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## **Devotion Transcending Regional Boundaries: An Exploration of the Origin, Adaption and Development of Udasipanth in Sindh**

### **Abstract**

*Udasipanth, though originated in Punjab but was brought to Sindh by Sri Chand and other Udasi saints making it one of the important religious traditions in Sindhi devotional system. It is a unique, heterodox and very inclusive tradition that blends elements from Vedanta, Sikhism, Nathism and other local orders and cults. This paper discusses how Udasipanth originated and then developed in Sindh by also imbibing regional and local influences and thus became 'indigenized'. It also highlights various dimensions and aspects of Udasipanth like Sri Chand's visit to Sindh, his portrayal as 'savior', various Udasi establishments, renowned Udasi saints and contemporary rituals and practices.*

### **Introduction:**

Sindh is the southernmost province of Pakistan, and is home to a heterogeneous, multi-ethnic and multilingual population. Historically, it has had close ties with its bordering regions of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Kutch and Punjab, which have not only allowed people to move freely but has influenced its culture in various ways. Due to intermingling of people across centuries, the religion and devotional aspects have also been synchronized and blended elements from each other. Therefore, in 21<sup>st</sup> century, one would find a number of elements taken from disparate religious orders and traditions harmoniously displayed at various worship places and sacred precincts across the Sindh region. . Ramey (2008) describes how Sindhi Hindus (in India) represent themselves in a variety of ways because their religious practices are very syncretic drawing elements from Vedanta , Sikhism and even Sufi Islam and how it is difficult to place them into any single religious category . That is also true for Hindus still living in Sindh and we'll be discussing some of these issues in the following paragraphs.

Although, the major minority religion in Sindh is Hinduism, however there are a large number of religious orders, cults, sects and traditions that fall under this umbrella term. The form of Hinduism practiced in the western Tharparker is different from what is practiced by urbanite, upper class Hindus. The physical boundaries and local practices also influence the religion of various Hindu tribes and groups in Sindh. There are two broader categories of Hindus in Sindh , the upper caste , better off Hindus belonging to Lohana and other castes and the schedule caste tribal Hindus mostly living in lower Sindh and Thar region (close to Rajasthan ) . Some important religious orders practiced and followed by upper class Hindus are *Nanakpanthis* (followers of Baba Guru Nanak), *Daryapanthis*(followers of river deity Uderolal) and *Udasipanthis* (followers of

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Baba Sri Chand, founder of *Udasi* tradition), although now days , the boundaries are becoming increasingly fluid.

Most of upper caste Hindus originally came from Punjab (Multan and Uch) and settled in Sindh to evade Mughal oppression in 16<sup>th</sup> century. (Cook 2010 in Boivin et. al) Therefore, they also brought with them religious traditions prevalent in Punjab at that time, most popular of which were *Nanakpanth* and *Udasipanth*. In fact, those earlier Hindu settlers were originally Sikhs (as is evident from some of their names in pre-partition times) later on they adopted the Hindu customs and traditions and eventually became *Nanakpanthi* Hindus (See Advani 1919, 1941, 1947) . Advni (1947) explains ‘Most of the Amils of Sindh have come from the Punjabi cities of Uch and Multan. Among Bhaibands, some hail from Punjab while others came from Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, and Gujarat. A few of the Amils are Khatris while most of them are Lohanas. When they lived in Punjab they practiced Sikh faith. Earlier, Amils from Hyderabad and other cities had long hair (Kesh like Sikhs), later on some cut their hair but even then many Khatris still sport long hair and their *Isht Dev* (patron saint) is Guru Nanak. (Advani 1947, P.107)Another testimony of the Sikh faith is the establishment of large number of *Darbars*, *Gurdwaras* and *Akal Bhungas* in all major cities of Sindh where the Sikh scripture *Adi Granth* was also placed and revered. (Ibid)

Along with *Nanakpanth*, *Udasipnath* also thrived in parallel in Sindh. Though, it is related to Sikhism and therefore it may also be assumed that Hindus in Sindh followed it because of their earlier connection to Sikhism, however it is not that simple. Historically, even before the arrival of Punjabi *Nanakpanthi* Hindus (or Sikh) emigrants, it is said that Sri Chand visited Sindh (at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century in Thatta) and lighted *dhuni* (sacred fire) there that is characteristic of *Udasi* establishments (Hussain 2009, Tamimi 2003, Sharma 1969). That’s how *Udasipanth* was introduced to Sindh and was later further developed. Another interesting fact is the portrayal of Sri Chand as ‘savior’ or liberator much like other Hindu spiritual figures worshipped and followed in Sindh that is Uderolal, Ramdeo Pir and Pithoro Pir.

Since then, it has been flourishing and thriving here with the efforts of later *Udasi* saints who attracted people and founded various establishments especially in northern Sindh.



**Figure 1. The map of Sindh: dots represent four cities, where four major Udasi centers are located.(Source : google maps)**

With the mass exodus of Hindu from West Punjab in 1947, the famous *Udasi* centers of Dera Baba Bhumman Shah (Okara), Gujranwala, Bhai Pheru, Lahore and other cities were abandoned and deserted. On the contrary, those in Sindh survived the onslaught of partition, they only became even more syncretic and inclusive and are still so.

The various heterodox traditions that are a part of Sindhi devotional system are made up of many different elements some of which have been brought from other regions; thus here devotion truly transcends the regional boundaries. So, a study of various socio-religious practices cannot be completed without exploring those traditions that were not 'indigenous' rather were brought to Sindh through various means including migration, exchange of ideas or through missionary tours and were later adapted and became a part of the larger Sindhi Hindu religious group .

If we look at the devotional literature published during 1843-1947, we'll find many *Janamsakhis* , *artis* ,*hymns*, *bhajans* and hagiographies of various saints and other related works that are ascribed to *Nanakpanth* and *Udasipanth* in Sindh. These books were mostly published in vernacular Sindhi from various newly established printing presses in Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Sukkur and help shed

light on the Sindhi Hindu religion and its affiliated groups in a historical perspective. Such a huge corpus of devotional literature points to the fact that these two religious traditions have remained very important to Sindh and they still are, albeit now they cater to a smaller Hindu population.

Through this research paper, I will explore the origin and development of *Udasipanth* in Sindh and also various legends and narratives related to the cult figure, Baba Sri Chand in Sindhi devotional context. The data for this paper has mostly been taken from original Sindhi sources published before and after partition and field visits.

### **What is *Udasipanth* :**

The most informative work on *Udasis* has been done by Singh (2000, 1999) and Sandhu (2011). Sandhu's Ph.D dissertation '*Udasis* in the Colonial Punjab 1849 A.D-1947 A.D' is a seminal and well researched work that provides most of historical information about *Udasis* in a holistic perspective.

Regarding the origin and etymology of *Udasis*, she describes 'In Sikh history the term *Udasi* firstly refers to the travels or missionary tours of Guru Nanak (1469-1539), and secondly it signifies an order of ascetics founded by Baba Sri Chand (1494-?) the elder son of Guru Nanak. Originally, it is derived from Sanskrit word *Udas* or *Udasin*, i.e. one who is indifferent to or disregarding of worldly attachments or is stoic or mendicant. *Udasi* literally means sorrow, sadness, disappointed ones, dejected, withdrawn from worldly concerns'. (Sandhu 2011, P.1)

The followers of Sri Chand are called *Udasis* and the religious tradition that he founded is called *Udasipanth*. *Udasis* do not care for the worldly belongings, declaring the world unworthy of much attention; rather they strive to attain a higher goal of personal enlightenment, by following a strict regime of religious practices and rituals.

Singh (2000) explains 'Significantly, the celibate ascetic Orders of the udasis, nearly over a dozen towards the end of Sikh rule, still traced their common spiritual descent from Baba Sri Chand, eldest of the two sons of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. Moreover, they also used the common label of an udasi, due to the fact, that they all strictly followed the idea of renunciation (udasi) and the practice of celibacy in the pre-colonial Punjab. (Singh 2000, P.3)

In various hagiographical accounts of Sri Chand, a similar version is given documenting and describing the major events of his life until his miraculous disappearance into the thick of Chamba forest (though the date is uncertain). One of such books published by Gobind Sadan society describes an elaborate account of Sri Chand's life 'Babji was born in 1494 in Sultanpur Lodhi, district Kapurthala Punjab to Guru Nanak and Mata Solanki Devi. He was taught by Guru Nanak himself and was also sent to Kashmir to study under the patronage of a learned Pandit. Gradually, he attained great merit and himself became a learned man. He took to an ascetic life, disapproving of worldly riches and ties. He displayed many miracles and was very popular among people. In 1643, when it was time for him to leave the world, he marched towards the jungle on a nearby

hill, bid goodbye to those following him and in a twinkling of an eye disappeared. Babaji's body was never found. (Gobind Sadan Society 2006)

A variety of devotional literature is attributed to him, most notably *Matre Shastra*, a sacred mantra or incarnation. Other works are '*Arta* (in Sanskrit *arti*), Sri Guru Nanak Dev comprising ten *padas*/couplets in honor of his father; *Guru Gayatri* meant for recitation; *Sahansranama* (lit. thousand named) in praise of the supreme being and the *matravani*, comprising thirty nine *divpadas* and is a terse representation of *Udasi* philosophy. He is also said to have written commentaries of *Vedas*, the *Upanshids* and the *Vedanta sutra* of *Vedas*'. (Sandhu 2011, P.13)

After Sri Chand's disappearance, his successors namely Almast, Balu Hasna, Goind Sahib and Phool Sahib established four *Dhuans* (sacred hearths) at various places (Ibid). Gradually, *Udasipanth* attracted a large following and people started coming under its banner from far and wide. From these initial four *dhuans*, many *Udasi* sadhus learnt the way of the Guru and then they went to other areas to preach it to people in far off corners of the subcontinent. Thereafter, the *Udasi* establishments were known as *Akharas*, *Darbars*, *Ashrams*, *Dharmasalas* even *Gurdwaras* and *dhunis*. *Udasis* thrived and enjoyed state patronage during Sikh rule (1762-1849), however during colonial period and especially with the rise of Singh Sabha movement and Akali agitation (early 19<sup>th</sup> century) their popularity waned and they were gradually relegated to the background.

### ***Udasipanth* in Sindh :**

The story of *Udasipanth* in Sindh starts when Sri Chand visited the region during one of his missionary travels. Some Sindhi sources provide a brief account of his visit and activities in Sindh. A small booklet titled '*Jagat Guru Sri Chand Sahib*' drafted by Manghan Lal Sharma (1969) provides an interesting account of Sri Chand's visit to Thatta which is briefly given here '*Sri Chand came to Sindh in the reign of Mirza Baqi Baig (Tarkhan rule 1554-1591). He established a dhuni under a tree on the bank of river Indus outside Thatta city. When Hindus heard of his arrival, they came to him and many of them became his disciples and started living like Udasis. Once, Swami Bhagwan (resident of Budh Gaya) came to see him along with his 360 chelas (disciples), Sri Chand asked his own disciple to cook food for them. Swami Bhagwan tested him but eventually he got so impressed by Sri Chand's spiritual power that he started living with him and became an Udasi along with his chelas. Sri Chand renamed him 'Bhagat Bhagwan' and handed him the Udasi seat of Thatta city. His disciples, who were now full-fledged Udasis were sent to Bengal, Orissa and other places where they established Udasi akharas. To this day, two km East side of Thatta city, there is a beautiful Darbar and Sri Chand's dhuni is still there. (Sharma 1988, P.29-30-31)*



**Figure 2. Sri Chand in Raj Ghat Darbar , Thatta(Taken by author)**

Encyclopedia Sindhiana(2009) also discusses the similar version of Sri Chand's arrival in Sindh and then there is Rasool Bakhsh Tamimi's Thatto Sadiyan Khan (2003) , in which he describes about Thatta darbar and also Sri Chand's visit to Sindh . All of these sources testify the arrival of Sri Chand's visit to Sindh at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century and also explain how he helped Sindh Hindu at that time. That visit is the beginning of the story of *Udasipanth* in Sindh after which it was gradually developed by others until it was fully established in flourishing ashram and *darbars* like Sadh Belo and Raj Ghaat darbar in Thatta. (Fig.2,3)



**Figure 3. Raj Ghar darbar , Thatta(taken by author)**

The *Udasi* or *Udasin* (as they are also sometimes called) saints in Sindh are known by different names like *Swami*, *Bao*, *Bawa*, *Baba*, *Mahant* and others.

After Sri Chand's visit, his legacy was passed onto later *Udasi* saints who came to Sindh as soon as the first decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first name that we see in this context mentioned in Sindhi sources is that of Nango Ganga Ram, an *Udasi* saint who lighted *dhuni* in Hyderabad city in 1804 A.D.

**a. Nango Ganga Ram Sahib :**

Ganga Ram is a lesser known *Udasi* saint who lived in Hyderabad, Sindh. It seems that Nango is the title and was used along with the name that is 'Ganga Ram'. Regarding the word 'Nango' Boivin(2015) writes '[It is] a Sindhi word meaning naked, it is the most significant symbol of renunciation; a name given to a class of Hindu ascetics who never marry, and go almost naked sometimes covered with dust. (P.232)

Shah Latif also uses word Nanga to refer to ascetics or *Jogis* who visit Nani (Hinglaj mata):

*Nanga Nani' halya, lokaan kari lik*

*Wai mon wehak , aon na jeandi un re*

The ascetics left for the Nani Devi (Hinglaj) avoiding common people

I cannot afford to linger here behind them

The fact is that I cannot live without them

(Shah Latif Sur Ramkali Chapter 1, Verse 28)

Ganga Ram's biographical account is given in the book *Sindh ja Sant* by Asudomal (1932).

'Nango Ganga Ram was born into a Brahmin family, but later on he adopted *Udasipnath* and grew long tresses. He came to Hyderabad in 1804. His *asthan* (the place where he stayed and worshipped) was situated in Hyderabad near the cremation place of Hindus. At first he just cleared the land and settled his *dhuni* there. Later on, his disciples built a *landhi* (small room with thatched roof) out of mud bricks. When the Silawats<sup>1</sup> came from Kutch to Hyderabad, Nango Sahib realized that they were homeless and destitute and provided them food. He used to get up at 3 in the morning and used to remain immersed in Hari Nam. He had two disciples Bao Pooran Das and Bao Kishan Das. Nango Sahib passed away in 1824. Swami Bankhandi of Sadh belo was also his disciple. (P.76-79)

While Bankhandi Maharj is very widely known and represented in Sindhi devotional literature (perhaps because he founded Sadh Belo), this rather obscure *Udasi* saint doesn't find mention except in a very few Sindhi sources. He also didn't build any large establishment and now days it is difficult to trace the place where he first settled and established his *dhuan*. But the need for a larger *Udasi*

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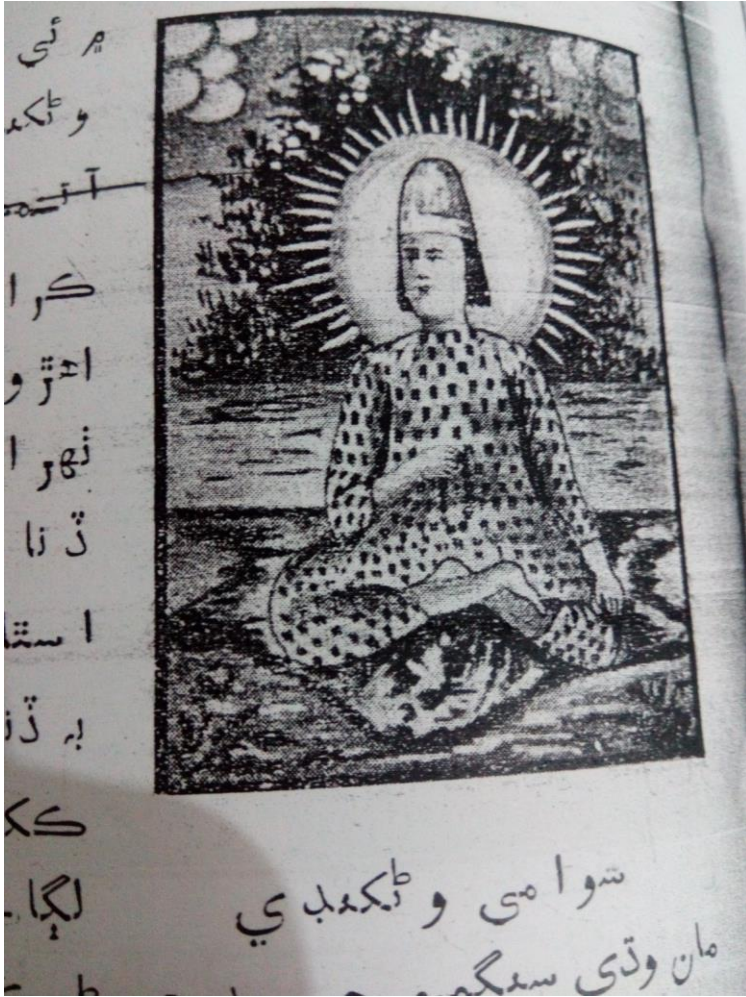
<sup>1</sup> A community from Kutch and Rajasthan who were stone cutters and are still settled in Silawat Paro in Hyderabad.



establishment was realized and materialized by Bankhandi Maharaj and thereby *Udasipanth* was firmly planted in the soil of Sindh.

**b. Swami Bankhandi Maharaj Udasin:**

After Sri Chand's visit to Thatta, the most significant development with regards to *Udasipanth* in Sindh is the arrival of Bankhandi Maharaj who laid the foundation of Sadh Belo Ashram or *Tirath* on an island in river Indus near Sukkur city of Sindh. (Fig.4)



**Figure 4. Bankhandi Maharaj in Masand's Soonharo Sakhar (1940)**

Bankhandi Maharaj is widely known and is also mentioned with reverence in most of the hagiographical accounts of Sindhi-Hindu saints written both before and after Partition. A brief biography of Bankhandi Maharaj is given below:

Maharaj Baba Bankhdi was born in 1763 to Ramchandrar Sharma Gaur Brahman and was named Balchand. Even when he was 9 years old, he had gained enough



knowledge and went to 'ban' jungle where he spent a large part of his life that is why his name was changed from Balchand to Bankhandi. He became a disciple of Mahatma Mela Ram of Patiala state. Passing through Nepal, where his dhuni is situated, at the age of 60 years he came to Sukkur in 1823 during Talpur rule [1783-1843].

He was Brahman by caste and was an *Udasipanthi*. The followers of *Udasipanth* (remain celibate) do not marry. He liked the small hillock of Sadh Belo inside river Indus so much that he lighted a *dhuni* and started living there. Baba Bankhandi died when he was 100 years old. (Encyclopedia Sindhiana 2009, P.367)

Bajaj (1939) describes various sections of Sadh Belo developed by Bankhandi Maharaj . 'Swami Ji established Sanghasan'Gaddi sahib (the seat) and afterwards he lighted dhuni sahib, which still burns inside a small room in front of Gaddi sahib. Afterwards, he placed poorna devi, then shivling and icons of Ganesh, Hanuman, Guru Sri Chand, Sat Narayan and Kailas Mahadev etc. Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur also used to visit him and bestowed some land to the ashram in 1828'. (P.8-13)

Even today, Bankhandi Maharj is highly respected among Sindhi Hindus not only in Sindh but also in diaspora. A separate Sadh Belo ashram is established in Mumbai (India) by his followers. It shows the wider influence of *Udasi* saints who not only transcend sectarian boundaries but also the geographical and territorial limits making their presence known in far off regions.

### **c. Sri Chand's Portrayal as a 'Savior' in Sindhi Sources :**

Sindh remained under a number of religious influences notably Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism and then Islam. With the advent of Islam especially after Arab invasion in 712 CE, the socio-political and religious scenario of the region got changed. Consequently, with the rise of later Muslim dynasties, the Hindus either fled the region or remained there '*dormantizing*' their religious practices in order to evade persecution. Hughes (1876) quotes Burton 'The Hindu portion of the community occupies in Sind the same social position that the Muhammadans do in India. It is very probable that few or none of the Hindu families which existed in Sindh at the time of first Muslim inroad have survived the persecution to which they were subjected, and it is most likely that by degrees they were either converted to Islamism or emigrated to another land. (Hughes 1876 ,P.91)

As often with persecuted communities around the world, so gradually the folklore and legend of Sindhi Hindus developed a concept of 'savior' or liberator who would deliver them from the oppression of rulers. The concept of a savior is central to many religious ideologies especially in Shia Islam, where last Imam 'Mehdi' is the promised 'savior'. 'The Mehdi will reveal himself again only on the Day of Judgment, when he will return to herald a new era of peace, justice and victory over evil'. (Hazleton 2009, P. 201-102)

In an informative article, Boivin (2009) describes the concept of 'Horsemen and Saviors'; focusing on Darya Pir, Pithoro Pir and Ramdeo Pir as saviors of Hindus by using the medium of iconography of these spiritual figures. 'Pithoro Pir is mainly worshipped by the Meghwars, an outcaste Hindu community. Tradition has

it that he defended the outcaste communities by defeating a Hindu Rajput King'. (Boivin in Zaidi 2009)

Similarly, Sri Chand is also portrayed as a 'savior' or liberator of Sindhi Hindus in various Sindhi sources. Sharma (1988) writes about Sri Chand's visit 'At that time, Sindh was ruled by Mirza Muhammad Baqi and his capital was Thatta city at the bank of Indus. The rulers of that area mistreated Hindus; they were not allowed to go to a temple and also couldn't light sacred fire. It means that there were no signs of 'dharam'[religion]. When Sri Chand arrived and established his *dhuni*, the Hindus also came to visit him and thus the 'jyot' (lamp) of *dharam* was lighted. (Sharma 1988, P. 29)

In Encyclopedia Sindhiana (2009), the similar narrative is mentioned 'When Sri Chand came to Sindh in the reign of Mirza Baqi Baig, Hindus clandestinely started visiting him. Sri Chand expressed grief over the maltreatment of Hindus and prayed (for their liberation). When Baqi Baig knew (of his arrival), he described him as a 'lunatic' and said that people should leave him alone. After hearing these remarks (of Baqi Baig), the saint said 'this man himself is a lunatic'. Suddenly, Baqi Baig lost sense and committed suicide. After the death of Baqi Baig, Jani Baig succeeded him. He made peace with Sri Chand and also treated Hindus fairly. (P.376)

In Sindhi sources, he is also reportedly imbued with the qualities of a savior a liberator of Sindhi Hindus. Bajaj (1939) describes that 'at that time the Muslim rule used to oppress and persecute Hindus, they were forcefully converted and were made to obey Muslim *Pirs*<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, Sindhi Hindus lived in a state of fear and insecurity. In order to revitalize Hindus, and to make them courageous and bold, Swami Bankhandi *Udasin* established Sadh Belo *tirath* [site of religious pilgrimage] in Sukkur. As it gained fame, more and more Hindus started coming here and they became fearless and courageous. (Bajaj 1939, P. 7)

From these sources, it is clear that much like other personages held in esteem by Hindus of Sindh, Sri Chand, though originally from Punjab has also been 'indigenized' through his representation as someone spiritually powerful enough to defy the ruler and a mentor and leader of Hindus (the story goes somewhat like Uderolal or Jhulaylal). He also daringly accepted Hindus in his presence and encouraged them to worship freely. He was charismatic and miraculous enough to inspire and influence the local ruler who agreed to let Hindus live in peace. These sources portray Sri Chand much like other Sindhi saints, and undoubtedly the latter *Udasi* practices did increasingly adapt to the Sindhi spiritual environment making this *panth* look very much like from the 'soil', rather than one that has been brought from another geographical and cultural region.

#### **d. Adaption of *Udasipanth* and the 'Sindhi Elements':**

Franz Boas explained the diffusion of cultural traits and told that "there has to be a fit between culture and the trait diffusing in and borrowed traits would be reworked to fit the culture adapting them" (Kottak 2011, P.298). Therefore, in Sindhi context although the 'cultural trait' of *Udasipanth* and the concept of a

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<sup>2</sup> Holy men

savior (Sri Chand) was adapted and followed by Sindhi Hindus, it was reworked to fit in and blend with the exclusive religious practices of Sindh.

In the same vein, the *Udasipanth* was also 'indigenized' in order to comply with the local religious norms that by and large encourage heterogeneity and heterodoxy. *Udasipanth* itself is known for being very heterodox. (Singh 2000, 1999; Sidhu 2007). Discussing the deliberate inclusion of Hindu elements into *Udasi* fold, Sidhu(2007) quotes Oberoi 'Udasis brought the Sikhs and Hindus closer in order to ward off a potential threat from Muslims. Thus it was structural to the formation of Sikh state that 'Hinduisation' would occur which led to the dilution of what may be described as the religious project of the Khalsa. ( P.31)

Through the hagiographical accounts of various *Udasi* saints in Sindh, it is clear that *Udasi* traditions in Sindh were characteristic of other Sindhi religious orders namely *Nanakpanth*, *Daryapanth*, *Nathpanth* . It is also interesting to note that today the rituals and practices at *Udasi* centers in Indian Punjab tend to lean more towards Sikhism (See Sandhu 2011), because historically it has been very closely linked to Sikh religion. However, in Sindh it is not the case. The *Udasi* centers in Sindh tend to be closer to Hindu religion and *Nanakpanth*. Another point worth mentioning here is the inclusion of other deities of bordering regions of Sindh. In another of my papers, I have discussed the heterodox practices observed at Sri Chand Darbar in Thatta. The iconography and paintings show an unmistakable Sindhi 'flavor' to the *Udasi* establishment. In addition to the major deities worshipped in Sindh like Shiva and Mata Sheraan Wali etc., there are others like Kodyaar Mata who is a major deity in Kutch and Gujarat but is also revered in Sindh and even a statue of Bhagat Kanwar Ram, a Sindhi Sufi singer affiliated with *Bhakti* tradition. (Jatt 2016) In Sadh Belo ashram, the icon of Jhulaylal (patron deity of Sindhi Hindus) is also placed. These and other examples illustrate the point and testify to the adaption of *Udasipanth* to the exclusive environment of Sindhi Hinduism. Therefore, today the *Udasipanthi* centers in Sindh are somewhat changed to what they would have been in the initial days when this tradition started from Punjab. The Sindhi soil has transformed them in its heterodox environment and changed them to its exclusively 'Sindhi' character.

### **Conclusion:**

The blending of *Udasi* elements and their intermixing with Sindhi Hindu religion is an evidence of the devotion that truly transcends geographical and regional boundaries and exhibits a wider range of options for people who are affiliated with that particular tradition.

*Udasipanth* is one of the important religious traditions in Sindh but it has not been well explored so far. There is a need for further research and scholarship to explore the various facets of *Udasipanth* in Sindh and how it is playing a role in the changing dimensions of Sindhi Hindu devotional system.

### **NOTE:**

A number of Sindhi sources are used for this paper but they are not literally translated here. Rather I have paraphrased the sources and then translated them to include in the paper.

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