

Sindhi Language and Literature

(A Brief Account)

Anwar Pirzado



Sindhi Language Authority

Hyderabad
2009

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First Edition

2009

Copies 1000

Catalogue Reference

Pirzado, Anwar
Sindhi Language & Literature
Sindhi Language
Sindhi Language Authority
ISBN 978-969-9098-14-7

Sindhi Language and Literature (A Brief Account)

Written by: Anwar Pirzado
Edited by: Dr. Fahmida Hussain
Edition: First, 2009
Quantity: 1000
Price: Rs. 100/=
Composed by: Muhammad Ramzan
Title: Asdullah Bhutto
Published by: Sindhi Language Authority,
National Highway, Hyderabad,
Sindh, 71000, Pakistan
Tel: 022-9240050-3
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E mail: sindhila@yahoo.com
Website: www.sindhila.org
Printed at: Intel Communications, Hyderabad

This Book is published by Taj joyo, Secretary, Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad, and printed by Ms. Intel Communications, Hyderabad, Sindh.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

“The Sindhi Language and Literature” is a brief account of the evolution of different literary genres of literature as well as research work conducted on Sindhi Language.

The project was assigned to the renowned poet, writer and researcher Mr. Anwar Pirzado, about five years back. Although he had completed the script but could not finalize and send it to us due to his sudden and sad demise last year. We are thankful to his son Mr. Zarar Pirzado who, not only retrieved it from his father's computer but checked its proofs and gave it a final shape before sending it for publishing.

Mr. Pirzado has tried to give a brief but comprehensive account of a vast treasure of Sindhi literature and language in English, which will help readers to have an idea of the development of the two in the last few centuries.

It is hoped that this book would be appreciated by students and scholars alike.

Dr. Fahmida Hussain
Chairperson

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PART - I

SINDHI LANAGUAGE

Chapter 1

SINDHI LANGUAGE

The word 'Sindhi' is an adjective, and means 'of' or 'belonging to Sindh', or so to say, the language of Sindh - the country on each side of the River Indus, commencing about latitude 29 N and stretching thence down to the Arabian sea in the South.

In written history, the word "Sindhi" is found recorded first time in rock inscriptions around 2500 years ago:

"The Aryans were settled in a vast region: in sixteen lands in Avestan period. In addition to their patronymic and tribal names, they must have had a way to designate each other collectively by the names of their respective lands. This is why we find that the Achaemenian Shahs of 2500 years ago provide us, in their rock inscriptions, with some thirty names of sixteen Aryan provinces. Among them, we have Hindu (Sindhu) and its adjective Hinduya (Sindhi). This is the first time on record that the name "Sindhi" was employed to designate the people of the valley. The word 'Sindhu' in Sanskrit, in plural, meaning 'men from Sindh', occurs first in the Mahabharata. Following the Iranian pronunciation, the contemporary Greek writers use 'Indos', 'India' and 'Indioi', and are therefore the second on record to call the people 'Sindhi' (Jafarey:

1981:65).

It is presumed, therefore, that 'Sindhi' as a name of a language might have come in effect first time around the same period, e-g 2500 years ago. But, it cannot be ruled out at the same time that the Sindhi language was in vogue in the Indus Civilization of the 3rd millennium B.C. and its age encompasses a period of about six millennia.

1. ORIGIN

Sindhi is a member of the Indo-European family of languages, classified by Grierson (1919: 01) as one of the northwestern group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It is spoken in the lower Indus Valley of South Asia, now Pakistan.

The origin of Sindhi language is buried somewhere in the time immemorial. The academic research so far conducted by indigenous and foreign scholars about the ancestry of Sindhi language still remains inconclusive as to whether it is the language of the great Pre-Aryan Indus Civilization of the third millennium B.C., or an offshoot of Sanskrit; or has emerged from some pre-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan language.

The dilemma is caused mainly because of the un-deciphered script of the Indus civilization of the 3rd millennium BC. The hypothesis that Sindhi is the language of Mohenjodaro is based on strong cultural similarities still existing between Indus civilization of the 3rd millennium BC and

today's Sindh civilization of the 3rd millennium AD.

The well-trimmed beard of King Priest of Mohenjodaro is visible on the face of every second or third Sindhi man in the pastoral Sindh. The bangles on the arms of Mohenjodaro's Dancing Girl are still used by the womenfolk in the legendary desert of Thar. The double-edged comb for women, the flour-grinding stone, bullock-cart, pottery, birds like peacock and stork; and animals like bull and Ibex that came to light during excavations at the world heritage site of Mohenjodaro, can be seen in today's Sindh too. The crescent-horned bull of Mohenjodaro is still bred in Thar and Bhagnari area of northern Sindh while the charisma of Ibex still reigns in the western mountains of Khirthar range. The ornaments of gold and silver, almost of the same style and fashion of Mohenjodaro, are worn by the women of Sindh even today.

Hypothetically speaking, there is a strong probability that the present spoken Sindhi is the language of Indus Civilization of 3rd Millennium B.C. The question is, while there is continuity of innumerable other features of the Indus Civilization, still prevalent in Sindh, why not the legacy of the language? It is besides the fact that no such scientific proof has so far been available to the men of letters in the world.

The language of the period is still a mystery, although several scholars throughout the world have attempted to decipher, but they

hardly agree to each other's viewpoint. (Gidwani: 1996: 6)

Dr Asko Parpola and Simo Parpola, the scholars of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies also tried to resolve the mystery of the Indus script and attempted to decipher the language of Mohenjodaro but in vain.

M. H. Panhwar is critical of all those experts who have so far attempted at decipherment of the Indus script presupposing that it is a Dravidian language. He argues that those who have worked on the Indus scripts took for granted an assumption that Mohenjodaro people were Dravidians and spoke a Dravidian language. They went to the extent of feeding data to computers to resolve what human brain cannot. The results have been total failure. When the Egyptian script was deciphered first, the Egyptologists turned to rural areas and from their day to day language, they were able to pick words which belonged to the period of early dynasties, and subsequently they were able to translate lines, paragraphs and whole stories. Unfortunately, we have been on the wrong track in our assumption that Dravidian was the language of the people of Indus Civilization. (Panhwar: 1988)

1.1 Different Theories

Many academics, scholars, linguists and experts of ethno-archaeology have put forth different theories on the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language. But still the linguistic roots of

Sindhi are not traced out with authenticity. They include G.A. Grierson, Ernest Trumpp, Caldwell, Hoernle, George Stack, Emeneau, H.T. Sorley, N.A. Baloch, Sirajul Haq Memon, Murlidhar Jetely, Parso Gidwani, Massica, S.K. Chatterji, M.H. Panhwar, Bherumal Advani, Jairamdas Daulatram, G.A. Allana and Y.K. Wadhvani etc.

Tracing the origin of the Sindhi language, the western scholars of 19th and 20th century such as Stack, Hoernle, Trumpp, Beames, Grierson, and following them many Indian scholars, Bhandarkar, Vasnani, Chatterji, Bherumal Advani etc, relied mainly on the statement of Prakrit grammarian Markandeya. They traced the origin of modern Sindhi to Vrachada Apabhramsa, said to be one of the most corrupt forms of language derived from Sanskrit. The indigenous scholars of Sindh, however, seek to find the origin of their language in the ruins of the World Heritage site of Mohen-jo-daro, one of the principal cities of the Indus Valley civilization, wherefrom so far no clue has been found to justify their theories, except the undeciphered script of a language prevalent in these days.

Of the various theories as yet floated about the origin of the Sindhi language, some are unacceptable while others appear to be probable in some respects and improbable in others. But, mostly hypothetical approach is visible among the scholars engaged in tracing out the roots of Sindhi language. On the other hand, E. Trumpp (1872) and Grierson (1903)

despite being authority in the field, were earlier researchers while the scientific data pertaining to the burials of Mohen-jo-daro came later in the thirties, rejecting theories of Indus Civilization being exclusively Dravidian in character.

It is therefore not out of place to conclude that unless the Indus Script is fully deciphered, no authentic theory about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language could be developed forthwith. It is, however, beyond any doubt that the Sindhi language has developed since centuries fully well through universal process of language change caused by its interaction with both the Dravidian as well as other Indo-Aryan languages having their sway in the South Asia.

Ernest Trumpp was the first scholar floating the theory that Sindhi was derived from Sanskrit.

“Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other language of the North Indian vernaculars. The old Prakrit grammarians may have had their good reason to designate the Apabhramsa dialect, from which the modern Sindhi is derived, as the lowest of all the Prakrit dialects. But if we compare now the Sindhi with its sister-tongues, we must assign to it, in a grammatical point of view, the first place among them. It is much more closely related to the old Prakrit than Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi and Bengali of our days. It has preserved an

exuberance of grammatical forms, for which all its sisters may envy it. For, while all modern vernaculars of India are already in a state of complete decomposition, (the old venerable mother tongue being hardly recognizable in her degenerate daughters), the Sindhi has, on the contrary, preserved most important fragments of it and erected for itself a grammatical structure, which surpasses in beauty of execution and internal harmony by far the loose and leveling construction of its sisters. The Sindhi has remained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, whereas all the cognate dialects have sunk some degrees deeper. The rules, which the Prakrit grammarian Kramadishvara has laid down in reference to Apabhramsa, are still recognizable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated of the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which, though sharing a common origin with its sister tongues, is very materially differing from them.” (Trumpp: 1872:1)

G.A. Grierson thought that Sanskrit was one of the primary languages of the subcontinent and was in vogue somewhere in its northwestern part. His theory originally written in 1903 A.D. was held by a large number of scholars from Sindh. We have mentioned about the statement of the Prakrit grammarian

Markandeya (XVIII, 1) that the Apabhramsa Prakrit, spoken in Sindh was called 'Vrachada'. It is from this that Sindhi is derived. According to him, the Sindhi language belongs together with Lahnda or Western Punjabi to the northwest group of the outer circle of the Indo-Aryan vernacular. He believes that both Sindhi and Lahnda are closely related to Dardic languages further in the north, to Kashmiri in particular (1919: 136).

Dr. N.A. Baloch believes that Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origin in a pre-Sanskrit Indo-Iranian Indus Valley language.

"The Lahnda and Kashmiri appear to be its cognate sisters with a common Dardic element in all of them. The distinct nature of Sindhi, Lahnda and Dardic languages (of Kashmir and Kohistan in Gilgit) rather suggest that they owe their origin to the common stock of Aryan tongues spoken at the time of early Aryan settlement all along the Indus Valley. It has already been accepted that Paishachi, the mother of Dardic languages was a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech that ultimately developed as the literary Sanskrit. Sindhi in particular, may have imbibed some influence of the ancient language of the Mohen-jo-Daro civilization having affinities with the Sumerian and Babylonian tongues. In the more historical times, the influence of

Iranian languages on Sindhi appears to be a certainty. This influence was followed by the influence of Sanskrit through Pali-Prakrit, particularly from the days of Kanishka (78-144 AD). In the more recent times, the influence of Arabic, which was the State language in Sindh from 8th to 11th (possibly 13th) century A.D. and of Persian, which was the State language for more than five centuries (14 to 19th) has been deep and permanent. Thus, with its long history and rich linguistic background, the philological peculiarities and structural complexities of Sindhi are so challenging that at the present stage of our knowledge, it is not possible to trace many of its words to their origin. Besides, for want of time and adequate research, it has not been possible to go deep into the etymology of words. There is a considerable room for improvement in this aspect of the work, but it must be left to the future research workers" (1960: 19).

M.H. Panhwar taking support of archaeology rejects the theory of Sindhi being a Dravidian language and summarizes the language situation of Sindhi in the light of chronology authenticated by scientific data produced as a result of the Carbon Testing of the Mohen-jo-daro remains. According to the conclusion drawn by him in the light of the chronology of the development of Sindhi, as a Proto Indo-European language. He believes

that:

“It evolved into Proto Indo-Iranian, Proto-Indian and Dravidian to become Proto-SINDHI. Then it came into contact with Rig Vedic Sanskrit (1000-600 B.C.), Late Sanskrit (600-500 B.C.), Aramaic & Pahlavi (500-400 B.C.), Pali (325-187 B.C.), Pali & Greek (87 B.C.- 283 A.D.) and Pahlavi (283-356 A.D.) to take form of early SINDHI. Under the influence of Sanskrit during 356-711 A.D. and Arabic & Sanskrit during 711-1011 A.D. it took shape of Medieval SINDHI by 1011-1315 A.D. The Persian again came in contact with it during 600-1315 A.D., that was an era of Classical SINDHI. It further evolved under the influence of Persian (1600-1843 A.D.), and became Mid-19th Century SINDHI.

MODERN SINDHI finally took its shape after coming in contact with English-Persian during 1843-1947 A.D”(Panhwar: 1988)

Yashodhra K. Wadhvani believes that the modern Sindhi, like most other North Indo-Aryan languages attained the status of an independent language for widespread use in its more or less present-day form, somewhere around the 10th century AD. Although some language would certainly have been in vogue in Sindh ever since the dawn of civilization, the claim of such hoary antiquity for present-day Sindhi smacks of undue dogmatism and linguistic fanaticism. We must be sporting

enough to admit that modern Sindhi, like most other North Indo-Aryan languages, attained the status of an independent language for widespread use in its more or less present-day form somewhere around the 10th century. It is with the origin and development of this modern Sindhi that we should and can possibly concern ourselves. Of course, even the verse of a 10th century poet from Sindh quoted by Baloch has not a single word that a present-day Sindhi speaker can understand even vaguely. Drastic language-change could be the main cause (Wadhvani: 1981: 239).

Jairamdas Daulatram examines in detail the nine peculiarities of Vrachada given by Markandeya and shows that they hardly correspond with developments found in modern Sindhi. On these grounds, he rejects Vrachada as the source of modern Sindhi, and proposes that the Lower Indus Valley region comprising modern-day Sindh might have evolved a local Sindhi Apabhramsa having integral links with Nagara Apabhramsa, both having a common earlier source, viz an ancient variant of the pre-Vedic Prakrit. Defining ‘The Ancestry of Sindhi’ (Bhartya Vidya, Vol. XVII), he considers it as an Indo-Aryan Language.

“The new Indo-Aryan languages prevalent in different regions of undivided India to the North of the Deccan have, generally speaking, been as its predecessor, the Middle Indo-Aryan (through its last phase, the Apabhramsa) and the old Indo-Aryan in this ascending

line.” By 'Old Indo-Aryan' he means the Primary Prakrits, the spoken dialects of the Vedic period. He then demonstrates, through evidence quoted from various Sanskrit and Arabic sources, that what they called Sindhudesa was situated somewhere to the north of present-day Sindh (Jairamdas: 1957).

Allana, G.A. believes that there is no structural relationship, whatsoever, between Sindhi and Sanskrit. One can find only 'word stock' borrowed by Sindhi from Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit, more so due to the co-existence of these languages in the Indus Valley for a very long time. However, after taking into account the viewpoint of other scholars of different schools of thought, he concludes that:

1. Sindhi has not sprung from Sanskrit.
2. No vernacular of the sub -continent has been derived from Sanskrit.
3. Sindhi is an original language spoken by indigenous people of the Indus Valley. (Allana: 1957)

Another Sindhi scholar Siraj claims that Sindhi in itself is the oldest language, prevalent right from the time of the Indus Valley Civilization, and it is the basic or original source of Sanskrit as well as other allied languages. He believes that the Indus Civilization was one of the earliest; and it was the language of the Indus people, who later on spread northwards and eastwards to develop the Vedic Aryan civilization, and (westwards to evolve) the Sumerian civilization, the

Phoenician alphabet, etc. Their reason for leaving the homeland was the development of deplorable and discriminatory practice of religious and social customs of caste, plight of untouchables, etc. The erstwhile theory that the Vedic tradition was established in India by a European or allied race coming to India from outside is based on racial and national fanaticism. It is very much evident in the varying claims of scholars suggesting their own native land as the original habitat of the Indo-European people. According to him, Sindhi language preserves a wealth of kinship terms unparalleled elsewhere; and many of its other words also cannot be traced to any outside language. Siraj also claims that Sindhi preserves the oldest forms of numerals, even older than those in Sanskrit. Siraj believes that certain sounds also are peculiar to Sindhi alone among all Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia. He differs with both Dr. Ernest Trumpp and Dr. N.A. Baloch saying that Sindhi is not derived from Sanskrit, but on the contrary, Sanskrit is the genuine daughter of Sindhi. (Siraj: 1964)

1.2 Boundaries

The isoglotic line on the world map, where Sindhi is spoken as the first or second language, crosses the territorial boundaries of Pakistan and India in South Asia. The Sindhi-speaking people can be found in a number of states in Asia, Africa, Middle East, North America, Europe, Canada and Australia etc., where they are living as immigrants or

permanent settlers after moving from Sindh, Hind or any third country of their origin. The speakers of Sindhi can also be seen in Saudi Arabia, Dubai and Muscat etc, in the Middle East; Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Fiji and Hawaii Islands in the Far East; Tanzania, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Congo, South Africa and Madagaskar in Africa, besides many other parts of the globe. The Sindhi diaspora is spread all over the world where they use Sindhi as their first language and serve their mother tongue through linguistic, literary and cultural activities.

With its base in Sindh, the influence of Sindhi language extends to almost all regions of the Indus Valley including Punjab, former state of Bahawalpur, Balochistan and North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) besides the adjoining regions of Iranian Balochistan, and India (Rajistan, Kutchh, Gujrat, Kathiawar, Marwar, Jaisalmir and Jodhpur).

1.3 Population

Sindhi is said to be spoken by about 35 million people all over the world at present, but in the absence of any data based on census report, we can safely put it at 24 million as mentioned on various websites (<http://www.outreach.uiuc.edu>), with its base in Sindh, the southern-most province of Pakistan. The speakers of Sindhi language in Pakistan were estimated at 16.992 million in the nineties (Johnstone, 1993), and in India their number

being 2.812 million (1997 IMA). The population of Sindhis in India was caused by their mass migration as a result of the partition of the Subcontinent and birth of Pakistan in 1947. With the population of Sindhi Diaspora scattered all around the world, the figure could match the one cited above.

Sindhi is spoken as mother tongue by a vast majority of the people of Sibi in Balochistan. About 80% of the people of Lasbela district of Balochistan speak Sindhi as their mother tongue. A considerable population of Qalat, Balochi Kohistan, Makran, Guwadar, Ormara, Pasni and Jadgal use Sindhi as second language. Most of the people of Rahim Yar Khan in the Punjab speak Sindhi. Up to the 13th century AD, Sindhi was spoken up to Multan. In the southeast of Sindh, across the Rann of Kutchh. Sindhi is spoken as mother tongue by a minority of people in Kutchh, Gujrat and Kathiawar regions of India. There is a considerable population of Sindhi-speaking people in Iranian Balochistan adjacent to the northwestern border of Pakistan with Iran.

1.4 Dialects

Sindhi has in all six dialects - *Siroli* (northern), *Vicholi* (central), *Lari* (southern), *Kohistani* (in the hilly region) *Thareli* (prevalent in Thar), *Kuchhi* (in vogue in lower Sindh and Kuchh). *Lasi* (of Lasbela) may also be counted as a dialect but mostly it is spoken outside the boundaries of Sindh.

In Sindhi the word "Siro" means 'Head'

(the upper part of body) and thus “Siroli” means the language of Upper Sindh. From ‘Siro’ also is derived ‘Siraiki’. The Siraiki as a language is not a dialect of Sindhi; however, the form of Siraiki spoken in Sindh is called ‘Sindhi-Siraiki’.

“The ‘Sindhi-Siraiki’ is different from standard Sindhi dialect ‘Vicholi’ only in having a more clearly articulated pronunciation, and a slightly different vocabulary”. (Grierson: 1919: 9)

The dialect namely ‘Vicholi’ (the Sindhi word ‘Vich-u’ means ‘middle’ or center) is spoken in Central Sindh. It is recognized as the standard dialect, and is employed in education, media and literature.

‘Lari’ is the language of Lar. The word ‘Lar’ means ‘sloping (ground),’ just as ‘Siro’ means ‘upper’, and ‘Vicholo’, ‘central.’ Thus it is applied to the Lower Sindh, which includes area around Hyderabad, Thatta, Badin and the Indus Delta. The Lari dialect retains many old forms, including certain prominent Dardic peculiarities that have been lost by Vicholi.

‘Thareli’ and ‘Kucchi’ are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken in the Thar (desert) of Sindh. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindhi shading off into Rajasthani, Marwari. Kucchi, on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhi and Gujarati, spoken in lower Sindh and Kutch. Kohistani is spoken in the mountainous region lying between Karachi and Dadu districts, Thano bola Khan being its centre.

And, the dialect of ‘Lasi’ is spoken in Las Belo area of present Balochistan adjoining

Sindh in the West.

1.5 Alphabet/Vocabulary

The Sindhi alphabet has 52 letters, the most noticeable among these are the implosives b(ɓ), j(ɗ), g(ɠ), d(ɗ) and the nasals n(ɳ), ng(ŋ) and nj(ɲ). (Buglio: 2001: 25)

The vocabulary of Sindhi is rich and copious. One of the reasons is the extensive linguistic contact of Sindhi with a great number of languages of the East and the West. Right from the language of Mohenjodaro (1) with undeciphered script, to Old Prakrit, Sanskrit, Pali, Dardic languages, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Portuguese, Hindustani and English, the Sindhi language has borrowed loan words and has shared its own treasure of vocabulary with other languages.

In Captain Stack’s Devanagari Script ‘Kosh’ (dictionary) published in 1849 A.D., a total of 20,000 words of Sindhi are enlisted. They are classified as:

- 12,000 words of Sanskrit (Pali and Prakrit words apart).
- 3,500 words of Desi (Pure Sindhi vocabulary).
- 2,500 words of Arabic.
- 2,000 words of Persian.

According to the computation worked out by Dr Mansukhani, there are said to be more than 150,000 words (with inclusion of Hindi, Urdu, Turkish, Portuguese and English) that Sindhi can boast of (Khilnani: 1959)

There have been great many additions to the original vocabulary of the Sindhi

language by the Classical poets, particularly by Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, the greatest poet of Sindhi language. He has documented the dialects of all different regions of Sindh including Kohistan, Thar, Indus Delta, Kaachho and Kachho to enrich the language, and has blessed the language with a vast morphological treasure. The vocabulary of Sindhi is further enhanced by virtue of its interaction with Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Arabic, English, Urdu and other languages.

1.6 Historical Perspective

In the late 18th century, the establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal gave impetus to the study of oriental languages. Whereas Persian texts usually do not go beyond 11th century, the Sanskrit literature had great antiquity, especially Vedic literature that belongs to 1000-900 B.C. Rig-Veda, the earliest of all was considered more than 5,000 years old, as per suggestion of the learned Pandits of the language. Rig-Veda mentions god Indr, who was supposed to have subdued a local race having black skin and the later were reduced to slavery (Panahwar: 1988: 13).

This was used as an argument to claim that at that time the whole of the Indian subcontinent was occupied by Dravidians (the black people), who were driven away to South India by the Aryans, some 5,500 years back. Who were these outsiders, the Aryans, and where they came from, was an obvious

question.

Max Muller, a leading authority on Sanskrit language, finding grammatical similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Germanic languages, came forth with the theory in 1864 A.D. that Sanskrit was the oldest language from which came out the European, Iranian and Indian languages. He elaborated the point by saying that the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans belonged originally to the area of Caucasus Mountain from where they moved eastwards and westwards, resulting into divergence of the languages. This theory found worldwide acceptance for many decades.

The excavations of Mohen-jo-daro by Sir John Marshall told a different version. The religion of Harappans was altogether different from the Vedic religion. Therefore, these people were not Aryans but belonged to some other race. From the provisional examination of skulls (excavated from Mohen-jo-daro), it was quickly manipulated that the Harappans were proto-Mediterranean people similar to Dravidians of South India. The next easy step was to say that they (Dravidians) were conquered by Aryans.

The antiquity of Mohen-jo-daro was yet a guess work till some thirty years after the beginning of its excavations when Wheeler assigned to it the years 2300-1650 B.C. This date has now been confirmed from contemporary trade articles in Mesopotamia. The adherents of this theory of destruction of

Harappans included Marshall, Mackay, Piggot and Wheeler. Of the last two mentioned, Piggot went to the extent of proving superiority of Aryans to the Harappans in weaponry. He assigned this to war chariot and adze-axe used by the conquerors. Wheeler stated that Aryans did not live in cities, and were nomadic pastoralists, less civilized than the people they had conquered. This, however, reduced the age of Rig Vedic Aryans to 1750-1650 B.C. from the original claim of 3500 B.C. believed for more than 90 years. The historical literature so developed on Max Muller's theory was now to be readjusted to 1750 B.C.

But the theory of all languages of the subcontinent having been derived from Sanskrit was not seriously challenged, as it was said that this language had 1500 more years to influence and evolve other languages of northern subcontinent before it became a dead language, around 200 B.C.

On the Indian side, Sarkar published his work 'The Races of Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan' in 1964. This was based on the results of examination of skulls from Mohen-jodaro and Harappa, which were sent to England in early thirties and reports were received back after 30 years in 1960's. The report beyond any doubt proves that these people were not Dravidians and if so, Harappa and Mohen-jodaro could not have been destroyed by the Aryans. Not only that but examination of skulls shows the cornic index of 71, which also is the index of majority of people now inhabiting

Sindh and the Punjab, i.e Sikhs, Jats and many other indigenous tribes. They definitely are not Dravidians. The cornic index of the ancient Scythians of Iran is the same.

Another work on the Indus by Agarwal and Kusumgar (1974) for the first time showed that Rig Vedic Aryans appeared on the subcontinental stage after 1050 B.C. This is based on Radio Carbon Dating and these dates cannot be challenged. They brought with themselves Grey Ware and Iron. Iron is mentioned in Rig-Veda. Hittites are credited with smelting of iron going back to 1200 B.C. and not earlier.

According to the oceanographers, due to sea level changes in the Indus Valley, in 20,000 B.P (Before Present), the sea-coast was near Multan. The desert of Thar and western parts of Rajasthan also were under the sea. Bangla Desh and Uttar Pardesh were also under the sea. The river delta heads must have been in the northern Punjab and north-western U.P., and the rivers must have been discharging into two gulfs of sea in a sheet flow making the whole of South India an island. About 12,000 years back, the sea started receding from upper Sindh while the whole of Sindh must have been re-exposed some 8,000 years back. This was the case, most probably when Mesolithic age started in Sindh, side by side with hunting and fishing cultures.

Around 20,000 B.P., the people of Indo-Gangetic plains migrated to Deccan that was an island by then, and they were to return back

around 8,000 B.P. The period of twelve thousand years, intermingling produced almost a uniform race of Dravidians probably a large number of languages of Dravidian group being spoken by different tribes.

When the sea receded from the Indo-Gangetic plains, the people moved back. Most probably, they were all Dravidians except those who may have moved down from the mountains. They lived on hunting and fishing till Mesolithic age. The Mesolithic age was soon replaced by Neolithic revolution that ultimately gave rise to the Indus Culture.

The people of early Stone Age, having Hunting and Food-gathering as their profession, resided in Sindh prior to 50,000 B.C. The Rohri Flint-tool factories provide archaeological evidence to that effect. The Rohri tools also show the presence of Man in Middle Stone Age (50,000 -100,000 years back). In spite of sea level changes and flooding of the whole of Sindh time and again by the advancing sea, the Stone Age tool-factories survived for some period during late Stone Age (35,000-10,000 years back).

The sea level changes made the Deccan Plateau an island, and people after continuous mingling for over 12,000 years produced almost a uniform race of Dravidians and a group of Dravidian languages.

When the sea again receded from Sindh and Punjab, the Dravidian population moved towards the riverine areas for hunting, food-gathering and fishing. The stone tool factories at

Rohri and Mile 101 supplied these tools, some of which are considered as microlithic. These types of tools were evolved after 10,000 B.C.

The Mesolithic Age started in Sindh around 5,500 B.C. The food-gatherers and hunters started domesticating animals. The later surrendered their freedom to Man who by his intelligence was able to take them to suitable pastures and watering points. It was to the mutual benefits of man and animal that the two decided to live together.

Somewhere in The Crescent (Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel), the Neolithic Revolution, i.e domestication of animals and rudimentary agricultures started at a number of places around 7,000 B.C. It slowly spread to river valleys of Nile and Euphrates where civilizations arose. From Mesopotamia as well as Turkey, the agricultural practice spread to some small and scattered valleys in Iran.

The migration of people from Iran towards Sindh started around 4,000 B.C. In the next 200-300 years, they reached Balochistan, Orangi (Karachi) and at many sites in Kohistan namely Arabjo, Shahjo, Khajur, Karchat, Pokran, Padekh, Tando Rahim, Ali Murad, Wahi Pandhi, Drighmathi, Chakarkot and Naing etc, as explored by Mujamdar (1934); and more such sites unveiled by Professor Rauf Khan.

From there, they moved to Amri around 3,500 B.C. Here they evolved the technique of growing wheat on preserved moisture left over by the flooding of river Indus, without help of

winter rains.

From 3,500 B.C.-1,000 B.C, we have various phases of Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures known as Amri, Kot Diji, Mohen-jodaro, Cemetery-H, Jhukkar and Jhangara in Sindh. From the study of many archaeological sites in Balochistan during different periods, it can be concluded that there has been continuous migration from Iran during Indus Culture in its early, mature and declining phases (3,500-1,000 B.C). The archaeological excavations at Mehr Garh near Dadhar have taken the period to almost 6,000 B.C.

Since fishing and hunting tribes of Sindh were Dravidians and spoke Dravidian languages; and since Neolithic and Chalcolithic people were of some Indo-European type (looking like Sikhs and Jats etc) and spoke the same proto-Indo-European languages, the mingling of two languages and people took place. Since agriculture could support 80% of the population of Sindh; and as the hunting tribes usually do not accept agriculture as a way of life, it could be assumed that 80% of the population spoke Indo-European languages while remaining 20% spoke Dravidian languages. And, when intermingling took place, a few linguistic borrowings to the extent of 20-25% from the Dravidian languages took place (up to 1,000 B.C.) in case of Sindhi. Such an influence is apparent to this day in the Sindhi language.

Such a linguistic mix for 2,500 years (up to 1,000 B.C.) produced languages in the Indus

Valley cultural areas that could be safely termed as proto-Sindhi, proto-Punjabi, proto-Gujrati, and probably proto-South Gujrati (Marathi) and also proto-Hindi in the eastern-most districts of the Punjab and north-western districts of U.P. adjoining Alamgirpur.

Around 1,000 B.C., came the Rig-Vedic Aryans. It is not yet certain if Vedic Sanskrit was a language spoken in some parts of the northwestern subcontinent; or it was spoken somewhere in the mountains of Hindukush; or even eastern Caspian Sea area. Most probably, it was a language like proto-Sindhi, proto-Punjabi and proto-Hindi. It was a language restricted to only a small area and spoken by the people who later on became champions of the religious sect known as Brahmanism.

Assuming that it was a language brought by Aryans who, according to some scholars, had migrated from southeast Caspian area, then it was a language that was akin to the proto-Indo-European language from which had evolved proto-Sindhi and other languages.

The Rig-Vedic Aryans appear to be dynamic in spreading their religion and imposing it on Indus Valley people, who had gone through stages of decay for some 700-800 years. Indus Valley had lost its script and had become illiterate since about 1650 B.C. The Aryans soon evolved a script (Brahmi) either from Hebrew or from the Indus script, for writing of Vedas. This religion allowed this obscure language Sanskrit to impart its words

to all languages of the Subcontinent, especially the northern ones between 800 to 600 B.C.

Around 600 B.C., Aryans started asserting their political power by establishment of 16 Aryan States in the northern India, called Mahapadhyas. It is certain that Sindh was not one of the Aryan states listed, as: 1. Kamboja, 2. Gandhara, 3. Avanti, 4. Asmaka, 5. Surasena, 6. Matsya, 7. Panchala, 8. Kuru, 9. Anga, 10. Magadha, 11. Kasi, 12. Kosala, 13. Vajji, 14. Malla, 15. Chedi, and 16. Vatsa.

Under various Aryan state-governments, the Brahmins gained unlimited powers. The Indus Valley religion too was not dormant. The cross between Rig-Vedic religion and Indus religion resulted into evolution of a new religion called Brahmanism. The borrowings from the old religion included Lingum-worship, Shiva Puja, Durga and many other traits and the new religious doctrines were incorporated in *Brahmanas* and *Sutras* of Aryans around 600 B.C.

The population expansion caused Brahmins to restrict the use of meat only to them-selves and it was religiously forbidden to others. They monopolized literacy and most government jobs and the use of Sanskrit as official language.

The resentment against Brahmanism, their monopoly of Sanskrit and their official status gave rise to Buddhism and Jainism who forbade use of meat and killing of animals etc. Their religious texts were written in Pali and old Marathi instead of Sanskrit.

It was Jainism that gained ground in Sindh, Gujrat, Maharashtra and adjoining areas. Buddhism spread in other parts, but Sanskrit still asserted its influence.

From 519 to 450/400 B.C., Sindh and the whole of present Pakistan became part of Achaemenian Empire. Their own language was Avesti, but they adopted Aramaic (old Syraic) as official language. Their religion was Zoroasterism. Most probably they did not propagate their religion in this part of the world. Their official language Aramaic of Semite group does not seem to have produced much influence. Achaemenians administered their possessions properly and exacted taxes fully, but they do not seem to have interfered in religion. Alexander was to find strong Brahmins or Jain philosophers in Sindh in 325 B.C. The Aramaic or Avesti influenced local languages very little.

Alexander and his governors ruled Sindh for only two years and their language - Greek could not have influenced Sindhi or other languages much.

The successors of Alexander were Mauryans. Their first ruler was Chandragupta Maurya who most probably was a Jain. His official language was Pali. His grandson Asoka (272-232 B.C.) introduced Buddhism in whole of his empire. Pali, being the court as well as the religious language, must have influenced all languages of the subcontinent during the Mauryan rule from 323-187 B.C.

It was this blow to Sanskrit that by 200

B.C., it became a dead language. With it, the Brahmanic religion gave way to Buddhism in whole of the subcontinent.

Bactrian Greeks (184-70 B.C.) Scythians (70 B.C.), Parthians (46-78 A.D.), Kashans (78-175 A.D.) and later Parthians (175-283 A.D.) ruled Sindh one after another. Under the first three, the official language was Greek, but their bilingual coins show that Pali too was in vogue. Later Greeks, Scythians and Parthians were Buddhists and Pali was their religious language. The Greek language was unknown to the common people. Under Kushans and later Parthians, Pali was both official and religious language. Between 323 B.C., and 283 A.D., a period of over 600 years, Pali must have influenced all Indo-European languages of the subcontinent tremendously. This is little realized by the linguists.

Sassanians ruled Sindh only for 73 years. Their official language was Pahlavi. It must have influenced all the languages of the present Pakistan. In the Sassanian era, there were four important languages of the ancient world; Greek, Latin, Pahlavi and classical Sanskrit. Sindh, being within the zone of influence of classical Sanskrit and Pahlavi, must have been influenced by both.

Guptas started aspiring for power in the 3rd century. The 600 years rule of the subcontinent by Buddhists, relaxation of morals by their monks as well as double standard of their morals brought about decay of Buddhism and revival of Brahmanism under Guptas.

Their nucleus was in the very birth place of Buddhism around Magadha and their power spread to most of the subcontinent in a century.

Guptas revived Sanskrit and made it the official language. Many religious and scientific texts were written in it. The Buddhists also started writing their books in Sanskrit from the beginning of Christian era and their contribution to Sanskrit was no less than that of Brahmins. The classical and scientific works written during Gupta period were rendered into Arabic in 8th and 9th centuries. The new lease of life that Guptas gave to this language made it official language of many states not even under control of the Guptas. This classical Sanskrit, a dead language, and only known to priest has lived up to this day. Since it succeeded 600 years of Pali's glory, it is certain that classical Sanskrit borrowed from Pali rather than vice versa. Pali could only have borrowed loan words from Sanskrit of *Brahmana* and *Sutra* period or the middle Sanskrit.

Sindh was under Sassanian control for about 73 years, but Sindh's trade with Iran continued. This trade in the hands of Iranian Jews settled in Debal continued right up to the 10th century, as is reported by Martin Gilbert. Due to such contacts, Pahlavi too exercised its influence on early Sindhi upto the conquest of Sindh by Arabs.

Under Valikas (356-415 A.D.) who were contemporaries of Chandra Gupta-II

Vikramaditya, Sanskrit was official language in the subcontinent, and it is possible that Valikas too used it as official language, most probably through this time. The early Sindhi was used in its area of habitat for all purposes. The Valikas succeeded by local principalities might have followed the same practice between 415 to 475 A.D.

The Huns of Malwa who may have ruled Sindh between 475-499 A.D., had become fanatic Hindus. They had smashed the Gupta Empire after succession, and had adopted Sanskrit as official language. They might have used that language in Sindh as they ruled Sindh for 24 years.

The rulers of Rai dynasty in Sindh (409-641 A.D.) must have used Sindhi and Sanskrit for official and religious use. They were succeeded by Brahmans (641-712 A.D.) It is a conjecture that Chach, the founder of this dynasty was the deposed King of Kashmir, and within eight years became the King of Sindh. Since the official language in Kashmir was Sanskrit, it is fair to conclude that the same practice might have followed in Sindh. The Sindhi language was also in use in Sindh as the Arab travellers were to see in mid-tenth century.

The official language in Sindh was Arabic under Umayyads (711-750 A.D.), Abbasids (751-854 A.D.), and Habaris (854-1011 A.D.). But, it was restricted only to the large cities where Sindhi too was in use. However, in the rural areas, only Sindhi prevailed.

During the reign of early Arabs, Arabic as official and religious language did exercise influence on local languages, the extent of which is too difficult to ascertain, as no writings of that period have survived. During this period Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism lived and flourished side by side up to 13th century. So, the Classical Sanskrit being the religious language of Buddhists as well as Hindus must have exercised its influence on Sindhi.

The Soomras ruled between 1011 and 1351 A.D. During this period, due to the efforts of the Ismaili preachers, a large number of Hindus and Buddhists were converted to Islam, so much so that Buddhism almost disappeared from Sindh by 13th century. The poetry of Ismaili preachers has very few Arabic words and thus indicates scant influence of that language. The Sindhi with Devanagiri script was used for inscriptions and official work.

The Sammas (1315-1525 A.D.) adopted Persian as the official language as their inscriptions show. They also used Arabic in inscriptions. But, both the languages had limited influence on Sindhi mainly because they had not reached the greater masses of the land. The poets of these languages belonged to the courts. The Ismaili preachers too seem to have coined religious words from local languages to make themselves intelligible to the masses. The massive Persian and Arabic influence on Sindhi is a later phenomenon of 18th and 19th centuries.

The Arghoons, Tarkhans and Mughals

(1525-1700 A.D.) ruled for 175 years. Under them the use of Persian in Sindh increased. The influence of Persian and Arabic on Sindhi was confined to official and literary circles, while the popular Sindhi poetry continued utilizing indigenous idioms. The general masses of Sindhi population were isolated from state affairs for nearly two centuries and so the Sindhi language did not absorb too many words of the court language.

Under the rule of the Kalhoras (1700-1783 A.D.) and Talpurs (1783-1843 A.D.), Persian remained the official language. Sindhi absorbed a large number of Persian and Arabic words during this period, the reason being that the courtiers and officials were locals and it were they who composed 'learned' poetry and other works. This was also the age of advanced Sufi mystic poetry. These poets added Persian and Arabic words to Sindhi since they often stood involved in high polemics with orthodoxy. The Sindhi Sufi poets of Arghoon, Tarkhan and Mughal period were however quite conservative in the use of Persian and Arabic words in Sindhi writings since their audience were mostly, if not exclusively, the masses, and thus they used foreign words only wherever they could not avoid it.

During the British period (1843-1947 A.D.), Sindhi was recognized as the official language in Sindh. A large number of words had to be coined for official and literary use. Some words already in use in administrative correspondence in Persian were adopted for

the same purpose. The Hindu writers also used Persian and Arabic words as liberally as Muslims did. Thus a large number of Persian and Arabic words in Sindhi pertains to the period of 18th and 20th century.

Undoubtedly, Sindhi came in contact with a galaxy of tongues during a vast period of interaction with alien tongues, but the linguistic genesis of Sindhi remained intact inspite of everything. May be, it was due to the geographical isolation of the Indus Valley (surrounded by Himalayas in the north, Indian ocean in the south, desert land in the east and mountainous ranges in the west) that its language preserved its virginity by and large; or may be the alien rulers, their administrative sway and their tongues failed to penetrate into the soul of Sindh, and among the hearts of greater masses. However, it is a fact of history that despite inevitability of language change, the Sindhi language maintained its roots buried down in the time immemorial.

Of course, the modern Sindhi does contain various lexemes which might have been borrowed from quite a variety of languages and at various times in history. Tracing their sources is certainly a useful and interesting academic pursuit but this should not be done haphazardly. A thorough study of cultural, political and historical contacts is required to substantiate every single verdict of a borrowing; and then, there are so many types of borrowing: intimate borrowing, cultural borrowing (loan-translations etc). While

intimate borrowing involves donations of words by the prestige language of the time, the cultural borrowing is mutual, through give and take of culture.

1.7 Sanskrit and Sindhi

The word 'Prakrit' is derived from 'Pirkriti', which has two shades of meaning (a) Nature (b) Original form. The antonym of word 'Prikrit' is 'Vikrit', which means 'Distorted or Corrupted form'. The root of word 'Sanskrit' is 'Kir' or 'Kar', which means 'to do'. Its past participle is 'Krit' which means 'done'. 'Sim' is a prefix, which means 'good'. The word 'sam-krit' (Sanskrit) therefore means 'fair', 'good', 'cleansed', 'polished' or 'refined'. Hence the actual meaning of Sanskrit language is 'the polished or refined language' (Bherumal: 1941: 24, 38).

It is therefore that many scholars and linguists ask how it is possible that a natural or original language (Prakrit) can be derived from a polished or refined one (Sanskrit)? And, thus it is believed that Sanskrit is not the origin of Prakrit. On the contrary, Prakrit happens to be the origin of Sanskrit - the refined and polished language. With it, many philologists have started believing that Sanskrit is not the origin of any vernacular tongue prevalent in South Asia.

That all Indo-Aryan vernaculars are dialects of various forms of Prakrit language has now been the calculated opinion of many scholars. In their view all these dialects have

sprung from different Prakrits, which were used as spoken languages during different times. Or so to say that Sanskrit is not the mother of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. They, in fact, are likely to be the daughters of some old Prakrit. The Sindhi language therefore is not derived from Sanskrit, as is believed by many scholars since long.

As a matter of fact, Sanskrit was awarded the status of a literary medium on political and religious grounds by Brahman Hindus. An authority like Grierson also treats Sanskrit as a derived form of Prakrit.

We learn from inscription of Asoka (250 B.C) and from the writings of the grammarians like Patanjali (150 B.C) that an Aryan speech of North India, having gradually developed from the ancient vernaculars spoken during the period in which the Vedic hymns were composed, was the ordinary language of mutual intercourse. The Classical Sanskrit had developed from one of these dialects under influence of Brahmans as a secondary language. Concurrent with this long development of modern Vernaculars, we have the classical Sanskrit, also derived from one of the Primary Prakrit dialects (Grierson: 1919: 127).

Sanskrit was described by Panini as Bhasha that was an artificial vehicle of expression, but became a polished language in the Brahmanical Schools. It was certainly not the spoken language of the Udichya country where Panini was born. The language thus

regularized by Panini was gradually accepted by the whole Brahmanic world as the language of culture and became a powerful instrument of expression.

Sanskrit took over in the 7th or 5th century B.C. Various Prakrits were already in vogue, since the Vedic times at least, though not used for literary purposes yet. The Apabhramsas were looked down upon till about 2nd B.C., but were accepted as colloquial speech-variants by 3rd A.D and even became vehicles of literature between 500 and 1200 A.D. One can say that from the 6th century onwards the relation between Sanskrit, Prakrits and Apabhramsas was that of a standard prestigious dialect versus regional dialects and sub-dialects. The latter were certainly influenced by the former and presented imperfect pronunciation and approximation of Sanskrit sounds and structures, being (most probably) attempts of non-Aryan bilinguals at the adoption of the Aryan speech.

Chapter 2

LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

With its roots in the Indus Civilization of the 3rd millennium B.C., the modern Sindhi language has attained a spectacular development to become the Computer language in the 3rd millennium A.D. This long journey of linguistic evolution and development began in the time immemorial, and continues up to this day. The secret of Sindhi being a developed language is its contact and coexistence with a galaxy of languages since centuries. In such a process, Sindhi has gained by taking loan words from other languages, and has also contributed to the other languages reciprocally. As a result of frequent migration of people, groups and nations to the green belt of the Indus Valley through the centuries, the morphological, phonological and syntactical structure of the Sindhi language has only flourished with the passage of time.

2.1 Diachronic Development of SINDHI

2.1.1 Ancient Era

The petroglyphs of pre-history discovered from the bed of Seeta river in the mountainous range of Khirthar in Sindh (Pirzado: 2002) have opened up new windows through which can be seen the people of Sindh engaged, in the time immemorial, writing something on the rocky pages of some

prehistoric book.

In the homes of the inhabitants of Mohen-jo-daro (2500-1500 B.C.) and in its crowded bazaars, the language spoken was most probably an ancient form of Sindhi, the available script of which is not deciphered so far. It however provides evidence to the effect that literature was also produced in that ancient (Sindhi) language. But no extensive excavations have so far been conducted at the World Heritage Site of Mohen-jo-daro, wherefrom the discovery of a library could be possible that could provide a sort of clue like the Rosetta-Stone, to give us a real key into decipherment of the Indus Script.

“Even the period of Proto-SINDHI or Primary Sindhi Prakrit was earlier than that of Panini, Patangali and Kalidas, and even the composition of Ramayana and Mahabharata.

“Tirthanker of Jainism (Anshanath the 11th) was born in Sindh where he preached in Sindhi language of the times and carried his propaganda right up to Bengal where he died.

“According to the present knowledge of the science of languages, Bharat Muni was the first Sanskrit writer in whose great work Nataya Shastra of 2nd century A.D., are given some references of the language of the people of *Sindhu Sauvira* (Sindh).

“In 7th century A.D., a Chinese pilgrim recorded that the language of the

people of Sindh differed slightly from that of mid-India, comprising North Gujrat, Rajasthan, Malwa and Western U.P. In the 8th century the language of the then Sindhis figured among the 18 important languages of Bharat Varsha and the poetry of the people of Sindh is mentioned as ‘Graceful, Sweet, Soft-toned and Patriotic in sentiment’.

“An unknown Sindhi scholar, more than 1,000 years ago, wrote in Sindhi language a prose version of Mahabharata, differing though in some particulars from the Mahabharata as known today. This work was translated into Arabic, sometimes in 10th century A.D., by the evidence recorded in the writings of Al-Beruni and Abu Saleh; the said Mahabharata may be regarded as the earliest work of Sindhi Prose of 3rd century B.C.” (Khilnani: 1959)

However, there are missing links in the history of Sindh during which various invaders burned down libraries, looted, plundered and erased every sign of academic life of Sindh while the indigenous population under siege had no respite to re-write their history.

INDUS SCRIPT

After the discovery of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro, two principal cities of the great Indus Valley Civilization, in the early twenties, John Marshall conducted archaeological excavations at the site of Mohen-jo-daro in 1922.

It was for the first time that a pictorial script of the 3rd millennium B.C. was found written on the seals, potshards and other archaeological object-finds.

The archaeologists and scholars attempted to decipher the script of the Indus Civilization soon after its discovery but found no match in the old records anywhere in the world to reach any conclusion. Finally, Asko Parpola and John Hunter conducted computerized studies to decipher it but in vain. However, many linguists and etymologists are still in pursuit of finding any clue to the genesis of the ancient script.

However, most of the researchers believe, though hypothetically, that while striking cultural similarities do exist between the ancient and modern civilization of Sindh, the possibility of Indus script being SINDHI cannot be ruled out altogether.

2.1.2 Medieval Era

With the process of the decline of Indus Civilization started around 1650 B.C., the Indus Valley had lost its script (Panhwar: 1988). The Aryans soon evolved Brahmi script from Hebrew (or the Indus script?) for writing of Vedas. This gave birth to Sanskrit language about 1000 to 800 B.C. In its aftermath, a number of ancient scripts have been discovered from various sources indicating to the evolution of scripts for numerous vernaculars of South Asia. They include Kharosthi (300 B.C.), Sui Vihar Script (50

A.D.), Gupta Script (4th Century A.D.), Old Nagra Script (9th Century A.D.), Sanskrit Bhasha (7-8 Century A.D.), Devanagri (8th Century A.D.), Ancient Script (Bhambhore), Sindhi Script (written by George Stack), Sindhi-Arabic Script (1020-1030 Hijra), and Khuwajki Script (1209-1290 A.D.), etc.

During the period of Rai Dynasty (6th Century A.D.) in Sindh, some letters written by Raja Dahar in the Sindhi language are on the record. The history of this period is mostly untraceable more so because the invasions of Sindh that followed brought about destruction resulting in disappearance of historical evidences.

The Sindhi language was written in Devanagari Script up to the period of Soomra dynasty (1011-1351 A.D.) in Sindh. A specimen of this script is a verse of Qazi Qadan written in Devanagari in 1636 A.D. The record of the 40-lettered Khuwajki-Sindhi script (1209-1290 A.D) is also available. An early Sindhi script similar to Devanagari was found written on potshards excavated from Bhambhore.

Arab Rule: During the Arab period some indigenous scholars developed Sindhi-Arabic script, in 187 Hijra. A single line written in this script is available on record. An earlier scholar of Sindhi Abul Hasan used in his early writings the Sindhi-Arabic script a few centuries ago.

According to Dr N.A. Baloch, Sindhi developed further more in terms of its

morphology and grammatical texture during the Arab rule. Its orbit was widened up under centralism of its sway. The alphabet of Sindhi enhanced with loan words from Arabic, and a solid base was provided to it with the publication of Islamic literature and medieval poetry. From 950 to 1050 A.D., the individuality and international status of Sindh was enhanced under Arabs while the trade flourished with the Arab world. The famous Sindhologist Al-Beruni visited Sindh during this era and immortalized many aspects of the history of Sindh.

Local Rule: Despite constant turmoil which rivalry for power brought to the country, it remained under Arab control till 1010 A.D., after which they began to lose their grasp. A bitter struggle for supremacy in Sindh took place between local tribes and eventually the Soomras emerged as the most powerful of them.

The Soomras ruled Sindh during 11th to mid-14th Century A.D., followed by Sammas, Arghoons, Tarkhans, Mughals, Kalhoras and Talpurs, who ruled during 14th to 19th Century A.D. During the Soomra Rule, the folklore of Sindhi gained impetus. Being the vernacular of the rulers, Sindhi was patronized by the government of the day. This era had also proved itself as continuity of the Arab policies about the development of Sindhi. Thus, there was transition from Devanagari to the Sindhi Arabic script while still the echo of Persian had not subsided fully well.

The rule of Soomras was followed by Samma dynasty (1350-1520). The Samma rulers extended their power very rapidly, especially during the reign of Jam Nindo (1461-1508). This era was known as the 'Golden Age of Sindh' during which the economy flourished, and a strong state was created which, however, maintained intellectual freedoms. (Buglio: 2001: 12).

During this period, the Sindhi-Arabic script became somewhat universal in Sindh. The Sindhi language produced literature on standardized pattern, and the tradition of classical poetry in Sindhi was consolidated. The boundaries of Sindhi were expanded to Kuchh in the southeast and to Las Belo in the southwest as a result of the conquests of the Sammas, and the age-old interaction between Balochs and Sindhis. A new 'Jadgali' dialect also came into being as a result of linguistic contact of Sindhi with Eastern Balochi and Western Balochi. The dialects of Kuchhi and Laasi besides Sindhi-Siraiki took their roots. The Sammas of Kuchh moved to Kathiawar and Gujrat taking influence of Sindhi along with them. The use of Sindhi as an official language of Sindh, besides academic and educational use, started systematically for the first time in Sindh. Since Sindhi was the mother tongue of Samma rulers who were first established in the Central Sindh, the 'Vicholi' dialect of Sindhi got impetus during the Samma dynasty (Baloch: 1999: 157-170).

2.1.3 Modern Era

The British Rule

The Sindhi language witnessed different stages of modern development after the British conquest of Sindh in 1843. The first such development was the invention of the Sindhi Type-writer. The first such old-styled machine named as 'Monarch', was manufactured way back in 1926 by Remington, an American Company. The old Sindhi Type-writer, recovered from a person in Shahdadkot (Sindh) is preserved in the museum of the Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro (Sindh).

It was in 1973 that a modern Sindhi Type-writer named as 'Al-Mustafa Hermes Type writer' was made with technical expertise of Pillard, a firm of Switzerland, and with serious efforts of Sindh University's Vice Chancellor Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah and renowned Intellectual Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo. This modern machine was improved further through a new model restructured in 1994 (Abbasi: 1977: 6-12). Such a scientific development paved a way to make Sindhi a Computer language in the nineties.

When the new script/linguistic code was provided to Sindhi by the British rulers in 1853 A.D., in the form of Perso-Arabic-Sindhi script, it further enhanced its scope among all contemporary languages spoken in the Indus Valley (e.g Punjabi, Lahnda, Pashtu, Balochi, Brauhvi and Siraiki etc).

The decision of the British rulers to give a new script to Sindhi, deviating from Devanagari, might have had some political strings attached to it to. However, it proved to

be a good omen for Sindhi as it paved the way for its further development on the scientific basis. It is only due to this that today after Urdu and English, the Sindhi language is more developed in comparison with other vernaculars of Pakistan.

The predominating class of the educated Sindhi Hindus already using Devanagari, Khudawadi and Hatiki scripts at the time of British rule in India had tried their level best to resist the verdict of the British rulers in favour of the new script on the cards. Even Dr Ernest Trumpp had disliked the idea of giving Perso-Arabic script to Sindhi as 'the silliest' idea. The new script was also bound to detach centuries-old historical links of Sindhi with the Indo-Aryan languages of India such as Sanskrit and Pali etc, of course in terms of sociolinguistics only; while its morphological, phonological and syntactical features still resembled with those languages. And, it also reflected the 'Hindu-Muslim Divide' in the arena of linguistics. Yet, it was a historical phenomenon of language change, which was perhaps quite inevitable.

"The new linguistic phase took on a completely new form when the British arrived in Sindh. The British saw that if their rule in Sindh was to be successful, it was essential that appropriate communicative schemes should be installed. They saw that the best and most obvious means of accomplishing this was through the common ground of language. Thus from the very beginning attention was drawn to the question of

making Sindhi the official language. Clerk (1848) in his memorandum to the House of Commons, on the administration of Sindh, broaches this issue, giving counsel as to the practicability of using the Sindhi vernacular for administrative purposes.

“Others were of the view that Hindustani should be adopted as the official language, since they saw its universality in India and believed that if used in Sindh it would champion the cause of British hegemony. Although Stack saw that this was the case, he did not entertain this idea in case of Sindh, as he affirmed that Hindustani was not understood in Sindh and was only practiced in the judiciary realm and even there only by those magistrates who had no knowledge of Sindhi and Persian.

“Early into the period of British rule a committee was established which was to tackle the language question in Sindh by coming up with one script which would clear up the confusion resulting from several other scripts being in use. On one side of the bench there were those who favoured the implementation of Devanagari script; opposing them were those who maintained that a Sindhi-Arabic script should be used. After much dissension it was decided that Sindhi-Arabic should become the new script. In due course the Sindhi script and orthography were modified in accordance with Sindhi phonetics.” (Buglio: 200: 21)

During the years following this decision, much work was done on the Sindhi language. The work commenced on grammar books, history books, textbooks, dictionaries and manuals. Major works from other languages such as Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Urdu, Persian and English were translated, periodicals were mass produced and a host of literary societies were founded to celebrate and promote the Sindhi language. Meanwhile English was being introduced gradually at different levels. Its popularity, however, was not secured overnight. Although the Hindus readily embraced the British system of education as they saw it as a stepping stone for entering into government service, the Muslims displayed more reluctance.

The annexation of Sindh to Bombay Presidency resulted in its having increased dealings with India. By this means Sindhi came in contact with Hindustani and English spoken by those British who had taken up office. The Hindustani and English influence was minimal, however, since those Sindhis who knew it were only those who had contact with the English and those from the educated classes. This bilingualism occurred only within the bounds of some urban areas; the rest of the people remained monolingual and isolated from power. This situation followed a similar pattern till Sindh's separation from Bombay Presidency in 1936. With the departure of the Indian influence, language contact with Hindi or Hindustani was reduced, and Sindh remained monolingual once again in entirety.

2.1.4 1947 Onwards

The monolingual state of Sindh was over once again after a span of eleven years with the emergence of Pakistan in 1947. In the new state of Pakistan, Urdu was declared as the state language. Thus Sindh became a bilingual province with Sindhi and Urdu as the two languages of communication.

With it, the focus on Sindhi, rested during 104 years of British Rule as the sole language of Sindh, was now shifted on Urdu as the national language of Pakistan and Sindhi as a regional language of the southernmost region (or province) of Pakistan.

At the crucial juncture of taking final decision on the national or state language of the new state of Pakistan in the making, after the British had finally decided to quit India, there were different discussions in the air by the ruling elite and intellectuals.

The Urdu speaking immigrants voiced their demands for Urdu to be implemented as the national language, arguing that Urdu had been the lingua franca during the freedom movement of India and the language of the Muslims of India (cf. Fatehpuri, 1987).

Agha Khan and others wanted Arabic as the national language of the 'would be' Pakistan, arguing that this was not only the language of the Holy Quran but that all Muslims were familiar with it through their religious practices. Secondly, if adopted, Arabic will help create close relationship with the oil-rich Arab world. Urdu, they said, was the

language of Muslim decadence in India.

"Arabic as a universal language of the Muslim World would unite; Urdu would divide and isolate"(Agha Khan, 1957).

The Bengalis forming a majority of 56% population of Pakistan desired for Bengali to become the national language.

And, there were politicians and intellectuals with true perception of federalism in mind demanding that all five indigenous languages, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu and Balochi may be declared as national languages of Pakistan. The English be implemented as the official language of the state till any of the local languages is developed to replace it. Urdu would remain the lingua franca of the country.

And yet some others suggested by taking the middle line that Bengali should be adopted as the national language of East Pakistan and Urdu in West Pakistan.

But, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of Pakistan announced his verdict at Dacca University in 1948

"... let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be URDU and no other language. Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function" (Quoted in Callard, 1957: 182).

In Sindh today, the promotion and

development of Sindhi language is being carried on by various departments of the Government of Sindh. Besides, a number of private literary and cultural organizations of civil society are serving the cause of promoting language through production and publication of Sindhi literature, academic research and teaching of Sindhi language.

The Government of Sindh has established the Sindhi Language Authority (SLA) <http://www.sindhila.com.pk> in 1991 through a bill passed by the Sindh Legislative Assembly for promotion and development of the language. The federal government of Pakistan recognizes Sindhi as an official language of Sindh and one of the major languages of Pakistan.

The Department of Culture, Government of Sindh, Sindhi Adabi Board, Sindhi Text Board, and Sindhi Archives run by the provincial government of Sindh are striving for an overall development of Sindhi.

The University of Sindh established in 1947 awards the advanced academic degree of Ph.D in Sindhi while its Sindhi Department is imparting advanced teaching in Sindhi language and literature. Besides, the Sindh University has established the Institute of Sindhology to promote and carry on research on Sindh including its history, culture, language and literature.

The University of Karachi and the Shah Abdul Latif University in Kharpur also have

Departments of Sindhi which also impart advanced teaching in Sindhi language as well as literature. They also have research Chairs such as Shah Latif Chair (KU) and Sheikh Ayaz Chair (SALU) which conduct research in their respective fields and also publish books and periodicals based on that research.

The Sindhi print media having history of more than a century with regular publication of more than 50 daily newspapers is contributing a lot towards linguistic and literary development of the language. The satellite television channels of Sindhi founded in Pakistan and India introduce this classical language of South Asia to the rest of the world.

2.2 Sindhi in Cyberspace

The dawn of 21st century saw Sindhi as a Computer language. Sindhi now is communicable on the Internet, thanks to the persistent efforts by Sindhi experts of Information Technology (IT) here in Sindh, and abroad.

The evolution and development of Sindhi has a long history. Prior to 1866 when Ernest Trumpp published *Shah-Jo-Risalo* through Lithography from Liepzig, Germany, Sindhi was only a hand-written language. The Sindhi Type writer was invented in 1926, and for the first time a page of Sindhi words composed on computerized typesetting came out from a laser printer in 1987. By 2002, Sindhi became a language of computer and Internet.

By the year 1983, a Line Editor was structured on computer in Sindhi by an IT expert Mr Javed Laghari in MS DOS. Although, it was a pioneering work for Sindhi Computing, yet it had a limited utility.

In 1987-88, the Sindhi Word Processor and the Desktop Printing in Sindhi was introduced on Macintosh PC by yet another

Notes: Language Issue in former East Pakistan

One-Unit

Anti-One Unit struggle

Sindhi Language Bill 1972 – Language riots – Turmoil

Bhutto dethroned, executed on April 4, 1979

MRD movement of 1983

Carnage of 1988 (Sept 30, Oct 1)

Water War – 1990-99 (drought and famine)

Sindhi Language Authority – 1991

Sindhi IT expert Mr Majid Bhurgri. As a result of such endeavour, first time a page containing Sindhi words came out of a Laser Printer in 1987.

With it started the Typesetting practice for the benefit of newspapers and magazines in Sindhi. The first such Typeset column appeared in the Sindhi Daily Hilal-e-Pakistan, Karachi in 1987 for the first time.

In 1988, the pioneer of Sindhi Typesetting (Bhurgri) announced his achievement in a press conference. Following it, as a second instance, the Sindhi Section of a magazine '*Naqoosh*' appeared with Computer Typesetting. Later on, some other Sindhi magazines such as '*Paroor*', '*Paras*', '*Sughariun Sath*', '*Sindh Sujag*', '*Sha-oor*' and '*Halchal*' were also published with

computerised typesetting.

In 1989, the first Sindhi newspaper Daily '*Awami Awaz*', Karachi was published with Computer Typesetting. The other Sindhi dailies such as '*Kawish*', '*Hilal-e-Pakistan*' and '*Aftab*' followed the suit.

In the second phase, about a dozen Typefaces were prepared in Sindhi (by Majid Bhurgri) which were named as '*Majidi*', '*Latifi*', '*Sarmast*', '*Khursheed*', '*Nargisi*', '*Basit*', '*Musawwir*', '*Moomal*', '*Sarang*' and '*Makli*' etc. They are still in use on Macintosh Computer.

By now, the Microsoft Windows had attained multi-lingual capability on IBM Compatible Computer. Taking advantage of such a scientific advancement, another Sindhi IT expert Ayaz Shah succeeded in implementing Sindhi Typesetting system on Microsoft Windows. With such a precedent well set, yet another Sindhi expert Abdul Azeem Soomro started working on the software of Sindhi Word Processor.

But, in technical terms, it was simply an attempt to restructure the Arabic and Persian system of fonts for writing Sindhi on computer. The invention of independent Sindhi Fonts was a step still far ahead. Except for the Desktop Publishing, no other important work could be done on the computer by that time. The work on Sindhi Database Management, creation of Sindhi Web Page on Internet and sending of E-mail or Chatting on Internet in Sindhi was still a dream. It was all because there was no real Sindhi Computing system in existence by then.

What was being done for the last 14 years was simply to combine, truncate and substitute Arabic and Persian letters, characters and marks in an absolutely non-standardized way to achieve the objective and create pseudo Sindhi letters and characters; and that's all. This way, all the 52 letters of the Sindhi Alphabet were unable to be accommodated on the computer. It was all because no formal Code Page of Sindhi was as yet formulated, and recognized by the international computing agencies so that it could be implemented in the Computer Operating System and Software (Bhurgri: 2002).

The world was now moving towards formulating a Universal Code Page or UNICODE to be used by all languages of the world. The computer scientists invented a Standard Unicode accommodating all languages of the world. Such a scientific development opened a new window for the Sindhi Language too. The Microsoft started using UNICODE fully well in Windows 2000 and Windows-XP as against its limited use in Windows 96 and Windows 98.

With it, Majid Bhurgri and Ayaz Shah made joint efforts to make Sindhi Fonts as per the specifications of the Unicode, but failed. Later on, Majid Bhurgri assisted by Sagar Latif Shaikh succeeded in restructuring Sindhi Fonts in accordance with the Unicode in early nineties. However, problems surfaced in their application.

By February 2000, Mr. Pal Nelson, head of Multilingual Wing of the Microsoft, prepared a Sindhi Keyboard for use in the Windows. With it, the Sindhi Database Management and Sorting System was finally made possible.

“Now the Programming Language can also be prepared in Sindhi”, Dr Gul Agha, Professor of Computer Sciences, University of Albana, USA, opined in an interview. With it, all windows of computer development have been opened for the Sindhi language in the new millennium.

Thus, Sindhi has become the language of Computer and Internet. Now, we can send e-mail in Sindhi, and can chat in Sindhi on Internet.

2.3 Linguistic Research

Many occidental and indigenous scholars have conducted research on a number of disciplines to explore linguistic characteristics of the Sindhi language. Such process of work began long before the advent of British rule in Sindh in 1843. However, in the post-1843 period, the tradition of research on scientific basis was set in Sindh. Right from George Stack to Sir Grierson, and Vasnani to Bhramal and Gurbuxani, or Dr N.A. Baloch, Siraj Memon and Dr Allana to the sociolinguistic study of Sindhi by Dr. Allah Dad Bohio, C.J. Daswani, Sundry Parchani, Laxman Khubchandani and Dr M. Qasim Bughio, the output of about 50 scholars is on the record to show the evolution of linguistic development of Sindhi. Still there

are linguistic mysteries and academic riddles to be resolved by the new generation pertaining to the literary treasure of Sindhi.

George Stack (d. 1853)

He is the first occidental scholar who wrote the earliest book on grammar of Sindhi language in English in 1847. The book entitled 'A Grammar of Sindhi Language', however, was published in 1849. He also produced two dictionaries of Sindhi: English-Sindhi Dictionary containing 12,000 words (1849) and Sindhi-English Dictionary having 17,000 entries (1855). He accomplished this monumental work on Sindhi linguistics long before the decision of the British rulers to patronise the local vernacular in Sindh and to provide a new script (Arabic-Sindhi) to it. He used Devanagari script for writing in Sindhi, and when the British rulers decided to introduce a uniform script for Sindh in 1853, he favoured Devanagari, for which he had his own arguments. At the end of his book on Sindhi Grammar, George Stack penned down five popular Love Stories of Sindhi folklore as well, (Hidayat Prem: 2003).

Ernest Trumpp (1828-1885)

He was the second occidental (German) scholar who penned down 'Grammar of the Sindhi Language' (compared with the Sanskrit, Prakrit and the cognate Indian vernaculars) in 1872. One of the main characteristics of Trumpp's grammar of Sindhi is the inclusion of Shah Latif's language and its grammatical

novelties in it. Prior to it, in 1858, he wrote a research article 'Sindhi Reading Book (in Sanskrit and Arabic characters); in 1861 and 1862, he authored two research papers on the Sindhi Language; and in 1886 he wrote for the Journal of Asiatic Society on 'Grammar of the Sindhi language'. In 1866, he compiled Shah-Jo-Risalo in Sindhi and got it printed first time on lithography, from Lepzick, Germany.

George Shirt (d. 1886)

In 1866, George Shirt authored a book on Sindhi grammar entitled 'Akhar Dhatoo'. In this book, Shirt discussed roots of Sindhi in Sanskrit, Semetic and Dravidian languages. In 1879, He produced a Sindhi-English dictionary in collaboration with two local scholars Udharam Thanwardas and Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg. In his dictionary, he used Arabic-Sindhi script for Sindhi. Till 1911, the dictionary of George Shirt was in use when Permanand Mevaram brought out another Sindhi-English dictionary. He also penned down a research article on the origin and ancestry of Sindhi entitled 'The Traces of Dravidian Element in Sindhi', which was published in December 1878 issue of the Indian Antiquary. On behalf of the Christian Missionary Society, Hyderabad, he also published some 20 booklets in Sindhi on Christianity.

Sir George Abrahm Grierson (b. 1851)

His monumental work is 'Linguistic Survey of India' published in eleven volumes covering 500 languages of South Asia. The first part of the 8th volume of the book

published in 1919 deals with Sindhi. According to him, Sindhi is the Indo-European language belonging to the northwestern outer circle of the Indo-Aryan group of languages. In this book, Grierson has discussed Sindhi grammar in detail, and has compared Sindhi language with all other languages of Indo-Aryan origin.

The 8th volume (part I) of this book was translated in Sindhi by Dr. Fahmida Hussain, which was published by Sindhi Language Authority in 2000 A.D.

Sir Ralf Lilly Turner (b. 1885)

'Sindhi Recursives or Voiced Stops Preceded by Glottal Closure' is one of Turner's important works (1923) on Sindhi linguistics. Besides, he wrote on 'Cerebratipation in Sindhi', and 'Some problems of Sound Change in Indo-Aryan languages', exploring new linguistic vistas pertaining to the Sindhi language. This professor of Linguistics produced two dictionaries 'A Comparative Dictionary of Indo Aryan Languages', and 'A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Nepali language' (1931), containing study on Sindhi in both. Prof Laxman Khubchandani regarded his work on Sindhi linguistics as a 'landmark'.

John Beames (1837-1902)

His two important books are 'Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India' (1872-79), and 'Quotations of Indian Philology' (1867) containing linguistic study on Sindhi. The latter book of John Beames has been translated in Sindhi under

the auspices of the Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad (Sindh) in 1994. Beames' analysis of the grammar, dialects and appropriate script for Sindhi are thought provoking.

Jhamatmal Narumal Vasnani

He was the first scholar who authored a book on grammar of Sindhi language in Sindhi in the year 1892. Prior to him, George Stack (1847) and Ernest Trumpp (1872) wrote grammars of Sindhi language in English. Vasnani wrote in all five books on Sindhi literature. The title of his book on Sindhi grammar is 'Sindhi Viyakranu'. He took advantage of E. Trumpp's grammar on Sindhi. The other books of Vasnani are 'Vaitpati Kosh' (Etymological Dictionary) of Sindhi; 'Shah-Ja-Baita' (Verses of Shah Latif) published in 1895; '*Hatoo Apeesh*' (Collection of Short Stories on morality); and '*Desi Hissaban-Jo-Kitab*' (book on indigenous Arithmetic).

Mirza Qalich Baig

This stalwart of Sindhi literature wrote four books on Sindhi linguistics '*Sindhi Viyakaranu*' (Sindhi Grammar) in four volumes, published in 1916, 1920 and 1921; and 'Philological Curiosities' in 1921. His other research works are '*Lughaat Latifi*' (Dictionary of Shah Latif's poetry) published in 1913; '*Sindhi Boli-Ji-Tarikh*' (History of Sindhi Language)-1900; '*Sindhi Lughat Qadimi*' (Dictionary of Old Sindhi words); and '*Pahakan-Ji-Hikmat*' (Wisdom of Sindhi Idiom)-1925. He had also compiled '*Shah-Jo-Risalo*' in 1913.

Bherumal Maharchand Advani

One of the stalwarts of Sindhi literature, B.M. Advani was both a poet and prose writer. In all, he authored 60 to 70 books. '*Alif Bay Kean Thahi*' (How did Alphabet come into Being?)-1923; Mohen-jo-daro (1933), '*Wado Sindhi Viyakaranu*' (Advanced Sindhi Grammar); '*Qadeem Sindh*' (Ancient Sindh); '*Sindhi Boli-Ji-Tarikh*' (History of Sindhi Language); '*Gharibullughat*' (Dictionary of Sindhi); '*Sindh Je Hindun Ji Tarikh*' 02 volumes (History of the Hindus of Sindh); and '*Sodhan-*

NOTES:

Various spellings of the word 'Mohen-jo-daro' are in use today. The Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan has adopted 'Moen-Jo-Daro'. According to them, the Sindhi word 'Moen' means 'the dead'; 'Jo' means 'of' and 'Daro' means 'a mound'; so it is 'the Mound of the Dead.' The Western archaeologists who have conducted excavations at the site right from John Marshal to Michael Jansen working at the site in early nineties use the spelling 'Mohen-jo-daro' as they heard it pronounced by the locals.

The question arises that if Mohen-jo-daro is the 'Mound of the Dead', then all archaeological sites (in Sindh or elsewhere) being mounds of the dead, should be called 'Moen-jo-daro'. But the case is different. All such other sites have other names prevalent in the local population as well as books on Archaeology. In fact, the Western archaeologists have adopted the spelling of 'Mohen-jo-daro' more so because it is pronounced as such in the vicinity of the world heritage site (of Mohen-jo-daro) by the local populace.

Ji-Sahibi Ya Ranan-Jo-Raj' (Rule of Sodhas and Ranas). etc.

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PART- II

SINDHI LITERATURE

Chapter 3

SINDHI LITERATURE

An unknown Sindhi scholar, more than 1,000 years ago, wrote in Sindhi language a prose version of Mahabhart, differing though in some particulars from the Mahabhart as known today. This work was translated into Arabic, sometimes in 10th century A.D., by the evidence recorded in the writings of Al-Beruni and Abu Saleh; the said Mahabhart may be regarded as the earliest work of Sindhi Prose (Khilnani: 1959)

There is no written record of numerous dynasties having authority in Sindh prior to the Arab period. Some fragments of poetry dating back to 8th and 9th century (A.D.) were, however, recorded by early Arab travellers such as Jahiz (864 A.D.), Istakhri (951 A.D.), Ibn-e-Nadeem (post- 955 A.D.), Bashari-al-Maqdisi (985 A.D.) and Al-Bairuni (973-1048 A.D.), etc.

Their accounts of travelogues speak of Sindh having academic environment, in which educated people and men of letters are said to be well versed in Sindhi, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, besides Mathematics and Astrology. And that they also produced literature (Jahiz: 1960: 4-7).

Sindhi was the first foreign language in which the Arabic text of the holy Quran was translated in the 9th century (A.D.). In 270 A.H. or 883 A.D. at the behest of a non-Muslim ruler

of Kashmir, the ruler of Al-Mansurah (Abdullah Bin Umar Habari) asked an Iraqi (Muslim) scholar who was brought up in Sindh and was a poet of Sindhi language as well, to translate the Holy Quran. The specimen of that translation, however, is untraceable (Buzrig: 1960: 193-202).

The early form of Sindhi literature was poetry, first having Oral Tradition as its source, and then it came out in the written form. 'Ginan', 'Doha', 'Gahoon' (Gatha), 'Sloka' and 'Sortha' etc happened to be its earliest forms. At a later stage, all these genres of classical Sindhi poetry continued to be written in the form of 'Bait', a couplet, quatrain or verse. Thus, the origin of Sindhi "Bait" could be traced to the Arab period in the history of Sindhi literature, which developed fully well in the commencing period of Soomra dynasty.

A verse composed in praise of an Arab ruler namely Yehya or his son Fazal Burmuki by an unknown Sindhi folk poet is one such specimen of the earliest form of Sindhi-Arabic script. The script used in the first Sindhi book, Muqadama-e-salwat or 'Abul Hasan's Sindhi' was the latter phase of this script. Sir Bartle Frere restructured the same old script in 1853 to give it a scientific shape during the early days of British rule in Sindh. (Baloch: 1999) .*

3.1 Soomra Period

* Recent research proved that this script was used in Sindh 100 years before Abdul Hassan (Sindh jo aagato Manzoor zakhiro)

A folk tale of "Dodo and Chanesar" is considered the earliest piece of poetry composed by some unknown poet by 14th century A.D., during the rule of Soomras (1011-1315 A.D.). Captain Stack printed the tale as an appendix in Nagari Script in his Sindhi Grammar. (Khilnani: 1959).

The mystic poetry of Pir Nooruddin, commonly known as '*Pir Satgur Noor*', of Ismaili sect of Islam, in the form of '*Ginans*', is recorded in Soomra era. His poetry survived in Khojki script, carries message of Islamic mysticism, ~~Vedantic thought and Bhagti~~ teachings. His diction is conglomeration of Sindhi, Hindi, Marathi and Gujrati words. His poetic collection is preserved with many Ismaili families of Sindh and Punjab in Pakistan, Kutchh, Gujrat and Kathiawar in India, and Ismaili Tariqah Boards in Pakistan, India, Africa, UK, USA, Canada, Bangladesh, Burma and some Far- Eastern countries (Allana: 1984: 59).

Usually, the era of Soomra dynasty is considered as an insignificant age in the history of Sindhi literature, but as a matter of fact, it was the age in which the folklore of Sindh developed tremendously. The wandering minstrels, folklorists and entertainers preserved the genesis of Sindhi folk poetry in their bosom, and transferred such a literary treasure to the next generations.

It was later on, that many genres of classical Sindhi poetry came to the print from such oral tradition. So, the Soomra period is

the age of Sindhi Oral Tradition (Baloch: 1999: 118). And, oral tradition forms the very basis of the great literary treasure in Sindhi. This period also signifies as continuity of the Arab era during which Sindhi literature was well established; its grammatical structure was further enhanced and it gained its ground domestically as well as internationally.

Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273 A.D.) who was a great genius of 7th century Hijra (Soomra period) mentioned 'Sindhi' besides 'Hindi' in one of his verses of the world-known Mathnavi: "*Hindiya Ra Istalah-e-Hind Madah; Sindiya Ra Istalah-e-Sind Madah.*"(For Hind, the language of Hindi is praiseworthy. For Sindh, the language of Sindhi is praiseworthy.)

The popular folk tales of Sindh (eight in number) such as Sassui-Punhoon, Saiful Malook, Moririo ain Maangar Machh, Sorath-Rai Diach, Moomal-Rano, Umar-Maui, Leela-Chanesar and Sohni-Mehaar were made public by the wandering minstrels during this period. While some of the love stories had great antiquity, yet they were popularised by the folklorists in Soomra dynasty (Baloch: 1999: 136-7).

3.2 Samma Period

By 15th century, during the rule of Sammas (1351-1525 A.D.), a few prophetic ballads of Mamui Fakirs were composed and sung while the popular ballads of Umar-Marui and Momal-Rano were well established in Sindh.

During that remote period of the history of Sindhi literature, poets like Sheikh Hamad Jamali, Darvesh Raju and Ishaak Ahangar flourished; one ballad of the last-named was found by Lalchand Amardinomal, a great Sindhi literateur, first portion whereof was published in Bombay, in "*Kahani*" magazine (March-April 1995). According to "*Tuhfatul-Kiram*", a monumental work by Mir Ali Sher Qan'e, Shaikh Hamad Jamali (d.764 AH/1362 AD) was a resident of a place in the vicinity of Thatta. His popular poetry of "*Doha*" has been quoted time and again by the scholars writing history of Sindhi literature.

Also a famous poet of this period was Ishaq Ahingar, a blacksmith by profession. Though only a single piece of poetry known as 'Doho' is attributed to him, yet he establishes himself as a representative poet of the then Sindh defining various aspects of the life in Sindh of that time.

Being original inhabitants of Sindh, the Sammas and their period of rule witnessed more development of Sindhi poetry and prose in the history of Sindhi literature. The 'Seven Sages', known as '*Mamui Faqirs*' and their riddles in versified form are associated with this period. They are actually prophesys composed in "Doha" and "Sortha" forms. These verses of Mamui Faqirs contain elements pertaining to culture, history and geography of the then Sindh.

In 16th century A. D., appeared on the scene, the first known poet "Qazi Qadan" (d.

1551 A. D.) whose only seven(07) verses were available in the beginning. Later on, a Sindhi writer and research scholar of India Mr. Hiro Thakur discovered about 112 verses from a "Mathu" (temple) of 'Ranela' in a village of Gujrat in Devnagari script, which he transcribed in the Sindhi Arabic script, compiled and published in a book "Qazi Qadan jo Kalam". Dr.N.A Baloach has also compiled and edited some more verses of Qazi Qadan recently in a Book, which was published by the Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro.

Qazi Qadan was a classical poet of Sindhi besides being a theologian and scholar of Arabic and Persian languages. He was Chief Judge in the Government of Jam Feroz Sammo (1517-1521 AD), and afterwards in the Court of Mirza Shah Hassan Arghun (1525-1555 AD). A Sufi, unveiled his eyes, as Shams Tabrez did in case of Maulana Rumi.

He has composed "Doha" and "Sortha" forms of poetry on the pattern of 'Chhand' (an indigenons meter prevalent in the subcontinent from ages) Although he was a scholar of Persian and Arabic languages, his choice of pure and common Sindhi words and sufistic construction of ideas reflect his viewpoint.

Research scholars have been able to trace few more names of Sufi and vedantic poets of this period, such as Chuhar Jamali, Dervish Rajo Satiyo Dal, Sayyid Ali "Sani" Shirazi, Shaikh Bhiryo (d.903 AH/1497 AD), Noah Hothiyani, Shaikh Pirar and Dadu Dayal. However none of them can be compared with Qazi Qadan. (Allana: 1984)

He is followed by **Shah Abdul Karim of**

Bulri in 17th century, whose poetry compiled as "Risala Karimi" was edited by renowned scholar Allama *U.M Doudpota* (Dr.). Shah Karim of Bulri is regarded as the first Sindhi poet worth the name, who has sung the famous folk- tales of *Sasui-Punhoo*, *Suhini-Mehar* and *Umar-Marui*. Dr Daudpoto considered him as the Chaucer of Sindhi literature.

The diction of Shah Karim's poetry is classical Sindhi. The thoughts and contents of his poetry are essentially sufistic, spiritual and didactic in nature. Another significant aspect of Shah Karim's poetry is the symbolism of Sindhi folk tales used for the first time by him. We find *Sasui-Punhun*, *Umar-Marui*, *Leela-Chanesar* and other folk stories in his poetry used as symbols. Although he made very slight references to these stories, yet the credit of introducing this great tradition goes to him. (Daudpota: 1937)

Scholars differ in their perception pertaining to the date of Shah Karim's birth and demise. According to Motilal Jotwani:

"The year of Shah Karim's demise, as given in Mir Ali Sher Qanis '*Tuhfat-al-Kiram*' (Vol 3 edited in Sindhi by Dr N. A. Baloch, Karachi 1957, p.433) is 1030 Hijra; but it is 1032 H., in '*Risala Karimi*' (p. 13), and '*Shah Karim Bulriware Jo Kalam*', (p. 18) based on '*Bayan-ul-Arifin*' which is the original source.

So, according to Jotwani, Shah Karim of Bulri (1536 – 1624) was born in 1536 A.D., in the town of Matiari (then called Mat Alvi); and

lived to be eighty-eight (88) in 1624 A.D., at Bulri. Prof Manohar Das Khilnani considers 1537-1628 A. D. as the age of Shah Karim while some other scholars believe that he lived from 1538 to 1625 A.D.

Shah Karim's poetry and '*Malfuzat*' (sayings) in Sindhi appeared for the first time in a Persian work, '*Bayan-ul-Arifin*', written by the saint-poet's disciple, Mian Mohammad Raza Ibn Abdul Wasai, alias Mir Darya-i-Thatwi in 1630 A.D.

The '*Bayan-ul-Arifin*' contains an introduction, seven chapters and epilogue of what Shah Karim said for '*Hidayat*' (directives / sermons) of his disciples. It collects his wise sayings, aphorisms, instructive tales and the Sindhi 'Baits' (verses).

The manuscript of *Bayan-ul Arifin* remained in dark until it reached the hands of one Abdul Rehman ibn Muhammad Maluk who translated it into Sindhi in 1798 A.D. In 1874, Makhdoom Abdul Samad ibn Haji Mohammad Muqem Naurangpota made some modifications in the old Sindhi translation and published it from Bombay.

In 1904, Mirza Qalich Beg edited the Baits in Sindhi. He says in his *Risalae Karimi* that while editing it, he collated 'the manuscript by the author himself and other manuscripts available now'. In 1937, Allama U. M. Daudpota published '*Shah Karim Bulria ware Jo Kalam*'. Since the first edition of Daudpota's work was out of print and its second edition was not forthcoming, Memon Abdul Majeed

Sindhi edited and published '*Karim Jo Kalam*' from Sukkur in 1963. Its second edition was published in 1976 by Sindhi Academy Larkana and its revised 3rd edition was published in 1995 by Roshni Publication.

It was the first collection of his (Shah Karim's) 92 verses (Baits) and it augured well for the development of Sindhi poetic tradition that grew earlier, to be sure, in Qazi Qadan and reached its climax in Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

Stage set for Kalhora period: By the end of Arghun/Samma period, the Doha, Sortha and other classical forms of Sindhi poetry had been fully developed in form and style, while the genre of "Bait" had reached its culmination setting a stage for its perfection in the commencing Kalhora period.

Makhdoom Nooh of Hala (1506–1589); **Shah Karim of Bulri** (1537-1628); **Shah Lutufullah Qadri** (1611-1679); **Shah Inat Rizvi** (d.1717); **Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai** (1689–1752); **Khawaja Mohammad Zaman of Lunwari** (1731-1774); **Sachal Sarmast** (1739-1829) and **Saami** (1750–1848) happened to be the most prominent poets who composed '*Doha*', '*Sortha*', and '*Bait*' giving perfection to this genre of Sindhi poetry. Makhdoom Nuh Sarwari (d.1589) was founder of the classical form of '*Dahar*' in Sindhi poetry.

3.3 Kalhora Period

A great trio of classical Sindhi poets

characterises the Kalhora period (1700-1783) which is considered the 'Golden Age' of Sindhi literature. They are Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Sachal Sarmast, and Sami (Bahi Chain Rai Lund).

Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is an unsurpassed poet of Sindhi. Quite undisputably, he is the greatest poet of Sindh besides being one of the greatest poets of the world.

Dr H.T. Sorley in his book 'Musa Pervagans', has compared mystic poetry of the great poets of Greek, Latin, Chinese, French, Arabic, Urdu and Sindhi, and concluded that none of these poets is comparable to Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. With all his humility he says

"It is not justifiable to give preference to anyone talented poet upon other. It will always remain controversial, but as far as my personal opinion is considered, of the thirteen poets of seven languages, Shah Abdul Latif and his work on mystic poetry, elevating one to a state of trance, shall always stand tall and occupy place above others."

Dr.H.T. Sorley was the first occidental scholar who studied Shah's poetry in the context of literary criticism for his Ph.D thesis. The Oxford University Press published his monumental work on Shah in 1940. His work "Shah Latif of Bhit" is still recognized as a masterpiece. The book has been translated in Sindhi by Mr. Atta Mohammad Bhambro as well.

He writes:

"I myself have not the slightest doubt that one great reason for the popular appeal of Shah Abdul Latif's poetry is the fact that it was the first great attempt to interpret the feelings of the populace in a language that all, both Muslim and Hindu, could understand. And that he was the first successful poet who spoke a language that every one could accept not merely as literature or as a highly artificial construction of words but as something that is felt. (Sorley: 1940)

According to **Mr. Khilnani**:

'He is the poet par excellence luring the mind of the masses. The lonely traveler on his long journey, the camel driver in the desert, a peasant behind his pair of bullocks, the maid churning milk - all hum Shah's songs with great love and sense of possessiveness as if the poet is interpreting their own emotions. Bhitai's poetry is thus universal. His keen observation and deep study of Man and Nature has amazed critical readers all over the world. He is so varied, that he gives us every thing from love poetry, the life in Sindh, to thrilling mysticism. As a poet of Nature he is supreme. The flora and fauna of Sindh, change of seasons, majesty and awe of the River Indus and the Sea, desolate tranquillity of the barren mountains of Sindh and Balochistan are all beautifully described with minute

accurateness; and so thorough are these verses that they are almost untranslatable. His poetry loses effect if translated in any other language. His images, his vocabulary, his birds and beasts are all very much of Sindh. The poetry of Shah reflects not only the culture and social life of Sindh but it reveals the very soul of Sindh. (Khilnani: 1959)

"Oh moon! However much you beautify
y o u r s e l f ,
If you don't mind, I will tell you the truth;
Your beauty is naught compared to that of my
b e l o v e d . "

And again

"When my beloved walks on the earth,
With majesty of charismatic beauty,
Even the earth welcomes him,
And comes up to plant kisses in his foot-
s t e p s . "

Great as he is, in other fields, Shah is perhaps at his best as a poet of the people, lovers, revolutionaries, divine-seekers, suppressed women, famine-stricken desert folk and what not. In his Sur Umar- Marui, he has immortalized the captivity and exile of Marui, and her yearning for the motherland and her folks.

Dr Schimmel states:

"Shah's technique consists of

beginning each chapter with dramatic moment, since the contents of the stories were known to every one. The complete transformation of the folk tales into symbols of mystical experiences stated by his great-great grandfather, Shah Karim, now reaches perfection.

"Thus Sohni is introduced in the moment of drowning in the "Mehran"; to break the boat of the body means to find out union with God in the ocean of the soul, as the Islamic mystical poets, headed by Attar and Rumi have always preached. Similarly, Sassui, Mumal, Marui, Leela, and all the simple Sindhi girls appear in Shah's Sindhi Sufi poetry so completely different from the Persian and Turkish Traditions where the love between the soul and God is generally expressed in terms of love between two male beings. In Sindhi, a searching and longing soul is always depicted as a woman who yearns for her Divine-bridegroom, for her eternal husband. In order to find him, she takes upon herself incredible hardship—swimming through the waves of the ocean of this world, crossing the desert with bleeding feet. She has only one goal: to be re-united with God, the Beloved, who has selected her at the day of the primordial Covenant."

He says:

"I slept and then with me grew,

The branching of my loved
one's vine"
Every moment a thousand
pangs,
With which my heart to beloved
bangs,
My eyes weep and shed
copious tears,
As a woman, when bad news
she hears,
Hope, O Beloved, resurrect
And my life's course correct
The loved one once again,
Has come with me to remain.

These mystic poets and Sufis of Sindh had strong social content in their works. Besides being non-conformist poets, they were secular in approach and committed to the core issues of the times.

Dr Fahmida Hussain, while writing the Preface of the book "Social Content in Shah jo Risalo", compiled by Anwer Pirzado and published by Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai Chair, Karachi University says;

"By presenting 'Social Content in Shah jo Risalo', we intend to intimate a trend of sociological study with the conviction that the relation of Shah Latif's poetry to the society is virtually important. And that, the investigations of social content in the poetry of Shah Latif or any other poet for that matter, would strengthen the belief that it is not created in a vacuum. And, it is the work of an

artist who is fixed in time and space, committed to a community of which he is an articulate part."

Shah Latif was amongst the most popular Sufi and Vadantic poets who contributed in various fields in Sindhi, Arabic and Persian literature, depicting life of their times. Their approach was both classical as well as modern.

Shah has been the source of guidance for all his readers and disciples, belonging to all walks of life. He gave life to Sindhi language and literature through his immortal poetry; his 'vais' are being sung throughout Sindh, from the last three centuries.

The period of Shah Latif was really the period of literary excellence and development of various forms of Sindhi literature. His poetry depicts social, economic, political and philosophical issues of the time. Thus, he (Shah Latif) was an architect of the cultural unity of Sindh.

Shah Latif was a great narrative artist, who has painted the philosophy of life of his people through his Risalo. He has made Sindh, its people, the Sindhi language and literature immortal.

In the age of Shah Abdul Latif, the Sindhi language was standardized. The main literary forms that developed in the poetry of this era, were the allegory and also the Persianised forms and meters. Besides, the theological literature developed in "*Kabat*" form and ballads besides poesy based on '*Chhand*

Vidya'. This poetic form appealed immensely on account of its mass appeal and progressive realism.

Sachal Sarmast was Shah Latif's true disciple. He disavows his faith in outer forms of religious teachings and condemns fanaticism. His poetry suits liberal-minded Muslims and Hindus alike.

Regarded by Dr Schimmel as "Attar of Sindh", **Sachal Sarmast** (1739-1829 AD) was the most influential mystical poet of this period.

"Where as Shah Latif tried to conceal the secret of mystical union under complicated symbols, Sachal, not in vain, adopted the pen-name "*Ashikar*" (open) for his Persian poetry and "*Sarmast*" (intoxicated) for his writings in general. His verses are fundamentally mystic and they present the central idea of later Persian Sufism, i.e. "*Hamah Ost*" meaning "Everything is He", Dr Schimmel observed.

The poet's name "*Sachal*" is derived from the word "*Sach*" meaning "truth". The slogan of Truth was uttered by Hussain ibn Mansoor Halaj, the Baghdadian martyr-mystic (executed in 922 AH), who, according to Dr. Schimmel, had visited Sindh in 905 AH. He had inspired almost all the mystics in that part of the subcontinent on the model of the suffering lover.

Sachal was a lyrical poet par excellence as well as the poet of revolt. He exposed obscurantist Mullahs and Akhunds etc who

claimed to be spiritual leaders in the Sindh society. He believed in no difference and discrimination of caste, creed and religion.

Sachal Sarmast is known as '*Haft-e-Zaban*' poet - the poet of seven languages e.g Sindh, Siraiki, Punjabi Persian, Urdu, Hindi, etc. He composed Kafis, Ghazals, Baits and Jhulnas. His Kafis have sweetness, vigour and ecstatic flavour. Like Vais of Shah Latif, the Kafis of Sachal are sung by all classes of people in Sindh.

Sachal has changed the content of Ghazal. Instead of the description of love, he made Ghazal the medium of mystic teachings, and thus gave it a new direction. He is deep as well as delicate in expression. His art of depiction and appreciation of beauty gave him a permanent place in the history of Sindh literature,

He says:

May I not forget my beloved
Though all else I may forget
May he live in mine eyes
Until life in my body as
companion lies

O Beloved, do not kill me
Listen, O Beloved, Listen to me
It is you alone that I desire
Let others be left to be annoyed.

Within me is your blessed face,
Within you, truly, have I a place
As in the clouds resides

lightening

Thus Beloved, within you is my being.

Bhai Chainrai Lund, commonly known as **Saami** (1750-1848) was a Hindu mystic poet of Shikarpur Sindh. In his spiritual ecstasy, he is like Shah Latif. He produced poetry in the name of his Guru, Sami Menghraj. The entire Vedantic philosophy is propounded in his poetry known as Samia-Ja-Sloka of which 2100 *Slokas* in simple chaste Sindhi are collected in a book.

Vision of God and true and lasting happiness is the aim of life; caught in the snare of "*Maya*" (wealth) and having fallen into the whirlpool of "*Avidya*" (ignorance) a human being inflicts upon himself untold miseries of life, sorrows and sufferings which are ended by knowing oneself as *Atma* (spirit) and *Param-atma* (*indivisible*).

Sami adopted the same old indigenous style of "Chhand". His *Slokas* are characterised by restfulness and the Vedantic urge to cast out *Avidya* (Ignorance or illusion) so as to find illumination of the spirit. The central point in Shah, Sachal and Sami is "The quest of the Soul; for the journey towards the Divine, and the oneness of the drop and the Ocean."

His belief is:

"I, you and He are but one entity.
If A hurts B, he is but hurting
h i m s e l f . "

Dr Baldev Matlani is of the view that "Sami deals primarily with the subject of inner exploration and illumination, making our hearts whole, transforming us into spiritual supermen, by realising the God within, putting us in tune with the infinite.

By initiation and inner striving Sami found the way to the innermost centre and brought out jewels of Truth that met his quickened insight. He was rewarded with the vision of Divinity and gained perfect inner illumination and developed poetic powers.

Sami has given emphasis to humanism, development of self-realisation and belief in one God. Sami asserts that God is within ourselves, and that we may, if we so desire, tune ourselves in with the finite into the infinite, and transform the finite into the infinite.

Sami says:

The beloved dwells in the palace
w i t h i n ,
Yet here and there do the unwise
g r o p e ,
They beg at all doors, forgetful of
t h e i r o r i g i n ,
Few discern and seek the self's
r e p o s e . "

During this period, prior to the above mentioned three poets, **Shah Lutufullh Qadri** (1611-1679 AD) had given solid base to the

classical forms of Sindhi poetry. His poetry containing in all 337 verses, has been compiled and edited by Dr N.A. Baloch and published by the Institute of Sindhology. The poetry of Shah Lutufullah Qadri does not contain stanzas of only two lines, but extends even to six or seven lines. His poetry is an intermediary link between his great predecessors Qazi Qadan and Shah Karim of Bulri, and his successors Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, Sami and Sachal Sarmast. To his credit are three books, one in Sindhi and two in Persian: Sindhi Risalo, '*Minhajul Maurifat*' and '*Tuhfatul Salkeen*'. In his Sindhi Risalo we find the standard form of Sindhi Bait. (Buglio: 1998: 100-112)

Usman Ahsani and **Miyoon Isso** (Eeso) are also associated with this period.

Shah Inayat / Inat (d.1717) is yet another prominent poet of this era whose poetic collection, though rare, is also available. He was a great contemporary of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and introduced many traditions of Sindhi poetry. He (Shah Inayat) had listened to the musicians and the minstrels and was also conversant with the spiritual contents influenced by the poetry of Shah Karim.

Another poetical growth of this period was the rise of the ballad and other forms of folklore. The traditional ballads of **Juman Charn** and **Miyan Sarfraz Khan** (d.1775) are highly significant. The theme usually deals with love, local legends, heroic feats, metaphysical pursuits and religious offerings.

A characteristic feature of this period was

the impact of Persiansied poetic form and meter on Sindhi poetry. **Noor Mohammad "Khasta" Miyan Chattan & Mian Aali** composed Ghazals in Persian meters in Sindhi.

'*Maulood*' is yet another interesting genre of this age. **Makhdoom Abdur-Rauf Bhatti** is the pioneer of this form. He has composed '*Maulood*' in Persian meter. The '*Maulood*' is a form of Sindhi poetry written in praise of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him).

According to Dr G.A.Allana, one other feature of this period is the literature produced on theology, composed in native form of '*Kabat*'. In the words of Dr Schimmel, the year 1700 (A.D.) is decisive for Sindhi literature. In her opinion:

"It is the year in which Mian **Abul Hassan Sindhi** (d.1711 AD), for the first time, dealt with problems of ritual practice of religion in simple Sindhi verse. He used the device of filling the last word of each line with a long vowel (*Alif-al-ishba*), and this achieved rhyming effect similar to that of the Arabic Qasida".

Abul Hassan's rhymed treatise called '*Muqaddimat-as-Salat*' ushered in a new style in didactic poetry that soon became popular among the mystical theologians of Thatta. Makhdoom Abul Hassan, is known as the founder of modern Sindhi writing system*, **Makhdoom Ziauddin** and

* Sindhi writing system was introduced before Abdul Hassan in 1067-1069 H (See: Aagato Sindhi Manzooom Zakhro: 1993)

Makhdoom Mohammad Hashim Thattavi (1662–1762), were all profound scholars and theologians of this age.

3.4 Talpur Period

The “*Ghazal*” with its Persianised form introduced during the Kalhora period, was developed further during the days of Talpurs (1783- 1843 AD).

During the early days of Talpur dynasty, **Pir Muhammad Baqa** (1198 AH/ 1784 AD), the father of **Pir Muhammad Rashid Rozay Dhani** (d. 1818 AD), known as “Rozay Dhani” Pir Pagaro the first, contributed much towards religious literature in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi.

Another poet of this period was **Rohal Faqir** (d. 1198 AH/ 1783 AD). He was a follower of Shah Inayat of Jhok. He was also a mystic poet. He appealed to the mind of both Muslims and Hindus equally through his mystic poetry containing secular approach, supplemented with religious tolerance and liberal concept.

Syed Sabit Ali Shah (1740–1810 AD) and **Akhund Gul Mohammad “Gul”** (1809–1856 AD) were great contemporaries of this period. Syed Sabit Ali Shah, one of the Court poets of Talpurs, composed Marthias, Nuhas and Salams in Sindhi Persian and Urdu. He was patronised by the Talpur rulers. Persian words, phrases and idioms, introduced by Sayid Sabit Ali Shah, were commonly used by most of his contemporaries. He was the first

poet of Sindhi *Marthia*.

Talpur rulers were keenly interested in literature. Some of them were poets of Persian and Sindhi. Thus they encouraged literature and writers. This provided impetus to the literary activities in Sindh. Various forms of Persian poetry such as Ghazal, Mathnavi, Qasido, Marthio, and Ruba’i were frequently composed in Sindhi.

According to **Moulana Girami**,

“Not only Sindhi Ghazal was developed in its matter, language and form during this era, but Urdu Ghazal was also composed for the first time in Sindh during this period. Sachal was the first poet of Sindh to have composed Ghazals in Urdu.

Qadir Bux “Bedil” is also a prominent Sufi poet of this era. He is mystic in expression and is very much influenced by Rumi.

Akhund Gul Mohammad “Gul” (1809–1825 AD) was the first poet who completed his “*Diwan*” in Sindhi and got it published in letho press from Bombay. His poetry made Sindhi poets turn to Persian prosody and Persian imagery until at last the Sindhi poetry became interlarded with Persian idioms and allusions, the nightingale and the rose, the moth and the candle, the wine and the cup–bearer etc.

Prof Lalsing Ajwani says

“It is doubtful whether the turning or twisting of the Sindhi speech into Persian prosodic forms brought any substantial

gains to the Sindhi language and literature”.

3.5 British Period

With the British Rule in Sindh (1843-1947) the Sindhi literature was enriched with foreign translations and modern literary developments. The new era brought about drastic changes in the academic and intellectual life of Sindh. The Sindhi language got a formal script (Perso-Arabic-Sindhi) in 1853 by Sir Bartle Frere, which encouraged men of letters for massive production of Sindhi literature.

During this period, the legacy of Persianised form of poetry continued till a new chapter of modern literature inspired by the English and other European literature flourished in Sindh. *Ghazal*, *Qasido*, *Rubai*, *Marthio*, *Mathnavi* and *Musadas* were common genres composed by the poets.

Ghulam Mohammad Shah “Gada” (1824–1900 AD), **Akhund Muhammad Qasim**, **Mir Abdul Hussain Khan “Sangi”** (1851-1924 AD), Shamusddin “Bulbul” (1857–1919 AD) and many others were composing all the Persianised forms in Sindhi.

Amongst them “**Sangi**” excels in Ghazal over and upon this day. None has equalled him in this particular field in the entire history of Sindhi literature. The following couplet, from one of his ghazals, is typical of his romantic poems:

Like lightening the beloved flashes her eyes,
Her lips sweeter than the sweetest honey,
Her parting has made my agony eternal.”

The language used by Sangi is very attractive and full of Persianised diction and phrases. He describes nature in such a wonderful manner and in such diction and style that one can perceive it through his words. That is why this entire period (1881–1915 AD) has been named after him and is called “The Sangi age”.

The poets of Sangi doctrine have many characteristics in common. They are rich in vocabulary, full of Persian and Arabic words, phrases, similies and metaphors. They are deep in thinking and very impressive in expression. Most of them completed their “*Diwans*” and have enriched Sindhi literature so much so that it could be compared to that of any language of the South Asia.

The development of prose writing in Sindhi commenced, in real sense, from the last days of the Talpur rule (1782-1843 AD) and the early days of British rule (1843-1947 AD) in Sindh.

In the beginning, there were not many literary works having originality and artistic value. The best prose of the earlier period of

British rule shows that the writers had gained command over their native tongue. Sindhi was made an official language in 1854. This action on the part of British rulers promoted literature of Sindhi in general, and Sindhi prose in particular. **Akhund Lutufullah** is recognized as a master in poetic prose style.

Most of the works of this age, also regarded as Nandiram Age, were translations and adaptations. The translation of "Tarikh-e-Masoomi" by *Diwan Nandiram*, is an example of Sindhi prose of early days of the British period. It is written in vigorous and colloquial style. The language was extended and adorned by borrowing vocabulary from Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit.

Another translation (in Sindhi) was that of the "Gospel of Saint Mathews", translated by the missionaries of Searampore. Its new translation was done by **Captain George Stack**, and was printed in Devangari script in 1850. Another book of "Gospel of Saint John" was translated by **Mr Burnes** in 1853 and was printed in Arabic-Sindhi (*Naskh*) script. In 1890 a new edition of the Bible was printed in Sindhi from London.

Other translators of this period were **Munshi Udharam, Pribhdas, Sayid Miran Mohammad Shah** (the senior), **Qazi Ghulam Ali, Miyan Ghulam Hussain, Diwan Nawalrai** and others. They translated various prose works on history, geography, ethics, philosophy, education and many other aspects taking inspiration from Hindi, Urdu, Marathi,

Gujrati and Persian.

The official writing system for Sindhi language was adopted under the orders of the Governors of East India Company in 1854. The Sindhi writers were greatly encouraged by the British government through prizes on original writings as well as good translations. Sir Bartle Frere himself took keen interest in this work. The Old Commissioner's Sindh Record at Karachi has got the original correspondence in Sindhi language since 1851. The most promising characteristics of the Sindhi prose at the beginning of this period are directness, vigour and simplicity. The beginning of British period is therefore regarded as the "Period of Translations".

The most important books translated during this period were:

No.	Title	Translator/ Author	Year of Publication
(1)	Bhambhe Zamindara je Galh	Mian Ghulam Hussain	1854
(2)	Tarikhe-e- Masoomi	Nandiram	1854
(3)	Essapa jun Akhanyun	Nandiram	1854
(4)	Raselas	Udharam	1868
(5)	Sudhature ain Kudhature jee Galh	Syed Miran Mohammad Shah (the senior)	1855
(6)	Mufid-us-Sabiyan		
(7)	Sindhi Sarf-o-Nahv	Mian Mohammad	1860
(8)	Tarik-e-Sindh	Seth Aloomal	1862
(9)	Columbus ji Tarikha	Kauromal	1862
(10)	Bambai Khate ji Geography	Guradinomal	1868

The original writings, compilations and the works of literary editing were also

encouraged during the early British days. Dr. Trumpp compiled "*Shah jo Risalo*" and got it printed from Lipzig, Germany in 1866. Besides, he prepared "Grammar of Sindhi Language", which was published in 1872. Both these works are considered as monumental in Sindhi literature.

Captain Stack was another prominent Sindhologist, who not only wrote "A Grammer of Sindhi Language", but also wrote in original Sindhi prose - the story of "*Rai Diyach and Sorath*", and got it printed in Devanagari script as an addendum with his Sindhi Grammar. Afterwards a good number of books were written not only in poetry, but on prosody, criticism, lexicography etc.

Some of these books were:

S. No	Title	Author	Year
(1)	Mizan - al - Shi'r	Sayid Fazil Shah	1875
(2)	Diwan - e - Fazil	Sayid Fazil Shah	1875
(3)	Diwan - e - Qasim	Akhund Mohammad Qasim	1875
(4)	Sindhi - English Dictionary	Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg	1875

Along with local writers, busy in writing Sindhi prose, many European officers and missionaries were also enriching the literature of Sindhi language. Dr. Trumpp, Mr. Shirt, Captain Stack, Mr. Burnes, Mr Wathen, and R.F Burton were amongst those foreign scholars who wrote or compiled books such as Shah Jo Risalo, Grammar of Sindhi language and Dictionaries (English-Sindhi and Sindhi-English) etc. Christian Missionaries on the other hand were busy in translating the Holy

Bible in Sindhi. This whole period as stated by Professor Mangaram Malkani can be called the "Period of Knowledge and Learning".

Mirza Qalich Beg (1852-1929) in the first part of the 20th century was a stalwart of Sindhi literature. He was also a poet. His poetry collection known as Motiyun ji-Dabli (a small Casket of pearls), Rubayat-e-Khiyaam and Diwan-e-Qaleech, Chandanhar and Kalam-e-Qalich can be read even today with profit and pleasure. The English poetry rendered in Sindhi by him, gave a new colour to the modern Sindhi poetry and opened up a new avenue for poetic trends in Sindhi.

His translation of Omar Khayam's Ruba'iyat is a monumental work.

Masrur and Abojho's Mussadas on the model of Mussadas-e-Hali; and Hyder Bux Jatoi's famous address to the River Indus (Sindhu) are probably the only poems on Persian models that have survived.

It was Mirza Qalich Beg who first introduced Natak (Drama) in the field of Sindhi literature by translating "*Leila-Majnun*" from Urdu in 1880 and "*Khurshed*" in 1885. Other plays like "*Neki-Badi*", "*Feroz-Dil-Afroz*", "*Khubsurat Bala*" and "*Shah Elya*" adopted from Shakespeare's "*King Lear*", are full of colour and style. During those days, both Urdu and Gujrati theatres were in full swing.

In all Mirza Qalich beg enriched Sindhi language and literature by contributing 457 books, on varied subjects.

Within two decades of partition, two notable versifiers *Tolaram Menghraj Balani* and

Dewandas Kishanani "Azad" cannot be ignored; "*Ajuz-e-Alap*" of the former and "*Poorab-Sandesh*" of the latter were published in 1937 by *Ratan Sahitya Mandal* with a notable foreward by learned Principal L.H.Ajwani. The entire life and message of Lord Budha is depicted in sweet simple yet touching verse, in a style, at once new and original, somewhat on the lines of his preceptor "Bevas". The "*Sindh Muslim Adabi Society*", and the introduction of Sindhi in the Bombay University Syllabi also gave impetus to contemporary literature.

Sindhi Poetry was divided into three different schools of thought.

The first one is called "**Misri Shah School of Poetry**". It can also be called "**Tikhur School of Poetry**".* This School is the exponent of earlier indigenous Sindhi form and sufistic ideology, which further flourished under the patronage of **Makhdoom Talibul Moula**, a great master of expression. **Rakhial Shah, Manthar Faqir Rajar, Hassan Bakhsh Shah, Maulana Girami, Muhammad Khan Ghani, Arif-ul-Moula, Maulvi Ahmed Mallah, Sarshar Uqaili, Hafiz Shah Hussaini, Bekhud Hussain** and **Khadim Sarwari** are known as popular poets of this school.

Talibul Moula wrote deeply personal poems, revealing his traits, feeling and thought. The main characteristics of his poetry include its wonderful style, selection and use of

* This is the personal opinion of Anwar Pirzado, traditionally there are three schools of poetic thought, visavis classical, traditional (uruzi) and Modern.

appropriate words and phrases. He chooses incidents and situations from every day life. Talibul Moula is a realist. He appeals, directly to the readers, imagination by writing with great clarity. His great poems are saturated with the very breath and spirit of life.

The Second School is called "**The Thattavi School of Poetry**". Haji Mahmood "Khadim" was the leader of this School. He and his followers preferred Persianised forms; Rose and Nihingale. Moth and Lamp etc are main similes and metaphors of the poetry of this school.

Dr. Mohammad Ibrahim "Khalif", Hafiz Hayat Shah, Sobhraj Nirmal "Fani", Juma Khan "Gharib", Lekhraj "Aziz", Abdullah "Abd", Faiz Bakhshiapuri, Nawaz Ali "Niaz" Muzaffar Husain "Josh", Manzur "Naqvi", Ghulam "Sarwar", Abdullah "Khuwab", Abdul Qayoom "Saib" and others are main poets of this school of poetry.

In the words of Shaikh 'Raz', one can not find anything new in their ideas and expression. The same old style and the description of the things, which are not commonly seen in Sindh, are found in their poetry. But they, as a matter of fact, were masters in the art of poetry, authority on Persian prosody, and they were deep in ideas and thoughts. Their service to the history of Sindhi literature is commendable.

The third School is known as "**Bewas School of Poetry**". It is also known as "**Modern School of Poetry**". This school, as a matter of

fact, took its form about eighty year's ago, when New Sindh was born (1930 – 1933 AD) as stated earlier. Nationalism was beginning to make itself felt. Literary and intellectual interests had affected directly, the poor people in the villages as well as the inhabitants of slum areas in the towns.

Shamsuddin Bubul (1857-1919 AD), the editor of "*Mu'awin*" newspaper, was also a prominent writer of this period. Like Mirza Qalich Beg, he also adopted a new prose style and inspired a new spirit in Sindhi prose.

Akhund Lutufullah (1842-1902 AD) translated "*Ghule-Khandan*" from "*Fasanah-Ajaib*" and Diwan Sobhraj Dawwani wrote "*Sabha-jo-Singhar*" in 1894 AD. Haji Imam Bux Khadim (1861-1918 AD), a school teacher and a poet, also contributed in this field.

3.5 Bewas School of Poetry

Kishinchand Bewas (1885-1947) was a school teacher. He not only described beauties of nature, and penned simple songs and lyrics for children, he also wrote about the sufferings of the poor.

Bewas, in the view of Prof. Lalsing Ajwani,

"Is fresh, original and striking in expression. He was essentially a realist. He along with many other Sindhi poets, was influenced by Allama Iqbal".

He was the first modern poet who revealed the truth about life as he saw it. He had innate instinct to catch within preview the

soul of his generation. His acquaintance with life was wide and comprehensive. He was a man of the modern world, mixing freely with all types of people, and he used these opportunities to observe the peculiarities of human nature. He had an observant eye, a retentive memory, judgment to select and the capacity to expound. Thus his descriptions are very real and brilliant.

The great achievement of Bewas was to found a school of poetry. **Hyder Bux Jatoi**, Haree "*Dilgir*", **Hoondraj**, "*Dukhayal*", **Ram Panjwani**, **Narayan Shyam**, **Gowardhan Bharti**, **Shaikh Ayaz**, **Shaikh "Raz"** and others continued liberal tradition in his foot steps.

Hyder Bux Jatoi's "Shikwah" (complaint to God), written on the model of the '*Shikwa*' of Allama Iqbal, roused a storm at the hands of bigots, but his address to "River Sindhu", and "*Azadi-e-Qoum*" will continue to be read when much of his "Ghazal" is forgotten. Jatoi began as a follower of "Sangi School", and then became a revolutionary in politics as well as in literature, so much so that he takes the second place with Bewas in the history of "New Sindhi (modern) Poetry."

Another poet of the new era, worth mentioning is **Dewandas "Azad"**, whose adoption of Arnold's "Light of Asia" under the title "*Poorab Sandesh*" (1937) is popular reading of Sindhi verses. The influence of this School has continued with certain changes until modern days. After the Independence, the poets of traditional type also continued to

contribute. They adopted the same diction of "Gul" or Sangi period; using same similes and the same old style of nearly a century with the exception of a few of them. Most of them did not want to modify their themes, language and style, ofcourse some of them were influenced by present changes.

The young and progressive poets of this age, after the Independence, under the influence of **Shaikh Ayaz** have also done a great service, not only to the Sindhi literature but also to the Sindhi language. They have coined and created many new words and phrases to express the depth and delicacy of their thought. In their verses, one can find a great variety of subjects. The poets of this School have sung for national awakening, national renaissance, freedom and internationalism. Sindh, Sindhi people and their problems are the main features of their themes. In view of the poets of this School, the Persianised forms (of Sindhi poetry) are alien, non-native and non-Sindhi forms, but a study of their works, reveals that they also could not save themselves from another foreign (European, French and Russian) influence. They were attracted by the new and imported ideas, new thoughts and new approaches of Western, Chinese and Russian literature, which are considered by this group as modern trends. But, as Professor Ajwani puts, "This tendency was originated long ago by one person (probably Sigma Dayaram Gidumal) whose name is the greatest in the history of Sindh's Education, Culture and Literature.

It is a fact that the modern Sindhi poetry has been highly influenced by the literature of the West. "Free verse" is one of the western forms of literature, which was introduced in Sindhi literature quite long ago i.e. during British days. *Divan Dayaram Gidumal* (1857-1927 AD), Savat and Saint, published about more than hundred years ago a massive volume of philosophic verse, "*Mann-a- Ja Chahbuk*" (whips of the conscience). The free form of these verses and their content caused a revolution in the taste of more thoughtful and aspiring Sindhi youth, before Independence.

"Another influence in popularizing free verse in Sindhi is by a variety of writers translating all kinds of poetry, prose and drama, notable among these translations being: Lalchand Amardino Mal's '*Sada Gulab*', translation of Tagore's 'Fruit gathering', Sadhu T.L. Waswani's translation of Gita in free verse, Professor M.U. Malkani's translation of Tagore's "Gitanjali" and "Gardener" in poetic prose. Prof: D.K. Mansharamani translated Nazrul-Islam's "Baghi". All these books brought revolutionary changes in Sindhi poetry, both in content and form.

Chapter 4

DEVELOPMENT OF SINDHI PROSE

Like poetry, Sindhi language is also very rich in prose. But it is not an easy task to find out the oldest specimen of Sindhi prose in pre-Arab period in the history of Sindh. As stated earlier during the beginning of Habarid rule in Sindh, in the year 270 A H (833 AD), on the request of a native local non-Muslim ruler, Abdullah bin Umer Habari, the ruler of al-Mansurah, asked one of the Iraqi Muslim scholars of Sindhi to translate the Holy Quran and prepare the laws of Fiqh and Sunnah for the non-Muslim ruler. The Iraqi scholar who was assigned this job was brought up in Sindh and was a poet of Sindhi language. This translation is considered the earliest prose writing in Sindhi. Another important feature of Sindhi literature is the traces of Sindhi prose of 13th or 14th century AD, the specimen of which have been found very recently by the researchers.

The first and foremost specimen of Sindhi prose, which have been found, are some prayers written by the Ismaili missionaries and preachers for the new converted (Ismaili) Muslims in Sindh. The instances and specimen of Sindhi prose as such have been found in Nasar Muqafi (i.e. poetic prose) style. The purpose of this style of Sindhi prose was that the followers of Ismaili doctrine could easily understand them

and remember them by heart.

Mirza Qalich Beg records some sentences from the discourses and addresses in Sindhi prose by Shah Karim of Bulri to his followers and courtiers. Mirza Qalich Beg has translated these examples from the book written in Persian by Mohammad Raza, one of the disciples of Shah Karim. We also find some traces of Sindhi prose in a book written in Arabic by a very well known scholar Makhdoom Jaffar Bubakai (d.1589 AD/998 AH), a contemporary of Shah Karim of Bulri. He (Makhdoom Jaffar) wrote a book on the matters of divorce in Arabic. The title of the book was "*Halal-Uqad Fi Talaq-as-Sunnood*". In this book he used some Sindhi terms and words for "Divorce" and one sentence in Sindhi prose. But one example, which is very important to mention here, is the hand-written Sale Deed (in Sindhi prose), called 'KABARO' in Sindhi. This Sale Deed is written in Nagari script. This manuscript was identified by Sirajul Haque Memon in the stacks of MSS preserved in the British Library and pointed out in one of his articles, published in monthly "*Nain Zindagi*" in January 1971. The said "Kabaro" was written in (1650 AD/1710 Sambat). Shri Jairamdas Daulatram found a book from a temple in Saurashtra. The original author of the book is one Sipra, the Minister of Raja Rawal. Abu Saleh, the Arabic Scholar translated it from Sindhi into Arabic, while Abul Hassan gave it Persian form in the year 1026 AH.

Similarly during Shah Latif's days (1689-

1752 AD), most of the scholars, theologians and religious preachers might have written in Sindhi prose but the specimen of the prose style as such is not traceable. An important dialogue between Shah Latif and **Khawaja Mohammad Zaman of Lunwari** (1731-1774 AD), mentioned in some history books, would necessarily be in Sindhi prose but it is recorded no where. Dr. Daudpota quotes some sayings of Khawaja Mohammad Zaman in prose. They were, as a matter of fact, translated and recorded into Arabic language by **Miyan Abdul Rahim Girhori** (d.1778 AD). **Abdul Rahim Girhori** himself was a great scholar and a poet. His sayings quoted by Dr Daudpota are very important specimen of Sindhi prose of that time. During the Kalura+Talpur period, the name of *Akhund Azizullah* (1746 - 1824 AD) of Matiari is also worth mentioning. He translated the Holy Quran in Sindhi prose. The construction of sentences is based on the original Arabic text termed as "*Mulla-een Sindhi*" (The Sindhi prose style used by Mullas in Madrasahs).

The Talpur period (1782-1843 AD) must also have produced Sindhi prose writers. Burton mentions some names of the books written by Sindhi scholars in Sindhi prose.

- (i) Saif – ul – Malook
- (ii) Hikayat – al – Salhin
- (iii) Sao – Masaila

We also get the name of **Khalifa**

Mahmood Nizamani of Karyo Ganhwar (now in district Badin) who in his book originally written in Persian, has used some sentences and proverbs of Sindhi language. Between 1864 to 1910 AD, the Muslims of Sindh along with those of other parts of the sub-continent were influenced by "Mohammadan Association", a movement organized by Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan, which resulted in creating awakening among Muslims for learning. Many newspapers and magazines were published as a result of this movement. In Sindh, the 'Sindh Mohammadan Association' was founded by Hassan Ali Effendi. The Sindh Madrassatul-Islam was founded by this Association. This association then started publishing a newspaper under the title "*Mu'awin*" and then it was followed by "*Mueenul-Islam*" in 1881.

The establishment of the first printing press in Sindh in 1885 also promoted Sindhi prose. Moreover, printing press gave new impetus to story writing in prose. It played a considerable role in the evolution of the same. Because of cheap printing, prose became very popular among the masses who usually took keen interest in the literary form as such. The promulgation of Education Act, the opening of schools and the verdicts of imparting education in one's own mother-tongue, rapidly produced an enormous reading public. The mass production of books, availability of magazines and newspapers, increased the demand for books, containing stories and other forms of literature. The result was that the production

and publication of books was increased manifold. In 1882, the Government of Sindh sponsored “*Sindh Sudhar*”, a newspaper in Sindhi, under the editorship of *Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg* and *Sadhu Hiranand*. Many articles and poems were published in this newspaper. It also promoted writing of Sindhi prose considerably.

In 1884, **Sadhu Hiranand, Sadhu Nawalrai, Bulchand Kouromal and Rishi Dayaram Gidumal** jointly set up “*Sudhar Sabha*”- a literary society, and started a monthly magazine, “*Sarswati*” under its auspices. This magazine brought to light most of the short story writers, essayists, novelists, playwrights and poets of this period. Many social, ethical, educational, religious and informative articles and essays were published in it. Rishi Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927 AD), Diwan Kauromal (1844-1916 AD), Mirza Qalich Beg (1853- 1929 AD) and others were regular writers of “*Sarswati*”. This period of Sindhi literature was, as a matter of fact, the period of Sindhi prose. Though, during this period, great developments and achievements were made on the side of poetry also, but Sindhi prose progressed tremendously. Novel as a form of Sindhi prose had thrust itself into the first rank.

4.1 1914-1930 AD.

The last two decades of nineteenth century and early three decades of twentieth century saw a great development in Sindhi literature. Many dramas and novels were written during this period. Dramatic societies

were formed for the encouragement of Sindhi Drama. D.J. Sindh College Amateurs Dramatic Society and Rabindaranath Literary and Dramatic Club were formed. These Dramatic societies arranged for the translation of plays of Shakespeare and other dramatists of Europe.

From 1864 upto 1914, many novels, dramas, essays and short stories were written in Sindhi. Some of the most important titles are:

S. No.	Title of the Book	Author	Literary form
(1)	Laila Majnu	Mirza Qalich Beg	Drama
(2)	Nal Damanti	Master Jethanand	- Do -
(3)	Khurshid	Mirza Qalich Beg	- Do -
(4)	Ratnawali	Kauromal khilnani	- Do -
(5)	Zeenat	Mirza Qalich Beg	Novel
(6)	Drupadi	Loksing	Drama
(7)	Mohan Tarika	Lilaramsing	- Do -
(8)	Surjan Radha	- Do-	- Do -
(9)	Mahjoor	Chandamal	Novel
(10)	Chandra	- Do-	- Do -
(11)	Raja Harish Chandra	Lilaramsing	Drama

During this period of history, many socio-political and economic movements were started. The partition of Bengal in 1905, and the Home Rule Movement in 1916 gave birth to many Sindhi magazines, newspapers and periodicals. Dr. Schimmel is of the view that, "After the partitioning of Bengal in 1905, Sindh too began to take more enthusiastic part in cultural activities on a large scale. Muslims and Hindus both did their best to elevate Sindhi cultural life - from among the many authors who flourished from 1905 to the beginning of World War - II, only a few can be singled out." These movements sponsored many

magazines and newspapers. *Pribhat* (1891), *Alhaq* (1900), *Musafir* (1901), *Maata* (1905), *Bahar-e-Akhlaq* (1906) and *Jaffar Zitli* (1909) were the most important from amongst them in which short stories, essays and articles on social, ethical, educational, religious and political problems were published.

These literary organs brought to light many poets and prose-writers of elegant diction. Prominent amongst them were: Mirza Qalich Beg, Jethamal Parsram, Lalchand Amardino mal, Lilaram Watanmal, Bherumal Mahrchand, Mellaram Mangatram Waswani, Mohammad Hashim Mukhlis, Sayid Kazi Assadullah Shah "Fida", Hakeem Fateh Mohammad Sewhani, Maulana Din Mohammad Wafai and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi. The aftermath of the First World War gave birth to different political and social movements and various other activities which left their traces on Sindhi literature. This period (from 1914 and onwards) is very rich in lyrics, dramas, fiction and narratives. The literature produced during this period is full of national, social, political and other aspirations of Sindh in particular and of Sindhi folk in general. The era initiated many literary societies.

Later on, in 1914 AD, **Diwan Jethmal Parsram** (d.1948 AD) and **Lalchand Amaradino mal** (d.1954 AD) established a literary society '*Sindhi Sahit Society*'. Both of them were the most active personalities in the field of Sindhi literature. The main function of this Society was to publish novels and

anthologies of those short stories in which various retrogressive customs of the society were exposed and condemned. This society was active upto 1920. A good number of novels, dramas and short stories were translated and published under the auspices of this society. Jethmal Parsram translated into Sindhi Maeterlinck's "Mona Vanna", Goethe's "Faust" and Shakespeare's Hamlet. Besides, he translated 'The Life of Buddha', and many other books in Sindhi language.

Another renowned prose writer of modern period is Prof Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani. He is the author of original books in various fields of Sindhi prose.

Following works are to his credit:

- (i) Anar Danah
- (ii) Gothani Chahr
- (iii) Mirani Sindhri

His style is graceful, delicate and full of proverbs and idioms of daily use.

Other prominent writers of this society were: Lalchand Amardinomal, Bulchand Dayaram, Parmanand Mewaram, Tejumal Shahani, Leelaram Vilayat Rai, and Mirza Qalich Beg.

The famous Novelist of this period were:

S. No.	Name of the Novelist	Name of the Novel
(1)	Lailaram Wilayatrai	Dildar Dil Nigar
(2)	Principal Shahani	Taran jo Abhyas
(3)	Hiranand Mirchand	Rozen Rose
(4)	Nanik Mirchandani	Nazik Gulra

(5)	Guli Sadarangani	Ithad
(6)	Hari Hingorani	The Setting Sun
(7)	Prof. Bhambani	Pap ain Pakizagi
(8)	- do -	Malhin
(9)	- do -	Ghariban jo Warso

4.2 Sindhi Litirature after World War-II

Socio-political and economic movements launched in the wake of Second World War brought to light many scholars, writers and intellectuals.

For example “*Khilafat Movement*” and “Anne Besant Movement” led many Hindu and Muslim writers to propagate their views through magazines and newspapers which were published for this purpose. Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis, Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sewhani, Maulana Din Muhammad “Wafai”, Shaikh Abdul Majid “Sindhi” and many others were very successful editors of this time. *Hindwasi* (1917), *Al-Amin* (1918), *Bharatwasi* (1918), *Ruha Rihan* (1924), *Al-Jam’e* (1925) and *Al-Minar* (1930) were the famous newspapers and magazines of Khilafat Movement era. ‘*Naeen Sindhi Library*’- a literary organization, founded under the guidance of Jethmal Parsram, published about fifty books of a very high standard. He (Jethmal) established another literary society and named it “*The Sasto Umdo Sahit Mala*”.

After 1923 many other literary and dramatic societies and publishing companies had been established. “*Sundar Sahitya*”, “*Sikh Tract*”, “*Sindhi Muslim Adabi Society*”, “*Ratan*”, “*Kahani*”, “*Bharat Jivan*”, “*Kauromal Sahitya*

Mandal”, “*Asha Sahitya Mandal*” and “*Rabindranath Dramatic and Literary Society*” were very prominent among them. Melaram Mangatram Waswani, Chuharmal, Parumal, Jagat Advani, Mohammad Siddique Memon, Mohammad Siddique Musafir, Hari Sundar and Dev Sabhani were the main writers of these societies. The Second World War brought misery all around. It destroyed many systems and values. Europe had witnessed the devastating effects of the war and had gone through its horrors. The writers of the West could successfully depict the crippled and confused human mind after the second world war.

The writers of the sub -continent studied the trends prevalent in the literature of the West and were very much influenced by them. Besides, the discoveries in the field of science and technology, after the World War-II introduced new concepts about life, politics, religion, morality and society. These changes affected the social life tremendously. The writers of Sindhi language could not keep themselves away from these concepts and trends. This was the period in which every scholar, poet, thinker and the man of letters kept himself very busy in writing or doing some research work.

Dr. Hotchand Mulchand Gurbuxani was busy in his scholarly work on “Shah jo Risalo”. Mirza Qalich Beg, Bherumal Maharchand, Rochiram, Prof. Lal Singh Ajwani and Assanand Mamtora; were interested in

novels, dramas, biographies and essay-writing. Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sewhani, Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai and some other Muslim scholars were contributing to Islamic literature and nationalism.

Besides, Jethamal Parsram, Lalchand Amardino mal, Ahmed Chagla, Shamsuddin "Bulbul", Dr Daudpota, Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Khanchand Daryani, Usman Ali Ansari, Professor Bhambhani, Hakim Aga, Naraindas Malkani, Mangharam Malkani, Muhammad Siddique Memon, Muhammad Siddique "Musafir", Mirza Nadir Beg, Ram Panjwani, Manohardas Kauromal, Shewaram Lala and Ali Khan Abro were the prominent scholars, critics, essayists, novelists and playwrights of this period. Mirza Qalich Beg, Shamsuddin "Bulbul" and Naraindas Bhambhani were the pioneers of the new school of diction and style. They discarded the old style of poetic prose based on Arabic and Persian pattern, and switched over to the new and modern natural style. They modernized the language and made Sindhi prose very popular.

Dr Gurbuxani and **Dr Daudpota** introduced the technique of modern research and critical appreciation. The monumental work on "Shah-jo- Risalo" edited in three volumes by Dr Gurbuxani, and "Shah Karim Bulri Ware Jo Risalo" edited and printed by Dr Daudpota; and Aga Sufi's edition of "Sachal Sarmast", Nagrani's edition of "Sami", Parmanand's

'English to Sindhi' and 'Sindhi to English' dictionaries are the most important works of this period. Jethmal was a social worker, Sufi and Brahma Samajist. "*Shah-joon- Akhanyun*", Hamlet and Mona-Wana are his very valuable works in Sindhi prose. Bherumal (d.1950) was a philologist, a grammarian, historian, novelist and critic. He had a sound sense of criticism, an enormous capability for work and love for traveling. He edited "*Johar Nasr*", the first anthology of Sindhi essays. He wrote "*Latifi Sair*" on the travels conducted by Shah Latif. He translated a number of books including detective stories. "*Sindhi Boli-ji-Tarikh*" "*Qadim Sindh*", Sindhi Hindun Ji Tarikh are his best works in Sindhi prose. Bherumal is very famous for his elegant diction. He is quite simple to be understood by all. His works are free from artificial phraseology.

Lalchand Amardino Mal was regarded as the great old man of Sindhi letters. He was a very successful novelist, a dramatist and an essayist. He has written mainly on the subjects concerning daily life of common folk. He has used colloquial and idiomatic language. His writings and style inspired many a writers such as Assanand Mamtora; the author of "Shair", a romantic novel containing stirring passages, Shewak Bhojraj, the author of "Ashirwad" and "Dada Shyam" Ram Panjwani, the author of "Padma" and "Qaidi" and Mangharam Malkani. His influence is seen even on essayists like Naraindas Malkani, the author of "Anardana" and Tirath Vasant, the author of "Chingoon"

Professor Naraindas Bhambhani, Khanchand Daryani and Melaram Mangatram Waswani have drawn vivid picture of the miseries of poor who had nothing to eat, nothing to drink and nothing to wear or no place as their shelter. Novel as a form of literature emerged foremost in the literary field in this period. Professor Naraindas Bhambhani and Melaram Mangatram Waswani are the best novelists of this age. Bhambhani was a social reformer. He tried much to bring a change in the customs of the Sindhi society. He depicts the life of the lower and middle classes with imagination. As a satirist and observer of manners, he easily excels his contemporaries: Mirza Qalich Beg, Melaram Waswani, Dr. Gurbuxani, (the author of “*Noor Jehan*”) and Khaliq Morai, (the author of “*Sundri*”).

Bhambhani’s characters are not mere types, but they are drawn with a vivid pen. Every sly line reveals some aspects of character. The description of each man and woman, and the atmosphere depicted reads like a page from a memoir. He describes them in the most natural genius. His characters are not puppets. They are alive and specimen of the twentieth century men and women.

Bhambhani and his contemporary novelists knew their characters, and drew them from personal observation. They knew the people. Bhambhani drew them for his readers with all their little tricks and mannerism and eternal peculiarities.

Some of the famous novels written during the period are:

S. No.	Title of the Book	Publisher
(1)	Azadia - jo - Upasik	Ratan Sahitya Mandal
(2)	Narveema Devi	- do -
(3)	Amrat Jahira Mitha Bola	- do -
(4)	Chandr Shekar(Historial Novel)	- do -
(5)	Tara Sundri	Sundar Sahitya
(6)	Paristan jo Shahizado	- do -
(7)	Chanbelia ji Sugand	- do -
(8)	Manorma	- do -
(9)	Har - jit	- do -
(10)	Sada Suhagan	Ashtia Sahit Mandli, Karachi
(11)	Gora	- do -
(12)	Jivan Kala	- do -
(13)	Kumal Kamal	- do -
(14)	Jurtu Shahzado	- do -
(15)	Zindagi jo Pahryun Safar	- do -

Drama is another form of Sindhi prose. In Sindhi literature, like novel, Modern drama came as a non-native (foreign) form of prose. Mirza Qalich Beg was the pioneer of this form of Sindhi prose. “*Laila-Majnu*” was his first drama which he translated into Sindhi in 1880 AD. However, upto 1894 many dramas were written and published in Sindhi language. *Khurshid*, *Raja Harish Chandra*, *Nal Damanti*, *Drupadi*, *Mohan Tarika* and *Surjan-Radha* were of great merit but none of them was shown on the stage. As already mentioned, two dramatic societies, D.J. Sindh College Amature Dramatic Society, which started in 1913, and the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Society, established in 1923, staged many dramas. Some of them were: “*Shah Elya*”, “*Husna Dildar*”, “*Shahzado Bahram*”,

“Farebi Fitnu”, “Nek Anjam”, “Pati Shewa” and “Prem Bhagti”. There was another dramatic society under the name “Nasarpur Pardesi Saswat Brahman Dramatic Society”.

This society staged Dramas as mentioned below:

- (1) Durangi Dunya
- (2) Premi Patang
- (3) Bewafa Qatil
- (4) Kalajuga - ja - Kalor
- (5) Kishor
- (6) Mohini

The most successful production of Rabindranath Tagore Literary and Dramatic Society was “Umar-Marui”, written by Lalchand Amardino mal. The theme was taken from Shah Latif’s verses. The main active worker of this club was Khanchand Shamdas Daryani. He himself was the author of many dramas. Some of them are “*Mulk ja Mudabir*” translated from Sen’s “*Pillers of Society*”, “*Bukh jo Shikar*”, and “*Jiari-ate - Jiari*” Ahmed Chagla, the author of “Chandra” and “*Mahjur*”, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan “*Soofi*”, Usman Ali ansari, Muhammad Ismail Ursani and Asanand Mamtora are the popular drama writers of this period.

Most of the Dramas were translated from English, Urdu, Gujrati, Marathi and Hindi. There is a long list of translations as such. Some important titles are given below as reference for the readers:

S. No.	Name	Title of Translation	Name of Translator
(1)	King Lear	Shah Eliya	Mirza Qalich

(2)	Merchant of Venice	Husna Dildar	Beg - Do -
(3)	Sambline	Shamshad Marjana	- Do -
(4)	Two Gentlemen of Verona	Aziz Sharif	- Do -
(5)	Romeo - Julliat	Gulzar - Gulnar	- Do -
(6)	Hamlet	Shahzado Bahram	- Do -
(7)	Morning and Night		Lilaramasing
(8)	Cleopatra		Tirath Wasant
(9)	Post office	Chandamal	Asanand Mamtora
(10)	Ghost	- Do-	Ahmed Chagla
(11)	Pillars of Society		Khanchand Daryani
(12)	Meterlink		- Do -
(13)	Sorrows of Satan		- Do -
(14)	Eastlen		- Do -

Similarly, “King John” was translated by Bherumal Advani, and “Othelo” was translated by Diwan Bnagchand.

The plays staged during this period had some “moral message”. In such plays the characters are all personified. The story is founded on the ethical conception of the struggle between good and evil in the life of a man. The presentation is allegorical.

Moral values generally changed their character. They ultimately passed into the didactic interludes and other dramatic compositions. Translations of Ibsen’s plays served as a model on which the new drama was based. Ahmed Chagla and Khanchand Daryani’s dramas are Ibsen’s translations. These two were the prominent dramatists of Sindhi language, and their names still continue to remain as the best stage-drama writers.

Khanchand Daryani was the pioneer of

the dramatic revival. By his masterly craftsmanship he, with one of his associates, Ahmed Chagla, did a lot of work in creating a lively illusion of reality. One can find in their plays all elements viz: story, characterization, dialogue, conflict and setting.

4.3 Essay Writing

Essay was another form of Sindhi prose in which many writers took interest during period. This form of Sindhi prose was popularised by **Bulchand Kodumal, Dayaram Gidumal, Parmanand Mewaram, Naraindas Malkani** and **Tirath Wasant**. In 1929 the Sindh Muslim Adabi Society was founded. This Society encouraged Muslim writers to contribute on Islam and Muslim history. Among the authors who wrote for this society were **Maulvi Noor Muhammad Nizamani**, who was inspired by Allama Iqbal and his poetry. He also wrote on the "History of Sindh". Khan Bahadur **Muhammad Siddique Memon** (1890 - 1958 AD) was the most prominent writer of this society. His "Sindh ji Adabi Tarikh" ranks among the foremost studies of Sindhi literature. **Lutufullah Badvi** (d. 1968) was also inspired by Allama Iqbal's poetry. He translated Allama Iqbali's Poetry too. He was a poet and critic. Besides him **Makhdoom Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Muhammad Siddique "Musafir", Abdul Ghani Abdullah** and others were prominent writers of the society.

Mirza Qalich Beg was the pioneer in Essay-writing. He translated Lord Bacon's

essays in beautiful Sindhi, by the name "Magalat-ul-Hikmat". Latre on he wrote several essays on various topics. **Parmanand Mevaram**, compiled two volumes of his essays published in the Daily "Jote" with the name "Gul Phul". The trend was followed by a hort of Muslim and Hindu writers of this era.

4.4 1937- 1947 AD

When, the Muslim League was founded in Sindh and after the All India Congress started "Quit India Movement" (in 1942), both the Parties struggled for the Independence from the British rule, but the Congress worked for the "Sauraj" and Muslim League demanded "Pakistan", as a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Many newspapers and magazines were brought out in Sindh for propagation of both the movements. "*Sansar*", "*Hindwasi*" and "*Qurbani*" were propagating in favour of All India Congress, while "Alwahid" was an organ of the Muslims.

These movements inspired many Hindu and Muslim short story writers, poets and novelists. The modern short story, as we have known, in the western sense, made its debut in Sindhi in the early thirties, when writers like Mirza Nadir Beg, Usman Ali Ansari, Amarlal Hingorani and Asanand Mamtorai, breaking a way from the earlier reformist school, began to experiment on new subjects. Influenced by the writings of European literature, they carved a new style of telling a story. The theme of every short story was non-cooperation with the

foreign government, Hindu Muslim unity and harmony, and fight for freedom. The literature published during the period of seven years up to 1947 contains the elements of national awakening, disagreement with the retrogressive customs of society and many other problems and miseries of common folk.

The feudalistic values were breaking against the new forces and the urbanization of brought a change in the life style of some sections of the society. With the national struggle for freedom in the country came an awakening that gave rise to a new thought wave finding expression in creative activity. The beginning of forties saw Hitler's adventure and his bloody path of over-running Europe. At home, the movement of Independence assumed a revolutionary thrust of Quit India Movement. The writings of Tagore and other stalwarts widened the horizons of the creative spirit of the young men. This phase of national movement threw many young writers in the forefront. (Hiranandani: 1951)

Among Muslims, who contributed to the development of Sindhi prose, **Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai**, (1893-1950 AD) and other editors of several Muslim magazines and newspapers such as "*Al - Haq*", "*Al - Wahid*" and chiefly "*Tauhid*" are reckoned for their efforts. They propagated to a certain extent the religio - social ideas of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi in their magazines. Besides **Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai**, **Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sewhani** (1882-1942) was one of the leading

Muslim writers whose books were liked very much at that time and are still widely read.

The prominent short story writers of this age were: **Gobind Malhi**, **Gobind Punjabi**, **Shaikh Ayaz**, **Ayaz Qadri**, **Annad Golani**, **Sugan Ahuja**, **Tirath Wasant**, **Kirat Babani**, **Krishin Khatwani** and others. They were the main writers who depicted the poor folk in their short stories.

Many literary societies were established, which included "*Baghi*", "*Sahit Mandal*", "*Zindagi Publications*" and "*Azad Series*" etc. "*Agte Qadam*", "*Naeen Dunya*" and "*Mehran*" were the most important literary magazines of this period. Almost all the writings of Tolstoy and Gorky alongwith the writing of Munshi Premchand, Tagore and Savat Chandra were translated into Sindhi. These writings had a regenerating effect on the sensitive and receptive minds of the young writers of Sindh.

Chapter 5

SINDHI LITERATURE AFTER 1947

Immediately after the independence in 1947, it appeared as if Sindhi literature had suddenly been throttled. Almost all the senior Hindu writers migrated to India and all the literary societies and literary organizations were closed down. For some time there was a vacuum and creative literary activities had come to a standstill. But after a very short period of time the younger generation of Sindhi Muslim writers, with the assistance of experienced and senior writers the literary societies were revived and re-established and publication of some journals resurfaced. Some new organizations were also founded. Although the beginning of early years was just like a transitory period, nevertheless Sindhi literature flourished with good speed, both in India and Pakistan. Books in every field of literature were published in both the countries.

5.1 Prose Writing

The main factors which had influenced Sindhi prose, before and after the independence was a widespread demand for social reforms, not slow and orderly reforms, which were in progress, but immediate and radical reforms. The writers of post-independence period have mostly critical attitude towards morals of the wealthy land lords and Zamindars, religious leaders, Mullahs and

bureaucrats etc. In modern Sindhi literature, the short story has remained dominant for the last four decades. The modern Sindhi short story writers have always been found quite conscious of the pathos present in the present times. They have given their message through symbolism. **Jamal Abro's** "*Shah jo Phar*", "*Badmaash*" and "*Mehrbani*"; **Rabani's** "*Shido Dharel*" and **Ayaz Qadri's** "*Biloo Dada*" are symbols of objective reality in post-independence Sindh. **Ali Ahmed Brohi** and "**Kiror Pati**" are humorous and satirical in their short stories. They convey their message through humor and satire.

Jamal Abro commands the position of a leading modern Short Story writer even now in Sindh. The critics of Sindhi literature compare him with Maxim Gorky. He has great sympathy with the poor folks of Sindh. He is critical of the rich owing to their exploitation. His characters are the 'la miserables', who live under the tyrannical sway of the self-styled wealthy upper class.

Mohammad Usman Diplai occupies a very important place among the creative writers, novelists, dramatists and playwrights of modern literature of the sixties.

Amar Jalil is one of the most popular fiction writers of Sindh. He is a best seller as a writer along with **Shaikh Ayaz**, **Altaf Shaikh**, **Ali Baba**, **Abdul Qadir Junejo** and **Noorul Huda Shah** etc. He seems to have also been influenced by Krishan Chardar and Hemingway. He also writes columns in English

and Sindhi with the same populist appeal.

Rasool Bux Palijo is a renowned critic, creative writer of short story, an outstanding intellectual and politician of Sindh. He has contributed to the literature depicting peasantry and their problems. His writings in Sindhi also include critical appreciation of Bhitai, the greatest poet of Sindh and Shaikh Ayaz, the most popular modern poet.

Sirajul Haque Memon is a linguist, a novelist and multi-dimensional writer. He earned his fame as a unique novelist, for his novel "*Parado Soee Sad*", based on fictionalised history. His latest trilogy based on three novels (Sabh Rung Sanwal) is also a new approach in Sindhi novel writing.

Agha Saleem is an out-standing novelist and a critic. Similarly **Ali Baba**, **Abdul Qadir Junejo**, **Hameed Sindhi** and others have tremendous command over depiction and analysis of life in Sindh. The women writers of Sindh have their own prominence. They have played a leading role as poets, short story and drama writers. They have also contributed towards fiction and criticism. **Khairun-Nisa Abbasi** was an essayist. After partition, the Sindhi women writers of Sindh have contributed a lot towards modern poetry besides being successful prose writers.

In the late fifties and early sixties, **Begam Zeenat Channa** published monthly magazine "*Maru*". She herself wrote powerful short stories for this magazine. Her story "*Randiko*" is the best of all. She encouraged

other young female writers to write for the magazine.

Begum Khadija Khanum Daudpota edited a magazine "*Adiyoona*" (sisters) from Karachi. Thus she became torchbearer to guide Sindhi women seek education as a weapon to fight discrimination against them. During the decade of sixties, many other female short story writers such as **Sumera Zareen**, **Iqbal Parveen Soomro**, **Dr Rashida Hijab**, **Mahtab Mahboob**, **Suraya Yasmin**, **Jamila Tabassum**, **Zarina Baloach**, **Irshad Qamar**, **Qamar Wahid**, **Ms Z.A. Shaikh** and others are worth mentioning. **Sumera Zareen** was considered the short story writer of high rank at that time. "*Watan*" and "*Shama Barinde Shabb*" are her best short stories. She had a style of her own. **Iqbal Parveen Soomro** contributed to monthly "*Nain Zindagi*". "*Sukoon*" and "*Pirha Phuti*" are her best short stories.

Dr Rashida "Hijab", basically a scientist, has proved to be a very good romantic short story writer. Her diction and typical way of depicting society were unforgettable. This characteristic made her popular among young educated Sindhi girls in particular. Her famous stories are *Laila Milyas Kunwar*, *Badsurat*, and *Bewafa Ker*. **Zarina Baloach**, basically a performing artist is also a short story writer. Her short story "*Jeejee*" is based on gender issues. In the seventies, the number of Sindhi women writers increased considerably. The most prominent among them are: **Khairunnisa**

Jaffery, Tanvir Junejo, Noorul Huda Shah, Mahtab Mehboob, Akram Sulatana, Sahar Imdad, Khadijah Shaikh, Mahtab Tabassum Qureshi, Salma Siddiqui Qazi, Nilofar Joyo, Shahbnam Moti, Razia Siddiqui, Fahmida Hussain, Nasim Tehbo, Surraiya "Sauz" Diplai, Qamar Wahid, Nazir "Naz", Afroz Khuwaja, Rana Shafiq, etc.

Mahtab Mehboob has been recognized as one of the best short story writers in Sindhi. She started writing in the early sixties and has been continuously writing to-date. Three anthologies of her short stories have been published so far. Their titles are '*Chandi-a Joon Taroon*', '*Mithi Murad*' and '*Prih-a Khaan Pahreen*'. Her novel '*Khuwab, Khushbu, Chokhri*' is one of the best Sindhi novels.

Ms Tanveer Junejo has written many popular short stores. The theme of her short stories is feminism, and social environment of feudalism affecting female sex. There is one anthology of her short stories to her credit. She depicts characters of girls neglected by their parents and the society both in rural and urban Sindh. Her characters are common Sindhi girls who face many problems only because they are feminine.

Noorul Huda Shah is a prolific writer of short story and drama. Her popular short story '*Jala-Watan*' is a valuable contribution to Sindhi literature. With bold approach, she has unveiled the evils being practiced in the Sindhi society. In the name of honour, the ethics of society, sacrosant culture and holy religion, the

sufferings of women of "Haveli" happens to be the main topic of her stories.

Khairunnisa Jaffery was professionally a psychologist and a university professor. So is **Laila Bana**. Both of them have dealt with psychological problems of their characters. Khairunnisa's stories have satire and some painful humor too, which touches the heart of the reader. Her anthology "*Takhliq Jo Maut*" was appreciated by literary critics.

Dr Fahmida Hussain is not only a short story – writer but a research scholar and critic too. She has to her credit 14 books on various topics. The anthology of her short stories, "*Hika Huwa kaen Khamyoon*" is based on her short stories written during the seventies. She has also written a travelogue. Her contribution in research and literary criticism is commendable. Similarly the names of **Dr Noor Afroz Khuwaja, Naema Tejani, Surraiya "Sauz" Diplai, Nazir "Naz", Amar Sindhu** and **Fahmida Baloch** etc are worth mentioning.

The progressive literature in Sindhi has been predominant in all aspects. Inspired by the anti-One Unit struggle in Sindh during the sixties and seventies, the literature of resistance appeared mainly in '*Rooha Rihan*' edited by Hameed Sindhi, '*Nain Zindagi*' edited first by **Maulana Abdul Wahid Sindhi**, and then by **Shamsheerul Hyderi**, Quarterly "*Mehran*" edited by **Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Girami**, monthly '*Tehrik*' by Rasool Bux Palijo, '*Barsaat*' by **Yousuf Shaheen**, '*Sojhro*' by **Gulbano Sultan** and monthly "*Suhni*" edited by **Tariq Ashraf**.

"An ordinary man feels so insignificant, so insecure and so helpless that he feels as if he is a blade of grass which is compelled to bend before the gust of breeze or like a little straw which drifts with the waves. The monotony of life has killed his spirit. The advancement of scientific inventions has confused him. The speed of progress has brought a lot of tension for him. The demands of the outer world have crushed him. He feels helpless. He walks like a tiny particle in the vast multitude of mankind. He feels like a stranger in this mad rush of mankind"

writes Prof Popti Hiranandani while depicting the Sindhi mind in the modern world of today.

5.2 Poetry

Just after the partition of India and creation of Pakistan, a new country for the Muslims of the sub-continent in 1947, a considerable number of Hindu poets, prose writers and scholars migrated to India, and thus a vacuum was created for some time. But this condition did not last for long. Many literary societies were formed for encouragement and progress of Sindhi literature. Prominent amongst them were:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------|
| (i) Bazm - e- Nizami | Karachi |
| (ii) Bazme - e- Latif | Karachi |
| (iii) Bazm - e- Khalil | Hyderabad |
| (iv) Bazm - e- Bismil | Tando |

Mohammad Khan

(v) Bazm - e - Ilm - O – Adab Hala,
patronised by

Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman "Talibul
Moula"

(vi) Bazm - e- Adab Larkana

(vii) Bazm - e- Adab Sukkur

There was a general body of poets of Sindh called Jamiat-u-Shuara-e-Sindh, which existed under the presidentship of Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman "Talibul- Moula". This organization used to arrange annual literary conferences every year at different towns of Sindh and brought out literary monthly magazine entitled "*Adb-e-Sindh*", which proved to be very advantageous for beginners as well as for senior literary persons. This was really an institution which initiated and infused spirit in many young and immature youngsters to compose poems. This era of modernism gave birth to new renaissance in 1946, when "*Sindhi Adabi Sangat*" was founded by Gobind Malhi and other progressive writers. *Shaikh Ayaz* became the torchbearer of this new renaissance. This renaissance, radical in content, was manifestation and aspiration of people confronting social problems, particularly discussed in the meetings and gatherings of writers and intellectuals. Even their love with poetry was revolt against the feudal concept of romance. This trend has continued upto this day. Triplet, free verse, verse libre, sonnet and all other European forms of poetry were composed by the young poets of Bewas

School, afterwards followers of progressive school of poetry. They occupy a very prominent place in modern Sindhi literature. Besides this, in the present times, Nazm, Geet, Doho, Sortho, Kafi, Vai and Bait are also very popular forms of Sindhi poetry.

Shaikh Ayaz is the leading poet after partition and has contributed much towards the modern (Progressive School) poetry. He, in view of Mr Saleem Memon "is supreme among the writers (poets) of today. He is the first and foremost protagonist of Western literature. He has created new forms, invented new words and phrases for Sindhi language. He has given new life to Sindhi literature, and has inspired many young writers of Sindhi language." But in view of Nabi Bux Khoso "Ayaz is not the last word in Sindhi poetry. Sindhi poets have made new experience, found new diction and expressed new themes. The important among them, who have also influenced today's poetry, are **Tanvir Abbasi, Shamsher-ul Hyderi, Niaz Humayuni, Imdad Hussaini, Anwar Pirzado, Fatah Malik** and so on." Ghulam Rabbani Agro, a prominent modern Sindhi short story writer says: "Shaikh Ayaz and other modern poets have been acknowledged as the great poets of the present times. A mystical devotion to the earth and its inhabitants, messages of love and peace to the war-torn world, humanistic approach to the problems of the modern man, are some of the distinct aspects of their poetry.

Tanvir Abbasi was another leading

poet of modern school of poetry. He had five collections of his poetry to his credit. He is best Nazm and Geet writer Shamsher and Imdad are prolific writers, who have maintained their artistic fineness. They have been recognised as masters of free verse. **Anwar Pirzado** and **Fatah Malik** also have really added some masterpieces of art to Sindhi poetry. Fatah, who started as short story writer, has, as Nabi Bux Khoso explains, imitated rhythmic patterns of Shaikh Ayaz but he has also preserved his individuality in diction and contour. He is in no way a romantic poet. According to Nabi Bux Khoso, "Fatah wrote poetry in the midst of one most important political movement of Sindh History. It was a movement of cultural renaissance. The movement naturally demanded commitment from literature in clear and unambiguous terms. Fatah responded to the demand of the time. His poetry is the poetry of allegiance to the cause of the renaissance of Sindhi culture. His poetry, however, cannot be termed as the poetry of sheer propaganda. He, in his foreword to the collection of his poetry, has himself expressed his differences with the propagandist politicians. He believes that the poets are the conscience of the society; therefore, they look ahead of the politicians.

The poets of modern school are masters of simplicity, lucidity, rhythm and versification. They use very simple and sweet similes, metaphors and other figures of speech, commonly understood by every class of

people. Most of them are famous for their progressive and socialistic ideas and thinking. The most prominent poets of modern (progressive) school (after partition) are: **Shaikh Ayaz, Abdul Karim Gadai, Shamsheer - al Hydari, Tanvir Abbasi, Ustad Bukhari, Shaikh "Raz", Imdad Hussaini, Maulana Girami, Niaz Humayooni, Inayat Baloch, Bashir Moriyani, Bardo Sindhi, Hidayat Baloch, Ibrahim Munshi, Taj Baloch, Taj Joyo, Khaki Joyo, Parvano Bhatti, Fatah Malik, Nafees Shaikh, Sarvech Sujawali, Anwar Pirzado, Mohammad Khan Majidi, Saroopchand "Shad"** and many others. (Allana: 1999)

Besides the male poets, many female poets of both these schools are very well known. Some of the names are enlisted below:

(a) Ghazal School

(1) Noor Shahin

(b) Progressive School

- (1) Roshan Ara Mughal
- (2) Sultana vakasi
- (3) Sahar Imdad
- (4) Suraya' Sauz Diplai
- (5) Pushpa Walabh
- (6) Nazir "Naz"
- (7) Shabnam "Moti"
- (8) Noorul Huda Shah.
- (9) Atiya Daud
- (10) Gauri Walah
- (11) Rukhsana Preet.
- (12) Irum Mehboob.

(13) Zeb Nizamani etc.

Noor Shahin was a traditionalist female poet of the sixtees. She has to her credit several books based on her poetry.

Sahar Imdad is the most prominent poetess of Sindhi in the post-Ayaz period of modern Sindhi literature. **Dilshad Mirza, G.A Munghani, Mariam Majidi, Fatima Sarwech, Atya Dawood** are also prominent poetesses of this period. **Atya Dawood** is the most accomplished poetess among modern Sindhi female poets. Her poems have been translated in Urdu and English in the recent time.

The great variety of the poets of this era in style and in writing, in expression and delicacy, their vast range of subjects from patriotism to love, from Ghazal to Doho, Geet, Free -verses and Sonnet, have made them outstanding. Their language is free from all the non-native elements, and they are fully aware of the national temperament. It does not mean that Ghazal and other Persian forms were totally abandoned. This trend has continued till present days. Not only prominent poets have continued this trend but the new comers have also followed them. Some of the names worth mentioning are: **Atta Mohammad "Hami", Saleem Halai, Rashid Ahmed Lashari, Ahmed Khan "Asif", Ali Mohammad "Khalidi", Ali Mohammad "Majrooh", Sardar Ali Shah "Zakir", Rahim Bux "Qamar", Qalandear Shah Lakiari, Ahmad Khan Madhosh** and many others.

5.3 Islamict Writers

As it has already been mentioned that Sindh has also remained a center for Islamic teachings since the advent of Islam in Sindh. This trend has continued till today. The poets and writers have conveyed the message of Islam in their writings. After the influence of European literature, particularly after the introduction of progressive literature, and the influence of progressive and socialistic ideology, the young nationalist poets were also affected by this (Muslim) ideology. The modern influence on Sindhi literature compelled some religious minded writers and poets to check any anti-Islamic influence on Sindhi literature. **Sayid Sardar Ali Shah 'Zakir'** was the first person who came forward and wrote against these trends in his newspaper Daily Mehran. Afterwards **Rashid Ahmed Lashari, Dr Mohammad Ibrahim "Khalil", Abdul Qayoom "Saib", Ma'moor Yousifani, Abdul Karim Iaghari, Karim Bux Nizamani** and others wrote against all the progressive trends. These writers called themselves rightists group. "Mohammad Bin Qasim Adabi Society" was formed to counter the progressive socialistic ideology in Sindhi literature. This society encouraged publication of Islamic literature in Sindhi language and has rendered a great service towards promotion of Islamic literature in Sindhi. Simultaneously another literary and cultural society called the "Tanzeem-Fikro-o-Nazar" was formed under the leadership of **Prof Asadullah Bhutto**. This

society brought all like-minded writers and poets on one platform against the "Progressive Group of Writers".

Besides Professor **Asadullah Bhutto, Prof. Bashir Ahmed "Shad", Nadeem Ansari, Qalandar Shah Lakiari, Abdul Karim Taban, Makhdoom Ghulam Mohammad, Abid Laghari** and others were main workers and writers of this society. This society had started with a mission of doing a great service to Islamic literature in Sindhi. This society got a tremendous support and encouragement from Martial law government, particularly from General Zia-ul-Haq.

The tremendous development of almost all genres of Sindhi literature is visible in thought and style, printed in thousands of books of Sindhi poetry and prose.

5.4 Literary Criticism

In the arena of literary criticism, which did not exist before the year 1911, there has been a marked headway since partition.

We have "*Adabi Usoola*" (Principles of writing observed in Literature) from **Prof M.U. Malkani's** facile pen and compendium of "*Shah-jo-Rasalo*" and "*Samia Ja Sloka*" from **Prof Kalyan Advani** and **Prof Bhoj Raj Nagrani's** pen respectively. In this regard mention may be made of **Prof Chetan Marriwala** who has written a number of critical historical essays and stories. **Prof Jhamatmal Bhavnani's** scholarly study of Hindi-Sindhi Grammar and "*Dhola Maru*" published by Hindustan Kitab Ghar of

Bombay also bear ample testimony to the advancement of critical literature in Sindh.

Maharaj Krishen Chander Jetley's "Brief Acquaintance with Sindhi Language" is a great contribution to our literature, seeking to enlighten non-Sindhis in particular, regarding origin, ancestry and excellence of Sindhi language. **Motiram Soneji** with his literary cullings of different writers on importance of Sindhi language, literature and poetry etc, and a history of Sindhi Journalism contributed to periodicals and **Lakhmichand Rupchandani** with his biographical sketches, written of and on, are no less popular in India. **Dr Gurbuxani** and **Dr Daudpota** laid the foundation of literary criticism in Sindhi literature with their monumental works such as *Shah-jo-Risalo* in three volumes and *Risalo of Shah Abdul Karim Bulrai Waro* respectively.

Other prominent scholars contributing to the genre of literary criticism in Sindhi literature are **Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi** (d. 1982); **Dr N. A. Baloch**; **Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi**; **Maulana Girami** (d.1976); **Muhammad Usman Diplai** (d.1958); **Ghulam Muhammad Shahwani**; **Prof Mahboob Ali Channa** (d.1977); **Dr Abdul Karim Sandilo** (d.1990); **Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo**; **Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil** (d.1983); **Dr Abdul Majid "Sindhi"** etc. Writers like **Allahdad Bohyo**, **Sirjul Haque Memon**, **Badar Abro**, **Murad Ali Mirza**, **Dr. Fahmida Hussain**, **Jami Chandio** have also contributed in this genre during the last three decades.

Pir Hussamuddin penned down, in various volumes, the history of Sindh. His work in this field is commendable. His research papers on various aspects of Sindh's history have inspired many young writers. **Dr Baloch** and **Pir Hussamuddin** are the most prominent scholars of modern Sindh. They are the pioneers of many new features in the field of Sindhi literature, culture and history. They have added new technical terms in the vocabulary of Sindhi while their influence on writers and their writings have brought many young writers into prominence.

Numerous volumes on Sindhi folklore by **Dr N.A. Baloch**, and his "Jamei Sindhi Lughaat" (Comprehensive Sindhi Dictionary) happen to be his valuable contribution in the field of academic research, Sindhi language and literature. **Mohammad Siddique Memon** (d.1958) had a deep in-sight in Islamic history. His books included "*Khalifo Abu Bakar*", "*Umar Farooq*", "*Futuh-e-Islam*", "*Rabia Basri*", "*Mansoor Halaj*" and a Novel "*Uruse- Karbala*" Some of the stalwarts of Sindhi literature in Sindh are: **Allama I.I. Kazi**, **Dr Daudpota**, **Makhdoom Talibul Maula**, **Pir Husamuddin Rashidi**, **Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi**, **Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah**, **Dr Nabi Bux Baloch**, **Prof Mehboob Ali Chana**, **Agha Taj Muhammad**, **Muhammad Usman Diplai**, **Maulana Ghulam Muhammad "Girami"**, **Dr Muhammad Ibrahim "Khalil"**, **Atta Hussain Shah Musavi**, **Muhammad Siddiq "Musafar"**, **Muhammad Ismail Ursani**, **Muhammad**

Siddiq Memon, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Sobho Gianchandani, Shaikh "Ayaz", Jamal Abro, Siraj Memon, Shamsherul Hyderi, Tanvir Abbasi, Niaz Humayuni, Shaikh Abdul Razaq Raz, Ghulam Rabani Agro, Bashir Moriani, Begum Zeenat Abdullah Chana, Sumera Zareen, Mahtab Mehboob, Dr. Abdul Majid Memon Sindhi, Hameed Sindhi, Dr G.A. Allana and many others.

Chapter 6

COMMENDABLE CONTRIBUTION OF SINDHI HINDU WRITERS

Trio of Sindhi Literature:

From 1916 onwards followed a long line of Sindhi writers headed by a trio of learned ones, Lalchand Amardinomal, Bherumal Meharchand Advani and Jethmal Parsram. This was the most important initial period of the enrichment of modern Sindhi Literature.

Lalchand Amardino mal: He was remembered by his lucid style in Sindhi and literary grandeur. Lalchand died in 1954 in Bombay at a ripe old age of 70. His original short stories and works like "*Ram Badshah*" (Life of Swami Ram Tirath), "*Chouth-jo-Chand*" (moon of the 4th day), "*Sada Gulab*", "*Son-a Varnyun Dilyoon*" (Golden Hearts) included among about 30 books that he penned down. His last contribution to Sindhi literature was the translation of Savi's "Power of Love" dealing with child psychology.

Bhehrumal Meharchand was a renowned literateur. He made a name by writing a research work "*History of Sindhi language*". Besides, he has written quite a number of books in almost all branches of literature. His works of merit are: "*Latifi-Sair*", "*Sindh-jo-Sailani*", Qadeem Sindh (Ancient Sindh) "*Rityun-Rasmun-jo-Bunyad*" (Origin of customs and usages) and "*Golann-ja-Goondar*"

(Sorrows of the slaves).

Jethmal Parasram was a strong advocate of Sufism in Sindh. As a prolific writer, he has to his credit translated works like Faust, Hamlet, Emerson, etc. As a Theosophist and a staunch follower of Dr. Annie Besant, he started writing a number of booklets of theosophical literature in Sindhi like "*Braham Vidya*", "*Upanishad Gyan*", "*Sat Guru-je-Charnan Mein*" (At the feet of the Great Master), and "*Bhagvat Akhanyun*". Mahraj Teju Ram Sharma's novels translated from Hindi in his Sanatan Hind Dharmic style were popular in that period. "*Sindhi Sahit Jo Khazano*" (Treasure of Sindhi literature) is his great service to the Sindhi literature.

Amongst numerous other writers who enriched Sindhi literature may be mentioned Acharya Gidwani besides **Prof N.R. Malkani** who has been at his best in Hindi-Sanskrit renderings. He has, besides the art of presenting Sindhi villagers, language in original, his "*Anar Dana*", "*Meerani Sindhri*" and Jawahar Lal's Biography as well-known publications. Rochiram Sadani's "*Insan ain Insanyat*" and Tagore's "*Home and the World*", among others are fine sources of good reading, "*Bal Ramayan*" and "*Gita*" in verse form were also written by him. The essays of Diwan Lilaram Premchand Wadhvani in his "*Guldasta*" and "*Dewan Dayaram*" are highly informative. V. Mirchandani's select prose had a charm of its own.

Lekhraj Aziz's literary essays "*Adabi*

Aaeeno" and Nanikram Mirchandin's collection of short stories on social evils and his translation of "*Meghdoot*" of Kalidas are all works of merit. Prof Moolchand Thakur's "*Dalpat-ja-Sloka*" and Pahilaj Rai L. Vaswani's "*Tanduristi-jo-Rahbar*" based on Mahatma Gandhi's 'Guide to Health' besides Wadhmal Gangaram's "Pangati Inqilab" in beautiful and pure Sindhi were in no way less meritorious works.

Dr H.M. Gurbaxani carried his marvellous research about Shah Latif and his "*Shah-jo-Risalo*" and wrote a wonderful introduction along with interpretation of his poetry. He published three volumes of the Risalo, regarded by the scholars as a standard work of great merit. He wrote a historical novel "Noorjehan" and another research based book "*Lanwari-ja-Lal*" too.

Tirth Vasant of this period was a gifted writer; his first great attempt "**Chiningoon**" (Sparks) - the literary essays written, in beautiful style were appreciated by the Sindh Govt's Adabi Board. To his credit are about 6,000 pages of beautiful prose written on diverse topics such as short stories and lives of poets, etc., and are mostly un-published. His recent works of merit are "*Life of Bhagat Kanwarram*" - a biography written in his own novel style indulging frequently in philosophical discourses; and also "*Vasant Varkha*" which will be acceptable to readers of all faiths and creeds. His style of writing and rich vocabulary is more for the learned than for the common

folk.

Sadhu T.L. Vaswani (the saintly soul) produced abundant literature mainly on lives and message of Saints and Sages of both the East and the West in his simple characteristic poetic style. His Gita in verse form, unique amongst all other publications written by Sindhies like M.J.H. Kalvani, Chainrai Bulchand and others, is most popular and is being published in Nagari Script now. He was a great interpreter of Shah Latif.

By about 1932, the original short stories came to be written for the first time.

Amarlal Hingorani, a lawyer by profession, wrote a few typical original stories on Life in Sindh. One of his stories "*Ado Abdul Rehman*" was selected, along with others written in Indian regional languages, for English translation and dissemination in occidental world by the UNESCO.

Assanand Mamtora: wrote "*Prem Ain Paap Joon Kahanyun*" (stories of love and sin) besides another most popular and first of its kind novel "Shair" characterized by his philosophic touches and coinage of several new words etc., were a remarkable contribution.

Virumal H. Malani has a number of books, big and small to his credit; *Ganga-jo-Kutamb* and *Atam Ramayan* are well known and make a good reading.

Prof Jhaman Das Bhatia still residing in Shikarpur Wrote essays replete with alliteration; his book on life of Saieen Kutab

Shah (Sufi saint) is a substantial work of merit.

Fatehchand Vaswani wrote Books like '*Rang Mahal*', '*Maharana Partap*' and '*Shivaji*' besides light literature, stories and lyrics for younger generation.

Parumal Kevalramani and Master Chuharmal Hinduja living in Ajmer and Bombay respectively, following the tradition of their old Ratan Sahitya Mandal, have produced a lot of decent literature, mostly translation works like *Ratnawali*, Neta ji Bose, Amul Moti (Priceless Pearls) *Azadi-ja-Upasik* (devotees of freedom), *Dewan Sharar's* stories of the East etc.

Tahilram Asudomal's "Saints of Sindh" and "Gems of Sindh"; Hindu Dharma Prakash (Two parts) were published by Kauromal Sindhi Sahitya Mandal. Dev Sabhani's Asha Sahit Mandal publications like *Chitralkha* along with Krishen and Indra Hemrajani's translated novels like *Chritra Heen* (2 parts), *Shardha*, *Purakh* and *Two Hearts* besides Prof S.N. Pherwani's books "Natural Education" and "Life of Rishi Dayaram Gidumal" cannot be forgotten.

Prof Narain Bhambhani wrote "*Vidhwa, Paap Ain Pakeezgi*". (Widow-Sin and Chastity) "The Heroines of Shah Latif", is another good work of his.

Shewaram B. Lala translated stories of Tolstoy. He was editor (behind curtain) of "*Sindhu*", the modern review of Sindh for 12 long years.

Prof Hassanand Jadugar has wonderful command over vocabulary and has

produced a lot of literature on reforms in social, moral and religious aspects of the society.

Shri Bulchand Rajpal (who was Editor of "Sindhu") wrote "Essay on Hindi Poets", and "Muslims and Hindus of Sindh", which needs special mention.

Prof Ghanshyam's "*Karma Yoga*" of Swami Vivekanand originally in Arabic-Sindhi script was also published in Nagari script.

Manohar Das Kauromal having contributed immensely in Sindhi literature, has written about 40 books and brochures mostly for younger generation. His style has been pronounced to be simple but forceful. Bharatam Kumarrappa in his "Indian Litterateurs of Today", mentioned him as a voluminous writer. His books such as "*Hind-jo-Sair*" (illustrated), *Mulhaita Moti* (Precious pearls), *Akhalaki Aawaz* (cultural essays), "*Nari Nirog Jiwan*", "*Stories of the East*", "Tolstoy's "Thoughts & Experiences", "Sarojini" (story of a widow), "*Hindutva of Dr Savarkar*", "*Gandhi Veechar*", "*Passu Raskha Ain Jivadaya*" (illustrated) and "*Diwan Kauremal Joon Adabi Tasnifoona*" need special mention.

Shewak, B. Motwani, founder of Balkan-ji-Baari (Children association) appreciated by people at that time had written two novels "*Dada Shyam*" and "*Ashirwad*" about children.

Shri Tirath Sabhani and **N. D. Gurbaxani** had written on spiritual and theistic subjects. The latter's account of the lives of Buddha and Brahmanand Keshubchandersen

Ajwani, a powerful writer with commanding rich vocabulary, has written introductions to the life of Saint Bhagat Kanwar Ram, Poorab Sandesh, Dewan Kauromal's literary writing etc, besides compiling "*Nau Daur*" (selections of poetry). His Essays like "*Vichar*", Miti-ja-Putla (translation work published by Sahitya Akademi) are noteworthy.

Gangaram Samrat was a notable writer of research articles: his standard works "*Arya Varata*" and "*Bharat warsh*" & "*Sindhu Sovera*" are quite voluminous work.

Prof Isardas Raisinghani wrote a few booklets on the life of Tagore and his recent translation of Sidharatha by Herman Hess is hailed as a work of merit.

Vishen Jagtiani's "*Swami Ram Tirath*", Tirath Hingorani's translation "*Shikast*", "*Bharbhang of Tagore*" and "*Samaj*" of great Sayeed Aban, Bhagwan Khilnani's "*Raju*" and "*Masterji*", original novels of disappointed love, and last but not the least, Chandu Jaisinghani's adaptation "*My marriage*" "*Apradhi*" and the latest "*Bagu Barrister*" can not be ignored.

Mahraj Dwarka Prasad's "*Pracheen Sindh Jo Ithas*" (Ancient History of Sindh) in two parts is his great accomplishment besides his books, "*Sindhi Talwar*" and "*Vir Abhimanyu*".

Prof Tarachand Gajra contributed to Sindhi literature with the biography of Rishi Dayanand. The translation of Raj gopal Acharya's "*Mahabharta*" published by Hindustan Kitabghar is his latest work.

6.1 Modern Sindhi Poetry

With **Kishinchand "Bewas"**, who died in September 1947, begins the period of modern poetry in Sindhi. He departed from the old trends and, introduced poetry of "Nature". The topics of his poetry were social and national in character and he produced new trend of unity in diversity. He had socialistic approach and wrote in favour of the down trodden. His poems on "Kheroot" (farmer), "*Istri*" (woman) and their rights, "*Ghariban Ji Jhoopri*", (Poor man's "hut") and on other topics with a socialistic touch, are indeed a healthy departure from the old tradition. His popular books "*Bewas Ji Kavita*" (poetry of Bewas) and "*Sheereen Shair*".

During Mahatma Gandhi's national movement, **Hundraj "Dukhayal"** a poet and singer became the hero of the day. He composed and sang his poetry on the topics of India's poverty, Charkha (spindle wheel) and Mahatma's message in general. He sang his own poems both in Sindhi and Hindi and was an effective poet, with his theme "*Bhoomi dan*" (dedication to the mother land). His book of poetry "*Sangeet Phool*" is worth enjoying. Master Chander (a great composer and singer) composed and sang his songs, which won popularity among Sindhi masses.

Hari Dilgir, like Sheikh Ayaz was a prolific poet. He was also a trend setter who changed the mood of the poetry of his times, following in the foot steps of Bewas.

Lekhraj "Aziz" drank from the fountain of old Parsian poetic springs. He started composing poetry primarily on the old style of Persian poetry, which was later changed with the times. His poetry abounds in the combination of both old and new and has distinguished himself as a versatile writer. His *Kuliyat-i-Aziz* in two volumes, *Paigham-i-Aziz*, *Gulzar-i-Aziz* and *Aabshaar* (waterfall) are notable works. He is also author of a book on literary criticism that evoked considerable controversy.

Narayan Shyam, another great poetic entity, having struck praiseworthy new notes in Sindhi poetry, has ruled the poetic field from the last four decades even after his death a few years back. He adopted English Sonnet (hitherto unattempted) and came out with a novel form of the same in Sindhi. The genre of Rubayat, initiated by Mirza Qalich Beg, gained a newer and pure form by him. His poems compiled under the title "*Phulwari*" (garden), "*Mak Phurra*" (dewdrops) and "*Rang Rati Lahar*". (a wave of colour) "*Wari-a-Bharyo Paland*" elicited an all round praise.

Prof M.U. Malkani's rendering of Tagore's "Gardener" (*Preet-ja-Geet*) and "*Geetanjali*" and also **Dr Sadarangani Khadam's poem** (Nazam) are no less commendable.

6.2 Drama in Sindhi

Dewan Kauromal came out with a drama "*Ratnavali*" (originally written by Hareh);

translated directly from Sanskrit in 1888. Shri Chandumal Khatri of Shikarpur was an excellent playwright. Kishenchand Bewas was not only a poet, but a playwright too; he was at his best in his drama entitled as "Manohar Nagin".

In Hyderabad (Sindh), names like **Shri Nanikram Dharamdass Mirchandani**, **Lilaram Makhijani**, **Awatrai Thakur Das** as A-I playwrights and actors are worth recording. Shri Nanikram's "*Qoum-jo-Kalesh*" was written on social evils like dowry; besides "*Pati-Sewa*" (in service of husband) were popular. The plays "*Prem Bhakti*" and "*Bilola Mangal*" were translated and adapted from Urdu. A play "*Frebi Fitna*" was adapted from Marie Corelli's 'Vendetta'.

Shri Lilaram Makhijani's plays such as "Kishore Mohini", "*Pavitre Sundari*" and "*Kaliyug-ja-Kaloor*" were regarded as high class plays in Sindhi. Nanikram Mirchandani acknowledged those plays while Jethmal Parsram reviewed them in his "*Bharat-vasi*". **Diwan Lilaram Singh** and **Shewa Singh Ajwani** were two other noteworthy play-wrights; "*Kansht*" was their adaptation of the English dramatist Sheridan's play which in later days was brought on the screen by Gemini Production Ltd., under the title of "*Insanyat*".

Out of **Khanchand S. Daryani's** two well-known plays, "*Insan-Keen-Shaitan*" adopted from Marie Corelli's 'Sorrows of Satan', was brought on the screen as the first Sindhi Talkie by the Eastern Art Production in 1933; and "*Zemindari Zulum*" staged in 1924

by Rabindranath Dramatic Club, Karachi.

Prof M.U. Malkani (of Jai Hind College Bombay) was also a good playwright; his latest work is a collection of seven dramatic plays. After partition, he wrote one-act plays mostly on social themes.

Jethanand N. Nagrani, an old playwright and actor of upper Sind (dramatic fame, had written his *Gamtoo* Series, like *Gamtoo Vakil*, *Gamtoo Doctor*, *Gamtoo Ghot*, *Gamtoo Editor* etc. After his displacement in partition, he perfected those plays and penned down many more, three of which were published under the title of "Chowrangi".

6.3 Modern Sindhi Prose

Literature is enriched by contact with other literatures through literary 'give & take'. The enrichment of such nature is achieved through translation of good books. Early Sindhi writers, by these means have laid bare treasures of English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Sanskrit before Sindhi reading public. Mahabharat, Ramayana, Bhagwad Geeta, Guru Granth-Sahib, Upanishads among others, have been translated in Sindhi. Songs of Mira Bai, Tulsidas, Surdas and Kabir have been rendered in Sindhi verse. The novels by Tagore, Munshi Premchand, K. M. Munshi, Tara Shankar Bannerji, Sarat Chander and Bankim Chander Chatterjee have been translated in Sindhi.

If the progress of the last half a century is assessed, it can be asserted that Sindhi

literature is second to none in South Asia.

Among the earliest Sindhi Prose writers are some prominent men such as:

Munshi Udhaaram Thanwerdas, who wrote a standard Sindhi Grammar; **Kewal Ram Salamatrai** whose book "*Sookhri*" (Present) gives moral anecdotes in pure Sindhi, and his "*Gul Shakar*" (based on proverbs) is worth reading.

Sadhu Hiranand whose book "*Hire-Joon-Kanyoon*" (Bits of Diamond) and "*Tilsim*" will be remembered by Sindhi readers forever. Dewan Nawalrai Advani whose translation of Dr: Johnson's "Raselas" was as good as the original.

1947 and onwards

6.4 Novel

Gobind Malhi basically an unmatched short story writer, wrote 11 novels in 11 years since his migration to India after partition.

Kirat Babani with his work "*Malva*" by Maxim Gorky is an adept at short-story writing.

Jagat Advani and **Jethanand Lalvani**, the old translator, editor and publisher of "*Bharat Jivan*", the former having translated a number of Sarat Chander Chatterjee's stories, have contributed no less to the new literature.

These along with **Behari Chabria**, **Gobind Panjabi**, **Sugan Ahuja**, **Prof. Dass Talib** with his "*Gora*" and "100 Jokes" etc. are the shining stars amongst them.

Prof Ram Panjwani's few compilations and translation cannot be given a go-by; he

was essentially a Singer and Actor and his Drama "*Pakhe-men Padamini*" and his famous novel "*Ahe Na Ahe*" are noteworthy however.

Mohan Kalpana was yet another prolific writer who contributed quite a few novels, which were published simultaneously in India and Pakistan.

6.4.1 Women Writers

The women writers too have come into prominence, having made their mark as writers of lucid Sindhi prose.

Sundri Utamchandani with her "*Kirandar Deewaroon*" (Tumbling Walls), a popular social novel, (since translated in Urdu an Hindi) and "*Preet Purani Reet Nirali*" (old love and strange traditions) has made a remarkable impact on the wires of younger generation.

Popti Hiranandani is one of the prominent of feminist writers and a sensitive novelist, a short story writer as well as a linguist of high quality. Amongst the writers of younger generation **Kala Rijhsinghani**, **Tara Mirchandani** and **Prof. Ishawari Jotwani** (with her "*Ulfat ji-Aag*") are also prominent women writers.

Kala Prakash having to her credit the novel "*Hikk-a Dil Hazar Armaan*" (one heart and several wishes) and a number of articles on psychological phase of human mind, writes in a clear and simple style.

Kamla Keswani and **Guli Sadarangani** also contributed in fiction and literary criticism.

Each one in a way excels the others, and exhibits a marvelous command over the Sindhi Idiom.

6.5 Short Story

Gobind Malhi, **Kirat Babani**, **Sundri**, **Mohan Kalpana**, **Sugan Ahuja**, **Kala Prakash**, **Utam** and **Loknath Jetley** have to their credit anthologies of short stories, through which they have distinguished themselves as impressive fiction writers.

6.6 Poetry

Narain Shyam and **Parsram "Zia"** of pre-partition age have shown extra-ordinary merit. Parsram Zia's "*Bagh Bahar*", and latest compilation of his poetry, written for children upto 14 years of age, has won a posthumous government prize. His poetry on diverse topics is published in a collection with the title of "*Aalaap-Zia*". He is acknowledged as the popular poet of the masses. His poetry has been sung by master Chandur, which has made him still more popular.

Other versifiers and poets like **Ishwar Anchal** who also wrote a novel "*Pyar and Paiso*" (Love and Money), **Krishen Rahi**, **Moti Prakash**, **Goverdhan Mahbubani**, **Bharti** are popular poets of who also won Indian government prizes for their creative excellence "*Latyun*". **Prof Arjan "Shad"** and **Baldev "Gajra"** (a poet and journalist, with his book of

poems on diverse topics) have a touch of modern sensitivity. **Arjan Hasid** (Ahmad abad), **Sugan Ahuja** from Bombay, **Prabhu "Wafa"** of Bombay. (his poetry book "*Jhankar*"), **Hundraj Dukhayal**, **Rocho "Khawabi"**, **Dr Lakhmichand "Prem"**, **Arjan Sikayal**, **Wasdev Mohi**, are some other representatives of the modern age. Among these poets **Moti pakash Krishan Rahi**, **Goverdhan Bharti**, **Arjun Shad**, **Arjun Hasid** are revered due to their beautiful poetry in pure Sindhi idiom.

6.7 Literary Magazines (India)

Literary magazines, quarterly journals and periodicals like "*Sindhu*" (in new form), "*Sindhu Samaj*" (Delhi), "*Naeen Dunya*", "*Sewa*" and "*Subini*" (monthly), "*Kahani*" (bi-monthly), "*Hindvasi*" (weekly), "*Kalpana*" (Bombay), "*Roshini*", "*Insaan*" and "*Navjiwan*" of Nagpur; "*Jagriti*" and "*Tasveer*" (women's weekly) of Bombay; "*Nai Zindagi*" of Jabalpur and "*Sabhiata*" of Baroda, **Koonj** from Bombay, **Rachna** from Adipure are contributing to the advancement of Sindhi literature in India.

Compilations like "*Adab-Je-Rah-Mein*" by **Prof Santdass Jhangiani**, "*Rajdhani-ja-Sahitkar*" by **Motilal Jotwani** and **Anand Khemani**, "*Adiban-ji-Mahfal*" by **Topan Khilnani** and Ahmedabad-ja-Adeeb etc., are also a new feature of this fast growing literature.

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