CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PORTS AND TOWNS OF MEDIEVAL SINDH (16th - 17th CENTURIES)

DISSERTATION
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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Cultural and Commercial Importance of the Ports and Towns of Medieval Sindh (16th and 17th Centuries)" is the original work of Ms. Naziya Dilnashin completed under my supervision. The dissertation is suitable for submission and award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

(Dr. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami)
Supervisor

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Dedicated
To my
Parents
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Naziya Dilnashin

(Naziya Dilnashin)
ABBREVIATIONS

ASR : Archaeological Survey Reports
EFI : English Factories in India, ed., W. Foster
IG : Imperial Gazetteer
JRAS : *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
OUP : Oxford University Press
PIHC : Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix-I: Ports and Towns of Sind (16th 17th Century).

Appendix-II: Export of various commodities from Laharibandar and Thatta (16th 17th century).

Appendix-III: Various commodities of Regional Trade.
Introduction
INTRODUCTION

The Province of Sind forms an integral part of West Pakistan. It received its name from Sindh (Indus river), which literally means an ocean or a vast collection of water. Sind lies between 23°35' and 28°29' North latitude and 66°40' and 70°10' of East longitude. It is a low and flat province, divided into three natural regions such as kohistan or hilly tract is on the west side of it; Thar or Registan lies on the East and the fertile land on the both side of the river.\(^1\)

Sind always remained the place of culture and civilization from the time of immemorial. It was invaded by Aryans, Sythians, Parthians, Arabs, Ghorids, Ghazanavids and the Mughals, who crossed this rich valley and its alluvial plains. These invaders brought a galaxy of poets, scholar and Sufis along with them, who settled themselves in various towns and cities of Sind and immensely contributed to the growth and development of the socio-cultural life of Sind. After the Arab’s rule, Sind was governed by various dynasties like Sumrahs, Summahs, Arghuns, Tarkhans and the Mughals. It was finally annexed to the Mughal Empire

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in 1591 when Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, after defeating Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta United Sind with the Mughal Empire.

An attempt has been made in the present work “cultural and commercial importance of the ports and towns of Medieval Sindh (16th 17th centuries).”

The work is divided into five chapters. Chapter first deals with geographical background and strategical importance of the ports and towns of Sind, as well as the controversies about the site of Debal, and Mansura. These ports and towns were the main source of its strength and prosperity and attracted the attention of foreigners due to commercial and cultural activities of Sind. I focus my attention especially on those ports and towns who were in a flourishing condition between sixteenth and seventeenth century like Thatta, Bhakkar, Laharibandar, Debal, Mansura, Nasrpur, Rohri and Siwistan.

Chapter second highlights the economic importance of Sind and trading companies like Portuguese, Dutch and English and the administrative structure of Laharibandar.

Third chapter discuss about land-routes and the sea-routes, which connected Sind with the other important trading regions and foreign
countries. I have also mentioned the commercial commodities which exported from Thatta and Laharibandar along with a list of imported commodities to Sind.

Chapter fourth is divided into two parts. In the first part I have discussed about the various tribes in Sind, their settlements, their customs, traditions, foods, dress, religion and the role of Sufi orders in Sind. Part second deals the literary contributions of various scholars, poets, historians under the patronage of the rulers of Sind.

Chapter fifth deals with silent features of Architecture of Sind as well as Persian, Iranian and Gujarati influences on the buildings and monuments.

So for the sources are concerned the work is mostly based on Persian sources such as Tarikh-i-Masumi of Mohammad Masum Bhakkari, Tarikh-i-Tahiri of Tahir Mohammad Nisyani, Beglar Namah of Qasim Beglari, Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin of Farid Bhakkari and Tuhfat-ul-Kiram of Mir Ali Sher Thattavi. These works provide detail information about socio-cultural and economic history of Sind.

Besides these sources a number of other contemporary sources proved helpful in my research work such as Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri of Jahangir. Besides these various researches
which have been done on Sind such as *Sind Through the Centuries* written by Khusro Hamida, *Sind Arab period* of Dr. Mumtaz Husain Pathan, The *Antiquities of Sind* by Henry Cousens, *History and Culture of Sind* written by Ansar Zahid Khan, N.A. Baloch’s book *Sind: Studies Historical, Thatta Islamic Architecture* of Ahmad Hasan Dani and *Sind A reinterpretation of the unhappy valley* of J Abbott etc. All these works provide a lot of information about cultural and commercial history of Sind and proved helpful for my dissertation. I have also consulted with many Gazetteers, Journals and Articles to make my study worthwhile for the readers.

For the economic history of Sind our information depends upon English Factory records which provide a lot of information about trade of Sind and its contacts with the coastal regions and foreign countries. Due to the geographical situation of Sind, it attracted the attention of the travellers, who visited Sind from time to time for the study of custroms and traditions of Sind. Travellers accounts are very useful. Many travellers visited Sind during sixteenth and seventeenth century such as Withington Tavernier, Hamilton, De Laet, Samuel Purchas and Orlich etc. All these accounts are considered authentic because they were eyewitness.
Chapter – I
CHAPTER – I

ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF THE PORTS AND TOWNS

OF SIND

Thatta was the capital of medieval Sind, occupied an important
place in the history of medieval period. It was the important town and
port of Sind during medieval period. Besides the town and port, it was
also a great centre of learning, art and culture. Laharibandar was its port
and all commercial transactions took place through Thatta and its port.

A number of scholars, poets and saints migrated here to seek the
patronage of the rulers. Thatta saw the period of several dynasties like
Sumrahs, Summahs, Arghuns, Tarkhans and the Mughals. The term
Thatta derived from the Persian word "teh ba teh" which mean ‘layer upon
layer’ and it shows different level of occupation ‘lying one upon the
other.’

There are many references related to its existence during the mid of
the fourteenth century. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi has discovered first
reference of Thatta in the following verse of Amir Khusrau from his book

2. Withington, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), (ed.) William Foster, New
Delhi, 1968,p190.
4. N.A. Baloch, ‘The origin of Thatta’ (Appendix), Ahmad Hasan Dani, Thatta
Tohfat-al-sighar. He visited Thatta during the period of his stay in Multan. The verse is as follows:

“A cypress like you is neither in Uch nor in Thatta,
A rose like your pretty face is certainly non existence.”

The other reference is to be found from the description of Barani and other contemporary historians like Afif and, Ibn Batutah etc. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi quotes the following verse from Mutahar Kara, a court poet of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He composed the verses in 1362 when Thatta was conquered by Firoz Shah. The poet tells the beauty and historical geography of Thatta –

“Thatta which is an Island, a country full of charms
On its one side is a river and the other Punjab (i.e.) Indus.”

Following are the remarks of Afif about Thatta:

“The city of Thatta lies in two parts one part is on the bank of river Sind towards Delhi and the other part lies across the river.”

Historians speak about its foundation in the mid-fifteenth century. They tell us that Thatta was founded by Jam Nizamuddin (1460-1505) when

7. Ibid; Dani, op.cit, pp.5-9
the Sumrah dynasty ruined and the power came in the hands of Summah dynasty. After his accession to the throne, Jam Nizamuddin ordered to establish a new capital which he named Thatta.⁹

According to the author of *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* it was divided into four Sarkars: first was the Sarkar of Thatta, second, the Sarkar of Chachkan, third, the Sarkar of Nasrpur, fourth, the Sarkar of Chakar Halah, first three Sarkar were situated on the Thatta side of the river and fourth was towards the hill across the river.¹⁰ Abul Fazl has pointed out the location of Thatta.¹¹

References has been given by different historians about the location of Thatta. As mentioned in *Early Travels in India* it was a great trading centre in India and its chief port was Laharibandar which took three days to reach Thatta. Same information also cited in other sources.¹²

¹¹. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, eng.trns. H.S. Jarrett, Vol II, New Delhi, 1978, p.338.(its length from Bhakkar to cutch and Makran was 257 kos, its breadth from the town of Budin to Bandar Lahori 100 kos and from the town of chando one of the dependencies of Bhakkar to Bikaner was 60 kos. Gujarat situated towards East of Thatta, to the North Bhakkar and Sewi, to the South, the ocean and to the west Kach and Makran).
Through the *Factory records* we can find the distance between Thatta and Laharibandar about 28 *kos* by land.\(^{13}\)

It is also mentioned in Hamilton's work that it was the emporium of the Province, a very large and rich city. It was about three miles long and one and half broad and was about 40 miles distance from Laharibandar. It had a large citadel on its west which had capacity of 5000 men and horses.\(^{14}\) According to Tavernier, Thatta was one of the largest town in India at the mouth of the river Indus.\(^{15}\)

Sources also refer about Thatta which was situated three *miles* from the Indus.\(^{16}\) It was rectangular in shape and three *miles* in length and one and half in breadth and was situated at the North of the river in a spacious plain. Due to its geographical situation it had capacity to serve as a centre of commercial activities and controlled all the river traffic between Laharibandar and other countries.\(^{17}\)

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Laharibandar

Another important town or port of Sind was Laharibandar. It was the chief sea-port of Sind and Thatta in the medieval period. The term Laharibandar has been pronounced by various historians in their different ways such as Alberuni termed it *Lahaniyye* or *Loharani* in his famous book *Kitab-ul-Hind*.\(^\text{18}\)

The term *Lahori* has been used by Ibn Batutah for Laharibandar,\(^\text{19}\) while the Early European travellers had referred it *Larrybandar, Laharibandar, Lahoribandar, Bunderlaree, Bunder-i-Sind, Sindee, Lahoria* or simply *Bandar*.\(^\text{20}\) James Mcmurdo has mentioned in his account that the term derived from the word ‘Lar’ meaning lower Sind where the port was situated.\(^\text{21}\)

Before the existence of Laharibandar, Debal had important place in Sind. It remained the chief port during the rule of the Ray, the Brahman and the Arabs. But during the eleventh century Laharibandar came into existence in its place.\(^\text{22}\) It assumed importance very soon because it was the single port of North-Western India. It also connected Sind and North-

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\(^\text{22}\) Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, pp. 269-270.
Western India to other coastal towns of India, Persian Gulf and other countries of Asia, Europe and Africa.\textsuperscript{23}

It is very difficult to examine its exact location but on the basis of evidence from travellers and historians, a general estimate can be made for instance \textit{Alberuni} placed it 12 \textit{farsakh} from the port of Debal and 30 \textit{farsakh} from Alor, at the mouth of the river Sind.\textsuperscript{24}

\textit{De Laet} also mentioned that Thatta was the largest trading centre in India and Laharibandar was its chief port and took 3 days journey from Thatta. Same information was also given by William Foster.\textsuperscript{25} Hamilton tried to give exact location of the port by writing that Laharibandar stood about 5 or 6 \textit{leagues} from the sea, on a branch of the river Indus.\textsuperscript{26} While according to the author of \textit{Tarikh i Tahiri} the distance between Thatta and Laharibandar was of 2 days journey both by land and by water.\textsuperscript{27}

In this way we can say that the distance of Laharibandar was not much far from Thatta, which was situated on the bank of the river Indus.

\textsuperscript{23} Mubarak Ali, op.cit, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{24} Alberuni, pp. 208-205.
\textsuperscript{26} Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{27} Tahir Mohammad Nisyani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Tahiri}, eng. trns. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, Delhi, 1867-77, p. 277.
Debal

Debal was the famous ancient port of Sind, which came into existence at the end of the fifth or sixth century A.D. During the rule of the Ray, the Brahman, and the Arabs, it remained the main port of Sind. All the commercial activities and business transactions took place through it.

We find the earliest reference of Debal in *Fathnama-i-Sind* called *Chachnama*. A number of references about Debal are available in the tenth century works such as Ibn Khurdabah, a traveller and post master of Abbasid Empire who referred Debal in his book *Al-Masalik-wa-al-Mamalik*. Inspite of this there are eyewitness accounts of Debal by Al-Masudi (942-43 AD), Al Istakhari (950-51 AD), Ibn Hauqal (943-968 AD), Al-Maqdisi state that Debal was the main port of Sind and a very flourished trading centre where the population of merchants was dominant.\(^28\)

The merchants of different countries had commercial contact with Debal. But with the passage of time it lost its economic importance and with the invasion of Jalaluddin of Khwarizm Shah in 1221, it totally declined.\(^29\)

\(^{28}\) N.A. Baloch, Sind: Studies Historical, Pakistan, July 2002, pp. 73-77.
\(^{29}\) Mubarak Ali, op.cit, p. 113.
Besides these accounts, other writers throw light on Debal though they never visited the port.\textsuperscript{30} There is a lot of controversy about the name of Debal as it lost its economic importance after the existence of Laharibandar. When the Portuguese, came in the sixteenth century in Sind, the local tradition called “Laharibandar” as Deval and Deval Sind while the English called this port “The city of Deval”.

While on the other side the Sindi historians such as \textit{Mir Masum}, the author of \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi} talked of “Deval Bandar” which now a days was known as Thatta and Laharibandar. Abul Fazl in his book \textit{Ain-i-Akbari} identified Thatta with Debal Mir Ali Sher Thattavi, the author of \textit{Tuhfal-ul-Kiram} referred Laharibandar as the ancient Debal.\textsuperscript{31}

There is another piece of information about the site of Debal. These are Archaeological evidences and much reliable. Exploratory work which had laid by N.G. Majumdar at Banbhore in 1930 to settle the problem of the identification of Debal but failed to find any evidence of Pre-Islamic occupation and culture which must certainly be present at Debal. But the search for Debal was continued by Leslie Alcock who took the charge of excavation of Banbhore in 1951. The Banbhore excavation brought the conclusion that the location of Debal is fixed in the vicinity of Banbhore.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Mir Mohammad Masum Bhakkari, \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi}, Ur. trns. Akhtar Rizvi, (ed.) Nabi Bakhsh Khan, Baloch, Hyderabad Sind (Pakistan), 1959, pp. 364-65.
It can also justified on the basis of distance given by Arab Geographers between Debal and Mansura. However in the light of these evidence we can say that the site of Banbhore and Debal are one and the same.\(^{32}\) It was the largest port not only of Sind but also the neighbouring regions and it was situated on the west side of the river.\(^{33}\)

Abul Fazl stated in *Ain* that Debal was situated in 102°31' longitude and 24°20' latitude\(^{34}\) on the other side W.H. Moreland tried to fix the site that where was it situated. According to him Debal was known from the Arab Geographers with the passage of time it disappeared but its name was survived in the form of Diul or Diul Sind till the end of the sixteenth century. It was situated near the Indus river.\(^{35}\) According to the author of *Kitab-ul-Akalim* the distance between Debal and Mansura was six days journey.\(^{36}\)

**Bhakkar**

Another important town of Sind was Bhakkar, stood opposite to Sukkhar on a Island.\(^{37}\) It was also called *Buckorsuccor*.\(^{38}\)

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It came into existence after the destruction of Alor due to the change in the course of the river. And as a result of it three towns Sukkhar, Bhakkar and Lohri came into existence and emerged as Urban Centres. The buildings of Bhakkar were much older than the buildings of Sukkhar and Lohri in its origin.\textsuperscript{39}

It was divided into eight \textit{Parganah}. Five of them were situated on the Lohri side and three on the side of Bhakkar. First was called Matilah, Second Alor, third ladah Kakan, fourth Kakori and fifth was Derbelah.

Another three \textit{Parganah} which were situated near Sukkhar were Jato, Chandukh, Takar. These \textit{Parganah} were inhabited by different tribes.\textsuperscript{40}

Regarding the location of Bhakkar there are differences of opinions among the writers. According to the \textit{Imperial Gazetteer of India} it was a fortified Island in the river Indus which came within the boundary of Sukkhar district.\textsuperscript{41}

In \textit{Factory records} we find that it was situated on the river Indus and 250 kos far from Thatta. Same information has also given by

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{39} Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, pp. 259-260.
\textsuperscript{40} Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, Vol. II, pp. 5-17.
\textsuperscript{41} I.G, Vol. IX, pp. 46-47.
\end{flushleft}
Tavernier. Manucci also fixed the location of Bhakkar by stating that it was situated at 28°30' of latitude, and 112°25' of longitude.

Mansura

The word Mansura derived from the root word ‘Nasr’ meaning ‘victory’. There are conflicting statements about the foundation of Mansura. Ibn al Wardi has mentioned that Mansura was founded by the Second Abbasid Caliph, Abu Jafar al Mansur while Yaqut has mentioned that the city was founded by Amir-Ibn Hafs-al-Hazarmard al Muhallabi.

In the opinion of Al Masudi The real founder of Mansura was Mansur ibn Jamhar al Kalbi. In the opinion of Baladuri Mansura was founded by Amr, son of Muhammad bin Qasim during the governorship of Hakim Ibn Awanah al Kalbi in the reign of Umayyed Caliph Hisham ibn abd al Malik. Baladuri’s information is more authentic than that of the others because it has been supported by modern scholars. They believed that Mansura was founded about 737 AD. This statement is also supported by the numismatic evidence. The British museum had a coin struck at Mansura in the year 734 AD.

It was like an Island and took six days from Debal, to reach Mansura. It was about a mile long and a mile broad and was surrounded

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42. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 277; E.F.I 1634-36, p. 129
by a branch of the river.\textsuperscript{45} According to \textit{Ain} its longitude was 105 and latitude was 26.40.\textsuperscript{46}

There are many controversies related its location. Al-Beruni and Al-Istakhari believed that Mansura was founded on the ancient site of Brahmanabad. In the same way most of the modern scholars such as Vellasis, Cunningham, Elliot and Cousens believed that Mansura and Brahmanabad are one and the same but it was not entirely correct because from the information of Al-Baladuri, Mansura was built at a distance of about 2 \textit{farsakh} (6 mile) from ancient Brahmanabad. It very clearly shows that Brahmanabad and Mansura were two different sites. On the basis of archeological evidence by M.R. Haig and Raverty, the site of Mansura was identified with Bhiro and the site of Brahmanabad with Depar ghanroo.\textsuperscript{47}

In this way we can say that there was lack of authenticity in the view of modern scholars regarding the location of Mansura.

\textbf{Nasrpur}

Nasrpur was founded by Amir Nasr, one of the officer of Firoz Shah Tughluq. Its strategic situation caused for the prominence of

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ain}, Vol. III, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{47} PHIC (68\textsuperscript{th} session), pp. 276-277
Nasrpur, which not only controlling Thatta but also keeping a check over eastern portion of lower Sind viz. Chachkan and approaches to cutch. 48

It was as big as Thatta and situated 30 kos distant from Thatta. 49

Siwistan (Sehwan)

Siwistan, also known as Siwasitan was a large town. Outside of which was a sandy desert. 50 The author of Mazhar-i-Shahjahani called it Sehwan. It was an old fort, situated on the bank of the river Indus in the direction of Sitpur Nahiran. The river had its way through the Northern side of the fort but while the population was situated on the Southern side of the fort.

It had eleven parganah, eight of them were situated on the side of the river along the fort, while other three were situated across the river. First was the parganah of Baghbanan, Second Patar, third Nayrun, fourth kahan, fifth Bubakan, sixth the parganah of Haweli Sihwan, seventh the parganah of Nayrun; in older times but in later period it was known as Kulab-i-Manchhur (Manchar lake) and the last was the parganah of Sann.

Now we come to other three parganah which was situated across the river, one of them was the parganah of Junejah, second the parganah

48. Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, p. 268.
50. Ibn Batutah, p. 185.
of Khittah, and third was the *parganah* of Lakut. At all these *parganah* different tribes were inhabited.\(^{51}\)

The town was strategically situated and commanded entry to lower Sind and called as the gateway of Thatta.\(^{52}\)

However Siwistan had an important place in Sind because of its geographical situation which helped the rulers to defend their regions against foreign attacks or local revolts and because of these reasons the forces under Khan-i-Khana decided to capture Siwistan first and later Akbar constituted as a separate Sarkar.\(^{53}\)

From the Factory records we find that it was situated 60 *kos* far from Thatta, by land.\(^{54}\)

**Rohri**

Rohri was the bigger town than Sukhar and Bhakkar, built of clay and stone.\(^{55}\) It was situated in the way from Lahore to Thatta.\(^{56}\) On the basis of other sources it can be said that it was found on the way of Merta or Menta, consisted of husbandmen, who were engaged in business.\(^{57}\) (see Appendix I).

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52. Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit. pp. 262-263.
53. Ibid.
Chapter – II
Sind was a prosperous province during the pre-Mughal period. Its prosperity was based on its situation on the bank of the river Indus. Earlier, Sind was isolated from the outer world, but now due to the establishment of ports and towns it came into contact with the far off countries and other regions of India. These ports and towns increased the commercial importance of Sind\(^1\)

Mansura and Debal were the main centres of trade and commerce during the pre-Mughal period. These towns and ports connected Sind with the outside world and regional places through the sea-routes as well as land routes. Both Debal and Mansura were important because, the former had a big market for various kinds of goods and later was famous for the cheap price of goods.\(^2\)

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1. *Historical Studies*, op.cit, p. 113.
Thatta also played a significant role in economic prosperity of Sind and the river Indus made it very fertile and other Islands around it proved advantageous for Thatta and Sind.\(^3\)

Thatta was the capital of Sind and all commercial transactions took place through it and its port Laharibandar. The ships or vessels from other parts of India and outside India arrived at Laharibandar.\(^4\) The ships which were transported from far off countries to Laharibandar took eight to ten days to reach the port.\(^5\) As Hamilton pointed out that Laharibandar received the loaded ships of more than 200 to 300 tons. The merchandise were brought to Thatta in small boats upto the river and by the land on packed animals. Vessels and Cargos were also used for the heavy commodities. Laharibandar had a large stone fort on which four or five expert men were appointed to protect the merchandise. They protected them from the robberies of Baluchis and Makranis.\(^6\) Whenever any ship entered the port, a gun was fired to inform the local merchants and inhabitants of the town, of its arrival.\(^7\) Besides these maritime activities, a traffic went on between Thatta and Laharibandar. Hamilton records that a place four miles away from the port towards Thatta, contained a fort called *Dungbam*. It was used as *Sarai* and twenty cottages around the

building served as the breeding centre of goats and sheeps, supplying the needs of those passing through it. Thevenot who wrote his account on Sind mentions Laharibandar as a great centre of trade. It provided better harbour for ships, than any other place.

In the context of trade the Portuguese were the first, who came into close contact to Sind for trade. During the sixteenth century they were the dominant power at Laharibandar. They understood themselves as the supreme power of Arabian sea, and no maritime commerce could be done without the permission of the Portuguese. The merchants from the other countries had formed an alliance with them for trade at Laharibandar. Because of their dominant nature in trade, they did not allow any other foreign merchants to come to Thatta and Laharibandar. Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived at Laharibandar, was harshly treated by them and even his house was set fire. But in the last decade of the sixteenth century, with the fall of Hurmuz, which was under their control, the power of the Portuguese decline and due to it the trade of Sind began to weak but with the coming of the Britishers trade in Sind again flourished.

In 1635, the English factory was established in Sind, through some negotiation with the Portuguese. But, their relations with its local merchants were not cordial. In one incident, when in 1620 A.D., the English had seized goods of the local merchants, while they were on their voyage to Masqat. At that time Asaf Khan, the governor of the port, asked the English to give them compensation, otherwise the matter would be reported to the Emperor.  

At the same time the Dutch also started their trade in Sind but they received no support from local population. Because the trade with Sind was much beneficial for the English than the Dutch. The Export of silk was financially helping the trade with Gulf, which provided a method of supplying the goods in Persia. The Dutch had a monopoly of spices in Persia but the English developed the trade of Indigo from Sind to Basra. English were concerned to develop their trade with the commodities of Sind which supplied from Gujarat to develop their markets of London.

In some ways trade at Laharibandar was considered to be more beneficial than at Thatta. The English factors reported in 1636 that “the will of the Governor is a law at Thatta where he sets what prices he pleaseth on commodities; while at Laharibandar “it is not so”, for their

14. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, op.cit, p. 42.
the prizes (prices) are known and set down in a rate book, not to be innovated or altered at every covetous or unjust Governor’s will.\textsuperscript{15}

Due to the strategical situation of Sind, it attracted the attention of the merchants of other parts of India and outside India. Thatta, Debal, and Laharibandar were connected to Sind from the other coastal towns of India and European countries.

Ibn Batutah gave reference about the trade relations of Sind with Yamen and Faras.\textsuperscript{16} From the Factory records it appears that Laharibandar traded with Hurmuz and it was passed by the Portugal’s frigates.\textsuperscript{17} The trade remained continued between Thatta and congo, Basra.\textsuperscript{18} Musqat was also involved in trade with Laharibandar.\textsuperscript{19}

Besides the external trade, the ports and towns of Sind had interregional trade. Thatta was not important for external trade but it was also crucial for transit trade such as trade between the regions of Northern India and Laharibandar.\textsuperscript{20} Agra also had trade relation with it.\textsuperscript{21} The inter-regional trade between Thatta and Laharibandar was carried on through Bhakkar.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} E.F.I. 1634-36, p. 244.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibn Batutah, p. 187.
\item \textsuperscript{17} E.F.I 1618-1621, p. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{18} E.F.I. 17634-36, pp. 130-131.
\item \textsuperscript{19} E.F.I. 1624-29, p. 54.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, p. 268.
\item \textsuperscript{21} William Hawkins, \textit{Early Travels in India}, p. 100.
\item \textsuperscript{22} H.K. Naqvi, Vol. I, op.cit, pp. 86-86.
\end{itemize}
(b) Administration

Due to the commercial importance of Thatta, Akbar wanted to subjugate it in his empire and establish a firm administration in Sind. The Tarkhan rulers wanted to keep up good relation with Akbar by claiming a common descent from Timur. Mirza Baqi Tarkhan sent proposal to Akbar to marry with his daughter Sindhi Begum, but latter did not accept this proposal because he wanted total submission of Sind in his empire, so he sent many expedition against Sind and lastly it was conquered and annexed in Mughal territory. Here Akbar established a firm administration and appointed many officers.23

First was Shah Bandar, the chief port officer, had full control over the trade between Laharibandar and other countries. The second principal minister in Mughal administration, designated as the Bakhshi’u’l Mamalik, Officer in charge of the army, postings and intelligence.24 Shah Bandar also held the post of Bakhshi. Law and order was apparently under a Faujdar referred as the Hakim, he was not under the control of shah Bandar. The Hakim was a sub-ordinate of the provincial governor. The officers were required to sit together in the Kachehri.25

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Now the question arises to what extent the central administration gave its support to flourish foreign commerce? The attitude of the central administration was favourable towards foreign commerce and they gave their full support to the merchants of Sind and other countries. The merchants had to pay the custom duties or charges for security but it was not more than 2½ percent.26

According to W.H. Moreland an officer was appointed on the port to welcome merchants and provide them all facilities for trade. He had authority to refuse or to admit their goods and could also claim a large share of the profit from the custom duties for himself.

Moreland further narrates an event which is related to the position of the custom officer as follows: “The English merchants tried to open trade at the Indus port of Laharibandar in 1613. But at that time there was the Portuguese dominance over the port and they objected to competition of any other countries. So they threatened the officer that they would abandon the port if he allowed the English to trade. At this situation he could not understand what he could do as the Portuguese paid him a large amount as duty charges. He submitted the fixed amount to the king and had extra amount for himself. So he had a proposal in front of the English if they paid more remunerative to him rather than the Portuguese, he

26. *India at the death of Akbar*, op.cit, pp. 46-47.
would open the trade for them but the English merchants were not in a position to promise this so they went towards South without transacting any business.\textsuperscript{27}

This event proves the strong position of the officer of the port, his power and authority to permit the merchants for trade.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
Chapter – III
CHAPTER – III

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCIAL COMMODITIES

Fortunately, Sind possessed both over land-routes and sea-routes and its inter regional trade was transformed by both routes.

The first important route for inter-regional trade was between Thatta and Laharibandar. It appears from the account of Hamilton that a Kafila was sent from Thatta to Laharibandar and all goods and merchandise which imported or exported between both places were transported on camels, oxen and horses. When a Kafila or carvan was sent from Thatta to Laharibandar, a guard with 100 or 200 horses was appointed to protect them from the loot of the Baluchis and Makranis. The guard was appointed by the Viceroy (Governor) of Thatta.1

From Thatta another route went towards Agra.2 From the other sources we find that Thatta also developed its inter-regional trade through Bhakkar.3

Irfan Habib mentions in his Atlas about the land route from Multan to Bhakkar thence to Thatta.4 A Kafila of Thatta was sent to Multan, Lahore and Agra and business was carried on among the merchants of all

2. William Hawkins, Early Travels in India, pp. 100, 218.
the regions. It is mentioned in factory records that the merchants of
Thatta hired carts from Agra to Multan thence to Thatta.\(^5\)

From *Ain-i-Akbari* we find another route which started from Thatta
to Qandahar. This route was around the mountains and one of them
inclined towards Qandahar.\(^6\) Next route, started from Thatta towards
Ahmadabad along with Radhanpur\(^7\)

The other major routes started from Bhakkar. Irfan Habib mentions
about two land routes which started from there one of them went from
Bhakkar towards Qandahar.\(^8\) The next route commenced from Ajmer to
Jaisalmer and thence to Bhakkar.\(^9\) Besides these routes the trade was also
carried from Agra to Bhakkar through camels. However, it was one of the
important route of inland trade which had twenty days journey to cover
the distance between Agra and Bhakkar.\(^10\) Next important route started
from Siwistan to Thatta. This was also known as Lakhi route.\(^11\) Irfan
Habib provides more detail about this route. According to him this route
emerged from Siwistan, led through the narrow lakhi pass, between Lakhi
hill and the Indus. It then went by the way of San to Nairankot and then

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    Mughal Empire*, op.cit, p. 15.
acrossed the river at Samuvi to Thatta.\textsuperscript{12} The other routes were from Jaisalmer to Thatta and from Ahmadabad to Nagar Parkar thence to Thatta.\textsuperscript{13} Next important route mentions in other sources such as route from Mansura to Rajasthan.\textsuperscript{14} According to Abul Fazl one route also called Kirthar which commenced from Siwistan to Sewi\textsuperscript{15} (See Appendix I).

Besides the land routes Sind had also sea-routes for trade. As Irfan Habib mentions that except the four month of winter, the boats were the main means of transportations. The first water ways was from Multan to Thatta.\textsuperscript{16} Next sea-route started from Thatta to Laharibandar and the distance between both the places (from boat) was of 3 days.\textsuperscript{17} Irfan Habib mentions about other route which went from Siwistan and Nasrpur to Thatta.\textsuperscript{18} The goods were carried through boats from Agra to Thatta, but at the time of rainy season, it took forty days to reach Thatta along with Multan, Sitpur, Bhakkar and Rohri and each boat could be loaded sixty tons or upwards.\textsuperscript{19} Besides these sea routes, which connected Sind with the important coastal towns of India, also carried foreign trade of Sind.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, op.cit p. 15.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid, p. 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} PHIC (68 Session), p. 278.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Ain, pp. 338-39.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, op.cit, p. 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Withington, Early Travels in India, pp. 212-213.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, op.cit, p. 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} William Finch, Early Travels in India, p. 161.
\end{itemize}
The trade between Thatta and Hurmuz was passed through water ways and import - export was carried by the Portuguese frigates.\(^{20}\) Next sea-route started from Laharibandar to Masqat.\(^{21}\)

The land routes and sea-routes played an important role in the economic prosperity of Sind because through these routes the commodities were carried easily from one place to another place. The merchants of distant places like Agra found it cheaper to bring their goods by land route. The merchants of Thatta hired carts from Agra to Multan thence to Thatta because from Agra to Multan the transport charges including custom charges did not exceed one rupee per mound.\(^{22}\)

**Commercial commodities - Export and Import**

Sind had self sufficient economy and it was in a position to export surplus produce and manufactured goods to its neighbouring regions. Geographical situation of Sind made it an important part of western India. Its sea-routes, land routes and cheaper transport charges enabled it to attract the transit trade from far off regions such as Delhi, Agra, Southern parts of India etc. Besides the inter-regional trade it had trade contact to the far off countries.

Most of the commercial commodities were produced in Sind and it had few imports from the other regions. According to Ibn Batutah Sind

\(^{20}\) E.F.I. 1618-1621, p. 12; *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, op.cit, p. 83.

\(^{21}\) Ibid 1624-29, p. 54.

\(^{22}\) Ibid 1634-36, pp. 130-131.
possessed a large port and the revenue from this port was sixty lakhs per year \(^{23}\) and the port of Laharibandar had capacity to receive 200 or 300 ships at a time.\(^{24}\) The Arab geographers, Ibn Hauqal and Al Masudi observed that commodities like oranges, ivory, drugs, camels and cambay shoes were exported through Laharibandar. It enjoyed central position between Persia, Iraq and Arabia on the West and Sind, Lahore and India in its North-East. It was connected with these regions by means of river.\(^{25}\) We also find that the goods were exported mainly to the Persian Gulf or sent Southward along the coast to Gujarat and Goa.\(^{26}\) Thatta was conquered (1591) during Akbar’s time and the Portuguese established friendly relation with the Mughal officials of the port.\(^{27}\)

All export and import was done through Thatta and its port, Laharibandar. Manucci mentions in his account that the Arabian and Persian vessels were anchored at Laharibandar and the port exported white and black sugar, butter, olive oil and cocos which was known as Indian nut. Besides these commodities white linen (cotton cloth and printed cloth) were also exported to them. In return they imported dates, horses, seed pearls, incense, gummastic, senna leaves, and Jews stones.

\(^{24}\) Hamilton, Vol. I pp. 114..
\(^{26}\) From Akbar to Aurangzeb, op.cit, p. 41.
\(^{27}\) India at the death of Akbar, op.cit, p. 204.
All these goods which were imported by Arabian and Persian vessels, came from Mecca.²⁸

The charge of the ships, which passed from Sind to Persia, varied according to the nature of the ships such as the loaded ship of indigo, sugar etc. charged as seven rupees per corwar, which was equivalent to eight mounds of Sind. The goods were also sent into Pukka which consisted of forty piece of goods.²⁹

A chart has been given by W.H. Moreland of the Indian export trade at the opening of the Seventeenth century to shows that calico was the chief commodity which was exported at that time to Persian Gulf and Goa from Laharibandar.³⁰

There were various commodities which were exported from Laharibandar such as yarn, silk, Indigo, saltpetre, sugar, leather goods, ornamented desks, writing cases and other goods made with ivory and ebony, quilts, and mattresses. And the important commodities which were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coastal Region</th>
<th>Principal Export</th>
<th>Destination</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sind-Laharibandar</td>
<td>Calico</td>
<td>Persian Gulf; Coastwise to Goa</td>
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²⁸ Manucci, Vol. I, p. 58; *A social and cultural history of Sind*, op.cit, p. 23.
²⁹ E.F.I. 1634-36, pp. 133-34 (*Khar-war-an ass’s load*).
³⁰ *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, op.cit, p. 57.
received by Laharibandar were pearl from Bahrain, gold, silver, drugs and dates were brought by the Portuguese. The textile industry of Thatta was in flourishing condition and it was the cheaper place for cloth manufacturing. 3000 families of weavers were engaged in textile industry of Thatta. The weavers of Thatta manufactured Jamewar (Wrought silk), Kutanees (cotton) were made to mix silk and cotton and silk mixed with carmina wool as culbuleys were manufactured there. Besides these cloths, white and printed cloth were also manufactured in Thatta and exported to Arabia and Persia. We also find that leather was made from buffaloe’s skin which was named by the Portuguese as Sindi leather. It was exported to Arabia and Persia. Sindi leather was best in comparison to the leather of other parts of India.

Thatta was also very rich to produce grain and butter for the local consumption and for export to other countries like Masqat. Great quantity of butter were also exported. It generally melt and put up in jars which called Duppas.

31. Historical Studies, op.cit, p. 119.
35. A social and cultural history of Sind, op.cit, 127-28.
Another important goods were perfumes which were prepared especially in Thatta and from there it was carried to Surat and thence to China. In China it beared good price. A root called, Putchock or Radix dulics was used in its composition. According to factory records Indigo and Sugar were brought from Agra to Thatta and from there it was carried to Congo and Basra.

Indigo was the important cash crop and produced in Siwistan. It was able to manufacture 2,000 mounds of indigo per year. It brought to Thatta via the river and thence it was exported to Persia and Arabia. They imported metals, particularly silver was brought from Persia. But species and luxury goods imported from both the places. (See Appendix II).

As we have already seen that the commodities of Sind were exported to foreign countries but export-import of these commodities were also carried on between the towns of Sind. All transactions took place for trading purpose via land routes or sea-routes.

As Thatta produced wheat, butter, oil and cloths and all these commodities exported to Bhakkar. Besides Bhakkar, Thatta also

40. Ibid, p. 126.
41. E.F.I 1634-36, p. 130.
42. Ibid , p. 129; India at the death of Akbar, op.cit, p. 204.
43. India at the death of Akbar, op.cit., p. 204.
44. Ibid.
45. E.F.I. 1634-36, p. 129.
exported butter and oil to Siwistan. Opium was also produced in Thatta and exported to Siwistan for sale via river which took ten days to reach there and the custom charges was six rupees upon a boat.\textsuperscript{46} Besides Bhakkar and Siwistan, Nasrpur were also engaged in trade with Thatta and it exported butter and grain to Nasrpur.\textsuperscript{47}

As we have already seen that most of the commodities were exported from Thatta but it received few commodities from the neighbouring regions. A textile industry was established at Thatta, Nasrpur and Siwistan and 3000 families of weavers in Thatta and Nasrpur and 1000 families in Siwistan were engaged to weave cloth.\textsuperscript{48} Cotton yarn produced in Thatta was 30 to 40 percent dearer than Surat because it was procured from Cutch.\textsuperscript{49}

Laharibandar imported Sugar both candy and powder from Multan and Lahore, Bengal Cloth, painted cloth and white cotton fabrics from its northern provinces.\textsuperscript{50} We also find that ghee and opium were sent to Thatta from Siwistan via river.\textsuperscript{51} (see Appendix-III).

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, pp. 128, 129, 130.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{50} H.K. Naqvi, Vol. I, op.cit, pp. 81-83.
\textsuperscript{51} Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, p. 263.
Chapter - IV
CHAPTER - IV

SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF SIND

The social structure of Sind was based on its geographical and climatic condition. From the beginning society was organized on tribal basis and no major changes had taken place in the later period.

From the geographical point of view, Sind was divided into four different regions, the hilly lands, the river valley, the desert and the delta. In all these regions different tribes were settled. The hill and the desert peoples lived nomadic and tribal life and the tribal pattern became an important part of their social life because it was the only tool for protection in a nomadic life.¹ The tribal people in the river plains and the desert people were mostly farmers and cattle breeders.

Religion also divided Sindian society into two major sections: the Muslims and the Hindus. Most of the Hindus embraced Islam and the inter-marriages among them led to increase the Muslim population in the region.²

The society of Sind had different classes such as Aristocrats, Imperial nobles, the A’imah, mansabdars, the qadis, muftis, sadrs,

¹ Arshad Islam, op.cit., pp. 116-17.
² Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., pp. 197-201.
muhtasibs etc. Besides these elements the scholars, ulema, huffaz, the sadat, zamindars, Arbabs and Muqaddams, petty officials, traders, shopkeepers, artisans, farmers, workers and herdsmen were also the citizens of Sind.³

The Muslim population of Sind had many Arab families, who were settled in Sind e.g. the Sadat, Abbasids, Qadis, Quraish and Phawars.⁴

The Sadat were the respected group in Sind. They were the most learned men and enjoyed considerable respect due to their learning. They migrated towards Sind from Central Asia, Khurasan and settled in Multan and Mansura. The Sadat Lak Alwis was the most aristocratic class among the Sadat groups and settle mainly in Bhakkar, Thatta and Siwistan.⁵ The Baluchis were the other important tribe of Sind. They settled on the western bank of the river Indus and confined to some particular regions such as the foothills of Siwistan⁶ and Chakarhalah.⁷ The Baluchis were divided into many sub-tribes.⁸ During the Mughal period many other sub-

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4. Ibid, p. 209; The Arab tribes were divided into eighteen families or groups. The name of the families or groups are as follows – Sakifis (Thaqif), the Tamim, the Mughairah. The Abbasid, Siddiqi, the Faruqi, the Usmani, the Phanwar, the Mangi, the Jabriyah, the Asad, the Utbah, the Banwali, the Banu al Hakim, the Jarimah, the Ansaris, the Jat and the Baluchis). Chach Namah, eng trans. Mirza Kalich Beg, Hyderabad, November 1901, Vol. II, pp. 29-30.
5. Ibid, pp. 210-11.
8. I.G., Vol. XXII, p. 407; Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., pp. 221-22 (The sub-tribes of the Baluchis were the Rinds, the Dombkins, the Khosa, the Jamalis, the
tribes were added in the Baluchis such as the Nuhmardi and the Nazahari. They were Sunni Muslims and orthodox in their beliefs.

The Summahs were the another important tribe of Sind. They were the local tribes during the Ghazanavids period and established their own kingdom in Sind. They made Tur their capital. The Summahs adopted the title of ‘Jam’.

Another important tribe was the Samijahs. They emerged as most powerful tribe. The Laks, the Kurijahs and the Sohtas were the other Rajput tribes. The Samijahs were divided into sub-tribes and settled in the area of Sarkar Bhakkar to the Parganah of Baghbanan, Kahan, Bubakan, Khittah and Lakhwat of Sarkar Siwistan to the Sarkar Nasrpur and Chakarhalah. The Sudhas and the Jarijahs tribes lived from Bhakkar

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10. *I.G.*, Vol. XXII, p. 407; (The Baluchis were more fair, strong and laborious. They were brave and having the dominant feeling of Nationalism and loyalty) Ibid, p. 406.
14. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 36, 40, 41, 63, 66, 68, 75, 77, 80; *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 339 (the Samijahs were divided into twelve qawm (tribe or sub-tribes) such as Bukiyah, Tibah, Juniyah, Pariyah, Dal, Kihar, Utha, Lakhiyar, Rajpal, Bihan, Mingwanahm, and Unar); Ibid, pp. 82-83.
to Nasrpur and Umarkot. Darijahs lived all over the Parganah of Matilah, Alor, Bhakkar and Ladakhakan. While the Mangnijahs lived in the Parganah of Kakari. The Bhattis and the Sahtas lived in the Parganah of Darbelah.

Other Rajput tribes were Halaputrahs, the Khwajahs, the Manjandas, the Kumas, the Jajars, the Khijahs, the Bihans and the Ditahs. The Macchis, the Mallahs and the Panni Afghans were also the tribes of Sind. The jats also settled in sind.

**Custom and tradition:**

Sind was dominated by the people of the different races and cultures. So the customs, Dress and festivals were different from each other. All these things show the social status of the people.

The joint family system existed both in Hindus and Muslims. Inter marriages also established among the tribes, for instance Sadat families established matrimonial alliance with the ruling class of Sind and the ruling class also entered into matrimonial alliances with the

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17. Ibid.
22. Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 212 (Salih Tarkhan’s daughter married to the son of Sayyid Ali Shirazi.)
Mughals. Polygamy, child marriages were prevalent among the Hindus. In his account Withington has mentioned about child-marriage. Widow re-marriage was practiced in Sind but the Lohanas were not infavour of widow-remarriage. But in some sections of Lohana caste, a custom was prevalent that after the death of her husband, a widow was married to her brother-in-law.

Sati was prevalent in Sind particularly among the Rajputs. But sometime when they did not burn themselves, they used to shave their heads and never used ornaments till their death.

**Festival:**

The people of Sind followed the policy of cultural assimilation and peaceful co-existence and both Muslims and the Hindus, participated in each other festivals. The Muslims celebrated festivals like *Muharram*, *Eid, Bakra Eid*. Annual ‘Urs’ (anniversary) were celebrated by the people, who used to visit the tomb of Saints and sacred places. The

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23. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, ‘The Mughal Annexation of Sind-Diplomatic and Military History’, op.cit., p. 140 (Jani Beg’s daughter was married with Mirza Iraj the son of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana).
24. Withington, *Early Travels in India*, p. 221
26. Withington, *Early Travels in India*, p. 219 (He reported about a woman who compelled by her relatives and friends to burn with her husband).
27. Ibid, (He reported about Bania’s wife that after her husband’s death, she had to lead a very peevish life).
people believed that visiting a tomb, their wishes would be fulfilled. Fairs were held on these occasions and temporary market sprang up where the village people used to purchase their necessities of life. As the occasion of the birthday of the Prophet food was distributed and *mahfil-i-milad* was organized.

Among the Hindus, Holi, Diwali, Daserah, Thadri and Shivaratry were celebrated. On the occasions of Shivaratri Hindu took bath on the banks of the sacred streams of Dakri Kalan and Dakri Khurd in the Sarkar of Siwistan. The *tirath* centres attracted both Hindus and Muslims such as the birthplace of Uderolal at Jhai-jo-goth (Nasrpur) visited by both Hindus and Muslims and a fair was held at the first day of Chaitr.

*Ain-i-Akbari* refers a strange custom prevalent in Sind where lived a group of people called, *Jigar Khwaran* (Liver eaters), who through enchantment could abstract a man’s liver. Mostly women were expert in this art. Besides these festivals and customs, there was also another custom in which a tribe Bawaratiya was involved. They made predictions

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29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
of the future, which rarely came true.\textsuperscript{36} Both example show that Sindis were superstitious.

Besides these festivals and customs we have some information about Dress, food and ornaments of the Sindis. We have paucity of information about the ornaments of the Sindi people. They used traditional ornaments such as earrings, nose rings, bracelets, necklaces, anklets, which were made of gold and silver.

As Hamilton stated that the ladies wore rings of ivory. It started from their arm-pits to their elbows and from elbows to wrist of both arms, when they died, all their ornaments were burnt along with them.\textsuperscript{37}

Besides the ornaments we have information about the food of the Sindis. The staple food of the people as mentioned in \textit{Ain} was rice (shali) and fish.\textsuperscript{38} The food of the upper classes of Sind was comprised of wheat, rice, sugar, mutton, chicken and fishes.\textsuperscript{39} As reported by Withington about the food of the Hindus that they did not prefer cow or buffalo’s meat because they considered them sacred.\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Tuhfat-ul-kiram}, eng.trns, Elliot and Dowson, Vol.I, p. 331.
\textsuperscript{37} Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 128; Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., 252.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ain}, Vol. II, p. 339.
\textsuperscript{40} Withington, \textit{Early Travels in India}, pp. 218-19.
\end{flushright}
Sindis wore generally _Shalwar, Kurta_ with a turban (Patka),\(^4^1\) while the inhabitants of Mansura used the same dress as used by the people of Iraq.\(^4^2\) According to Orlich, men of Thatta used turbans and women wrapped themselves with a long cotton cloth, may be it was _ghaghra_.\(^4^3\)

**Sufism in Sind**

Religion was always dominant in Sind. Before the coming of Islam, there was Hindu rule over there. But with the invasion of Mohammad. Bin Qasim, Islam entered in Sind and the arrival of Islam opened a new path for both, the Muslims and the lower castes of Hindus. Some of the Hindu families were attracted towards Islam.

Sufism has been an important part of Muslim culture and religious life of the whole region and affected the people from all walks of life. Most of the people of Sind were the followers of Sufi orders which became a part and parcel of their life. The orders were the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, Qadiri and Shattari. These orders played a very vital role in the religious, social and cultural life of Sind.\(^4^4\)

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44. Fatima Zehra, Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri order in India*, Delhi, 2005, p. 3-4 (introduction).
Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya was one of the famous Saint of Suhrawardi order. He was appointed as a Khalifa by Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi and sent from Baghdad to Sind and Multan to established a Suhrawardi Khanqah. He settled and preached the people and his khanqah emerged as a great centre of the Sufi disciples. The seven sons of Bahauddin Zakariya and a large number of disciples spread all over Multan and Sind.

Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Makhdum-i-Jahanian was a great Sufi of Suhrawardi order and the powerful tribes of Sumrah, Summah came under his influence and eliminated the influence of the Ismailies. This order greatly flourished in Sind under the guidance of Shaikh Patha and Shaikh Uthman La’l Shahbaz of Siwistan.

During the Arghun(1519-1555) and the Tarkhan(1555-1590) period a number of Sufis of Suhrawardi order were found in Sind. Some of them belonged to the family of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya itself. They were Shaikh Haji Baba al Din, Pir Shaikh Ali, Shaikh Kala Quraishi, Shaikh Ismail Quraishi (settled at Thatta) and Shaikh Fadil Quraishi at...
Bakhera.\textsuperscript{50} Besides these Sufis there were a number of other Suhrawardi Sufis who gave a new life to the order. Among them were Makhdum Ishaq of Halah-Kandi and his sons, Makhdum Bilal of Talti and his disciples Makhdum Nuh.\textsuperscript{51}

During the Tarkhan period a number of Suhrawardi Sufis were encouraged to come from Multan to Sind. They were Pir Shaikh Ali, Shaikh Kala etc.\textsuperscript{52}

*Khanqah* was the main part of Sufi orders and resting place of the Sufis. Various charity was provided to the *Khanqah* by the rulers. It was aristocratic in nature and the Suhrawardis were accepted for the service of the Sultans. They involved in the administrative work and accepted government honours. Showing the aristocratic nature of the *Khanqah*, it was pious and the slave girls in the *Khanqah* were busy in reciting the praises of God.\textsuperscript{53}

**Qadiri Order**

The Qadiri order founded in twelfth century at Baghdad by the disciples and followers of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani. It had great

\textsuperscript{50} Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 281.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid. Makhdum Bilal was punished by Shah Beg Arghun because the people of Sind had many grievances against him and welcomed a number of Sufis and Ulema of the Qadiri and Naqshbandi orders from Central Asia.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, pp. 281-82.
\textsuperscript{53} K.A. Nizami, op.cit., pp. 42-43; Arshad Islam, op.cit., pp. 143-44.
influence in contemporary society and culture and created a new thought of life to the people.\textsuperscript{54}

Like the Suhrawardi, the Qadiri order was also popular in Sind where it entered in mid fifteenth century. Shaikh Ahmad Baghdadi and his brother Shaikh Mohammad the disciples of Shaikh Abdul Qadir came to Sind with forty \textit{Khuddams} (followers).\textsuperscript{55} They settled in Sind at Nasrpur, Sukkhar, Thatta and Makli hill.\textsuperscript{56}

The main object of the Qadiris to settle in Sind was to finish the Isma'ilis influence in Sind. Other reason for spreading the Qadiri order in Sind was that they wanted to stop the revival of Mahdawi movement in Sind.\textsuperscript{57}

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century a number of Qadiris came in Sind and settled in different parts of this region. They influenced the people by their missionary zeal. The famous Qadiri Sufis of Sind were: Sayyid Manba who belonged to the family of Abdul Qadir Gilani. He came to Thatta during the reign of Shah Beg Arghun. Political disturbance in Central Asia and Iran and Arghun patronage was the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item History of the Qadiri order, op.cit., p. 9.
\item Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 283 (Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani ordered them to proceed to Sind. Their tomb are also situated at Makli (Thatta); Arshad Islam. op.cit., p. 148.
\item History of the Qadiri order, op.cit., p. 92.
\item Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 283-86.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
reason of his migration.\footnote{58} Another famous Qadiri Sufi was Sayyid Shah Abdullah Hasani Qadiri. He migrated from Gujarat to Thatta in the reign of Mirza Shah Beg Arghun and settled at Makli.\footnote{59} Besides Abdullah Hasani, another group of Qadiri Sufis came from Gujarat and settled there to expand the Qadiri order in Sind. For instance Khalifa Abul Barkat, a disciple of Shah Hafizullah Qadiri, belonged to Gujarat. He came to Sind during the Tarkhan period.\footnote{60}

Shaikh Mohammad Yaqub was another disciple of Shah Hafizullah Qadiri of Gujarat. He came to Sind with Abul Barkat and gave his full support to spread the Qadiri order in Sind.\footnote{61} Khizr Seistani’s contribution was praiseworthy for expansion and popularity of Qadiri order in Sind.\footnote{62} Sayyid Barkhurdar Qadiri, a descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, also came from Baghdad and settled at Makli.\footnote{63}

The Qadiri order in Sind flourished under the influence of these famous Sufis, who settled in different parts of Sind.

\footnotetext[58]{Ibid, p. 286.}
\footnotetext[59]{History of the Qadiri order, op.cit., p. 93 (Sayyid Shah Abdullah Hasani remained a famous Sufi throughout his life and spent his life in meditation. He buried at Makli.}
\footnotetext[60]{Ibid, p. 94 (Khalifa Abul Barkat’s son and descendants Khalifa Mahmud, Khalifa Hamid and Khalifa Mohammad Sa’id played on a crucial role to spread this order in Sind).}
\footnotetext[61]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[62]{Ibid, p. 95 (It was famous for him that he act fruits and passed his winter nights in a Tandur).}
\footnotetext[63]{Ibid (The Sadat of Thatta refused to accept him as Sayyid but later on they apologized for their mistake).}
Naqshbandi order

Along with the Suhrawardi and Qadiri order, the Naqshbandi order also flourished in Sind.

The order also known as *Silsilah-i-Khawajgan*, was the earliest mystic order but was the last to reach India. It was organized by Khwaja Ahmad Ala Yasvi but really organized and developed in the fourteenth century by Khwaja Baha-ud-din Naqshband. It organized in India by Khwaja Baqi Billah (1564-1603).\(^{64}\)

Most important and dominant Sufis of Naqshbandi order was Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624), a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. He belonged to the Naqshbandi of Bukhara. Naqshbandi order reached its zenith and developed its own characteristics when it came under Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.\(^{65}\)

The purpose of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was to stop the movement of Mahdi of Jaunpur, which had undermined the position of Prophet and his beliefs. A number of Naqshbandi Sufis came in Sind and settled at Thatta with the purpose to diminish the movement of Mahdi of Jaunpur. Among them was Miyan Kabir and Makhdum Mohammad Siddiq, who

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\(^{64}\) Ibid, p. 8; John A Subhan, op.cit., p. 286.
\(^{65}\) Ibid.
belonged to the family of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624), the most dominant Sufi of the Naqshbandi order. They settled at Thatta.

The other Sufis of Naqshbandi order were Makhdum Ibrahim, who settled in Rohri, Miyan Mohammad Hamzah, Sayyid Abdullah, Sayyid Rahmatullah etc., were the other prominent Sufis of this order.^^

Near the end of the Summah period, Sayyid Mohammad Husain Pir Murad and his younger brother, Miyan Sayyid ‘Ali’ Shirazi Kalan were known for their proselytizing activities. Under him a large number of Hindus were converted and they transferred their temples into mosques.

During the Mughal period, the position of the family of Pir Murad became strong. The Tarkhans established matrimonial alliances with Pir Murad’s family to strengthen their position against the Arghuns.^^

Besides these important Sufi orders, there was another order that existed in Sind such as Mahdawi movement. A Sufi of Jaunpur, named Sayyid Mohammad the founder of Mahdawi Movement came to Sind and declared himself to be the awaited Mahdi. His ideology brought him and his followers into conflict with the orthodox Ulema. Because of the opposition of Ulema, he and his followers were compelled for wandering from one place to another. Lastly, he moved towards Sind from Gujarat in

the reign of Jam Nizamuddin Nanda, the ruler of Summah dynasty. His followers or disciples who came to Sind were Darya Khan, Shaikh Sadr-al-Din, Qazi Qazan and Shaikh Mohammad of Uch.\textsuperscript{68}

**The role of Ulema**

In the middle ages, *Ulema* were considered as an influential class of the Muslim society. They had respectable position in society because of their religious knowledge. At that time those who acquired religious knowledge and had control over it called ‘Amil’ while their prestige and honour depend on their practice, devotion and knowledge. They taught Muslims to organize their life according to the laws of *Shari’at*.\textsuperscript{69}

However, the *Ulema* were mainly concerned with the reform of the Muslims in the context of *Quran* and *Hadith*. They also checked un-Islamic practices. But in their approach the Sufis and *Ulema* were different from each others. The Sufis combined their insistence on *shar* with a liberal and tolerant attitude while the Ulema were rigid and non-tolerant in their approach.\textsuperscript{70}

During the Arghun and the Tarkhan period a number of Ulema came in Sind and settled in different regions. They played a very significant role in the propagation of true beliefs of Islam. During the

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, pp. 302-5.
\textsuperscript{69} K.A. Nizami, op.cit., pp. 160-62.
\textsuperscript{70} Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 299.
reign of Shah Hasan Arghun, a number of *Ulema* came in Sind and settled there. They were Makhdum Fakr-i-Putrah, came from Herat and settled in Sind. He propagated learning in Sind. Other eminent *Ulema* were Makhdum Bilal and Abdul Aziz Harvi, who came to Sind with his two sons. Because of his efforts *Ilm-i-maqul* (*rational sciences*) spread in Sind. Makhdum Bilal was expert in *Ilm-i-tafsir* and *Hadith*. Makhdum Ruknuddin and Qazi Qazan were also prominent *Ulema* of Sind.\(^{71}\)

Besides these *Ulema*, a number of *Ulema* also lived in Sind and spread the knowledge of *Quran, Hadith and tafsir* etc. These were Makhdum Miran, famous for the knowledge of *Manqul* (*traditional sciences*) and *maqul* (*rational sciences*). Qazi Abdullah, Shaikh Mohammad Uchvi, Maulana Musleh-ud-din Lari, Shaikh Abdullah Muttaqi, Maulana Yunus Samarqandi and Mir Shah Masud Sadr who had greatly emphasized on *Hadith* and *Quran*. Mohammad Uchvi was expert in Arabic.\(^ {72}\)

The Tarkhans also patronized the *Ulema*. During the rule of Mahmud Khan, the ruler of Bhakkar, the popular *Ulema* were Maulana Ibrahim, Maulana Qasim Diwan, Makhdum Abbas, etc.\(^ {73}\)

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72. Ibid, pp. 278-83.
73. Ibid, pp. 331-33.
The Daryapanthy

The Daryapanthy sect was founded by Uderolal during the eleventh century A.D. Main followers of Daryapanthy sect was Hindus. But after some time the Muslims also became follower of this sect. The cult of this sect was based on the worship of water and lamp. After the death of uderolal, his followers divided themselves into three sections. Among them one was the Somai. Second section was called as Budhais, settled at Siwistan and third section called as the Ghorais.74

During the Mughal period the Daryapanthy’s beliefs continued to flourish. By adopting the spirit of co-existence, brotherhood and monotheism from Guru Nanak’s movement, the Daryapanthy sect with its three-fold division survived during the whole Mughal age.75

Learning and education

From the Arab period Sind had became the centre of learning, education and literature. The Ulema used to impart knowledge of Quran in the madrasas and the study of Quran gave birth to a number of new sciences and disciplines e.g. grammar, hadith, tafsir, history and biography etc. Madrasas and Maktabs were organized by the rulers and the pious people. Both were generally supposed to be institutes of studies,

75. Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit., p. 314.
for those people who either wanted to become scholars or wanted to expert in *Quran* and *Hadith*. During the Arab period scholars, writers and poets were respected element in the society. A mutual flow of scholars came in Sind and settled there. They influenced the people from their learning. The prominent scholars of Arab period were Musa bin Yaqub Saqfi, Qazi of Arore, Mohammad bin, Qazi Abu Mohammad Mansuri, settled in Sind.  

With the coming of the Summahs, the learning of Sind reached its zenith, particularly in the reign of Jam Nizamuddin. He established several *madrasas* at Thatta for the learning of theology, philosophy and politics. He patronized of learning and many outstanding scholars were assembled in his court, who came from Iran and Central Asia. They were: as Maulana Abdul Aziz Abhari, Maulana Asiruddin, Mir Moin and Mir Shams etc. He also invited many scholars from other places like Maulana Jalal-ud-din Dawwani who settled in Thatta from Shiraz after receiving his invitation. Besides Thatta the parganah of Siwistan was great center of learning during the Summah rule.

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76. *PIHC* (68 Session), p. 278.
78. Ibid.
During the four centuries from the Summahs to the Mughals rule, Thatta was one of the important seats of Islamic learning, fine arts and handicrafts. According to Hamilton Thatta was the centre of Islamic learning in theology, philosophy and 400 education institution were established in Thatta for training the youngsters.  

During the Sultanate rule, the foreign scholars who visited the sub-continent, preferred to go to Delhi, the capital of the Sultanate’s rulers. But with the coming of the Arghuns (1519-1555) and the Tarkhans (1555-1590) with their highly developed cultural background and wide contacts with the literary circles of Central Asia, khurasan and Iran were able to attract a large number of foreign Scholars who influenced the literary and intellectual development of Sind.  

Shah Beg Arghun, the founder of the Arghun dynasty in Sind was highly educated and promoter of learning and literature. During his reign at Qandahar, he established several madarsa and khanqah. He wrote many books, and commentaries in manqulat (traditional sciences) e.g. Sharh-i-‘Aqa’ id-i-Nasafi, Sharh-i-Kafiyat and notes on Sharh-i-Mutali’ah.

83. Ibid, pp. 319-21.
84. Ibid.
The successor of Shah Beg Arghun, Shah Hasan Arghun took great interest in literature and acquired learning from the contemporary scholars. Due to his interest in literature and learning, he invited and patronized many scholars including both local and foreign. A number of scholars and writers assembled in his court like Shaikh Mir Mohammad and Shaikh Abdul Wahab was the renowned scholars of his age.

Shah Qutub-ud-din noted for his Friday’s lecture, Mir Kalan, Makhdum Fakr-i-Putrah and Makhdum Bilal were also noted for their literary contribution. Besides these scholars, a number of other scholars settled in Sind such as Maulana Abdul Aziz Harvi Abhari, Makhdum Miran, Qazi Abdullah, Qazi Qazan, Qazi Dattah Siwistani and Makhdum Ruknud-din. Qazi Dattah Siwistani was an astronomer and had knowledge about numerology. Ruknud-din wrote many *Risalas* like *Sharah Arbain*, *Sharah-i-Kaidani* etc. Qazi Shaikh Mohammad Uchvi, Maulana Yunus Samarqandi, Mir Shah and Shah Husain Takduri were also the prominent scholar of Sind. Husain Takduri wrote *Rauzat-ul-Salatin* and Maulana Musleh-ud-din Lari’s famous work was *Sharah*.

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86. *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, Ur trs., p. 272.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid, pp. 273-74 (After the conquest of Sind Mir Kalan came to Sind from Qandahar and settled in Siwistan. He was the great follower of Makhdum Shahbaz: Fakr-i-Putrah was appointed as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in Sind and had the great knowledge of *mangulat* and *maqulat*; Makhdum Bilal was expert, in *Ilm-i-tafsir* and Hadith).
89. Ibid, pp. 274-79.
Shamayal Nabvi, Hawashi tafsir Baizawi and Sharah Mantaq was written during this period.\textsuperscript{90}

After Shah Hasan Arghun, Sultan Mahmud also took interest in the field of literature and patronized many scholars such as Shah Qutub-ud-din, Mir Sayyid Safa’i, Mir Mohammad Purani, Mir Abul Makaram, Mir Yunus and Makhdum Abbas Hangourcha, Maulana Ibrahim and Maulana Qasim Diwan, these renowned scholars made Bhakkar a great seat of learning.\textsuperscript{91} After the Arghun dynasty, the Tarkhans came into power and took interest in literature. Jani Beg Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta, honoured the learned and pious.\textsuperscript{92} During the reign of Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan and Mohammad Baqi Tarkhan, a number of scholars settled in Sind. They were: Mir Abu Baqi, Abdul Rahman, Maulana Karimuddin, Maulana Abdul Gilani and Qazi Kashani etc.\textsuperscript{93} Ghazi Beg Tarkhan’ also had interest in literature and his famous work \textit{Saqi Namah}, was an outstanding piece of literature.\textsuperscript{94} After Ghazi Beg, Isa Khan Tarkhan (II) also patronized the learning. Makhdum Jafar was a contemporary of Isa Khan Tarkhan II. He specialized in a variety of traditional as well as

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid, pp. 280-83.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid, pp. 327-33.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94} Mohd. Ishtiaq, op.cit., p. 22.
rational sciences but later he diverted his interest towards Sufism and spent most of his time in the study of Sufi books.\textsuperscript{95}

Shaikh Sa’ad-ullah Surti was an accomplished scholar of seventeenth century and was perfect in ritual sciences. He made comparative study of different religion and was venerated by Aurangzeb. He authored many books like \textit{Hashia-bar Hikmat}, \textit{Risala-i Kashful Haq}, \textit{Risala-i Subuti Mazhabi Shia}, \textit{Risala-i Tuhfat-ul-Rasail} and \textit{Risala-i chehel bait masnavi}.\textsuperscript{96}

Makhdum Rahmatullah Thattavi met Aurangzeb, during his governorship of Sind. Another reputed saint, Mohammad Moin Makhdum Tharo wrote many books on religion and philosophy while Mir Haider Abu Turab Kamil was a scholar, Saint and poet. He had a \textit{Diwan} (collection of poems), consisted of Hindi, Sindi and Persian verses.\textsuperscript{97}

\textbf{Poetry}

A large number of poets lived in Sind during sixteenth and seventeenth century, and composed \textit{Masnavi}, \textit{Ghazal}, \textit{Rubai} and \textit{Qasida} etc.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{95} Saleem Akhtar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 288 (commentary).
\item \textsuperscript{96} \textit{PHIC (52\textsuperscript{nd} Session)}, p. 324.
\item \textsuperscript{97} Ibid
\end{itemize}
From the Arab period, poetry occupied an important place in Sind. We find the reference of Arab poet, named Haroon bin Abdullah. During the Arghun period poetry was flourished and developed. The Arghuns rulers patronized the poets. Shah Hasan Arghun, was a great poet he composed poems with the Pen name of *Sipahi*. There were also some prominent poets of the Arghun period such as Shah Jahangir Hasmi, who came to Sind from Khurasan in the reign of Shah Hasan Arghun. He composed *Masnavi Mazhar-ul-ashrar* and *Diwan-i-Hashmi*. Another poet was Haider Kaluj, composed various poems. Besides these poets, the other poets were: Maulana Mir Mohammad, Mulla Jani Bandri, Mulla Zahuri.

In the reign of Sultan Mahmud Khan, a famous poet, named Maulana Yar Mohammad wrote *Insha*. Mir Masum Bhakkari, was an eminent historian and poet of the sixteenth century. He composed a masnavi *Husn-o-Naz*. *Nami* was his pen name. Mir Masum had also the knowledge of sciences, grammar, poetry and prose. Besides *Masnavi* his other works were: *Diwan-i-Nami, Madan-i-Afkar* in reply to (Nizam’s)

100. *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, Ur.trs., pp. 282-83.
103. *Touhfat-ul-Kiram*, Part III, p. 49 (Mir Masum composed a *Khamsah* consisting of *Husn-o-Naz*, found in *Maqalat-us Shura* of Mir Ali Sher Qani.)
Makhzan-i-Asrar. He was also an inscription-writer, composed verses for inscriptions and carving them on the stone, as his momento.  

Like the Arghum era, the Tarkhan period was also noted far poetic work. The Tarkhans also composed poetry. Among them one was Jani Beg Tarkhan was a good poet, and composed poetry. His takhallus was Halimi and his ghazals were popular among the singers.

After Jani Beg Tarkhan, Ghazi Beg also well versed in poetry and composed verses with his poetic name, Waqari. *Diwan-i-Waqari* was his composition. These verses has been taken from Ghazi Beg Tarkhan’s poem:

“If my weeping should cause of her smile, what wonder?

Though the cloud weeps the cheek of the rose bush smiles.”

A number of Persian poets came at the court of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan. Most noteable among them were Mirza Niamatullah of Wasli, Mulla Asad Qissa Khowan, Hakim Gilani and Talib Isfahani. Mirza Ghazi Beg was fond of music and used to play with musical instruments symbol (*daf*), tambourine (*daire*), Indian drum (*dholki*), tambur (guitar),

105. Z.A Desai Nobility under the Great Mughals, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 5-9.
bin (veena) and harp (ganun).\textsuperscript{108} Isa Khan II, son of Jan Baba, was also well versed in the art of poetry, prose, music and playing on instruments and sang Indian and Sindi music.\textsuperscript{109}

During the Mughal rule in Sind we find the references of poets and scholars in \textit{maqalat-us-shura}. Most prominent among them, was Akhwad Shafi. He was a historian and a poet and was honoured by the people of the city for his scholarly attainments.\textsuperscript{110}

\textbf{Historical works}

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century a number of historical works were compiled in Sind. One of the most famous work was \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi}, also known as \textit{Tarikh-i-Sind}, written by Mohammad Masum Bhakkari. He mentiones in his book that he wrote \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi} for his son Mir Buzurg. After \textit{Fathnama-i-Sind} or \textit{Chach-namah}, \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi}, is an Important source of knowledge about the history of Sind. This book was written in Persian. The other histories of Sind were \textit{Tarikh-i-Tahiri, Tuhfat-ul-Tahirin, Tarkhan Nama Beglar namah} and \textit{Tauhfat-ul-Kiram} written after \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi} and the authors of all these books consulted \textit{Tarikh-i-Masumi} for compiling their histories.

\textsuperscript{108} Z.A. Desai, op.cit., pp. 5-9.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, pp. 69-70.
\textsuperscript{110} PIHC (52\textsuperscript{nd} Session), p. 324.
The important portion of *Tarikh-Masumi* was the detail account of the scholars and poets etc of the reign of Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun, Mirza, Isa Khan Tarkhan and Sultan Mahmud Khan.\(^{111}\)

Next important history of Sind was *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, written by Tahir Mohammad Nisyani. According to author he wrote *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* because no one had yet written the history of Sind in general and particularly the Arghun and the Tarkhan period. The book based on folk tradition, hearsay reports and some eye-witness accounts.\(^{112}\)

*Beglar namah* was written by Idraki Beglari on the request of Mirza Saleh Tarkhan. It started from the Arab invasion of Sind and covers a major portion of the Tarkhan dynasty.\(^{113}\) *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* compiled by Yusuf Mirak, was the first book which provides details about the first decade of the Mughals rule in Sind.\(^{114}\) *Tarkhan namah* was written by Sayyid Jamal, who composed his work in 1654 A.D.\(^{115}\)

Another important history of Sind was *Tauhfat-ul-Kiram*, written in the eighteenth century by Mir Ali Sher Qani, an accomplished scholar, writer, historian and a poet. The date of the compilation of *Tauhfat-ul Kiram* was 1767. From this book we find the information of the history of

\(^{111}\) *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, Ur trs., p. 14 (introduction).
\(^{113}\) *Beglar Namah*, eng. trns. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp.289-292
Sind from Pre-Arab time till the reign of Kulhoras, the description of cities and towns of Sind along with the poets, scholars and Saints and the history of Thatta, biographies of Saints and nobles.\(^{116}\)

Next important work of Mir Ali Sher Qani was the *Maqalat-us-Shura* (1761). It was the first biography of Sindi poets in Persian. Besides the Sindi, poets, it had also names of other poets who migrated to Sind from abroad. The poets made various cities, towns as the theme of their poetry.\(^{117}\)

Besides the above mentioned branches of literature, folk stories also played an important role in Sind. Various folktales were written such as *Sassi and Pannu*,\(^{118}\) *Channesar and Laila*\(^{119}\) and the story of *Mumal and Mendra*.\(^{120}\)

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117. Ibid.
120. Ibid. eng. trns. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 345-47.
Chapter – V
CHAPTER – V

MAIN FEATURES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF SIND

With the coming of the Muslims, the Islamic Architecture developed in Sind. The buildings of the Islamic period were religious as well as secular. The mosques were important of all the religious buildings. It was a duty of the rulers and the elite class to construct and maintain mosques and Madrasas.¹

In Mansura, we find the evidence of Jama Masjid. It was rectangular in shape. Besides Jama Masjid, Henry cousens found the evidence of three mosques. Excavations have also revealed two other buildings at Mansura, which described as the state assembly and Dar-al-Imara.² From the fourteenth century, Thatta was the chief centre of Islamic learning, fine arts and handicrafts, as well as a flourishing centre for trade. Besides the economic prosperity and cultural achievement, Thatta had various monuments, buildings, mosques, madrasas, domes, arches and gateways designed in different architectural styles.³

¹ Arshad Islam, op.cit., pp. 150-51.
² PHIC (68th Session), pp. 279-80.
³ M. Idris Siddiqi, Thatta, Pakistan, 1979, pp 1-3.
With the coming of the Arghun and the Tarkhan, belonged to Turkish tribes, came from Central Asia in Sind, they brought the new Timurid style, new methods of building construction and new forms of architecture. The main features of the buildings of Arghun and Tarkhan are as follows:

First, the brick style was the dominant character of the buildings. Second, avoid and domical and arcuate forms, were their ancestral inheritance. Third, was the glittering tiles. It used in adding colours to the buildings. The tiles were blue, white, purple, light green, yellow or floral in multicolours. In tiles flowers and leaf were outline from one colour and backgrounds were filled from other colours. The tiles of Sind were influenced by the Persian, Iranian and Chinese tradition but the Persian tradition was more dominant. Besides the influence of these traditions Sind had its own characteristics. It had geometrical and styled foliage and made of hard backed terracotta.

The bricks were used in the construction of the buildings of Thatta. The dark red bricks, especially used in surface. Besides red bricks, plain and enamel faced bricks were also used in the buildings of Thatta. The

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use of bricks could be seen in the tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan, Baqi Beg Uzbek and Fateh Khan's sister.  

Stone buildings were also the dominant feature of Thatta. It was a place where stone was easily available and stone carver's art was an old tradition in Thatta. Besides these features, the technique of dome construction was also an important feature. It improved and a new style of flat topped grave cenotaphs developed, which had tall headstones.  

For the convenience of the reader Dani divided the stone buildings into many categories but here we will take up few significant buildings. The stone building of Thatta were famous for their carving and it called 'lace work in stone.' In stone buildings first, was the tomb of Isa Khan I, the founder of the Tarkhan dynasty. His tomb show a new departure in the stone carver's art of Thatta. The main attraction of the building was the small square enclosure. Under the enclosure in the middle, having six stone graves. Among them main was of Isa Khan I, two of children and the rest of others. Besides the tomb of Isa Khan I, a number of other tombs came under the category of tomb enclosures such as tomb of Mirza

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10. Ibid, pp. 111-12 (He divided the stone building according to their nature like single domes square tomb, tomb enclosures, tomb pavilions and grave (cenotaph).
Saleh, tomb of Baqi Beg Tarkhan etc.\textsuperscript{13} The other important tomb was Mirza Beg's tomb which deserved attention for its elaborate construction.\textsuperscript{14} Besides these tombs, the most prominent and excellent tombs of Thatta were Isa Khan II and Jan Baba. They had significant position in Thatta architecture because the style of both tombs based on Gujarati style and the main feature of Gujarati style was a central nucleus square domed hall, supported on pillars, surrounded by pillared galleries on all the four sides. Second similarity was double pillars, one on the top of the others had been used in the tomb and was more prominent in the central frontage of all the four sides. The third similarity could be seen in the decorated flat stones that roof the galleries. All these things were the prominent features of Gujarati buildings and also developed in the tomb of Isa Khan II and Jan Baba.\textsuperscript{15} The tomb of Isa Khan II was constructed throughout of a buff-coloured sandstones brought from Kathiawad.\textsuperscript{16} In front of the tomb of Isa Khan II, there were the tombs of the ladies. Their graves covered with Quranic verses and Persian writings.\textsuperscript{17}

Except the stone buildings in Thatta, there were also various brick buildings. First was the tomb of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan. Main feature of

\textsuperscript{13} Dani, op.cit., pp. 114-22.
\textsuperscript{14} Idris Siddiqi, op.cit., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{15} Dani, op.cit., pp. 134-142.
\textsuperscript{16} Henry Cousens, op.cit., p. 118.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, pp. 118-19.
the tomb was the use of glazed dark blue and unglazed red bricks which represented a high standard of Sindi craftsmanship.\textsuperscript{18}

Next important tomb was Diwan Shurfa Khan’s tomb. It was one of the most colourful building of Makli hill. It had a square structure, surmounted by a dome in Persian style, covered with light blue and white tiles.\textsuperscript{19}

After the annexation of Thatta in the Mughal empire, thirty-seven Mughal governors were appointed in Thatta. During their stay in Thatta, several tombs and mosques were constructed.

Mir Qasim Namkin received Bhakkar Sarkar in 1595-96 where, he constructed \textit{Suffa-i-Safa} (platform of purity). He also constructed a mosque in Shukkar and also built ‘\textit{Idgah mosques}’ in the town of Lohri and Shukkar.\textsuperscript{20} Besides Qasim Namkin, Mohammad Masum Bhakkari built \textit{Sitasaar} at Shukkar. He also constructed his tomb at Shukkar with a high minar. Under his tomb there were the graves of his father, brother and himself. Quranic verses were written on the graves.\textsuperscript{21} Besides these buildings, \textit{Jami masjid} or Shahjahani mosque was the most prominent mosque. The construction of the mosque started in 1644 AD, by Nawab Abdul Baqa Amir Khan at the order of Shahjahan. The tiles work of the

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\textsuperscript{18} Idris Siddiqi, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 10-11.
\textsuperscript{19} Henry Cousens, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 117-18.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, pp. 149-50.
tomb attracted the attention of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. The stylish floral patterns were similar to the *Kashi* work of Iran which existed in seventeenth century in Iran.\textsuperscript{22}

Another distinguished feature of the mosque was that minarets were not found in any corner as they found in other mosques. It had only one main high dome in the prayer chamber while other mosques had three bulbous domes which covered the prayer chamber and presented a monumental feature from the courtyard.\textsuperscript{23}

Next prominent mosque was khizri mosque, built by Nawab Abdul Razzaq Muzaffar Khan in 1613 AD. The main characteristic of the mosque was that it had three airshoots leadings air into windows. Similarly the side bays, which had single *mihrab* each had single air shoot. Such type of features were commonly found in the building of Sind.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[22.] Henry Cousens, op.cit., p. 112; Idris Siddiqi, op.cit., p. 10.
\item[23.] Dani, op.cit., p. 192.
\item[24.] Ibid, pp. 186-87.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Conclusion
CONCLUSION

The study of the commercial and cultural life of Sind during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, which has been attempted in foregoing chapters can be summarised in the following pages.

From the time immemorial the ports and towns of Sind played a significant role. The prosperity of Sind was based on its geographical and strategical position. All the ports and towns of Sind were situated on the bank of the river Indus. It is well known that Debal, was an important sea-port of Sind, but with the coming of the Muslims, Mansura also became an important town for commercial purpose. Besides these ports and towns, there were several others which were equally important.

Thatta, as an important port and town came into prominence in the medieval period. It also witnessed the rise and fall of several dynasties e.g. Sumrahs, Summahs, Arghuns, Tarkhans and the Mughals.

Sind, attracted the attention of many countries for the purpose of trade. It was a rich and fertile region because of the river Indus. All the ports and towns, because of the fertility of soil and climatic conditions increased an opportunity to produce cash crops such as opium, tobacco, indigo and cotton etc. Various foreign companies namely Portuguese,
Dutch and English established commercial relations with Sind. Compared to other countries they found the prices of goods in Sind cheaper and the custom charges were also lesser than the other countries.

As regard to the port officers, the port administration was well established at Laharibandar and port officers and *faujdar* were appointed to check the port administration. In the context of trade, Sind had trade relation with Arabia, Persia, Masqat and Congo etc. The Sind’s self-sufficient economy, its fertile soil, enabled it to develop textile industry and leather industry. It exported various commercial commodities such as leather, sugar, indigo, butter, oil, calico, white and printed cloth, and perfumes to various parts of India and the world. But on the other hand, imports in Sind was less because of its own textile industry, leather industry and handicrafts.

Various tribes and races settled in Sind. In other words, it can be said that it became conglomeration of different tribes. They inter-mingled with each other and adopted the culture of Sind as their own. Various tribes entered matrimonial relations with the ruling class of Sind and participated in their administration such as *Sadat Lak Alwis*, one of the most aristocratic class among the Sadat group established matrimonial relations with Arghun and the Tarkhan.
Religion was dominant in Sind and from the twelfth century, various Sufis entered in Sind from Central Asia, Middle East and settled in different region of Sind like Thatta, Makli hill, Siwistan, Bhakkar, Sukkhar and Nasrpur. Under their influence some of the non-Muslims in Sind embraced Islam especially Lohanas. One thing which is remarkable is that the Muslims and Hindus both were the firm believer and follower of the Sufi Saints. After their death the tombs of the Sufis became a centre of pilgrimage for both the Hindus and Muslims. At the shrines of the Sufis, annual *Urs* were celebrated. The people had firm belief that by visiting the tombs, their wishes would be fulfilled. The tomb of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Siwistan and Uderolal’s tomb are famous for its urs even today.

Sind was also the centre of learning and education. From the Arab period, scholars gave their full contribution to promote the literary and cultural activities in Sind. Various *madrasas* were established by the scholars and the rulers in Sind. As Hamilton, who visited Sind in 1699 found 400 educational institution in Thatta. The Arghun and Tarkhan rulers promoted literature to the great extent. A large number of poems, *masanavis* and *Qasidas* were written during this period and the rulers composed poetry with their pen names for instance Ghazi Beg Tarkhan composed poetry with the *Takhallus* of ‘Waqari’.
Besides these cultural and literary importance, Architecture also flourished under Arghuns, Tarkhans and the Mughals. They adopted the Timurid style in the construction of the buildings.

Sind Architecture led the development of the composite culture because the architectural designs were greatly influenced by Persian, Iranian and Gujarat style of architecture.
Appendices
Appendix-II
EXPORT OF VARIOUS COMMODITIES FROM
LAHARIBANDAR AND THATTA
(16th – 17th Century)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ports</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>White(^1) and printed cloth</td>
<td>Arabia and Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leather, Indigo(^2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Grain(^3), butter</td>
<td>Masqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Perfumes(^4)</td>
<td>Surat thence to China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Indigo,(^5) Sugar</td>
<td>Congo, Basra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laharibandar</td>
<td>Sugar,(^6) butter, oil cocos,</td>
<td>Arabia, Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cotton and printed cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laharibandar</td>
<td>Calico(^7)</td>
<td>Persia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPORT FROM ARABIA AND PERSIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Import Commodities</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>Silver(^8)</td>
<td>Thatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia and Persia</td>
<td>Dates,(^9) horses, seed pearls, incense gummastic, senna leaves</td>
<td>Laharibandar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. *India at the death of Akbar*, op.cit, p. 204.
5. E.F.I. 1634-36, p. 130.
7. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, op.cit, p. 57.
8. *India at the death of Akbar*, op.cit, p. 204.
### Appendix-III

**VARIOUS COMMODITIES OF REGIONAL TRADE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Export Commodities</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Wheat, butter, oil cloths</td>
<td>Bhakkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Butter, oil, opium</td>
<td>Siwistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatta</td>
<td>Butter, grain$^{10}$</td>
<td>Nasrpur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Import Commodities</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cutch</td>
<td>Cotton wool$^{11}$</td>
<td>Thatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan, Lahore</td>
<td>Sugar$^{12}$</td>
<td>Laharibandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siwistan</td>
<td>Ghee,$^{13}$ Indigo</td>
<td>Thatta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Ansar Zahid Khan, op.cit, p. 263.
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