

*Antiquity of Karachi**

Dr N.A. Baloch

The modern history of Karachi is writ large in a number of contemporary sources inclusive of chronicles, reports, gazetteers, newspapers, periodicals and official records. The quick phenomenal growth of the city created an abiding interest in the history of its development. From Alexander Baille's work *Kurrachee; Past, Present and Future*, published in 1890, to say Abu Sahmim M. Ariff's recent article 'Preserving Karachi's Architectural Heritage' appearing in the *Daily Dawn Magazine* of April 2, 1993, the developmental history of Karachi has continuously been delineated in its different aspects. A more scholarly work focussing on Karachi's development during the nineteenth century is Azimushan Haider's *History of Karachi, with special reference to Educational, Demographical and Commercial Developments from 1839 to 1900 A.D.*¹

As one attempts to probe into the long past of Karachi, the questions such as the following arise: when was it that Karachi was a small village and who settled it first? When did this village become more sizeable one? When did it grow into a township? and, when did this township develop into a city?

The last question stands settled in so far as the town of Karachi developed into a city during the British rule (1843-1947) beginning from the turn of the nineteenth century. What is important to note is that before its occupation by the British in 1839, Karachi had already developed into a fast growing township of great importance during the rule of the Talpūr

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Amirs of Sindh (1783-1843). The first Talpur Amir, Mir Fath 'Alī Khān, who came to power in 1782 and was a great ruler, perceiving the strategic and commercial importance of Karachi, which was then under the Khan of Qalat, sent a strong force under Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan Laghari and occupied it in 1795. The same year Mir Fath 'Alī Khan built a fort on the island of Manhora to guard entrance to the Karachi harbour which was intended to develop as port area for sea trade. It was the first strategic step towards developing Karachi into a safe seaport which, in turn, lent momentum to its development into a township. In August 1799, the English were allowed to establish a factory there but the shrewd Mir did not take long to see through the design of the English agent and ordered the factory to be closed. The process of development initiated by Mir Fath Ali Khan was continued by his successors, so that Karachi soon became a busy port and the township grew in size spreading beyond the old walled town. External evidence in this regard may be noted.

(a) The population of the town was increasing so speedily that the Amirs had to order a periodic census to be taken. Pottinger in *Travels in Baluchistan and Sindh* noted as under:

The houses inside the walls were ascertained, by natural enumeration made in 1813 by order of the Amirs, to amount to three thousand, two hundred and fifty, besides which there were some struggling huts around the fort, which were not included in the calculation. The resident population excluding sojourners, had increased to 13,000 souls, which is more than one half greater than when the Mission was there in 1809.

(b) The town and its suburbs stand marked in the map of Karachi harbour and adjoining areas drawn by Lieutenant Carless in 1839. After his first visit (1830), the suburbs had greatly expanded,

and by the end of the decade there were almost as many houses as the nominally walled town itself. The town had by the time sprawled beyond the fortification walls which had become dilapidated. The walls practically vanished in 1840 so that the original town and the suburbs merged to form one continuous urban unit.

(c) The port of Karachi had become a busy place for exports and imports by 1813 as noted by Pottinger in his *Travels*.

The exports of Sind are chiefly made from Karachi. Those of home produce consist of saltpetre, salt, rice, cotton, tea, oil, oil seed, shark's fins, bark for tanning, alkali, calico and felts. And from the kingdoms and provinces to the northward they bring chiefly for exportation asafetida, saffron, horses, leather, hides, madder, musk, alum, Kashmir shawls, dried fruit, diamonds, lapis-lazuli and turquoises and other precious stones, bedellium, and gums. From Khurasan, Mekran, Persia, Arabia, Sindhians have for their own consumption swords, silk, carpets, dates, rosewater, conserve, tobacco, coffee and Kalians.

(d) The port of Karachi was a busy channel for the overseas trade of Sindh and regions to the north-west. Charles Masson wrote in 1830 that there were a hundred boats belonging to the port, and its Dinghis carried merchandise to and from Bombay, Calicut, Daman, Gwadar and Muscat.

(e) The administration of Karachi was under the overall control of an officer known as *Nawab* who performed the combined functions of a civil and military governor. The *Nawab* held wide powers and his authority was restricted only by an appeal to the *Mirs*. The *Nawab* in 1837 was Ahmad Khan Bhurgri. There were several checkpoints for the collection of duties on the merchandise brought into the town. The taxes on the merchandise were assessed and received from the owners by the officials known as '*Amils*'. The '*Amils*' handed over the daily collection to the treasurer. The '*Amils*' submitted their statement every month to the *Munshis* whose function it was to maintain the accounts.

Obviously, it was under the *Talpurs* that Karachi grew into a busy centre of trade and international commerce with the flourishing seaport and the potential for developing into a city.

Pre-Eighteenth Century Karachi

It may be observed that Karachi was a port of call and a small town even before the rule of the *Talpurs*. Writing in 1181 A.H. (1767 A.D.), historian Mir Ali Sher Qāni' informed that in

the year 1155 A.H. (1742), Nadir Shah's courtier, Muzaffar 'Ali Khan had arrived in Karachi Bandar from where he came to Thatta.² Karachi was also a township as reported by Lt. John Porter two years later in 1744-45.³

Crochey Town is situated about five or six miles from where the vessels lay and about a mile from the side of a creek which has not water enough in it for anything else than small boats. It is surrounded by a light mound on all sides and is fortified by canons so old and their carriage so crazy, as would render firing of them unsafe.

He further added that

Crochey formerly belonged to the Baloches but the prince of Scindy finding it better situated than any part of sea coast for the carvans from the inland countries, made an exchange with some other place for it.

Naomal's related claim in his *Memoirs*⁴ that Karachi was but a small village of fishermen and that it was settled as a trade centre and fortified for the first time by his great grandfather in 1729 A.D., needs further confirmation. His statement is of a subjective nature, as he was attempting to establish the importance of his family in order to impress the British Government whom he had served well against the Talpurs by helping in the occupation of Karachi in 1839.

It may be noted that Naomal's solitary account received credence for want of any further investigation into the historicity of the 'Karachi village', or even of the Karachi region, during the early eighteenth century and prior to it. The paucity of evidence impelled even Azimusshan Haider to conclude that 'there is a complete absence of any definite reference to Karachi in the chronicles or maps of earlier than the eighteenth century'.⁵ As such, when one probes into the past of Karachi beyond the second half of the eighteenth century, one finds oneself probing into the 'historical antiquity' of Karachi.

Political history of the Karachi region has not yet been investigated. There is an important clue in Porter's above account that Karachi formerly belonged to the Baloch people but then the prince of Sindh got it in exchange for another area given to them. Both the Baloches and the Prince are not named,

but he would appear to have been informed of some earlier event and not of the events which were yet to come some three decades later than 1747/48 when Porter wrote. Dr Haider has summed up these events as under:

The History of Karachi until its occupation by the Talpur rulers of Hyderabad in 1795 is disconnected. Karachi was formerly part of the territory of the Khan of Qalat but was occupied by the Kalhora rulers of Sind about 1729. In 1785 Karachi was ceded to the Khan of Qalat as compensation for the death of Zarak Khan, brother-in-law of the Qalat ruler Nasir Khan, who was killed in an engagement with the Sindhian army. But according to *Frerenama*, Karachi was under Qalat earlier also in 1774. This indicates that Karachi had passed under Sind between 1774 and 1775. It is apparent that Karachi changed hands between the rulers of Qalat and Sind more than once between 1729 and 1795.⁶

Sindh as well as Qalat assumed sovereignty on eclipse of the Mughul power in the eighteenth century. Prior to that, for a long period of about three centuries, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, there existed the principalities of the coastal regions both in Sindh as well as in Balochistan. These principalities were autonomous, and often times independent of the inland sovereign states. The following two principalities especially need a mention in this regard.

The Kalmati Malik Principality of Hub-Malir

Following the downfall of the Sultanate of Makran (mid 12th-early 14th century, A.D.)⁷ the succeeding Baloch state of Kalmat (14th to mid-16th century) flourished in the coastal region extending from Pasni southward most probably as far as the Hub river. Its power declined after suffering successive Portuguese attacks in the second half of the sixteenth century. Naval battles were fought and the ruling chief Hamal was taken prisoner. In 1581, the Portuguese, according to Luis de Almeйда, burnt the then 'rich and beautiful city of Pasni'.⁸ Earlier due to continued cordial relations between the State of Kalmat and the Sultanate of Sindh (1350-1520 A.D.), the Baloch communities from the coastal region of Makran, particularly from Kulach/Kulanch, Kappar and Kalmat areas had migrated to Sindh where they became known as Kulachi/Kalachi, Kappari

and Kalmati — the latter also became known as 'Karmati' in the Sindized pronunciation.⁹ Beginning from the fifteenth century, the Kalmatis gained power and prestige and established their supremacy under their *Maliks* (chiefs), first in the coastal region from the Hingol river to the Vindur Valley, and then from there in the Hub-Malir region. Archaeological evidence from their two necropolises, Bālā in Vindur, and Thadhō in Malir, amply prove this contention.

The Ningāmara Rana Principality of Dharaja

In early times, power of the Rānās extended from the Malir river in the west to the Indus in the east. Rana 'Ubaid's rule coincided with the Mughul period. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the Rānās, in friendly compromise with the more powerful Kalmati *Maliks*, confined their rule to the Sakra region with Dharaja (which was developing into a port) as their capital. They lost to the Kalhoras, with the last Rana having been eliminated in the second half of the eighteenth century (*circa* 1756-72).

Reference to these littoral principalities are but scanty both in the central and the provincial histories. And yet, a study of the few references which are available, of the well preserved community tradition in between the Hub and the Malir rivers, inclusive of the district where Karachi stood, remained under the control of the confederacy of the Kalmati clans under their own *Maliks*, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century A.D.

In the fifteenth century, particularly during the reign of Jam Nizamu'ddin (866-914/1461-1508/9) of Thatta, the Kalmatis who had settled in the south-west of Sindh, constituted, along with other Baloch stocks, the military might of the Sultanate of Sindh. With their allegiance to the house of Jam Nizamu'ddin, they had remained the undisputed masters of the Malir-Hub region. Therefore, when the Arghuns conquered Sindh and established their power (1521-1555 A.D.), the Kalmatis and other Baloch stocks continued to resist and fight back. In 944/1537, Kalmatis rose in revolt in southern Sindh, with Jato'is in the north, against Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun.¹⁰ They also

continued their resistance against the Tarkhans (1555-1591 A.D.) who had taken over from the Arghuns. Under the ruthless Tarkhan onslaughts, which however could not disposses them to their Hub-Malir territory, one of their leaders, Murid successfully contrived the elimination of the haughty ruler of Thatta, Mirza Muhammad Salih, in 970/1563.¹¹ This stopped the Tarkhans from invading the Kalmati territory.

By the end of sixteenth century, the Kalmati Maliks of Malir had extended their power to the Sakra region, and would seem to have befriended Khan-i-Khanan when the latter visited the Lahiri port in 1591 A.D. During the Mughul period, the Kalmati Maliks received due recognition and there is no report of any conflict with them by the *Subedars* of Thatta, so much so that during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb they were entrusted with important state responsibility outside their own region. Emperor Aurangzeb in 1691 (14 Rajab 1103 A.H.), granted to the Kalmati Maliks, Bijar and Babar, *jagir* and *in'am* in the Sakra district.

We may now advert to the few but important references to the antiquity of Karachi in navigational literature. First, to quote Azimussan Haider who has struggled valiantly to untie the knot of Baillie's quotation from a navigational work by the name of *Mohit*:

In connection with the antiquity of Karachi, Alexander Baillie mentions an Arabic treatise on navigation in the Indian seas, entitled *Mohit* (lit., circumference) written in 1558 by Baron Joseph Von Hammer. The treatise advises the mariners sailing between Diu (a port south of Kathiawar) and Hormuz (in the Persian Gulf) on what to do in the case of impending danger of being trapped in a whirlpool. It says that they should endeavour to reach, from the coast of Makran, either the port of Kalmata, or Kawader, or should try to go to Kaurashi. 'Kaurashi' bears a phonetic affinity with 'Karachi', considering that Arabic has no 'ch' sound. Thomas Roe's map drawn in the mid-sixteenth century, that is a century after the date of *Mohit*, shows a place named Rio de Calamit very close to the Karachi coast. This might be Kalmata of *Mohit*. Thomas Roe's map also shows 'Goadell' at the site of the present Gwader, and it should be same 'Kawader' of *Mohit* as there is no 'G' sound in Arabic. But Roe's map

does not mention any place having phenotic resemblance to Kaurashi (or Karachi).¹²

Muhit, the last of the important works on navigation, by the Muslim navigator, was authored by the Turkish captain, Seydi Ali Reïs, in 1553/54, when he was in Ahmadabad (Gujarat, India).¹³ In *Muhit*, he follows the 'Umdah of Sulayman al-Mahri, his plan being 'to translate the 'Umdah and add to that whatever else was known from the other work which he thought to be necessary.' We may therefore, turn directly to 'Umdah of al-Mahri.

Al-Mahri, Sulaman b. Ahmad b. Sulayman, the most illustrious pupil of the celebrated navigator-scientist, Ibn Mājid (died some time after 1500 A.D.), wrote his 'Umdah in 1511 A.D.¹⁴ In this work, he mentions 'Rās al-Karāzī' and then 'Ras Karāshī, one after another, while recounting the possible ports of call from Pasni to 'Alsind'.¹⁵ He gives the formula how to navigate directly from Pasni to 'Ras Karāshī'. On reaching 'Ras Karāshī', he advises: 'There you cast your anchor, and the *doongis* and the fishermen (in their boats) will come to you'. He also gives the navigational formula of the *qudamā'* (lit. 'ancients', but probably meaning the great navigators of the previous era, such as Ibn Mājid) how to circumnavigate 'Rās Karāshī'. His own advice, however, is that 'it is better to halt at Rās Karāshī'.¹⁶

Tibbetts in his work on Arab Navigation published in 1971 has commented on these references in 'Umdah as under:

Karachi was the important rendezvous of the Arab navigators in Sindh. It was written *Karashi* (کراشی) and was, according to Sulayman, a cape of the bay of *Diul al-Sindh* (دیول السند). Apart from this sentence, no exact relationship between the two places is given. Sometimes *Karashi* is mentioned and sometimes *Diul al-Sind* but never together. Ibn Mājid in the *Fawa'id* never refers to either but only to *Sind* (السند). Portuguese and early European maps and charts never refer to Karachi but only to Diulsinde, Diulcinde, etc. The position given by them to the place would seem to indicate that this was the same as Karachi. Perhaps 'Diul al-Sind'

was the bay which was in actual fact an estuary of the Indus delta, and Karachi the town on the estuary — nothing is certain.¹⁷

Despite what Tibbetts has surmised, the following comments may be offered and inferences drawn from Mahri's observations:

- (a) By 1511 A.D. (when Mahri wrote), there was direct sea link between Pasni, which was then the main port of the Kalamat State, and 'Ras Karāshi' which was on the frontier of Sind.
- (b) 'Ras Karāshi' is mentioned next to 'Ras Karāzi', these being the two twin halting places on the international navigational route.
- (c) 'Ras Karāshi' was at some distance from the coastline where the ships sailing along the international route anchored and the *doongis* and small country craft then came there for transactions. This confirms that the 'Ras Karāshi' anchorage served the purpose of a port and that it was the first anchorage or the entry point to the coastline of Sind. It is after 'Ras Karāshi' that Mahri mentions 'Alsind' as the next port of call.¹⁸
- (d) That 'Ras Karāshi' was also known earlier to the great navigators who would often navigate the high sea, bypassing 'Ras Karāshi'. This would mean that 'Ras Karāshi' was an anchorage even before, in the fifteenth century A.D. or earlier. Probably 'Karāzi' was just another name of it which was used earlier by Ibn Mājid in his *Fāwā'id*. By way of clarification, Ibn Mājid had observed that a marginal error in the calculations of navigators was no error, but in certain cases it could be hazardous, such as sailing from FRTK (Fartak?) to Edin, or from 'al-Karazi' to 'Alsind'.¹⁹ Thus, 'al-Karazi' and 'Alsind' of Ibn Mājid stand equated with 'Ras al-Karazi/Ras Karāshi' and 'Alsind' of Mahri who was elaborating upon the work of Ibn Majid.²⁰

We may now take up the literary evidence which comes from a lexicographical work of great importance in view of the towering personality of its author who wrote not on the basis of hearsay but from his inmate personal knowledge. He was al-Saghānī, al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan, who flourished in the 7th/13th century (577-650/1181-1252). Though probably settled at Lahore, he visited Baghdad twice, in 617/1220 and

624/1227. On both these occasions, on his way back he acted as the emissary of the contemporary Abbasid Caliphs, al-Nasir Bi'llah (1180-1225) and al-Mustansar Bi'llah (1226-1242) respectively, to the Sultans of Delhi. During these journeys, he not only happened to pass through Yaman four times, he also stayed there, mainly in Adan, for three years (610-13/1213-16). The direction of his journeys would indicate that most probably he travelled by sea to Yaman from the coastline of Sindh. His sojourns in Sindh are also on record and he himself confirms that he stayed in Sindh for 'some years'.²¹ Internal evidence from his lexicographical works shows that he conducted inquiries into the use of some Sindhi words in Arabic in their Arabicised form,²² besides teaching, in Sindh, his book on the *Hadith*, entitled *Mashāriq al-Anwār*,²³ which he had authored in 624/1227 for the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansar Bi'llah.

It is because of his intimate personal knowledge of Sindh and his sea journeys, most probably from the ports of Sindh to Yaman, that his following statement in *Al-'Ubab* wherein he mentions the deltaic channels of the Indus, — one of them being 'Qarachi', is of special significance. Referring to an earlier statement that 'Saihūn is also a river in India', Saghānī says:

By them, this river is called 'Sind'. It is a very large river with its source in the mountains adjacent to the mountains of Kashmir. A number of rivers join it, and the volume of their combined waters flows past Mansurah and Daibul, and falls into the Indian ocean beyond Daibul through three different estuaries (akhwār). These are 'Afān (عَفَان), Qarāchi (قَرَاچِي), and Bhi/Bihi (بِيهِي).²⁴

Saghani undertook to compile *Al-'Ubab* during the last years of his life after having completed his *Al-Takmilah* in 635/1237; but he left it unfinished (at the word 'بِئْر') before he died in 650/1252. So he recorded the above description of the Indus during the last 15 years of his life, from 635/1237 to 650/1252. But his clear and concise statement is not easy to understand now, after a lapse of about eight centuries, when the Indus deltaic configuration and conditions have changed. I have ventured to interpret Saghani's statement as under:

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His 'Afān' (=Awān) was probably Waan, a name that has survived in the deltaic estuaries; his 'Bhī' may be 'Bhī + ghārr' (*ghārr*, *lit.* 'large channel', i.e. 'the large channel of Bhī'), i.e. Bhagharr/Bagharr which has been an important deltaic channel; and his 'Qarachi', obviously Karachi.

It would seem that Saghānī did not mean that these three channels branched off beyond Daibul, but that they fell into the ocean beyond Daibul. Considering the changes which occurred in the lower Indus deltaic channels through history, these three main channels are likely to have branched off much higher in the north, in the area of the present Nawabshah-Hyderabad-Thatta districts. Of the three, the eastern 'Afān channel was analogous, in its middle section, to a section of the present course of the Indus, but down south it flowed towards Chhan from where its waters fell into the ocean through the present Wān, Kanhir and Saneherri estuaries. The middle Bhī channels later developed into the Bhaghar channel, and the Baghar estuary is clearly marked to this day. The Western 'Qarachi' channel was probably identical with the Gharo channel which divided (at about Port Qasim) into three estuaries of Khuddī (Karachi) and hence was known by that name. (See Map).

This explanation of Saghānī's statement may provide a working hypothesis for further investigation. But what is important is Saghānī's description of the Indus is the name of the channel/estuary as 'Qarachi' as early as the second half of the 7th/13th century.

The Place Name and Antiquity

We may now consider the different forms of the place name and their chronology. From what has been said so far, we get the name forms as under :-

- Karachi** Since 18th century A.D. till today (this also being the more standardized form of the name in the British Government Official records).
- Kurrachee** 1890 A.D., in Alexander Baillie's account; 1838, in T.G. Carless Memoik on the Bay, Harbour, and Trade of Kurrancee'; and in Capt. Hart's 'Report on the Town and Port of Kurrachee.'
- Crochey** 1744-45 A.D. in Lt. John Porter's account.
- Kaurashi** 1553/54 A.D. in *Muhīt*, of Seydi 'Alī Reī's.
- Rās Karāshi** 1511 A.D., in '*Umdah* of Mahrī.
- Ras al-Karāzī** 1511 A.D., in '*Umdah* of Mahri.
- Al-Karāzī** Before 1500 A.D., in *Fawā'id* of Ibn Mājīd.

But these are not the only forms on record of the name of Karachi. The more popular, and the more accepted as being the original name, is 'Kalāchī' (کلاچی), or 'Kālāchī' (کالچی). It has been in vogue for centuries because it had figured in the time-honoured legend of 'Morirro and Mangar Machh'. According to this legend, it was at 'Kalāchi-jo-Kun' ('the whirlpool of Kalāchi') that a ferocious whale (Mangar Machh) had swallowed up the six brave brothers who were the most daring fishermen of their day. Eventually, their youngest brother Morirro avenged them by killing the whale.²⁵ The lore puts the event in the reign of King Dalūrā who might be conjectured to be one the first Sūmara rulers of Sindh in the 5th/12th century. This legend (with the killer-whale sitting in the deep sea being similar to the *nafs ammārah* in man) has been used by way of similitude in the classical Sindhi *Sūfī* poetry of Shāh 'Abdu'l Latīf (1689-1752) A.D., Shah Abdu'l Karim (1537-1634 A.D.) and Qādī Qādan (d.958/1551). In the legend and in the verses of these great poets, the place name figures as under:

- Kalāch Before 1504 A.D., in the Verse recited at Lahore by the Sindhī Zākirs (*qawwals*) in the Samā performance before Saint, Shaykh 'Abdu'l Jalīl Chūhar Bandagi (d. 910/1504).²⁶
- Kun of Kalāchi Circa 1560-1634 A.D., in Shāh 'Abdu'l Karīm's verses.²⁷
- Kalachi/ Kun-Kalāchi Circa 1720-52 A.D., in *Shāh-jo-Risālō* under 'Sur Ghatu'.

Who Settled the Original Village?

Two general notions have prevailed so far, namely (a) it was a fisherman's village; and (b) it was a Baloch village.

The notion that it might have originated as a fishermen's village is not indigenous to the fishermen's own tradition; on the contrary, it was so considered because of the popularity of the 'Legend of Morirro and the Whale'. The good folk later actualized the motifs of the legend by naming a group of graves as those of 'the six brothers and one sister' and one other single grave as that of 'Morirro'. The former stand in the midst of the road from Khaddo to Maripur (near the 'Wazir Mansion' station of Circular Railway), and the latter further ahead on a hillock. However, according to the time-honoured version of the legend, Morirro and his brothers belonged to Sone Miyani (*miyani*, 'the place of fishermen and their fish catch') and not to 'Kalāchi'.²⁸ As a custom, the fishing communities in Sindh have always lived at *miyan*, /*miyani* ('the fishing place') at some distance from the nearby village. So, in the case of this also, it was located at a distance from the village of 'Kalachi'. The fishermen (often referred to as 'Mohanas' in the early reports) lived separately at *Miyani*, away from the settled village both before and after it became a walled settlement. Naomal who wrote of 'Kalachi' as it was in his grandfather's time in 1729, would seem to have got mixed up when he stated that it was but a 'fishing

village' which was 'then known as *Kalāchī-jō-Goth* ('the village of Kalachi'), *Kalāchī* being the name of tribe of fishermen'. This shows an obvious lapse in Naomal's memory, because no tribe of fishermen by the name of 'Kalāchī' has ever existed. Albeit in later times, the fishermen who had first lived nearer to 'Karachi' but then shifted elsewhere called themselves as 'Karachia' (of Karachi).

We may now proceed to examine the Baloch origin of the name of Karachi. Preponderance of the Baloch population in the coastal Karachi region has been extensive and goes back to early times. Their migration and settlement in the region took place due to close communication and commercial activity in the common coastal belt connecting Pasnī, Kalmat and Karachi. In particular, migrations from *Kulāch/Kulānch*, Kappar and Kalmat zones commenced by the turn of the thirteenth century A.D. With the rise of the Kalmat state, and in due course, the members of the ruling house of Kalmat established there the Hub-Malir Principality including the coastal belt of Karachi. Besides sporadic references to Kalmatis in works of history, an overwhelming evidence of the early Kalmati presence in the Hub-Malir region is proven beyond doubt by the existence of their inscribed tomb-stones in the region.

It was noted by Lt. John Porter in 1744/45 A.D. that Karachi 'formerly belonged to the Baloches' but the ruler of Sindh had taken it giving them some other area in exchange for it. The ruler can be no other than *Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhōra* to whom the 'Thatta Sarkar' (Southern Sind) was leased out by the Mughul ruler of Delhi in 1150/1737. *Miyān Nūr Muhammad* initiated an aggressive policy of vanquishing the hitherto internally independent chiefs of the entire Sindh coastal region. Karachi was taken from the Kalmati Maliks, who were still powerful enough to maintain their autonomy, by some sort of negotiations as can be gleaned from Porter's account.

The continued presence and power of the Baloch people in the Hub-Malir region lends validity to the Baloch tradition that the 'village of *Kalāchī*' was first settled by them. Naomal in

his account of the origin of Karachi which he got from his ancestors, states that in 1729 A.D., the original village of Karachi 'was known as *Kalāchī-jo-Gōth*', that is 'village of the Kalachi people'. However, Naomal was mistaken in his explanation that 'Kalachi' was the name of a tribe of fishermen. For no ethnic 'Kalachi tribe' of fishermen has ever been known to exist. On the other hand, the Baloch ethnic name in its different variations as *Kalāchī/Kulāchī/Kolāchī* has been well known both in Baloch genealogy and history. The Baloch communities which migrated from the regions of Kalamat and Kulāch (to the west of Kalamat) to the Indus valley, both in Sindh in the south, as well as to the Punjab/NWFP in the north, became known as '*Kulāchī*' and '*Kalmātī*', with reference to their places of origin. *Kalāchī/Kulāchī* communities settled in Sindh in early times so that they lost their original mother tongue (Balochi) and adopted Sindhi as their new mother tongue. Their initial settlements were in the Hub-Malir region, their settlement of 'village of Kalachi' being the earliest one going back to the thirteenth century or earlier. From there they spread into the interior of Sindh where they are located to this day. About a hundred years later, in the 14th century, yet another bulk of the Kulachi stock reached Punjab, gained power and prestige under their chief Doda Khan, and established their own principalities. They ruled over the principality of Dera Ismail Khan for about two centuries. The Kulachi Division/Tehsil of the Dera Ismail Khan district is still known after their name.

Karāshī and *Qurāchī* figuring in the accounts of Mahri and Saghānī, represent the Sindhiized pronunciation of the original 'Kalachi' — the phonem 'l' changing into 'r', a common characteristic of the Sindhi speech. 'Karashi' and 'Qarachi' may possibly represent a changed form of 'Karāzi'. Now, as '*Kalāchī*' is of Baloch origin, so was '*Karāzi*' being the name of a Baloch community belonging to the main stock of the Kalmatis. '*Karāzi*' of Ibn Majid or '*Rā's al-Karāzi*' of Mahrī got its name after the *Karāzi* community. A partial yet vital support to this view comes

from the yet unexplored epigraphical record of the tomb-stones in Balochi graveyards in the vicinity of Karachi. In the Pir Pīrōzah Kalmati Graveyard at Bhavani beyond the Hub-river, at least four tombs of the members of the Karazi clan of the Kalmatis, with the surname *Karazi* inscribed on them, can be seen.

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2. *Cf. Tuhfatu'l Kiram*, (Hyderabad: Sindhi Abadi Board, 1971), p.452.
3. As quoted by Abu Shamim M. Ariff, 'Preserving Karachi's Architectural Heritage', Daily Dawn, magazine, April 2, 1993.
4. A.T. Bhojwani, 'A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History described in the Memoirs of Seth Naomull Hodchand, C.S.T., of Karachi, 1804-1878' ed., by Evan James, (Commissioner in Sindh during 1891-1900), n.d., n.p., p.38.
5. Haider, p.2.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Baloch, N.A., *The Sultanate of Makran, Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, (Jan.-June, 1992).
8. Quoted in the *Gazetteer of Balochistan*, Makran District, 1906, p.274. Hamal's capital was Gazdan where the remnants of his fort can still be seen. The rich fishing resources of the place are referred to in the *Gazetteer*.
9. For details, see Baloch, N.A. *The Baloch People: Their Early Migrations to the Subcontinent*, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, (July-Dec., 1992).
10. Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bhakkari, *Ta'rikh-i-Sindh*, Persian text, ed. U.M. Daudpota (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1938), p.164.

11. The event finds its echo in all the histories of Sindh, for example, see Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari, p.208; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mir Jalal al-Din al-Husayni al-Shirazi, *Tarkhan Namah*, Persian text (Hyderabad Sindh: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1965), pp.47-48 and the extract translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, Vol. I (Lahore, repr.), pp.124-25; Tahir Nisyani, *Tarikh-i-Tahi*, Persian text, (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindi Adabi Board, 1964), p.208 and annotations on page 323; Idraki Beglari, *Beglar Namah* Persian text, (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindi Adabi Board, 1980, p.50; Tuhfatu'l Kiram, *op.cit.*, p.134.
12. Haider p.2.
13. Excerpts, chapters and maps from *Muhit* have been reproduced but the whole work, extract as well as translation have not yet been published. Von Hammer (to whom Baillie has referred) translated from it chapters on Marine astronomy and physical geography which were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in its Vols. III, V, VI, and VII during the years 1934-38.
14. *Al'Umdat al-Mahriya fi Zabt al-'Ulum al-Bahriya*. Arabic text, Damascus, 1390 H./1970 A.D.
15. *Ibid.*, Mahri mentions 'Ras al-Karazi' (راس الكرازی) once on p.290, and 'Ras Karashi' (راس كراشى) thrice (on pp.170 & 290). In the printed edition, its one reading on p.170 as (الكراشى) is obviously a misprint for (كراشى).
16. *Ibid.*, pp.169-70.
17. Tribbetts, G.R. *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London, 1971, p.449.
18. 'Umdah, p.290.
19. Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Majid al-Najidi: *Kitāb al Fawā'id fi Usūl 'Ilm al-Bahr wa al-Qawa'id*, Arabic text, Damascus, 1390/1971, p.60.
20. Ibn Majid Mentions only (الكرازی) (al-Karazi) and (السند) (Alsind), while Mahri gives details and mentions (راس الكرازی، و يول السند، راس كراشى) and (السند) (in this order, vide pp.19, 33, 81, 169-70). He also mentions (خرد سيند) separately (p.38), of Mahri became 'Diulsindi' of European navigators.
21. In his lexicographical work Al-'UBAB', under the word (طوق), the text read (قال الصفايى اقامت بالسندين) Baghani

says: I stayed in Sindh for years). Even if (سنتين) be a corruption for (سنتين), he stayed in Sind for at least two years.

22. Cf. *Ibid.*, under (فوط).
23. In the introduction, he says he has taught this book both in Hind and Sind.
24. Al-'UBAB' under (ميسح):

ديسون الينان نهر الهند - قال الصغاني مولف هذا الكتاب هذا النهر اسمه عند السند وهو نهر عظيم من ربه من جبال متناثرة بجبال قشمية متصل به عدة انهار - وتسمى الانهار على المنصورة والديليل وتفتح من أسفل من الديليل متفرقة في انوار بحر الهند الثلاثة وهي عمان وقراچی وبجی (الجاب الرخر واللباب الفاخر)

25. For details of the Legend, see N.A. Baloch (comp. and ed.), *Sindhi Folklore*, Vol. 36: 'Morirro and Mangar Machh', (Hyderabad: Sindi Adabi Board, 1967).
26. Cf. Shah Karim, Bulrri Warey Jo Kalan, ed., U.M. Daudpota, n.p., 1937, pp.77-78.
27. As recorded by Shaykh Abdu'l Jalil's disciple, Jamuddin Abu Bakr, of Allahabad in his *Tadhkirah-i-Qutbiyyah*, (Lahore: 1371 A.H., p.131), authored during the years 1540-45.
28. Cf. For details see N.A. Baloch, *op.cit.* It may be noted that magar machh in Urdu means a crocodile whereas the words *mangro*, *mangar* or *mangar machh* in Sindhi are used for a Whale.