

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SAT MAMOI
FAKIRS AND MAMAI DEV: SITUATING THEIR
ROLES IN THE MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS OF
SINDH AND WEST INDIA**

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Abstract

This study conducts comparative analysis of two figures Sat Mamoi Fakirs, as portrayed in Sindhi classical literature, and Mamai Dev, a patron guru of the 14th-century Barmati Panth. A number of oral and written sources comprising of the devotional songs of Ginans and Bhajans, Persian and Colonial writers and also the recent researchers reconsidering the value of the past traditions based on the source material of the Sindh and West India. Inspired by Dominique-Sla Khan's two articles besides other publications, *The Coming of Nikalank Avatar: A Messianic Theme in Some Sectarian Traditions of North-Western India*¹ and *Muslim Saints and Hindu Rulers: The Development of Sufi and Isma'ili Mysticism in the Non-Muslim States of India*² that present excellent survey of the Isma'ili Nizarism and the *forgotten syncretic sects*³ of Sindh, Gujarat, and Rajasthan, representing complex identities and symbols like traditional messianic motif as prophetic songs and Agam Vanis⁴ in the devotional literature of Meghval and other low-caste communities. In the comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between the two accounts seem to be deriving from a shared interest in apocalyptic and millenarian prophecy, both reveal a strong concern for moral order and about the threat posed to it by tyrannical rulers.

Keywords: *Prophecies of Sat Mamoi Fakirs, Mamai Dev, Barmati Panth*

Introduction

The accounts of Sat Mamoi Fakirs, as portrayed in Sindhi classical literature, and Mamai Dev, as patron guru of the 14th-century

Barmati Panth established by the religious reformist Matang Dev, whose warnings in their respective prophecies about the end of Samma rule and political disintegration of Sindh, had resulted into their violent deaths by the ruler of Sindh. Continuing to this, the rise of Messianic movements⁵ in the medieval history of Indian Subcontinent, as recorded by the British colonial authors, and in the recent decades of the twenty-first century, notable researchers among those, Dominique-Sila Khan and Francoise Mallison, and Nathalal Goel extensively explored the topic with interesting findings in context of syncretic movements of Isma‘ili Nizarism and its local off-shoots. Dominique-Sila has put forward that a “former link between the Isma‘ilism and the converted Hindu lowcastes retaining throughout original elements of their Hindu beliefs from the pre-conversion period, elements which were later highlighted during the process of re-Hinduization”⁶. Inspired by Dominique-Sila’s two articles *The Coming of Nikalank Avatar: A Messianic Theme in Some Sectarian Traditions of North-Western India*, an explicit discussion on the traditional messianic motif of prophetic songs and Agam Vanis of Isma‘ili Nizari da’is and pirs, who introduced themes and terminologies from Hindu mythology symbolizing the messianic element in the Khoja Nizari Ginans⁷. Such messianic motifs can also be seen into the former Nizari sects, for instance Maha Panth and the Barmati Panth bear into the sacred texts that *Nikalank Avatar* would kill the demon Kalingo and establish a new cosmic era in the world⁸. In her another article *Muslim Saints and Hindu Rulers: The Development of Sufi and Isma‘ili Mysticism in the Non-Muslim States of India*, Dominique-Sila contextualizes that ‘the common occurrences of Isma‘ilis having to live under the guise of Sufis or Hindus in order to escape persecution; this was a necessary precaution for the time’⁹. The following questions may be important to seek answers:

1. Whether Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev belonged to the Messianic movements of religious reformation and syncretism during the Medieval India?
2. Whether assassinations of Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev were result of the nexus of the orthodox political power and the sectarian conflict.

In my attempt to critically examine similarities and differences between Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev, this article will draw a unique perception on the study of the Sindhi folklore, epic poetry, and their historical interpretation after consulting primary sources, which mainly include Barmati Ginan *Pothi*¹⁰ manuscripts, printed material by the community scholars, and conversations with the Barmati priests the

present descendants of Mamai Dev; while also utilizing the Persian and Colonial literature contextualizing the medieval political power and spiritual authority on the landscape of Sindh and West India in order to substantiate and analysis of the present study.

Historical background: A Literature Review of the Study:

The legend of Mamoi Fakirs was first mentioned in the Persian literary source *Makli Namah*, originally authored by Mir Ali Sher Qan'e of Thatta (1728 – 1788 AD)¹¹ who was a Sindhi Indian Muslim historian born after the rule of Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1967, eminent Sindhi scholar Hussamuddin Rashdi compiled *Makli Namah* with his valuable annotations in Sindhi language. The event of Sat Mamoi Fakirs had occurred in the time the Samma dynasty of Thatta was founded by the Sammas hence known as *Sammai Nagar*. Rashdi adds that ‘Seven Fakirs had lived at Samoi (Thatta) and their period cannot be fixed, however they were before Jam Nizamuddin (AH 864- AH 914)’¹² (Rashdi 1996: 25). In another Sindhi text, *Tuhfatul Kiram*'s author describes an account that ‘in the fort of Kalan Kot, was a serpent whose head was towards India Thatta and tail towards Delhi, and thus his rule would remain intact’¹³ but does not mention about Mamoi Fakirs. Dewan Kewalram, a novelist incorrectly portrayed the whole account of Mamoi in fiction-style.¹⁴ (1997: 15-17) As we have seen that the name of the saints Sat Mamoi Fakirs remains a conjecture among the colonial and modern Sindhi scholars. The Colonial authors have compiled the ethnography, history, and literature of Sindh. Haig in his *Indus Delta Country* mentions *Mamoi Fakirs mainly focuses on the Prophecies* with brief interpretation.¹⁵ (Haig, 1972: Appendix B.125). According to Henry Cousens in his *Antiquities of Sindh* has incorrectly identified Mamoi is ‘a name of tribe of Sindh’¹⁶ (Cousens 1998: 139). The British orientalist Richard Francis Burton (A.D. 1821 – A.D. 1890) was the first ethnographer who described the account of seven Mamoi Fakirs in his two famous texts *Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*¹⁷ (Burton 1988: 86) and *Sindh Revisited*¹⁸ (Burton 1993: 194-211), which summarised as follow: “These seven headless Fakirs were previously fishermen (Sindhi, *Mohānā*) but became seers after they devoured the cooked flesh of a holy man, Sheikh Jiw drowned into river Indus by his followers. All it happened with arrival of famous saint Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan to visit Thatta to access his followers (murids) who decided to slaughter him in order to obtain his permanent presence among them. Fortunately, Sheikh Jiw, Khalifa or Spiritual Assistant of the master, who was also known as *Bahaul Haq and Ghous Pak*, having been aware of that plot, disclosed it to Bahauddin and slept

on his bed at night. The followers slaughtered the *Khalifa* or ‘Assistant to the Saint’ unknowingly and the body was cut into pieces, the flesh cooked into a cauldron. The meal was ready to be devoured when they were struck with unknown fear, repented with their resolve; they cast the pot in the River Indus. The pot was found by seven fishermen, who in ignorance, ate the cooked meal from the bowl and lo! What happened! They started to utter prophecies and showing miracles. Thus, they reached at the court of Jam Tamachi and told him that beneath his throne there is a serpent whose head is towards Thatta and tail towards Delhi, and thus his rule would remain intact. The Fakirs instructed Jam to fix the head with iron spit. People of Thatta laughed at the king; so he drew out the spit only to see that the blood was on it. By knowing this everyone was in fear and believed in the Fakirs. The Jam sent his men to bring them back but they did not turn up. In anger, Jam ordered to kill them. Soon their heads were severed each trunk held his head in his hands flew to the east and descended at the bank of Puran River in Amri where they breathed last”¹⁹(Burton 1988: p.86).

In the post-colonial literature, no significant progress could be seen in the Sindhi folk legend of Mamoi Fakirs as the local scholars mostly Sindhi authors have tried to depict the story of Mamoi Fakirs as described by Burton. Dr. N. A. Baloch²⁰ (Baloch 1993: 2573). Baig²¹(1966: 226). Odai²² (1994: 3). Panhwar views that ‘Samoi was founded between AD 1300 and AD 1340 and may have been founded in the period of Sammas dynasty, whose patronage of Sindhi poetry and prose touched its height.²³ The Mamoi Faqirs’s prophecies in versified form are actually composed in the *Doha* and *Sortha* genres that contain elements pertaining to culture, history and geography of Sindh. Sarki Niaz Odai (1994) has made some development into Burton’s account by few additions who ‘the event [of Mamoi Fakirs] is related to Soomra period.²⁴ (Odai 1994: 56). He connects the death of Sat Mamoi Fakirs to a religious conflict in which Shiekh Jiw a local saint of Thatta had been assassinated in a conspiracy, not by his followers as depicted in Burton’s account. Odai is of the view Pir Patho and Sat Mamoi Fakirs had made the Suharwadi Movement more effective in Sindh, but the local ruler being suspicious of their increasing influence, ordered their execution. At last Soomras accepted *Din-e-Hanif*²⁵ (Odai 1994: 59-60).

Another parallel account of Māmai or Māmai Ďev (14th century AD) was one of the four founding gurus of Barmati Panth.²⁶ (Baghvant. Malsi Ladha; Thontya,), a local offshoot of the Nizari Isma‘ili movement. The Barmati Panth as it is known today had grown up around charismatic reformist-saint figures and developed into an organized

religious community and scholastic literature beginning in the twelfth century. A brief historical survey would lead us to understand relationship of the Isma'ili Nizari movement and the Barmati Panth.

Nizari Isma'ili Movement in Sindh

Following a brief Arab conquest in the eighth century, the establishment of the Isma'ili government in Multan the northern capital of Sindh by winning the local Sumras to the Isma'ili cause could not be sustained for a long time and the cities of Multan and Al-Mansurah were sacked and burnt by the invader Mahmud of Ghazni. The Soomras had to flee to the Lower Sindh in A.D.1010/A.H. 401.²⁷(*The Early History of Multan*, p.14). The historians like P.K. Hitti termed the Isma'ilism, 'a subtle and most effective politico-religious propaganda ever seen in Islam'²⁸ (Hitti 1970:443) that seemed to motivate Isma'ili Soomras to extend their political ambitions in Sindh and intensified the cause of Isma'ili Nizarism. One of the most influential authors of our time, Prof Michel Boivin, whose excellent research on the 'medieval spiritual legacy of Sindh'²⁹ (Boivin, 2007: 22) has remarkable literary imprints, he sees 'the evolution of the period of ascetics in Sindh from 8th to 12th century in the light of the local political and religious context, and the larger Sufi context'³⁰ (p. 29) reconstructing the early religious tradition of the Nath Sampradaya, Isma'ili da'wa, and Sufism and the long lasting impact on the Sindhi society. The change of headquarters of Isma'ili Nizarism from Sindh to Gujarat and Rajasthan indicates the internal dissensions resulting in Nizari offshoots weakening the Isma'ili Nizari mainstream and the increasing influence of Sufi silsilas that seemed to be a challenge for Isma'ilism.'³¹(Khan 1975: 36-57; Khan, 1997; Boivin, 2007: 22) Regarding the arrival of the Muslim Saints of South Asia, the author Anna Suvorova closely examines a prominent Sufi sect Suhrawardiya's the spiritual sovereignty of Multan³² (Suvorova 2004:?) and its spread to neighbouring areas is pertinent to this study. The Suhrawardiya sect founded by Najibuddin Suhrawardi (1097–1168) is a strictly Sunni order. From the 11th to 15th centuries, it held its position firmly in Punjab, Sindh, Bengal and Gujarat.³³(p.135). In the face of harsh persecution, the Isma'ili da'is continued to preach while adopting *Taqiyya*³⁴ (Dominique-Sila, 1997: p.31). The policy of Taqiyya to be practiced by the Nizari Dais and Pirs in North West India including Sindh practiced dissimulation by adopting the garb of Hindu ascetic and Sufis while infusing Hindu elements taken from the religious texts Puranas and epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata to attract common masses as well as obtain patronage favour from the local ruling dynasties.³⁵(Khan 1997) such Nizari characteristics are still demonstrated into the Barmati oral and

manuscript tradition as well as the social life of the Maheshvari Meghwar followers recitation, rituals, and social rites performed by the existing priests and followers indicate past affiliation with the medieval Nizari movement.³⁶ (Thontya 2012) As per Dominique-Sila's hypothesis, the local Nizari sects which appeared in the Medieval India could have been offshoots or "lost branches" of Nizari Isma'ilism – a religious movement the role of which in the Subcontinent has been greatly underestimated and remained unexplored to this day³⁷ (Khan, 1997: ?).

The primary sources of the Isma'ili Nizari Khoja and Barmati Panth mention in the devotional compositions Ginan found in both traditions evidently narrate a tale about the arrival of Pir Satgur Nur at Patan in Gujarat³⁸ (Khan, 1997; Boivin 2007: 22) and his meeting with a local religious reformist Matang Dev to agree to reformation work among untouchable communities of Gujarat Rajasthan, and Sindh under the banner of Isma'ili Nizarism.³⁹ (Khoja Vrantant, Barmati Ginan). Matang was revered as incarnation of Shiva–Mahesh,⁴⁰ (Baghvant 1991) this explains the Maheshvari name for the Barmati followers and that of Mahesh Panth. Matang Dev is variously manifested in the Barmati Panth and other traditions, such as he is known as "Tāraṅhār"⁴¹, however in the Barmati sacred Ginans, Matang Dev acquires a name *Karki Patar*⁴² similar to Nikalank a common term in the Barmati and the Nizari context. It would worth to explain *Karki Patar*, where *Karki* is an indigenous form of none other than Kalki Avatar the forthcoming incarnation of Hindus, while *Patar* is Kutchi dialect can be taken as Avatar in the meaning. Dominique-Sila observed in the medieval Nizari offshoots headed by Ramdev Pir, Devayat Pandit in Rajasthan. Notwithstanding, descent of an eleventh avatar, Muro Raja would appear to kill Kalingo or in indigenous term 'Kar(l)ing' in the next fifth Yuga, "Pancorath yug" in order to finally save the world and abolish casteism.⁴³ (Agamvani). Matang Dev had died at a place Seni in Thar, Sindh in the final years of the 12th century AD.⁴⁴ His son and successor was Lurang Dev, who entered into alliance with the Soomras in the 13th century AD.

Alliances between the Barmati Gurus and Samma-Soomras of Sindh

The shrine of Lurang Dev is located at Tharri, annually visited by the Barmati Meghwar followers to perform Jatar, or pilgrimage of the saint. The Barmati religious priests claim that Tharri was built by Lurang Dev (*Tharai Lurang Dev Thapai*), who used to preach the "Sat Veesu Soomra"⁴⁵ (7x20=140 Soomras) there. Infact, Tharri is known as the historical site of Tharri four kilometres off the road on Matli-Tando Ghulam Ali Road in Badin district. Soomras had made it the

capital city.⁴⁶ As I have shown above that Isma‘ili da‘wa had already reached the Lower Sindh therefore the Soomras had been enjoying political power without any opposition, at the same time Lurang Dev emerged as a powerful exponent representing the Nizari teaching in the region. From the local and the Barmati tradition, it is known that Lurang Dev and Soomras’ had fought against Sultan Allaudin Khalji’s army but Lurang Dev having foreseen the destruction of Tharai himself penetrated into earth. Lurang Dev also helped the royal Soomri ladies “Sat Soomriyun” by sending in the protection of his ardent devotee Jam Abro Adbhang, the local chief of Vadsar in Kutch⁴⁷ Another Barmati tradition attached with *Sumriyo Ganesh*, a small temple known as located at a place called Jodiya near Jamnagar, is said to have been raised by the Soomras during their stay in Saurashtra in reverence of Lurang Dev. Baghvant also confirms that present caretakers the Maheshvari Meghwar followers still worship in the temple. After fall of Soomras the royal cities of Tharai and Roopa Medi, lost importance Soomras made Kalan Kot near Makli as last abode. Indeed, from the ashes of Soomras, Samma chiefs of Sindh regained their power by establishing the rule in Thatta.

The local chronicles suggest that there have been continuing cultural, ethnic and linguistic connection between Kutch, Sindh, and Saurashtra. Kutch being a highly tectonic zone of India, along with Saurashtra were once islands and had joined with each other sometimes with the Indian mainland. As early as 1000 A. D., Rann of Kutch was navigable by small vassals usually sailed by the Arab traders and Iranian Sufis⁴⁸. Politically, Kutch was a fragmented state divided into conflicting Rajput principalities to weaken it.

Sammas’ early history (10th century – 13th century AD) is mostly surrounded by folklore and legends in the classical literature of Sindh and West India. The main sources of information on the Samma Dynasty are Nizamud-din, Abu’l-Fazl, Ferishta and Mir Ma’sum but all are lacking in detail, and with conflicting information on the dates of successive rulers in Sindh. A number of colonial ethnographers like James Burgess⁴⁹ The author of *Black Hills of Kutch*, Rushbrook Williams call them as ‘the Hindu branch of Samma Chiefs of Sindh [who] continued in the Hindu tradition of their ancestry [and] began to cultivate close connections with Kutch, where they found Chavda, Vaghela and Solanki Rajputs with whom they could contract marriage-alliances’⁵⁰. The Barmati priests possess an old copy of Samma genealogy and it and different sub-lineages of Sindh and Kutch, as called *Sammātri*⁵¹ (Thontya), a word made up of ‘Samma’ and ‘tri’, being the short form of ‘Patri’ in the Gujarati / Kutchi word meaning ‘the (genealogical) detail of the Sammas’, also shows the

ancestor of Sammas descended from the ancient tribe Yadu or Yadav of Lord Krishna. The two legendary Samma chiefs Lakho Ghoraro (9th century AD), who had lived before A.D. 1144. Lakho Fulani (tenth century AD) had established and expanded their rule in Sindh and Kutch. The latter had built a fort Kanthkot, which also bears fame in the history, according to *Ras Mala* that during the raid of Mehmud in Gujarat, Bhimdev II of Anhilwada Pattan was hiding in this fort. The Samma chiefs retained their power peacefully until in a conflict, the two descendants of Lakha Jada, Lakha Jadeja and Lakhiar Jadeja moved to Kutch. “About A.D. 1365 (S. 1421), Rata Rayadhan, son of Lakha ascended the throne of Lakhiar Viero, while his four sons, Deda, Athoji, Gajan, and Hothi were also given four different territories of Kutch. Athoji’s [Othoji] son Hala migrated to Kathiawar in A.D.1385 and founded Halar after his name⁵².

The most important object of our study is linked with Mamai or Mamai Dev, the fourth spiritual master of the Barmati Panth. Born in Kutch at his ancestral place Matrai in the late 13th century A.D.⁵³(Baghvant 1991: 207; Thontya 2012: 81), Mamai Dev’s mother was Veena Devi and father Matai Dev, the grandson of Lurang Dev, and the great grandson of Matang Dev. The Barmati genealogies preserved in hand-written manuscripts, furnish detail about. Married to four wives, Mamai Dev had six sons Matiyo Pir, Baghvant, Mahadev, Meghanand, ‘Marchand, and Lalan Pir, two daughters Papai and Pandhan are mentioned in the genealogical charts printed into the hagiographical books in Gujarati by Baghvant⁵⁴ and Lalan⁵⁵(Lalan 2012: 20) who broke the barrier of old customs of hiding the secret knowledge of Barmati Panth – by fear of persecution for the Muslim orthodox and upper caste Hindus. Mamai Dev’s career began when his father Matai Dev’s had arisen the question of leading the community. Whatsoever, Mamai Dev became the head of the Barmati Panth and had proved himself the ablest of his predecessors in the cause of reformation within the community. According to the Barmati Panth sources that the elder son Mohan had shifted to Marwar where he founded a separate panth known as *Mahadharam* in Marwar under the name of Devayat Pandit⁵⁶. An oral tradition informs that Ramdev Pir (17th century A.D.) of Ranuja was the most revered deity of the Meghwars in Rajasthan, Tharparkar crossing the Seraiki belt of Pakistan, and with small number of followers in Gujarat, where the Isma‘ili Nizari subjects practiced the syncretic customs into different offshoots.

A number of Barmati texts indicate that Mamai Dev had entered the hereditary alliances of the Sammas of Thatta, the Jadeja Sammas of

Kutch, and the Chudasammas of Saurashtra in order to protect the low caste communities in the region. Mamai Dev came to be a rescuer of the Jadeja dynasty when the legitimate heir, Jam Mudvaji being physically paralyzed handed over the affairs of Kutch to his inefficient but obedient brother Harbhom. Jam Murwaji's health revived and became an ardent devotee of Mamai Dev, got royal anointment (*Raj Tilak*) by him⁵⁷ (Baghvant 1991: 155-161), a custom which is still upheld by the Jadeja royal family of Kutch⁵⁸ (Dilipsinghji 2004: 156-157). Until recently the throne ceremony of the Jadeja ruler of Kutch retained the legitimization rite in which a Barmati priest, known as *Raj Tilat Gur* had to apply a royal mark on the future ruler's forehead. Recently the present official *Raj Tilat Gur* as named as Dharmesh Jakhu Lalan⁵⁹, has performed this ceremony in the royal palace of Ra' Jadeja. He has also published an informative book titled *Raj Tilak* that provides complete biographical detail since the first Jadeja ruler Jam Ratta Raidhan, who, according to the Barmati religious tradition, had won over the throne of Kutch with the spiritual help of Matai Dev instructing Raidhan never to give up sacrificing a buffalo annually to present at the shrine of guardian diety Ashapura, known as *Mata no Madh*, however as per an Agamvani, the Jadejas had to lose power in 1947, when this rite ceased to function in future except the throne ceremony which is still continue.

The Barmati Ginans of Mamai Dev

Being the principal author of sacred compositions of Barmati Panth, Mamai Dev had composed hundreds of Ginans preserved in the form of Pothis, which was evidently practiced by the Isma'ili Pirs also. Mamai Dev was the principal author of Barmati Panth Ginans. We often find his Ginans with the signatures of *Māmai*, *Māmai Pundiṭ Vachhwār*, *Gur Mām*, besides another name *Momāyā*⁶⁰ used by the Kutchi writer Dulerai Karani in his book titled *Kutch na Kaladhar* on the historical events about the Jadeja Samma dynasty and saints. Mamai Dev renovated the rites and rituals of the Panth by introducing amendments to his Meghwar followers. *Māmai Dev*, who though apparently a historical personality, the actual facts of his life have been hidden in the great number of legends surrounding this saint. Several miracles are attributed to him, one of them to make it rain in Junagadh requesting the Meghs or Rain god to refrain from causing famine that successfully carried out only to acquire the title of *Meghwar* for his followers.⁶¹ (Barmati Panth Ginans 2.14). He being the first Pir (Persian, religious teacher) of the Barmati Panth, had appointed the youngest son Lalan as his successor. In this way the spiritual lineage (which is also biological one) is still retained within the Panth by appointing the senior most descendant in the direct lineage

of Pir Lalan Dev. The present 49th head of the Panth is Pir Narayan Dev⁶² who permanently settled in Kutch.

COMARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

We again return to our questions whether Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev belonged to the Messianic movements of religious reformation and syncretism during the Medieval India. Another point related to assassinations of Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev, who being part of a larger Messianic movement, had resulted due to the nexus of the orthodox political power and the sectarian elements. These key elements will lead to formulate the final hypothesis that both accounts demonstrate striking similarities, first, there is the echo in the names of Mamoi and Mamai even their historical period and location appear to broadly coincide. Yet, there are some dissimilarities as well. The two figures Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev seem to be derived from a shared interest in apocalyptic and millenarian prophecy, both reveal a strong concern for moral order and about the threat posed to it by tyrannical rulers.

As far the similarities are concerned, many scholars have created interest in ascertaining the origin of Mamoi Fakirs. Haig claimed that the name Mamoi was actually derived from an Arabic term *Mu'imma* for which in English it is 'Enigma'⁶³ (Haig, 1972: Appendix B.125). According to Henry Cousens that Mamoi is 'a name of tribe of Sindh'⁶⁴ (Cousens 1998: 139). Among the local Indian scholars, mostly Sindhis, Gurbakshani suggests its meaning as *mem jo putlo*⁶⁵ as quoted by Odai at page 3, equivalent to the 'statue made of wax' whereas Baig⁶⁶ (p. 226) and Odai agree with such interpretation. Dr. N. A. Baloch views that Mamoi is 'a kind of herb which is used as drug to cure joints pain'⁶⁷ (Baloch 1993: 2573). A similar state is related to the name Mamai whose meaning is also uncertain even by the Barmati community and outside of the pale. However, a childhood name Bijak a name used for the second son in the family, as described by Baghvant that Mamai Dev was younger son and Mohan was the elder son of Matai Dev. It may be noted that Momaya is a local goddess worshipped in Saurashtra. Whatever might be the case, there is common syllable in the two names that indicates a similarity lies somewhere in the origin of both figures.

Both Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev as depicted into their respective accounts, had flourished during the Samma dynasty of Thatta the same religious landscape and time, as pointed by Rashdi in *Makli Namah* that the event of Sat Mamoi Fakirs had occurred Thatta, also known as Sammai Nagar⁶⁸ before Samma ruler Jam Nizamuddin (AH 864- AH 914) while both Baghvant and Thontya⁶⁹ fixed that Mamai Dev

had died to close of the fourteenth century A.D. c1370 during the Samma dynasty. M. H. Panhwar opines that ‘Samoī was founded between AD 1300 and AD 1340 ... Samoī may have been founded by Sammas as a small town outside Thatta. Piecing the two statements together it says that both Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev had flourished at Samoī in the fourteenth century, whereas Mamai Dev also lived in the fourteenth century AD. although some authors suggest the time was in the Soomra period.

These strong similarities in terms of their identity, geographical location and the period, their movements can be analysed in the broader context of the Messianic movements during the Samma period. Thatta was ruled by Jam Tamachi and his brother Jam Juna, the son Bambhaniyo was still young. According to the *Makli Namah* Jam Tamachi ruled in the year 821 AH equivalent to AD 1420 adding that the Seven Fakirs had lived at Samoī (Thatta) earlier than the Samma ruler Jam Nizamuddin (AH 864- AH 914)⁷⁰. Interestingly enough, the exact location of the grave(s) of Mamoi Fakirs have been indicated by Burton at Amri that led the local authors merely follow his statement, for instance, Sarki Odai’s claim of being witness of certain ‘symbolic graves’ at the bank of Puran at Amri in Tando Jan Mohammad⁷¹ and Abdul Khaliq Kumbhar’s remarks that ‘one of Mamoi saints was Matang Fakir is resting at Tharai (Matli in the present district Badin) support the Barmati tradition with little correction that the shrine at the historical town Tharai near Shah Diwano’s shrine actually belongs to Lurang Dev, who was son of Matang Dev, father of Matai Dev, and grandfather of Mamai Dev, whose shrine is located in the north western direction of Makli necropolis in Thatta. From history we learnt that Thatta was centre of hundreds of learned scholars, sufis, and saints, whose graves can still be visited on the Makli Hill, now a protected UNESCO site. Mamai Dev a proponent of the reformist movement, the off-shoot of the Nizari Isma‘ilism, was in the hereditary alliance of Samma chief Jam Tamachi in order to protect the followers’ community in Thatta and the adjoining areas, which had remained the preaching centres of his predecessors. According to another Barmati tradition, Mamai Dev had bestowed to Jam Bambhaniyo and his wife, Makli bai the boon of a son. A similar tradition is also related about the famous saint of Thatta Shaikh Hammad Jamali symbol of piety and culture in Lower Sind, now resting in a tomb on Makli Hill, had recited a verse in favour of Jam Tamachi when the Jam’s mother was in his sanctuary, sweeping the floor in the hope for the saint’s prayer’’⁷²(Schimmel 1974: 10). The author Malsi Baghvant suggests the name Jam Bambhaniya, his wife’s name as Makli bai, who bore a son Jam Nizamuddin alias Jam Nando, the successor of Bambhaniyo. Thatta

at that time was centre of learned scholars, Sufis and saints and was enjoying as an independent state from fidelity of the Delhi Sultanate, nonetheless Sindh had always been remained a strategic site for the foreign invaders, like Arabs, Ghanvis, Ghouris, and Khaljis. Elliot and Dowson place Samma ruler Tamachi as contemporary of Delhi emperor Firoz Shah Tughluq (b. AD 1309), who acceded to the throne of Delhi on 23rd March AD 1351 and governed upto 40 years.⁷³ To avenge his uncle Muhammad Shah Tughluq's failed attempts on Thatta, Feroz Shah attacked Southern Sindh twice but he too had to retreat to Gujarat by Rann of Kutch with his army. In the second attack on Thatta, Jam Tamachi and his son Bambhaniyo were taken by the Sultan to Delhi, where they stayed in prison for about one year but were released on the interference of a Uch saint Makhdum Jehanian Jahangasht beside overpowering of a certain sectarian influence on Samma ruler might be the major causes that had drastic change in Bambhaniyo's attitude. Jam Bambhaniyo assumed power in AD 1375-6 for the next 13 years.

Makhdum Jehanian Jahangasht was a sufi saint of Suhrawardiyya fraternity, founded by Najibuddin Suhrawardi (1097–1168) in Iraq. Like Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya silsila also succeeded in India to take shape as a fraternity with its infrastructure, internal hierarchy of members and cloisters and a single centre in Multan. The Suhrawardiyya, a strictly Sunni order, was led by the famous sufi saint Baha'uddin Zakariya⁷³ Suvorova observes that the Suhrawardis held firm positions in Punjab, Sindh, Bengal and Gujarat (p.135) under the leadership of Baha'uddin Zakariya, who was on friendly terms with Iltutmish (his grandson continued this tradition, having become an adviser to Khalji and Tughluq Sultans) and intrigued successfully in his favour against the ruler of Punjab Nasiruddin Qubacha. Sometimes an intervention of Suhrawardis in politics turned out to be a boon for the people: when the Punjab was invaded by Mongols in 1247 who captured the fortress of Multan, it was Baha'uddin Zakariya who successfully carried out peace negotiations with the Mongol military leader Suli Nuyin, as a result of which the conquerors were content with laying tribute and left Multan. (p.142). Such a placement of forces in the camp of South Asian Sufism survived till the second half of the sixteenth century, when the so-called 'Naqshbandiyya reaction' came to the fore. (p.143) Another heretical Sufi order Naqshbandiyya entered Sindh in the 16-17th century, and established the spiritual seat known as Pirs of Lunwari Sharif, still exist with headquarters at Kadhan in the Badin district of Lower Sindh.

Suhrawardi Sufis enjoyed the patronage of Mahmud Begara, the intolerant Sunni ruler of Ahmedabad but had negligible influence in

masses as compared to Punjab and Sindh. The torchbearer of Baha'uddin Zakariya's Suhrawardi order in Thatta was a prominent disciple Shaikh Jiu, who saved his master and helped him to flee Thatta. The saint Baha'uddin Zakariya arrived at Thatta to see his followers who decided to slaughter him in order to obtain his permanent presence among them but the followers cooked the body of Shaikh Jiu and drowned into river. This account can be refuted on the basis of the Rashdi's statement about Shaikh Jiw's physical grave on the historical Makli monument as such 'within the tomb of Shiekh Jiw, there are total 41 graves; of which Shiekh Jiw's grave is prominent'⁷⁴ (Rashdi 1958: 697) and accepting this, it may be said that the account of Fishermen's transformation into enlightened seers is not more than an imagination.

At this juncture, comparing Mamoi Fakirs with that of Mamai Dev, it will be revealed that the event of Mamoi Fakirs was an outcome of the sectarian conflict between the two different school of thoughts – the Messianic movement was being led by Mamoi Fakirs and the prominent orthodox sect of Suhrawardis. Contextualizing the Mamoi Fakirs with the Messianic movements in the 13th and 14th century AD, it was not far different than the movement being controlled by Mamai Dev, who, as we have seen above that, the part of the Barmati Panth legacy was affiliated with Isma'ili Nizari movement in Sindh, Kutch, and Saurashtra. Another question, that was partly discussed about the nomenclature problem in the names of Mamoi and Mamai can be sorted out at this juncture that both Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev, who were proponents of the Messianic movements, might have adopted Taqqiyya i.e. policy of Dissimulation which had been allowed after the fall of Nizari stronghold Alamut Fortress at the hands of Halaku Khan in A.D.1257⁷⁵. Amidst the conflict between the two opponent groups, the assassination of both Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev could occur due to collusion of the orthodox political power and sectarian authority.

Prof Mohammad Ayub Qadri, who has compiled biographical accounts of Makhdoom Jahanian Jahangasht of Uch in Urdu language, describes that when Jam Bambhaniyo had stopped sending annual tithes to Delhi's court, Multan's governor Ainul Mulk initiated strict military action against him and his government and Jam Bambhaniyo agreed to repay tithes in the name of Makhdoom Jahanian and Shaikh Sadaruddin⁷⁶. In my own opinion, this Shaikh Sadaruddin was Pir Sadruddin, the 14th century Khoja Nizari Isma'ili Pir, whose tomb is located at Uch, Pakistan. Jam Bambhaniyo was induced also to bring orthodox changes in his state that probably had caused the tragic event of assassination in both cases of Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev in Thatta. Thus it can be said that the

assassination of Mamoi Fakirs as well as Mamai Dev had occurred in the result of political tension between the two politico-religious groups Suhrawardi and Isma‘ilis during Samma period. Apart from the above discussion which summarized the similarities between the two figures, yet there are some different as well that must be studied in this part.

The Mamoi fakirs are said to have left seven predictions while Mamai Dev has hundreds. Even Mamoi Fakirs’s prophecies are known as Mamoi-Ja Bet, a genre of Sindhi poetry, in contrast, as we have learnt that Mamai Dev being principal author of the Barmati Panth Ginans into the poetical compositions hundreds in numbers. The Isma‘ili Pirs also used to write Ginans in the Khoja Nizari tradition. Interestingly, Burton also informs his reader about the sacred books of ‘Meghwar’ community, he goes on as such that, ‘... The latter are supposed to have come originally from Malwa, and the language and character in which their Pothi or sacred books are written, are said to belong to that province.’⁷⁷(Burton 1988: 323). It is probable that Burton might have obtained the famous seven prophecies from certain priest of Meghwar community in Sindh.

Predictions Explained

*Hak winhdho Hakro, tutandho Bandh Aror
Beh machhi lorh, Sammen winda sukhrī⁷⁸*

If we look into Burton’s first prediction, which he translated as “The Hakro shall become a perennial stream, and the dyke of Aror shall burst. And thus shall productions of lakes and streams be carried to the Sammah clan as presents.” It seems that the location of the embankment of Aror⁷⁹ was mistakenly identified at an area called Rohri near the present famous city Sukkur in Sindh because that area had never under the government of Samma dynasty, whose political authority was limited to the royal city Thatta and its surrounding region in Southern Sindh. In the second prediction, it translated as “Long and long shall the Ar remain full of water, but when at last it shall dry up. In those days, the children of the Baloch shall be cheap and valueless in the land.”

Burton identified Ar or Awar as another name for the Baghar creek. Baghar or Ār is a branch of the Indus River still flowing near the shrine of Pir Patho (d. AH 646) on the mound of Makli necropolis therefore Pir Patho is also famously known as Pir Ār. Mamai’s Āgamvāṇi about Ār embankment is worth to be learnt that:

*Ār Bandh parjārindho ʈri so-e jojan-e meñ pāñi
Māmai bhaṇe Māiseriyā, sachā jiv roñdhā nij nirwāni*⁸⁰

Translation:

Ār Bandh will burst its waters in three hundred yards; Mamai says to Maheshvariya that truthful souls will be liberated.

Burton explained the second verse in the context of the battle won by the British over Talpur rulers in Sindh in 1843. Sindh was annexed to the British Empire in 1843 after the defeat of Talpurs in the war of Miani⁸¹

The third prediction is translated as “At (the town of) Karo Kabaro, a battle shall rage for many hours. The Mirmichi shall be beaten, and our little Sindh shall become a happy abode for man”; and the fourth prediction, “The Mirmichi shall be beaten; what are the signs of the Mirmichi? Below (the waist) they have dark clothes, and dark hair on their heads”. Burton used the ‘Lycophronic designation of Mirmichi, after being applied successively to the Indians, Afghans, Jats, and others descended in due course of time to the next ruling race, the Belochs’. Though the Barmati Ginans have, in the similar tone a word “Mirchho” meaning ‘foreign invader’ as shown in the below verses:

i. *Somwār je ʈiñh Śiv charse, Mirchho Ḍāṇav ʈayā mārse; Ekvēs ʈiyāñā ekalkār karse, ʈeni dharā ambhar ʈharorse (3)*

On the day of Monday, Lord Shiva will invade; (and) will kill Devil named Mirchho.

ii. *Aṭheñ meñ ochendho achindho, kendho Ḍilli meñ rāj; Māmai bhaṇe Māiseriyā priṭhvi ʈindhi mirchheñ jo khāj.*

Suddenly (he) will come, will rule in Delhi; Mamai says to Maheshvaris that the world will become feed of Mirchho.

iii. *Minjai Moghal jāgdhā, minjai minj kendhā rāj; Māmai bhaṇe Māiseriyā, priṭhvi ʈindhi mirchheñ jo khāj.*

Mughuls will appear in, will rule within; Mamai says to Maheshvaris that the world will become feed of Mirchho.

Burton interpreted the fifth prediction in the context of the battles fought at Meeance and Dubba between British and the Meers. “The war

shall begin from Lar, (or, as the words may be taken, ‘the battle shall be fought in Lar’, Lower Sindh); but from Upper Sindh (Siro), the rumour of an army’s approach shall come down. When this occurs, then indeed trouble cometh to our little Sindh from the south-east direction.” Comparing a verse, “sonko thindho sire meñ” in the Burton’s account and the verse “Suro pondho son meñ” from the Barmati Ginan, yet both yield same meaning that there will be fragrance in gold in the future. There are some more examples as below:

*‘Suro pondho son meñ, rūpeñ nā roñdhi rekh; Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā,
trāme, piṭṭar ke sek’.*

Translation:

There will be fragrance in gold in the future; Silver will have no worth;

*Mamai says to Māiseriyās that copper (and) brass will lose value.
Son sōgañdh kenḍho, son ji sōgañdh kaḍeñ na veñdhi”*

Translation:

Gold will flourish fragrance, gold’s fragrance never vanishes

*Sonū Sāmi suro sōgañdh, ne kewṛo tejā kaṭhañ jāṇe koe ser sawāiyō
hoese (7)*

Translation:

Gold (will have) pure fragrance, and only pandanus will learn its characteristic.

*Bhāi mōnjā ūṭh jo tej vāñchā je ḅandhañ hoese; sonū ṭa suro sōgañdh
Ḍev karse*

Translation:

O My Brother! A camel’s fate is bound with the sound; God will imbue fragrance into the gold.

The following sixth prediction in Burton’s account as shown below:

“Their thin grey steeds shall come down from the north. The petticoated females shall go about the streets divided (among the people). After which the rule of the Ṭājyāṇi begins.”

However, the seventh prediction will require special attention because a similar Āgamvāṇi of Mamai Dev can also be found in the Barmati scripture indicating significant historical developments arisen in Thatta or Sindh soon after the tragic assassination of Mamai Dev. In Burton’s version, it says:

*Achi wehjá, Márhúá, Naᅅgar je ádhár; Puránà parár^l nawa ma add^ljá
nijhrá*

Translation:

“Come and sit, O ye people, under the protection of the Nagar. And beyond the Puran river build no new abodes!”

Contrarily, the seventh and last prediction in Burton’s account seemed to be altered by inviting people to come and live in Naᅅgar (Thatta) inspite of violent death of Mamoi Fakirs in Thatta! How Mamoi Dervishes could invite people to live or stay at a place where they had been fiercely killed in the city of Thatta. To my opinion, these *bets* of Mamoi Fakirs, over the passage of considerable time, might have been mutilated during transmission from one generation to another either through oral or written form.

Contrary to Burton’s interpretation of the last verse in his Mamoi account, the following Barmati Āgamvāᅅi as uttered by Mamai Dev emphasizes on his followers in this way:

Na winhja Maru’ha Nangar je adhar; Puran parar ma adainja ninjra

Translation:

Never stay under the protection of Nangar (Thatta); And beyond the Puran, build your houses.

Another Barmati Agamvani, is also evident to follow that,

*Sind sukheᅅ na wasdhi, nau nau laᅅdho peyo ᅅam; Maiseriyā na ronjā
Sind meᅅ, ᅅeyā aᅅāinjā ghar.*

Translation:

“Sindh will not be in peace and tranquillity; repeated attacks will inflict on (the land); O Maheshvaris! Never stay in Sindh, build new houses to other places.

In this verse also it was warned to the followers and his family members who immediately left Sindh for Kutch evidently their graves still can be found at different places in Kutch.

The prophetic theme plays a major role in both accounts of Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev, that predicted a serial of catastrophes, revolutions, and upheavals that would ruin Sindh followed by the end of Samma rule at Thatta. Dominique-Sila Khan extensively in her works on

the conversions and blurred identities of untouchable communities of Rajasthan and Gujarat. A number of prophetic songs as central motif of Indian Nizari Isma'ilism sects are of an eschatological and messianic nature indicating to the end of the world or rather, according to Hindu beliefs, the cataclysms and disasters preceding the dissolution (pralaya) of the universe at the end of the fourth cosmic Age (Kali yuga) before a new Era begins⁸².

In fact the Barmati Panth and its founding gurus demonstrate an unbroken history that still retain its legacy in the landscape of Sindh, Kutch, and Saurashtra, where thousands of his descendants and followers are present. The religious literature Barmati Ginans specially Āgamvāṇis or Prophecies which are preserved by the present Barmati gurus in the oral and hand-written Shastri or Gujarati manuscripts. The present gurus of Barmati Panth have informed me that Āgamvāṇis and some other Ginans were to be called "Gupṭ Ginān" (Hidden Ginans) deliberately kept hidden after the assassination of Mamai Dev in Thatta as also affirmed by due to persecution against the Barmati followers. The prominent author Kochra⁸³ has published total Āgamvāṇis or Mamai Dev's prophecies comprising of 228 lines 21 verses of "Āgam Chokṛi", eight verses of "Nigam Chokṛi"⁴⁹, and five verses of "Fakreñ Jā Ved"⁵⁰ all attributed to Mamai Dev.

The legend of Sat Mamoi Fakirs seems to have been transcribed or put down in the written form with the aim of transposing their death-tale in the mythical story, same is true for an inverse argument that due to insufficient evidence certain historical facts are shrouded into mist.

Conclusion

"The coming of an awaited saviour to deliver the oppressed from tyrannical power or wicked forces is a motif found in many religious movements and cultic organizations through different ages. Such revolutionary currents are dubbed under a variety of labels, including millennial, messianic, chiliastic, and apocalyptic."⁸⁴ (Momin 2021 Chapter 5). It may be contended that the accounts of Mamai Dev and Mamoi Fakirs. The comparative analysis of Mamoi Fakirs and Mamai Dev has illuminated the rich characteristics of religious syncretism and transformation in Sindh and West India during the 14th century. Through their roles, teachings, and practices, analysed through demonstrated similarities and differences within them, they emerged as religious reformist as well as strong proponents of the Messianic movements, propagated the syncretic teachings of Isma'ili Nizari movement as

concluded under thematic framework of Dominique-Sila Khan. The two figures while demonstrating the messianic motifs i.e. prophetic songs of Mamoi Fakirs and Agamvanis of Mamai Dev, represented into their prophecies. In the comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between the two accounts seem to be deriving from a shared interest in apocalyptic and millenarian reformation, both reveal a strong concern for moral order and about the threat posed to it by tyrannical rulers. As we gone through the annals of history, it is found that the echoes of their syncretic legacy still continue to reverberate in the diverse religious landscape of Sindh today. This study, while a modest step in understanding the background and discussion of the two accounts of Mamoi Fakirs, appeal to embrace the complexity of cultural heritage of Sindhi folkloric and historical traditions that continuously impressed the researchers and encourages them further exploration into the enduring narratives of similar traditions of Sindh.

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79. Abbott, J. *Unhappy Valley*. 2008, 1924. Reproduced by Sani H Panhwar <http://full%20text%20book%20abbott,%20sind%20a%20representation%20of%20unhappy%20valley-with%20my%20comments.pdf>] Citing a verse from the Tuhfatul Kiram, the first of the seven prophecies in the Burton's version, Captain Raikes refutes that Alore Bund has any relation with Bakhar. The translator of the Chachnama presumably did not find a ruined city in A.D. 1216: Al Beruni speaks of the city of Alor; the Tarikh-i-Ma'asumi writes of Alor and its fort and describes Rorhi as near Alor; whilst the Ain-i-Akbari alludes to its fort and details the contingent of foot and horse, and the revenue obtained from the district of which it was the centre.p.46]
80. Barmati Ginan Agamvani.
81. Cook, Matthew A. *After Annexation: Colonialism and Sindh During the 1840s*, degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Ann Arbor, MI: Columbia University
82. Khan, 1996.
83. Kochra, Kanji Khengar. 1974. *Mamai Puran*. Ahmadabad: Ganeshnagar Durgashankar Mandli.
84. Momin, Wafi A. 2021. *Part II: Monsters Guarding the Gates. Messianism, Evil, and the Satpanth Ismaili Tradition Chapter 5 The Idea of Evil and Messianic Deliverance in the Satpanth Ismaili Tradition of South Asia*. Edited by Natasha L. Mikles and Joseph P. Laycock in Religion, Culture, and the Monstrous of Gods and Monsters of Gods and Monster. London: Lexington Books.

Appendix A

There are number of Barmati Panth Ginans that narrate the event of his death-tale at Thatta. These Ginans are in Kutchhi and Sindhi languages. First Ginan titled *Māmai Dev Ji Moṭ Sid'd'hi*⁵¹ (*Barmati Panth Ginans* 6.75) goes on that:

“*Goṭ tuti keṇi jā Gur, Bārmaṭi je pasā*
Sar vadhe rakheñ ṭhār meīñ, ne Karam chāre Kivrās (1)
Akh ṭarai ne ṭirā ṭirchakyā, keñ ṭe gūṇaj jo gau
Māmai Dev jo marṭuk ṭheyo, ṭeñke rūnuñ ṭre Bhoṇe jo Rā' (2)
Rooh haleyo ne mukh khuleyo, sāh chāre ṭe Kivrās
Māmai Dev jo moṭ ṭheyo, āḍ ṭe ṭheyo hulhulkār (3)
Akh ṭej ne Alakh ji rachnā, achi ubho ṭe Malākh
Māmai Dev cheṇ muḥji pindhi payi Bāmbhṇiye Samme je hath.”

Translation:

Darkness disappeared, O Creator! In the name of Barmati
 Placed the severed head into the vessel, and aroused Divine Power up to
 Immortal World
 The eye became idle, the trunk subtle, when attacked with the weapon
 Mamai Dev had died upon which Lord of Three Worlds wept

Soul moved to depart away and mouth opened, breathe was arisen on
Highest Level of Mind (i.e. *Kivras*)
Mamai Dev had died, there was a great mayhem
The eye became source of light like God's scheme
Angel stood before
Mamai Dev said: "My body falls at the hands of Bambhniya Samma".

Second Ginan titled *Māmai Dev Jo Hālāñū*⁵² (*Barmati Panth Ginan* 6.76),
it goes on that:

"Maṭho vadhe rakhe ṭhār meīn, Karam chāṛe ṭe Kivrās
Māmai Dev ṭa moṭ bhāñkheyo, maṭhe sūjūñ ṭheyo Deveñ jo wās (1)
Maṭho vadhe rakheñ ṭe ṭhār meīn, keñ-ṭe Ṭri Bhoṇe jo ṭa vichār
Ane Indrāsaṇ ḍolawā lāgo, maṭhe ṭharoreyo Alakh Dev jo māḍ (2)
Āḍ-māḍ ṭe ṭhoreyā, maṭhe ṭharoreyo ṭe Kivrās
Karam Dev ṭe kañṭhañi kañṭhai, ṭeñji sāñkh bharīñḍ'o Sij (3)
Mer bheetar Dev Māmai Dev ṭo bhaṇe
Karam Karā poṭi ṭe sañgrām
Ad'haram varṭeyo, Āḍ ṭe āñd'haro ṭheyo
Pundiṭ bhāñkhe ṭo Gur Mām."

Translation

Placed severed head into the vessel, aroused Divine Power to the Highest
Level of Mind
Mamai Dev had predicted his death, above, Abode of Gods became
desolate (1)
Placed severed head into the vessel, and then contemplated on the Three
Worlds
Heaven started to tremble, above, wobbled the Abode of God (2)
All Heavens and Abodes wobbled, above, the Celestial Mind also
wobbled
Divine god uttered Prophecies, of which the Sun was witness
Within the head, Mamai Dev is uttering
Divine Power reached at its Abode
Disbelief appeared, darkness increased on the World
Pundit Gur Mam thus utters

Third Ginan titled *Mamai Dev jiyun Hurun*⁵³ (*Barmati Panth Ginans*
6.77) goes like this:

"Sāmi sud'ho sañchreyo Hoorūñ halaiyūñ ṭe chār
Alakh Dev ṭe Kañgañ bhareyo, ṭaḍe Hooreñ khañyo-ṭe pār (1)
Maṭho Vadhe ne rakhe ṭhār meīn Karam chāṛe ṭe Kivrās
Māmai bhaṇe ṭo Māseriyā, ṭeni sujun theyo Alakh jo was (2)
Hazraṭi rakhe ṭe Vindhi meīn, panro chāṛe ṭe Kivrās

Māmai bhaṇe ṭo Maīseriyā, ṭeni Alakh Dev jo sūjūn ṭheyo ṭe wās (3)
Hemar Ġemar ghaṛaiyūn, Hooreñ keyo ṭe hulhulkār
Alakh Dev Kaṅgaṇ bhareyo ṭaḍe Hooreñ khaṅyo ṭe pār” (4)

Translation

At last the Lord departed, the Four Hours (Wives) came
 God performed the rite Kangan, then Hours (Wives) wailed
 Placed severed head into the vessel, aroused the Divine Power on the
 Highest Level of his Mind
 Mamai utters to Maheshvaris, then Abode of God became desolate
 Placed divine power into his Sacred Ring, raised breathe at the Highest
 Level of his Mind
 Mamai utters to Maheshvaris, at that day Abode of God became desolate
 (3)
 Attired in all ornaments, Hours made great mayhem
 God performed the rite of Kangan then Hours started to wail.

Mamai was born at a place Mātrāi,⁷⁰ Kutch in c1280 AD⁷¹. He was still young when his father Matai Dev had settled into Sindh at Matli, present district Badin near a place called Bhādhra Dhandh⁷². After his father's death, Mamai Dev became the fourth spiritual guru of the Barmati Panth and introduced drastic amendments into the Panth. It was he who gave title Meghwar⁷³ to his followers when he had performed a miracle of making it rain in Junagadh to escape 12 years of famine over the city⁷⁴. From the corpus of Barmati sacred Ginan literature, some famous verses of Mamai Dev's Prophecies or Āgamvāṇis are presented below:

Aṭheñ meñ ochendho achindho, kendho Ġilli meñ rāj;
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā priṭhvi ṭhindi mirchheñ jo khāj
Jambhu Dweep minjā yudh mandhābo, chaṛdho Isar ne Irān
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā, phirdi Mogaleñ ji āṇ
Pag dai priṭhvi maṭhe achindho seṅgu ṭhai sulṭan
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā, gebhi varaṭdho dhāṇ
Añ-dhārāi uṭardhi, jiv jiv jo lekho ginḍho dhār
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā, mā nū vichhoṛindho ḅār
Eṛi werā varaṭdhi, lakheñ gāu-eñ ṭe sujḍho dhrā
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā, māṛhu-eñ jo harori vendho sā
Gharo-ghar bhāe dukhdhi, mankeñ ji budhi phirdhi
Māmai bhaṇe Maiseriyā, raṭ ruṛdho priṭhvi maṭhe
Sammai Naṅgar⁷⁹ meñ sāu ṭhindho, Sind minjā lagḍho ḍam
Māmai bhaṇe Māiseriyā, uḷāmdho na āḍ-jo Jam
Jandhriyeñ Jandhar nikardha, Habāye ṭhindhā aṅgār

Ṭrai Ĵār ṭe Pāḍo na chardho, ṭaḍeṅ chhutḍhi Kutḥ ṭarār.⁸⁰

Translation:

From mount Janḍhriyo (also called mount Chandhru'o in the Barmati tradition, the precious stones will be crushed, mount Habāye will become fire. The rule (of Jadeja) in Kutḥh will end when a bull will cease to be sacrificed. This Āgamvāṇi became true after Partition of India in 1947 the Jadeja rule was ended.