

M.H. Panhwar as a Historian

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Abstract

The scope of this article is to find out the strengths and weaknesses of M.H. Panhwar's historical work and to compare it with other scholars of Sindh. He is the initiator of scientific history writing of Sindh and the only historian who tried to uncover the face behind the social organisation of Sindh. According to him, 'History is the history of production, control over the means of production and production to its final distribution'. The history is more about people than that of the ruling class as people are makers of history. He had vision to analyze things in their correct historical perspective and, in this context, he took support of archeology, as it is the source of scientific truth. Writing history with data acquired through carbon testing is a new phenomenon in Sindh, which was locally introduced by M. H Panhwar.¹

M. H. Panhwar, therefore, was one of the pioneers in giving a new meaning to history by including both ruling elites and the common folk, progressive science, crop technology, forest, wildlife, etc.² He was the first to throw light on areas which were ignored by other historians. According to him, history written before him is full of the accounts of the rulers' role in relation to their nobles and foes, battles they fought, attacks, palace plotting, mausoleums, folklore, fiction and so on. Accounts regarding contemporary climate, environments, diversion of rivers, courses and the resultant ruination of irrigation systems, migrations, shifting of people, occupations, social life of the populace etc. found little room in written histories. For instance changes in production and its means, administration and justice, agriculture, land, animal husbandry, irrigation sources and methods of mining, metallurgy, industry and

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¹ Umar Soomro, 'The contribution of M.H Panhwar towards Sindhological Studies', in *Sindh: Glimpses into Modern History* [Proceeding of PHRIC on History of Sindh 1843-1991, eds. Dr. Gulam Muhammad Lakho and Dr. Muhamad Qasim Somro (Jamshoro: Department of General History, University of Sindh, 2010), p.379.

² M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation in Sindh*, compiled by Umar Soomro (Karachi: Department of Culture, Govt. of Sindh), p.13.

industrial goods, matrimonial institutions, family and children, houses and interiors, art, architecture, archaeology, personal appearance, dresses, ornaments, foods and drinks, taxes, coins and currency, science and technology, foreign contacts, international trades and traders, routes of trades, religious beliefs, philosophy, hygiene, medicine and doctors, superstitions, common citizens, economic conditions, historical geography of bygone ages, classes of work and their relation with one another, household life, customs, entertainments, pastimes, leisure, attitude of man to nature, languages, literature, literary contacts with outside world, learning and thoughts, status of women and children in affluence and extreme poverty.³ Hence, in real sense M.H Panhwar was scholar of Haig's Raverty's and Lambrick's calibre.⁴

Introduction

Muhammad Hussain Panhwar, widely known as M.H. Panhwar, was born on 25th December 1925 in the home of a poor farmer, Haji Khan, who lived in the village of Ibrahim Kachi, District Dadu, Sindh. He obtained his primary education from his native village and did matriculation from Mehar town. M.H. Panhwar was awarded a B.E in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering from NED College (now university) in 1949. Then he won an American scholarship given by the Government of Sindh to study in the United States. So he did M.Sc in Agriculture Engineering from Wisconsin, University of America.⁵

M.H. Panhwar was an expert in environment, history, archaeology, anthropology, historical geography and geology. He specialized in ground water development, earth moving, agricultural machinery, water logging, salinity control, drainage, and agriculture.

He worked with the governments of Sindh and West Pakistan as an agricultural engineer for four years and also worked as a superintending engineer for Sindh and Balochistan for 12 years up to the end of 1969. He wrote 10 books on ground water in Sindh and many articles on the Thar and Kohistan deserts.⁶ In 1964, he established a horticultural farm, specializing in fruit crops. This was later converted into a research farm in 1985 with the aim of introducing new fruit crops suited to Sindh's climate. He authored 36 books on agriculture and fruit

³ M.H. Panhwar, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, compiled by Umar Soomro, Soomra National Council, Pakistan, 2003, p.19.

⁴ Umar Soomro, *op.cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.385.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.387.

crop post-harvesting.⁷ Considered a one-man ‘Sindhologist’, his hobby was the study of Sindh, and he published more than 500 pages on various aspects of the province.

He was honored with a number of awards, including *Sitara-e-Imtiaz* by the President of Pakistan in 1992 for outstanding work in horticulture. Nominated in ‘*Who is Who in the world*’ in 1987, lifetime achievement award by Sindh Taraqqi Pasand Party in 1999, lifetime achievement award by Revivers on August 2002, lifetime achievement award by Sindh Agriculture University, Tando jam on November 2004 and was awarded as a horticulturalist by *Kisan Times*, *Daily Khabren* and Chawla group of Industries.⁸

The contribution of M.H. Panhwar as a historian of Sindh, however, lies in the fact that he initiated a more scientific approach towards history writing of the province and was the only one who tried to uncover the faces behind Sindh’s social organisation. In *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, he writes that ‘my definition of history is that the history is of production, control over the means of production and production to its final distribution. The history is more history of people than politics’. From this very statement it is very clear that M.H. Panhwar attempted to interpret the history of Sindh from people’s point of view. This was because he believed that people were the makers of history. Hence, he asked the intelligentsia of Sindh to demythologize traditional stories, which needed to be retold in a scientific manner.

His publications include: *Water Requirements of the Rive Rain Area of Sindh*, *Sustainable Methods as Applied to Raising Fruit Crops*, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, *The Chronological Dictionary of Sindh*, *Source Material on Sindh*, *The Heroic Struggle of Sindh Against Feudalism*, *The Economic Plight of Sindh Under Pakistan*, *The Inevitability of the Conquest of Sindh by the British in 1843*, *A Visit to Dharhiaro Hill Peak in Search of a Summer Hill Resort in Sindh*, *Fixing of Boundaries of Sindh 1843-1947*, *Alleviation of Rural Poverty*, *Ranikot Fort (its odd location and why?)*, *The Influence of Ancient Sciences Including Those of Sindh on Al-Razi - the Great Persian Scientist*, *Sindh - the Archaeological Museum of the World*, *Causes of the Decline of Persians in Pakistan*, *Policing in the Past in Sindh - a Case Study*, *Ghulam Shah Kalhora and His Relations with Kutch*, *On the Uniqueness of the Dadu District in Sindh*, *The Large*

⁷ Seyed Gulam Mustafa Shah, ‘Muhammad Hussain a Proud Pioneer in Horticulture’, *Sindh Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, 1997, p.35.

⁸ Umar Soomro, *op.cit.*, p.389.

Dams - Their Disadvantages and Objections to their Construction by Aid Giving Agencies, and many more.

Though he traveled widely, he lived at 157-C, Unit No.2, Latifabad, Hyderabad (Sindh), Pakistan, from where he ran his consultancy and research work. He also maintained an office at 54-D, Block-9, Clifton, Karachi, Pakistan. He had four sons, Rafi Hussain (passed away in 2004), Tariq Hussain, Sani Hussain and Muhammad Ali — all settled in USA. His first wife died and second wife Farzana, a bio-chemist, has authored many books and attended many international conferences. In June 2003, M. H. Panhwar established a trust to undertake social work in Sindh. He transferred his home, office, agriculture land comprising farm/orchard, library and other property in the name of trust. Having lived an eighty-one plus years' purposeful, joyful and colorful life, as he used to assert, he passed away on 21st April, 2007 AD.⁹ M.H. Panhwar achievements as an indigenous scholar of Sindh, the strengths and weaknesses of historical work and its comparison with other scholars of Sindh is discussed in the following pages.

Strengths of M.H. Panhwar's historical work

Sindh never remained the part of Ghaznavids empire: There is a misconception, in the mind of people that Sindh remained part of Ghazni Empire. Syed Solyman Nadvi states that Ghaznavids made 23 attacks against Muslims and only 12 against Hindus. During 1026 and 1027 Mahmud Ghazni sacked Mansura and burnt it, while its ruler Khafif Soomro ran away in a jungle. When Ghazni was going to Multan from Sindh, the Jats of upper Sindh attacked him and killed a large number of his troops. For revenge of that attack, Mahmud once again returned to Sindh in 1027 AD, but he had to face many troubles. He was anti-Fatimid so for that he attacked Sindh. Sindh, Tabrsistan, Tarmis Kakran and Delhi were not annexed, but were made to pay tribute, and after Mahmud's death Sindh stopped paying tribute.¹⁰

Contemporary states of ruling period: It is his greatness that whenever Panhwar writes about any period, he mentions contemporary states of the period, which indicates his vast knowledge about the surrounding world.

In *Contemporaries of early Soomras in the Muslim World and India (101-1206 AD)*, he says in Central Asia and Afghanistan Ghuris,

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.78.

¹⁰ M.H. Panhwar, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, pp.49-50.

Ghaznavids, Khwarzim Shahs and Mongols dominated. Multan (1030-1186 AD) was ruled by local Ismailies and finally came under the control of Delhi; Makran was vassal of the Ghaznavids till 1079 AD. Iran and Central Asia remained under the influence of Ghaznavids Saljuks, Khwarzin Shahs, Salgarids, Hazaraspids, Ghuris and Assassins and Afganistan were divided into two parts like as Ghaznavids and Ghoris. Punjab and NWFP also remained under the influence of Ghaznavides, Ghurids, Ilkhans, Ismailies and Khwarzan Shah. The contemporary non-Muslim states around Sindh were Chalky in Gujrat (998-1298 AD) and Cutch (1000-1147 AD), Jareja Sammas of Cutch (1147-1948 AD), Parthras of Malwa (960-1027 AD).¹¹

Shahabudin Ghorī never came to Sindh: After collection of various sources, M.H. Panhwar concluded, that Shahabudin Gori neither conquered Sindh nor appointed any Governor of Sindh.¹²

Muhammad Tughlaq never intended to invade Sindh: He had come here to crush his belhou's general Taghi, in 1347 A.D. Tughlaq did not use the same route of Taghi because he felt it dangerous and he took route from Canbay to Aswal, Dadi, Patan, Girnar, Gonadal, Nakim, Mithi, Dambherlo, Digri and Nasarpur and then along with river to present Tando Muhammad Khan, Mula Katiar and Sonda. After his attack on Thatta, Muhamamd Taghluq was poisoned; he died at Sonda. Then his successor, Feroz Shah Tughlaq, returned to Delhi through the land route from Sonda to the present Nasarpur, Hallakandi and Sehwan. After the death of Muhamad Tughlaq, Soomras looted the imperial camp with Mongols. Muhammad Tughlaq was temporarily buried at Sehwan from where his body was shifted to Delhi in 1356 AD. Mohammad Tughlaq invaded Bakhar, Sehwan and Nasarpur on the way to Thatta, in 1351, but soon after the cities were recaptured by Soomras and Sammas in the same year.¹³

Earthquake never damaged Sindh: Earthquakes did not destroy Alore and Brahamabad and Sindh is not located in a very active seismic zone, so the earthquake cannot occur in Sindh.¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.57-59.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.61.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.87-89.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.111.

Love stories developed in Soomra period are not Sobhar history: M.H. Panhwar rejects the folk story of Umar Marvi and insists that the place Umerkot, is Amarkot. Like Umar Marvi all such stories as Sasui Punhun, Mumal Maindhro, Leela Chanesar, Umar Ganga and even Noori Jham Tamachi of Samma period are fiction.¹⁵

Climatic changes and their impacts on history: Mr. Panhwar has given much importance to climatic changes. According to him, history is at the mercy of climates and their changes. He has given a brief historical record of climatic changes as:

Before 9000 BC there was a very dry climate; 9000 – 8500 BC the climate transferred from very dry to beginning of low wet period; 8500-7000 BC climate moved to medium wet; 7500-4000 BC saw high wet climate; 2000-1750 BC was very low wet climate; 1750-900BC dry climate; 900-400BC dry climate and 400-650AD low dry climate.¹⁶

Climate of Sindh from 7500-2000 B.C was warm and there was more rainfall. Due to huge amount of water summer and winter crops are raised, but the rice was not grown yet, it gave birth to civilization like Mehrgarah (Balochistan) 7000-25000 BC, Amri (3700BC), Kot Dijji (3300B.C) and Mohen Jo Daro (2700 B, C).¹⁷

From the historical study of climates, it emerges that from 400-700 AD there was warm and wet climate and Sindh was prosperous.¹⁸

Due to the change in course of River Indus, Kathia tribe of Sindh migrated to Kutch and established Kathiawar, irrigation system was disturbed and that situation remained from 700-900 AD.¹⁹ Dry climate from 700-900 AD proved helpful for Arabs to conquer Sindh.²⁰ Temperature decreased from 1480 AD in South Asia. With the change in climates, there was a difference of 15 days in every season and every crop was delayed for 14 days, winter became longer and people suffered from a heavy cold.²¹

Little Ice age entered Sindh during 1522 AD and, at that time, Arghuns conquered Sindh. Sindh suffered drought for 7 years. When Akbar annexed Sindh due to the shortage of food, people raised voice

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.155.

¹⁶ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation in Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.143.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.157.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.159.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.189.

against him. This ice age is responsible for the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire. Due to shortage of food people revolted against Arghoons, Tarkhans and Mughals. People also migrated to Arabia. Some of the canals then irrigated the land. Sufis who preached in Sindh, at that time, worked for the happiness of people and strengthened their spiritual power.²²

Agricultural development: The evolution of food and animals in Sindh and Balochistan took place from Mehrgrah between 7000 – 6000 B.C. Cereals like baked barely, raw barley, wild barely, Einkorn and Emmer were used. Animal like cows, buffalo, sheep and goat were domesticated. From 6000-5000BC durum bread, wheat, date, oil seeds were introduced. In 4500-4000 BC cotton and modern varieties of wheat were introduced.²³

Among the crops introduced at Amri during 9000-2350 B.C. was club wheat. During 2300-1650 B.C sorghum and millet were introduced from Africa to south India as a summer crop.²⁴ The crops cultivated during 519-400BC were rice, wheat, cotton, sugarcane, oil seeds, millet, sorghum, pulses, mango, berry, dates and some varieties of citrus.²⁵ During 854 – 1011 AD agricultural produce included sugar cane, lime, ginger, mango, orange, cottons, rice, wheat, sorghum, millet, camphor, saffron, facial products, medicinal plants and honey. Many industrial crops were also produced.²⁶

The crops grown during Soomra period 1011 – 1350 AD were sugar cane, lemon, ginger, mango, orange, cotton, rice, wheat, sorghum and millet, camphor, saffron, garden products and medicinal plants.²⁷ During 1351 – 1522 AD, the Portuguese introduced tobacco, pineapple, cashew, maize, sweet potato and papaya from America; Lychee and sweet orange from China, and red pepper from Perananbaco etc.²⁸

Irrigation as a source of life: Mr. Panhwar says that irrigation plays a vital role in the making of history. Sindh is an agricultural country so irrigation has much importance for the survival of dynasties and people. He starts the history of irrigation from its beginning, like:

²² *Ibid.*, p.191.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.43.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.109.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.157.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.169.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.185.

Amri, the earliest site of irrigated agriculture, started in 3700 BC.²⁹ There was *salabi* type rudimentary irrigation in the early and mature Indus valley civilization 3770-2350 and 2350-1650 BC.³⁰ The people during 700-519 BC tried to irrigate more land and they succeeded in it.³¹ During 519-400BC Achaemenes implemented rules on land and rendered public services.³²

During the Mauryan period (321-184 BC), land and irrigation system was improved. The measurement of land was done correctly and the revenue was collected in good sense.³³ Bactrian Greeks (187-70 BC) water wheel, founded by a Greek scientist Philon, was one of the great outcomes of the period and was used throughout the Asian countries. Boka and Persian wheel were also in use.³⁴ Under Scythians (70 B.C – 46 A.D) wheel was used in some of the areas in the winter season for lifting of water and bilge pump was in the use.³⁵

During Brahman period there came a change in course of River Indus and Kathia tribe of Sindh migrated to Kutch and established Kathiawar. Irrigation system was destroyed and that situation continued between 700-900 AD.³⁶

Before the coming of the Arabs, Sindh faced two changes. One was change in the course of the River Indus and the other was starting of dry climate. Due to these facts people revolted against the Arab governors. Few steps were taken for the improvement of the irrigation system, but, at large, maintenance of canals was neglected and the rate of unemployment increased.³⁷

During Habbarids period (854 – 1011 AD) irrigation system was developed and the river was naturally divided into different branches, which irrigated the whole of Sindh. That irrigation system proved as the most developed irrigation system of Sindh in history.³⁸

During the Soomra period (1011 – 1350 AD) climate of Sindh was warm and the course of River Indus remained the same till 1040 AD. From 1040-1240 AD the river changed its course. This was the reason why Soomras shifted their capital thrice. Irrigation of Sindh

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.67.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.105.

³² *Ibid.*, p.107.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.117.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.121.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.125.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.156.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.160.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.163.

suffered during this period, but Soomra rulers were able to control it and maintain the canals.³⁹

During the Samma period (1351 – 1522 AD), various canals irrigated the land like Mir Abro, Khan Wah, Nais like Nari, Bhuri and Naing, Saurah Wah, Kali and Naig springs, Dadeji Wah, Kalira Wah, Nahan Wah, Talao Sabita, Tarangchi Kolab, Tarabari Kolab, Jharani, Pien Aghar Saran Kolab, Mahrood Kolab, Pokhar Kolab, Lanbalic Kolab, Nahran Nah and Sapanah Wah. Improvement in the irrigation system helped the political power and a ruler like Jam Nizamuddin came on the stage; population increased as well.⁴⁰

Under Arghoons, Tarkhans and Mughal governors of Sindh (1522-1701 AD) there was little ice age during this period. This led to deterioration in the irrigation system. Persian wheel was used then.⁴¹

Kalhoras (1701-1783 AD) improved the irrigation system and about 700-1000 canals irrigated Sindh during that period. They are famous as builders of canals and irrigation system. They developed a large number of the canals, but the notables are: Shahji Kur, Nusrat Wah, Murad Wah, Feroz Wah, Sarfarz Wah, Bagh Wah, Noor Wah, Bulgaria, Sher Wah, Goth Wah, Sone Wah, Mirza Wah, Ghar wah, Date-ji-Kur, Slah-ji-Kur, Naulakhi, Gungro, Baghar, Ocho wah, Metro Wah etc. By the improvement of irrigation system, the cultivated land increased and reached to 2.1 million acres.⁴²

Talpurs (178-1843 AD), before they arose, destroyed 50% of the irrigation system. During their last period the cultivated land decreased to 0.9 million acres while the population of Sindh was 1.4 million.⁴³

Charles Napier conquered Sindh in 1843 AD and he found the irrigation system of Sindh destroyed. In the same year, he established the department of canal clearance and forests under the supremacy of Lt. Col. Walter Scott but it failed due to lack of expert engineers and was abolished in 1840. After that Napier studied old canal systems and gave recommendation for Rohri-Hyderabad canal under the supremacy of Richard Burton. On the other side, John Jacob improved the irrigation system in northwestern frontier areas. He also dug desert canal, known as Maksud Wah and it was on the second such work in upper Sindh.⁴⁴ The

³⁹ M.H. Panhwar, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.127.

⁴⁰ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation in Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.185.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.209.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.217.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.221.

construction of Sukkur Barrage, in 1932, is one of the great achievements of the British government rendered in the field of irrigation.⁴⁵

The reason behind the decline of Mohen jodaro was climatic change: The main cause of the fall of Mohen jodaro was a change in the climate from around 2000 BC to 900 BC. Aridity problem led to the end of Harrapa civilization in 1750 BC and Mohen jodaro in 1650 BC. People of Mohen jodaro used to graze their animals in the whole of Sindh but scarcity of resources led them towards destruction which is known in history as *jhankar* culture. The product of climate change by 900 BC gave birth to *jhankar* culture.

The hydrological changes that brought the downfall of Indus civilization are these:

- a) Indus had been flowing near Mohen jodaro, Sindh, but it might have changed course to west or eastwards about by 10-15 miles so the population's shift was difficult.
- b) As the western and eastern boundaries in Indus were converging so most of the cities were in the country of plains, therefore, it become impossible to get water from the Indus.
- c) By shifting of the western branch of Indus River, it became impossible for Mohen jodaro and other cities to get water from the Indus.

Due to cosmic movement and decrease in rainfall after 2000 BC, reduction of water took place.⁴⁶

The chronology is a best method to arrange the historical events in order to make history easy for people: M.H Panhwar's book *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh* is a milestone work in the field of historiography of Sindh. He has arranged the period of various historical events and dynasties in chronological order which is given below:

Precambrian period 3.5 billion years ago or even earlier; Paleocene period 62-48 million years or even back; Eocene period 47-39 million years back; Middle and lower Miocene period 18,5-12 million years back, and international stone age calendar, including the subcontinent, 2,000,000 to 1,000,000 years ago.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.235.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.102.

⁴⁷ M.H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh* (Jamshoro: Institution of Sindhology, University of Sindh, 1983), pp.1-6.

Lower Paleolithic (older stone age), 600,000-100,000 B.C; Middle old Stone age (Middle Paleolithic), 100,000- 40000 BC; Upper old stone age (Upper Paleolithic) 40,000 – 10,000 BC and also sea level changes from 100,000 years B.C to date are to be mentioned.⁴⁸

A neolithic period in Sindh 7000 B.C to 3500 B.C;⁴⁹ Chalcolithic period in Sindh 3500 B.C to 3000 B.C;⁵⁰ early Indus culture or early Chalcolithic culture 3000-2350 B.C;⁵¹ the Harappan or matures Indus culture 2350-1750 B.C;⁵² declining Indus culture or fall of Indus culture 1750-1000 B.C;⁵³ proto-historical period 1300-519 B.C;⁵⁴ coming of the Rig-Vedic Aryans 1050-850 B.C.⁵⁵

He has arranged Acheaminans rule in Sindh 519-400BC in chronological order.⁵⁶ Greek conquest of Sindh and rest of modern Pakistan by Alexander, 329-324 B.C.⁵⁷ Mauriyans and introduction to 'Buddhism in Sindh', 324-187 B.C.⁵⁸ Bactrian Greeks and cultural exchange conquest of Demetrius-I, his son Agathocles, his son in law Menandar, his death and the rule of his wife Agathocles, establishment of Indo-Sathia from 187-90 BC.⁵⁹ Scythian or Saka rule of Sindh, 80 BC to 46 A.D.⁶⁰ Parthians rule of Sindh, 46-78 AD.⁶¹ Kushan rule and development of Buddhist architecture, 65-283 A.D.⁶² Sassanid's and rise of local dynasties, 283-499 AD.⁶³ Rai Dynasty and apogee of Buddhist power in Sindh from 499-641 AD.⁶⁴ Umayyad dynasty and Arab raids in Sindh from 669-711 AD.⁶⁵ Arab conquest of Sindh from 711-714.⁶⁶ Arab

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.6-17.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-22.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.22-28.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.28-35.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.35-50.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.50-58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.58-61.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.61-68.

⁵⁶ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation in Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.107.

⁵⁷ M.H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, pp.76-84.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.84-90.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.90-95.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.95-99.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.99-102.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.102-108.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp.108-14.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.114-23.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.123-27.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.127-36.

rule and Sindh under Umayyad, 715-749.⁶⁷ Abbasids governors of Sindh, 749-854 AD.⁶⁸ Decline of Arab power in Sindh, 835-854 AD.⁶⁹ Habari Dynasty of Sindh, 854- 1010 AD.⁷⁰ Beginning of Soomra rise to power, 1010-1026.⁷¹ Soomra Dynasty from 1026-1351.⁷² Beginning of Sammas rise to power, 1333-1351.⁷³ Muhammad Tughluq's expedition to Sindh and death, from 1347-1351 AD.⁷⁴ Fall of Soomras and Samma Delhi conflict from 1851-1368 AD.⁷⁵ Sindh submits to Delhi from 1368-1388 AD.⁷⁶ Sammas regain independence, 1388-1524 AD.⁷⁷ Samma feuds and their fall, 1512-1525 AD.⁷⁸ Samma struggle to regain Sindh from 1522-1536 AD.⁷⁹ Kalhora rulers of Sindh, 1701-1783 AD.⁸⁰ Talpur rulers of Sindh, 178-1843 AD.⁸¹

Courses of Indus River: M. H. Panhwar has given much importance to the Indus River. He says, the country like Sindh remains always at the mercy of River Indus. Whenever it changed its course, it brought changes in the history of Sindh by geographical, economic, social and cultural perspectives. He has given the historical record of changing courses of River Indus like:

Indus during Alexander's time (327BC) crossed northwest of Sukkur, north of Shikarpur and down south to Ruk. Then it reached to Patiala but not much to the east of Shahdadpur. Where started the delta. Here it divided into two branches, one directly ended in the sea and second again divided into two branches at Tando Muhammad Khan, first going to down south then west to the sea.⁸²

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.136-44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.144-59.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.159-77.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.177-84.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.184-207.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.207-18.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp.218-91.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.291-99.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.299-311.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.311-26.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.3326-36.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.336-68.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.3368-37.

⁸⁰ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation in Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.20.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.21.

⁸² M.H. Panhwar, *Ground Water in Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions*, Directorate of the Agriculture Hyderabad region, 2nd edition, 1969, p.54.

Indus at the time of Ptolemy (in 150 AD) had two branches: first crossed through northern territories to Manchar and the second was in west of Khairthar mountain.⁸³

In the 7th century the Indus was same as during Ptolemy's visit at upper sides and in 632, it crossed delta (17miles east of present course), then it divided into two branches, southeast and east branch. The first one circulated to Debal and the location of western Nara is unknown.⁸⁴

Indus at the time of Arab conquest was a few miles from west of Mirpur Mathilo and its common course was 17 miles east of Kandiaro, western branch passed from Mathelo, Alore and Sehwan to Sakkrand. Another eastern branch passed through Matli and Debal.⁸⁵

In the 9th and 10 century it circulated from northwest of Sukkur and then divided at Mansura. This channel crossed Moro, reached Sehwan, and joined the main stream near Mansura. The southeastern main channel flowed south of Chunarkot into Hakra and it was known as separate river passing into the sea through the Core Creek.⁸⁶

In the 11th and 12th century the conditions of the River Indus were same as in the past. Al-Beruni states, Punjab's water joined Indus at Punjnaud and west ward the city of Alore was located between two branches of River Indus.⁸⁷ There were great changes in the courses of Indus in the 13th century. It crossed through the Sukkur gorge. There were hydrological changes which deprived water to eastern Nara and the western Puran became barren. When Ibne-Batuta visited Sindh in 1333, he saw Indus River as divided into two parts western and eastern, the western branch had more water than the eastern branch.⁸⁸

Indus in the 14th century made its course in the north of Makli, Kalri was its mainstream and its secondary stream was Lahri Bandar. Sammas took over powers by Soomras and the main reason behind it was change in the course of Indus westward. Its central area, followed near Hyderabad and Matli.⁸⁹

In the 16th century the Indus passed through Bakhar gorge, but after its journey of 10 miles to the south it turned east wards from Sakkrand and on the way it crossed Laki, Amri, Shan and Manjhand. Halla and Nasurpur on the east and Hyderabad on the west. At Tando

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.55.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.56.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.58.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.62.

Muhammad Khan it divided into two branches, the main branch going westwards and the other known as Ren. Indus again divided into two parts near Thatta as Kalri and Begari, Kalri being a main branch flowed into Kori Creek from the west, Begari flowed from Pir Patho hills and Sakro, from when it discharged into sea. From 1700-1750 A.D a change took place when Sattah and Shah Bander branches were formed from Begari stream.⁹⁰

River Indus (1758 AD) due to hydrological changes and flooding, changed its course near from Hala and started flowing west of Hala in 1857. By this change, Sindh suffered economically, financially and politically.⁹¹

In the 19th century Kalri branch of river divided in 1779 and Bagari was also converted into a canal in 1888. Eastern Nara (Hakkra) was converted into perennial canal in 1859. Indus flowed near Larkana in 1860 but in 1902 there occurred a little change in it. Ghar an old branch of River Indus lost its importance after the construction of Sukkur Barrage in 1932.

British period was a golden period in the history of Sindh: British rulers were more benevolent as there was no prejudice passed on religion, race and authority for them. They proved themselves good rulers by introducing a new administrative system in Sindh. They gave modern revenue system, railway line, irrigation system, postal service, police department, etc. They promoted Sindhi language and literature and the present Sindhi alphabet is the best example of the services which they rendered. The construction of the Sukkur barrage in 1932, brought prosperity in Sindh because millions of acres of uncultivable land came under cultivation.⁹²

Once whole of the Sindh was under the sea: M.H. Panhwar is the only historian of the Sindh who claims that there was the time, when the whole of Sindh was under the sea and the sea level gradually reduced. The sea level rise in relation to present level in meters has been as under:

- 5,000 years back 3 meters
- 10,000 years back 37 meters
- 20,000 years back over 120 meters
- 30,000 years back 30 meters
- 40,000 years back 90 meters

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.64.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.66.

50,000 years back over 130 meters
 60,000 years back 90 meters
 70,000 years back 52 meters
 80,000 years back 30 meters
 90,000 years back 15 meters
 100,000 years back 0 meters⁹³

Weaknesses of M.H. Panhwar's historical work

There is no doubt in it that Mr. Panhwar was a genius, but still he was a human being. He has also made a few mistakes while compiling books or writing research papers. Weaknesses are given bellow.

Lack of modern research techniques: M.H. Panhwar was a scientist, he used scientific methods while writing history. He used proper methods of reference and footnotes in his book *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh* and only research paper 'the development in the study of history and archeology of Sindh' which has reference and footnotes. On the other hand, in his remaining books, references are incomplete.

Repetitions: M.H. Panhwar's book *Ground Water in Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions* is the foundation stone of his other works. His other works are linked to this book. All the research papers that he published are parts of his books — *Ground Water in Hyderabad and Khairpur Divisions*, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh* and *Six Thousand Year History of Irrigation of Sindh*, including few of additional information. Examples of repetitions in the books are many like:

In his book, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, he states that the capitals of Soomras — Mansora, Thatri, Muhammad Tur and Thatta — were changed due to change in the course of River Indus (p.93). Same thing he repeats on pages 119 and 123. In the same book, he mentioned about climatic optimum (900-1225 AD), on page 121. Same things are repeated on page 129 and 131. The same book has given a chapter on Ibne Batuta (pages 81-85). It mentions his observations of Sindh. In another chapter 'Human Food during the Soomra era', he mentioned that Ibne Batuta saw people eating meat, vegetable and special dishes which were presented to him. (pages 41-43). Again he has given an account of export items from Sindh on page 147, same thing he repeats on page 149. He mentions about Satti performance

⁹³ M.H. Pahwar, 'Methodology of Research into History of Sindh', *Sindhological Studies* (Winter 1980), Jamshoro Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, p.44.

on page 159 which he repeats on page 181. He claimed on page 115 of the same book that South Asian languages are not the daughter of Sanskrit, but belong to an Indo-European group of languages. Same thing is repeated on page 219.

While repeating same points he misses some essential points as well: In chapter 20 of *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, he has given a series of names of Rai dynasty rulers but he has not given the years of their rule (p.141). He has also not touched upon the Banu Qandha rule of Sindh.

*Controversial points:*⁹⁴ The historical work of M.H. Panhwar differs from the work of other scholars of Sindh such as he has given a list of Rai dynasty rulers as five,⁹⁵ while Moulai Sheedai has given a list of four rulers.⁹⁶ He has given a list of Bahamian rulers as seven,⁹⁷ while Moulai Sheedai has given a list of six Bahamian dynasty rulers.⁹⁸ He has given list of Ummayyad governors as twelve.⁹⁹ Moulai Sheedai has given a list of seven Ummayyad governors of Sindh.¹⁰⁰ And Mumtaz Hussain Pathan has given a list of 10 Umayyad governors who ruled 712-750 AD.¹⁰¹ He has given the list of 28 Abbasid governors.¹⁰² Sheedai has given a list of 21 Abbasid governors of Sindh.¹⁰³ Dr. Mumtaz Pathan has given has given a list of Abbasid governors in which he has mentioned 42 governors of Abbasids who ruled 750-855.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁴ M.H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, pp.76-84.

⁹⁵ Moulai Sheedai, *Raheemdad Khan, Janat ul Sindh* (Karachi: Sindhica Academy, 2000), p.153.

⁹⁶ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.141.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.145.

⁹⁸ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.180.

⁹⁹ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.149.

¹⁰⁰ Moulai Sheedai, p.116.

¹⁰¹ Mumtaz Hussain Pathan, *Sindh Arab Period* (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1987), p.467.

¹⁰² M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.155.

¹⁰³ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.125.

¹⁰⁴ Mumtaz Hussain Pathan, *Sindh Arab Period*, *op.cit.*, p.467.

He has given list of 7 Habbarid rulers.¹⁰⁵ Moulai Sheedai has given a list of 2 Habbari rulers of Sindh.¹⁰⁶ He has given a list of 25 Soomra rulers.¹⁰⁷ According to *Muntakhibil Tawarikh* there were 20 rulers of Soomra dynasty and according to *Chachnama* (English), there were 19 rulers of Soomra dynasty of Sindh.¹⁰⁸ He has given a list of 21 Samma rulers.¹⁰⁹ According to Sheedai there were 18 rulers of Samma dynasty of Sindh.¹¹⁰ He has given a list of 14 Kalhora rules.¹¹¹ Moulai Sheedai states that there were 20 rulers of the Kalhora dynasty in Sindh.¹¹²

During 1026 and 1027 Mahmud Ghazni sacked Mansura and burnt it, while its ruler Khafif Soomro ran away in a jungle. When Ghazni was going to Multan from Sindh, the Jats of upper Sindh attacked him and killed a large amount of his troops. For revenge of that attack, Mahmud once again returned to Sindh in 1027 AD, but he had to face many troubles. He was anti-Fatimid so for that he attacked Sindh. Sindh, Tabrsistan, Tarmis Kakran and Delhi were not annexed, but were made to pay tribute, and after Mahmud's death Sindh stopped paying tribute.¹¹³ While Moulai Sheedai states that when Mahmood Ghazni attacked on Mansura, its ruler was an Arab who belonged to Carmathian Shia sect.¹¹⁴ After the conquest of Sindh, he appointed governors to rule Sindh. Sindh remained under Ghazni Empire till 1186 AD.¹¹⁵

According to Panhwar Shahabudin Ghuri neither conquered Sindh nor appointed any governor of Sindh.¹¹⁶ While Moulai Sheedai

¹⁰⁵ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.159.

¹⁰⁶ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.132.

¹⁰⁷ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.165.

¹⁰⁸ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.167.

¹⁰⁹ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Years of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.181.

¹¹⁰ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.209.

¹¹¹ M.H. Panhwar, *Six Thousand Tears of History of Irrigation of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.207.

¹¹² Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.383.

¹¹³ M.H. Panhwar, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.50.

¹¹⁴ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.196.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.206.

¹¹⁶ M.H. Panhwar, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Soomra Kingdom of Sindh*, *op.cit.*, p.61.

states that Mahmood Ghori also occupied Sindh and appointed Ali Karmakh as *Aamil* on Sindh.¹¹⁷

Closeness in Sindh Kutch relations were dented by environmental and geographical changes. The greek of Kutch was desiccated by 1226 when the Indus turned more to the west, resultantly only sea-born communications were administered.¹¹⁸ Hakra had dried up before the Persian and Greek's attacks.¹¹⁹

The ancient name of Khudaabad was Shikarpur. It was the capital city of Panhwar. Miyan Yar Muhammad Kalhora conquered Shikarpur after his succession to allow him to act as an agent of imperial Mughal government.¹²⁰ He states that Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro constructed new city, Khudaabad at the distance of seven miles from Sehwan that remained as capital from 1701 – 1728 AD.¹²¹

River Indus changed its course in 700 A.D destroying about 25 per cent area under canals and great parts of Sindh and its population. The deteriorating economy and political stability invited Arabs who had been trying hard but now succeeded in conquering Sindh in 712 A.D. After Ummayyads, Abbasids came into power, but could not turn Sindh's fate by resolving water canal issue, causing local uprisings. Soon because of local rebellion between local Arab- Sindhi settlers and *zamindars*, Habaris established themselves.¹²² Dr. Mumtaz Pathan states that Arabs paid attention towards the irrigation system and improved the system. Agriculture progressed due to the digging of wells and spreading a network of canals. Every inch of the land was cultivated and the whole of the valley was covered with green fields, gardens and lands. Progress in agriculture made Sindh as most fertile region in the Islamic world.

Conclusion

M.H. Panhwar was himself a scientist and applied scientific methods in history writing. He had a vision to analyse things in their correct

¹¹⁷ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.222.

¹¹⁸ M.H. Panhwar, *Sindh Kutch Relations* (Karachi: Archives Department, Government of Sindh, 1980), p.16.

¹¹⁹ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.216.

¹²⁰ M.H. Panhwar, 'History of Khudabad City', *Khudabad the First Kalhora Capital*, ed., Nazeer Ahmad Bhand (Karachi: SGA, 2004), p.7.

¹²¹ Moulai Sheedai, *op.cit.*, p.383.

¹²² M.H. Panhwar, 'Policing in the Past', *Grass Roots*, 25:2-3 (2002), Institute of Pakistan Studies, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, p.8.

historical perspective and in this context archaeology assisted him with its support of scientific truth. Writing history with data acquired through carbon testing has been a new phenomenon in Sindh, which was used by M.H. Panhwar made.

Almost all the maps he created from his vast first-hand knowledge of the region and its history; this kind of resource is not available anywhere else in the literature on Sindh and South Asia. Many historians and scholars like Mir Ali Sheer Kanui Thatwi, Mir Masoum Bakhri, Pir Hisammudin Rashdi, Alama Magdom Alhashmi, Moulvi Muhammad Sheeda, Raheemdad Khan Maoulai Sheedai, etc., rendered services for the history of Sindh but the historical work of M.H Panhwar is of great importance because while writing history of Sindh following fields have been tapped by him: archaeology; historical documents; travelers historical and geographical accounts; anthropology; epigraphy; numismatics; coins and currency; geography; geology; climate; ecology; folklore; irrigation; livestock; fisheries; art; cities; towns; settlements; housing; roads; communication; architecture; education; science and technology; local and international trade; export and import economy; taxation; religion and mysticism; role of Indus River in the economy and changing courses of the Indus; migrations; languages; literature; division of labor; empires in India and Central Asia and other international forces; relations with neighboring states; social life; castes and tribes etc.