

A RE-INTERPRETATION OF THE UNHAPPY VALLEY

BY

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CORRIGENDA

pp. 46, 47, 53, 62, 64, 77: for Mir Ma'asumi read Mir Ma'asum

p. 36, l. 27: after Michelborne delete borne

p. 44, foot-note, l. 30: delete result

p. 49, foot-note 2, 1. 22: for Unarand read Unar and

p. 64, foot-note 1, l. 2: for Jami'ul-Tawarikh, read Jami'ul-Tawarikh

INTRODUCTION

SIND is unfortunate in its record. Inscriptions and archæological finds have hitherto added little to our knowledge of her past; her written record leaves centuries untold and buries the truths of other centuries in fiction. Her geographical features, by their apparent simplicity, have perverted research and added mystery to mystery unsolved, theory to theory irreconcilable; geographical factors have played a destructive part the extent of which we cannot gauge.

It is wellnigh impossible to write a continuous history of the valley. The interest of the valley, however, is probably in proportion to her many mysteries; the lure of exploration is always there to attract; her history and her geographical changes alike baffle interpretation, and the pursuit of an everelusive solution makes research into her past a perpetual adventure.

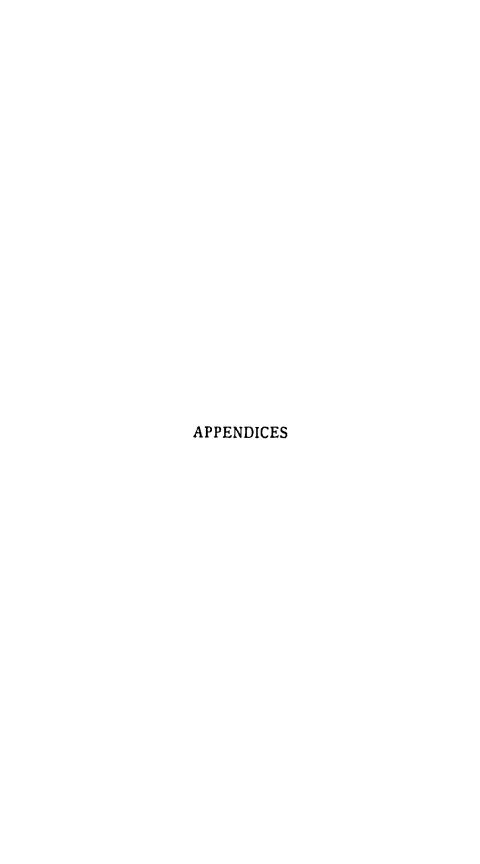
In consequence of the limitations of her materia historica one can write of Sind's many problems only with great diffidence, but the falsities that pass for fact are so crude, the fiction so bold that masquerades as truth, the conflicting theories of savants so numerous, that it is time to call a halt and review what measure of achievement has been made. I have attempted with this object, as far as I can, to verify every reference to native and European record that I have followed, and to leave a copy of the same for the reader to analyse for himself; I have examined the whole English record of the East India Company and European travellers, neglect of which alone is responsible for many errors, and in the form of essays I have attempted to cover the whole period of Sind's history.

Several of these essays have already appeared in issues of the *Calcutta Review*; many another essay is an enlargement of an article that has been printed in the *Pioneer*. I have pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the Editors of these papers in allowing me to use my earlier contributions.

Alibag, J. Abbott.
29th July, 1924.

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APPENDIX A

KHWAJAH KHIZR

The small island shrine of Khwajah Khizr, opposite Rorhi, is one of the most picturesque features of the river at Sakhar.

The accounts of its origin would hardly be Sindhi if not conflicting. According to one account it was the merchant Shah Hassein who, in gratitude for the assistance of Khwajah Khizr in diverting the river at Alor, built a shrine, where a torch of light fell, and settled there a married pair to be custodians of the shrine . . . ancestors, of course, of those who are now custodians of the shrine. Another account makes a shepherd, Baji, whose hut was where now stands the town of Rorhi, see at night a bright flame burning in the distance. Thinking travellers had lit a fire, he first sends his wife to get a light, but as fast as she pursues the light it recedes further. Thinking his wife was afraid the shepherd then himself goes, but the light still proves as elusive as before; so, filled with awe, he erects a shrine and becomes a devotee, and the river encircles the shrine he has erected.

To-day, whilst Muhammadan worshippers worship the Koran, Hindupilgrims worship a light, which is kept burning night and day. When new fruit comes to the bazaar both throw a first fruit into the river as an offering; every evening women mix rice and sugar, and with flowers and fruit throw them into the river, along the banks of which they kindle lamps. Every Friday and last day of the moon in each month is sacred to the god of the waters, and on these days the Hindu meat-eater will eat fish only as being the fruit of the water. On the birth and marriage of sons rafts are floated down the river, bearing lights, a medium through which the love-sick maiden, too, can divine the course of her love.

Legend says that the Pir dived into the water and came up at Udero Lal in the Hyderabad district; his followers wear red coverings marked with the emblem of a hand and a fish. Khizr is popularly supposed to mean 'dolphin'.

The shoals of palla, or river salmon, ascend the river as far as the shrine, and are said to do so on a pilgrimage to the shrine, on attaining which they swim round, following the strictest of court etiquette, as they never present their tails to the hallowed abode of the saint until they are well round the island and back again.

There are many parallels to this dominion over the waters and control over storms by a patron saint. Cf. Pir Badar, Zinda Ghazi, Ghazi Miyan, the Panch Pir of Bengal... and it is probable that such saints are the transformation of old animistic spirits, perpetuating an ancient Nature worship of daimonia and tutelary spirits. In 'Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki', Art. xii, J.R. As. Soc., xvi, 1884, Professor Beal dwells upon the Buddhist myths that seem to be incorporated in the story of El Khedr and their similar appearance in the Arthurian legends.

The Muhammadans say that Al Khedr found the fountain of life, and drinking thereof became immortal. Cf. Koran, Sura xviii, and the inscription on a drinking cup of the emperor Jahangir:

'Let the water of life be in his cup, So that it may be the water of Khizr, life-prolonging.'

Al Khedr is credited with flying round and round the world, a chapel arising wherever he appears. He is Phineas, whose soul passed into Elias and thence into the sacred rider, St. George. At Sakhar he is the Zinda Pir or living Pir.

APPENDIX B

DARYAPANTHIS

The worshippers of the King-river have an account of the birth of Uderolal in this wise. At the beginning of the eleventh century, when Marakh was ruler of Tatha, the Hindus were persecuted by the Muhammadans. The king desired a single religion for the whole of Sind. The panchayat obtained a respite of three days, and went to the bank of the river at Tatha and offered prayers for three days, at the close of which they heard a voice from the river crying, 'After eight days I shall be born at Nasrapur and my name shall be Uderolal'. After this time Uderolal was born. The babe was a remarkable one; after a few moments it became a youth, then a blackbearded man, and again an old white-haired man. The king's vazir summoned him to Tatha, but instead of following the vazir he suddenly appeared from the river at Tatha at the head of an armed regiment, which, however, he commanded to return to the river.

He was then brought before the king, who tried to obtain his help to convert the Hindus, but he declined, saying that Turks and Hindus were alike to God. Then at his vazir's advice the king tried to arrest Uderolal, but no one could catch him as he changed his form now to air, now to water.

Then the king proceeded with the forcible conversion of the Hindus, whereon Uderolal commanded fire to destroy the town; the king repented, begged pardon, and Uderolal insisted on perfect freedom of worship for all.

At the age of twelve Uderolal ordered his cousin to found the sect of Daryâpanthis, and gave him a lamp, sword, and, among other things, a jar of sacrificial water. The Muhammadans were brought to adopt the same religion by a miracle. Uderolal wished to purchase the land of a Muhammadan, who wished first to take the advice of his wife, and left Uderolal in the full blaze of the sun, but returned to find that a large tree had grown up to shade Uderolal. The Muhammadan gave the land gratis to Uderolal, who, after striking the ground and

bringing forth diamonds and rubies for the Muhammadan, was swallowed up by the ground, he and his horse.

The king then decided to build a mausoleum on the spot, and, guided by a voice they heard at night, the king built a mausoleum and the Hindus another place adjoining, in which lamps should be kept.

The two places exist still. Muhammadans do not go to the lamp building, but Hindus go to both. The lamps are lit and maintained by the Hindus. The Muhammadans only collect the offerings. This is the tomb where the lamps, five in all, are lit at nightfall; in the other building lamps are kept burning day and night. The holy tree exists, and no common person is allowed to touch it. Its seeds are a cure for sonlessness.

A fair is held on the first day of Chaitr, to which followers come from Sind, Cutch and the Punjab.

After his disappearance at Jhai-jo-goth Uderolal appeared at Bakhar from the rock. Here, too, a great fair is held for forty days, before which the Hindus lock the doors of the holy place of Zinda Pir and allow only a caretaker to enter the cave, in which is maintained a light. Even the caretaker is prescribed in his movements, and must approach the shrine swimming on an earthen pot and with his eyes bandaged. The Daryâpanthis maintain their caste by exogamy. They have three sections: (a) the Somâi; (b) the Budhâis centring on Sehwan; (c) the Ghorâis around Mehar, who neigh like a horse when approaching a village of their own section.

N.B.—This legend of the birth of Uderolal makes Tatha the capital of Sind in the eleventh century (cf. foot-note on p. 50).

APPENDIX C

THE INDUS BOAT

It matters not whether you confine yourself to the great river itself with its broad and open reaches, whether you follow the meanderings of its branching canals into their most intimate silence, or whether you leave both river and canal and wander over the quiet lakes, or 'dhands', of the Indus valley. The boat of the valley is everywhere the same in general form. In miniature it is not unlike the punt of Western streams and reed-choked waters, the craft of philosophic ease and contented idling; in larger scale it is an uncouth barbarism, with a great redemption in its towering yard and lateen sail. The fashion of its building is wondrous. Its sides and bottom are first separately completed, and then brought together like the sides of a box; where the bow and stern are to rise the planks are lubricated with a mixture that, combined with applied force, gives them a curve upwards. And the completed boat appears a caricature of river art, picturesque and quaint with her rising ends and great rudder, or oar in place of rudder. She is a thing of strange curves and stranger lines; a fretwork of inconsequent timbers, and, as horses and cattle or lumbering camels leap over her low gunwale on to that unprotected bottom, one wonders at the fate that gives her a normal life of seven years. Yet the caricature has its truths, and in the quaintest of her barbarisms is an unexpected response to the needs of the river and the dangers of its ever-shifting channels. And when the river traffic was a matter of greater import than it is now, and the improvement of its ancient craft was considered, it is remarkable that little alteration of her eccentricities could be proposed.

Within recent times a great change has taken place in the rig of the Indus boat, and the influence of the Arab dhow from the harbour of Karachi has added a pleasing feature to the river. For there is now no more familiar object on the river than the great wing-like sails that in their delicate curves are so alien to the crude lines and dimensions of the hulls they over-

shadow. They break with an atmosphere of Oriental romance and Eastern light into the dull river scenes of drab monotony; they suggest a joy of motion that is sadly belied by the ungainly forms beneath them, and manifest a conscious controlled art inconsistent with empiric creation. They are the one unchanging feature in the valley of constant aspiration, drawing the eye upwards where almost all else lies low and earth-bound in humility. Never was stranger mating than this union of the sail of inland seas with the hull of mud-stained river, or this captivation of airy freedom by ungainly impotence.

In the nineteenth century an oblong sail accentuated the heavy impression of inert immobility conveyed by the irresponsive mass below. Pottinger, Wood, Postans and Burton describe this ancient sail, but thirty years after Burton wrote is mention of the lateen sail. From the days of his sovereignty in the valley the Arab has bequeathed few legacies to Sind; it is his fortune that centuries later he has given the valley one of its most attractive insignia.

APPENDIX D

MATHELO

One of the oldest sites in Sind. Rai Sihasi II remitted assessment on condition that his subjects built for him kilas at Arore, Uchch, Siwistan, Mathelo, Mau and Suri. (A.D. 630.)

A verse of nine lines is still repeated by local residents giving the history of the town:

'The first brick of Mathelo was laid by Jam Parian, some masonry was done by Rai Gharano. (A.D. 495.) For some days there were Thahims, after which came the turn of Warhiaries. The kot was ready in 900 years. After this Raja Nind ruled there. After Raja Nand Mathelo came into the hands of the Mahars. Dharejahs married a woman to Mahars, in return for which Mahars gave them Mathelo, after which Mahars did not live in Mathelo.'

Mathelo is so called because it is on high ground. The ending is applied to other villages, e.g. Ghotki is called Sahibanjanji Loi.

Mathelo, like Alor, was a fortified place of importance even in the time of the Emperor Akbar. It still had then its own Governor.

APPENDIX E

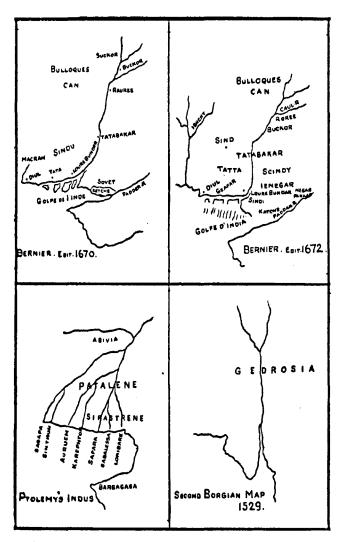
MOGHULBIN

Major Raverty writes that after the annexation of the Tatha territory the Khan-i-Khanan Mirza Abd-ur-Rahim wished to see the ocean before he returned to the court at Agra, that he set out from Tatha with this purpose, and proceeding about thirty miles obtained the sight he wanted. The place from which he obtained this view, he continues, is called Moghulbin in consequence to this day, bin being the Persian for 'seeing', 'view', 'sight'. The story is a romantic one, on the model of the story of Alexander going out to sea and of Hadrian in A.D. 116 after the capture of Babylon. The late Dr. Vincent Smith repeats the story. The Tarikh-i-Ma'asumi, however, says the Khan-i-Khanan went to Lahribandar, where he gazed upon the sea.

In early maps of the nineteenth century the place is written Mugribin, Muggurbhee, which are nearer approximations to the present spelling than is Major Raverty's interpretation. The correct writing is Mughar Bhain, oit. Local tradition gives about A.D. 1311 as the date of its foundation. It attributes the name to two martyrs of battle, Bhain and his son, Mughar. In Jati taluka men still carry the name of Bhaindino, and in the shrines at Moghulbin Mughar and Bhain have their separate tombs. The present Khalifa claims to be of the same caste as Pir Bhain, and the Thaims are numerous in the taluka, who still have connection with Lakhpat, whence Bhain traditionally came.

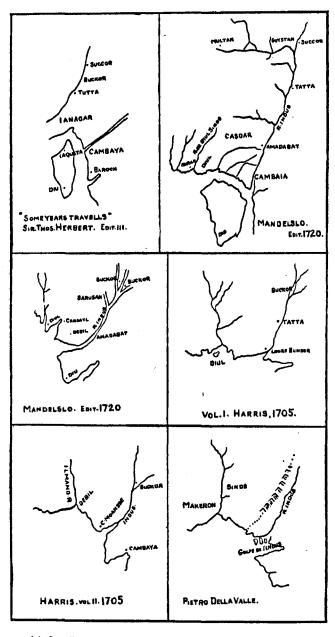
MAPS

Maps to illustrate conceptions of the Indus Delta and the Ran of Cutch



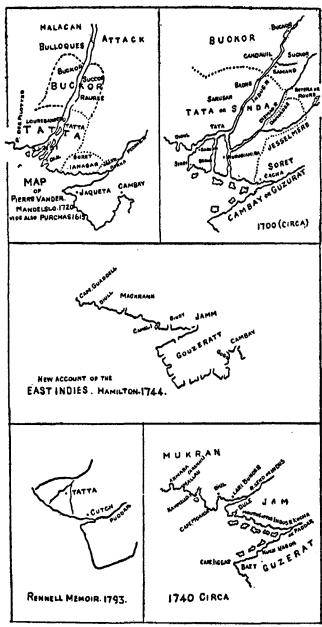
(a) From Bernier (1670). (b) From Bernier (1672). (c) Ptolemy's Map of the Indus. (d) The Second Borgian Map of 1529.

The maps on p. 111, save the first, illustrate the separation of the river of Debal from the Indus. Vide also the maps of Bernier.



⁽a) Sir Thomas Herbert's Map. (b) From Mandelslo (1720). (c) Another Map of Mandelslo's (1720). (d) Harris' Map (1705). (e) Harris (vol. II), (1705). (f) Pietro Della Valle's Map.

Map (b) shows the 'Damiadee'. Sir T. Herbert (1626) mentions this river along with others of the Punjab as falling into the Indus. Joseph Salbanke (1609) speaks of the 'River Damiadee' running into the river of 'Synde', close by the city of 'Buckar'. It would be interesting to know whether this was the old Hakra.



(a) Mandelslo's Map (1720). (b) A Map of 1700 (circa). (c) From Hamilton's East Indies (1744). (d) From Rennell's Memoir (1793). (e) A Map of 1740 (circa).

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