whole historic paper on present uprising itself can be written

- i) supporting freedom (national) movement
- ii) awakening of the Muslim masses and
- iii) supporting separation of Sindh from Bombay.

Al-Minar positively played an active role in the freedom movement, which has been duly acknowledged and appreciated from time to time.

Hindu League Gazette: (1931)

This weekly was founded in 1931. Its proprietor and editor Awatmul was a staunch Hindu. His paper crossed all limits in its censure of the Muslims. It was more and Muslim than the popular "Sindhi". It advocated Hindu nationalism to such an extent that it caused ethnic clashes in Sindh.

Awatmul indulged in a verbal war with Pir Ali Mohd Rashdi. Both used to write extremely hard hitting articles in retaliation to the others works.

Sukkur Gazette: (1935)

This weekly gazette was established in 1935 under the editorship of Baikhand.

Congress: (1935)

It was a weekly established in 1935. The name suggests that it was a strong supporter of the Congress. Mr. Thakurdas was its editor.

Sujagay: (1937)

Diwan Tarsumul launched this weekly in 1937 to create awareness "Sujagay" in the Sindhis. This lasted ten years and eventually closed down in 1947.

Magazines from Sukkur

Sirat Ul Mustaqeem: (1922)

Monthly Sirat ul Mustaqeem was brought out from Rohri by Syed Ata Husain Shah Moosvi and Syed Abdul Husain Shah Moosvi. The editor of this magazine was Mirza Madad Ali Baig.

It lived for seven or eight years. The contents included scholarly, literary and religious articles. Fakir Hidayat Ali Najafi used to contribute "Noha" and "Salams" for Sirat ul Mustaqeem.

Sansar Chakkar (1922)

Molchand Hari Singh started Sansar Chakkar as a pictorial monthly in August 1922. It was an entertainment-oriented publication of high standards. Its contents included serialized detective novels. It pursued a healthy entertainment line for the uplift of and awareness among its readership.

Rajput: (1923-6)

Brought out by the same editor and on the same lines as Sansar Chakkar, this was also a pictorial monthly launched a year later than the 'Chakkar'. It had lots of pictures and also published novels in serialized form. Other than these it also had virtuous, historic stories of nationalist Hindu heroes and heroines. It also published biographies of prominent public figures.

Gulan Ji Tokri: (1934)

It was a magazine for children. Founded in 1934, "Gulan ji Tokri" played a crucial role in elevating the educational standards of children. Its editor was Vadhvani.

Cinema Gazette: (1934)

This magazine was launched in 1934 to cater to the needs of cinema fans. It was immensely popular for its entertaining contents. Apart from news about the cinema it also featured photo shoots of actors and actresses. B J Advani was its editor.

Hinduveer: (1935)

This was a monthly brought out under the banner of 'Shri Sanatam Dharam Yaulk Sabha', for the perpetuation of Hinduism. Its editor was Gopal Das M. Varma. It was a pure religious magazine but also gave a balanced coverage of good literature, current affairs and friendly tips.

Kumar Bulletin: (1931)

Kumar Bulletin was a bilingual (Sindhi/English) monthly, brought out in 1937. It was a general interest magazine. It featured mostly entertaining articles, songs, stories based on religious and social values. It also published photographs of leading actors and actresses.

Sindh Cine Fan Bulletin: (1938)

True to its name, this monthly was meant for cine lovers and was brought out as a bilingual in Sindhi and English in 1938.

Naujawan Mahvar: (1939)

A monthly edited by Aasardas Arjundas Parswani, its copy was brought on the 15th of every month. It encompassed social, educational, moral issues. National news was also incorporated in it.

Hindu Sahtiya: (1941)

Seth Gurdas Mairai brought out this monthly in 1941 supported by Hariram and Mahashya Khaimchand. Edited by Laal Chand Aariya, it had a religious tilt. It also covered national and social issues.

Jehan-E-Nau: (1970)

Edited by Mohd Ali Sirhandi, this monthly was brought out in 1970, later it came under Sindhri Publications and Ghulam Oadri Jafri became its editor. It was an informative, educational and religious magazine.

Shariat: (1973)

As the name suggests this was a pure religious magazine brought out from Guishan Eidgah, Sukkur. Its editors were Maulvi Fazlullah Indhar and Abdul Wahab Chachar. It used to publish discussion columns on Islamic Fiqah and fundamental principles, and to this day comes out every month.

Concluding Note:

Media undoubtedly play a vital role in contemporary society. This brief account only rectifies this claim as the print media, since its birth in Sukkur, performed such functions as diffusion of knowledge and more than that, thereafter helped shape the cultural, social, political and economic mosaic of Sindh in general and Sukkur in particular.

The objective of journalism at that time was directed at inculcating a faith among people in democratic principles such as free and fair elections, rule of law, independence of judiciary, freedom of press etc. Aftab-Sindh(1895), Al-Haque (1 896) And Sindh Zamindar (1 923) have been frequently quoted as among major

newspapers, which played their due role in various movements since Mutiny depending on the nature and time of each publication.

The Sukkur press, simultaneously created, nurtured, molded and reflected public opinion from the Khilafat Movement to the Hijrat Tehreek, Non Cooperation Movement to separation of Sindh from Bombay.

Hence it could be rightly said that the newspapers from Sukkur performed a critical public service since Mutiny to the creation of Pakistan. They informed, interpreted and correlated situations and at times took over as reformers, crusaders, leaders and critics.

Unfortunately most books on press history seem to ignore or minimize the role of Sindh Press in Pakistan Movement. The fact, however is that the Muslim Press in Sindh reflected and guided the Muslim society. According to a list, out of 131 newspapers taking active part in the Pakistan movement, 15 belonged to Sindh.

Another misrepresentation of the facts is that whenever Sindhi press is mentioned, Al-Waheed is quoted the most. Al-Waheed surely was a giant, but the role of papers like Al-Haque and Aftab-Sindh as forerunners, and Zamindar and Al-Minar as followers cannot be neglected.

Lists of magazines and newspapers from Sukkur since
beginning till 1980

<u>Publications</u>	<u>Editors</u>
Aarya Joet	E K Punjabi
Aftab Sindh	Bulbul
Aflatoon	Azher Gilani
Al-Hizb	Maulana Wafai
Al-Hizb	Ali Mohammad Shah Rashdi
Al-Haque	Various
Al-Khair	Abdul Waheed/ Abdullah Baloch
Al-Rashid	Pir Ali Mohammad Shah
Al-Minar	Abdur Raheem Azad
Inqalab	Dur Mohammad Owaisi
Bharat	Bhojraj Ajwani
Patrika	Deen Singh
Parja Samachar	Atamaram Lalwani
Jehan-e-Nau	Asadullah
Daawat-e-Islam	Dr Mohammad Yameen
Dharamveer	Lakhmichand
Rajput	Harisingh
Roshni	Sheikh Ayaz
Roshni	Mahram Khan Sheikh
Sujagee	Tarsumal
Sacch	Azhar Gilani
Sukkur Gazette	Baikh Chand

Publications

Samaaj
Sindh
Sindh Zamindar
Sindh Muslim
Sindhu Hindu
Sansar Chakar
Saudesh
Sooraj
Toofan
Aalamgir
Yadgar (Urdu Daily)
Al-Ghous (Sindhi Daily)
Tameer-e-Sindh (Sindhi Daily)
Pukar (Sindhi Daily)
Shamsheer-e- Sindh (Sindhi Daily)
Suhinee (Sindhi Daily)
Pak Sindh (Sindhi Daily)
Manzil (Urdu Weekly)

Editors

Sawami Govindand
Burkat Ali Azad
Ahmed Ali et al
Taz Mohammad et al
Lakhmichand lahoti
Moolchand
Thakardas Gullumal
Walacha
Azhar Gilani
Azhar Gilani
Javed Ashraf
Ansari
Shah Muhammad Qazi
Murshid Gillani
Hakeem Ata Muhammad,
Ghulam Mohammad Jafir,
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri
Rafiq Ahmed Pirzado
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri

Publications

Flim Sangeet
Congress
Mutlae-ul-Khursheed
Magrabi Pakistan
Nijaat
Nishan-e-Rah
Nawa-e-inqalab
Hindu Rakshak
Hindu Sanghtan
Hindu Gazette
Hindu League Gazette
Hindu Veer
Kaleem (Urdu Daily)

Nae Bahar (Urdu Weekly)
Aks-e-Watan (Urdu Fortnightly)
Nishat-e-Haq (Sindhi Weekly)
Dayanat (Urdu Daily)
Salsabeel (Urdu Weekly)

Editors

Aatamaram Lalwani
Thakardas
Mirza Mohammad Shafi
Mumtaz Ali et al
Makhdoom Mohammad Rafiq
Mohammad Azeem Mahar
Inam-ur-Rahman
Hansraj
Lalchand Aarya
...
...
Gopaldas
Mehtar Elahi Shamsi, Shahid
Mehtar Shamsi
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri
Shaikh
Ghulam Muhammad Jafri

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The Lloyd Sukkur Barrage Project.

The Sukkur Barrage and Canals Project designed by Mr. A. A. Musto, in 1920, was sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India in April 1923 subject to the approval of the Bombay Legislative Council. A special session of the Council was held early in June, 1923, at which the Project was unanimously approved, and funds were voted for commencing construction during that year. On the 1st July 1923 the Government of Bombay issued orders appointing the various officers to hold charge of Circles and Divisions for the new construction scheme. Among others, the following appointments were gazetted:-

Mr.C.S.C. Harrison, P.W.D., to be Chief Engineer of the Sukkur Barrage and Canals Construction Scheme; and

Mr. A. A. Musto, C.I.E., M.INST.C.E., P. W. D., to be Superintending Engineer of the Sukkur Barrage Circle.

In the Sukkur Circle is included the construction of the Barrage with its guide banks and protective works, all Canal Regulators and Headworks, the head lengths of all canals for the first mile and a half, and the first twelve mills of the new Eastern Nara Supply Channel.

Four other Superintending Engineers were appointed,- Messrs. R-B. MacLachlan, S. C. Mould, D. R. Satarawalla, and D. R. Sawhney; also a number of Executive Engineers, and staff of lower ranks.

What the Scheme Includes.

The scheme consists of the construction of a barrage across the Indus three miles below the gorge at Sukkur, three canals on the right and four on the left bank with a separate head-regulator for each. The right bank system comprises the North Western Perennial Central, Rice, and South Eastern Perennial Canals. The left bank comprises the new perennial Rohri Canal; a perennial supply channel to feed the Eastern Nara river and the canals dependent thereon and two feeder canals for irrigating lands in the Khairpur State. The Barrage under scientific control will give the necessary supply to each canal no matter how low the natural level of water in the river may be. All the canals taken together will command about 7.5 million acres and enable nearly six million acres of crops to be irrigated annually. The total length of the main canals and branches is nearly 1,600 miles and that of the distributaries 3,700 miles. The scheme is estimated to cost Rs.18,35 lakhs.

The scheme is divided into five circles of superintendence with a Chief Engineer at the head. The Superintending Engineer, Lloyd Barrage Circle, is in charge of the construction of the Barrage and the head-regulators over canals including the first 12 miles of the perennial channel to feed the Eastern Nara; while the remaining Superintending Engineers are in charge of canal construction.

The Lloyd Barrage Circle.

In the Lloyd Barrage Circle two townships (one on either bank of the river) have been constructed to facilitate the execution of works; the one on the right bank being larger than

that on the left. It is essential to houses the army of workers employed and to be employed on the scheme, and accommodation has had to be provided for all ranks of this great army. It is for this reason and this reason only that these townships have been built. Each township, which is provided with a Hospital, Bazar, Market and Institute, will, when the buildings in hand are fully completed, provide accommodation for 18 officers, 242 subordinates and 340 menials, etc., close to the site to the works. In addition, cooly lines are being constructed for the accommodation of semi-skilled labour on both banks of the river. Two large blocks of office buildings, on the right bank to accommodate all officers who have their headquarters at Sukkur, and a smaller block of offices for Sub-Divisional officers on the left bank are in course of construction.

The personnel to be provided for may appear large, but it is small compared with the multitude that would have had to be employed had not the fullest use been made of the resources that modern inventions have placed at the disposal of the engineer in the way of labour saving devices. Machinery is replacing man-power wherever possible, and just as the health of the workers has to be cared for by the doctors and hospitals of the township, so the efficiency of the varied types of machinery to be used in the construction of the Barrage and its attendant canals requires the constant skill and attention of expert workers.

A large electric generating station has been erected on the right bank with 6 Diesel engine alternator sets, with the necessary switch boards, oil storage and cooling plant, to provide electric energy for running the plant to be used on the construction of the barrage and for workshops. The power is generated at 6,600 volts and transformed to 400 volts for use on the works where it is utilised in running land and floating cranes, concrete block-yards, mortar mills, and compressors, stone dressing shops, pumping plant, workshops, etc. The power is carried across the river by a submarine cable in duplicate. The

overhead distribution in the works area and townships is all completed.

Three new quarries opened.

Three quarries have been opened each with its own power plant for compressed air and necessary pneumatic tools, workshop, store shed, dispensary, works water supply and housing accommodation for the subordinate staff and labour. The Sukkur Quarry produces rubble stone and has supplied all the stone for building operations on the right bank for the construction of guide banks and roads, lime burning, etc. The collection of a large reserve stock at the quarries for further requirements is in progress. The special large sized stones to be used on the Barrage and regulators will be obtained from the Rohri Quarry. For the removal of large blocks of stone from the solid mass in the quarry a channeling machine and a number of wire saw are in operation and these blocks, cut direct from the hill side, are transferred by cranes on trucks of the Barrage Railway to the stone-dressing shop on the left bank works area where they will be cut to required sizes and dressed by machinery ready for building into the work. All the quarries are connected to the works area by road gauge track and stone for building, lime burning etc., is loaded into trucks at the quarries and brought to site of works, kilns, etc. as required with a minimum amount of manual labour.

Two Guide Banks have been constructed, one on each side of the river, the right bank guide commencing from the end of the Sukkur Bunder down-stream towards the barrage and the left bank reaching from the Lansdowne Bridge to the Barrage site. Both banks are pitched with rubble stone. A metalled road has been constructed along the right guide bank and a broad gauge railway track joining the Rohri Quarry to the workshops area is laid along the Left Guide Bank.

Some idea of the magnitude of the preliminary work that

has been undertaken may be obtained from the fact that it has entailed the construction of a complete railway system to deal rapidly and economically with the vast mass of material that will have to be handled.

For delivery and moving of materials, plant, etc., a network of broad gauge railway lines has been laid in the work area and quarries on both banks. About 30 miles of line and sidings have been constructed and are in use. These lines take off from the North Western Railway lines at Sukkur and Janvri Stations so that trucks can be brought from the North Western Railway on to the Barrage Railway system and unloaded at any point as required. Up to date 8 locomotives and 450 waggons of various kinds have been purchased from the North Western Railway and 6 new high-sided waggons and 30 tipping waggons have been purchased from abroad. Loco. running sheds and high service water tanks have been constructed on both banks of the river for the overhauling and cleaning of locomotives and rolling stock.

Well equipped workshops.

On each bank of the river a well equipped workshop with electric power has been erected and fitted for repairs and maintenance of the plant used in construction. Each shop has a small foundry attached to it. The workshops also carry out repairs to machinery employed in other circles.

Engineering science and experience has now proved that a barrage can be as securely built on sand as upon rock. Concrete will play a big part in this result and the preparations for its use have entailed a great deal of preliminary work.

On each bank a concrete floor measuring 600' x 52' has been laid down on which large concrete blocks for the river bed protection measuring 10 x 5' x 3' and 5' x 3' x 1.5', will be moulded. The necessary cranes, machinery and moulds for

making the blocks which have been ordered are expected shortly and as soon as erected, will be set to work.

Nor is this all that has been done or is being done at the site of the Barrage. The following paragraphs describe a few of the processes in the preliminary organisation which have to be completed before the first stone is laid on the bed of the Indus.

On both banks of the river, high service tanks have been constructed and water is pumped up to them from the river and distributed over the works area by mains. Storage and high service oil fuel tanks for locomotives are erected at suitable positions over the area at which the locomotives, all of which burn oil fuel, can be easily replenished. For loading the barges with the various materials used on construction each bank is being provided with a wharf. The wharves will carry a double track of broad gauge railway connecting to the works railway.

The two dredgers required for excavation of foundations in the river have arrived at Sukkur and the pontoons, floating pipe lines, etc., required in connection therewith are practically completed.

Six sets of floating pile-driving plant with two double acting steam piling hammers and three with two-ton steam cranes, all complete on pontoons 77' x 33', have been erected. Materials for six units of floating pumping plant, consisting of 6 pontoons 36' x 13.5' each carrying three 8 centrifugal pumps directly coupled to electric motors have arrived and are in course of erection.

Exhaustive experiments have been carried out in the production of 'fat' and hydraulic lime from local lime-stone and large concrete blocks for experimental purposes have been made.

So much for the operations in and about Sukkur. At the head quarters of the four Canal circles vast schemes of canal construction are being worked out; and throughout the

waterless wastes of Sind, men | and machinery are giving practical effect to them.

The four canal circles.

The four Canal Circles have been occupied mainly in ordinary and contour surveys, designing of canals, acquisition of land for canals and construction of buildings and the assemblage and putting into commissions of mechanical excavators for excavating the main and branch canals. The designs have been prepared for practically all the main canals, branches and major subsidiary channels and excavation is being carried out with excavators of various sizes. Seven more mechanical excavators are in course of erection. The use of these mechanical drag-line excavators is not merely an engineering, but also an economic problem, as the existing supply of labour for agricultural purposes is interfered with to the least possible extent. Another important aspect of the utilisation of this, heavy machinery is that it has prevented the formation of a labour ring thus keeping down the labour rate. This is very important in an undertaking where labour costs must in any case be a large proportion of the total initial outlay. Another equally important feature of the machines is that they can be worked daily for 24 hours for 5.5 days a week and also during the hot weather months when it is almost impossible, owing to the intense heat to do any earthwork in Sind by manual labour. Conditions on the machines during the hot weather are made tolerable by the liberal provision of electrical fans. Powerful electric lights enable work to be done at night and the electric current for these and the fans is generated on the machines.

In addition, some work of canal excavation has been given out on contract to manual labour at rates lower than those provided in the project estimate.

In the North Western Circle the four drag line excavators have excavated the North Western Perennial Canal with a bed

The ceremony of laying of a Memorial Stone to inaugurate the commencement of work on the Barrage was performed by Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, at Sukkur on 24th October, 1923. A very large number of zamindars, Indian and European gentlemen, official and non-official, were present.

Fifteen Executive Divisions were opened in the five Circles during this period. The expenditure incurred under all heads during this financial year was Rs.53,84,808.

The year 1924-25.

During this year further preliminary investigation work was carried out, and was sufficiently advanced to allow of the alignments of parts of the main canals to be set out on the ground. Such land as was wanted immediately was acquired; orders were placed for several of the largest type of dragline excavators; the building programme was extended, and further staff recruited.

At Sukkur, the construction of the Barrage Township was commenced under the immediate supervision of Mr. A. A. Musto. C.I.E. This included the construction of residential buildings of various types, roads, workshops and offices. The major portion of the necessary land having been acquired, service railway lines, both broad and narrow gauge were laid and locomotives and waggons were purchased. These were all obtained second-hand from the North Western Railway, surplus stock and material.

The training banks on each side of the river Indus between the Lansdowne Bridge at old Sukkur and the Barrage site three miles below were completed including the necessary dry stone pitching.

Actual excavation of the head of the Rohri Canal (half as wide again as the Suez Canal), was started in December, 1924, when the first steam drag-line excavator, the largest in the

world, was inaugurated by the Governor of Bombay Sir Leslie Wilson, and named "Wilson Bahadur."

Ten other large dragline excavators, the parts of which had arrived during the latter part of the year, were under erection for excavating the North Western Canal, the Rice Canal, and the Khairpur Feeder East.

Good progress was made with the acquisition of land required for all the canals, and detailed information necessary for the work of the Revenue Officer was prepared.

Large orders for various classes of machinery were placed for the Barrage, and some of this machinery had arrived and erection thereof started before the close of the year.

The five Circles of Superintendence were continued, and two new Executive Divisions opened, making a total of seventeen Divisions in operation.

The expenditure during the year, under all heads, amounted to Rs. 1,16,18,637, the total from commencement of work being Rs. 1,70,03,445.

The year 1925-26.

The placing of further orders for machinery and plant, the completion of the main buildings of the New Sukkur Township, and the completion of the service railways were the main works done this year in the Barrage Circle.

An up-to-date electric lighting and power plant, -one of the most interesting installations of its kind, -was in hand and nearing completion.

The completion of the erection of the largest and intermediate size dragline excavators for the new canals was effected, and excavation work was started. Further orders were

placed for excavators of two smaller types; and the erection of some of them and their setting to work accomplished before the close of the year.

The working designs of the canals progressed satisfactorily and their alignments were extended on the ground, and the necessary land acquired. Investigations of the all-important question of bridging communications was taken in hand, and the working details of the branch canals and some of the main distributaries were advanced.

A start was made with the improvements to the old river course, known as the Eastern Nara. Containing banks were constructed between the heads of the Jamrao and Mithrao Canals.

A further five Executive Divisions were opened this year, making a total of twenty-two Divisions in operation before the close of the year (31st March, 1926).

The expenditure under all heads was Rs. 2,01,91,117, bringing the total from commencement of work up to Rs. 3,71,94,562.

The year 1926-27.

This year 1926-27 sees the practical completion of all preliminary work. For the Barrage at Sukkur the electric light and power installation (six Diesel engine sets generating alternating current at 6,600 volts) has been completed, and is in operation; all the workshops are in full running order: and most of the plant and machinery required (including two excavating dredgers with pontoons, floating pipe lines, etc.) has been erected, and much of it is now in operation.

The three quarries, where the most up-to-date power (compressed air) plant has been installed for obtaining the vast quantity of rubble stone and the huge block of cut stone

required, are now in full working order; stone dressing shops with modern appliances for the quick out-turn of dressed stone are in operation; and work on the actual construction of the regulators for all the canal heads on both banks of the Indus (which form the flanks of the Barrage proper), has been started. The two great cofferdams—one on the north bank, and one on the south bank, —are of interlocked steel sheet piling, and are probably the largest cofferdams ever constructed.

New canals excavated.

Very considerable progress has been made with the excavation of the various canals. In the North Western Circle 14.55 crores of cubic feet of excavation had been done on the North Western and Central Rice Canals up to the end of December, 1926. In the Western Circle, 11.76 crores of cubic feet of earthwork had been excavated. The total on the Rohri Canal was 18.50 crores of cubic feet, and in the Eastern Nara Circle close on 9 crores of cubic feet. The total amount of earthwork excavation and embankment all the canal systems of the scheme amounts to approximately 54 crores of cubic feet. This quantity can be represented by a column one and one-eighth miles high with sides each measuring 100 yards. The work has been done by thirty two mechanical excavators, some driven by steam and others by diesel oil engines. This number will shortly be increased to 40 by the erection and putting into commission of 8 more diesel engine machines of the small types. The 32 machines now working are capable—taken altogether—of excavating, and throwing on to spoil banks, earth at the rate of 54 tons per minute or 9-10ths the ton per second, night and day, for $5\frac{1}{2}$ days in the week, 25 days in the month and 250 working days in the year. It represents in other words the effect of about 22,000 hand labourers working all the year round or 44,000 men working the usual 'season' or half of the year!

A Summary under ten headings.

To summaries very briefly, the Lloyd Barrage Irrigation Project may be described under ten main headings, namely :—

(1) A new township adjoining Sukkur; a second smaller township on the opposite side of the river, with proper water, drainage, lighting services, etc.; many offices and bungalows at New Sukkur and also throughout Sind for Construction and Administrative Officers. Also great stone quarries on both sides of the river near Sukkur, and thirty miles of Service Railways to bring the stone and other materials to the sites of the work.

All these buildings, roads, railway and works have been completed and are now in use. The three great quarries are working by the most modern methods (wire cutting machinery), and are yielding magnificent white stone blocks up to twenty tons in weight. (Here, by the way, is a splendid source of supply of stone for Karachi! Why go any longer to Jodhpore for stone ?)

The Lloyd Barrage

(2) The great Barrage at Sukkur, just under a mile in length, (five times the length of London Bridge!), across the Indus below Sukkur gorge, and three miles below Bukkur Island.

Active work on this—the longest Barrage in the world—will be commenced next cold weather. All the necessary preparations, of a most elaborate and comprehensive nature, have at last been completed. It is expected that the Barrage with its massive masonry piers sixty feet apart, its sixty-six arches with scores of 50-ton steel gates, and its high level and low level bridges across the river, will be constructed in four stages, in four successive years. Construction will be carried on within cofferdams. It is expected that construction will be completed in the cold weather of 1930-31.

Seven great regulators.

(3) Great Headworks Regulators for three large canals on the right bank, and four canals on the left bank just above the Barrage.

These form the flanks of the great Barrage. Work on all these regulators except one (Khairpur Feeder West) has already been commenced under the protection afforded by huge steel cofferdams as explained above. All these Regulators will be completed before the Barrage itself is finished.

North western perennial canal

(4) The first of the seven great canals (five of which are among the largest canals in the world) that Lloyd Barrage will serve, is the *North Western Perennial Canal*, about 97 miles in length, with 117 miles of Branches, and 363 mile of distributaries. This Canal at its head is about the same width as the Suez Canal.

Large drag-line excavator have been working steadily on the N.W. Perennial Canal of which a section of about eighteen miles (164 feet wide and 10.2 feet deep) has been completed up-to-date.

Central rice canal.

(5) The second of these West Canals is the *Central Rice Canal*, about 87 miles in length (with 294 miles of Branches and 40 miles of distributaries). This Canal at its head is wider than the Suez Canal.

Of this great canal which has a bed width of 250 feet and a depth of 11.75 feet, about ten miles have been excavated for *one half* of its width, and some six miles for its *whole* width. (At least two drag-line excavators are engaged in digging each large canal, one on each side. Each excavator cuts *to the middle*

of the canal, and piles the spoil on the bank—20, 30, 40 or more feet high as required—on the side on which it is excavating. These machines have been working day and night.

South Eastern perennial canal.

(6) The third is the *South Eastern Perennial Canal*, about 140 miles in length (with 30 miles of Branch canals and 294 miles of distributaries). (These western Sindh Canals have 115 miles of main, and 280 miles of branch drain canals to the Muncha Lake).

Owing to the fact that the present Western Nara Canal takes a very winding course, and that the new S.E. Perennial Canal intersects it at twenty points or more, work on the new canal has been carried on in many localities by both hand and machine labour. In all, about thirty miles of new canal have been cut in various localities between the various bends of the present Western Nara Canal.

New Nara Head.

(7) The fourth is the *new Head Canal to the Eastern Nara System*, about 15 miles in length (and nearly double the breadth of the Suez Canal). Tills new Head will serve 242 miles of the Nara Canal, with about 490 miles of Branch canals and 1,240 miles of distributaries.

A commencement on this huge irrigation channel will be made with one dragline excavator next May. Preliminary work at Sukkur has already been completed, but it is not proposed to cut this canal to its full width at the start, as the Nara Canal System could not utilise all the water which a new Head Canal double the width of the Suez Canal could give it. In the meanwhile the present Nara Supply Channel can supplement the supply of water by the new Head Canal now about to be cut, if necessary.

To prevent wastage of water through 'sangs' (depressions), banks are to be provided on both sides of the Eastern Nara from Rohri down right to Farash near Dhoro Naro Station out of which a length of about 45 miles from Makhi Weir to 14 miles above the Jamrao Canal head will be completed before the coming inundation season.

Khairpur feeders.

(8) *Khairpur Feeder East*, about 12 miles in length.

This canal should be completed by March, or early April, 1927, at the latest. The drag-line excavators now working on it will then be transferred to the neighbourhood of Oderolal.

(9) *Khairpur Feeder West*, about one mile and a quarter.

This little feeder is not needed at the moment and will not be cut for some years to come till the larger works are completed.

The Rohri canal.

(10) The Rohri Canal (at its head half as wide again as the Suez Canal). In length, about 205 mile. It will have 203 miles of Branch Canals and about 2,100 miles of Distributaries.

(There will also be some 398 miles of Main, and 374 miles of Branch *Drain Canals*).

Of this very great and most important canal, about ten miles from Sukkur have been completed. Another twelve miles have also been excavated in different localities. The drag-line excavators are at present (February, 1927), working quite close to Khairpur Mirs.

In addition to the work being done on all the above mentioned main canals, excavation is also being pushed forward with the Branch Canals in all the systems. Next year, a start will be made with the digging out of distributaries.

It is contemplated that unless there are any serious and unforeseen set-backs, water will be let into the new canals so as to enable the monsoon (*khariif*) crops being irrigated in the year 1931.

Lloyd Barrage & canals construction.

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Zindeh Pir/ Jind Pir

Ali Ahmed Brohi

Opposite Rohri is a small island of which about half an acre remains above water at the height of the inundation. This has been enclosed with a wall and contains a shrine to which Mussalmans and Hindus come together in thousands from all parts of Sind in March and April, the former to honour Khwaja Khizr and the latter Jind Pir. The Mussalman legend, the details of which vary in different accounts, is that a Delhi merchant by name Shah Hussein was with his daughter travelling down the Indus by boat on his way to Mecca. On his arrival at the City of Aror, Dalurai the Hindu king of that country, who had heard of the great beauty of Shah Hussein's daughter, demanded her in marriage; but he met with a refusal on the plea that it was impossible for the daughter of a follower of the Prophet to wed a Hindu. Not content with this reply, the king determined to carry her off by force, but on the girl offering up prayers to Khwaja Khizr, the Spirit of the water, she was answered by the saint who directed her father to unloose the boat. As soon as this was done, the course of the Indus changed and the stream began to flow towards Rohri whither also the boat was carried off in safety. In gratitude for this miraculous deliverance Shah Hussein resolved to erect a shrine in honour of the saint who had thus befriended them,

and in answer to his prayer he was directed to carry out his purpose on a small island a little to the north of Bukkur; and here the father built a mosque and tomb, which in after years was enlarged by wealthy votaries who are said to have covered the door of the original tomb with sheets of silver.

The Hindu identify Khwaja Khizr as Jind Pir (properly Zinda Pir), i.e., the living Pir who is no other than the incarnation of the river Indus, elsewhere called Uderolal, Darya Shah, etc., to whom they burn a light. The central building with the silver doors, be it tomb, temple or cenotaph, contains a niche which is the seat of the saint and above which a slab of stone clumsily built into the wall bears a Persian inscription which has been translated thus:

"When this Court was raised, be it known. That the waters of Khizr surrounded it; Khizr wrote this in pleasing verse"

The date is found from the Court of the High One. The last words, Dargah-i-Ali, give the date 341 which corresponds to A.D. 952. The Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey does not believe that the slab originally belonged to the present building which looks quite modern.

But whether it did or not, the inscription on it, a cast of which has been examined at the British Museum, is undoubtedly antedated. Its style and characters can hardly belong to a much earlier date than the seventeenth century. To the southwest of the shrine is a ruined brick masjid with an inscription which gives the date 1011 (A.D. 1602). The best part of the whole congeries is the imposing gateway of the enclosure which is decorated with tile work, some of it old and good. The possession of the shrine had for long been a subject of contention between Hindus and Muhammadans. The matter was settled about twenty years ago when the Hindus

abandoned their claim and set up a shrine of their own to Jinda Pir on the Sukkur bank of the river.

Upstream, above Bukkur is the famous shrine of Khwaja Khizr which has already been described. To the west of it are two small islets called Sadh Belo and Din Belo. The former is the seat of a Hindu hereditary Sadhu who daily feeds fifty followers "in turbans of their own hair". Burton says that he came after the British conquest. He is held in the highest respect throughout Sind.

Khwajah Khizr

The small island shrine of Khwajah Khizr, opposite Rohri is one of the most picturesque features of the Indus river at Sukhar.

The accounts of its origin are many. According to one account it was the merchant Shah Hasein who, in gratitude for the assistance of Khwajah Khizr in diverting the river at Alor. He built a shrine, where a torch of light is said to have fallen, and settled there a married pair to be custodians of the shrine ancestors, of course, of those, who are now custodians of the shrine. Another account makes a shepherd, Baji, whose hut was where now stands the town of Rohri, witnessed every-night a bright flame burning in the distance. Thinking travellers had lit a fire, he first sent his wife to get a light, but as fast as she pursued the light, it receded further. Thinking his wife was afraid, the shepherd then himself footed out, but the light still proved as elusive as before; so, filled with awe, he erected a shrine and became a devotee, and the river encircled the shrine he had erected.

To-day, whilst Muslim worshippers worship the Allah, Hindu pilgrims worship a light, which is kept burning there night and day. When new fruit comes to the bazaar both throw a first fruit into the river as an offering. Every evening women mix rice and sugar, and with flowers and fruit throw them into the

river, along the banks of which they kindle earthen lamps. Every Friday and last day of the moon in each month is sacred to the Lord of the waters, and on these days the Hindu meat-eater will eat fish only as being the fruit of the water. On the birth and marriage of sons rafts are floated down the river, bearing lights, a medium through which the love-sick maiden, too, can divine the course of her love.

Legend says that the Pir dived into the water and came up at Udero Lal in the Hyderabad district; his followers wear red coverings marked with the emblem of a hand and a fish. Khizr is popularly supposed to mean 'dolphin'. Same symbol adorns the hindu shrines, temples or tikanas as they are called commonly by local people.

The shoals of palla, or river salmon, ascend the river as far as the shrine of Zindah Pir, and are said to do so on a pilgrimage to the shrine, on attaining which they swim round, following the strictest of court etiquette, as they never present their tails to the hallowed abode of the saint until they are well round the island and back again.

There are many parallels to this dominion over the waters and control over storms by a patron saint. Cf. Pir Badar, Zindah Ghazi, Ghazi Miyan, the Panch Pir of Bengal - and it is probable that such saints are the transformation of old animistic spirits, perpetuating an ancient Nature worship of daimonia and tutelary spirits. In 'Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki', Art. xii, J.R. As. Soc., xvi, 1884, Professor Beai dwells upon the Buddhist myths that seem to be incorporated in the story of El Khedr and their similar appearance in the Arthurian legends.

The Muhammadans say that Al Khedr found the fountain of life, and drinking thereof became immortal. Cf. Koran, Sura xviii, and the inscription on a drinking cup of the Mughol Emperor Jahangir:

'Let the water of life be in his cup, So that it may be the water of Khizr, life-prolonging.'

Al Khedr is credited with flying round and round the world, a chapel arising wherever he appears. He is Phineas, whose soul passed into Elias and thence into the sacred rider, St. George. At Sukhar he is the Zinda Pir or living Pir. Kwaja Khizer is remembered as lord of water through out Indopak subcontinent and is said to be an eternal guide for those seafarers or travellers who loose their way.

Daryapanthis

The worshippers of the Daryah Shah or King-river have an account of the birth of Uderolal. At the beginning of the eleventh century, when Marakh was ruler of, Thatta, the Hindus were persecuted by the Muslims. The king desired a single religion for the whole of Sind. The panchayat obtained a respite of three days, and went to the bank of the river at Thatta and offered prayers for three days, at the close of which they heard a voice from the river crying, 'After eight days I shall be born at Nasrapur and my name shall be Uderolal'. After this time Uderolal was born. The babe was a remarkable one; after a few moments it became a youth, then a black-bearded man, and again an old white-haired man. The king's vazir summoned him to Tatha, but instead of following the vazir he suddenly appeared from the river at Tatha at the head of an armed regiment, which, however, he commanded to return to the river.

He was then brought before the king, who tried to obtain his help to convert the Hindus, but he declined, saying that Turks and Hindus were alike to God. Then at his vazir's advice the king tried to arrest Uderolal, but no one could catch him as he changed his form now to air, now to water. Then the king proceeded with the forcible conversion of the Hindus' whereon Uderolo.1 commanded fire to destroy the town; the king repented, begged pardon, and Uderolal insisted on perfect freedom of worship for all.

At the age of twelve Uderolal ordered his cousin to found

the sect of Daryapanthis, and gave him a lamp, sword, and, among other things, a jar of sacrificial water. The Muslims were brought to adopt the same religion by a miracle. Uderolal wished to purchase the land of a Muslim, who wished first to take the advice of his wife, and left Uderolal in the full blaze of the sun, but returned to find that a large tree had grown up to shade Uderolal. The Muslim gave the land gratis to Uderolal, who, after striking the ground and bringing forth diamonds and rubies for the Muslim, was swallowed up by the ground, he and his horse.

The king then decided to build a mausoleum on the spot, and, guided by a voice they heard at night, the king built a mausoleum and the Hindus another place adjoining, in which lamps should be kept. The two places exist still side by side. Muslims do not go to the lamp building, but Hindus go to both. The lamps are lit and maintained by the Hindus. The Muslims only collect the offerings. This is the tomb where the lamps, five in all, are lit at nightfall; in the other building lamps are kept burning day and night. The holy tree exists, and no common person is allowed to touch it. Its seeds are a cure for sonlessness. A fair is held on the first day of Chait, to which followers come from Sind, Cutch and the Punjab.

After his disappearance at Jhai-jo-goth Uderolal appeared at Bakhar from the rock. Here, too, a great fair is held for forty days, before which the Hindus lock the doors of the holy place of Zinda Pir and allow only a caretaker to enter the cave, in which is maintained a light. Even the caretaker is prescribed in his movements, and must "approach the shrine swimming on an earthen pot and with his eyes bandaged. The Daryapanthis maintain their caste by exogamy. They have three sections: (a) the Somai; (b) the Budhais centring on Sehwan; (c) the Ghorais around Mehar, who neigh like a horse when approaching a village of their own section.

N.B.—This legend of the birth of Uderolal makes Tatha the capital of Sind in the eleventh century.